

DIARY
Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture

Volume #9

1968

DIARY

Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture

VOLUME #9

(March 31, 1968 - October 19, 1968)

March 31, 1968 -- 2:45 am -- Milwaukee, Wisconsin - I'm croaking like a bullfrog. I've just completed a nine-speaking-stop tour of Wisconsin and I'm about as exhausted as I can ever remember. Nonetheless, I think it was a very successful day. Clem Zablocki, the Wisconsin Congressman, who has come out for the President just left. His expressions of appreciation were almost effusive. He felt that I had made a greater contribution to the President's campaign here in Wisconsin than anyone else. I did follow up today very hard on the Madison incident, setting it solidly and strongly in the context of the right to be heard and the spirit of fair play. I was treated with kid gloves today by the McCarthy forces. I really think that I might have made a contribution in this process in driving home in this State and perhaps in the Nation the importance of these principles and if so it may well be much more important than what happens in the Primary Campaign. Nobody knows what's going to happen in that campaign. Frankly I'm not very optimistic at this point. I had pretty good crowds today. I started really last night at LaCrosse at the Labor Temple, we maybe had 100 people. They were the old folks, a few labor leaders, older farmers, and for the most part the patronage controlling, historic, normal, rather unexciting Democratic Party types. Nonetheless very good folks, and they do represent a residue of political power. At least they were there, responsive, conscientious, if not too active. That was pretty much the picture all day. I had two airport stops in the morning with crowds bordering 100 that were very friendly, work had been done to turn them out. A college crowd mostly at Appleton, but I can record tomorrow as I'm really too tired to spend much time at it now. Suffice it to say that I'm not very excited at the prospects and the President has not stimulated too much enthusiasm here. On the other hand it could well be that this is a sleeper. I've had some reports that the older folks, the more established people, tend to view with some reservation the McCarthy-Kennedy statements and ask the question, "Well, what do they have

to offer? There really isn't any very good reason for changing this man."

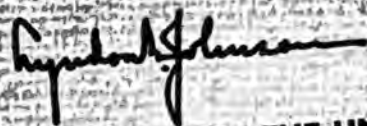
Then, too, there is the potential of an enormous Republican cross-over. I bought a little insurance on that one by saying repeatedly that who can predict the result when a Republican Governor's wife, Knowles here, is out campaigning for a Democratic Candidate for President in the Primary. She has attended several rallies and is supporting McCarthy. I bore down on McCarthy real hard today and it will be interesting to see what his response will be. I got the sharpest of all and did it with careful thought beforehand but didn't repeat it generally at Warsaw when I stated a vote for McCarthy was a vote for appeasement -- a vote for Johnson, a vote for firmness. I'm told that the Member of the Assembly who introduced me later disassociated himself from that remark on the radio. I haven't verified this yet. In addition to calling him an appeaser, I've put it in frequently on his statement that Johnson Cabinet members should stay away from college campuses and they might use the forum of the White House Rose Garden. I've described that remark as flippant, clipping, about a serious subject, to wit, the right to be heard. I've introduced most of my speeches by saying, "I've come back here to finish what I tried to say before storm trooper tactics in the University of Wisconsin prevented me from saying it. That what I say really is not very important but my right to say it and your right to hear it is." The response has been uniformly good. Perhaps I've contributed to nailing that concept down a little bit more firmly in a volatile political state. Well I better turn in. We blew in here a couple of hours ago. I should have gone to bed. A few folks were up and then I paged through the newspapers, and as usual have trouble turning in, but it's hard to unwind after a day like this one which has been really as taxing and exhausting as almost any campaign day I can remember -- new territory, different people, shifting issues, student groups, Democratic type groups, farm groups, newspapermen of all kinds, young Democrats -- we've really run the

spectrum today. But it has been a good, and in many ways a satisfying day. Now we'll see what happens. Clem Zablocki's estimate is about a 55% Johnson majority. That includes a carryover of Republicans. Without that, a 60% Johnson majority. It sounds too good to be true, but anyway he's quite confident, enthusiastic and he's a pretty shrewd politician of long standing. If that happens why it will be a real leg up for the President. In the meantime he announced a special broadcast last night and preempted television for tomorrow night. The prediction, and I expect it's right because it sounds so, is an increased troop movement and more supplies to South Vietnam. I must say just having been on the political stump I wish he'd come out for a 30-day strictly limited cessation of bombing to see what would happen. Believe me that would be more politically acceptable, but he's there, he knows what is what, and whatever it why I've got enough confidence in him and Rusk to go out here and try and interpret it as I have all day today.

When some of the pacifists get up and talk about people being killed, villages leveled, and how long does this go on, it does reach you in the pit of your stomach. But what can we do? I wish I knew. In the meantime we mustn't appease, we mustn't break our word. We must fulfill our commitments. We must protect those who rely on us. That's what I've been saying all day and I believe it. But oh I wish somehow we could end this dam thing.

“There is no need to delay
the talks that could bring

**an end
to this long
and bloody war”**



PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

*President Johnson
with American soldiers
at Cam Ranh Bay*



The White House, March 31, 1968

An address by President Lyndon B. Johnson

I want to speak to you of peace in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

No other question so preoccupies our people. No other dream so absorbs the 250 million human beings who live in that part of the world. No other goal motivates American policy in Southeast Asia.

For years, representatives of our Government and others have travelled the world—seeking to find a basis for peace talks.

Since last September, they have carried the offer I made public at San Antonio.

It was this:

That the United States would stop its bombardment of North Vietnam when that would lead promptly to productive discussions—and that we would assume that North Vietnam would not take military advantage of our restraint.

*"I want to speak to you
of peace in Vietnam
and Southeast Asia"*

Hanoi denounced this offer, both privately and publicly. Even while the search for peace was going on, North Vietnam rushed their preparations for a savage assault on the people, the Government and the allies of South Vietnam.

Their attack—during the Tet holidays—failed to achieve its principal objectives.

It did not collapse the elected Government of South Vietnam or shatter its Army—as the communists had hoped.

It did not produce a "general uprising" among the people of the cities.

The communists were unable to maintain control of any city. And they took very heavy casualties.

But they did compel the South Vietnamese and their allies to move certain forces from the countryside into the cities. They caused widespread disruption and suffering. Their attacks, and the battles that followed, made refugees of half a million human beings.

The communists may renew their attack.

They are, it appears, trying to make 1968 the year of decision in South Vietnam—the year that brings, if not final victory or defeat, at least a turning point in the struggle.

This much is clear:

If they do mount another round of heavy attacks, they will not succeed in destroying the fighting power of South Vietnam and its allies.

But tragically, this is also clear: Many men—on both sides of the struggle—will be lost. A nation that has already suffered 20 years of warfare will suffer once again. Armies on both sides will take new casualties. And the war will go on.

There is no need for this to be so.

There is no need to delay the talks that could bring an end to this long and bloody war.

I renew the offer I made last August—to stop the bombardment of North Vietnam. We ask that talks begin promptly, and that they be serious talks on the substance of peace. We assume that during those talks Hanoi would not take advantage of our restraint.

We are prepared to move immediately toward peace through negotiations.

"the communists... caused widespread disruption and suffering. Their attacks, and the battles that followed, made refugees of half a million human beings"

In the hope that this action will lead to early talks, I am taking the first step to de-escalate the conflict. We are reducing—substantially reducing—the present level of hostilities. And we are doing so unilaterally, and at once.

I have ordered our aircraft and naval vessels to make no attacks on North Vietnam, except in the area north of the Demilitarized Zone where the continuing enemy buildup directly threatens allied forward positions and where movements of troops and supplies are clearly related to that threat.

The area in which we are stopping our attacks includes almost 90 percent of North Vietnam's population, and most of its territory. Thus there will be no attacks around the principal populated areas, and in the food-producing areas of North Vietnam.

Even this limited bombing of the North could come to an early end—if our restraint is matched by restraint in Hanoi. But I cannot in conscience stop all bombing so long as to do so would immediately and directly endanger the lives of our men and our allies. Whether a complete bombing halt becomes possible in the future will be determined by events.

Our purpose in this action is to bring about a reduction in the level of violence that now exists.

It is to save the lives of brave men—and of innocent women and children. It is to permit the contending forces to move closer to a political settlement.

I call upon the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union—as cochairmen of the Geneva conferences, and as permanent members of the United Nations Security Council—to do all they can to move from the unilateral act of de-escalation I have just announced toward genuine peace in Southeast Asia.

Now, as in the past, the United States is ready to send its representatives to any forum, at any time, to discuss the means of bringing this war to an end.

I am designating one of our most distinguished Americans, Ambassador Averell Harriman, as my personal representative for such talks. In addition, I have asked Am-

*"in the hope that this
action will lead to
early talks, I am taking
the first step to
de-escalate the conflict"*

*"I call upon President
Ho Chi Minh to respond
positively, and favorably,
to this new step
toward peace"*

*"South Vietnam . . . has
suffered terrible punishment
for more than 20 years.
I pay tribute once again
to the great courage and
endurance of its people"*

bassador Llewellyn Thompson, who returned from Moscow for consultations, to be available to join Ambassador Harriman at Geneva or any other suitable place—just as soon as Hanoi agrees to a conference.

I call upon President Ho Chi Minh to respond positively, and favorably, to this new step toward peace.

But if peace does not come now through negotiations, it will come when Hanoi understands that our common resolve is unshakable, and our common strength is invincible.

We and other allied nations are contributing 600,000 fighting men to assist 700,000 South Vietnamese troops in defending their country.

Our presence there has always rested on this basic belief: The main burden of preserving their freedom must be carried by the South Vietnamese themselves.

We and our allies can only help to provide a shield—behind which the people of South Vietnam can survive and develop. On their efforts—on their determination and resourcefulness—the outcome will ultimately depend.

That small, beleaguered nation has suffered terrible punishment for more than 20 years. I pay tribute once again to the great courage and endurance of its people. South Vietnam supports Armed Forces of almost 700,000 men today—the equivalent of more than 10 million in our own population. Its people maintain their firm determination to be free of domination by the North.

There has been substantial progress in building a durable Government during the past three years. The South Vietnam of 1965 could not have survived the enemy's Tet offensive of 1968. The elected Government of South Vietnam survived that attack—and is rapidly repairing the devastation it wrought.

The South Vietnamese know that further efforts are required:

- To expand their armed forces.
- To move back into the countryside.
- To increase their taxes.
- To select the very best men they have for civil and military responsibility.
- To achieve a new unity within their constitutional Government.
- And to include in the national effort all those groups who wish to preserve South Vietnam's control over its own destiny.

Last week President Nguyen Van Thieu ordered the mobilization of 135,000 additional South Vietnamese. He plans to reach—as soon as possible—a total military strength of some 800,000 men.

To achieve this, the Government of South Vietnam started the drafting of 19-year-olds on March 1. On May 1, the Government will begin drafting 18-year-olds.

Last month, 10,000 men volunteered for military service—two-and-a-half times the number of volunteers during the same month last year. Since the middle of January, more than 48,000 South Vietnamese have joined the Armed Forces—nearly half of them volunteers.

All men in the South Vietnamese Armed Forces have had their tours of service extended for the duration of the war, and reserves are now being called for active duty.

President Thieu told his people last week:

"We must make greater efforts and accept more sacrifices because, as I have said many times, this is our country. The existence of our nation is at stake, and this is mainly a Vietnamese responsibility."

He warned his people that a major national effort is required to root out corruption and incompetence at all levels of Government.

We applaud this evidence of renewed determination on the part of South Vietnam. Our first priority will be to support their effort.

"there has been substantial progress in building a durable Government during the past three years. The South Vietnam of 1965 could not have survived the enemy's Tet offensive of 1968."

"we applaud this evidence of renewed determination on the part of South Vietnam."

*"we shall accelerate
the re-equipment of
South Vietnam's
armed forces—
to meet the enemy's
increased firepower"*

We shall accelerate the re-equipment of South Vietnam's armed forces—to meet the enemy's increased firepower. This will enable them progressively to undertake a larger share of combat operations against the communists.

On many occasions I have assured the American people that we would send to Vietnam those forces that are required to accomplish our mission there. With that as our guide, we have previously authorized a force level of approximately 525,000 men.

Some weeks ago however—to help meet the enemy's new offensive—we sent to Vietnam about 11,000 additional marine and airborne troops. They were deployed by air in 48 hours, on an emergency basis. Artillery, tank, aircraft, medical and other units needed to work with and support these infantry troops in combat did not accompany them.

In order that these forces may reach maximum combat effectiveness, we should prepare to send—during the next five months—support troops totalling approximately 13,500 men. A portion of these men will be made available from our active forces. The balance will come from reserve component units which will be called up for service.

Actions we have taken since the beginning of the year—to re-equip the South Vietnamese forces; to meet our responsibilities in Korea, as well as in Vietnam; to meet price increases and the cost of activating and deploying reserve forces; to replace helicopters and provide the other military supplies we need—will require additional expenditures. The estimate of those additional expenditures is \$2,500 million in this fiscal year, and \$2,600 million in the next fiscal year.

These projected increases in expenditures for our national security bring into sharper focus the nation's need for immediate action to protect the prosperity of the American people and the strength and stability of the dollar.

On many occasions I have pointed out that, without higher taxes or decreased

expenditures, next year's deficit would again be around \$20,000 million. I have emphasized the need to set strict priorities in our spending. I have stressed that failure to act—promptly and decisively—would raise strong doubts throughout the world about America's willingness to keep its financial house in order.

Yet Congress has not acted. And today we face the sharpest financial threat in the postwar era—a threat to the dollar's role as the keystone of international trade and finance.

Last week, at the monetary conference in Stockholm, the major industrial countries took a big step toward creating a new international monetary asset that will strengthen the international monetary system.

But to make this system work the United States must bring its balance of payment to—or close to—equilibrium. We must have a responsible fiscal policy. Enactment of a tax increase now, together with expenditure control, is necessary to protect our security, continue our prosperity, and meet the needs of our people.

What is now at stake is seven years of unparalleled prosperity.

In those seven years, the real income of the average American—after taxes—rose by almost 30 percent, a gain as large as that of the preceding 19 years.

The steps we must take to convince the world are exactly the steps we must take to sustain our economic strength at home. In the past eight months, prices and interest rates have risen. We must move from debate to action. There is, I believe—in both houses of the Congress—a growing sense of urgency that the situation must be corrected.

My budget in January was a tight one. It fully reflected an evaluation of our most demanding needs. But in these budgetary matters, the President does not decide alone. The Congress has the power and the duty to determine appropriations and taxes.

*"to help meet the
enemy's new offensive
we sent to Vietnam
about 11,000 additional
marine and airborne
troops. They were
deployed by air
in 48 hours, on
an emergency basis"*

*"it is our hope
that North Vietnam,
after years of fighting
that have left the issue
unresolved, will now . . .
join us in moving
toward peace"*

The Congress is now considering proposals for reductions in our national budget. As part of a program of fiscal restraint that includes the tax surcharge, I shall approve appropriate reductions in the January budget when and if Congress so decides. One thing is unmistakably clear: Our deficit must be reduced. Failure to act could bring on conditions that would strike hardest at those people we are striving to help.

The times call for prudence in this land of plenty. I believe we have the character to provide it, and I plead with the Congress to act promptly to serve the national interest, and all the people.

Now let me give you my estimate of the chances for peace: the peace that will one day stop the bloodshed in South Vietnam; allow that people to rebuild and develop their land; and permit us to turn more fully to our tasks at home.

I cannot promise that the initiative I am announcing tonight will be any more successful in achieving peace than the more than 30 others we have undertaken and agreed to in recent years. It is our hope that North Vietnam, after years of fighting that have left the issue unresolved, will now cease its efforts to achieve a military victory and join us in moving toward peace. And there may come a time when South Vietnamese—on both sides—are able to work out a way to settle their differences by free political choice rather than by war.

As Hanoi considers its course, it should be in no doubt of our intentions. It must not miscalculate the pressures within our democracy in this election year.

We have no intention of widening this war.

But the United States will not accept a fake solution to this long and arduous struggle and call it peace.

No one can foretell the precise terms of an eventual settlement. Our objective in South Vietnam has never been the annihilation of the enemy. It has been to bring about a recognition in Hanoi that its objective—taking over the South by force—could

not be achieved.

Peace can be based on the Geneva Accords of 1954—under political conditions that permit the South Vietnamese, all the South Vietnamese, to chart their course free of any outside domination or interference.

I also reaffirm the pledge we made at Manila—that we are prepared to withdraw our forces from South Vietnam as the other side withdraws its forces to the north, stops infiltration, and the level of violence thus subsides.

Our goal of peace and self-determination in Vietnam is directly related to the future of Southeast Asia—where much has happened to inspire confidence during the past 10 years. We have done all that we could to contribute to that confidence. A number of its nations have shown what can be accomplished under conditions of security. Since 1966 Indonesia, the fifth largest nation in the world, has had a Government dedicated to peace with its neighbors and improved conditions for its own people. Political and economic cooperation between nations has grown rapidly.

Every American can take pride in the role we have played in Southeast Asia. We can rightly judge—as responsible Southeast Asians themselves do—that the progress of the past three years would have been far less likely, if not impossible, if America and others had not made the stand in Vietnam.

At Johns Hopkins University, three years ago, I announced that we would take part in the great work of developing Southeast Asia, including the Mekong Valley—for all the people of the region. Our determination to help build a better land—for men on both sides of the present conflict—has not diminished. Indeed, the ravages of war have made it more urgent than ever.

I repeat what I said at Johns Hopkins—that North Vietnam could take its place in this common effort just as soon as peace comes.

*'we are prepared
to withdraw our forces
from South Vietnam as
the other side withdraws
its forces to the north,
stops infiltration, and
the level of violence
thus subsides''*

Over time, a wider framework of peace and security in Southeast Asia may become possible. The new cooperation of the nations of the area could be a foundation stone. Certainly friendship with the nations of such a Southeast Asia is what we seek—and all that we seek.

One day, my fellow citizens, there will be peace in Southeast Asia.

It will come because the people of Southeast Asia want it—those whose armies are at war today, and those who, though threatened, have thus far been spared. Peace will come because Asians were willing to work for it—to sacrifice for it—to die for it.

But let it never be forgotten: Peace will come also because America sent her sons to help secure it.

It has not been easy—far from it. During the past four and a half years, it has been my fate and responsibility to be Commander-in-Chief. I have lived—daily—with the cost of this war. I know the pain it has inflicted and the misgivings it has aroused.

Throughout this period, I have been sustained by a single principle: that what we are doing now, in Vietnam, is vital not only to the security of Asia, but to our own security.

Surely we have treaties which we must respect, and commitments we must keep. Resolutions of Congress testify to the need to resist aggression in Southeast Asia.

But the heart of our involvement in South Vietnam has always been America's security. And the larger purpose of our involvement has always been to help the nations of Southeast Asia become independent, self-sustaining members of the world community. At peace with themselves, and with all others.

With such an Asia, our country—and the world—will be far more secure.

I believe that a peaceful Asia is far nearer to reality, because of what America has done in Vietnam. I believe that the men who endure the dangers of battle there are helping the entire world avoid far greater conflicts than this one.

The peace that will bring them home will come. I have offered the first in what

*"the men who endure
the dangers of battle are
helping the entire world
avoid far greater
conflicts than this one.
The peace that will
bring them home will come"*

I hope will be a series of mutual moves toward peace.

I pray that it will not be rejected by the leaders of North Vietnam. I pray that they will accept it as a means by which the sacrifices of their own people may be ended. And I ask your support, my fellow citizens, for this effort to reach across the battlefield toward an early peace.

Finally, my fellow Americans, let me say this. Of those to whom much is given, much is asked. I cannot say and no man could say, that no more will be asked of us. Yet I believe that now, no less than when the decade began, this generation of Americans is willing to pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

Since those words were spoken by John F. Kennedy, the people of America have kept that compact with mankind's noblest cause and we shall continue to keep it. Yet I believe that we must be always mindful of this one thing: Whatever the trials and the tests ahead, the ultimate strength of our country and our cause will lie not in powerful weapons or infinite resources or boundless wealth but will lie in the unity of our people. This I believe very deeply.

Throughout my entire public career I have followed the personal philosophy that I am a free man, an American, a public servant and a member of my party. In that order. Always and only. For 37 years in the service of our nation, first as a Congressman, as a Senator, as Vice President and now as your President, I have put the unity of the people first. I have put it ahead of any divisive partisanship.

In these times as in times before, it is true that a house divided against itself by the spirit of factions, parties, regions or religion or race, is a house that cannot stand. There is division in the American house now. There is divisiveness among us all and holding the trust that is mine, as President of all the people, I cannot disregard the

*"our determination to help
build a better land—
for men on both sides
of the present conflict—
has not diminished.
Indeed, the ravages
of war have made it
more urgent than ever"*

*"I do not believe
that I should devote
an hour or day of
my time to any personal
partisan causes . . .
Accordingly I shall
not seek and I will
not accept the nomination
of my party to another
term as your president"*

peril to the progress of the American people and the hope and the prospects of peace of all people. So I would ask all Americans, whatever their personal interests are concerned, to guard against divisiveness and all of its ugly consequences.

Fifty-two months and 10 days ago in a moment of tragedy and trauma, the duties of this office fell upon me. I asked then for your help and God's that we might continue America on its course, binding up our wounds, healing our history, moving forward in new unity to clear the American agenda and to keep the American commitment for all of our people.

United we have kept that commitment and united we have enlarged that commitment. And through all time to come, I think America will be a stronger nation, a more just society, a land of greater opportunity and fulfillment because of what we have all done together in these years of unparalleled achievement. Our reward will come in the life of freedom and peace and hope that our children will enjoy through ages ahead.

What we won when all of our people united just must not permit the Presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year. With America's sons in the fields far away, with America's future under challenge right here at home, with our hopes and the world's hopes for peace in the balance, every day, I do not believe that I should devote an hour or day of my time to any personal partisan causes or to any duties other than the awesome duties of this office, the Presidency of your country.

Accordingly I shall not seek and I will not accept the nomination of my party to another term as your President.

But let men everywhere know however that a strong and a confident and a vigilant America stands ready to seek an honorable peace and stands ready to defend an honored cause whatever the price, whatever the burden, whatever the sacrifice that duty may require.



*"let men everywhere know
that a strong and
a confident and a vigilant
America stands ready
to seek an honorable
peace and stands ready
to defend an honored cause"*

United States Information Service

Sunday - March 31, 1968 -- 11:00 pm at home. Well the roof just fell in. Jane and I just finished a little stroll, discussing what now following the President's address to the Nation a few minutes ago. He was talking about Vietnam when the phone rang. It was the White House phone and Jane ran to answer it. The operator insisted that I come to the phone immediately even if I am listening to the President. I went angrily and Larry Temple, one of the President's aides said the President wanted me to know that he was announcing tonight that he would not seek and would not accept nomination and that he appreciated very much all that I had done for him. I said something like, "My, God." Hung up and went back and watched a very moving and impressive presentation launching a new initiative in South Vietnam, declaring what we must do in the Congress, and taking himself out of the race.

Bill Wirtz called immediately and asked what I thought and I told him I was frightened, that power abhors a vacuum, that all the self-seekers, special interests and pressure groups would immediately start to maneuver and that a lame duck President had very little resources. He was not necessarily of the same mind, reacting more to the effect that the country would respond to this and that the President would be in a strong position thereby. Time will tell, but my experience indicates that in the Congress, in the various pressure groups and organized groups around the country that an aura of good will, the respect for the man's sacrifice, for his evident sincerity, the fact that Vietnam will not be involved necessarily in partisan politics this year -- all of these may set an aura of good feeling, but the decisions are made and the actions are taken by men, usually fairly small groups of men, and they move into a vacuum. I can't see how the Congress is going to act to pass the tax bill. The President may have more power to move on the peace front. Bill Wirtz called back a little later and we visited again and he said after reflecting on it he felt that the President would be stronger on the peace front, but I was probably

right on the domestic front where there may be chaos and endless confusion.

This sure jams up the political situation. The one who has had his legs sawed off at the knees, of course, is Humphrey. The base he used to have with ADA, Labor, the liberal groups and all is now gone. McCarthy or Kennedy has it. Johnson can't help him or he will violate the position he has now taken above the battle. I don't know what Humphrey will do. He's in Mexico tonight. When he returns he could gather some people around him and decide how he wants to move. Bill Wirtz is ready to go. Between Kennedy and McCarthy, he'll take McCarthy without batting an eye. I told him where I'm concerned it would be Kennedy. He asked me about Kennedy and I said I had come to have high regard for Kennedy when he was in the Cabinet, but that I had not liked his performance as a Senator, nor the beginning of his campaign, that I thought he had been emotional, negative, uncooperative, and insensitive, and that I was not at all impressed, yet that maybe we had to give him some leeway because he has been from the beginning a candidate for President. In any event the whole thing is sure screwed up for fair now. John Baker just called. He's in Indiana and said, "Boss, what do we do not?" And I told him I didn't know, but that we certainly needed to button down the hatches and to move all the more vigorously and strongly where our own basic programs are concerned. But they'll be up for grabs, too, and I'm afraid the chances to move them in Congress without the power that would come from a strong Presidential initiative will be very small.

Well, there isn't much to say. I just kind of numb now. I slept poorly last night, got up quite early, had to drive to Chicago to get in here, didn't get home until about 3:00, tried to nap with little success, worked around the yard a while, dinner with Mike, then the President, and now it's almost time for bed and the desk is piled high with papers, tomorrow a busy day and off to Tokyo on Wednesday. I guess under a shock like this it's just business as usual, but business as usual goes better with just a little sleep, so I better get that.

April 2, 1968 -- 11:55 p.m. Busily engaged here shuffling papers from one briefcase to the other. We're off at 8:00 o'clock in the morning. Just talked to Mike and also to Mother. Mike was full of a million questions as to what happened, what now -- none of which of course I can answer for the situation is still completely confused. I told my staff yesterday morning that the President had made a noble proposal and taken resolute and constructive action. That we could hope for the Congress responding in kind, setting aside politics and dealing with the great national issues, and that we should try and move agriculture and our programs accordingly. No one bought it very much I am afraid, but at least it provided some direction. The fact remains that power abhors a vacuum and no one can tell what will happen. Nonetheless over the past two days I have been moving to try and redirect the agriculture and rural forces in a program direction. I talked to Fred Harris whom we had gotten to serve as the Chairman of Town and Country ~~for~~ Johnson and Humphrey and he was receptive to the idea of tying all these groups together and launching a major thrust to get the programs through Congress which becomes even more important now with the President out of the picture. I met with my own staff people today to reaffirm them and to get some sense of solid direction. I called all the Farm Organization leaders and Bob Partridge at the NRECA. Everyone has responded favorably, but everyone also is asking the big question, just who are we for? No one has an answer to that. I went out last night to meet Humphrey. He was coming in from Mexico. It was cold and dark when we drove up about 11:15. I took Clyde Ellis with me. The great big Presidential Jet taxied up to the landing platform and after everyone else disengaged out came Humphrey and Muriel. He had his usual smile and bounce. I stood at the bottom and he spied me right away and came over and then insisted that I should follow him, which I did, standing behind him before the television cameras, a picture from the inquiries showed up all over the nation. He mentioned my

name in his remarks and talked to me briefly before he got into his car. All he said was that his plans were uncertain at the moment and he must talk with the President. I haven't heard from him today and we're off to Tokyo in the morning. The rumor is, and Mike Feldman told me a few moments ago on the phone that he had talked with Arthur Crim, the President's fund raiser and a very important money source, that the President had told Crim to stay away from Humphrey that he couldn't get involved in the campaign. I suspected this would be the case for the President's position on this to carry forward his pronouncements which were very deeply felt as you could tell in his message would necessitate his holding to a non-partisan position. This makes it real rough for Humphrey. His legs are caught off at the knees. Yet one can't be sure there's an outside chance that despite the fact that most of his support, organizational, influential individuals, money sources have gone elsewhere by now and he's also tagged with the Vietnam policy, all the unpopularity of the Johnson position and none of the power of the office, yet there is maybe and a number of people have said that was the case a feeling toward Humphrey and an antagonism toward Kennedy. I doubt it. We heard the same things about Jack Kennedy but Bobby is no Jack and it might be. It was rather typified by Bob Poage's comment today when I had the House Ag Committee Democrats down for breakfast that in the last 24 hours he had found more statesmanship like qualities in Humphrey than he ever dreamed existed. The rumor is that the South and Southern delegates generally are moving in behind Humphrey. Goodness how the wheel turns. Just think 20 years ago we were making the Civil Rights speech, Humphrey was anathema as a wild-eyed radical, and now literally he is in a position to be the candidate of the conservatives of the Democratic Party as McCarthy and Kennedy go rushing around the country, Kennedy with long hair, gathering up the far outs, the college youngsters and the radicals. Well wonders never cease.

This has been a hectic couple of days, what with this politics, and getting ready for the Japanese trip. This morning the House Ag People for breakfast trying to give them a pep talk in passing the farm programs. They didn't exactly respond with an outpouring of enthusiasm. It'll be awfully tough to do but there's an outside possibility. A lot of people up there are going to be jumpy about this election and would like to have a bill passed to brag about.

I spoke this noon to the Federation of Grain Cooperatives and really laid it on the line to them to the effect that without the programs, with inflated land values, and with a much heavy debt structure in agriculture, if confidence was shaken by loss of the programs and land values fell accordingly there could really be disaster in agriculture. Then I recited how the programs were working, that we could see light at the end of the tunnel, and urged them to really get behind passing them this session. They listened more than politely, were quite cordial, commented that I had really laid it on the line, but I didn't hear anyone standing up and saying "Let's go." As usual Bill Thatcher was complimentary and said he was coming up to see me. That doesn't amount to much.

Last night we went to Mike Feldman's for dinner following a visit with Connie at her dorm. She was terribly upset because Gary had gotten a draft notice and wondered what could be done about it. I felt very sorry for her because she naturally is desperately anxious to have some time with him following his return. Then she is strong anti-Vietnam and I gather that he is violently so and that they therefore feel contemptuous and completely alienated where the war is concerned. On the other hand I resent very much their unwillingness to serve. Anyhow I tried to give her some counsel and she ended up today talking to Mrs. Walker who talked to the draft board and it doesn't look so bad after all. They apparently had their records mixed up and the

certainty of his being drafted has mitigated somewhat. From there we went to Mike's party. John Blatnik was there and we got into quite a discussion again on Vietnam. John is a big dove and of course the guerrilla expert and we heard for the umpteenth time the story of how much he had done with the guerrillas in World War II. John didn't use to be such an "I" guy but the last half a dozen times I've been with him he drinks too much and talks too much. I'm afraid he's not a very happy fellow. The interesting point in the evening was that Mike Feldman began to work me over a bit vis-a-vis Bob Kennedy. The Kennedy forces had been working on him and when Johnson pulled out he capitulated and signed up. He talked to me about it and I told him frankly that I had high regard for Bob, but I was kind of disgusted with his performance as a Senator and I thought he had been irresponsible and hypercritical doing no good. Mike passed it off as his effort to establish an image and that he was really running for President. I can accept that but I don't feel any enthusiasm for Bobby as of now. I in turn impressed on Mike the magnitude of the organization and its possible use that we have in agriculture with four programs in every county and the ground work laid for a real Town and Country operation. We sparred a little bit in a friendly way and he wanted to know if I wanted him to carry any message to Bob Kennedy and I said, "Hell, no. I didn't have anything to say to Bob Kennedy." In effect although not in so many words I indicated that for the moment at least Bob Kennedy needed me a lot more than I needed him and that I had no particular desire to be associated in a campaign or after a campaign. Mike kind of let it drop with a laugh. He's a good friend and an able guy and will provide a good bridge as matters move along. Anyway mixed up is still the order of the day. I wish I would get word from Humphrey before we leave, but he hasn't called so it may be just as well if I'm away for a while while the maneuvering takes place here, let things settle and keep from getting bogged as they move around. So off to Japan.

Statement of the President

(The President called & left the following message with John Baker. John Schnittker was in the office, but he did not want to talk with him. The Secretary was out of town. Baker came over to see Tom Hughes and gave him the att. Mr. Hughes then called Bill Connell.)

When I declined to run I wanted to find the way to peace.

I don't want people in my Administration mixing in the personalities of this race. I don't want anybody to serve in my Administration if he's going to mix actively in this campaign.

I'd be running myself if I were not wanting to give my life for peace.

Those who want to take active part in this campaign should get out peacefully or they will get their asses fired out.

737
5733
415
941
3952
J 150-7743-032

April 2, 1968 - continued -- one thing more I overlooked - the President did come to the Department for our Cost Reduction Ceremony.

April 4, 1968 -- 6:00 am or 6:00 pm - I don't know I'm kind of mixed up because I am dictating from our hotel room in the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo. As I look out over this great city I see men right below me pouring cement on a building under construction by artificial light for it is 6:00 o'clock or closer to 7:00 here while my watch still shows 6:00 o'clock Washington time.

We had an uneventful and really quite satisfying trip here. We left Washington at 9:00 o'clock, stopped in Chicago and Seattle to pick up Governors along the way, then had a reception and hour lay-over in Anchorage, hence into Tokyo. A brief press conference at the Airport -- lots of reporters and lots of cameras as you always find them in Japan. Then I was to drop off to have a picture taken with a Queen at a Sunkist gathering here and instead it ended up with my making a speech to some 500 men without any preparation or advance notification. I chewed Elmer Hallowell, our Attache here, out pretty roughly about this. He protested that he knew nothing about it and someone had changed it on him. I told him sharply that you get paid to know about these things, but then there wasn't much to be gained by being further unpleasant. I find on arrival here from the Ambassador Alexis Johnson that the Foreign Minister Miki wants to see me privately and a meeting is set up with him tomorrow night. Then the Trade Minister, the Agriculture Minister also want to see me privately apparently to talk about the question of whether we will have any special import levies as a part of the balance of payments struggle. So it promises to be a very busy period. However, it's good to be here and the trip actually was very pleasant. I visited with all of the Governors. Everyone wondering, where do we go now where the election is concerned. Apparently Humphrey called Governor Smith of West Virginia while we were in Anchorage to tell him that he would definitely be a candidate. I sent Humphrey a wire from

the plane classified personal to read:

"Enroute Japan with seven Democratic Governors aboard. My office knows where I can be reached."

I haven't heard from him and yet he called Smith. He apparently was having strategy meetings last night for we bumped into Gene Foley in Seattle but I get no direct word from him. It's odd. You would think that if he is going into this and trying to mobilize support he would turn to me for some help first off. Yet he never does and hasn't over these last eight years ever discussed anything political with me at all. I expect it goes back to the experience at Los Angeles and he just doesn't want to act in light of what he did to me then.

I have mixed emotions about this whole thing. It's a good thing I'm away for a while and let it cook before I get involved. Actually I have little zest for another political campaign and probably will be much better off observing this one from the sidelines for a bit. Anyway here's to a good week in Japan.

Monday - April 8, 1968 -- 8:30 am. Jane just went down to get her hair fixed and I don't start till 9:45 this morning so I want to try and catch up a bit here. I just had a lousy night. I picked up a cold, starting with a sore throat the first morning in Japan. It has progressively worsened and along with it has come an ulcer colon attack, the worst I can remember for several years now. Last night I awakened with cramping and a dull ache in my stomach. I had already taken one sleeping pill. I got up and took two more. And now I feel like I've got a hang-over. I've got a long schedule today and for the rest of this trip so this is kind of a heck of a note. Actually it's been a bad time to be away from the United States. The first morning here we were in the Embassy having a briefing with all the Governors and the Department people who came along when Ambassador Johnson got a note -- he stopped and read it. It read "Martin Luther King has been shot in Tennessee." A few moments later he reported

"Martin Luther King is dead." We were all horror struck but we couldn't do anything and went on with the balance of the day which proved to be the best one here.

Then we received word that rioting had begun, including in Washington, and since we've tried to follow the news and look at the newspapers here and it's not very satisfying. I've been heartsick about it. Washington apparently has been hit rather hard with the pictures of "I" Street Northwest between 5th and 7th Streets filled with burning buildings. Chicago the worst -- trouble in New York, and in many other places around the country. Maybe we needed this and in the process will move. The President had announced that he was going to Honolulu to confer with our Allies about the Vietnamese situation responding to Hanoi's response to his Sunday night a week ago appeal. He canceled that. He was to address the Congress with a message on Monday night and canceled that because he declared a national day of mourning. We're going to go to a memorial service for King here tonight.

No one in Korea where we spent Saturday mentioned this to us, but it's been pretty much in everyone's mind. It's hard to know what it all means, but it's hard to be away from home when it goes on.

Jane and I rolled into bed about 10:00 o'clock after coming in. As I related, I woke up about 1:30, got up and took a sleeping pill and we slept until about 6:00 which was very good. We then got up and had a rather leisurely morning here until I went off to the Embassy at 8:00 to breakfast with Bob Komer who was here to pick up his wife and take her back to Saigon. She came over with us. We had an interesting talk over breakfast. It surprised me how doubtful and how little information that Ambassador Alexis Johnson had. Komer was his usual bouncy self. He had read some Hungarian defector's analysis of our situation with the comment reaching back to Dien Bien Phu that Giap had

told this Hungarian Communist some years back when he was visiting Hanoi that Hanoi had been licked by the French and had made a last desperation drive for Dien Bien Phu which succeeded and won the war for them in France not in Vietnam. He felt the same way about South Vietnam now and the Hanoi bid for peace or at least bid to talk. He related that their Intelligence showed clearly that Hanoi was desperately trying to get the Viet Cong and their troops in South Vietnam to resume the offensive but that they were unable to do so. Intelligence reports showed that they had covered they didn't come. Quite the contrary, that the South Vietnamese terribly undermanned because of TET and wholly surprised had fought back surprisingly effectively. The damage also was not as great as reported with the exception of Hue and even that was only about 20 percent destroyed. We are moving back into the countryside although security is still hazardous. On balance he feels that the desperation move of Hanoi was very costly, hence they now are willing to talk. Other things he commented on negatively. First, no comment as to the weakness of our Intelligence on this attack. That corresponded with Taylor's evading that question on Meet the Press Program a week ago in Washington. He also was critical of the President's Message because it did sound as if bombing would be limited to the DMZ and yet had already reached 250 miles North and here goes the credibility gap question again. Why they didn't put in 20th parallel, he didn't know. It sounded like the Army, but State shouldn't have permitted it to happen. He was really quite optimistic, urged me to come as soon as possible. Said Bunker had been disturbed before when he told me not to go but was anxious that I should come now. I told him to check it out, that nothing was more important, that I would come when needed, but my own problems of Congress and testimony and all meant that it would be better to wait until early in June after Connie's commencement, and also we could get things prepared then and really get a maximum impact. Further, with

talks beginning now, it may be not the best time to focus attention on what I want to get across.

Then the Governors came on in and the briefing started. Komer spent a half-hour at it, relating pretty much what I've said already, and he had a lot of questions and they were tremendously interested and seemed to do a lot of good.

Then I piled into the car with the Ambassador and we went to the Harumi Pier where we stood around half an hour until the program started. It really went well -- translating slowed it up quite a bit. I added to my prepared remarks to introduce the Governors and also the people who had worked on the Festival and then John Glenn and his wife who were there. I was feeling good, bouncy, and alert and I think did a good job. I'm sure glad I didn't feel then like I do this morning. Then we toured the exhibits. They were very good. And feeling bouncy, I had a lot of fun -- lot of picture taking, and very good response. We were away from there about 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon so it proved to be quite a workout. I had a press conference which got into questions of Japanese protectionism, our trade, balance of payments, et al, with the American press and really got down to some substance that maybe will get some attention both here and at home. Then we went for our courtesy call, delayed because the Diet was in session, to the Minister of Agriculture. He is a new one -- came in late. They have a budget struggle in the Diet and mostly we dealt in pleasantries. I did bug him a bit about their protectionism, talked in terms of the American dollar and how important it was to them as well as to us and one way to help, rather than being restrictive, would be to increase trade. He protested that he was new and knew nothing and turned his^{to}/staff people when I listed citrus fruits and juices, pineapple and grapefruit, and they brought out the old saw that this would be competitive with Japanese oranges.

We let it go at that, not pursuing the matter much further. He made some oblique reference to logs, but so far they haven't bugged me about logs although I'm afraid that's coming. I'm trying to figure out what to do, whether I might make my announcement of the limit of log exports here or wait until I get home. I guess I'll hold it a bit yet to see if they want to discuss it more specifically rather than jumping them with it while we're discussing other things here.

Then we went to a reception held by Sato, the Prime Minister, actually for the Governor Exchange Group. The Ambassador had told me that Sato was very unhappy because he had had no advance notice of the President's statement of limiting the bombing and of the new peace initiative let alone his withdrawal of his candidacy. He had been attacked here on the grounds all this meant that the United States policy was a failure and he had supported that policy. Yet when I walked into the room he couldn't have been more cordial. We had a long talk about a number of things in general, nothing serious, but he seemed in the very best of spirits and waved off the attacks and protestors in the Diet here as not representing very much. In light of Johnson's remarks I was surprised that he was as positive and approvative as he proved to be.

After visiting with Sato I got into a brief discussion with Ambassador Johnson and I was struck by the fact that he felt so uncertain as to what was going on at home. Sato had asked for a private dinner with him on Sunday night. He asked me in an almost plaintive way, "Did I think he was right and correctly interpreting the policies, when he said that this did not represent a change in policy by the United States but rather our continued searching for peace and that we were not in the process of pulling out of Vietnam and that we would bargain resourcefully and carefully, but certainly not panic." I mustered all the assurance I could and told him, that's right -- that I was positive there was no doubt

about it that this President was not about to turn tail and run, so he could speak firmly and definitely in regard to our position being strong and solid and not timid and wavering. He seemed reassured. I can't help but feel that it's a sad state of affairs that an Ambassador in this critical part of the world in this great and powerful country would not have better information. However it's an unusual time. Dean Rusk is off in New Zealand and Australia with no direct communication with the President. The President is keeping his own counsel I'm sure. He wants those options open and he knows if he says much it leaks. The result is that people like Johnson are in one heck of a position. I don't know any more than he does except I feel confident that the President is not about to be a patsy. He's just too strong and tough a man and now having withdrawn from the candidacy his position from that point of view is certainly stronger before the country. I'm still not clear in my own mind as to what will flow from his action. It's so hard to tell. Power avoids a vacuum and my this worries me. Yet, he does have a special status now. It's kind of too bad that I'm away from home these first days following his dramatic announcement. I could have a little better feel of it. It seems almost like one is in another world out here. Anyway the first day of our Tokyo visit went off well.

Following the Prime Minister's reception we went to a dinner in one of the old Japanese eras where you sit on the floor. It was pleasant, mixed company, mostly private enterprises and medium government officials. Primarily those who could speak English. The Minister of Agriculture wasn't there. Some of his people were. No business was discussed. I made a brief opening and closing statement. Naturally the food wasn't very good. We were back to the hotel in fairly good time and got busy packing and rearranging to head for Korea. By this time I gargled heavily, took a couple of cold pills the Doctor gave me and had some nasal spray. I slept fair. Didn't feel too bad, although a little

groggy. We were up early, packed and out to the airport. We got into one of those little 2-place Jets and in 2 hours or so we landed in Seoul. The usual greeting there -- the Koreans really do it up grand, with all the officials there. Porter, the Ambassador, was not. He was with President Park because by this time President Johnson had postponed and then cancelled the Honolulu meeting because of race riots in the United States. In the meantime of course we were most apprehensive and jumpy here about the whole cockeyed business. It was quite a day in Korea. I was really feeling lousy, my stomach not good, my head full. I didn't have any spray with me. First and directly from the airport we rushed to the Presidential Palace where we saw Park. He's a funny fellow, quiet, taciturn, yet in a sense outgoing. We talked some about generalities, mostly he wanted to talk about agriculture and his wish to get some credit for it was so short so that he could loan money to his little farmers who then could diversify operations by going into silkworms or chickens or some such. We talked about that and about other things in general. It came out in the course of our discussion that his intelligence reports tended to confirm what Komer had said -- that the Viet Cong and Hanoi had suffered very heavy losses as a result of the TET offensive. Ambassador Porter tells me that Park feels very close to President Johnson and had accepted the cancellation in very good spirit. He told me further, this later on in the day, that he had had his hands full with Park following the attempted assassination when North Korea sent down 40 trained men who almost reached the Presidential Palace. It was a matter of face, Porter said, and Park was prepared to launch an attack to the North with a minimum train and send up a comparable squad. Porter had to point out to him that partners didn't do that and consultation must be had and finally quieted him down. My how impressive Korea was.

We drove in on a new super highway. There was construction everywhere. The people were well dressed, looked healthy, there was a lot of security and they

were right snappy. They carried slung rifles. They came to attention and saluted smartly. There was a general overall feeling of well being. Protocol of course -- and we bounced down the line. From Park we went to the Prime Minister, then to the Deputy Prime Minister, and finally to the Minister of Agriculture. We were an hour late in arriving because of head winds and of course that meant we were behind schedule and had to run from then on out. The Minister of Agriculture's presentation lasted about an hour. The main essence of it was that they had made some progress but they wanted to make more and they wanted a million tons of wheat and a lot of feed grains to finance a program of diversification for their farmers. Actually they had planned in depth new agricultural pursuits, dairy, vegetable, et al, adjacent to the highway that's being built from Seoul to Pusan. It looked good although we couldn't go into it very deeply. The joker in this request is that we're not at all sure that they can absorb the volume of grain they're asking for and it is highly doubtful that they can and continue the level of commercial imports close to a million tons that they bought last year. I told them this but I'm not sure they comprehended it.

Monday, April 8, 1968 -- 10:20 pm. Just returned to the hotel suite. Jane not back yet. This has been a long and kind of difficult day of trade promotion meetings. I feel a little better tonight although the stomach is still mighty sore and I suppose I shouldn't have drank anything tonight but something by a way of relaxer helps a great deal at these torturous efforts at conviviality that make up these receptions. We started early this morning at the Japan-Tobacco Monopoly. It was a courtesy meeting. They really had it set up beautifully with one of the most magnificent and tastefully arranged floral arrangements with pieces of what must have been driftwood and black stones that I have ever seen. I commented on this at considerable length and throughout the day received periodic comments of approval and pleasure from Japanese about my remarks.

In the course of the day we met with the Soybean Association, the Wheat People, and then the Japanese Trading Company people interspersed with Memorial Services for Martin Luther King. In each meeting we exchanged felicitations and then in varying degrees got down to cases in discussing what it was they wanted and how we could improve our trade. The Japanese are polite, gracious hosts, but also tough negotiators and business people. However, the overall evaluation of our professionals is that my being here available to them meant a good deal. Tonight it was two receptions and a dinner, a reception put on by the Tobacco Monopoly again at a garden restaurant, beautifully laid out with flowers and Japanese music. From there to a Great Plains Wheat reception that we put on, and then a stag dinner by the Japanese Wheat, Milling, and Baking industries. This ended up a rather gay affair with closing toasts that were more my way of jokes and noise than seriousness. All in all I hope it has been worth while. The only really memorable part of the day was the memorial service which actually is the first ecumenical that I have attended and I thought extremely well done in a little Episcopal Church. We left the Soybean meeting early to get there. Jane arrived in a few minutes with the Japanese ladies. The Ambassador was there. The Governors came, including Bob McNair from South Carolina. Scriptures were read, the Memorial sermon was preached, I think, by a Catholic. He used one of Martin Luther King's letters while in jail as his text and it was quite moving. All in all it was an impressive service and the young and very attractive Episcopalian Minister said to me as we left how glad he was that we were there. That this service was important here in Japan. I was reminded of that later in the day when at a very long press conference the comment was made that after all the Japanese people were colored too, hence their special interest in these events.

I had occasion tonight sitting next to Ambassador Johnson to visit with him about his meeting last night for five hours with Prime Minister Sato. Johnson

was much more reserved than he was earlier in the week. He had gotten a communication from the President for Sato, reassuring Sato that we weren't running out of Vietnam, that we would be steadfast there, and with that communication his confidence had increased. He was even a little cagey. All in all he said that Sato merely needed some reassuring both in Vietnam and as to events at home. Johnson seemed much more self-assured about Vietnam and our position there. He did comment that considerable North Vietnamese troop movements are building up in North Vietnam on the borders and in the Northern part of South Vietnam. So far as getting negotiations started, he related that a number of different people had come in the last few days out of Hanoi with different stories as to where the negotiations should take place. Apparently they are not responding to the President's suggestion of Geneva. It was clearly his fear that there would be so much confusion about this that the thrust of our own peace initiative would be lost and he suspected that Hanoi might be doing this on purpose. Further, he said that all of these groups out of Hanoi had the impression that the North Vietnamese felt that we were now negotiating from weakness and what we were looking for is a face-saving gesture for getting out based on the premise that they could maintain the present level of warfare almost indefinitely with their own troops plus supplies from the Soviet and China. Unfortunately that's probably about true and our will to continue such a contest indefinitely is now sorely tested and seemingly is being found lacking. McCarthy and Kennedy and some of our intellectuals can take the credit for that one. Where that leads us no one knows. It was my comment that we ought at this point to step up our activities throughout South Vietnam to the very maximum. But that's for the decision with those who sit in the seats of responsibility and have all the facts. It's mighty lonesome out here to be thinking about it. Mighty lonesome, too, in connection with the riots and dissension at home. I

tried to put a funeral face on all of this at the press conference today and actually wasn't pushed too hard. It was my position that this very unrest, these problems are a measure of progress made because if people don't have hope they're not very restless and therefore this reflects progress made and new hopes and desires.

I further made the point that the riots, the fires, and the looting are the product not of Civil Rights but really of hoodlums of organized bands who take advantage of a basic frustration and underlying unrest seeking to create mob psychology and mob reaction. I pointed out to the Japanese that they had had their problems in controlling mobs, witness the incidents with Nixon and Eisenhower of a few years back, and that our problem was fundamentally one of learning how to control this kind of thing while we went on to correct the underlying causes. I hope this is true. Certainly we can't tolerate these outbreaks forever and the organized bands that cause it need to be dealt with severely. On the other hand until the public at large will accept it, it's a kind of contradiction because of our own devotion to freedom and Constitutional protection. How we'll muddle through on this one goodness only knows but it's frustrating and worrisome, especially far from home. As one views it go on and sees other people, as Johnson said Sato felt, wondering just how strong, how stable our country is and where do we go from here. Surely it's more than worrisome. Here comes Jane -- enough for tonight.

April 9 - 11:00 pm -- Jane's packing - off tomorrow for Taiwan. I'm dead tired but a few comments on a rather interesting evening are in order. First of all this was another day of meeting, greeting and making people feel good. We started with the Japanese Chamber of Commerce. This was rather interesting as business people here gave us some insights into living and doing business with the Japanese. The strongest impression was that this is definitely a different culture which reflects its insulation from the world until 100 years ago and

particularly that the Japanese kind of consider us the Father Confessor and
A they as the child, looking to us for leadership, protection and guidance.
They're inward-looking in terms of their own industry and various economic
practices reflects their cultural insularity and is very difficult to change.
Yet it seems to work, based on a highly complex set of relationships between
the component parts.

Following this I had a press interview with Japan's equivalent of the
Wall Street Journal, then on to a session with the feed grain people, then
with the cotton people, then a noon speech to the American Japanese Society
where I did rather poorly, not too good a turn out. The speech proved heavy
and redundant and I frankly hadn't done much work on it. From there a drop-in
to the Cotton people's exhibit and then a long afternoon with Zenkoren
the big Co-op and the largest single purchaser in the world of our agricultural
products. Back to the hotel to have a conference with Jerry Overby in from
Saigon. I tried to reach home for I'm very troubled about the riots and what
they mean and also about the political situation. Humphrey now has called and
talked to Bill Guy, but still makes no contact with me. I'd like to get a
reading from Tom. Then away to a Great Plains Wheat Reception and finally a
stand-up buffet reception by the Minister of Agriculture.

I had a chance to talk with Kuraishi, the former Minister of Agriculture,
who told me he was the designee of this Cabinet travelling around the country
speaking to groups and talking about Sato's position, particularly with regard
to Vietnam. He reported that the country was upset and the general conclusion
was that Johnson's statement that he would not run was an admission of a failure
of his policy and inasmuch as Sato had strongly supported that policy that it
reflected on him too. I talked quite pointedly to Kuraishi that the President's
action did not mean a change or softening of our position in Vietnam, quite the
contrary it strengthened his position and I thought this matter would straighten

out. He didn't argue about it, but he indicated his political concern. I hardly had time to eat a mouthful of food when I was asked to join the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister in charge of Planning and to top table from the Foreign Affairs Office upstairs along with Ambassador Johnson, Bob Poage too and I had insisted that Ray Ioanes accompany us. They started right out saying that they were talking or negotiating with Japanese businessmen looking toward liberalization, but and then they proceeded to move strongly in connection with the log matter and also the importation of Charollais cattle. I was very direct, pointing out the scientific infectatious problems about Charollais cattle. Incidentally Ambassador Johnson had never heard of Charollais cattle. On the log thing I was very firm, tying it to the fact that they found it necessary to protect their small industry and that we were in the same position and that there never was any question but that I must act and that I had delayed in part to help them and that they would have enough logs to last them for two years and in the meantime we would need to work out semi-processed supply availabilities. They made their case but didn't argue too much. They did come in and very emotionally about a possible surcharge on Japanese imports as an anti-inflation device. I responded to this very strongly pointing out that the attack on gold was their problem as well as ours, that I didn't know what would happen but that I hoped we could solve it by progressive trade principles, not by restricting trade.

I told them that for my part, and this was purely personal and did not represent the President or Joe Fowler's position, I was irritated with dancing to the tune of the International Financers and that we ought to go off the gold standard altogether. They seemed to agree. I left it that what we would have to do nobody knew and that all the factors in the pot, including NSEEC meeting supposedly on tonight, as well as our success in getting a tax bill through

questions, all of which were mild. We landed in 80° heat here and drove from the Chung Cheng Military Airport following the press conference to the Grand Hotel, one of the most beautiful in the Orient. We had a nice suite here looking over the river, gardens in front, a lot better than the big hole in the ground and the construction work that we saw out of our window from the Imperial Hotel in Japan. We drove to the hotel and reviewed scheduling. We had been a bit apprehensive because we'd had such poor communications from Taiwan here on scheduling, but they proved to have things worked out to a "T". They handed us two long mimeographed sheets, one the itinerary, the other a list of all the people who would be with us at the different places. A young political officer by the name of Ted Price took us to lunch.

April 12, 1968 -- Taiwan - Grand Hotel. Well, we're about ready to start for home. The time here in Taiwan has been pleasant and informative, much more so than the grim treadmill of Japan. This is an impressive Island and the progress here is heartening and exciting. It drives home to me the fact that stable government is so important. Here they moved from a period of unextreme unrest in 1947 to stable government and solid progress. It's taken time - it's gotten results. And there appears to be almost no political unrest. What a contrast to the United States where launching the War on Poverty and the initiative in Civil Rights appears to have created all of the dissensions, demands and unrest that expressed themselves so wildly today. We're indulging in self-flagellation to the extent that we inhibit our own opportunities to progress. The more I reflect upon it the more I resent and question Bobby Kennedy who has been one of the leaders in this process as he has striven to create a political identity for himself. Gene McCarthy, the same way. Humphrey will carry the Administration position and I must be with him, but I would like him to ask, and I think I'll play it cool until he does. In the meantime I must talk with the Governors on the way home. See how many votes they've got and what they recommend by way of how we proceed.

Another sharp impression as we turn for home is that the people in the three countries we visited are truly our friends. What they've done, shows what can be done and as I'm going to say publicly and in a departure statement here and when I get home, "Those great timid doubters on South Vietnam ought to come out and see for themselves what American policy has accomplished in these three countries where we have real friends."

Back to lunch on arrival. We went down and enjoyed the beautiful dining room here. This hotel is what an Oriental Hotel ought to look like. Apparently it is subsidized strongly by the Government with perhaps some of Madame Chiang Kai-shek's money in it, allegedly it runs a loss. We had a typical Chinese lunch and we've had pretty much the same thing repeatedly since. Shark fins, sweet and sour pork, bamboo shoots, the customary Chinese food in a revolving center silent waiter and you spoon it into the plate and then into your mouth. We went from lunch to the Embassy where the Ambassador briefed us in general terms and then to the Economic Ministry where we were briefed by K. T. Li, Minister of Economic Affairs. A somewhat comparable briefing was held later the same day by P.Y. Shu, Governor of the Central Bank and Chairman of the Foreign Exchange and Trade Commission, and then the next morning by T.H. Shen, Chairman of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction. The thrust of all these briefings which are included and covered very adequately in printed material returned to file is that here in Taiwan we have almost a picturebook example of effective economic development. The emphasis has been on agriculture. The cornerstone was land reform carried out very meticulously, carefully, and systematically with broad support from the landowners who were themselves convinced of its importance. They were compensated under a fairly complicated formula and were encouraged and assisted to move into commercial and industrial activity using the payments they received for that purpose. This they have substantially done and traveling through the countryside repeated examples of small manufacturing establishments can be seen.

They are confident here that the ownership of land by the farmer has been a key element in stimulating more initiative and the application of more capital -- that today more than 90 percent of the land is farmer-owned. We visited two farms in the Taoyuan Area and in both instances the farmers stated very strongly and clearly with considerable detail how much better off they were since land reform. However it hasn't only been land reform, it's also been a combination of services and guidance together with the land reform. The organization of farmers associations which appear to be basically a kind of farmer-cooperative local government on a township level that bring together farmers for jointly beneficial purposes with the election of a Board of Directors and a hiring of a Manager. These associations then provide credit, something like a credit union, provide technical assistance with extension people available, do purchasing and marketing as well. They have their problems, occasionally poor management, political in-fighting, but they have carried forward from all appearances very effectively. In the meantime research both basic and adaptive have gone forward with resulting enormous increases in yields, almost doubled, the development of new commodities, such things as mushrooms and asparagus with considerable sales abroad. Concentrated efforts are made to use more effectively every inch of land. As someone said, it isn't so much farming here, it's gardening. And that's true certainly in Japan and largely in Korea as well. Now Taiwan has moved strongly in the industrial area with the increase in productivity sharper in the industrial sector than in agriculture. They are now striving mightily to expand their foreign markets, as they must, and we ran into some flack on this one. They are conscious that the balance of trade accounts are about three to one in our favor. They are frustrated with the textile quota, arguing that the base is not fair and recent agreements to cut back exports of mushrooms trouble them deeply. We had a breakfast this morning sponsored by people from the business and commercial community with about 75 of them there when they spoke quite bluntly in this regard.

My response was to remind them that in the last five years their balance of payments position has improved by \$300 million, while ours has deteriorated by \$20 billion and that we must rectify the current weakness of the dollar. Further, I impressed upon them that trade must be beneficial and that too fast an increase of trade in a particular commodity could create much ill will and damage the support for liberal trade principles. The mushroom problem I cited as a case in point. They accepted this in principle quite well, but immediately following the meeting bugged me rather strongly in a number of areas seeking to expand trade and overcome current restrictions. Nonetheless they are most cordial and although aggressive business people they support their Government in its clear support for things we must do. Quite a contrast to some other countries. I'm sure there is a potential market here that can expand sharply. It's now at \$100 million level with an increasing standard of living, limited agricultural land, they will in the future need more raw materials just like Japan and Korea.

We are trying particularly now to work out some new arrangements in animal product expansion. We haven't been able to compete with Thailand here in corn. We might work out some Title IV arrangements, both Government to Government and business to business, and use the proceeds for market development work. Currently we've got a little problem here on one such agreement consummated at the instance of Harold Cooley when he was Chairman of the House Committee with an aggressive group of Chinese business people who have built housing. They now want to build more housing and use Title IV. I'm convinced we ought to use those proceeds for market development, not to build housing, particularly middle and high cost housing which is the direction they want to move. Cooley's gotten Poage on this. Poage went out to see them yesterday and we're going to have a drive-by today. They are very aggressive, but I think we ought to use what proceeds we can build

up in this connection for market development, particularly in animal industry and also for the Vanguard program. They are very enthusiastic about this and their Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Yang Si Kun is very articulate and very effective. I called on the Foreign Minister and he spelled out for me their current program with 600 agricultural technicians in some 20 countries. We also saw a slide presentation last night which was quite dramatic. They are, I'm sure, helping some of the African countries in agricultural development and it is politically important as well. It seems that Yang can pretty well produce some African votes at the United Nations when they're needed and they also tell me that they have been able to influence policy in these African countries to turn from prestige to agricultural development. So I have Ray Ioanes working on this and we must follow it up.

Also in Korea the animal industry potential was considerable and we need to get that one pinned down. We can put more wheat and some corn into Korea if they can take it without cutting back their commercial purchases. Here in Taiwan we actually sacrificed some commercial markets, particularly in tobacco and tallow, in order to build some funds to share the cost of the Vanguard program with them.

I asked the Minister for something in writing that I might use with Allen Ellender. If we could get him aboard with this program, we could move a lot of corn in here and build up some soft currency balances. There will be of course the problem with Thailand because we can't hit their market too hard, but if they're expanding as much as they could here that ought to have some real possibilities.

We visited yesterday the Taoyuan land reform exhibit and it was extraordinarily well presented. They have some graphs, charts and exhibits that are most attractive and effective. There was a list of visitors including kings, prime ministers, and other dignitaries from all over the world that was most impressive. I wish they could peddle some of this to Latin America. That's

where land reform is such a blazing political problem with so much economic nonsense connected with it. Witness, Bobby Kennedy's report after his trip when he was all emotionally charged about land reform without any consideration about the economic support that must go with it if more harm than good is not to be done.

I just completed a call to Art Greeley back in Washington about the log export problem. The night before we left Japan this question was reviewed with considerable detail with top Japanese Ministers. Apparently out of that meeting one report was made that I had assured them that we would continue to ship the '57 level of logs. This has created much apprehension. Other stories have been more accurate. As usual, you can't talk to the Japanese without everybody knowing about it. However, this is not inconsistent with my strategy, particularly because lumbering interests at home apparently want to now expand the embargo from Western Oregon and Washington all the way East to Montana. We won't do this, but the fact they are rocking the boat gives further reason for delay on my part. In the meantime that lumber industry is jumping up and down. I think I'll plan to stop by Oregon on the way to Mexico City next week and make the announcement there. It's a little touchy. I don't want to hold it so long that we create so many resentments that it will do more harm than good. But on the other hand I want to be sure these people appreciate the fact that we are going to act. I think the Japanese will take it quite well. I was firm in telling them we must act at the meeting we had and they seemed to accept it quite well.

Socially here we have had some really extraordinary events. The first night a buffet dinner was co-hosted by P.Y. Hsu and K. T. Li. It was I'm informed most unusual for Taiwan for it included Chinese dishes made with American farm products primarily wheat. They were very tasty and very good. They had arranged around the side of the hall the actual cooking of the various

foodstuffs and we went around like in a cafeteria. It was really very well done. Unfortunately we got there a little late because we had to wait until Hsu got there. He had been hosting another dinner earlier. And most of our Governors took off before I could even respond to Li's toast, but it was informal and most people seemed to understand.

The next day the luncheon held by the Governor of this Province here was also very well done, Governor Huang. We ran late in our schedule but everyone accommodated. Again the Chinese food, very tasty, more than I can accommodate too well. Governor Huang, a former military officer, an impressive and very friendly figure who has written several books on land reform, no one seems to know whether he wrote them or someone wrote them for him, but at least he was interested and supports the program strongly. It's difficult to get clearly in mind the relationship between government units here, between Taipei, the Province, and the Central Government, except it seems quite clear that fundamentally the Central Government runs everything.

Last night we had a somewhat more formal dinner sponsored by the Vice President Chia-Kan Yen and his wife. He is a very articulate and knowledgeable man of broad interests and seemingly considerable influence. He was much impressed by his trip to the United States last year. He has been one of the prime movers here reaching back to 1945. I had hoped for a chance to talk with him about the transition from the disturbances of that time to the stable government of today but the dinner didn't permit it. As usual, I was planted with the women and had little chance to do any serious talking. It was however a very gracious and lovely affair in the most distinctive Grand Hotel Ballroom. The Vice President made a very nice and extensive toast. I responded to it in addition to the formal toast to the President by drinking to loyalty and friendship, contrasting Taiwan with some other countries around the world we had helped

and who today were certainly less than stong in their support of the United States policy. A number of them commented about this -- it seemed to be appropriate.

The trip to the countryside was very interesting. Jane was thrilled by visits to two Chinese homes. There is clear evidence there of the Chinese family system with the whole family living together around central facilities, having separate sleeping arrangements but otherwise apparently sharing. They tell me this is breaking down now as the old patriarchs die and the young ones then can and do split their resources. However, in each one we visited the family system was much in evidence. You entered a kind of central room -- there are pictures and statuary, in one case Chinese characters which were interpreted to me as showing these folks that come from the mainland and where ~~on~~ the mainland a long time ago. They seem to maintain their real tie to being Chinese even though after several hundred years they are considered Taiwanese here. They were very hospitable and didn't seem to object to our trooping in. We inspected the living quarters and the kitchen. It was interesting to see that they had electricity and an electric rice boiler, and right outside the kitchen door a water buffalo was tethered. Yet there was evidence around of new appliances of various kinds and in each case they emphasized strongly how much better off they were since land reform.

We also visited a school. It was reported to us as one of the poorer schools but the children were certainly attractive. They danced aboriginal dances for us. We visited the class rooms and saw the school lunch they had which cost about 2 1/2 cents a day per child, this to buy the local food items. The wheat came from the United States, also dry milk, and they had a large bun each of them which was very tasty and which they seemed to thoroughly enjoy. We're making some real wheat eaters out of these children and that's good for the future. At least for

now Taiwan can sell rice at twice what wheat costs and get more nutrition from wheat than they would from rice.

We did a lot of touring of agricultural facilities also breaking down into teams that visited the plywood industry and garment factories. Jane and I visited the baking school where they have organized together with the industry here, government support, and Wheat Associates from the U.S., a baking school which brings in bakers from around the country to improve their baking techniques. It seems clear that this kind of thing is definitely an excellent trade promotion method and everyone seemed enthusiastic about it. We also visited the tobacco and wine monopoly and found it very interesting. They use a lot of U.S. Tobacco. The director is a General Wang Shao-yu, young and bright. He seems very friendly and acknowledged that the quality of American tobacco is critical and that although the price is high they find much wider consumer acceptance of those brands that have American tobacco. The cigarette plant is called Sun Shan. It was built originally by the Japanese and shows the Japanese touch with long hallways with various floral arrangements, plants, ferns, trees and a lot of beauty. Much more than we found in any other industrial or commercial establishment.

April 13, 1968 -- 11:00 am. -- Home again. I've been at the desk here now this morning for well over an hour -- a long conversation with John Baker about S.109. That's the bill to prevent discrimination and coercion against farmers who associate for bargaining purposes. Among those who are prevented from discriminating are cooperatives, hence the problem. NFO is recommending a veto. There are currently some safeguards in the bill as it initially passed the Senate. We tied it up for a long time in the House Rules Committee until we got those safeguards and now the NFO is conducting a campaign to get a Presidential veto. They sure are feeling their oats these days making all kinds

of demands on every front. They will be a problem. Particularly now with Humphrey soon to be in the campaign and his loving match with them.

Anyway we made it home. It was a long hard trip and we arrived very tired. The luncheon in Taiwan which followed my last dictation turned out very well. It was sponsored by American University Society and the Taiwanese American Chamber of Commerce. There was a good turnout and from all reports my speech was very well received.

We left Taiwan then in an aura of good feeling, following a drive by the housing financed by P.L. 480 which Cooley had gotten Poage to look at., Strong pressure from a Chinese business group to get more money. Poage didn't push hard. We stopped briefly in Japan to pick up Governors Hoff and Guy and I met with the representative from the lumber people, Jim Turnbull. He was getting pressure from him and there is a lot here now to act on the Japanese log export thing. All of the logging groups got together to demand that the ban on exports be extended not only to Western Oregon and Washington but farther east including Colorado, Montana, Utah, Idaho and other States including some where we actually aren't even using our allowable cut. So I turned it on them and said to Turnbull and later to the press in Seattle and Chicago that they had pulled the rug out from under me in delicate negotiations with the Japanese and made my problem more difficult. We'll see how this one works out now. I'm a little worried that the trade will get so resentful of me that we'll do more harm than good in playing this matter out, but I really couldn't do it before I went to Japan and really couldn't do it while there. I've spoken firmly to the Japanese now and we ought to be able to go ahead. I'm tentatively planning to go by way of Portland, Oregon to Mexico this week end and we would make the announcement at that time. I must check that one out. Anyway we had a reasonably pleasant trip over. We were flying in the transport plane which is not so

comfortable, but they had a pretty good galley with pretty good food, we had enough to drink and after leaving Tokyo really did some partying -- up and down the aisle talking, laughing, visiting. I brought the Governors into our table and talked with them a bit about the Presidential situation. They were all for Humphrey but not clear how he ought to proceed, how each of them would handle his announcement and just what was going on. However, they were all privy to the discussion and I think it was worth undertaking.

I didn't sleep at all, dozed a little bit, got in a bunk for a few minutes. I wanted to get some work done because I got some mail in Tokyo and had some dictating I wanted to do, particularly thank you notes but it just didn't work out. I finally got through some papers but not very efficiently. We stopped in Seattle and had a pretty good press conference there. Wally Lindell got out a pretty good statement which we then phoned ahead to Chicago and distributed it there too. There was a higher level of interest in our report than I thought there would be. I hope we get some press on it. I ducked political questions saying I would respond as to my Presidential position and what I planned to do myself in the future in due time.

Tom Hughes joined us in Chicago and stated that the Minnesota people, Naftalin, Kubicek, and others had strongly recommended to Humphrey that I should become his campaign manager. Humphrey allegedly had been trying to reach me. However, I doubt if he put through any call to reach me abroad or it would have come through. His office apparently tried to reach me yesterday morning when they thought I was coming in. Now he would be in the Virgin Islands. The fact he has not called would lead me to believe he has reservations about wanting to do this. I expect if he asks there's nothing I can do but go ahead, but I want some clearly understood conditions. The Humphrey operation is always a disorganized mess and I want some conditions by way of consultation, planning and

policy establishment as well as a clear understanding of my responsibility and authority. Actually I think I could probably do more for him continuing in my present job and using the resources of the Department of Agriculture to that purpose. That, of course, I will need to review with the President. Anyway we came dragging in here about midnight last night Washington time and Connie and Mike were waiting. Tired as we were we stopped and talked with them for two hours. They were full of the last week events of the rioting and the minority problem. We went to bed feeling very proud and happy that these kids are as mature, sensitive and active as they are. Each of them had been having great experiences. Connie continued teaching, the only student teacher in Western High School during the period of the riots. As she said to us, she had a great feeling that she needed to that because she might be needed there for apparently the teacher-supervisor is most inept -- she says, senile. Connie feels the minority Negro problem so sensitively. As she put it, when the day ended she went out to the suburbs and the children went back to the ghettos and all the emotional strife and problems of the riot situation. She apparently had some very interesting experiences with her students in discussing these matters and we'll have to hear more about that today. Anyway she was all full of it. We discussed the statement by Governor Agnew here in Maryland who publicly castigated the moderate Negro leadership for having agreed privately with the extremist types that they would not contradict what they said no matter how unreasonable and inaccurate. Agnew apparently was deeply insensed at this and responded accordingly. Connie felt he had acted very poorly at a time when conciliation is what was needed to get everybody back in harmony. I raised a question of how far can we permit these extremists to prevail. That's an open question we will need to discuss more.

Mike had his experiences, too. Apparently the Negro community at Rutgers got agitated following the assassination and the Negro community in New Brunswick

as well which looked to the college Negroes for militant leadership. It seems a general kind of protest meeting came about. As a result of it the President of the Student Council called a 1:00 o'clock in the morning meeting and the Council proceeded to review the demands of the Negro students and carry them forward to the Administration, including such things as suspending classes and having a special convocation on Tuesday. Further, some members of the Rutgers faculty apparently were involved in a urban renewal project in New Brunswick and because there was some question of housing for those that would be displaced by the new construction these members were charged as being "racists". Mike said there seemed little creditable evidence to justify that. He ended up as the Chairman of the fact-finding body to look into it, but said he was proceeding slowly waiting for some of the tension and emotion to subside. Both of them have had some good exposure to this now and their reaction to it is most encouraging. I'm looking forward to a long week end of discussion with them. This is really a grave problem and the extremists ride high as emotion tends to carry the day. I guess all we can do is try and be patient, considerate and keep matters fluid so there can be participation, outlet and expression, but it sure gets frustrating.

For example, Javits and Clark attacked me again on domestic food problems. This time they allege how much we're willing to spend for commercial agriculture and nothing for the poor, starving Negro in the South. They charge that we can declare a disaster to make loans, which we have done, where there was no cotton crop and yet won't declare a disaster to have direct distribution of food. No one of course points out that there are two different laws and that it isn't good for the Negro people themselves to have direct distribution available when they should be going to the Food Stamp Plan. But the charge is made and the emotion runs. One of the things I just discussed with John Baker was the

SWAFCA Cooperative down in Alabama where we are making an \$870,000 loan. They came in to violently object to the conditions of such a loan and the commercial papers, mortgages, et al that need to be signed. These are normal procedures but they protested them, sparked by some young liberal, bleeding heart lawyer types over at OEO on the grounds that they face all these special difficulties and therefore they should not in any way be hampered by having to sign legal instruments. When I asked John whether these people realized how much pressure we had been under and how far we had gone to make this loan to them, he laughed and said "No appreciation, no Brownie points at all. They simply take the ground that this is only partly by way of rectification for the many grievances to which they have been subjected all these years." I guess that's the rules under which the game is going to be played now for some time. The discriminations and injustices are true. They do continue. We do need to make retribution for them. On the other hand now the extremists hold forth and their demands multiply and the unreason is the order of the day. It's a very frustrating kind of thing, but as Baker said in dealing with these kind of people one can't expect thanks you just have to use endless patience and hope that progress can be made. I think it will. The danger now is that the extremists will react and become dominant from the other side and that's one of the real dangers if a Republican Administration takes office. In the meantime a contest for leadership will go on. It's reminiscent in so many ways with the immediate World War II days when we fought to lick the Commies in Minnesota. They were always able to come in and identify themselves with the most liberal causes; having few scruples, and no responsibility, they could easily take a sharp leadership position identifying with aspirations even though there were practical impossibilities and even in some cases it would not serve the purpose to move as they would emotionally advocate. Well we lived through that, but we were certainly

aided by our own nationalist feelings, vis-a-vis, the Soviet Union. Now we are in an orgy almost of emotional disturbance and also self accusation and these young people and others who have strong humanitarian instincts simply identify themselves with aspirations whether they make sense or not, whether they're fair or not, and the job of those who have responsibilities and who have some judgment and who say let's do it right becomes extraordinarily difficult. That's especially true also because of the new overtones of violence. It would appear that the riots here in Washington and Baltimore were planned -- that there is a machinery of militance here that is able to push the button to get these things started. That's a new and dangerous and difficult dimension with which we must somehow contend.

April 15, 1968 -- 9:30 pm at the desk at home. First day back at the office after all the upset of the Far East Trip and the events that took place here at home. I spent most of the day talking with people in the Department and trying to get some kind of a grasp on where we are, the current thinking as to Humphrey's status and position, and attitude within the Department, where we go from here, and where I go from here. There is nothing conclusive except everybody is waiting for the signal. I guess I am too, and fundamentally the signal is Humphrey, but no call.

Eugenie Anderson called yesterday, repeating what Tom had told me was Art Naftalin and others position, that I should be Humphrey's campaign manager, allegedly he tried to reach me last Friday before we got home. However, no call from him yet. He's allegedly in Florida, to return to Washington because the President is in Honolulu meeting on Vietnam questions. Had a long talk with Ken Birkhead last night as to the organization of the Humphrey campaign. It's beginning, but by no means fixed. As usual no one is quite sure what to do. Humphrey is doing most of it himself, little bits dribble off to various staff people who aren't sure where they are. That's typical. In the meantime, at

least according to the write-ups in the paper, the Kennedy campaign is organized, or at least in the process of being organized, meticulously with a lot of staff, assigned responsibilities, with Kennedy saying to the staff people, "I can't run this, but if I were you I'd do this and that." That's the way it should be. Tom Hughes spoke very strongly today that he felt if Humphrey was going to win and then do anything, that someone had to step in and run the mechanics as I had done back in 1948 when we ran Humphrey out of the office and turned him loose speech-making. I was of a mind to stay where I am regardless, building the town and country organization which I could do most effectively within the Department and then perhaps heading up a policy and organization directors group. Tom brushed this off, saying that will do Humphrey little good nor can we do him much good at least until the Convention; that someone who can travel around the country, meet with prestigious people who need some attention, select staff people in various states, integrate and coordinate the overall effort and keep Humphrey in line in connection with it is what's needed. I must admit, he's right. If Humphrey wants me, is willing to conform with that kind of an approach, I suppose I really don't have much alternative. In the nature of things I want to be where the action is and if Humphrey is to be, or potentially to be, a President we better be there. Perish the thought. I sure don't look forward to it but of course it will be intolerable, impossible, and useless without some kind of commitment from him. So I think I'll just play it loose for the time being.

I do feel a great sense of responsibility to move the farm program through Congress if I can and to drop that at this point would really be questionable at best. Yet the stakes are much higher in the Presidential race. John Obert caught me on the way out of the office today saying the press was beginning to press as to where I was, wondering about no statement. I think I'll just say

"no comment" for now and keeping waiting. It's a confused and difficult situation. I played squash with McNamara tonight. He started making some inquiries and I just changed the subject. He's tactful enough to accept that. He will not be in, although he did make a television tape lauding Bobby for his efforts during the Cuban Missile Crisis. He said to me he couldn't refuse to do that in light of all the circumstances and he was amazed that Thruston Morton took after him so heavily for having done so, demanding his resignation for impropriety. It's hardly that important. Anyway the whole thing's swirling for now.

George Mehren is resigning and going with a business coordinating invest in less developed countries headed by Jack Hines. Norman Clapp is going to leave from REA so we have some fill-ins. John Schnittker said he's kind of partial to Kennedy. Humphrey's flippancy in taking off on extreme positions in staff conferences kind of frightens him. He just doesn't have too much respect for Humphrey. Thornton is kind of the same, although he's not inclined to Kennedy. Humphrey's disorganization, some of the jerks around HHH, and his endless speeches kind of appall Thornton. Tom, the same way, but he kind of recognizes that you've got to deal with what you have and Humphrey is definitely in the picture and therefore we ought to play accordingly if we want Humphrey as President. Other people in the Department are kind of waiting. So, I guess we wait too. It does appear at this point that Humphrey's strength is much greater than anyone would have expected 10 days ago. By the same token there is a much more deep-seated animosity towards Bobby Kennedy than was expected. So anything can happen. In the meantime I'm trying to organize ongoing affairs and keep the ship going toward shore. Goodness knows what will happen.

It's 11:45 now -- I shuffled papers until I was tired of it and then read an article in Harper's called "Anti-Americanism in America" by a Midge Victor and an article on "Dissent" an editorial written by Russ Wiggins in the

Washington Post some time ago and I was trying to think through what I might say at Connie's commencement.

The White House phone rang and with it the Vice President on the other end. He wants to see me and said he would give me a ring some time after 10:00 o'clock tomorrow, that we needed to have a long talk. So it comes and we'll have to see what it means. I'm both apprehensive and glad that he called. Where to now is the question.

April 17, 1968 -- 12:30 a.m. It's about time for bed. I should have been there a long time ago. My ulcer has been kicking up the last couple of days rather nastily, but I had a little nap after a leisurely dinner with Jane and Connie who is home from school for this week, and so I'm stretching it a bit, foolishly I expect.

Today was a routine day except for a long lunch with the Vice President. He called me about 10:30 and we lunched in his office. It was an interesting conference. He started off kind of halfway apologetically, asking me what would I like to do in the Campaign. I looked at him and said, What would you like me to do? He mumbled around a little bit, almost embarrassed like, and said that he had given a good deal of thought and a number of people had recommended that he ask me to resign and take over the campaign as full-time campaign manager, but he hesitated to do that because the position itself was so important and so much could be done with it in the struggle to come. He then took out a kind of organization chart, apparently put together by Bill Connell which listed some of the various functions which might be carried out in a campaign. He went on to explain that he had asked Mondale and Fred Harris to serve as kind of campaign chairmen and he had me listed as one in charge of various voluntary committees. As the conversation went on he moved in the direction of asking me to take responsibility for the delegate lists and the evaluation and approach of delegates where I could use the prestige which I carry by virtue of my terms of office as

Governor and currently as Secretary. I indicated approval in that direction and he backwatered a little bit to make it clear that this would of course have to be coordinated across the board with everyone in the campaign. I suggested to him a sort of top board of directors of campaign policy level committee composed of a handful of people who are knowledgeable and carry both prestige and status -- people like Walter Heller, the other Cabinet members, like Ben Heineman of the Chicago, Northwestern. He responded to this very affirmatively. He stated on my questioning that his posture and position would be one of clearly supporting the Administration and its accomplishments, but making clear that we are in a period of transition. He used the analogy of the radar in an airplane when the pilot says we are entering a low pressure area and will have 10 to 15 minutes of turbulence and we will move from it to a high pressure area and smooth flying. We are in a turbulent area, we have advanced much, there have been great tensions and dissensions, but that this is a mature but still young country moving in the direction of building a better land and we need not be downhearted but must maintain a firm and positive direction of improvement in building a better country. He related a conversation with Walter Reuther who said he would be for him at the right time but advised that he not get into the scramble of the political contest too hard for at the moment both Kennedy and McCarthy are at odds ends -- their big target - the President - has suddenly been removed. They have nobody to fight except each other and if Humphrey goes in too hard, they'll fight him. Therefore, he should take a fairly bland position, indicating that he was honored, available, desirous and willing to serve and thought he could do so effectively, but not get out into a shouting contest, using and utilize the prestige and dignity and resources of the office of Vice President. He said he planned to do that. I agree. He also stated that there would be problems with the President who at the moment was playing it very

cool and somewhat distant for reasons that he has stated and Humphrey clearly realized he must keep him happy and try and use his good offices and he would prepare to do that. His association with Harris and Mondale is designed of course to have two bright, young progressive and liberal Senators out in front and this is certainly desirable and smart. We left it that way -- after I lectured him that if he was going to have Mondale as in effect campaign manager that he should follow him, take his advice, keep him informed, book out time for policy decisions and judgments and then let Mondale run the campaign while he went out right after the votes. I related to him my own recollections of 20 years ago in the mayoralty campaign and the senatorial one when I could never get him to sit down and to make campaign judgments. I can still remember a day when he was some 3-hours late to a session that I had gotten together of policy people to make some decisions on the mayoralty campaign. He resented this and kind of snapped off, half good-humoredly, that he always thought it was more important out there getting those votes than talking about it. When I left his office he said that if I would get behind this campaign structure and Mondale's efforts, it would work. I smiled and told him, "Well I'll make a deal with you. I'll get behind Mondale, if you will." He got out of his chair and saw me to the door quite good-humoredly, but it was clear that I had made my point and I only hope it did some good -- I doubt it, but it might have. This will be his problem - organization, for he does have the reputation of not being able to organize his own office or to get good people and he must live that down by performance. Mondale is supposed to call me now. Humphrey called back later in the day saying he had talked with Mondale and Mondale was enthused about the arrangement. He hasn't called me yet tonight. I hope he does so I can get busy tomorrow and start setting up the Advisory Council, set the date for my announcement, which we agreed ought to be made in a special press conference, taking advantage of the

drama implicit in the fact that I worked with McCarthy, nominated Kennedy, served Kennedy, was on the Cabinet with Bobby Kennedy, and now go for Humphrey. That needs to be a good statement. Then we must get busy reviewing Humphrey's name files, delegate files, and digging in to determine exactly how to proceed in this organized delegate hunt and further to reconstitute and redirect the Town and Country for Johnson and Humphrey to a Town and Country for Humphrey and start getting the wheels grinding. I must get at that first thing in the morning.

April 19, 1968 - 6:00 a.m. - Mexico City, Mexico. I've just spent a hell of a night. Since my return from Japan I haven't been able to get back on schedule. The result is my stomach has bothered me a great deal. I've been running in low gear and can't really get ribbed up. I went to bed last night at 12:00 o'clock, leaving a party here which really was quite delightful, went immediately to sleep dead tired. At 3:30 I was wide awake. I got up for a bit - went back to bed, dozed fitfully and finally gave up. I'm going to do some work now. I do hope I can get straightened out again. This is the worst attack and upset that I've suffered for two or three years. Jane warned me it was coming shortly before we left on the Japanese trip, but I kept on pushing, holding that sleep down to about 5 hours; the tension of politics, Wisconsin Primary and how to handle it, and then the President's statement and how we go from there all added to this. But it's not new, I only hope I can get by the day all right today. It'll be a big one. I participate in the opening of the National Livestock Exhibition here. I will make a presentation of a bull from President Johnson to the President of Mexico. I then will attend a special luncheon and a host of other affairs, including a late afternoon reception, a dinner tonight and tomorrow we have a tour through some farm areas. I'll manage to make it all right but it's such a difference doing this kind of thing if you feel good and have some bounce than if you feel poorly

and draggy and a bit ornery.

I flew out of Washington, Wednesday noon, leaving about 12:00 o'clock on a Jet Star. We stopped at Rapid City, South Dakota enroute, arriving in Portland about 4:00 o'clock. I went out there to make the announcement on the export log limitation. I've been wrestling with this difficult one for a long time. As late as Tuesday the Japanese came in with another protest -- actually more ornery than we really thought they would be. State's been pretty good about this and Tony Solomon finally told me that I could go ahead. So I got going quick. Actually I've dragged this out because I felt it was very useful that these people out there know that they are getting something -- something controversial, something they want desperately and are getting it from a Democratic Administration. Hopefully they will respond somewhere down the line by supporting that Democratic Administration. Almost all the lumbermen are strongly Republican, but Bob Dwyer is there to follow-up on them and hopefully we'll get some results. Anyway I met first with the Congressional people who were very disturbed because we didn't extend the area of limitation further East. Then I met with the Industry and they were very, very happy. Then I had a press conference which commanded top billing. It all went very well. Ed Cliff was with me. Also, Boyd Rasmussen, former Regional Forester now Director of the Bureau of Land Management. There was some BLM land involved in this as well. The press coverage was excellent. I think our own people are now happy with what has been done and my participation in it together with the Chiefs of the two Services set it at a high level generally. Incidentally, I apparently upstaged Bobby Kennedy. He was in Oregon but only mentioned in the side paper while I commanded front page coverage -- how about that?

Following the announcement and all we went to dinner at a Portland Hilton Hotel - beautiful, way up on top - magnificent view. Bob Dwyer had brought in a number of very prominent and important business leaders and lumbermen whom

he hopes to associate with him in supporting us politically. (1) A man by the name of Ken Ford that he particularly wanted me to pay some attention to is apparently a multi-millionaire. An odd kind of fellow but awfully smart who is evidencing some interest in Government. It was a very pleasant affair and we went on out to Bob's and I was to bed by about 11:00 o'clock. I was up at 5:00, but Bob came to awaken me. I felt reasonably rested when we started out, but as the morning wore on in the airplane, not so good. We landed here about 2:30 and started on the merry-go-round. First, a press conference. The Mexican press is very aggressive and I answered them really rather sharply when they quoted me a statement by Mike Mansfield that we ought to be more liberal in the United States to Mexican trade coming in, I snapped back by saying that I'd come here to see if Mexico couldn't be more liberal and do something about the many trade restrictions they have. I got a long and involved question about Vietnam alleging that as long as we continue to send men there would we need to have more of the braceros and I snapped off a quick "no". I wasn't particularly eloquent. I'll be interested in what the papers write.

Then to the Embassy which is a beautiful one for a briefing. Then to the Mexican equivalent of CCC to sign a Government to Government dry milk powder sale for their school lunch program here. Then to the office of the Minister of Agriculture to announce an extension of CCC 3-year credit to dairy cattle and a discussion with their Government bankers, Government, and cattlemen as to how this could be used to increase the trade and sale of breeding cattle, beef and dairy, to Mexico. From there back here where there was time for a quick nap, a swim in the pool, and then the party last night which was very pleasant. A group of about 70. I sat with the Mexican Secretary of Agriculture whom I really haven't treated quite properly all day and had a chance to talk with him not only about agriculture but about Vietnam and what's going on in Taiwan and Korea and what our position is and some of our problems at home

and he was most responsive and very friendly. He indicated his feeling that collective agriculture clearly was a complete failure everywhere, his great sympathy with President Johnson and the least implicit his personal support for the position we follow in Vietnam.

Monday, April 22, 1968 - 5:00 a.m. at my desk at home. Well the Mexican trip is now history and we're plunged into the Humphrey campaign and a week of testimony on the big bills before Congress.

I thoroughly enjoyed the Mexican trip and I think it did some good. Following the bad night on Thursday, I perked up. Maybe it was that swimming pool. Wednesday was a difficult but it turned out a constructive day. We opened the cattle exposition. They had a grandstand show that was short, but good. Most riding and rope gymnastics. Then we went to the American Pavillion, Preciado cut the ribbon and I made the Husker presentation. Then they gave me a terrific workout. For three and a half solid hours we went down the aisles of cattle exhibits and shook hands with individual cattlemen. I fussed a little after while for it seemed endless, but apparently it's traditional. It made him very happy and if not the best use of my time, it wasn't wasted in terms of good will. A quick lunch with their Cattlemen's Association followed and then back to the Embassy where I got a few minutes nap and another swim -- off to a reception for all the Members of the USDA held by Bill Rodman and then to a very lovely party that Preciado put on for me at a former hycienda overlooking much of Mexico City. I thought we would never sit down to eat -- then when the time came for toasts I got warmed up and actually gave a speech, setting out the four great tasks for agriculture around the world. (1) Commercial agriculture to feed people; (2) the War on Hunger and complimented them on Mexican wheat which was pointing the way to victory; (3) small farmers and how we help them; and (4) rural urban balance. It went over extremely well. Bill Rodman said

many Mexicans asked for it and so I'm having the interpreter who is extraordinarily able, Don Barnes, transcribe it.

Up again early the following morning. After a long talk with the Freemans which kept me up until after 2:00, we hashed over presidential visits and vice presidential visits, members of their staff and the mistakes they've made and the pressure it puts on the Americans. He pointed out that when Humphrey was there the President of Mexico attended and it was the first appearance in history of the Mexican President at the Embassy of another nation. Apparently they were gathered in a room keeping the guests waiting while the famous Presidential withdrawal speech was made and that Muriel almost had an emotional breakdown at the time. It wasn't quite clear whether she didn't know anything about it or wasn't sure what the President would do. In any event, it all impressed all the Freemans deeply. They're strong for Humphrey for President, but felt some bitterness at the way his staff operated while they were in Mexico City. Anyway the next day we were up and away early and down to Torreon in the Laguna District which is a very arid area tucked within the mountains about 150 miles North of Mexico City. Here they are making some major improvements in agriculture including a whole restructuring of their irrigation with much more water available because they are moving the Ejitos into little clusters of buildings and land so they can concentrate their water. The rest of the Ejito land in a particular Ejito will continue in dry land farming or grazing. They are also making a major investment in personnel, in credit, in research, and in a host of other areas. It was reported that this area very seriously Communist infiltrated a couple of years back so the Minister of Recreation was literally stoned and the Government hesitated to even show had now completely quieted down and was optimistic and progressive. We toured the research facility, very impressive, saw the new wheat growing and also a lot of work going on in grapes which is very profitable and may replace some cotton which the area primarily grows. That

would be good for the United States. Also, a slaughter house run by the bank, a very progressive dairy which we hope to sell equipment from the U.S. and also some more animals, and a very gay lunch with local agricultural leaders culminating with some speeches -- one by the Vice President of the Bank of Mexico, a Government bank, with a response by yours truly. He, like every Mexican, started out with the Revolution. Everything dates, the semantics, the interpretations, the overtones, all the rest, from the Revolution, yet Mexico today is pretty much a middle class country, doing well economically but having spot problems that grow increasingly serious, but 50 percent of its people on land and of them some 80 percent or so in the very low income group burdened with the Ejito system of common land rights with no land ownership and lots of competition including the fact that the system has become the essence of the political party the PRI which always produces the Presidents. However, it seems to work, has great stability. The President is virtually a benevolent dictator. There is a good deal of corruption and inefficiency, but the growth rate is high, the spirit seems good and certainly Mexico City is a beautiful one.

We flew to Mexico City, retracing our steps, spent an hour in the airport where I had a summing up press conference and really laid it into the Mexican papers when they got back to the question of progressive trade principles by pointing out that Mexico had many more restrictions than the United States and if they talked about what we were going to do they better start doing something themselves and then we would resist those who would become more protective at home. I went so far as to cite the case of vegetables and Senator Holland, stating his great power and his desire to limit vegetable imports from Mexico but pointing out that if Mexico changed her restrictions on American fed beef imports and was a bit more generous about canned fruit and vegetables also virtually non-competitive that Holland would hesitate before wanting to endanger such trade. They seemed impressed. Interestingly enough when I repeated this

to Preciado and told him that I had gone rather far on this, he said to me without hesitation, "Do you want me to kill it? I can, you know." Apparently, and the Ambassador confirmed this, they pretty largely censor the press through the Government but it's all done quietly and almost involuntarily. The press statements were a follow-up of a long conversation coming back on the plan when I told Preciado that we ought to work together to expand the imports from one country to another and in the process to use such announcements to build public support for each others country within our respective Congresses so we could resist the protectionists he responded with alacrity and later after a conversation with Ambassador Freeman indicated that he would go to work within his Government. Also at Torreon I invited the manager of their dairy plant to the United States as the guest of FAS and I think we will do some good selling them equipment and in that area many more dairy cattle. We must also follow up with the new CCC credit arrangements.

We flew out of Mexico about 6:00 o'clock -- stopped briefly in a rain storm at San Antonio, arrived in Washington about 1:30. I was at home and after a report to Jane to bed by 3:30. Up at about 9:00. We went to church. Connie's mother-in-law to be, Mrs. Walker, was here. A very strange woman - quiet, withdrawn, something of a thees and thoes, in terms of Eastern slangology lady, but friendly and I think will be more than tolerable as we get to know her better. Anyhow, the dye is set on that one.

I tried to call Humphrey early in the day, but he was gone visiting a new British cruiser that was at the Navy Yard. So we had accepted an invitation from the McNamaras to have a light Sunday evening supper with them. Then Humphrey returned my call and invited us out on the Honey Fitz on the Potomac. I turned it down because of the McNamara appointment, but after talking with Jane thought better of it and we gently moved Mrs. Walker out of here and rushed for the Navy Yard. I'm glad we did. We had an interesting evening and a chance to do

some talking so I could get a little feel of the Humphrey campaign. I'm disturbed with what I found, but a little reassured too. Humphrey is worried about Mondale who indicated he would take over the campaign but didn't do anything last week witness the failure to call me and was on a speaking trip this weekend. Mondale has brought in a man from Minnesota by the name of Hayes who I never heard of to be his representative on the staff, apparently at his insistence and Humphrey went along. Humphrey is aware that he's got to get his staff organized. As usual, he's done most of what's been done himself and he has done a great deal. He is patiently determined and optimistic. I am clearly assigned the delegate search and much get on with that. Tom was there on the boat and we were both impressed with the detailed know-how of Ira Ravenholt who is one of Humphrey's better people.

I plan now to make my announcement in support of him tomorrow at the Press Club, -- the statement is written and I think quite good. If Mondale doesn't really take over, Humphrey more or less hinted that he might ask me to resign and be campaign manager. I hope that doesn't happen and I'll try and not make it happen for I think I can do more where I am and hesitate to get into that. Dick Maguire said to Cliff Carter that he was not much impressed with the people around Humphrey or the organization. Unfortunately that's true and undoubtedly will continue, but Humphrey himself as always is on top of everything and is extraordinarily effective when he starts to move. He does honestly want to delegate however and I think will this time if Mondale would only give him a real assist. Supposedly Mondale is going to see me today and I hope to have a heart to heart talk with him. Humphrey insists that there was no evidence whatsoever of resistance on Mondale's part where I'm concerned. That Mondale had even suggested that I be the campaign manager. I'm glad if that's right for we will need to have all the organization, all the drive we can.

Last week Kennedy apparently took over the Iowa delegation, mainly by having people out there and working. Humphrey did pretty much the same in Arizona and at this moment is in a strong position. Nonetheless, that Bobby juggernaut is going to roll. They have a lot of people, able ones, and money and we have neither at this point, but Humphrey is a lot better politician and a lot more salable to party people than Bobby. How strong Bobby is with the public and how well he runs in Indiana will probably be crucial. Jane had saved an Evans and Novak column for me reporting on their alleged polling of some 300 people which showed an enormous good will and support for Bobby Kennedy not resting in anyway on what he has said or done publicly, but just simply you for ya, for the Kennedy name and the Kennedy family and the allegedly golden Jack Kennedy age. This maybe so. If it is so, there won't be much any of us can do to stop him, for if he is that strong in the country with just the folks he will sweep everything before him in these primaries and that will be it. However, despite his weaknesses I'm more than ever convinced that Humphrey would make the best President. Certainly he knows the issues. He's wise, smart, and experienced. He has wonderful relationships with the Congress and professional know-how in terms of working with them. So here we go. I'm going to try and shape the tardy agencies into the organization and give this No. 1 priority for the year but it's going to be a wild one what with the Congressional demands and the other things that must be done. Anyway we're certainly going to be where the action is.

April 23, 1968 - 10:10 pm at the desk at home. Just returned from the Department where we had one of our get-togethers, this time with Max Lerner; opened with cocktails in my office, then a nice dinner downstairs and a 2-hour question and answer reflection period. Lerner is quite a philosopher and psychologist and he analyzed the current generation, the generation gap, the crisis in the cities and all, mostly in very basic philosophical terms and concepts. Frankly, most of this and all the crepe hanging leaves me a little cold. We do have a nation in ferment but we've been making progress in the War on Poverty. We've created hope, we're developing new patterns and actions. There is some violence but that's not new in the country and when I think about all of it including the so-called generation gap it doesn't seem to me very distinctive or different from other times and period and groups. Maybe I'm all wrong. Maybe the fact with this greater leisure, less need to struggle, more time and therefore less identity with causes and purposes and others, less willingness to cooperate with society's rules and regulations than ever before but I'm sure not certain of it and it seems to me we ought to just go about our business with a little less emoting, with a little more discipline, and a little harder work. All sounds kind of prosaic. In a way I'm on the receiving end of some of that. The emotion and the extremism of the day for the so-called Citizens Crusade for Nutrition came out finally with their report, this is the one sponsored by Walter Reuther and Company and some of the foundations. They have been palling around looking for people that have hunger problems and then magnifying and exaggerating way out of scope what they find and then condemning in every direction. They really landed on the Department -- made a number of accusations such as we weren't using money available, much more would be done if there had been a minimum of drive and determination and if the Department wasn't completely dominated and hamstrung by Commercial agriculture, that we spent billions cutting back production but perniciously denied food to people, that all the

food programs ought to be transferred to OEO or HEW. All of this got quite a play. It made me furious -- more than that, it made me sick because it was most of it unfair and I've kind of tried to talk myself into the attitude that these are really recruits and if they can stir up people it will help do what needs to be done. Maybe it will, but in the meantime it stings and it hurts when we've worked so hard and done so much and had so little help. I wanted to lash out at them and accuse them of dishonesty and inaccuracy but that would lead to a long dialogue and where there are people hungry there really isn't an awfully lot you can say or do about it but acknowledge the problem and your own inadequacies in solving it.

This afternoon we put out a statement. Rod had a press briefing but then the TV people came in and demanded me and so I went over. I took the line of we welcome you to this crusade, that we do have great needs, but that people who have worked so hard need not be too discouraged but merely cite what we have done and then set out the whole host of activities and progress. I don't know whether it will do any good. Congress and the Record are full of this now and it'll be repeated all over the country and do the Department no good and certainly hurt us in our prospects of passing farm legislation. It's all kind of grim and discouraging.

I also had a press conference today announcing the support for Humphrey thing and it went extremely well. Actually, Sara McClendon, a very cryptic and mouthy Texas woman reporter, at the conclusion of it hollered at me "Well done." Surprising. I read a statement, a fairly long one, then answered questions for a half hour or so, paraphrased the statement for the Television cameras. It's reported to me it's been all over radio and television today and so should do some good. I wasn't quite sure how to handle this with the President, his being as touchy as he is. But he had told the Cabinet that each should go his own way and that he, the President, was neutral. Therefore I finally decided, rather

than ignore the President, or in the alternative go over and try and talk with him about it and perhaps run into trouble, that I would send him a copy at the last minute which I did with a little note telling him that I was sending this to him only shortly before it was delivered because I wanted to honor his rules of neutrality and then I went on to say that I was disappointed at his withdrawal, believed he could have won, and that I hoped to continue for we have things to do in the Department but that I would devote some time to Humphrey cutting down that customary 15-hour work day.

Jim Jones called shortly thereafter saying that the President was pleased with the statement and like it and thought it was very good. Several hours later he called back and said the President wanted me to know that he would appreciate it if I gave him a little more time on things such as this. Jim hastened to say that he had told the President why I had submitted this. Under those circumstances in order to protect the President, and apparently the President acknowledged that and the reason for it, but still would like to know a little bit more in advance. So, I expect we'll witness this now that he is not actively in politics himself he's going to have trouble staying out of it.

Yesterday, Mondale and Fred Harris came over about the Humphrey campaign. They apparently are moving in vigorously to take charge. They indicated they didn't wish me to take over the whole delegate apparatus but rather would assign me some states. They also asked that I establish a kind of campaign committee looking to the future so that we could be prepared and shift gears from an August convention to the next day a November election. I called Humphrey and told him this and he was a little taken back that what he had suggested and we had agreed was changed, but we both agreed that these fellows should be given pretty much their head if they really want to take charge. They're going to call a kind of overall strategy meeting Thursday. Unfortunately I'll be in Minnesota, but Tom can represent me there. We're getting together a half a dozen key states

that we can go to work on now and we must quickly launch Town and Country for Humphrey, succeed and take over the Johnson-Humphrey movement that was just beginning to go. I'm glad I've got this announcement made and now it's a question of fighting my way through the plethora of work and appointments and writing and testimony and legislation and all the rest and getting my head above water which I haven't since the Japanese trip so that I can work in enough time to really go to it in the Humphrey campaign. I'm going to have to get organized or neglects some thing internally but that must be done.

April 24, 1968 - 9:40 at my desk at home. What an evening. I got home about 7:30. This was an exhausting day. I've been running so short on sleep and had a fairly tense morning of testifying before the Senate Committee on the big bill and bargaining power. More of that in a moment. Jane and I were in the midst of a relaxed dinner, talking mostly about politics, Humphrey, et al., when the White House phone rang. It was Joe Califano. He said that the President did not want any of the Members of the Cabinet or their wives at the Humphrey announcement dinner on Saturday. Fritz Mondale had called me during the day and indicated that Marvin Watson had told him the same. I'd been thinking about that and the more I thought about it the more it irritated me, so when this call arrived I told Joe Califano in some heat that if the President wanted my resignation that all he had to do was pick it up, that I had been as loyal as I knew how to him, and that I had strictly followed what I clearly understood to be the ground rules in the regard to his desire to remain neutral and that if he directed us to not attend this announcement luncheon that would be unfair to Humphrey and would result in counter-comment, that if he had said initially he wanted us to stand completely aloof I would have honored that request so long as I worked for him but that was not what he had said. Califano told me to cool it off that he agreed that Wilbur Cohen, Bill Wirtz and I were in a different position and that

he would talk to the President about it in the morning and the President undoubtedly would want to call me. Bill Wirtz called then. He'd had a similar call and wondered what it was all about. He apparently had said he didn't consider the luncheon very important, he had another commitment in California and would not be there, but he was wondering and his interpretation was that the President himself would still like to be a candidate and didn't want all of us to get too far overboard. I told Bill I really didn't think that was right. It was more likely that the President felt his overall control over some of us because he was no longer actively involved politically as such to dissipate and in a very human way was reacting to such a dissipation. Bill said, well he had some thoughts and if he was sure this line wasn't tapped why he would give them but that would be about enough for now. He asked about Jane and I said she planned to be with Connie in Norfolk at the Azalea Festival, but that her inclination was maybe to cancel that and be here after all.

Then I called Humphrey. He came back on the White House phone and I changed it over and had him call through the normal telephone, less apt to be tapped. When I told him I had threatened to resign for this, he said to me I shouldn't do that, and then he explained that apparently the President was concerned that Wilbur Cohen made another statement today and that Doug Cater had called the President with a comment he wanted to make at a speech in Alabama, and that Harry McPherson also wanted to make a statement, and that Humphrey thought that this was an effort by the President to cool things down in the Administration so it didn't look like it was too far way out for Humphrey. Well, I can understand that and would have reacted differently if that had been the approach. Humphrey did say that he thought it would be bad if none of the wives or any of us showed at the luncheon because that would be taken the other way. He went on to tell me that the President was very enthused about my statement and had said last night that he had never been prouder of anyone and repeated it this morning, that

the statement was outstanding and that he could easily justify my action and that of Willard Wirtz -- me as an old friend and political associate, Willard Wirtz as one closely related with the Labor movement. Humphrey claimed to have told the President that he had never asked anyone in the Cabinet or otherwise to come out for him. Obviously Humphrey is trying to be very careful and properly so, that the President will not feel in any way alienated or invaded. So that's the way it stands. I may have shot a little too hard and fast in this instance. I'd had a few drinks over dinner and my tongue maybe got a bit ahead of my head but this really irritated me.

I hope the President doesn't pick up that resignation as it's more and more clear to me that there are so many things I can do over the year with this Department that it would be a mistake to jump too quickly under these circumstances. However, I doubt if Joe Califano will relate to the President the extent or the strength of my feeling on this matter.

I was fairly well pleased with the testimony before the Senate today. I was apprehensive going up. We've been so busy and I've been so emotionally involved with so many things that it was really kind of hard to be on target. However, it did go fairly well. They didn't push me with too much detail about the mechanics of the program which is where I'm apt to be weak when I can't concentrate and spend the time I should. Instead the basic philosophy and program direction was more in it. I kind of forced Ellender to sit still for a statement of the purposes of a strategic reserve bill to make it possible to administer more tightly the basic programs and short supply to get better farm price and also to insure stable supply within marked price ranges for some of our foreign markets. This might have done some good. Ellender fussed a great deal about cotton and the textile industry, but that was to be expected. Jack Miller and Everett Jordan got into the Import question. They want to put on tariffs and quotas on everything and I made a very strong and even impassioned plea that we mustn't dabble in restrictionism

lest we imperil these great foreign markets and certainly we better be sure we're hurt by imports before we run the danger of retaliation. I wrote a record on this. Tom commented he is always amazed how much I know about these programs. Rather unusual praise from him, and reports around the Department was it went well. Tomorrow it's the House. I hope it goes equally well. These programs are going to be terribly tough to pass this year, but I think we've got a fighting chance if things fall into line just right. Anyway it's been another hectic day.

I played squash with Jim Reynolds. Got a terrific workout. I was really tired and wringing wet when we finished but I feel much better tonight for it. It's amazing how a workout like that relaxes and makes me feel better rather than more tired. Enough of this -- I'd better get on with the piles of paper that are stacked up here.

Jane just came down to say she talked to Maurine Neuberger, the former Senator from Oregon, about going to the noon luncheon. Maurine did not indicate she would go but was tentative about Bobby Kennedy where apparently she had almost made a commitment earlier. This would corroborate Frank Newman's comment a minute ago that Bobby was not taking hold in California at all and seemed to be slipping sharply. This is an interesting combination of information -- Maurine Neuberger here, Frank Newman in California, it corroborates general feelings and comments, to-wit, that the Bobby Kennedy steamroller simply doesn't seem to develop. Bobby just isn't, from all indications, taking hold. Jim Reynolds said to me when we were playing squash that he had a conversation with an Indiana labor leader who apparently had taken a careful poll and said that Branigin would win in Indiana and McCarthy would be second. That would be a terrific setback for Bobby Kennedy. As Frank Newman said, the younger set is staying with Gene McCarthy -- they're resenting Kennedy.

April 23, 1968

The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

I will announce my choice in the "Presidential Sweepstakes" at a press conference at the Press Club at 11:00 a.m. today. In respect for the position of neutrality you have announced, I will tell the press that I have not discussed this with the President.

Enclosed is my release. With your permission, I plan to continue as Secretary of Agriculture. There is much to be done yet this year both legislatively and administratively to carry your program forward. The duties of that office will, of course, command priority on my time and energies. However, the fifteen hours a day on the job since 1961 can be slowed some, as was done in 1964, and by adding to that some of the other nine hours a day I expect to be able to work for the Vice President without limiting my efforts here in any significant degree. I will continue to proudly carry the record of the Johnson Administration and progress toward a Great Society to the people. It is the Vice President's greatest source of strength in the contest ahead.

We have not talked since your historic and noble act in removing yourself from candidacy. History will, I am sure, record this sacrifice as wise and necessary. Orville Freeman is, of course, personally disappointed. I was just getting into campaign stride in Wisconsin and looked forward to the battle ahead carrying the message and the record of the last 5 years to the American people. I'm sure you would have prevailed.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

OLFreeman:rby

Statement by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, National Press Club, Washington, D.C. 11 a.m. (EST) Tuesday, April 23, 1968.

For most of the historic "Ten Days in April" that began with the President's announcement that he would not seek re-election, I was gone from the country on a trade mission to the Orient.

Since my return, I have been told that there is some press interest in how I view the new political situation and in my personal choice for the Democratic nomination.

I have called today's conference to respond to that interest.

Last week a reporter remarked to me that while he assumed other Cabinet members might be in a candidate dilemma, the dilemma of Orville Freeman must certainly be "the most exquisite agony of all."

I can understand how he arrived at that, for it is true that at various times I have been intimately associated with all of the men most seriously considered for the nomination.

And it is true that I like, admire, and respect each of them.

But it is not true that Orville Freeman is suffering any "exquisite agony" over his choice.

I have made my choice, and it was not a difficult decision. I am satisfied that it is completely consistent with my political experience, posture, and philosophy, and is responsive to the needs of the nation at this critical time.

Many of you remember that I nominated John F. Kennedy for the Presidency at the 1960 Democratic convention. Then, as now, I was satisfied that my choice was consistent with everything I believed in and worked for.

John Kennedy more than vindicated my faith in him. He restored this nation's spirit. He got this country moving again. But then he was taken from us.

One measure of John Kennedy's great good judgment was his choice of a Vice President, for Lyndon Johnson kept this a country moving ahead. And in his own Administration, he has written a record of social progress unprecedented in this nation's history.

As a member of his Administration, I am proud of that record. As a citizen of the United States, I am grateful for that record. And as a voter next November 5 I want to vote for a Democratic candidate who ran on that record -- and not for a candidate who ran away from it.

This Administration has not accomplished all it had hoped. But it has made a strong beginning toward building, at last, a truly Great Society. I want a President who will continue to build on those firm foundations.

I do not know the precise formula to build a Great Society. I do know it can't be built overnight. I know it can't be built by shrill and sweeping criticisms that play on the emotions or by demands that lift expectations only to have them crushed by hard realities.

It must be built by men who lay brick on brick with the trowel of experience and judgment and maturity, by men who stay hard at it when the going is discouragingly tough. I want that in the candidate I vote for in November.

And in this time of strife and stridency, in this time of unrestrained passion, vehemence and vituperation, I want a candidate who heals and unifies, not hurts and divides. I want a candidate who can pull the Democratic party together, to make of it what it must always be, the party of all Americans for all Americans.

Finally, I want a candidate who has faith and pride in this country, one who sees that what is good in this great land far exceeds what is bad ... and will not hesitate to say so. I want a happy -- not an angry -- American for my candidate.

I want a confidently proud American for my President.

Of those now under consideration for the nomination of the Democratic party, one man best combines the qualities I have listed.

He is a builder. As the former chief executive of a great city, his brilliant record of accomplishment is still the talk of the state. He reorganized the police force and drove out organized crime. He made that city's residents face up to what had to be done to make it the kind of city they wanted. He meshed municipal and private enterprise gears to solve a housing shortage. He established one of the first Human Relations Councils in the nation. And he pushed through the first municipal Fair Employment Practices Act in the United States.

When he moved on to the United States Senate, he proved once more that he could build as well as inspire, that he had the patience and the determination to accomplish in time what was thought visionary at the moment.

A resolution he introduced in 1955 ultimately resulted in the establishment of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1961 and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty's ratification in 1963. Legislation he introduced in 1960 led the way to the Peace Corps. And he made the original proposal for "Food for Peace."

In the area of human rights, he burst upon the national scene 20 years ago when he won passage of a strong civil rights plank for the Democratic national platform. He personally followed up on this pledge by introducing numerous Senate civil rights bills that are now the law of the land.

Eleven years ago, he proposed a concept of job training for unemployed youths that became the Job Corps seven years later. His was a key influence in winning Senate passage of other War on Poverty legislation, and one of his final acts as a Senator was to see to it that "Headstart" was enacted into law.

As the chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, last year he inspired the locating of 1,400,000 summer jobs for unemployed youth.

His concern for education is equally evident. Twenty years ago, the Senate subcommittee he then headed reported an impacted areas bill that was the first to provide direct federal aid to elementary and secondary schools. And his later proposals for federal scholarships for college students, direct grants to colleges for needed facilities, and federal loans for college students were incorporated into the National Defense Education Act.

The same kind of vision and determination was exemplified in the case of Medicare, for it was he who first introduced a bill to establish a program of health insurance for the elderly financed by Social Security ... and he did this 16 years before Medicare became law.

I agree with the writer Scotty Reston who said:

"If Presidents were elected by the thousand best informed men in Washington on the basis of who would make the best President, he would be number one ..."

Finally, my choice for the nomination has never lost sight of the importance of the American farmer or of the problems of town and country U.S.A., and this, I'm sure you understand, is very important to me. He knows that a strong agriculture is the crucial underpinning of a healthy economy. He knows that many of the problems of the cities are the direct result of problems in the countryside. He knows that farmers need and deserve parity of income and that rural America needs and deserves parity of services and opportunity.

He understands the vital importance of rural/urban balance if we are to meet the threat implicit in bottling up more and more people in less and less space in our big cities.

These are only the highlights of a truly remarkable executive and legislative record, but I think they prove that my choice for the Democratic nomination is a "can-do" man.

And he is a healer and a unifier. I saw this first in my home state nearly a quarter of a century ago. I saw him take a political party torn asunder by conflicting loyalties and conflicting philosophies, heal its wounds and mold it into a model of responsive imagination, integrity and effectiveness. I saw this again in 1960 when he refused to yield to bitterness after the West Virginia primary and went on to campaign as hard for John Kennedy's election as any Democrat not on the ticket that year.

These qualities have not gone unnoticed in the highest levels of government, for just as John F. Kennedy chose Lyndon Johnson as the man he thought best fitted to succeed him, Lyndon Johnson was to say in 1964: "I picked Hubert Humphrey because I was convinced that he would be the best man to be President if anything happened to me."

And just as John Kennedy was right in his choice, Lyndon Johnson was right in his. For no other potential candidate has that depth of experience in all levels of government and in American political life that so richly qualifies the Vice President to succeed him in the toughest job in the world.

So I have called this conference today to tell you that I intend to do all I can to persuade Hubert Humphrey to declare his candidacy for the nomination, to do all I can to help him win that nomination, to do all I can to help elect him President next fall.

1968

The Secretary

AW:

Place in
my personal
papers please
JFK

There are parts of this that I ^{would} recommend
not be used, but nothing serious.

As I left your office, you asked
that I not hold a press briefing on my
own preference, and I agreed.

I know you do not expect me to
evade questions on this subject. As I
told you, I do intend to work
publicly and actively for Sen.

Kennedy -- not just vote for him.

JFK

April 25, 1968 -- 12:30 am - Minneapolis, Minnesota. I'm at Mother's to-night, rolling into bed kind of frustrated. This has been a day to end all days. I testified this morning in the House Committee. Again it went surprisingly well. As Tom said at the conclusion of the testimony, "Those Republicans simply don't want to take you on." Maybe that's right. In any event, all the Democrats were there, very constructive and helpful. The Republicans made some motions towards being critical but very hesitatingly and doubtfully and I was able to make a strong record. I really think the big bill might move out of the House Committee. I felt quite encouraged about the whole thing. Back to the office, tried to reach Califano as a follow-up to last night's confused conversation but he didn't return the call. So I took off for Minnesota, landed, went down to see Sandy in the hospital, brought her azaleas and dogwood that Jane had gotten from the yard. Then a press conference -- the usual kind of questions. This Minneapolis press is dull and uninformed. I did say to them and it made all the news broadcasts and I suppose the newspapers in response to a question, "Would I be the Secretary of Agriculture in Hubert Humphrey's Cabinet?" that I doubted it, that I now had 14 years in public life, that I had two jobs both difficult, that as matters now stood I was broke, that I used to have a law practice and I was prepared to come back and try to make some money. This seemingly got a lot of attention.

Anyway, from there on to St. Peter, drove down, spoke on rural urban balance to a group formed around Mankato called the River Bend Association Multi-County right in line with my rural urban balance program. They had had a very successful symposium. The key highlight for me was the introduction by Dr. Carlson, President of Gustavus Adolphus College, a restrained methodical conservation, somewhat colorless but nonetheless accomplished man, who gave me a glowing introduction as one with imagination, creativeness who provided leadership, referred to joint efforts 10 years ago to get scholarships for students. It really was a very fine introduction and when a man of that caliber does that, one can't but feel rewarded

for many things that have gone unnoticed. I thought the speech was pretty good, but no one seemed too enthused about it although the applause was warm and extended.

Prior to speaking I stopped off at a motel to clean up a bit and the phone calls started coming in. It seems that today was the day to end all days. Somehow or other a Schnittker statement got on the wires that he was for Kennedy and would campaign for Kennedy. This after the President had called him this morning personally following a Schnittker memo to the President.

Friday, April 26, 1968 -- 11:45 pm at home. Jane's down in Norfolk with Connie who is being crowned the Azalea Queen. I'm home alone, been pushing papers. I'm equally frustrated as last night when I dictated. I flew in this morning from Minneapolis. Mondale and Dwayne Andreas were on the plane. I got blocked into a seat with Sally Pillsberry and wasted most of the trip in chit-chat. I went right Humphrey's office after landing. He was in great good spirits and informed me that he had had a talk with the President in the morning, that he was not at all disturbed with me, or even with the situation, that he felt it wasn't good for him or Humphrey to get too much of an Administration stamp on Humphrey, that he was out getting delegates for him, that he had gone to Chicago the night before so he could keep relations with Daley and hopefully deliver him at the right time, and assured Humphrey that he was for him and wanted him to win. Humphrey felt that he would allow us a good bit of latitude and indicated he thought I should definitely stay on the job and that this matter would shake down in short order, that he certainly didn't want anyone else sitting on that big Department and the potential that it could mean. He seemed genuinely appreciative of what I am doing. He told me that of course if the situation was intolerable I could resign and he had a tremendous need for me in the campaign, but he didn't push that at all. I left his office feeling somewhat encouraged, returned to mine, called for the President directly, he was in a meeting and Califano took the call,

an appointment was set up for 6:00 o'clock, but the President had Califano call back later to say how deadly serious he was about moving Presidential appointees and their wives out of the campaign. That didn't help matters any. I was terribly tired today, slept very poorly last night, noisy, and restless. At noon Jane and I went to a dinner in the State Department given by the Vice President for the King of Norway. It really was a gala affair, very fancy, but I was in one of those moods and enjoyed it not at all.

Back to the Department, transacted a little internal business. I called in Joe Robertson, Jim Thornton and Tom Hughes to promote some counter rumors. Apparently the story in the Minneapolis paper which also hit the Post here that I would not serve another year as Secretary of Agriculture and would gladly return to my law practice created something of a tizzy and well it might. I either over-spoke myself or I was mis-reported -- probably a little of both. Anyway in response to that question I said I didn't plan to serve and that I had had a hankering for a long time to return to my law practice, that I had been in public life now for 14 years and was broke. It really made the news. Actually I qualified it carefully saying 9 months is a long way away and anything can happen.

Jane left a note for me saying she talked to some people in the Department who were disturbed and so the counter-rumor campaign. I'll try and clarify at staff. This shouldn't be serious, but perhaps I was foolish; however, I couldn't resist the temptation of saying to some of those people at home that public life isn't a bed of roses, one doesn't get rich and if I do go back to law practice perhaps a little advance advertising doesn't hurt. Anyway, it ought not be too great a matter.

We're getting ready today to meet with Reverend Abernathy and the Poor People's March advance guard on Monday. That ought to be an interesting session.

Played squash and then to The White House for my appointment with the President. He had just concluded a meeting in the Cabinet Room and he was relaxed

and very friendly and we talked for about half an hour. He said he really didn't feel that he could in effect contradict what he had said in his Message that he was not going to devote time to politics and that the choice of the word "presidency" was made to include Presidential appointments as well. That seems doubtful, but he insisted that was the case and did so quite sincerely. If we get involved, or my official family does, he said, I will be accused again of saying something and not doing it as I am now on the choice of a site for negotiations with the North Vietnamese. What I meant on that he said was I would go myself, but if it's a full fledged negotiation, it's got to be where our allies will go -- nonetheless, he said, this murders me and it was clear the credibility gap business does bother him not a little. I really couldn't argue with him very much and was quite subdued. I told him that I had been informed that we had permission to go our way and thereby had not consulted with him before My pro-Humphrey announcement. He shook his head and said that was not the case. However, Califano told me that several others had had the same impression from that famous Cabinet meeting. He expressed his concern with John Schnittker and so did I. I told the President that somewhere along the line when things relaxed I wanted to use resources within the Department and that would be hard if John stayed. He agreed. He also read me a memo from Charley Murphy. Apparently Ted Sorenson had called him to say they were protesting a double standard with Schnittker being treated much more harshly than pro-Humphrey people. This is, he said, what we need to avoid doing. I asked him if I could go to the Humphrey announcement luncheon tomorrow and he gently said he thought it was better not and that included the wives too. Later he emphasized to Califano how important it was to exclude the wives and refused to accept the excuse that some men couldn't, declaring quite strongly that Lady Bird would always do what he wanted and always had. Be that as it may, this will create considerable consternation. None of the Cabinet not

Presidential appointees at the Humphrey luncheon announcement. I sure will miss being there, but I guess I'll just fly down to Norfolk. Certainly the President wasn't mean. He indicated that he had told Bobby that he could change his mind and that he might and might respond sharply in the event that strong language was used on the other side. Nonetheless he obviously felt firm that we should be out although when I pointed out to him the resources in the Department, that I had hoped to use them effectively, and that they could mean a great deal to Humphrey's campaign, and that Humphrey wasn't properly organized, he seemed a little bit shaken. I wish now I'd pushed him another step and said in your question on this, you might really be costing Humphrey the Presidency -- What difference does it make if we have a little conflict about this within the Government, we'll get our work done anyway, and you can still maintain a position over it. I didn't do that in just those words and in retrospect I wish I had. Joe Califano whom I talked to a moment later after leaving the Presidential office seemed very shaken up about this whole business, too. I'm just heartsick about it. We had so many plans, there's so much we could do, and here we who are Presidential nominees are being "Hatched" more effectively than the law "Hatches" Civil Service people. Anyway I can't but feel down about this, but also helpless. I do think though if we ride it out in a couple of weeks we can begin to move very gingerly and if no one makes a mistake and creates a lot of noise he'll be happy about it as we are. He did indicate clearly his support for Humphrey. But for a while I really do feel frustrated. There's so much I would have liked to have done. At this point I'm debating in my own mind whether I should tell Tom to quietly proceed with a few people or to lay low for now. I suppose in a way that depends upon how urgent it is to get some action out in these States. Humphrey's popularity appears to be swelling. Negative reports on Bobby Kennedy continue, however, I get some that the Kennedy organization people are moving hard in various states and with some success. So it's a fluid situation. I'll be involved I expect more and more

and not just on the periphery, but for now it's distinctly low key. I don't like it much, but there's not a darn thing I can do about it.

Saturday, April 27, 1968 -- 9:00 am - at home. Well I had a fair night's sleep and feel a little brighter this morning. I've got a call in for the Vice President. My how I hate to miss that kick-off occasion. But as I reflect on it after a night's sleep, maybe it's the best thing. Perhaps I should have fought the President harder, urged and even demanded that he apply the same rules to himself as he does to Humphrey. On the other hand, he has as he points out withdrawn from the active fray himself because he thinks he can do the best job for peace and of course on the Hill. To now permit his Administration to get into a series of conflicts and confrontations for there will be differences with charge and counter-charge and resulting irritations and confusion, particularly on the Hill, would be questionable. Also if he told Humphrey what Humphrey told me, when the heat comes off we will be permitted gradually to get back into the ball game. Further, he made it clear to me that he had not told anyone that this would be permanent, as a matter of fact had told Bobby Kennedy himself that what he said or didn't say and others would depend on what took place in the campaign. In effect saying that if Kennedy got too wild and out of hand, he then would be prepared to go to work.

April 27, 1968 -- While I was talking with the President, Jim Jones brought in a written memo. It seemed it was from Charley Murphy, reporting a conversation with Ted Sorenson who had called to inquire whether there were two standards applied, to-wit, was Schnittker being treated more sharply than others. So it would appear that the President does have some kind of a working arrangement with Kennedy. Also, he told me that Kennedy had been responsive to a call about setting up an urban institute, apparently some non-profit organization to further study urban problems, and had stated he would speak favorably about it, not in Indiana but later in Washington. On the other hand, Gene McCarthy when called spoke back nastily and bitterly saying in effect that nothing good could come out of this Administration, why bother him with it. So maybe the President has staked out where Kennedy is concerned a kind of middle ground, that there is some communication and as a result some of the bitterness may be kept out of the campaign. Query -- Does that mean that he really will be neutral and that he really will not help Humphrey and will accept a Kennedy election? I think that's doubtful, for although he did keep with me a very firm position he did state at one point that he hoped that Schnittker would resign, that he considered it disloyal to him, that Schnittker had gone out for Kennedy after some of the things that Kennedy had said about him, Johnson. I agreed on the grounds, and I stated this, that after while if matters cooled off we could begin to do some internal work quietly, but it would be difficult to do that with Schnittker there looking over our shoulder under the current ground rules, and that it will.

The President didn't tell me that we must not do that ever. He said he had talked to Wirtz and Wirtz planned to do only staff work for Humphrey and he hadn't prohibited that. After all if Wirtz is going to do some staff work and writing, why that's Wirtz' business. But he did indicate that he had told

Wirtz to get his wife out of the active participation and presumably that meant the Humphrey kick-off today. It sure is a fuzzy picture, but I guess it could be worse. There is some reason to believe that the President will not be too nosey. I think I'll tell Tom to proceed cautiously, carefully on his own and let matters take their course within the Department. I might set the standard by saying that those people who are not under the Hatch Act are severely Hatched, those that are Hatched are still Hatched whatever that means and now let's proceed accordingly. On that basis Tom carefully and discreetly could move some things. Anyway I've got a couple of days here now to reflect on it for I'm off to Norfolk to crown Connie and we'll see where we land by the time we return.

May 2, 1968 -- 7:15 p.m. St. Thomas, Virgin Islands. I'm sitting here in the dining room on top of the Hill in the new guest house that the Paiewonskys have gotten for the Virgin Island Government. I'm looking out the windows. The lights have just come on and it's perfectly magnificent. This is an unbelievably beautiful place. Great big, ample rooms, wonderful garden and a magnificent view. Jane and I just came down from the roof where we could look out over the Atlantic on one side and the Caribbean on the other, the Islands stand out sharply etched, as the color of the water changes with the time of day, the intensity of the sun and the cloud cover. Now the lights have come on around the harbor and the surrounding islands and it's just simply lovely. We had a wonderful day -- our 26th anniversary day. A moment ago I called a number that was left for us and it was the cable station with a message that read as follows: "We miss you today -- have that happy anniversary -- your kids" Mike and Connie. Needless to say, we were thrilled to receive it. Right now we're burning up. Too much sun today. We came in here yesterday, flying in from Washington on Trans-Caribbean. A very pleasant flight -- quite cheap too, \$250.00 round trip for both of us into St. Thomas. The 3-hour lay-over in San Juan was a big bore,

but we got here about 4:00 o'clock, up to this lovely place, had a few drinks and dressed and went out to dinner, came back and to bed. Slept quite well, I was up a little after 8:00. We went to the beach about noon and stayed there a bit too long. Mangan's Beach is I think the most beautiful in the world. Half a mile of magnificent white sand, beautiful trees, well cared for, beautiful azure water, quiet; it's a cove with no real surf action and the water is cool, clean, clear and it's just magnificent. But we're burning up a bit tonight. We returned about 3:30 - lunched, read, napped, strolled, and just came down off the roof. I already feel like a new man. I was literally kind of running out of gas, what with all the pressures of this spring -- presidential politics, et al, the Far East trip, the Mexico trip, speeches, testimony all last week, the usual office routine, so that I'd been skinning by on three or fours hours sleep a night and really beginning to feel it. A week of this and I think I'll be ready to take on the next lap in the race that is always Washington.

Now to recount a few things that have taken place the last few days. I think I omitted the week end at Norfolk which was perfectly delightful. I flew down in the King Air at noon. We had a relaxed luncheon with all the dignitaries. I sat next to Mrs. Douglas MacArthur who proved to be a spritely, charming lady. I crowned Connie, one of many beaming fathers. Jane and I toured the MacArthur Memorial and Museum for an hour in the afternoon and then had a wonderful time at the ball that night. The Norfolk people were perfectly splendid hosts. The Mayor, Roy Martin; two Willcoxes, a banker and his cousin a lawyer; others as well, made us feel very much at home. I pretty well left all the problems of Washington and we really had a gay party. Actually I had a little more to drink than is good for me. We rolled into bed at about 4:00 in the morning. It wasn't so bad getting up at 9:00, but I carried some of the liquid cheer along with me and was a bit hung over. We went out for a late

brunch at the Officers' Club at the Amphibious Training Station and then to an air show. We didn't see much of it except the Army Jet Flyer team and some parachutists who really came in on target. We flew back commercial, home, back at the desk trying to catch up.

Monday morning the Poor People's March descended on us. Initially they were to come at 9:30, then it was 9:00 -- they showed up at 11:00. There were about 100 of them. The number had varied from 15 to 100. Obviously Abernethy was having trouble organizing it and keeping them under control. However, they were pretty good. We used room 218-A. They jammed it. There were radio and television until you couldn't see over it, but we turned them out after they had taken the pictures of my shaking hands and welcoming Abernethy and Company. Then we sat down, me and my staff on one side of a long table, Abernethy and his spokesmen on the other, and then the rest of the Poor People. Abernethy read a prepared statement. It wasn't too nasty - concentrated mostly on food and food deficiency with some inflammatory language. It was irritating that their petitions were opened with a strong emphasis on the words "We demand". He was friendly enough though and then the people at the table had their say and then others around the table as well. Here it was clear we had people who were very limited in their background and very militant and aggressive in their demands. A variety of charges were made -- demands were made, and some emotional somewhat inflammatory statements. But not too much. The strongest was a young and attractive Negro man who stood up and said that they had been waiting long enough, they had been petitioning and trying, but now they were going to get what they had coming or else they would have to resort to violence. I've forgotten his exact words. They left about 12:30, trooping out of 218-A singing the song "We will overcome". I let them go -- stepped out in the Hallway to answer a few questions on T-V which I said they were respectful, polite, but

firm in their requests and I used that word instead of "demand". That I had used 218-A many times with groups that were petitioning and complaining so this was nothing new, only this instance there were more of them than before. The rest of the day they plowed around Washington, late to every appointment with some extreme statements about the fact that they need not worry about this that people would be waiting for them whether they were early or late, which was probably true. They ended up with Congress and apparently muted or softened their attitude somewhat in dealing with Congress. All in all it was an interesting and perhaps useful experience. As I said to the press, and Tuesday in Georgia and Arkansas, that every citizen has a right to petition his Government as long as he acts legally and properly and the fact the language may be a bit inflammatory is not a matter of any great concern in a Democratic Government, especially in Arkansas and Georgia if I wanted to be a little inflammatory I could really have made some noises, but I didn't.

Monday night Jeri Joseph came out for dinner with us. Lots of talk about the Humphrey campaign. She is working hard in it on an almost full time basis. Incidentally, on Monday morning I did tell at Staff meeting that we had been grounded by the President in our political activity, describing it as a super-Hatch Act and I supported the President's position and stated that we would all have to act accordingly. John Schnittker who called me Sunday night querying whether he need bother to come back, acknowledging that he had misled me, said nothing. There's a good bit of uncertainty around the Department. I told Tom frankly to go ahead with great caution. To keep himself informed in depth as what goes on in the Humphrey campaign and where we stand in various states so that we would be in a position to do what we could within the ground rules and that he should try and work with Birkhead, get him some help, and resume organizing the Town and Country for Humphrey. I also told them in light of the furor my remark in Minnesota that I planned to leave next January that I was broke,

that this was reported out of context, that I had stated it for home consumption with some private reasons and had not felt it would be over reported or widely reported. However, it surely has been. Everywhere I've gone the last week, it's been mentioned. I told my staff that I had been in public life for 14 years. I didn't know when I would leave, but they shouldn't take that to mean I plan to be Secretary fourteen years more. I could kind of feel the tension go out of the room and I also told Tom and Joe and John Baker who are pretty good at spreading rumors to try and get the word out around the Department so uncertainties and concerns would be abated and I wouldn't be quite such a lame duck Secretary. However, I've had some favorable comments about the statement too. On balance it may be a good thing. At least it helped to prevent your being taken so much for granted.

On Tuesday, I flew out early in the morning, going to Georgia where I made a rural urban balance speech, one going into more particulars on a national plan to locate people and facilities in rural America, to the County Commissioners Convention. Phil Campbell had twisted my arm hard to do this and I had a really very good reception, followed by an enjoyable lunch at the new, lovely bank building, put on by the President of the largest bank, Georgia Railroad Bank, a Mr. Drawdy. It was relaxed, cordial and enjoyable and again I spread my contacts around a lot of influential Georgians. I've got more friends and following in that State than I have in Minnesota.

I also got a chance to talk to Phil Campbell and pin him down in terms of delegates for Humphrey. He's basically the swing man there now and I was pleased to find he is for Humphrey, but he also is in a power contest with Carl Sanders, the previous Governor. Sanders as a Governor apparently was a strong one and this alienated Phil Campbell who is a strong Commissioner of Agriculture. Sanders has been advocating Constitutional reform to make such as Campbell appointive, not elective. As Phil said, this is a matter of life and death as

a matter of self-preservation, hinting that if Sanders became a favorite son which he is trying to do that this would look towards his running again for the Governorship, strengthening his prestige, why Phil would probably have no alternative but to go for Wallace and bring Maddox with him. So Phil suggested that Humphrey call Maddox, if he could make him feel good, why Maddox might then cooperate in going for Humphrey. They select delegates in Georgia by appointment of the State Chairman with the advice and consent of the Governor. Apparently they have already sent a number of names to the Governor, most of whom will be for Humphrey. When I suggested to Phil that might be dangerous for Humphrey if Maddox shot his mouth off. He agreed and said he thought he could handle it. He more than hinted to me that Sanders was a questionable character, insisting that he was worth over a million dollars now, and was broke when he got to be Governor. Sanders is very attractive. I heard the closing part of his speech to the County Commissioners. I called Humphrey from Arkansas where I flew to next, suggesting that he might call Governor Maddox. Humphrey was delighted to get the word, said he would call Phil Campbell himself and that he probably would call Maddox at home. He was very pleased that I was out campaigning and said the President had talked with him about our meeting on Friday night and that everything was going to be all right.

The Arkansas visit was similar to many. A kind of screwball County chairman had really promoted this and twisted Thornton's arm enough to get me there. People came in from a considerable area, but it was pretty loosely organized. I met with a group of cotton farmers, trying to get the projected yields up. The political rally was a kind of a barbecue in an empty store building. They had maybe 150 or 200 people. The physical arrangements were poor, but they seemed grateful and enthusiastic. Here again delegate problems. A guy by the name of Joe Johnson ran for Governor last time, winning in the primary and losing to Rockefeller. He's an out and out alliance white racist now

supporting Wallace. As nearly as I can tell he controls the State Committee and the State Committee in turn selects the delegates to the National Convention. The State Chairman Leo Cantlett is weak, an old time Southern patronage politician. We saw him in Washington and his main concern was to get some legislation through for a bit contributor. I tried to pin down a number of the sponsors of the barbecue I appeared at but could get nothing very specific out of them except that they were going to work at it and were sure it would come out all right. That's simply not good enough. Cantlett even told me that his nephew whom he had sent down to a meeting of young people sponsored by the National Committee had come home pretty well enamored with Bobby Kennedy. So we really need to do some work in Arkansas.

I got home about 2:00 o'clock, finished packing, not in bed until almost 3:30, but we got away in the morning all right and here we are. I feel much better tonight, although a little bit drawn from so much sun. Jane and I are going out to dinner in a few moments and we've still got 6 days to look forward to.

I've had a chance to do a little reading and some thinking, particularly concentrating on the State of Affairs that we face today. With so many demands at home and around the world it's ironic in a way but the poor people, the less developed nations, the minority groups seem to be taking on today the cast of insistence and demand, rather than the desire to cooperate. It is as if they feel all of these things are theirs by right and that as former colonists we owe the less developed countries a great deal to pay back the damage we've done, by the same token the Negroes at home. This may be right, but it's not going to be very effective and the sharp edge of militancy and the pressure of demands and dogmatism won't but create basic resentments which will make it harder to get things done and create real tensions in society which trouble me deeply for we could have a real backlash, and as the moderate forces and the

middle and lower middle class groups feel increasingly threatened by minority groups and by the poor and as the institutional patterns begin to erode because of the excesses that we're getting from these groups and from student groups now all over the world, there may be a dangerous striking back and a kind of polarization of society that the Kerner Riot Commission Report predicts as our greatest danger. The more I think about it the more I tend to feel that report over-stated the situation and as such gave added fuel to the increasingly demanding militant groups. It's a real challenge as to how we handle this and keep them active and participating and making progress without ~~permiittig~~ them to become destructive of the functioning of Government and our society and without creating the resentments and apprehensions that will result in a middle class white backlash. This student thing is troublesome, too. I was reading today the violence of the student outbreaks in Italy and Germany and apparently this same pattern in many countries behind the Iron Curtain. Somehow we've got to contain the extremes of this and yet take the advantage of the opportunity that this increased militancy and this increased pressure from these long overlooked and ignored groups who are in need and are entitled to more. If we can use the disturbances they are now making, to shape up and loosen the resistance to change this can all be a very good thing.

Goodness knows that the unrest and the pressure and even the disturbance has helped us move ahead on our food programs. Ironically, they are now my greatest Achilles' heel. It's a place where I might have done the most since I've been Secretary of Agriculture and currently it's a place where I'm being criticized as a heartless monster. Actually the food thing sets this whole grave question in sharp context. Step by step we've moved ahead on this program, expanding the items under direct distribution, fathering the Food Stamp Program, fighting it through the Congress, increasing the appropriation, passing

a Child Nutrition Act and with it a school breakfast program, getting Section 11, the special funding for children that can't buy their school lunch, improving the programs, application, moving to a position to where we now are getting away with sending the Federal Government in to run the program where the States aren't willing to do it, we've reached a million more people in the last year and have liberalized the programs substantially and still these groups simply declare that we're monsters who permit people to starve to death in this fat and rich country. They demand that we declare a national emergency and feed all the hungry people. It sounds very good, but even if we had legal authority to do so, and even if we set up these special feeding programs in various places we would not be meeting our basic problem which is the problem of an efficient and effectively administered system to reach all people with the maximum efficiency. We don't want to maintain direct distribution, we want Food Stamps. And to duplicate and have direct distribution and food stamps in the same county as they demand would be counter-productive, wasteful and local authorities simply wouldn't do it. However, maybe we could set up special direct distribution programs in a few places, or at least run a pilot effort to see what might happen. On direct distribution they of course want free food stamps. Short of that they protest that the requirement of paying in what has been spent for food is wrong and we ought to reduce the amounts required if we want to eliminate that provision all together. We can work on this and perhaps they have been higher than they should be. Our studies support what we have set as payment standards. I am vulnerable on one count and that is that we have turned money back in from Section 32 funds that could have been used under direct distribution to get more nutritious and diversified food. However, the direct distribution program is a supplemental program and frankly we don't want to make it so attractive that people won't

move to Food Stamps. Food Stamps nation-wide are the only real answer. Yet I can't hardly say that without being called a heartless brute. Actually, the DD program is a surplus disposal program. It's geared for that purpose and if I had started using monies available and buying on the basis of running a food program instead of a surplus disposal program more than I have done, I'd have run into very serious political difficulties on the hill. But in that area we will need to relax some. In any event it all ties together so that the demands that are being made, including that they operate the programs themselves, are so excessive and far out and demanding that they imperil the program itself and that's my main concern. Yet I must admit that these very protests and the pressure which they build up does force me to re-examine some of the things we're doing and I find out things that previously I did not know that I should have known and that I have taken for granted. So it's a good exercise, even though a painful one for me if again it can be contained and this is the basic problem. We've moved fast the last five years, but not fast enough. We've created expectations, turned loose forces that now become increasingly demanding. There's merit in what they say. We should not tolerate poverty in this country, but you can't translate that into working programs overnight. This they demand. In a number of places where the poor people have come to a position of relative power, such as in Syracuse under OEO, it hasn't worked and has resulted in grave problems and final termination of the program. Other things they are demanding would do the same. Yet now they plan apparently to come to Washington and to camp there until they get what they want. Who knows what will happen. I believe basically that this country and its institutions are strong enough, basic enough, and solid enough so we can weather this and profit from this kind of pressure and can channel it into constructive purposes and can develop

programs that will move us to do some of the things that need to be done so we can meet this terrible poverty condition which we have overlooked for so long. But in the process we must be very careful indeed and there is real danger that we'll throw out the baby with the bath water and lose instead of gain ground in meeting our objectives.

Sunday, May 5, 1968 -- 6:30 am - St. Thomas, Virgin Islands. I just saw a sunrise. It was lovely. I awakened this morning before 6:00. We were to bed and asleep by 11:30, after a delightful day of snorkeling off Norman Island which is in the British Virgins substantially South of St. Thomas and St. John. I decided to get up, feeling quite rested, and walked up on the roof of this beautiful building and there in the East was the sun fighting to poke it's head over the horizon. There was an oblong white puffy cloud which was glowing a deep red and gradually its edges began to flame. Then a sliver of bright light poked its way over the clouds and in seconds the whole sun was out changing the world from what had been a rather grey, not really dismal, for it's never dismal here, atmosphere quickly brightened. I stand now in the dining room. There is still a lot of cloud cover, but it's spectacular to see the brightness of the sun bouncing in different places depending upon the cloud cover and how it all changes. In front of me is the beautiful garden I have already described with the poor man's gardenias, the bougainvillea, the host of different kinds of cactus, the profusion of different shades of green, and through it all the birds are darting and in the foregrounds stretches the Atlantic with this beautiful harbor and the Islands, sailboats at anchor, directly in front of me a small tramp ship and of course behind is the Atlantic. We found the other day that this house we're in was valued at \$330,000 for tax purposes and the man who owned it gave it to the college here. He made money that way, writing it off his income tax. It's a strange

world when you can make money by giving something away. Our stay here has been delightful. This is now Sunday, the fourth day two more to go. The only unfortunate aspects was the product of our own stupidity. We went swimming the first day down to Magan's Beach, the most beautiful beach I think in the world. It's about a mile long, in a semi-circle at the end of a deep indentation. It has simply magnificent soft sand without a stone or a shell, gentle wave action, cool, crisp, absolutely clear water, and a lovely surroundings whether it be the jungle behind or the wooded hillsides on both sides with intermittent homes dotting them. Anyway we enjoyed it so much we stayed too long. The sun was down behind the clouds most of the time, we really didn't think it was very hot, and so we took a walk up and down the beach, went in swimming several times, laid and read and in all stayed there until about 2:30 which was a good 2 1/2 hours. That was simply too much. As soon as we returned we were sore and put some stuff on, but it did little good. That night we were burning and on Friday as well. We were sharply uncomfortable. For the first time I can remember my ankles were actually swelled up and across the saddle of my shoulders it's still terribly tender. As a result we didn't swim Friday but went down late in the day to Sapphire Bay where we practiced snorkeling a bit. Then yesterday we went on a Cabin Cruiser with Bert Paiewonsky and had a morning cruise, a very delightful lunch at St. John. What a magnificent place that is. We sat and lunched with the manager of the Rockefeller Resort there at the Bay and looked out over that magnificently azure, very colorful Caribbean and enjoyed a wonderful lunch. Then on to the boat and quite a ride in fairly heavy sea to Norman Island where we snorkeled up and down a cliff face and enjoyed again the magnificent underwater life. What a different world it is when you put on that mask and take a look. I wore a skivvie shirt and a white shirt to protect my back and legs -- Jane the same. We hurt, but we enjoyed it, and somehow the soreness seemed to go

out about then. We had a delightful ride back, a drink and watched the sun go down, made our own supper, read and to bed a little after 11:00. Jane is still sleeping. I'm going to go to work in a second on the Commencement Speech for Connie. I've been fussing about this now for several months, wondering what I could say that would mean something. I could talk about the world food problem. Connie kind of encouraged that, however, the real issue today revolves around the current unrest in the colleges, in the cities, and what it's all about. I'm going to try and get a speech written that will set out the American Revolution and what it's meant to the world and it still goes on and that we are now in one of its critical stages and that we all ought to be challenged to make our contributions to carrying it forward successfully and conquering the last obstacle in that revolution, mainly racial discrimination and also poverty and that at long last we do have the resources to do that, now we must put our mind to it and do it. I think I'll get Wayne Rasmussen to help with this from the historical point of view and show the different stages of the American Revolution here and its reflection around the world. With Wally to help write, we ought to be able to get out a pretty good statement and then perhaps expand it into a magazine article or something. I have not seen this actually done a bit too about the Poor People's March for I've had a chance to read the Riot Commission Report and it does tell a pretty grim story of how the Negro people in our country have been held down and discriminated against even making allowances for the fact that the staff of this Commission was recruited from people who were fairly well out on this subject anyway. The history is a pretty grim one. Now that these folks have so much expectation, it follows that we're going to have to give and perhaps as much as anything else let them know that they can get results, that they will be heard, that there is a place in the system for them

and that they need not face constant frustration. On the other hand, the line will have to be drawn somewhere for the demands, people being people, and many of these being people of limited understanding and horizon, why the demands will continue ad infinitum beyond the capacity to be met. Anyway I think we're going to have to do some giving and I must call John Schnittker re some suggestions along that line some time today.

May 11, 1968, 2:30 pm -- at the office. It's almost as if we were never in the Virgin Islands. That seems a long time ago. The only real reminder today is an itchy back where the sunburn results are peeling off. We returned to Washington on Wednesday, flying in about 8:00 o'clock at night. It's always good to get home. We piled right in on the mail, unpacking, et al, and the next day was a hectic one here in the office. Actually, not too much had happened.

The food problem continues pretty much on the top of the agenda, but we can't really do much about it until the question of tax and budget is resolved. The Conference Committee came out day before yesterday with a 10 percent tax increase and a \$6 billion appropriation cut. The President had insisted no more than \$4 billion. What will come of it, we're not sure, and how much we'll have to cut we don't know, and of course what we can look forward to by way of increased funds for Food Stamp we don't know either. In the meantime we have been trying to develop alternatives and I've been talking with DeVier Pierson in the White House about it. Hopefully it'll jell by Tuesday. The essence of the matter is that we are still operating on emotion where this is concerned. That was brought home to me rather dramatically when Yesterday Altschul brought in three very prominent and important nutritionists. These men were really experts and they told me that we really didn't know what the state of things is in this country on nutrition, that the obvious absence of nutrition that you find in less developed countries around the world, to wit, plagria, beri beri, rickets quassia kori, simply don't exist in the United States. The more subtle kinds

time I plan to leave town - particularly on anything that has any aspects of play to it - why I get into some kind of a bind here in Washington.

I think what I'll do is delay my leaving this morning, try to talk to Ellender and Poage, at least Ellender, go to New York, watch it by phone, have lunch with John Swanson. If necessary, return so that I can be here later on in the day. I think if I see Ellender and go over things with him further that I will have done about all that I can do. Anyway I'll see.

One other thing yesterday, I had a meeting with Humphrey and a Committee from the NAACP about the whole food problem. I could have murdered Humphrey. He was an hour and fifteen minutes late again. But when I got home I found that he had been so enormously effective in a meeting of women that he had sold Connie who had been to put it mildly pretty lukewarm. She has been pretty much one of the not new left group, but certainly sullen and anti- the Administration and Johnson and everything that has been done and not very pro-Humphrey. Last night she was quite different, having been as she said quite plainly inspired by what he said and by his ideals which came through. It must have been a super performance -- Jane was too.

Anyway I waited an hour and 15 minutes with the NAACP group, including Roy Wilkins, Clarence Mitchell, Aaron Henry was there, people from all over the country. Finally Humphrey got there and we started in. Their position was like all the others. "Let's have some action. Let's feed these hungry people. No excuse for it. We want something done in not more than 2 weeks so we can report back to our people results." So we started patiently from the beginning, reviewing for them what had been done under direct distribution, how the program was available to any county all over the country, the Food Stamps and how it worked and how the law meant people had to pay in what they had been spending for food, how we might lower those amounts, how we might increase that bonus, how we might bring in more counties, but how we needed more money and how the double-cross in the House by the liberals as of the day before seriously threatened food stamps in the Senate which, of course, it does.

. . . .

tried to give to the Poor People and to follow up with us in seeing what we could do to improve. All the talk about quick action, about being a "go" instead of a "no go" lawyer and all the rest, when you got down to grappling with this faded as it always does, it just isn't that easy. So much easier to talk about than to do something about.

In the meantime, Humphrey listened for an hour. It may have done him some good because his staff has put out a statement and put in his speech before the National Association of Counties the statement about failure to do enough about food, naming the Department of Agriculture. He apparently didn't use that language in his actual speech but the press picked it up and I'm sure there will have been some comment around the country and particularly in Minnesota. I thought of confronting him with it, but thought better of it, particularly if he didn't use the language. They've got a position paper on that that John Stewart has said he will clear with me. Same old story -- so easy to talk about this -- the whole issue has been emotionalized to the place anyone can shout from the roof tops and get some attention about it, but no one comes up with any practical things that don't take money or new legislation. Anyway, I spent almost three hours yesterday with them. I will try and work with them; if we can give them some success stories which we might if we can get this appropriation and let them get into the position to announce it and to claim some credit for it, why this will be helpful for they are a sensible, moderate, reasonable group vying for support and competing with the way outs, including the revolutionaries who are seeking to make such an appeal to the blacks these days. So maybe good will come of this meeting after all.

I went over yesterday to witness the signing of the big Housing Bill. It's an enormous piece of legislation which fundamentally will make it possible for most Americans to own their own home, or to rent their own apartment. It also includes

funds for multi-county programing and planning and also improves FHA credit. So there is a lot of good in it and I think 5 years from now it will have made an enormous contribution to meeting real problems in the country. There were a lot of people there. Mostly Cabinet. A number of mayors, Stokes from Cleveland, Dick Daley from Chicago and some others. The President signed it and gave quite a fighting speech in connection with what it would do and how everyone should have a home. He got a good reception. He went down the line of people afterwards. It was held over at the new HUD building, just completed. It was hotter than blazes. We gathered on a platform in a kind of court. When he finished the signing he moved down the line where people were roped off. He enjoyed it thoroughly and went way to the end, shaking hands. A lot of the young people squeeling, clapping and all the rest. You could almost see how he'd like to be out on the campaign trail. It's a tough time for him. It's a tough time for all of us.

August 7, 1968 -- 1:16 p.m. Just a few comments before I eat lunch. This has been a rather quiet week, but in a way a frustrating one as well. Everytime I don't have things piled up so high I can't stop running I tend to get impatient. Also my ulcer has been kidding up this week and that doesn't help matters any.

But to start from last week -- Jane and I went into New York on Friday and had a delightful day. I started the day by meeting with Ellender and left with the expectation there would be a Conference Committee. Instead it was blocked on a parliamentary technicality in the House. If Poage had called the Committee together the first thing in the morning and got them to ask for a Conference rather than waiting for the Senate request to come over, it would have been different. However, the House refused to give unanimous consent to receive the Senate action and then with the House in session they refused unanimous consent for the Committee to meet. Thus, no Conference was possible and matters just died. I found this out in New York much to my disappointment. It's a good thing I went. I almost stayed home because

of my concern and there was nothing I could have done. We flew to New York uneventfully. I had lunch with the General Counsel of the General Electric Company and also John Swanson. We discussed the possibility of my representing them if and when I go back into the practice of law. They sounded very definitely interested and this would appear a very good opportunity indeed. John Swanson said he had indications that Sylvania might be interested in such a relationship as well. I must find out exactly what these people want. If it's lobbying as such, I'm not interested. On the other hand if it's representing them legally and also in terms of planning their programs and policies and in connection with their operations with Government there could be many things that could be both interesting and useful. Anyhow it's a possibility, and one well worth investigating.

We spent the afternoon then with the John Swansons and the Heaneys, had dinner and went to a play. We kind of loafed the next morning, catching a 2:00 o'clock plane. We almost didn't get out of New York because Kennedy Airport was so piled up with traffic that the plane was delayed over 2 hours. So we caught a cab over to LaGuardia and were able to walk right on a shuttle and got home in time for Jane to spend some time with Connie who was on the way out to Dulles to meet Gary. Happily he came in almost on time. Jane and I went out to the Baldwins for dinner and returned to find them about midnight. Gary spent Sunday with us and they drove up to New York on Monday. Happily their relationship immediately resumes what seemed to have been its old closeness and Connie, of course, was beaming, relieved and happy, and so the plans go forward for the big wedding without a hitch.

I've been working mostly this week on the Humphrey campaign with not a little frustration. Had a Tuesday morning meeting with a lot of people in here. It went fairly well and I had a feeling that they really appreciated the chance to get together and that these meetings were about the only communication they had. It's

clearly evident that the organization of the Humphrey operation is atrocious. Everybody I talk to from every direction says the same thing.

Larry O'Brien is aboard there now. It's been about 10 days since it was announced he would take over. I wrote him a nice note in the middle of last week and haven't heard a word. Humphrey told me that he had suggested Larry come and see me and I have been waiting for that call -- no contact. I invited him to the Tuesday meeting -- no appearance. I really don't quite understand it. I could help him a lot. If I were in his place, I would seek that help, but for some reason he has always seemed standoffish with me where politics are concerned. It troubles me. Also, Fritz Mondale is deeply disconsolant and unhappy. He is bitter towards Humphrey -- feels he was not backed up, that Humphrey has got to have half a dozen people around him at all times, doing the same thing, and doesn't seem to trust anybody, nor to really back anybody up. This is too bad. I hoped to have Fritz up here for lunch today to just hear him out and try and get him back on tack a bit, but he canceled -- I don't know why.

In the meantime, I'm trying to carry out my little mission which is to try and set down the overall campaign plan for the General Election. I must say it's difficult to get cooperation and I have a sense that it is more difficult since O'Brien came in. The same old business of maneuvering around the throne and his ascendancy meant a little bit less for yours truly. I think Jim Thornton is proceeding on the scheduling all right but I've been very disappointed with Tom's activity on the organization. I really got after him this morning because they simply hadn't done anything for 10 days. I'm having McCandless and the Regional people over for a breakfast tomorrow morning with the hope that we can get them really in the saddle and try and get an analysis for each State. I'm worried about it though, because without all out cooperation it's going to be pretty hard to get the kind of job done here that needs to be done. It would be ideal if we

could go out of that Convention with a clear organizational structure in every State, but at this moment it doesn't look like I can move it that fast.

I've also been working on speeches this week for I'll have a busy schedule the first three days of next going into Minnesota on a Rural Development Tour. It's a touchy time in agriculture generally because grain prices are very low. I just had a letter from Ed Christianson about it and a long call on the phone from Bill Guy in North Dakota complaining about barley which we didn't let under the program and now they have a big crop and are complaining, asking that the loan rate be increased. That might not be a bad idea and I must review it further. I'm also trying to get an increase price supports and that's been touchy as well.

The tremendous grain crop this year gives me real concern for it does threaten the very foundation of the program.

The Republican Convention is going on in Miami this week. They of course are getting all the headlines and Humphrey is in Waverly, rather than beating around the country. So far the Republicans haven't done much sensational. It appears the efforts of Reagan and Rockefeller to stop Nixon aren't getting off the ground. We're going to try and watch on television tonight the nominating contest.

August 7, 1968 -- 4:30 pm. Nothing but trouble. I just finished a conference with Francis Kutish, Schnittker and Godfrey about barley and grain in general. It followed a phone call from Governor Bill Guy in North Dakota demanding that I increase the price supports on barley because we wouldn't let barley under the program and now they have a tremendous crop with heavy pressure and prices below the loan rate. He wants the loan rate up and something done about storage. We went over the figures and they're really pretty grim. In this election year, the end of eight years of service as Secretary and a big farm bill up in the Congress it's ironic and discouraging that we would be having an enormous production year, not only here but around the world. For example in feed grains we had expected with the new program that we would have a draw down of six to seven million tons.

Instead, according to current estimates the crop is going to be big enough so we won't have any draw-down and will have close to a 50 million ton carryover, which is 10 million tons more than our outside figure. So we have a corn surplus. The same for wheat. We had a significant increase in our cut-back, i.e., lower allotments, yet we have an increase in the wheat crop and we will have at the end of the year some 700 million bushels, carryover in wheat 100 million over the 600 million bushel top range of carryover. This is highly discouraging and worrisome.

As a matter of fact it causes me some soul-searching about the programs. Who knows what's going to happen. Back in 1964 Willard Cochrane argued that the voluntary programs would not work and that they were too costly with production continuing to climb. We had no alternative so I went along with them in 1964 and managed to pass the big bill in 1965 after a great struggle. Then we experienced a turndown in world supplies, the drouth in India, and the general tightening of the supply-demand relationship with the excellent prices of 1966, and I reversed position and increased production for which I am still, and perhaps properly, blamed. This followed by the big crop of 1967 and now 1968. Logically we will have a turndown soon as the cycle re-asserts itself, but countering that we have the increased promise of more production in the less developed countries, particularly with the tropical agricultural breakthrough in India, Philippines, Pakistan, and so forth. This may well mean along with climbing production in Western Europe that the shortages that come with a bad weather year will not longer be as acute. World transportation improvements, more mechanization, resulting in quicker harvests, improved irrigation -- all of these things. By the same token we've got the overall problem of growing population and what it's going to mean as we seek to balance the equation and look to the long term picture. I don't know. These are some of the questions that have to be answered. For the moment I think all I can do - answers not being available - is to assume that the cycle will repeat itself, to assume that population increase will continue to make demands on supply, and to proceed on that basis, more than defending -

extolling - the virtues and merits of our program which of course we can do within reason, pointing out progress made. On the other hand it's die hard when grain prices are low, even though cattle and hog prices are higher, to make a very effective statement or showing. It all adds up to the fact that the breaks are just not running our way this year and we might as well relax, accept it, and make the most of it.

I talked to Mondale a few moments ago. He was not as bitter as I thought he might be about Humphrey. It was a 'phone conversation, but the gist of it was that somehow, and he was quoting Jim Rowe on this one, like no other man in politics Humphrey has an intimate relationship with his supporters and followers, each of whom hates to cut the umbilical cord and wants to remain as close to, report as directly to, participate as intimately with him as can possibly be accomplished. In return Humphrey seems to revel on this himself, and this basically unhealthy relationship goes on. I've said it myself and it's true. Add to this the fact that Humphrey himself is so quick, brilliant, and demanding that few can meet his demands, and you've got yourself a very difficult situation where management is concerned. Fritz just said he did his best to try and get hold of this thing, that he does know something about organization, he has had some campaign experience, but he was simply unable to do it. The knot of it he said really was the money situation where Dick Maguire is unwilling to really make available any detailed records or information, dealing from his hip-pocket in generalities which has tended to inhibit everyone and to again send the focus back to the Vice President himself. It's a darn unhealthy situation. Fritz did promise to help me in our organization efforts. I'm going to call Fred Harris, too. Maybe we can still get something done on that. I'll know better after the meeting in the morning with the Regional Delegate search operation. In the meantime it's clear that this is a messy situation and probably one that I had best stay out of as I seek to conclude my work here in the Department and go on to other things.

Or, maybe I should plan to stay here which I could certainly do if Humphrey is President and seek to carry on my work here both rural urban balance and also our commodity programs to their culmination.

August 11, 1968 -- Glenwood, Minnesota -- 11:55 pm. It's the end of a long day, but really a very satisfying one. I've been on another Rural Area Development tour, this time in Minnesota. I left Washington on a 7:00 o'clock plane with a stop in Detroit, and flew into Minneapolis about 9:30. It was a perfectly magnificent day and I've never seen the countryside look so beautiful. It gives me a feeling of nostalgia and a real desire to come home once again. I've had a long tour, beginning at Waverly, reviewing and dedicating a home for the aged there, then on to Monticello and a golf course, St. Cloud for a Rural Catholic Life Conference meeting where I spoke an hour and answered questions for half an hour, reviewed a number of projects including a wonderful golf course at Spicer, and a new historical building in the Willmar area, then flew to Benson and saw a dehydrating alfalfa plant, a wonderful home for the aged there too financed this time by HUD, and then an airplane trip to Glenwood looking at drainage programs, irrigation programs, game and fish programs, sewer and water programs, all in the West Central Minnesota RC&D District. It's really the epitome of what I've been trying to do and it gave me a feeling of great pride for having developed the idea of the RC&D and seeing it carried on so very effectively here within a six-county area, pulling together a host of different projects involving legislators, county commissioners, farm organization leaders, really planning in the long run, fighting, wrestling and squirming to get entitlement to Federal and State programs, but really keeping their eye on the ball in relation to what needed to be done in the big picture in this area. Really a most incredible performance and an outstanding demonstration of what can be done. I hammered all day on rural urban balance and it's catching hold. The rural people like it and it's good sense is increasingly coming through.

Glenwood, Minnesota -- tomorrow is more of the same so I'd better roll in here pretty quick for it's 12:00 o'clock now and I'm up at 6:00, but it really does me good to come out and see some of these things happening in the countryside and really what a lovely countryside it is.

Last week was a busy and kind of frustrating one. I continued working with two breakfast meetings on the Humphrey campaign. The scheduling part of this seems to be moving along in fairly good order. In terms of the State organization I got all of the regional delegate search directors together. They're pretty hard-headed and a pretty effective and efficient group and they were kind of hard to reach, but in reviewing with them the situation and soliciting their support we finally did get a commitment that by next Friday they would put in our hands on one piece of paper their evaluation of the States under their jurisdiction. Then I hope that Tom and I can develop an analysis and decision for each State and also then at Chicago establish symposiums, forums or discussions or training sessions on registration and get-out-the-vote, on fund raising, and organization, and that we can succeed in getting a fix on what the organization should be in the respective States and even selecting the person in each State to carry the ball. It'll be hard to do, but it needs to be done and I only hope that we can make some solid progress.

I talked to Humphrey. He said he wanted to talk to O'Brien and indicated Larry was not available for the General Election Campaign and indicated that he expected me to take it over and to run it in a hard nose fashion. I sure don't look forward to that. I also had a breakfast session on Thursday to review our Poll and it doesn't look very good. Humphrey is leading Nixon, but only by 2 points and on almost every measure, man to man, Nixon had a superior rating. Also it seems that McCarthy is running increasingly stronger in the polls and there is evidence to believe that we will be faced with a systematic analysis of poll materials showing McCarthy's superior strength by the time we get to Chicago. I would never

have thought it possible. Out of nowhere with his own peculiar off-hand philosophical style, with the underdog anti-Administration, anti-position that he can and does assume and carry forward rather brutally, he's been able to parlay nothing into broad National support. I'm sure that he's going for the jugglar vein, that he wants to be President, and that he'll do anything it takes to get there. It may very well be a nasty week. We're going to have to counter those polls and that's now in the mill, and of course Humphrey has the debate coming up with McCarthy which some people, including Kirkpatrick, think is the greatest mistake of the ages. He even talked about trying to get out of it but then agreed when I said that simply wasn't possible because the very weak showing of Humphrey in terms of decisiveness, courage and leadership means that he just wouldn't dare take a chance now on failing to follow through on his commitment for this gathering. So terminated this breakfast session which was designed to try and articulate a strategy for the General Election Campaign by calling another meeting for Thursday of this week to review the analysis of the poll which would be completed by the Committee headed by Kirkpatrick and then a thorough going review of the strategy as to how we prepare for that debate and for the Convention. Then with after thought I decided that I better be careful not to get cross purposes with Larry O'Brien so I called to tell him I couldn't attend the meeting he's called for Monday and then to ask him to send out notices for this meeting and that he should call in his name for the decisions made will be immediately important in the "pre" as distinguished from the "post" convention stage. He responded to that suggestion with alacrity. Although he didn't indicate much overt appreciation for my consideration. He didn't want Tom Hughes to substitute for me at the meeting tomorrow, but he did indicate that he wanted to see me promptly upon my return to discuss the overall situation. I must admit at this point that I'm worried. Nixon seems to have come out of the Republican Convention in good shape. Even our people said that his speech was a good one and well delivered. He has nailed down the middle and

accomplished a rather inoffensive platform, has unified the Republican Party, had Reagan on his right and Rockefeller on his left, really hasn't taken a firm position on anything, has gone down to the Ranch to see Johnson, and now has said that he will not talk about Vietnam because that would disturb the delicate negotiations. That's a good solid position for the polls show quite clearly that the people of this country are totally confused on what they want done with Vietnam. There are high percentages saying "get out"; but higher percentages saying "give them an ultimatum and then go in and shoot 'em up if they don't do it". On the one hand the polls say that Johnson could beat anyone named in the contest for President -- on the other hand they say Humphrey's greatest liability is his association with Johnson. And so all the factors don't add up to anything sensible, which makes it all the more dangerous.

Nixon's selection of Agnew as Vice President candidate is perfectly logical and in character with his strategy. I'm surprised I hadn't thought of it before. But it did ~~excite~~ incite a surprising amount of resentment, but I fear that is vocal resentment from liberally oriented people resentful of Agnew's comments about shooting looters. Actually, that very statement will probably get Nixon more support even though it brings more noise from the viciferous liberal grouping. So at this moment Nixon would appear to be in a very tough and very dangerous position with enough lead time to plan, with a clear strategy, and he has gotten across the concept that there really is a new Nixon. So we've got our work cut out for us. The most dangerous thing for him I think is that his care to have unity, his stake down the middle to avoid a contest or any unpleasantness may very well have given him a kind of bland countenance for the moment which the American people may not like. And so when I've been asked to get on television which I have been once or twice or to comment on the Nixon speech or the Nixon strategy, I've tried to draw a comparison between Nixon and Dewey and say that Dewey tried to do the same thing in 1948 and look what happened to him. But

we've got a long way to go, a lot of fighting to do and it looks like a long, hard, tough one before success in November. In any event, it is sure a challenge. And I'm glad to have a part in it, even though it is kind of driving me nuts. Enough for now -- that sack is calling.

August 15 -- 10:40 pm. Back in Washington already for 2 days. Monday was a very busy, very exciting day in Western Minnesota. The night was so short, my ulcer was kicking up, that I didn't enjoy it as much as I should. We were up and away by 6:00. It was a beautiful day and I saw many good projects, not the least of which was new selective irrigation with pumps and new types of nozzles, called guns. By exploiting frequent underwater deposits, the sandy soil in that part of Minnesota was proving out as quite productive. In one instance the farmer had jumped his corn acreage from 35 bushels to 115. I floated down the Crow Wing River and saw why 10,000 people are doing so and a specific example of how it returned income to a farmer who desperately needed it and was netting now \$8,000 a year as an outfitter, which combined with his farming put him on easy street. John Rife of Sabeka is quite a promoter, a really nice guy. The day ended with a session to accept the feasibility report which cost \$50,000 for a pulp and paper mill there and then a speech to the NFO. I flew into Minneapolis, sat up and talked to Mother for quite a while. Up early again, on into Chicago where I spoke to the Lutheran churchwomen, had lunch with Adlai Stevenson III, talking about the Humphrey Campaign and then an education television appearance on my book which was quite gratifying. The reviewer was quite complimentary.

I got in here Tuesday night, worked in the office until quite late. The same yesterday, except Jane and I went out with Connie and Gary. We went to dinner and then out to a night club and danced a bit. I was a little too tired to really enjoy it, but they did enjoy doing it and we, of course, did too. I slept lousy last night and have been a little peaked today. I'm pleased with Gary, he seems to be adjusting in good shape and to be really very decent. Tom Hughes made it

a point today to say how impressed both he and Barbara had been with him when they had a chance to talk with him. So, that's a plus.

I just came back to the office from a 4-hour session with the Humphrey Campaign group. We received and analyzed the poll we had taken and it wasn't good. It showed Humphrey leading Nixon by a small margin, but he wouldn't lead if it weren't for Wallace taking more Nixon votes. It showed Nixon the more popular in terms of issues and also personal image by almost every measure. Humphrey had an image problem, namely that he seems to be weak and vacillating; Nixon much stronger. On the issues, people were all over the place on Viet Nam but clearly it was anti-Viet Nam position. Although there was some hawkishness when withdrawal was mentioned. Law enforcement was the big thing and here Humphrey came through weak and Nixon strong. It was only the Democratic Party affiliation according to the analysis that brought Humphrey the votes that gave him a small lead. It was clear that a number of areas must be pounded in the campaign. Obviously the extolling of the Democratic Party and emphasis on registration and get-out-the-vote that started late and is doing poorly so far, which is a great pity. Work needs to be done on the Humphrey image to get him a more positive one. Law enforcement is a great problem and that must be focused on to give Humphrey a much more positive position. What is to be done about Viet Nam nobody really knows. It's clear that the Administration is very unpopular and from all we could tell the reason for the Humphrey slip in popularity of about 10 points is because there has been a change in attitude towards the Viet Nam war and thereby toward the Administration. It's overwhelmingly clear that people are anti the ins, even though the poll shows that Johnson could beat anyone in the election; but as everyone agreed that's only because he isn't running, and so the need for Humphrey to disassociate himself that people have generally pressed on me because validated and it hampers Humphrey in attempting to support and extoll the real progress that has been made because that again puts

him within the LBJ Orbit and apparently contributes to his current image as a weak man. It's a real tough deck to draw to. We've sure got our work to do.

I lunched with Larry O'Brien today. We had a good friendly luncheon and it was most worthwhile. It's kind of interesting how he's playing this. I hoped he would come here for lunch -- more privacy and quicker, but he insisted on my going down town. I think he has been a bit concerned about me and that's why he has stayed away. He has planned to leave after the Convention. Apparently has some private contract to that effect, but he's beginning to vacillate. Interestingly enough, he told me that his wife had said to him that he had been disappointed when John Kennedy did not make him Democratic National Chairman, that political organization had always been his major interest and that she thought he ought to consider going after National Chairman. I haven't told anyone that. A lot of people are worried and concerned about what will take place following the Convention. Many are looking to me. I've been worrying about it. I would now guess that Humphrey, who has been pushing Larry to stay longer, will seek to name Larry as campaign manager and as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. If that's the case, I can return from the Convention to my responsibilities here and pace my participation in the Campaign accordingly. I feel a little sense of disappointment because I would have been challenged to taking the campaign over, but Larry with his contacts around the country is much better qualified and I think it'll be better that way.

August 19, 1968 -- 10:15 pm at my desk at home. My, what a life! Sometimes it's almost too much. What with the office and the Department of Agriculture, the Humphrey Presidential Campaign and Connie's wedding, it's hard to keep them straightened out. A moment ago I was taking a quick nap after dinner and the last dinner that we'll have as a family before we have an addition, to wit, one Gary Walker, when I heard sobs in the kitchen and it was Connie declaring nothing was wrong but tears running down her cheeks. I checked with Jane. She doesn't know either except Connie wanted some sheets for Gary who is now staying over at American University and we didn't have enough. This, plus the fact that apparently Gary has tried to strong arm Pastor Shaheen to put what he wanted in the marriage ceremony, this some things the Pastor felt he couldn't put in, and Gary making it very clear and apparently fairly sharp and even rough that he didn't believe in church or organized religion anyway. Apparently Pastor Shaheen was pretty shook up about it. I suppose that's understandable, but the boy ought to have a little more sense than that. I'm rather surprised. He's handled himself around here generally very good and when we've talked, which we've done, a bit cautiously on both sides he's made pretty good sense. As a matter of fact I've been much more impressed with him than I thought I would. But there apparently is a kind of a stubborn characteristic here, the kind of business that makes a fetish out of some kind of subjective sort of standard without enough tolerance or flexibility to make allowances for other people and to set your own immediate, strong, so-called attitudes and even principles in adjustment with other people who might not share them. Anyway, they'll have to work it out. But in the main it's been going quite well.

Mike came back last Saturday. We were at the wedding of Brenda Baker when he came in. We came home to see him and Siebee with their very busy beards. Actually he looks pretty good with a beard. Pastor Shaheen greeted him Sunday -- Abraham, Isaac, Joseph and Mike. Mike is fussing and having a problem trying to

get title on the car we bought for him now, but he's always pretty good with appreciation for what you do and that kind of a bounce and it's good to have him home.

I'm a bit loaded in the office with everybody gone on vacation. Godfrey is gone. Schnittker is gone -- he's cheating on me a bit now, and piling on a lot more than he's entitled to at a difficult time, even planning to be gone during the Democratic National Convention. I suppose I should have been tough and called him on it and made him come back, but there won't be much going on and there didn't seem much real justification.

We're getting into the budget problem now and that's kind of messy. I've had a sugar allotment cut to make and some uncomfortable negotiations with Ellender and Holland. But the main thing is the Humphrey Campaign.

We had a meeting last Thursday night looking at a poll and it doesn't look very good. Nixon is running stronger both as a personality and has won "better qualified to handle the most difficult issues" and the Humphrey campaign is really quite a shambles. Fred Gates was in today and when he tells me the stories about money, who's been spending what, with no real kind of firm direction or control why it just seems impossible. They have apparently gone through a couple of million dollars already. Freddy says even more. And no one knows exactly who has been collected from, nor does anyone know exactly what it has been spent for. Freddy blames Humphrey for it as much as anyone else. All of which leads to the question where do we go from here.

I went over to Kampelman's yesterday with Mike and swam a bit and then talked with Max. He thinks the ideal campaign arrangement would be to make Larry O'Brien Chairman of the Democratic National Committee and assign to him half a dozen of the big industrial states that are most involved where he knows the personality and turn the overall management of the total campaign over to me as campaign manager. Initially I didn't like that, it seemed to me I had to run it all or nothing, but if Larry wants to do that we might be able to carve it up and make it work.

I really don't know. I expect it turns on what Humphrey really wants and whether he will then subject himself and the campaign to some real discipline. I think the first thing I would say to him is that for a period of at least 2 weeks I would want it understood that no one would spend a dime or send out a salary check unless it had my personal signature on it. They are giving everyone a separation notice and then we can start from scratch and reconstitute the campaign machinery on that basis. The trouble is I don't know who's who and have little way of finding out. We're under the pressure of this great time limitation with the Republicans all set to go and Nixon with a coolly, carefully and calculating planned campaign. It all makes it kind of grim and I hate to go plowing into something that I can't handle and end up in, responsible, and unable to move because Humphrey simply doesn't give the kind of backing or mandate that means action. I expect making the requirements on the checks would be the best single way to bring the whole thing to heel and that would include those in the Democratic National Committee to whom presumably all of the United Democrats for Humphrey would be turned because money can be borrowed better there. I guess it will all turn on what Humphrey says tomorrow. I'm supposed to see him. I've got an overall campaign prospectus that gives a pretty good organization chart and an analysis of the basic issues and direction. A really good job of scheduling that Jim Thornton has primarily done, working with Friedman and the United Democrats Operation. The rest of it is kind of strung together. We haven't gotten anywhere on organization. I hope to have an objective evaluation of each State to work from but we haven't got it. The delegate search operation with McCandless simply didn't do much good. He came up with almost nothing. I'm going to send Tom to Chicago with Larry O'Brien to try and talk to those fellows and kind of work something out state by state. I can do that at least on a special dispensation from Humphrey who could send a memorandum to all the Chairmen and National Committeemen, at least in the friendly states, and ask them to meet with me and go over their plans within the state and their suggestion as to how we ought to proceed.

That at least would provide a starting point so we could get on quickly with the business of organization in the respective states. I really don't know what to do about this. I guess I'll do what Humphrey wants, but I do want to finish out as Secretary and that means I would have to ask the President for a leave of absence and goodness knows what he would say about that. I haven't talked with him now for several weeks. Well, such is life. Best I just sit back, get a little whimsical and try and enjoy it.

August 20, 1968 -- Today was an interesting day. We had a rather long presentation by Howard Bertsch of FHA at staff. He pointed out the potential of the new Housing and Urban Development Act and how we fitted in. The growth in credit and programs in the last 8 years is really extraordinary. As a part of this two new concepts which we can claim a major part and perhaps the most important, to wit, (1) multi-county comprehensive planning. This goes back to a long night 4 years ago where we sat in the White House until dawn. The effort to get something through Congress with an unanimous vote in the Senate and no action in the House Committee. The long and wearing negotiations with HUD and finally the agreement through the White House that we would put our proposal for multi-county comprehensive planning in the Housing and Urban Development bill with a provision that the Secretary of HUD would have to consult with and in effect delegate to the Secretary of Agriculture. At long last, I think it's 3 years, fruition and a tremendous potential. Also, the principle that by moving to insured loans we could break out of the restrictions of a capital budget, listing loans and expenditures, and counteract thereby the higher interest rates which we had to overcome because the liberals objected through the medium of subsidizing the interest rates for those who couldn't afford to pay them. Thus opening the door on housing, but also on water and sewer. So now we have these two new tools and tomorrow I'll go down to Alabama and Georgia and participate in two loan closings. Here we're moving before HUD is even beginning to get off the ground. In all fairness, we can do it under insured loans because we have the machinery that they don't have. They'll need to get appropriations. We have some money to do it with -- but we're moving.

Then I went over to see Sandy Greenberg about EDA and a discussion as to how that fits into the overall picture.

Back to the office -- I saw the American Legion Post 36 Baseball Team off. They're going to the Regional Championship Playoff -- then to Humphrey's office.

A better than 2-hour discussion. I presented the prospectus of the campaign and he bought it. He noted the policy recommendations and promised to study them further. He reviewed the organizational arrangements and agreed that we should set up a system whereby I could consult with the various State heads of the party and try and work out the organization to be followed in each State. He agreed absolutely to the system for scheduling which we set out in considerable detail and specificity, in effect taking it out of his hands. All in all he was most amenable and showed understanding that he was going to have to delegate and stay with it.

Bill Connell came in. Humphrey told us about a meeting with McCarthy today. Apparently McCarthy, and this was all secret, recognizes that Humphrey will be nominated, told him he would get aboard at the right time but he could do nothing with the wild young ones that are in his camp now; backed off from the arbitrary position he is painted to have on Viet Nam and apparently was quite cooperative. Humphrey swore us to complete secrecy, but this is encouraging. McCarthy stated absolutely no interest in the Vice Presidency. The same old phlegmatic, cynical McCarthy.

We discussed at length the campaign organization. Humphrey's plan is to try and get Larry O'Brien to be National Chairman and to stay longer if possible. If O'Brien is Chairman where do I fit in? I made it very clear that I wanted to stay and finish my term as Secretary of Agriculture at a minimum, and gave the reasons why and Humphrey readily agreed that the 8 best years of my life had been spent in an almost impossible task and that I should see it through and try and set it in the proper tone to my successor. He appeared to completely understand. Exactly what the relationships with O'Brien would be if the President gave me a leave of absence were not spelled out. He had some ideas about O'Brien appointing me as an assistant in charge of the campaign and I said "No" that such a designation must

come from the Vice President and it must accompany a clear understanding with Larry O'Brien or I wasn't interested. I made it very clear that I was not about to take over a job with uncertain authority and then be frustrated because I couldn't afford, that this town turns on position, prestige and power and that I must have those if I'm to get a job done. I emphasized that one of the first things I might do would be to fire somebody that jumped over me to Humphrey, that he must cut people away from his umbilical cord where they loved to run and this has been his problem. He acknowledged that, saying as I have said it was a source of strength but sometimes a weakness too and he seemed to have a firmer and clear understanding and to be more responsive to this kind of criticism than I can almost ever remember. Probably in direct relation to the need he faces at the present time.

If Larry won't go beyond the Convention, and apparently he has an ideal arrangement, and important job, with long term contract with big money, if he won't do that and go beyond, then we considered Fred Harris as National Chairman through the campaign with an assignment to try and revitalize and bring a sharper focus on the party but with me really running the show and hopefully getting someone to take over the responsibility for the big Eastern States where the machines rest and I do not know the boss leadership. This you'll have to discuss with Larry.

Plans for an immediate post-Convention meeting, holding delegates there, for Seminars on Women's activities, fund raising, registration -- we pretty well agreed on subject to a clearance by Larry. The same for polling. I suggested that I take the Prospectus to the President -- Humphrey agreed readily, stating that he knew I would get from the President a long critique which he did not get. And that was it. Actually I was fairly well pleased. Query -- What now? Well that's up to him. He's thinking and he'll have to decide. He was very sensitive about the criticism Bill Connell made of his jumping around on Viet Nam. I said that I figured he was doing it on purpose to try and keep his options open and he more or less agreed that he was. Bill Connell said he had to pay a price them for doing that in terms of people

feeling that he was doubtful and indecisive and maneuvering for support -- he's paying it -- that came clear when I saw the President who was highly indignant and initially quite withdrawn. When I went in he said he was pressed by way of schedule - what did I have? I gave him a little birthday present, a letter, and a golf glove and in the letter the notice we would send him down some new pear and peach trees for the Ranch. He said two pecan trees have died and I've got to do something about that.

Then when I showed him the campaign prospectus I finally broke through and he launched into almost a tirade about Humphrey and Viet Nam. He pointed out Humphrey was all over the place, that he didn't need to try and go after the McCarthy delegates that he couldn't get hold of them any way, that he was gaining nothing, fostering a lot of uncertainty. He claimed that Connally had told him he was about ready to walk out on the whole business. That he talked to Daley in Chicago the same day and Daley was equally disgusted. That Daley had relatives in Viet Nam and was a dove but that he, the President, had two son-in-laws in Viet Nam, that Chuck Robb had had more than half of his Company shot out from under him already. Certainly no one was more of a dove than he, but that he was not about to back off and that if Humphrey and Nixon were firm that negotiations could go forward. He told me that last night discussions with the Viet Nam had been held when they were specifically asked if we stopped bombing will you not increase the pace of supply movement, they said "no". Will you promise not to attack the big cities, they said "no". In other words they were absolutely adamant, refused to make any commitment, and seemingly took the position they had the war won and wouldn't move an inch. The President is clearly adamant. He spoke in Detroit last night and said that we would not stop the bombing until they gave something. He advised that Humphrey should take a position that he was for a new government, that there would be a new government, that the President was through on January 20, that he Humphrey was prepared to review every possibility to bring about peace, to state the conditions the President had set down and go no

further, that he need not, that currently he was being whipsawed, and he was losing by it.

In the meantime Luci had come in with little Lyn. The President was seeing someone for just a moment in the midst of our conversation which by now had become quite protracted. Obviously he was interested. He returned and played with Lyn a while with pictures being taken. He turned on the television and we got some excerpts from the news including a statement by Jerry O'Donnell to the effect that there were three forces in the platform committee, those clearly anti-Administration mostly McCarthy, the Kennedy forces who wished to look forward, and the Johnson forces who sought to justify the Administration, but that he and the Kennedy forces didn't think either of the other courses was worthwhile, they wished to look forward to new days and new solutions. The President described this as not a bad statement. Then he completely softened and said that Humphrey had been great on television last Sunday on Meet the Press, but that he should be careful not to always have the answer to everything so quick. People wanted to feel the President reflected and thought and didn't jump so quickly. He said that Max Kampelman had called down to the Ranch and said he shouldn't be too cross with Humphrey, that he was already quite despondent and the President said he knew how that was in the midst of a campaign with people picking at you. He concluded by telling me to advise Humphrey to be a little more careful in his television appearances, a little more cautious in Viet Nam, but basically not to say that he, the President, was being too harsh. So he varied from being quite adamant giving me the Johnson treatment with his face a couple of inches away as he poured it on to being quite warm and friendly and saying don't tell him I'm cross because it will upset him. He's for Humphrey all right, but he also is bleeding himself and it really showed through when he said that Humphrey had come, spent five hours which had been gay and fun and relaxed at the Ranch, that we each kissed each others wives and went on, then Humphrey left him after 5 hours, went throughout Texas and didn't say one good word about

the President. So, here's the problem. I didn't go so far as asking him what he would do during the campaign -- that'll, I think, have to wait. I do think going to him was worth doing. He may have some useful suggestions. He certainly was flattered to be approached. This may be very important when I go and ask for that leave of absence.

Home and dinner -- Connie out -- visit with Mike -- family crisis about Mike's beard. Connie is hammering him to keep it -- Mother thinks he should shave it off -- it's almost a contest between the two of them. I don't really care, but I think mother is probably right that it would do very little good for him to go down with me into the South with a beard and he plans to shave it off after the wedding anyway. On balance, I guess I'll side with Mother. Poor Mike feels caught between the two women and wants me to make the decision. Such is life.

Jane is tired. Suffering very sharp and disturbing headaches. She and Connie are getting on each others nerves a bit now. She's been doing so much. Connie has had her problems with Gary. He apparently was unwilling to agree to the normal Lutheran Service and has put Pastor Shaheen through his paces. We don't know exactly how that came out. So, here it is Tuesday. Saturday not far off. We go to Convention on Sunday. Things pile up. But somehow we've got to keep our sense of humor and try and enjoy it because we'll look back on it if we don't and wish we had. Never a dull moment.

August 22, 1968 -- 11:00 p.m. at home. This has been a kind of a gloomy day. I had a great day yesterday down in Alabama and Mississippi. Made the first two loans under the new Housing and Urban Development act. One to a colored family -- the other white -- both in extremely low income groups. I was in Triana, Alabama and it was a thrill to see that little kind of colored bedroom community begin to blossom under a very talented and attractive Negro Mayor, a mathematician at Huntsville by the name of Clyde Foster. We saw marvelous self-help housing built in 5 months by the people themselves without any outside help. Made the loan to a

family in miserable, dirty, unbelievable housing circumstances. A very attractive family - children clean - people friendly, Negroes. They will have an \$8,000 home in about 90 days with \$40 permonth payments. He makes \$3,000 a year as a construction laborer. Saw an OEO economic loan for a small grocery store -- park developments within the community, and a real fine progressive spirit. It was 100° in the shade with Congressman Bob Jones and John Sparkman to help liven it, and it really was an inspiration.

Then by Jet Star to Georgia, down to Washington, Georgia, made a loan there -- what a lovely ancient community that is. Back to Athens where I spoke to the Soil Conservation Society. It was kind of tense. I elbowed myself on to that program. The great big coliseum at the University of Georgia was hotter than all get out. No airconditioning. My speech was about 20 minutes long and quite heavy, acoustics bad, but they listened amazingly well and the people in the party, both the press people and Reverend Carl Thomas from the Lutheran Church of America office in New York thought it was great.

Home about midnight to gather on the porch with the wedding crowd assembling.

August 22 - continued. Gary's folks were there. Fannie is here. Connie's friend Sue, as well; Gary, Connie and Jane. I had a few drinks on the plane and was all pumped up and excited about what I had seen and done. Jane had trouble getting me to bed by 1:30. I was tired today. It was hot and a depressing day.

First, I have yet no decision out of Humphrey as to what do we do and I was running over in my mind how to approach the President and whether he would give me a leave of absence. I talked to Jack Valenti, to Marvin Watson, and to Charley Murphy about it. Nothing clear -- no definite ideas -- what he might do. The thought of just walking out after 8 years is kind of grim. Also, the Humphrey front looks pretty bad right now. Kirkpatrick called and said studying the polls showed that it would be almost impossible for Humphrey to win and he had to do something dramatic. His contribution was that Humphrey in his acceptance speech announce

his resignation as Vice President so that he could speak freely and not be a liability to the Administration, etc. That doesn't excite me very much. Jerry Barron called me from California. His contribution was that Humphrey throw the Vice Presidential selection into the Convention as a free choice, that then Ted Kennedy would be drafted and that would give the ticket that could win. Maybe that has some possibilities. I called Humphrey a few moments ago and gave him the old slogan, Staff King, the Auditor in Minnesota, gave me when I first walked into the Governor's office with a little card that said, "Noli Demittere Bastardos Carborundum" which means "Don't let the bastards get you down."

Humphrey looked terrible today at Cabinet. I've never seen such dark pouches under his eyes, all added to by the need for a haircut. He had his usual bounce, but not quite.

It was a long and kind of grim Cabinet Meeting revolving around Viet Nam with the President expressing again and again the firmness and determination of his position on Viet Nam. He revolves it around the fact that he has again and again made offers and gotten absolutely no response. He told the Cabinet in effect what he had told me, that Cy Vance had explored just the day before every contingency and there was absolutely not one inch of give by the North Vietnamese. He went further and said that at Glassboro with Kosygin and later apparently in communication with the Russians he had gone a long way to try and satisfy them. The 37-day bombing halt, he said, was occasioned because the Russians had indicated that if we would stop for 20 days they might get something done. He stated he had personally strong-armed into the Philippine Conference some provisions in regard to our being interested in no bases, no acquisitions, nothing by way of permanent establishment in Vietnam whatsoever. This again apparently to encourage the Russians. Still no results. He didn't say they were double dealing, he said perhaps they couldn't, but in any event there is no evidence that the North Vietnamese are about to give an inch. They won't talk about the Demilitarized Zone because they contend

that's our scheme to split the country in two. They won't talk about not hitting the big cities, that's where the American troops are concerned, of course they might hit them. They won't talk about taking their troops out. They won't talk about anything, even with the promise to stop bombing in turn for concessions. The President in effect lectured and challenged Humphrey saying that the only way they would talk is if they are faced with a tough, hard position and perhaps we'll have it after the National Convention. This with a Ted Kennedy speech yesterday in which he made a proposal which sounds so good to the public, to wit, that we should stop the bombing, apparently unilaterally, and then we should negotiate with them about mutual withdrawal of troops and then leave it up to the South Vietnamese who would win, the Government or the Viet Cong. Well, that's fine provided there is any indication that the North Vietnamese would do that and as it is reported to me there is absolutely none. And so we just keep giving and getting absolutely nothing and these so-called doves in this country keep screaming to do more and more and more in return for which we get zero. What an excruciatingly painful and impossible situation.

The President gets plastered and he can't say a word in response because the negotiations go on. Our irreconcilables mouth the Communists point of view again and again and again. Our people are tired of this no end war. Humphrey is stuck with the Administration position. Every time now he tries to in any way qualify or in any way distinguish himself from it as people entreat him to do with all levels he is then plastered by columnists, today a letter by Norman Thomas, declaring that he is acting purely from the basis kind of political motives; Norman Thomas even demanding that he should personally, as supposedly Bob Kennedy had done, declare his great mistake in the past. Norman Thomas using his fox in a chicken coop statement. And so he takes his beating. At the same time the Gallup Poll comes out showing him down 15 points to Nixon. McCarthy only 5 points. A comparable poll, not quite as bad in Illinois, and the McCarthy forces move now into high

gear. A wire from Pat Lucey today stating that Humphrey can't win and will drag down the entire Democratic ticket, come together around McCarthy who the polls show can win. So it's grim. In the meantime I'm trying to do my darndest to try and get a focus on what I'll do if Humphrey does ask me to move in and take over the campaign. It'll be painful. I really don't have the mechanics in hand. I don't know the people. There are so many things that will have to be done, but I guess if he asks me I really don't have any alternative, but I do hope I can work out something with the President.

In the meantime the wedding is popping around us. Jane is terribly tired. It's 11:10 now and I must go up and get her to bed. There is a little edginess around here -- so many people -- so much going on. The weather has been about 100° and humid -- that doesn't help matters. A luncheon for the bridal party today -- the ladies, that is. A big tea for all the neighborhood. Tomorrow practice and the bridal party dinner -- Saturday -- that's it! Then off to Chicago and the big show. Indeed these are busy days.

Wednesday - August 28, 1968 - 8:45 pm - Chicago, Illinois. This is a wild moment. I'm in suite 1406-A in the Conrad-Hilton Hotel. The Convention is reaching a climax and it's very tense and very unhappy at the moment. I can hear through the open windows a roar of the crowd of hippies and yippies in the street where they are testing the police in every opportunity seeking to riot, to break through police lines. They've desecrated this hotel with vomit and with stink bombs. They're dirty unkempt, wild, profane and in a completely wild manner are just testing the established authority in every way possible. I guess it comes down to a test between Mayor Daley and the City of Chicago and the Police and them. It doesn't leave much alternative. They accuse Chicago being like Prague where the Russians just went in, and so it swirls. Then you look at the television camera and there is great tension and disturbance on the floor of the Convention. I just noted the policego in on television and take a New Yorker out by force, a man who refused to show his credentials. The television cameras are making a great thing of this. They are pointing to the dissension at every turn and using it to illustrate the unhappiness and bitterness and discontent within the Democratic Party. It's been that way now for two days, but today the apex was reached when the Vietnam Plank which had come to be the Administration's plank carried the day by getting about 60 percent of the vote. It was certainly a fair, a completely Democratic process through the Platform Committee and then with presentation, some dozen on both sides, and a roll call vote. When it was over I had hoped that the other side would accept the result in reasonably good faith and that we could go on from there. It's clear now that Humphrey has the nomination won, but it might not be worth taking if matters continue this way. It's hard to tell how many of the McCarthy forces are really bitter and how deeply the party is divided. Some of the old pros, like Sorenson, Kenny O'Donnell, and others, in their statements have left an opening whereby they could come to the support of the Party. There has been talk about a walkout and of course there has been some bitter talk. It could all come together.

I expect it'll depend on how it goes from here, but the mood generally seems ugly tonight.

I'm not very happy either. I was out there all day today. Jane and Mike have gone out now. I'm going to shower and dress. I tried to sleep a little because I'm tired. Humphrey asked me to come up and spend the evening with him and I should do that. I hope it'll be a joyous evening, but if the process is as bitter as it might be, it won't.

I've got some decision making to make then as to what I do. And, it's been a very difficult week thinking about it. Should I leave the Cabinet and go to work for Humphrey? It seems he desperately needs me. But if I do that, what kind of terms organizationally, what kind of power do I get to try and bring this duplicating, enormously messed up operation into clear focus? I'm coming in in midstream. I really don't know the people and I haven't had this kind of experience and we have so little time. Yet, who is there? I had hoped for the leave of absence from the President and I called down to the Ranch and left word as to that possibility early in the week. Then Charley Murphy, who has been here representing the President, put in a plug but he got a signal back which I got on the elevator a couple of hours ago from him that the President wasn't very favorably disposed and that if I wanted to go with Humphrey I probably should resign. Charley said that it wasn't a complete turn-down, but it certainly wasn't very encouraging despite his recommendation. So I talked to Jane a bit about it and called down to the Ranch myself and told Jim Jones to tell the President that I would like to talk with him about this and how it should be done to the benefit of the Administration's record, to do the best we can in the campaign, and generally for all concerned. I didn't particularly mention the leave. Jim said he'd get back to me in connection with it, although he sounded like the President might have something on tomorrow as he mentioned Friday morning as a possibility and I told him that would be too late, I would have to be here for campaign planning meetings if I went aboard. Then I

checked with Audrey in Washington and there is a Jet Star standing by. She told me that the Platform thing did come through as if Humphrey was a Johnson Stooze and taking orders from Johnson and that he was clearly and sharply identified with Administration policy and Administration position in Vietnam. Unfortunately that did come through and it's hard to assess the real merits. Charley Murphy was here and he was representing the President all right, no doubt about that. Apparently he came down because someone mentioned that there wasn't enough help here - Hale Boggs - and the President sent him down. He then got right in the middle of negotiations between Humphrey and the President without them actually talking with each other about the Vietnam plank. Coming in on Sunday on Humphrey's plane he showed me a plank that he said was cleared all around and satisfactory. I asked him if the President had seen it and he said "No, Dean Rusk", that the President always says, "Clear with Dean Rusk". Well apparently when he got here it was not acceptable to the President and then it got kind of bitter and then the language finally got pounded out and then Humphrey took a stand on it. This pushed him clearly in to the pro-Administration position which he had been trying to detach himself a little bit from during the last two weeks. That had made him look somewhat weak and vacillating. He was now moved clearly over and unfortunately it probably looks like it was the President as a strong man made him do it. Whether people can understand that or not I don't know, but Audrey's expression was one of concern that it did make him look like the President was clearly calling the shots. This doesn't do that poll image of weakness any good and that's for sure. So, it's a kind of a mixed bag at the moment. He has clearly carried the Convention. It is going to come through if they permit orderly process to continue as a clear victory, but whether it will be a poweric one -- goodness only knows.

So, there's the big decision and it's a terribly difficult one made so particularly because the likelihood of any real satisfaction in going with Humphrey's operation is slim. He's going to be terribly hard to work with as always. His staff

is bedded in around him and although very decent are used to directing operations, forgetting they're staff and acting regardless of other people who have similar assignments -- Humphrey does the same. It's terribly mixed up and at this point prospects in the election itself really don't look too bright I'm afraid. On the other side, I've really looked forward to closing out my period in the Department of Agriculture with some grace, enough time to go through my papers and organize them, to perhaps write some things, to participate in the closing down process, to give recognition to people who have earned it, and to try and accomplish orderly and smooth transitions so that some of the policies I believe in so strongly will carry forward. The thought of just dropping that is a kind of bitter one. But I guess I'll probably have to do it. Humphrey does need help. We do need a President. He would make a great President and I just can't ignore that call to duty. Well, maybe it won't go that way. The night will tell and the night ahead will tell who we pick for a Vice President and all the rest unless the whole crazy business blows apart which at this sitting doesn't seem completely impossible. Enough of the morbid, now to the shower, and on with the evening. Better I should regard it as an exciting one I'll never live again than be morbid thinking about the problems of the future. I guess we'd better them on one at a time.

Thursday, August 29, 1968 -- still Chicago. Not much has happened. I went up to Humphrey's suite last night. I was there. I sat with him when the victory count was announced. In the meantime the rioters were raising complete Ned and the police acted very vigorously and some fairly serious beatings took place. The result was that the Television was completely dominated and the newspapers today with the story of police brutality in all its luridness. It's hard to know what the political consequences of this will be. Some say that the firm containment of this kind of rioting and lawlessness will register approval in many areas where Daley is concerned and some will rub off on Humphrey in a sector where he's weak. No one can tell, but it's surely depressing to observe. When the Convention finally concluded

and there were moves on the Floor to try and recess it before the balloting was taken with the McCarthy forces contending that with Gestapo in the streets and all this fury and violence that the Democratic Party couldn't possibly conduct its proceedings. What bitter, dead end, destructive, nasty people these are. In any event, when the count finally was taken, and it was about as estimated, and when Albert ruled out of order firmly and decisively the forces in New York and Wisconsin who proposed the recess, and they didn't follow through on their threat to walk out, they all came back to the hotel. All evening long there had been all kinds of people around in Humphrey's suite and no chance to talk and I of course didn't want to interrupt him. He finally asked me into his room and we just started to talk a little about the organization when Muriel came in and that was that. We all gathered and went downstairs and had a little victory rally and came back up and he spent all the time meeting and greeting and the rest. Along towards 3:30 in the morning someone had asked me to wait and I kept waiting, in the meantime he was not anywhere visible and I assumed a meeting was going on. I tried to find out and couldn't. Finally Bill Connell came and sat down and began to report to me on the Vice Presidential situation. I asked what Humphrey was doing -- he was meeting with Southern Governors. I asked if O'Brien was there -- he was. And I refused to talk to Connell, declaring quite strongly and emotionally that I'd had no part of this and I got up, walked out, slammed the door, and came down and went to bed. I woke up not very happy this morning. Max Kampelman called and said Humphrey had been heartsick when he heard this and that he would be calling me shortly, that I should be there. I went out for a walk with Mike to discuss both the events here which he found distressing and we talked them over and also what I was going to do and had a very good, warm, close man-to-man talk. Came back and walked up 14 flights of stairs and finally got the call from Humphrey. He didn't even know what I was talking about. Rather than realizing my anxiety at bringing this whole organizational question to a head so we could really begin to move, he said he needed to consult

with me about the Vice Presidency, and I said, "Hubert, that isn't the problem. I don't care about that. I really urge, and I want to help, that you resolve this organizational thing so we can move." He was just oblivious to it. He didn't even seem to consider that a problem. He stated that he had to decide the Vice President thing and then decide on the speech tonight, and then he'd get around to the organization thing. I told him again that we had to work it out and he said well go and talk with Larry O'Brien and you fellows work it out, and if you can I'll decide on it. And I said, "Hubert, it can't be done that way." He then urged me again to talk with O'Brien, and that was that. So I finally went up to his suite. O'Brien was there, and after sitting around for a while ended up in his own bedroom with O'Brien while he ran around half clothed most of the time, shaving, taking phone calls from everyone, with no order or no evidence of priorities. I did have a chance to talk with Larry. I think he's going to take it and I told him I would help and I would come full time but only on a comparable basis which would mean as campaign manager and he the National Chairman of the Democratic National Committee and that I had some reservations as to the feasibility of that because we're both strong minded and there ought to be one head. He concurred generally, reserving a final decision. He did say his wife had sent him a wonderful note in connection with what he should do, and I really had the feeling that he was about ready to go and I really didn't have much feeling that he was going to want much help or would make much use of myself. So it looks like it's out and maybe for the best, but I'm going to be disappointed. We won't be this time where the action is and I'm sorry.

Final evaluation of this incredible situation -- as I dictate here in the bathroom because there are people around the suite, I hear the voices of the hippies and yippies across the street -- the same voice of the leader, needling, agitating, singing, seeking to make trouble, riding the daylights out of a line of National Guard troopers that are holding them in place -- the crowd coming and going but the hard core of nasty ones there creating all of the fuss they can. Newspapers and

press and all the rest taking every advantage of this. In the meantime in the Convention the focus is on the new nominee about to announce the Vice President. I really haven't been consulted about it, although I could have forced that but I don't have too much to contribute and there's a lot of wise people on that one. It's apparently either Harris or Muskie at this point. I think I'd take Muskie because he's more experienced and would be a strong President if ever required. All the people running around Humphrey's suite, as Tom said a moment ago, not knowing what to do -- no decision on where to go next week -- no decision on who is to be invited next week -- no decision on a speech for New York next week, September 2. Simply no clear lines at all. I must say regretfully that having observed this and lived through this has made me seriously doubt Humphrey's competency to be President. He is a genius. As Gus Tyler said, genius' are seldom organized. I guess in many ways lines of authority and all were as confused with Lyndon Johnson. Both these men have incredible energy, but it sure will never be an orderly ship, and I should have realized this before I ever got myself involved. Time will tell but I really am shaken. As I said to Mike, this man has fought himself from nothing. I've seen him do it, and the price he's paid, bitterness, tears, sometimes chicanery. He is thought to be soft and easy, but he can be very mean and selfish when someone gets in his way and his own personal position can be furthered and maybe that's necessary, but as Fritz Mondale advised me don't get involved in it, that people around will cut you to ribbons when you try to exert yourself and the uncertainty of it will drive you to a nervous wreck, you are exactly the opposite of Humphrey and the two simply can't be brought together and you'll pay an awful price. I talked a little bit with Max Kampelman who came up with the idea that I should try to kind of manage the issue, polling, kind of combination and maybe that has possibilities and that I would predict is where it will land, but in the meantime I can only wait and see and feel a little despair.

6:05 pm -- Just came down from upstairs where I sat with the group for a little while working on Humphrey's acceptance speech. I expressed my feeling for a stronger law enforcement statement directed to perfecting a measured use of force to prevent what took place here and around the country and yet to avoid the over-reacting of police officers resulting in a clubbing and unnecessary harm. I doubt if they'll use it, but there's a comprehend group there and they are hard at work.

Shortly after I stopped dictating earlier today I had a call from the President. He couldn't have been more cordial. I reported to him briefly on events here. He seemed in high good humor. I told him that it looked like Larry O'Brien would be selected. He then told me that he had recommended to Humphrey that I be made Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, that he had told him that there was no one on the whole Cabinet who was more loyal, more hard-working, more devoted, that had more guts and more effectiveness, who would call a spade a spade than me, that further I was Humphrey's friend and that he ought to have someone in the top spot on whom he could rely and that Larry O'Brien could be a kind of coordinator and organizer.. He said that Humphrey agreed with all the evaluation of me, but that he didn't say he was going to appoint me. The President stated that I was welcome to stay in the Cabinet just as long as I wished, that he would stay behind me when I was right and even more when I was wrong, that I should stay in there. He seemed to assume I wanted to be Democratic National Chairman, that I shouldn't be too shy or withdrawn but rather to shove up to the table because the other people will be doing it and he wished me luck. He said that he would do everything in his power, Lady Bird and the family too in order to help Humphrey in the campaign. This came at a kind of reassuring moment for I was wondering if I might have broken my back in the current job and my ability to carry it on as well. So feeling a little better, Jane and Mike and I went on up to Humphrey's suite. I was in time to visit with him just a bit as he put on the finishing touches preparatory to going to a press conference where he announced that Muskie was the nominee for Vice President. He did well on

the press conference. We then went back up and worked on the speech a while and now I am here. He'll get to the organizational thing later in the day. In the meantime there's not anything to be done about it. There is so much that I would hope could and would be done but that's not to be so I guess we might as well make the most of it and see what happens. As soon as Jane gets down we must head for the amphitheater. We plan to have dinner at the Stockyard Inn.

2:30 am -- It's about time to go to bed, but a few reflections. I said to Jane a moment ago that this has been a joyous evening. Humphrey gave a great speech. I worked on it a little in the afternoon and I thought it was pretty lousy, but a real message was put together and he delivered it with strength and firmness and with maturity. I think it will have a major impact. But still nothing on the organizational front. Supposedly tomorrow there is a meeting with candidates for State and National office. No one is sure whether he will appear. I don't even know where it is. Then there is supposed to be a workshop starting at 10:30. I don't know what to do. The itinerary calls for a campaign manager and no one knows who that is or the National Chairman. I thought there would be meetings tonight -- so did Max Kampelman -- none have been called. Total disregard of this and of the people involved, I can only conclude that this is organizational suicide and complete indifference. As a matter of fact, I just said to Jane a moment ago that this is my seventh National Convention and each one has been personally a most unhappy experience and in most cases an unhappy experience because of Hubert Humphrey. Well, maybe that's not quite fair -- 1960 certainly he destroyed. 1956 it was his ineptness. 1952, I don't remember. 1948 he was great. 1944 he was fine. But what reads through this is the amazing contradiction that this man who is supposed to be the great humanist, and he is, yet in his own personal operation when it comes down to things of real importance couldn't care less about the people around him and their problems and their needs. In this instance where I was in the very difficult position as to what to do and how I might approach the President

and what I should do; if anything, he has been absolutely calloused, indifferent and totally inattentive. He just really couldn't have been more thoughtless and cruel. There is really no other way to put it and so as of now as far as I'm concerned I want to help them just so long as I can stay away from them. In other words -- don't get involved closely with the Hubert Humphrey operation. Admire him, recognize his talents, his fine motivations, help but keep him at arm's length. It's murder because he is cruel, thoughtless, indifferent and totally selfish.

Friday, August 30, 1968, 8:30 am. I'm kneeling here on a couch on the 14th floor of the Conrad Hilton Hotel looking out over the lake. It's a beautiful early autumn morning. The park in front of me is a mess -- papers, litter, just a few of the yippies left, dirty, bearded, messy, ornery -- a group of about a dozen sitting on the sidewalk on this end of the park, and still the line of National Guardsmen, it's thin now and doesn't stretch very far, but still they stand waiting until this is clear there won't be any action further by this group. I awakened with a bang by the telephone a moment ago and my mind raced for a moment realizing it's all over. I came down here with keen expectations of action and results, but from HH the man nothing has come. Somewhere I heard there was to be an 8:30 breakfast for all the candidates for Congress and State office. If so, I don't know where, and I'm not going to get out and try to find it -- what's the use. I'll be asked lots of questions and will have to say I don't know -- I'm embarrassed to say I don't know. I've been saying it for a week.

At 10:30 the leaders of the respective Party Delegations are supposed to meet. There is an agenda which Larry prepared and sent to the Vice President. It has a slot on it for the Campaign Manager. I don't know who that is. So far as I know the Chairman of the National Democratic Committee hasn't even been chosen. I guess I better go to that meeting, but what do you say. I don't want to be embarrassed by being introduced as the Campaign Manager and then having to say well

I'm really not it. That would make everyone look foolish. So all the opportunity of using the time at this Convention to plan and program and involve people is lost. I did a little good on Tuesday, but nothing further. I now have in my pocket an excellent memo from Jerry Bush. He's a bright guy -- it's a breakdown on personnel needed and the cost for polling. Kirk prepared that. I have a memo from Joe Napolitan on literature and that's in an awful mess, and of course his memo on the documentary film which is also a mess. Well, we'll have to wait and see what happens. It is ironic, as I said last night, that almost without exception every Convention leaves one depressed and downhearted. Yet, last night was in many ways a joyous night and Humphrey did do an excellent job. But how that man after having talked with me these many times about doing something in this campaign can just let it run on and never talk with me or bring it to a resolution is simply incredible. Somehow he seems to pull it out, but this time I'm afraid it may be too big to follow such a system and get it done.

Saturday, August 31 -- Kenora Lodge, Minaki -- Canada. I'm sitting here before a large window looking out over a beautiful lake. Jane and I flew up here from Chicago today. We were completely bone tired. Got here about 1:00 o'clock. Lunched -- took a stroll -- came back and slept for several hours. I feel better. I don't know what I dictated, but it wasn't very bright and happy about the Convention. Things look a little better now.

Friday morning after I finished dictating I finally resolved to just simply go up to Humphrey's room. I did and found Larry O'Brien in his bedroom. I strolled right in. Humphrey was busily on the phone, calling people, getting Larry's employers to give him additional time. Larry was shaking his head saying he's crazy to do this, but . . . and of course Humphrey talked them into it, and that was that. They were running a little long on time and finally Larry asked me to go down and open the meeting. I got down there. People were just coming in even though it was a little late and as I sat down to pen a few notes in came Larry. He opened the

meeting himself with a few brief remarks, acknowledging that he would be National Chairman which got very fine response and then in came Humphrey. He was full of bounce and made a fighting speech and everybody was enthused. Then they left to go to the National Committee meeting and I stayed and we went through the six areas of the campaign with a presentation followed by a workshop. The presentation was fairly impressive. A lot has been done, but there weren't very many people there. There wasn't much by way of material there and it wasn't much of a session. What a shame to have missed that opportunity.

I got through about 12:30 and drifted over to the National Committee Meeting for a little while. I was there when Humphrey announced Bob Short as Acting Treasurer. I then returned to Humphrey's suite for he had asked Larry and me to come and talk with him in the afternoon. Such a talk never really came to a head. He was in his bedroom and when I strolled in he asked me to have Jane come up and we should have lunch with him and Muriel and the Muskies. I had her called and sat in the outer room waiting for her to come, visiting with Jim Wright. At about 2:00 o'clock Ira Kapenstein, Larry's assistant, came up and asked if I could come down and see him that he was planning to leave on the 3:00 o'clock plane. Although we were about to eat, I went down to see him. We ended up coming back upstairs and going into Humphrey's bedroom where we could be alone. Larry seemed quite distraught, shaking his head again, as to why he was doing this. He asked me if I would be Campaign Manager. I told him in a very friendly but firm way that I didn't think it was a good idea, that he ought to designate his own man as Campaign Manager and then he could, as I put it, kick him in the tail if he didn't perform and I didn't kick very easy. He came back at me saying that he knew that he and I could get along and that this would be a good arrangement. I repeated the same story, but told him if he really decided he wanted me after he had thought about it over the week end I would consider going to the President and asking for a leave. I repeated then what I could do, picking up the issues section, perhaps tying it

into the scheduling and advance, and I could run that while I continued on the Cabinet. He thought that might be all right and with that he left. is going to do some work with him. I'm sure he will be thinking over the weekend. I sure am.

Jane and I then had a very nice lunch with the Humphreys and the Muskies. They are surely delightful people. I told Ed we could do his scheduling for him and I talked farm issues with him. About 4:00 pm we returned to our suite and I told Tom and Jim about my proposal. They and Jane objected most strongly, stating that it was impossible for me to really do any good or to operate with just a little slice of the campaign, that if I was going to do anything I should be the Campaign Manager and do it right. I talked and discussed it with them, but they were adamant. I finally left it by giving Jim the memorandum from Bob Nathan and Gerry Bush to study to determine how it could be done, rather than how it couldn't be done. Then Jane, Make and I had a delightful stroll down by the waterfront. It was a beautiful late afternoon, the lake sparkled blue, sailboats were dancing in the waves and a few of them were actually sailing. We returned to our apartment, packed and then all went out to dinner at the top of the Prudential building looking out over the lake. We had a lovely meal and a leisurely chance to visit. Just Jim, Tom, Mike, Jane and me. We returned and to bed a little after 12:00; having eaten too much I slept lousy, and was awake about 6:00 or earlier. We were up at 6:00, packed, out at 7:30 and flew here.

Jane and I strolled a bit and talked about where to now, and it is a bit mixed up. However, I do feel much better from the standpoint that I am firmly established within the Humphrey operation. Yesterday I talked at some length with both Ted VanDyk and John Stewart about arrangements and they were quite approving. It'll depend I guess on what Larry wants. I'll call him tomorrow night. There should be a meeting of the staff for planning purposes some time next week. I'll plan to go and attend that entire two or three days session and help fit it

together. I can really be of help on that I know. In the course of that I guess I'll find the right slot. Thinking about it today I realize that the important thing to solve a lot of the problems of the Humphrey Campaign will be to move his staff guys actually into the operation so that they will be operating with the rest of the people instead of in effect having two sets of personnel, almost two sets of campaigns. If that's done, a lot of the pain and strife and confusion and overlap ought to come out of what has been a very difficult situation. So matters are in abeyance for the moment. As I look back I realize that the President's call made a great deal of difference to me. Further it helped when I concluded I really did not want a part of the operation in terms of real responsibility, although as of now I'm not so sure. Mostly I think I feel better because when I finally was a bit more pushy and actually went up to Humphrey's room and walked in and out of there as if I owned the place that I was truly welcomed and acknowledged as a little special. That makes a great deal of difference and it does mean that I can do some things that I didn't realize I could do and that gives me more flexibility and meaningfulness in my planning. I don't have any kind of a fix on what our situation is in the country. All of the disturbances created a kind of film over the entire Convention which makes it difficult to measure the impact. Certainly Humphrey's speech was outstanding. Interesting enough at the airport Jane and I ran into a Precinct Captain in Chicago. His name was Conrad. He stated that Humphrey was really a fighter, that he would give them an aggressive campaign, that when Nixon got him in a corner the real Humphrey would come out. He stated further that Humphrey was trying to unify and that he would crawl on his belly if necessary to get everybody in the camp and that is what has to be done. His generally approving, very earthy evaluation was interesting. If that kind of an image has come through around the country, it indicates stronger possibilities than many people think.

Looking back over the week's events and my frustrations, I must correct this record by saying in all fairness it was probably quite difficult for Humphrey to move to a final conclusion with Larry O'Brien and to call Larry's employers until he actually did have the nomination in hand and the final acceptance speech made. However, he could have told me that. As a matter of fact he could have made those calls the day after the nomination and if he had he would have saved us a full day and Larry and I could have settled what will be done, I could have talked to the President, we could have made the plans for staff review next week. But now we sit with all of that wide open. Again Humphrey penchant for floating with the problem, not moving into a swift and timely solution. But that's the man. I must say that it does give me a thrill sitting here looking out over this beautiful lake to realize what a long road he's traveled. We've had a close part of much of it, but from the time he started he had this in mind. He has never stopped. He has done it himself -- many have helped, but it is a thrill to realize that as of now he has been nominated to be the President of the United States. I can think of so many times in the last 25 years when that would have seemed an absolute impossibility. I can't help but think of the time at our place in front of the fireplace at 2416 Seabury Avenue when he was talking about it in 1959. I asked him about this man Jack Kennedy and whether he thought that he was a better man than Kennedy, and he looked at me and said yes they had served together in the Senate and without being brash he felt quite honestly that he was. I said well then go out after it. He did and that, of course, is history with his crushing defeat in 1960 in West Virginia. But he was not deterred. He went back to the Senate, went to Los Angeles, did very poorly there I think. That was when he pulled out the rug from under me on the Vice Presidential thing, After coming to me following West Virginia and stating that now you've been my campaign manager all these years, now let me be yours, you should get the Vice Presidential nomination. Within weeks word came drifting back to me that he was seeking it himself and he never lifted a finger to help me. By

the time I got to Los Angeles I was seething. My first meeting there was with Reuther and a group of Labor Leaders trying to get me to go for Humphrey for Vice President. I refused. That messy Convention! And the strife between us is now history. He ended up in the Stevenson camp, but left there without ever getting into any direct personal break with me to go back to become Assistant Majority Leader, to work effectively and creatively with Jack Kennedy in that capacity and then with Lyndon Johnson, and then to dance the tight rope in 1964 to the Vice Presidency. He told me a few months ago that he had at long last pretty well given up on the Presidential thing because he would be too old in 1972 and if Johnson won it would then be pretty much time for a change, and then all of a sudden the President withdrew and bang he was in it, and now the nominee. It is quite a story and he is quite a man. I do hope that things work out so that I can get a meaningful slot and make a real contribution. I've got the feeling in my bones he's going to win.

September 4, 1968, 11:00 am, Leamington Hotel, Minneapolis, Minnesota. I'm standing here on the 20th floor looking out over the Minneapolis skyline. It makes me a bit nostalgic, although it has changed so much since I was here I can hardly recognize it.

Jane and I flew home on Labor Day. It was a beautiful day and we hated to leave. We slept again late and had a nice long walk, read awhile in the sun and finally had to catch a plane and flew to Chicago and then on into Washington.

Humphrey had asked me on Sunday when I talked to him to come to a planning session at Waverly. Larry O'Brien called me on Tuesday morning and so Jim Thornton and I flew out yesterday afternoon. Jimmy Dougherty picked us up and we spent the afternoon in Waverly. The beginning planning was under way. It was kind of bedlam. It was the Humphreys' anniversary and they were taking a lot of press pictures. I went to the bedroom cabin and Larry O'Brien was there together with his man Ira Kapenstein. Joe Napolitan is now aboard. Max Kampelman was there and

Geri Joseph. The planning jumped all over the place. Earlier they had organized regional meetings around the country. These are kind of crash meetings to review organization and campaigning in the respective areas. I didn't get into that very deeply. It's something that should have been done long ago. Much of it could have been done in Chicago, but at least something is being launched. A lot of time was spent reviewing possible Chairmen for Citizens Committees, both in New York and Nationally. Here I couldn't contribute too much for my intimate acquaintanceship with people at that level of exposure in the private world is fairly limited. Larry made direct assignments to me -- the issues area and the scheduling. I went over with them some of the names. There is an enormous payroll of people who have been working in this area which needs to be carved down. Very few of the names thereon will be continued from the looks of things. They're running a \$50,000 a month payroll in the issues area alone - fantastic. How there could be such bad management, I can't for the life of me figure out. In any event the afternoon droned on. We ended up going to dinner with the Humphreys. At first I declined and then Max Kampelman talked me into going. We drove to the Dwayne Andreas' and then by boat across Lake Manitoaca to the Bell Aire near Excelsior where we had a kind of anniversary dinner. The food was excellent. A number of people came up, but it wasn't too bothersome. It brought back some memories. I was last in that place when Miles Lord as Attorney General had a party for his staff. I was Governor. A long time ago. It was a social evening. Nothing much came up until Max Kampelman got on the phone. He called home, discovered Kirk was frantically trying to reach him. Kirk -- he called Kirk and the flap was about polling. It seems that Hursh had sent a copy of a questionnaire to Napolitan who didn't like it at all and fired back at Hursh saying that questions currently in the field should be immediately stopped. Kirk pointed out the questions in the field now were not the questions Napolitan had seen. Further he said that Napolitan's contributions weren't very strong. I told Kirk to proceed.

I went back to the table and then Larry O'Brien kind of hit the roof about polls and questions being out without his even seeing them. I held my tongue for the moment, but I began to burn and by the time I got back to the hotel here I was so disturbed it took me a long time to go to sleep. The truth of the matter was that while I sat in the room at Waverly having just received a delegation, at that very moment Napolitan at Larry's instructions was working out questions for a poll and calling in orders to Hursh who had already been assigned to me without saying anything to me about it at all. I'm going to bug Larry about this on the way in on the plane so that it doesn't happen again and so we have a clear delegation and not this kind of jumping over, issuing orders. I think we can work that out all right.

I was up fairly early this morning doing a little USDA work and then VanDyk and Connell and later Max Kampelman came up for a conference and leisurely breakfast. It was a fruitful session. We went over names. We discussed communications. It was clear what the delegation was that has been made to me and how we should handle it. It was tentatively agreed that Jim Thornton should go over and work full time on the scheduling phase of the campaign and that perhaps Tom Hughes as well should go over on the issue side as an overall coordinator and manager of that operation. This may or may not be necessary. I will maintain an office and desk and will put in some definite and specific office hours. I think we can work matters out this way so I can continue as Secretary and with these two people over there I'll be able to operate on both fronts, maintaining my base of power and strength, and if things get too badly fouled up I can just pull both Tom and Jim back and we'll just kind of phase out of it. I hope that won't happen and it shouldn't. I must say this campaign is starting at a horrendously disorganized foundation. However, there is a lot of energy, a lot of desire, a lot of good people, and perhaps plans are beginning to jell on a number of fronts. In any event I now have my assignment. I think it's clear. We can go on from there and

the period of uncertainty seems to be at an end. I sure hope so.

September 9, 1968 - 9:30 pm at home. Well almost a week has gone by since the last dictation and there really isn't too much specific to add. We returned to Washington. I plowed in trying to get organized in my new assignments. There was an interruption all day Friday. I had to go down to Florida to keep a commitment to Doyle Conner. I spoke to his annual agricultural awards luncheon, including an award to Senator Holland. I got stuck with Holland coming back on the plane. Actually it was probably worthwhile for we visited and got a bit closer in our relationship.

All day Saturday I spent in the office in a series of meetings, bringing together people who are working on various phases of the issue and policy, as well as the scheduling. It was a long day and a kind of frustrating one particularly because there were repeated calls from Humphrey who is in the process of changing his shhedule and jammed in an appearance before B'nai B'rith on Sunday, and an appearance next Wednesday to the American Legion, neither of which were scheduled.

This raises all tied with the scheduling and upset Jim Thornton no end. The American Legion appearance was the product of very strong pressure from Hale Boggs. The B'nai B'rith one, Humphrey's own action when he discovered that both Nixon and President Johnson would be there. I also got involved in what he should say at both places. We discussed this at great length in the office where I had a dozen people trying to get some kind of a fix on campaign policy and strategy. This proves to be extraordinarily difficult. Humphrey has not held the policy sessions that we recommended to him. The directors and formers in the election have never gotten together and analyzed the campaign and the possible positions that he should take. This creates great uncertainty. People like Bob Nathan -- people who have worked on speeches and position papers are going in half a dozen different directions. I haven't been close enough to this to get a hand on it, or a feel for it, and the result has been great frustration where I am concerned.

I told Boggs I didn't think he could benefit from an American Legion appearance where he would stand in contrast to Nixon and Wallace if he fails to speak more strongly on Vietnam than he should and also more strongly on order and law enforcement. He has however some remarks prepared by Gus Tyler directed to the question of the right to dissent that sounded pretty good and when it was determined that he could physically make that stop and still fulfill a Michigan schedule we have laid on, I told him to use his own judgment and he decided to go. We hadn't scheduled the B'nai B'rith one because he was already to be on "Issues and Answers" and we felt there was no percentage in it. On this one he developed a thesis, working with Joe Alsop and with John Stewart and some of his own staff, attacking Nixon on the ground that he was a part of the ancient Southern alliance which was established to prevent progress and if this continued the active danger of separatism in our society and even apartheid faced us. When we analyzed that

September 9, 1968

MEMORANDUM

To: Hubert Humphrey
From: Orville L. Freeman
Subject: Your appearance on Issues and Answers, September 8

The following constitute purely my comments and evaluation of this appearance and of the current situation, vis-a-vis, the issues in the current campaign. I will run this memorandum at the Advisory Committee which will meet Tuesday morning and thereafter every morning to review the situation.

As always, you made a very good appearance. You came through as a knowledgeable, responsible, deeply concerned statesman seeking to improve your country. I wouldn't want to minimize the results which I think on balance were affirmative and useful. On the other hand, it would be my considered judgment, at this point at least, that you could have gotten more mileage out of this appearance, and my comments will be directed specifically to how in my personal judgment it could have been more profitable.

1. At the opening of the program you looked very tired, even haggard. Your eyes were puffy and the lines on your face were deep. I would suggest that you make every effort to get a good night's sleep before a television program, that you put ice packs on your eyes prior to your appearance, and possibly go out and get some quick physical exercise or some kind of activity which stimulates you and gets the adrenalin flowing.

The second half of the program you looked immeasurably better. The camera angles were improved also. I trust you have someone with you who watches the camera very closely.

I would make the following comments on the questions that were directed to you. I make these comments with full recognition that you are proceeding somewhat cautiously, waiting for the issues to clarify, and for the opposition to make a mistake. I doubt, however, that Nixon is going to make many mistakes for he has set out a pretty rigid and careful course for himself and he is following it with meticulous care. He is being

2--The Vice President

criticized somewhat for a policy of silence, i.e., ducking Vietnam, ducking the Fortas matter, ducking Daley and Chicago. The only time he did reach out was in Houston when he responded to the charge by Wallace that there isn't a dime's worth of difference between yourself and him. On that occasion he tried to draw a distinction based on Vietnam, on crime, on oil depletion, on the Taft-Hartley Act Section 14b, on agriculture. I doubt if you personally can do much with these issues now (others can) but he did draw a distinction on social problems, charging you as more favorable to Government spending for housing, for poverty programs, for welfare. He summarized this by saying what America needs is not millions on welfare rolls but millions more on payrolls.

When the interrogators bugged you re your association with the present Administration and also in that same series of questions quoted the Wallace "not a dime's worth of difference" statement, I believe you could have made sharp points contrasting your record on specific human welfare programs with Nixon's, thereby attacking him and his record when in government. To do this I don't believe you can disassociate yourself from the record of this Administration of which you are a part. You can reach back and cloak yourself as you did in your acceptance speech with the records of FDR, Truman and Kennedy, but I think you must then go down the line and draw a sharp distinction between your record and that of Nixon on such things as housing, health and medicare, poverty program, food stamps, Food for Peace, education and many others. To do that you must include the sensational progress of the last 5 years. In this connection, education would have been a natural last Sunday for everybody in the country is education conscious as children go back to school. Education shows up as a clear plus for the Democrats on the polls. You need not embrace everything that LBJ has done, but certainly you can say what you said in Chicago about the record of the last five years, reach back beyond that, associate yourself with all the Democratic programs of social progress, including economic development and jobs, and point out Nixon's failure in all these fields. This reaches people where they live. This shouldn't be done in generalities, it should be done in specifics. To the extent you deal in specifics you counteract the current image as reflected in the polls which is one of less strength and firmness than Nixon. As near as I can see this is the area, at least at present, where the line can be drawn effectively, dramatically, and meaningfully.

3--The Vice President

In this connection I have started the wheels grinding to get a major piece of quality literature "Humphrey vs. Nixon" distributed in the millions. We are also trying to get a book written. This is the way to refurbish the image of the Democratic Party and Hubert Humphrey as well. Millions of people depend on these programs. You have been a chief architect of them, Nixon has never done anything about them. This is your strong ground. Pick up this "not a dime's worth of difference" and drive it home again and again and again.

2. I wouldn't waste much time on the bombing question. You came out of that fairly well but it took an awfully lot of time and I think you could have come out stronger by stating that everyone agrees on more things about Vietnam than they disagree (you did this) and then saying that the unilateral stoppage of bombing is a question to be answered in light of the facts at a particular time, that you and every candidate should be careful not to destroy the posture of our Government at the negotiations or to imperil the safety of our men or prospects for peace. That you are not and will not make irresponsible statements in order to get votes. As of now, after carefully reviewing all the facts, and you know a good bit about this, you do not feel that unilateral cessation serves the interest of peace. That situation might change, you might be saying something different next week, but as of now that is all you can or will say. That would have cut it off shortly and made you look strong and firm.
3. In connection with Wallace, for the time being I think I would say nothing. We haven't adequately analyzed this. Wallace will, according to the polls, take more from Nixon than from Humphrey in the North as well as the South. That's Nixon's problem, let's let him wrestle with it and in the meantime let Wallace sit until we figure out better how to act.
4. Your answers in connection with the Supreme Court were firm, strong, and right. I'm sure you made them knowing that the overwhelming majority of people according to the polls feel that the courts have been too soft on law violators. At the same time people are very sympathetic to law enforcement officers. You may want to make a big issue of Nixon's attack on the Supreme Court and on the Attorney General. Intellectuals will applaud it, liberals will support it. You may not lose the mass of voters by taking this position, but you ought to understand thoroughly the risk you are running.

4--The Vice President

5. I'm not enamored with the approach you used before the B'nai B'rith. The majority of people in this country do not feel that the country is facing the danger of apartheid or that it is splitting apart. They do not recognize that there are substantial groups of people trying to act outside rather than inside established institutions. I question whether you can parlay this into a real issue given the current state of public understanding. Clearly it is a problem. You may very well profit from addressing yourself to it. Your position on this does have character and you come through strong. But I do not feel at this time that this is sound as the major plank in your campaign. Obviously I could be wrong on this. You did put Nixon on the defensive. Charles Bartlett reported to me you had come out way ahead and Nixon in responding came through weak.
6. I think your position on Daley and Chicago was a good one. When you get into the law enforcement question and the Chicago situation reach back even more emphatically than you did on this program to your own experience as mayor. You used this before a number of caucuses in Chicago and I got an excellent playback. Nixon has had no comparable experience. You can tie your experience to your law enforcement position. We ought to get your law enforcement position paper out very soon. Then you can play on that one at length, drawing illustrations from your own experience and speaking strongly in terms of strengthening police, sympathizing with the problems they have, calling for order, stating that excesses can be avoided by having the kind of trained police and prosecutors necessary to function efficiently, etc.

I would hope that before any TV appearance you make that you will think through ahead of time exactly what you hope you might accomplish in that appearance that will make a sharp impact on the average voter. You can then maneuver the questions around in that direction. It is not, I think, enough to just respond. I've asked Ted Van Dyk for your Question and Answer card series. I will analyze the questions in light of the polls and return to you some suggested answers based upon both the polling information as to the majority public opinion, my analysis, and that of the Advisory Committee who are now reviewing your statements and those of Nixon. I hope we can be helpful to you. I know you understand that our purpose is not to compliment you but to be constructively critical in the interest of improvement.

5--The Vice President

7. Don't call Nixon a "fair and just man". He isn't. Saying he is not a racist goes far enough in the interest of fairness and "high level".

All in all you had a good weekend. I wouldn't have thought it possible about 5:00 o'clock Saturday afternoon.

Please -- No more schedule changes or you will blow us out of the water back here. After all you did agree to the schedule I submitted. Please stay with it.

September 9, 1968

MEMORANDUM

From: Orville L. Freeman

Subject: Conversation with Newspaper Columnist Charles Bartlett
about the Humphrey campaign

He called me reporting that he had heard we had done a fabulous job of pre-planning for the general election and would I tell him more about it. Having not done a fabulous job I didn't know what to say and told him I would call back later. Reviewing over the weekend and calling on Humphrey's speech to B'nai B'rith, I told him roughly the following which seemed to impress him:

That we had carefully analyzed the last few Presidential Elections and had reviewed the polls in this one and had conducted a private poll. That this analysis had resulted in a certain estimate of the situation which had been followed generally in the acceptance speech in Chicago and in the speech to the B'nai B'rith.

Briefly I pointed out that the polls showed that the Democratic Party was more popular than the candidate. That neither of the Presidential Candidates had yet reached the country on a strong and emotional personal basis and so the struggle became, or potentially at least, one between the respective political parties and their record. That in this connection the record of the Democratic Party in terms of specific legislative accomplishments, to wit, such things as medicare, education, social security, poverty, etc., all of which programs Humphrey was closely and personally identified with was very strong. Therefore, in these areas it was important that the candidate make a strong identification with these programs and attack on the basis that those programs are threatened. Clearly they are threatened, witness the consistent Republican opposition to them and the Nixon record. In effect this is what Humphrey did in his B'nai B'rith speech, adding to it an additional dimension of the danger of separatism in this country and even apartheid. This, I told Bartlett, was a very dangerous thing for him to do politically because the overwhelming majority of the people in this country don't even know what apartheid is and there is less than 5 percent who are concerned with the very real danger that for the first time in our history a significant number of people are prepared to deal in extremes and to work other than through the established methods. However, calling attention to a danger that the people don't even know exists, particularly when the overwhelming number of voters do not basically feel that the Negroes in this country are abused is obviously a political danger.

2--Memorandum

Bartlett agreed to this but added that Humphrey's speech to B'nai B'rith had been enormously well received, that he had been there and that he had far outdone Nixon, that Nixon adjusted his speech to try and respond to Humphrey and had fallen flat, and that Humphrey in effect had Nixon on the defensive right off the bat on this issue. Further that this showed character on Humphrey's part in terms of running the hazards that I just pointed out and taking on this great national problem and even though the majority of people in the country might not know about it or show on the polls to be concerned about it, yet the matter of character in the last analysis might very well win the election and make the difference.

I went on to outline to Bartlett that in response to his inquiry -- How can you organize a political party that has had so little Attention the last years and is now in a low state of organization? -- that Larry O'Brien was a professional at this and that he will bring his very real talents to bear on it.

Further, I pointed out it isn't only a matter of party political organization, but it also is a matter of candidate identification, to wit, that Humphrey rather than campaigning as an independent personality as such will campaign more as a Democrat and on the Democratic record. In the process of doing so he can reach back into the history of the Democratic Party going as far as the FDR period and bringing it up through the Johnson Administration as he did in Chicago and in this fashion can stand on the accomplishments made and even describe a last 5 years as the outstanding in the history of our nation without getting himself in a box where he can be charged and pummeled as an LBJ stooge.

however in terms of the polls, it's clear that not many people know that such a danger exists and the mass of voters will hardly be influenced. He moderated his remarks somewhat as a result of our discussions and made the speech. Happily it had an excellent reception. I'm attaching herewith in the diary a copy of a memorandum I sent him commenting on the B'nai B'rith appearance and also on his "Issues and Answers" appearance which was not nearly as strong as it should be.

I got home late Saturday after Mike and I played a little squash and then we sat up reading the papers most of the night and yesterday was one of those bad, kind of depressed, days -- tired, everything seemed kind of hopeless.

In the middle of the afternoon, Thornton brought Connell, Friedman and McNamara out to discuss scheduling and it was really a mess trying to lay on new trips and new assignments. We finally worked something out and Jim brought me some scheduling assignments this morning which looked fairly good. I just tried to reach him on the telephone and he's at the new office hard at work until midnight tonight.

I spent as hectic a day today as I can remember, mostly on the 'phone. I got a memorandum dictated to Humphrey commenting on his "Issues and Answers" appearance to which I have referred. I talked to a number of people in the Government and out, including Arthur Krim and Dwayne Andreas, about scheduling fund raising events. I called a meeting of the Cabinet for Wednesday to work out with them what they can do. I had a meeting with the President at noon about sugar allotments, entertaining protests from Ellender, Holland, Smathers, Ed Willis, and Paul Rogers about a 20 percent sugar cut, and reviewed within my own agriculture staff a half a dozen pending matters such as legislation and our hopes to exempt CCC from the Control Expenditure Act reductions.

We got a little revolt in the Scheduling Section where Marty Friedman and John Rigby are planning to leave in frustration because of schedule changes, and also the arbitrary way in which Bill Connell directs them around. I must meet with them

tomorrow, try and smooth it out, and prompt Bill to modify his way of handling them. Actually I must get him out of the scheduling business.

The phone call was Jim Thornton. I reported to him that I am informed that Humphrey has signed off on the schedule for September, but he told me that Friedman and Rigby were planning to leave anyway. They are apparently deeply disturbed. They have refused to meet with me to discuss it. It'll take a call from Humphrey and I'll have to try and get that when he returns on Wednesday. In the meantime hopefully Tom Hughes is taking care of the physical arrangements, setting up offices, rehiring or hiring necessary people in supporting staff. Tomorrow morning we have an early meeting with the policy group and hopefully we can get that functioning smoothly so that we can have an evaluation and response mechanism that will be effective. I'm going to see the President at noon tomorrow as well and ask him for his advice and counsel as we try and establish policies. Clearly Humphrey is feeling his way along and that's understandable -- Nixon the same -- but we do need some firm guidelines and guideposts so we can have a foundation from which we can maneuver and operate. It's an awful job to get it done for we're starting late and under a very complicated situation -- in connection with the LBJ image, the charge that Humphrey's a stooge, the Nixon attack against the "ins", the need to take the offensive, sensibility of Vietnam, and the whole Negro, young people, dissension, riot, new politics front, all of this is disconcerting, complicating, sensitive and difficult. Even if we had the best organized man in the world, it would be involved. With a man who doesn't want to sit down and plan and program and organize, it sometimes seems impossible. However, I feel a lot better at this sitting than I have for the last week. I sure hope we can really get it to roll. We'll surely do our damndest.

September 11, 1968 -- 11:20 pm. I had a rather good day today, but HH sure didn't. Where I'm personally concerned, maybe it's by way of contrast. Yesterday my ulcers were raising all get out. Today after a 6-hour sleep last night, helped along by sleeping pills, I moved along in pretty good shape. Additionally I was stimulated by what seems to be some Republican mistakes. I can't understand why Klein, the Press Secretary for Nixon, would declare to the press openly and publicly that Agnew has been designated to travel the low road. Agnew then proceeds to go low indeed and to strike out blindly, even resurrecting Joe McCarthy in some of his comments. There is, as a matter of fact, some truth in what he said that since McCarthy it's pretty hard to point the finger of Communism at anyone without being labeled a "red-baiter". We've always had that problem, of course. Nonetheless he's swinging awfully wild and after Klein's statement that reaches to Nixon as well. Nonetheless Nixon goes along his merry way -- today with a great big unity rally with Lindsey, Rockefeller, Javits, and the whole triumvirate up in New York and then carrying them down to North Carolina. He's got his plan and he's sticking to it. He may get jolted out of it. He may be coming through as a kind of a smug, super-organized, cold, distant human being. Humphrey sure won't -- he's got nothing but trouble and hopefully he comes through warm, human and disturbed. Goodness only knows. I found the policy group that are meeting with me for breakfast every morning rather glum and down when I came in this morning, but I didn't really feel that way. I focused attention on the Klein-Nixon triumvirate and pointed out some of the mistakes they're making. I then said that the fact that Johnson went down to New Orleans yesterday and spoke so strongly about Vietnam, after Humphrey had said in Philadelphia that we could bring some troops home late this year or next year, and then in a question and answer session in Denver, Colorado, said he could live with the Minority Plank. In both cases, he wasn't really very far off. Both Rusk and the Secretary of Defense, Clark Clifford, has said that hopefully we can bring home troops depending

on how quickly the South Vietnamese can improve their capability. Also, he really said the truth, there isn't much semantically different between the Majority and Minority Planks. However, it made him look like he was straddling towards the McCarthy group and of course knowing Humphrey and politics being what it is, he undoubtedly was. However, for some reason right now the press is extremely critical and anti. Apparently they downplayed and criticized the Philadelphia appearance which was really a good one with a good crowd. They lambasted him all day on the Vietnam thing nitpicking, and it went on not only in Los Angeles but into Houston where he picked up a newspaper and cited it as an example of the fact that troops are coming home because a Marine Division was returning. Of course, they were replaced by others which finally came out. In the course of it, with typical Humphrey petulance he declared that his own staff didn't know anything and they were lagging behind. All of this is very human, the question is whether people will feel the President should be that human. At staff this morning we decided he should say nothing about Vietnam in New Orleans. He really had a good law enforcement speech, pointing out how law enforcement was not a partisan issue and in the process pinpointing the fact that the record of crime is higher in most of the Republican states, including Maryland and also in Alabama, than anywhere else around the country. Unfortunately that wasn't played, at least in the newscasts I haven't heard it and it should have had some bite. On television tonight both Wallace and Nixon got more play than Humphrey and the T-V made a big point of the fact that he was being snubbed by Jess Unruh in California, Connally in Texas, and by McKeithen in Louisiana. Does this help or hurt? Goodness only knows. Anyway at this sitting things look not very bright and the polls we're getting in look bad, too, with Humphrey running a poor third in both Texas and Missouri. So maybe we're as low as we can get -- but maybe the Republicans are making mistakes and at least we're beginning to get organized. I had an excellent meeting with the Cabinet today and they are all prepared to go. I asked them to designate a man

as contact for literature and research purposes. They are ready to prepare materials, to speak, to consult, and do anything they can. It was about the warmest and most responsive meeting I've had with the Cabinet for a long time. I knew what I was talking about; they had been out of the political swim; the fact I could answer clearly and specifically a number of questions they wanted to know about helped to move the meeting along to what was really a satisfactory conclusion.

I did talk to Humphrey this morning, after the early staff meeting. I suggested language to him that he should use in New Orleans, merely touching on the fact that our national interest and security was the key question in Vietnam and that was the question at home too to which he would address himself, vis-a-vis, his law enforcement presentation. He said he was going to do that. I also insisted that he schedule a meeting for over the weekend when he'll be home and I've assigned out work and we must bring into sharp focus a basic political policy and direction paper from which we can all work. If we can only get him to sit still and look at it now, which is so important, it will help a great deal. Maybe he's frightened enough, down enough, and ready to talk. It's hard to tell when I talked with him this morning -- he was bouncing -- said don't read the newspapers, we're doing fine, we had great crowds, great reception, great enthusiasm. Well that may be in those areas, although the people with him don't seem very bouncy, but he sure hasn't been doing well with the press. However, who knows what image is coming through. We'll have to wait and see and there's a long way to go yet in the most uncertain political situation imaginable.

Last night at the B'nai B'rith dinner, I had a long talk with Sol Linowitz, the Ambassador to the Organization of American States, former President of Zerox, and a very bright fellow. He and many others, including Bob Nathan, feel that somehow or other Humphrey must break himself away from Lyndon Johnson so he will have a different image. When I asked him how we could do this in light of the Vietnam thing I get no answer. I talked to Charley Murphy at lunch today and he

said just the opposite. He had been through all this with Truman vs. Stevenson he said and it simply doesn't work and is impossible. Humphrey ought to cut it out, embrace Johnson and his record, and then go on to say that he would do better with new things, but as long as he's jostling with Johnson why he's going to have problems. I think Charley is right and I think I'm going to make that point as persuasively as I can. It is, however, a devilish situation. Anytime Humphrey tries to open the door to the left and the McCarthyites, Johnson cuts him down. Further it is very clear that Johnson feels this strongly, and it isn't a matter of his own personal position or personal pique, in my judgment, it's more basic than that. I am convinced that the President believes that the only and best chance for peace during his Administration and to make any progress in Paris is now to be just as tough as can be and to make it clear that Hanoi will profit not at all by waiting, and that they're going to have to make some moves themselves before this country will make any. Humphrey says that he believes that and then when he gets to speaking and answering questions he kind of opens the door to the left and that's when he gets into trouble. How we can do something about this, I just don't know. Charley said today that he was convinced that the President would rather see Nixon elected than to see any equivocation on this very key issue.

So it's a toughie -- I'm going to see the President tomorrow at noon. I wonder what will happen. Yesterday a crazy rumor started to float. It started with Metro-media, the local T/V Station, to the effect that I was going to resign. I think it came from John Baker. I told him that if I got a leave of absence I would recommend that he should be Acting Secretary. He must have talked to somebody about that because Metromedia was predicting in their question that he would succeed me. In any event they got the rumor and when they checked with both the President in New Orleans and Humphrey in Houston, each said they would neither confirm or deny. That really whetted their appetite. So they came back hard in figuring they

had a great big story. I had John Obert deny it and sat tight, but the thing began to pick up steam so finally I responded to their request and recorded by telephone a statement in which I said I would do as I did in 1964 subject to the President's willingness and do both jobs, that we were well enough organized in the Department with policies set that I could do that by continuing my 16 hour day and splitting it up a bit. They're still after me, but it seemed to have quieted down and we kept it out of the major newspapers. I then sent a copy of that statement to the President. I saw him last night at the B'nai B'rith thing. He seemed quite warm and friendly as walked on and off the podium and he made a very stirring foreign policy address. As he left he came over and especially shook my hand and said he would see me tomorrow, and then mentioned that he had been with Ellender and Ellender had told him that in terms of integrity and ability and so forth, that I was the greatest Secretary of Agriculture that we had had in all the many years that he had been in the Senate of the United States. It sounded good to me and the President seemed impressed. Anyway, I don't know what he will do tomorrow. He could tell me to get out. I don't think he will. But whether I can do anything to bridge this gap I really don't know. The President ought, it seems to me, to be a little kinder to Humphrey. On the other hand, Humphrey doesn't need to go as far as he has. He ought to quit fooling around with this and as I told him emphatically on the phone, and also sent him a memorandum analyzing his Issues and Answers appearance last Sunday, all he has got to say on this issue is that most people agree on more than they disagree on Vietnam, that the cessation of bombing is the cardinal question. It must be answered in terms of what will further the cause of peace and protect our men. As of now, he supported the majority plank in Chicago because he thinks it is not the time to make any concessions without some evidence that the North Vietnamese will give too. It might be different next week, but for now that's his best judgment. In the meantime he's going to follow it closely and pursue the road to peace every way he can. If he'd say that and shut up, he'd

stay out of trouble, but Humphrey can't. The people out there, and in all fairness to him, there are a lot of people around the country who are looking for a little more give than the President shows. Humphrey would like these people. He ought to be able to reach out to these people. It's a great gift to be able to do that in politics, but the President is hard and tough. He's sure he's right and he thinks that Humphrey is wrong and no weakness can be tolerated. He wants to see the Paris negotiations move. That'll make his place in history more than anything else and it's probably the best thing in connection with Humphrey's election as well, and so.

In the meantime we're trying to slug out the organization of this. I feel much better tonight finally. I was over to the Campaign Headquarters. Tom has a nice office for me. I called in all the people. We have got them on the payroll and their place has been restored. I've got some kind of a chain of command reaching to polling, to the Nathan position papers, to the Research and to the Production people and to the Speaker's Bureau. Getting this all tied together will make a great improvement. Jim Thornton seems to have grabbed hold of the scheduling in good shape. We've got Humphrey signed off for most of September. Now we can get advance men out. We can schedule speeches and go to work preparing them, clear them through the Cabinet authorities, give them some polish, get them to them ahead of time, do the advance work on his appearances and maybe make a smooth operation out of this. Now if I can get a basic policy and direction paper which is so tremendously important and get him signed off on it over the weekend so we've got a basic document to work from, why we'll begin to see a little daylight from my end of it anyway. So, it could look worse than it does at the moment.

September 13, 1968 -- 1:50 pm. Just a quick comment or two before lunch. Things are moving along as usual. Hectic - complicated - difficult to get organized but I think we're beginning to shape up in the campaign staff. Unfortunately, Friedman and Rigby the two prime schedulers left us. Jim Thornton has been tearing

his hair out. He's been there every morning until about 3:00 and his bloodshot eyes showed it today. However I think we're moving new help in to him and hopefully we are getting ahead of the schedule. Humphrey got it all messed up again last week insisting that changes be made and insisting that he sign off on the greatest detail. That simply must change so we're trying to get for his next big tour all the detailed data in, layout schedule, and try and get him to sign off on that once and for all. Fundamentally, I think he's not been very confident of the work that is being done and therefore he has wanted to double check it. I hope I can get him to have some confidence so it can go forward without his having to get involved. That's one of the things on the agenda for Monday. I'm supposed to have 3 hours -- 10:00 to 1:00 -- we'll see. Tomorrow morning I will be meeting with all the policy issue people to try to pound out some kind of a working master basic paper and plan. We sure need it. The various issues need to be evaluated and how they will be handled. We then need a strategy on how we're going to move in the next seven weeks. We've been having breakfast every morning at 8:00 o'clock. I think this has been useful. We get a report on the papers and the media, review it, look at the papers, discuss what should be done by way of immediate action, and then review possible programs ahead of us, including speeches, statements and the release of issue papers. If we can ever get ahead in the scheduling, why then we can get the speech making thing in shape and also the issue papers and then we can also go to work on some special projects such as the one on trying to get his New Orleans law enforcement speech expressing support for police officers into some attractive pamphlet for mass distribution, hopefully to reach every cop. On balance the last week has not been a very good one. People think Humphrey is coming apart at the seams. He's been jumping from issue to issue and a lot of people are discouraged and disgusted.

However, the reports from the field are somewhat different. For example he got some bad press because of hecklers that made it look like everything was at disarray in Flint, Michigan the other night, but the reports coming back are that he handled himself in the situation magnificently. Jerry Bruno who is going to help us on scheduling worked for Kennedy in 1960, Johnson in 1964, and Kennedy again earlier this year before Bobby's death, has been in and he's going to help us and he said that the trips were really very bad from the standpoint of mechanics. As Jerry put it, all these crowds and falderal the candidate doesn't bring them, we make them, and there's a lot of truth in that. Well, the comments on the lack of professionalism, all reflecting on the failure of really good planning and advance work exposed Humphrey to some bad publicity the last week. That's unfortunate but maybe it will work out and he will get a kind of under-dog status here that in the long run might even be helpful.

All in all I guess we can expect to have some trouble getting started. In the first place everything was so terribly confused. In the second, as I pointed out, Humphrey refused to sit down and systematically plan out anything himself. In the third, it's terribly hard to get a handle on the issues. At the moment it is quite clear that the all pervasive concern in this country is one of law and order, justice unfortunately comes secondary. That same attitude tends to reflect itself in foreign affairs, especially since the Soviets marched into Czechoslovakia. All of this plays into Nixon's hands as a tough hard liner, rather than a humanist and so the stage is set in that direction. Wallace in the meantime goes even further and the dichotomy between Wallace and Nixon will probably determine the outlook. Wallace really took after Nixon the other day.

In the meantime, it is so hard to find something to zero in on. We thought we had an issue when Agnew came out calling Humphrey soft on Communism among a number of other things, but Nixon made him recamp in public and say those were bad words and he didn't really mean it and Humphrey was a great patriot. So that issue

is gone. On law enforcement we can't out shout Nixon and Wallace, but here we are shaping up a program calling not for generalities and for emotional tirades but for a systematic program to get results. Out of this we hope to reach policemen and the New Orleans speech last week will be made available to them and we'll keep pounding away on this criticizing Nixon and Wallace for dealing in emotions, for attacking the courts, for refusing to confirm the Chief Justice, for attacking the Attorney General, for irresponsibility. It'll take a while but that seems like a pretty good issue.

We had hoped that we could paint Nixon a little bit as more of a hard liner on foreign affairs because there is a strong peace movement although it tends to revolve almost entirely around Vietnam. However, the Czech thing seems to shoot that one down. Nixon also has gotten out a good speech beating us to the punch calling for the strengthening of NATO. So it's going to be pretty hard to get him a hard liner and Humphrey more of a peace man. This, even though you would think the peace image on the overall here might appeal to some of the McCarthyites. This I think has been Humphrey's main effort last week. In addition to feeling his way along and hammering away at Nixon, which he's done with some enthusiasm. It's hard to tell how many he's getting or if he would not have gotten them if he had had a firmer position himself. For example, he made a statement about bringing troops home that got him into no end of trouble. Then he tried to clarify it at Houston by picking up a newspaper and referring to a return of some men from Vietnam, but they proved to be purely on rotation which he should have known at the first instance. Apparently he was terribly tired and it was late in the day and of course that resulted in some more schedule changes. In addition he made a statement he could accept the minority plank and live with it out of Chicago, and then had a devil of a time explaining that. All in all he's been in, out, and around waffling all over the place and I'm afraid it hasn't done his image already weak any good. I continue to hammer at him to stay away from Vietnam, to say only what I've already

outlined about stopping the bombing and just wait this one out. We'll have discussion tomorrow morning when I bring the whole policy group in as to whether he should make a further statement about Vietnam. At the moment I have my reservations. This is what has gotten him into terrible trouble with the President too. I saw the President yesterday. He only had 10 minutes by the time I got in and he really went after Humphrey. He called him a coward. He charged him with having been with this Administration, this was his family, he's helped develop and carry forward the issues and programs, he's enunciated them, as a matter of fact the President said he's gone much further than he needed to or perhaps should have, and now he's trying to back off from his own family and unidentify himself with this program. He was furious. He contended that he had gotten Nixon through the use of Ford and Dirksen and Eisenhower to agree to keep Vietnam out of the campaign and then when he went to Humphrey, Humphrey made a public demand on Nixon to do this and of course Nixon backed off. He complained that when he had spent 2 hours with Humphrey and said nothing to the press within 20 minutes Chuck Bailey was calling for a story and more detail about it. He was really furious. He made it clear, and I'm sure he means it, that he's President and that he's not going to deviate one bit from the course he has determined is necessary in Vietnam and that all that Humphrey needed to do was say that, all that Humphrey needed to say that he, Johnson, is now President and when Humphrey is President he'll make the decision, and now Johnson has the responsibility, and then stay put. Instead he's all over the place. He was furious that he is, as he put it, oggling McCarthy who is just treating him with contempt and disdain and he was confident that he was doing far too much to try and pamper the press. On and on he went. A lot of the language was four letter words. It all seemed almost hopeless to me where he was concerned at that point. All I could do was listen. He charged that Humphrey made a serious mistake in making O'Brien national Chairman, that in effect turned the Democratic Party over to the Kennedys once again and that Larry O'Brien in effect had been disloyal to him. When he was

asked to survey his political prospects he ended up absconding to the Kennedy camp in the recent primary and that he couldn't be relied on and that this was foolish and that Humphrey should have named me as Chairman of the National Committee and let Larry O'Brien be campaign manager. This went on for almost half an hour and when he had to leave for an appointment why I felt really kind of desperate and wondered what I could do and at that point he turned to me and said with that gentle instead of that fierce look in his eyes, "Now don't tell Humphrey anything about this." "After all he's the candidate, it's hard going, I know he's discouraged. It's so easy to get dispondent. I can remember at times when I would have given it up if it hadn't been for Lady Bird so we just got to be kind to him and help him. It's hard going now, so you don't tell him that I've been so harsh with him and let's see if we can't help him." Same old President, blowing hot and cold and you really never know, and further you never know what he'll do. So I left with him a copy of a poll analysis that Kirk had made, a pretty gloomy one and told him I did hope we would have time to get down to cases and that I could consult with him and get some good advice. He made a passing remark that well, maybe we ought to get together with our wives and do that some time over the weekend. That was that. I went out of there with my ears still ringing and went about my business. Later in the afternoon yesterday, Jane called. She had had a call from Lady Bird. We're invited to go up with them to Camp David leaving some time early Saturday afternoon. So I promptly changed my Saturday afternoon meeting to Saturday morning and we'll be with them. I'm looking forward to that. I can stand a little break. My stomach has been jumping mad all week. I've been sleeping very restlessly, not getting to sleep until 1:00 or later and up at 6:00 every morning, so I can use a break and it sure will be interesting to see what line he will take.

In the meantime the press has been a little better to Humphrey the last few days. He stayed away from Vietnam and apparently has had some good and enthusiastic

September 16

ISSUES AND STRATEGY

Summary

There are three basic human reactions fundamental to every political campaign -- Fear, Hope, Promise. A successful candidate must be conscious of all three, appeal to all three, and recognize the need for different emphasis depending on the forum and the time.

The test of a real politician is his sensitivity to public sentiment, i.e., he learns on the stump what works best. It must always be kept in mind that people tend to vote against something more than to vote for something. Thus the "ins" always have a more difficult job than the "outs". The "Time for a Change" theme is always tough to counter.

The question should be asked then -- How can the elements of fear, hope and promise be skillfully blended in the instant Presidential campaign?

1. Fear

Fear is stronger than usual in this campaign. It is the product of a climbing crime rate, riots and urban unrest, dissension in our colleges, violence and disaffection of all kinds. With our economy uniformly strong and our standard of living climbing, it is hard for people to understand why all the disturbance. The natural result is for people to look for a strong man to set everything right. The sense of insecurity exists in the international realm as well. Vietnam deeply disturbs the people of the nation. Czechoslovakia adds to this. Clearly the opposition has an initial advantage in this campaign in mobilizing fear for their purpose.

Strategy

Hubert Humphrey cannot hope to out shout, out promise, out condemn, out demagogue the political opposition. That's impossible. He can and must, however, assure the American people that he is solid on order and law enforcement. This should be done by enunciating a firm, solid, specific program. Appeals to authority in terms of his own record and recognition in law enforcement will help. Direct appeals to law enforcement officers and many other techniques can be used. The target is to assure the American people that they need not have one scintilla of doubt but what there will be strong leadership and adequate law enforcement and the capacity to enforce order when Humber Humphrey is President of the United States. That may not satisfy the "red necks", but it will satisfy most people. Next is the question: How do we use the prevalent fear against the opposition and to get votes for the Vice President? Increasingly the people are concerned about a polarization and confrontation in our society. Projected struggles, such as the Civil Rights struggle, the dissension on our campuses, all of these have made it clear that brute force and repression do not succeed in the long run and cannot be continued indefinitely without a police state or close to it. There must be a wide consensus and a willingness to live by the rules of the game, protecting minorities and following the mandate of majorities if our free society is to continue. But if we do not get at basic causes of unrest this cannot be done. Nixon will be unable to accomplish such a consensus. He won't be able to unify enough to rule.

This is why the extreme left, the anarchists, the Students for Democratic Society types, and some of the most recalcitrant McCarthyites are attacking and picketing Humphrey rather than Nixon, i.e., they are doing so because they know that Nixon will not be able to rule effectively and the resulting bitter confrontation within our society will dictate the new order which they can't define but which they seem to want. The Humphrey answer is to heal and to unify. Humphrey can do it. Nixon can not. Wallace certainly can not.

There is a growing fear of nuclear war. There are more big bombs in the world than ever before. Whose finger is on that trigger? Will our President be war like, or will he go the last possible road to prevent war and still keep our freedom? This question must constantly be posed.

Finally, although people are generally complacent they can still be stirred to fear that the programs brought to reality by the Democratic Party can be taken away from them. Further, many still feel the danger of another depression, despite the success of Democratic "new economics".

2. Hope and Promise -- Hope for the nation and promise of better things for the individual. These must permeate the entire campaign. We need to hear more about what is right with the United States, the promise of the future and that we can continue to build and progress.

This theme combined with heal and unify brought favorable results in the June and July polls. We may well have drifted inadvertently into the attitude of McCarthy, Robert Kennedy, and the Republican opposition of concentrating on the problems and forgetting the accomplishments of the Democratic Party the promise of a better future. A little bit of "You never had it so good" is in order. It is true for most of the people and we've got to get most of the votes. This can be done skillfully in a balanced way without in any way down-grading the difficult problems that must be faced or failing to demonstrate the understanding, the will, and the skill to face and solve them.

crowds and seems to be coming through a little more. So what seemed impossible yesterday seems a little brighter today. Such is the way of political campaigns.

September 16, 1968 - 11:35 pm at my desk at home. I've just raced through the day's mail from the USDA and now some material from the campaign office. This has been a hectic day. I've been on the Hill meeting with Poage and Ellender about legislation. I took the new Assistant Secretary Ted Davis along with me. Spent three hours with Humphrey and the Campaign Policy Staff. Then with Larry O'Brien and the Coordinating Committee he's established for the campaign and the National Committee. Then back to the campaign office. I've been reading here tonight some analyses we have made, set down on paper after a long meeting Saturday morning, discussions over the week end with the President at Camp David, and some private thoughts. The following paper is an example of something that I developed after discussions with the President at Camp David. It expresses, I think, the elements in a campaign that come into sharp focus in this one which is really a tough situation as I have indicated before with most of the normal facts that go for a Democratic liberal arrayed against him. I'm just looking at a paper from Marty Lipset at Harvard talking about the problems of Democratic defections. It sets it out very graphically. The defections from the left, anti-war liberals, and leftists, composed of University Students intellectuals and the better educated middle class once liberal Democrats. Then the Negro militants, but even more serious is the defection from the right. This is white workers both in the North and South. They are today relatively well satisfied with their economic position, but see a threat to it from inflation, from taxes, from Civil Rights, to wit, open housing and school desegregation and their physical safety. The dissatisfaction with taxes and spending rests in part on the fact that they feel they are going to pay for lazy people, many of whom are Negroes, and if they really wanted to could get a job. They know this because in most of the places where they work the employers are looking for workers. So

they have moved to the Wallace Camp and the likelihood is that they will go to Nixon rather than to the Democrats if Wallace alienates them. This then is the problem. It can be stated in many ways, but it presents Humphrey with a real chore. This is added to by the miserable way this campaign is starting in terms of organization. My heart went out to him at the meeting this morning. For a half hour he ripped into everyone connected with the campaign, particularly the advance work, stating with passion mistakes such as barricades which kept people from him, declaring that he was prepared to take chances in this campaign, that in modern politics, and Jane made the point at dinner tonight that television causes this in large part, the crowds want to be on top of you to tear your clothes and literally have physical contact. He then went on to point out how they were kept away from him and how the scheduling was simply atrocious. So it was and before the conference ended he agreed that from now on I would do the scheduling. I begged him to let me do so, to take the responsibility, that we would change and adjust it as the circumstances required according to his wishes, but it couldn't be changed in mid-stream. It came out clearly that the changes had been more his own staff than his doings and that we will remove Marty McNamara. Now I must get a decent staff built up to help Jim Thronton. If we can get on the scheduling and get ahead of the game we can maybe do some good and organize this better and in a fashion that will help everyone.

We spent about an hour with him discussing issues. Two papers were prepared. He read them and then we had discussion. He gave us a number of speeches as to the things he was saying and trying out and it was amazing how similar they were to the conclusions that we generally had reached in this paper. It is a useful exercise and I think stimulated all of us. Now we must somehow translate this into a master plan of action and then decide what we can do within the resources we have. The trouble here again is that we know what should be done but really don't have the organization or the resources yet to do it. In the first place

because things are kind of dejected and people in public life generally are looking out after themselves. It's awfully hard to get them to attack Nixon. Things are going for him. People running for office don't want to alienate anyone. Other people just don't take the trouble because it seems almost hopeless. We are trying to mobilize people running for office and those who are making speeches. The frustrating part of all of it of course is that after we develop the policies, to try and execute them with the lack of organization and the general attitude, it is really rough. In the meantime poor Humphrey is swimming up against the stream, but he's sure battling and he had a lot of emotion, a lot of fire, a lot of anger, and also a lot of frustration. Somehow he's best when the tide run against him. It seems impossible that this election could be pulled out. If it's lost we'll all look back and say it was inevitable. But one can't be sure and we're going to put out everything we can.

Humphrey is going to call the President to see if he can get him to make Marty Underwood the President's chief advance man available. If that can be done we can get that operation on the road. I must give this some hard, sharp, tough personal attention and help Jim out. The candidate after all is our best resource and he must be used to a maximum. At this he's unparalleled.

I attended a meeting Larry O'Brien held today. They are apparently borrowing \$3 million for the mass media campaign, but the same pulling and tugging about funds is going on. I suppose it's inevitable.

Had a perfectly marvelous week end at Camp David. Last Friday in the middle of the afternoon, the phone rang, I was in work up to my ears and more than a little harrassed. It was Jane and she said that Mrs. Johnson had called inviting us to Camp David for the week end. My first reaction was to say I can't go, I've got too much to do but of course that couldn't be for lots of reasons and so I moved the then scheduled Saturday afternoon meeting to Saturday morning. We held it -- it went on and on and on and on, resulting in the policy and position paper of today which was really pretty good. Then we went over to the White House. The

party was made up of the Clark Cliffords, the Arthur Krims, the Wassermans from California, and John Crisswell and Marie, the President's personal secretary. They were all delightful. We flew up by helicopter. Had a lunch on the patio under a warm sun and a beautiful day, a stimulating conversation with Mrs. Johnson about events at Chicago and the problems of riot and dissension this day. The President meanwhile holding forth at an adjoining table with great gusto. Once he arrived at Camp David you could almost see some of his burdens falling from him. During the evening we had something of a discussion about politics, but it was at breakfast on Sunday morning when he really turned loose. He was very honest in his appraisal, saying that Humphrey's problems were Johnson, that the press was taking out on Humphrey their antipathy towards him and also towards the war and that Humphrey ironically, whom the press had always like, was now the butt of it. He was sympathetic and generous in his comments. He went on to speak in almost bitter and certainly highly critical terms about the press. He declared if he wanted to be a dictator that all you would really need to give him would be the New York Times, the Post, NBC and the Brinkley show, Cronkite and CBS, Time and Newsweek -- that that news group could really mold public opinion. Their roots he said, with just a trace of bitterness, rested with the Kennedys. He twitted about the fact that Mrs. Brinkley was a lady in waiting in effect to Ethel Kennedy which Jane has mentioned many, many times, and that Brinkley is just a crumb with a pleasant voice. He went on to say that the press shouldn't be courted, that seeking to do so merely resulted in their feeling they're being pandered and that makes them worse. It's always interesting to hear him start carrying forth in this fashion. You find that he is truly an infinitely wise man with broad and deep experience and exposure to people and events, with an enormously retentive memory. Later by the swimming pool he came over and sat and talked with me and I asked him point blank what we could do in Texas. He gave me a lot of Texas history then and people and personalities. It

was clear that he really is in support of Humphrey. He stated he was willing to do anything, that he didn't object if Humphrey saw fit to disagree with him, that Humphrey could say so; but that where the war is concerned that he felt very strongly and must act accordingly with all those boys fighting over there. Then he said with deep feeling that if he had made any mistake, it was probably that he had been a little too soft and curtailed that bombing a little too much and a little too far. This because of McNamara for whom he had the greatest regard and highest respect, but in the last analysis he was afraid it went back to McNamara being close to the Kennedys and their point of view. In so many things that he says, not with nastiness or with bitterness, certainly never so where President Kennedy is concerned, but again and again the Kennedy antipathy creeps in. Crisswell he said he had sent to Chicago to see to it that the Convention was run and that the Kennedys didn't take it over. Humphrey couldn't do it he said looking me straight in the eyes and I must say I couldn't deny him that.

It's too bad that the flap between Johnson and Humphrey took place last week. The Vice President is full of indignation although he doesn't say very much. This is particularly true because he was really given almost no leeway when he made the statement about returning troops at the end of the year. That wish has been expressed by Rusk and Johnson and almost everyone. I do think they could have let him down much easier on that one. He acknowledged his mistake in saying he could accept the minority plank in the Democratic platform. Now he says he is not answering questions on Vietnam, but only referring to the platform. As he describes it he tells the press it's kind of juvenile and ridiculous that we can't discuss this like adult people but that happens to be the way. It is as if one day you asked me about my wife and I said I loved her -- two days later you asked again and I said she was wonderful, you would write a story that there are serious problems in the Humphrey household because I no longer loved her, then if two days later I said she was great you would say we were really on the rocks

and headed for the divorce court. So, he said, if you insist on playing with words I'm not going to be able to vary the monotony of using the same words, and so be it. Yet there are those, Bill Welsh in particular, who feel that a statement on Vietnam is necessary and must be made. For my part, I think for the time being the further we stay away from it the better. As Clark Clifford said to me at Camp David, there is nothing you can say that is going to help any, but there are some things that we can do that might make a real difference. In this way he evidenced a cautious hope, the President indicated it too, I sure hope something comes about.

In the meantime we can only continue to move ahead with determination and resolve and to try and carry other people with us. Humphrey goes out again tomorrow. I do hope this is a better trip, and particularly those to come for the balance of the week.

Incidentally, one of the things the President told me which makes some sense that he in effect killed a budding Kennedy drive at the National Convention. I recall on Tuesday night of the Convention when Mike Feldman told me they had 750 signatures to a petition for Kennedy. As the President related the story, he had heard that too and so he got on the phone and called Buford Ellington from Tennessee, John Connally, Dick Daley and managed to persuade them to schedule and make their announcements of releasing delegates for Humphrey. Ted Kennedy promptly indicated he had no interest whatsoever in running. Another interesting comment he made in the course of reflecting that Minnesota people tend to talk too much, saying he hoped that I wouldn't do that about some of the things that he was telling me and some of them I'm not dictating here, was the statement that the Humphrey people, not Humphrey himself, but Humphrey people periodically cut me up in front of him. The contention is usually made that I am so tremendously unpopular. He then looked at me and said, "You know the things that I have done in my life of which I am the proudest are the things at the time I was doing them were the most unpopular." All in all, it was a perfectly delightful weekend. The weather up there was

was magnificent. I can't recall ever seeing Camp David so beautiful. We swam a little, hiked a little, rode bikes a little, visited a lot, had a good night's sleep and really came back marvelously refreshed.

September 20, 1968 - 8:25 pm in the office. Almost another week has passed. It's been a hectic one. My how time flies. Mostly it has been a "Humphrey for President" week. I've been frantic trying to set up the organization and get things rolling.

As reported, we met last Saturday and over the weekend Dorothy Jacobson developed an "Issue" paper which we used in a conference with Humphrey on Monday. He was really super-charged, bitter at the press, acknowledged his mistake in saying he could have accepted the Minority Platform Plank. The rest was merely bad press reporting, also very bad advancing, with poor crowds. We went over the various program approaches with him, concluding with a conference on scheduling which was quite satisfactory when he gave me absolute authority to schedule and advance and agreed that we had to move Marty McNamara out of advance. I've done that as of tonight, and it's really been a miserable business. First we tried to find somebody and hoped that Marty Underwood in the White House would come aboard. He didn't want to. I finally ended on Mike Berman, partly at Larry O'Brien's urging. Bill Connell was vigorously opposed. I discovered, because Berman had been with Mondale, and Mondale and Connell had fueded. Connell has been bumped off the airplane, is here, is finding segments of things he used to do being carried out by other people and is finding it terribly frustrating to find a place with the power and authority he used to have. It would appear that he is more tricky and difficult than I would have thought. In any event, he tried to tell me "no" and I firmly had to tell him "yes" and proceed. He contended that Berman was not experienced enough and predicted all kinds of catastrophe. In the middle of the day yesterday he called to say I should do nothing, that he had talked to Humphrey who would call me. Humphrey did call me this morning and was prepared to follow

what I outline. It was clear that McNamara is incompetent, has run a very sloppy operation, that he has been a Bill Simms man and seemingly Bill has been carrying him, subsidizing him, and taking care of him. There was nothing I could do but move in and call him in and tell him he was through. I hated to do it, I did it as gently as I could, still he delayed and is in and out yet. Finally I had to tell Bill that I would literally move Berman in and have to announce to McNamara's own people that he was being discharged if he didn't move. Then Bill finally agreed to move him out. This is definitely a hazardous business. Berman is not experienced. I had some commitments that Bruno would come in with all his experience to help us, but when I talked to him today he seemed to be shying away. I have a hunch McNamara more or less threatened him. I'm getting Max Kampelman to try and bring him in. In the meantime, poor Thornton is going crazy. He has been working night and day trying to schedule and to kind of work the advance too. Jim is experienced, but not experienced enough and very short handed. I'm bringing in new people to work with him on the scheduling and I trust that we can get it squared away. I'm going in early tomorrow morning just to be around and try to shepherd it along.

The Issue thing is also moving along, although converting it now into effective action by way of getting other groups to attack Nixon and other individuals to talk positive program rather than just the two big candidates themselves takes a bit of doing. I'm going to have a staff meeting on that early tomorrow morning and see if we can't get it rolling.

O'Brien has an overall staff meeting three times a week at noon. Supposedly nothing by way of policy or action in the campaign will be done until it is cleared there. That's pretty preponderous machinery for quick action on issues, but I didn't argue about it. They've also set up a very complicated clearing structure running to the field with regional directors and people in each state. I hope it functions as it should. It's been far too slow in getting started. The big problem is money. As of now, according to the meeting this noon, we are literally

out of money. There is none. They barely met the payroll. Today we had a cancellation of a hotel that Humphrey is going to be in on Sunday and here in Washington we managed to scrounge up \$800 that they insisted on getting. Jim Thornton did that. Bob Short told us that he had signed two checks, something he had never done in his life before, totaling up to \$400,000 that were necessary to get the media people moving. I begged him for some funds for polls which are now available which we need and which they will not release without some money. He said he would do what he could. I haven't heard. In the meantime, the data we need is sitting; data we need in order to make some of the scheduling decisions that must be made tomorrow. At the same time, we are totally and completely out of literature. It has been prepared, a catalogue is going out to the field, none of the literature is being printed. Larry O'Brien expressed his disgust. Apparently there have been some of the big financial types talking about fund raising, supposedly they would put their names on notes to be repaid so we could get some money to get started, but it seems they have hesitated to do so, and have been meeting and conferring and haggling for almost two weeks. It does appear that a million dollars worth of loans have been agreed to with money coming in on Monday. Larry said that Bob Short himself was in for almost \$2 million. That's really incredible. Bob also has pledged himself to continue as Treasurer until all the notes are paid off. I'd say that's the ultimate. We haven't gotten along very good with Bob frequently over the years, but I must say his initiative and his courage on this one have properly earned him some consideration and recognition down the road. As far as I'm concerned that cancels out some of the bills he ran up way back 12 years ago in the Kefauver-Stevenson primary fight.

Humphrey has had a better week this week. Crowds have been better. He has been coming through I think quite well with his politics of confrontation. It surely stands in sharp, clear, dramatic contrast with the well scrubbed, well rehearsed kind of presentation Nixon is making. No one knows what that impact

is on the American people, but I can't help but feel that the contrast is one that ought to benefit Humphrey. We're dogged however with the same problem of Vietnam. Hecklers are after him everywhere he goes. He's out shouting them, out maneuvering them, out talking them, out insulting them. He's been combative as all get out and I think it's coming through pretty well, but it's miserable that he must do it. Also I think a lot of the Democrats are coming back to the fold. There is every indication of that. When they realize they must take Nixon otherwise, or Wallace who is coming up very rapidly, although the polls seem to indicate he has peaked now, why some of them are beginning to make reluctant decisions. Many of these are Democrats. I think they will do that increasingly as the campaign wears on. The number of uncertainties in the polls is high. It should be going down following the Conventions, but instead it is holding or gaining. So there are many, many imponderables. The cry that Humphrey must break with Johnson continues at a high note. When you ask people how this break is to be made they really don't know. They hem and haw around and it always comes back to Vietnam. I've concluded that basically the big mistake was made in the immediate pre-Convention/Convention period. If it was a mistake. If Humphrey at that time had just disassociated himself from Vietnam, had clearly said that it was none of his doing and Johnson would be President, and let the convention work its will in regard to the Vietnam Plank, that he would seek to carry it forward, and not started out to try and write a Vietnam paper which in effect Johnson vetoed and the word leaked out, and not carry to the Convention a plank which Rusk and Clark Clifford agreed on and then the President canceled, and not find the President in effect behind the scenes through Charley Murphy demanding a certain kind of platform which also become known, in other words it really did come through I'm afraid that where Vietnam is concerned Humphrey simply can't do or say what he wants. Now that ought not to be such a great big problem because how could a Vice President say what he wanted when delicate negotiations are going on. He can't even say what he would do

on January 20 because it would affect those negotiations and he ought to say it. Nixon has said it and Nixon has had very little trouble. Humphrey is being picketed. But my how deep this goes into the liberal ranks and the vigorous dissent and even viciousness with which he must face people. His efforts to keep the door open, to reach some of them, have resulted in almost universal criticism that he's waffling and unsure and that kind of thing. However, it's characteristically Humphrey, keeping himself fluid, trying to unify, trying to bring people together, shading just a bit to please the crowd he's with. He doesn't do it any more than any other politician really, but it seems like more. Perhaps because he sells so well and sounds so good. Anyhow that continues and I don't see how there is any way out of it. There is in process a paper which supposedly will outline a Vietnam policy. For my part I'm reserving judgment, but I don't think it's possible to say anything without getting into trouble. Anyhow, we'll have to see. In the meantime Nixon goes along with his well washed, well scrubbed, as Ed Muskie said, his big city lawyer word campaign. He really has ducked every issue, shaded ever thrust and stayed to the high road. I'm amazed that he is projecting the image of careful planning, thorough financing, super confidence. I wonder if he's not making a mistake. The polls ought to show something soon.

I hope by next week I'll have things organized in the campaign so I can maybe get out to speak a little myself. We had a bad week in Congress. There is a 1-year bill which will be passed I think by the House next Wednesday. We couldn't get more because of Poage. I plan to attack the bill and Nixon in it after it has been passed by both houses. Food Stamps -- it looks like we will get an increased authorization but only \$90 million. We should have at least \$150 million. We could have gotten \$120 million if Leonor Sullivan hadn't been so stubborn and foolish in thinking somehow she could get an open end authorization on the floor, but that's the process. I'm really glad my time is probably coming to an end here because I don't think I could stomach Mr. Poage for very much longer.

He's getting worse. He lets the Republicans run him. He thinks exclusively in Congressional terms. His loyalty to the Administration and to the political forces involved is almost nil. It's really too bad. I thought Cooley was difficult -- this guy is proving to much more so. I pity the next Secretary of Agriculture.

Jane is getting deeply involved in the campaign, too. She's trying to work the women's side. Help Muriel Humphrey to get started -- get Lady Bird involved -- trying to bridge a touchy gap between the two of them. Apparently Muriel feels inferior, doesn't want to ask Lady Bird to do various things, particularly because her staff is so competent and so tough and her style of course is so much more professional than Muriel's. However, Muriel has gotten to be very good and quite effective. Jane is off to North Carolina and Tennessee this weekend with Muriel on a trip. So, things are happening. Basically I guess we're enjoying it. I've been rolling and tossing most nights and have had more trouble with my stomach than I can remember but it's been a bit better today and maybe I'm getting it under control. I hope so and I hope the glimmerings of progress where the Vice President is concerned are true. It'll be a miracle. In some ways he's done everything wrong, but he usually muddles through and maybe this will be another such time.

September 26, 1968. Jane is off to Newark, New Jersey this time. It's 11:00 o'clock at night and I'm still in the office trying to catch up on the paper that has accumulated. We continue to muddle along in the campaign. I think it's getting a little better organized, although there are so few administrative and logistical resources to carry forward ideas. My morning policy breakfast sessions are dragging a bit but still useful. I try to communicate with the Humphrey plane every day with some ideas. He doesn't follow many of them. After a few days of discipline he's been off again making comments about Vietnam which tend to dominate the press and add to the nasty image of Humphrey the indecisive. We're getting in some State Polls. They are much like the national poll we had six weeks ago. The

Humphrey image is weak, vacillating and indecisive. Nixon is much firmer and stronger. The most important element people list for a President is leadership -- Nixon is ahead of us on that one. It's hard to tell what Humphrey's threshing around on Vietnam is producing. I can't help but feel very sorry for him. I know he's trying very hard to bridge the difficult gap of demonstrating his freedom from the President. They continue to call him a stooge all the time and it's all Vietnam and at the same time reach some of the malcontents without alienating the President or disturbing the negotiations in Paris. What a hell of a tough ring to fight in. But maybe despite the threshing around he is making some progress. I have a feeling that he is gradually carving out a little independent position for himself and getting across that he really is not a captive. Perhaps people are feeling sorry for him, recognizing the impossibility of his position. Anyway he's trying mightily. He has also mounted a very strong attack on Nixon and I think we're beginning to get a glove on him, particularly his threshing around and unwillingness to take a stand on any issue. That's beginning to raise eyebrows and to get press and editorial comment. I went after him hard today myself, putting out a press statement and holding a press conference expressing disappointment at a 1-year extension of the Farm Bill instead of 4, charging Nixon with collusion in cutting it back, and charging him with threatening the basic farm programs. I wrote him a letter asking specifically what he proposed to do about the different commodity programs. I was disappointed that it didn't get any play on television tonight although it was well reported on the wires. I've been rather expecting a blast from the President for it but so far he has been silent on that. However, he's been wild on another front.

The President called me about a week ago saying we ought to defeat the Farm Bill or else he would veto it. He told me to try and get the papers diverted from the Senate to the House first so they could consider limitations independently and not have to vote it all up or down. I understood that we were to be discreet

in this and not tip our hand and bring blame on the Administration. I tried to do that. We set Ellender up to be receptive to a Poage request, put pressure on Poage trying to frighten him into reversing the strategy on the grounds the House was upset by it. Poage didn't buy. Ellender at the last minute told Barefoot Sanders he would not take the papers if I asked him to not do so. They couldn't reach me by phone, Ellender kept them, the Senate passed it; yesterday the House did as well. The President called me day before yesterday and chewed me out for almost half an hour. He charged me with not being available on the phone, with not carrying out his instructions, and threatened veto. We had almost half an hour argument. I spoke quite strongly to him and I must say he seemed to listen but I certainly didn't dissuade him. Yesterday I got a demand for a lot of figures about limitations of payments -- today a demand from both Pierson and Charlie Zwick that I should prepare a veto message and that was the President's current plan. What a hell of a mess this one is.

I'm not sure what the President is up to. I suspect strongly that he wants to strike back strongly at some of the Southerners who are blocking the Fortas appointment. He now claims also that he's never cared for big payments and always voted against them. That's meaningless when you realize that he never had a chance to vote on these programs. He voted on the old mandatory programs where limitations made some sense. Anyhow he's been riding them hard at the White House, although he hasn't gotten back at me yet. He's got the numbers on payments now and they show only a handful of big payments relative to the 2 1/2 million that go to smaller farmers. He'll certainly look silly, I'm afraid, trying to turn around after he recommended that these programs be made permanent just six months ago. I hope I can dissuade him from it. However, it might not be too bad for a strong message complaining that a 1-year program isn't enough, doesn't give the programs time to prove themselves, and will cheat the farmers by making it possible for the new President to set policies and allocate resources in other areas before he ever gets to agriculture leaving them out on the limb. This is a valid and could be

possibly a powerful argument. It might also sharpen up for farmers the question of what kind of a farm program will we get next year and by taking away that year's lead time that everyone now is relaxing with, it could sharpen up the issue in the campaign. Anyway I've written a Veto Message of sorts and will send it over there in the morning. Jane and I are to be at the White House tomorrow night. It'll be interesting what his attitude is.

The scheduling in advance responsibility proves to be a bigger headache than I dreamed it would be. At this stage of the game lots of places simply don't want Humphrey, local political leaders insist on their pet dates, and they tend to fall in the last week of election. It's hard to get events, and difficult to promote them. Jim Thornton is struggling mightily but his inexperience is showing through. Mike Berman seems to have grabbed hold quite well, but he's somewhat limited too. However, the operation is obviously a lot better than it was before and I guess we'll muddle through.

On the Issue side we're trying hard to firm up a solid Humphrey domestic position. The current strategy is to have him make a major speech in a week or 10 days in which he will say he is synthesizing the total program he has presented to the American people and then set it out in effective, dramatic, and literate form; perhaps even printing it up for rather wide distribution. The financial situation continues atrocious. Some of our people haven't been paid since before the convention. Yesterday they started hauling typewriters out of the Citizens Office and only got them back at the last minute. We ran around telling our people not to give them up when they claimed them, but make them get a Court Order. We have three polls that have been taken that we can't get because we have no money to pay for them. We need the polls to analyze and plan for the Vice President's trips. In the meantime Bob Short is struggling mightily. He said the other day that he had inherited 1 1/2 million dollars worth of debt from the Pre-convention period and had spent a million dollars since. That you couldn't do that in any

private business in the land. He's probably right. He must be doing a pretty good job. It's kind of ironic, Bob Short, who I have been at odds with over the years since the Stevenson-Kefauver battle, has been most considerate and we're working very well together. I'm even working with Jen0 Paulucci who did his best to torpedo me in 1960, although I don't care for him at all. Yet he is an important assistant in the Humphrey campaign, putting in a lot of money and giving a lot of time and effort.

Tonight George Ball came out for Humphrey, resigning as Ambassador to the United Nations, with a powerful statement attacking Dick Nixon in terms of his character and his integrity. He is going to use his experience in the Cuban Missile Crisis to underline the importance of a strong President, saying Nixon is not it. This could well be the shot in the arm that the campaign needs. People have been terribly discouraged and at times so am I. We're still disorganized, literature still isn't available, Humphrey is getting cup up by press and commentators. Nixon is going on his merry way with what appears to be a super-organized media program, carefully scheduled trips, large crowds, careful staging. Hopefully the public will resent his assuming and acting and talking as if he is already elected and will be impressed by the contrast between Humphrey's confrontations and Nixon's staged presentations. Only time will tell.

I do think we probably ought to pull Humphrey off the college campuses now and get him out with women and other groups for his panel shows so they won't be so rugged and drive him as hard as they have. That's one of the things we need to discuss with him. I hope to bring him in here in a week for a couple of days when we'll have time to go over that kind of thing. Well enough of this for now. Back to the pile of paper. I should go home pretty soon. A night's sleep is badly needed.

September 30, 1968, 6:00 am at my desk at home. Up early to attack the pile of papers. This has been kind of a blue weekend. The poll came out -- Gallop -- showing a loss of 3 points for Humphrey, 1 to Nixon and 2 to Wallace. Our State polls are showing the same pattern generally around the country. Wallace is running very strong in the Southern States including the border ones. For example, in Arkansas he's 2 to 1 ahead of anyone. He appears to be leading in both border and Southern States. That doesn't mean enough to win the election, but it does mean that he will bite deeply. He doesn't stand a chance in the House of Representatives. He has no real following there. So if things go the way they are now, he'll work out something in a deal with Nixon. In the meantime Nixon is charging Humphrey with colluding with Wallace and is against Wallace, but doing it in a very gentle pitty-pat sort of way. In other words, instead of attacking Wallace for his stands and for his record and for what he means, Nixon is taking the line that a vote for Wallace is a vote lost. This is consistent with his entire approach. He is resting solidly on the premise that people are mad and are going to vote the "ins" out regardless and therefore the thing to do is play on that in every way. I was talking with Peter Lisagor of the Chicago Daily News last night who has been out with him and he said that he gives the same stock speech over and over. He flared up a few times last week, mostly because the press started to ride him about his unavailability, but they quickly throttled him and he sought to recover and returned to his bland good fellow position. I guess from his viewpoint this is the logical thing to do.

George Ball came out completely unbeknownst to me last week with a sharp attack on Nixon, resigning as Ambassador to the United Nations. He went to the juggler vein on a personal basis, charging Nixon with incapacity and expressing shocking horror at the prospect that he would be determining the Nation's policy. Really this is tougher and harder and more juggler vein politics than Humphrey has played. Again Peter Lisagor pointed this out. Humphrey has talked about

the issues. He has been shrill at times, but he has pretty well restrained himself to such things as nuclear proliferation, the Fortas appointment, Nixon's unwillingness to take a stand on issues, but he really hasn't gone on a hard, tough, personal basis, pointing out Nixon's record and incapacity. I must go over this with him. Frankly I don't know myself. Others in the press like Bert Schorr of the Wall Street Journal have indicated to me that they do feel there is a new Nixon and this is a different more balanced man.

Actually it seems to me that Nixon may well be most vulnerable in terms of the smugness of his campaign, the assumption that he is already elected. The American people really won't like that. In the meantime we continue to bang away and will have a kind of change of strategy this week. Humphrey will be making a speech tonight out at Salt Lake City on Vietnam. I shudder at the prospect. As he said to me yesterday on the telephone in effect there really isn't anything new that I can say. I've just got to try and say it in a way that people will understand and that they will think is new. The speech has been worked and re-worked. There is really only one thing that will stand out I think is his statement that if he is President and after appraising the situation no more progress is made, he will be prepared to cease the bombing, recognizing it to be a risk and see if it will get negotiations off dead center. If it doesn't, he would then resume the bombing with full American military might. I'm afraid this will be received with a wave and a yawn. This appearance has gotten tremendous build-up. Somehow, or other the speech simply must have a real impact. If it does and we could get Vietnam behind us, we can still go on to other things. This has dogged him persistently everywhere he's gone. And I must say when Eugenie Anderson and others have gone out to our organizational meetings, they've found the same thing. It appears to be impossible to shuck it aside, even though he really tried to do so. Therefore, there isn't any alternative but to try and put it to bed once and for all with a definitive statement. If we can get that one

out of the way, we then have to take the law enforcement thing head on. The strategy to do that developed over the weekend and discussed with Humphrey on the phone yesterday morning is for him to go after Wallace hard in his appearances this week at Nashville; Knoxville; Jacksonville, Florida and Charleston, North Carolina. We will try and set the format that brave Humphrey goes into Wallace country and takes 'em head on. Goodness knows he's been heckled and harrassed enough by the anarachists, left-wing youngster group who have whiplashed him all over the nation and this is generally pretty well known. When he gets through working Wallace over, he then can again come in here to Washington and make a speech to the UPI Editors Convention which he will discuss the extreme left, the anarchists, the dissension group and can more or less lecture the editors about that, drawing a fair distinction between youngsters who are seeking reform and improvement and expressing the understandable, desirable and patience and criticalness of young folks and those who are out and out destroyers and destructionists, to be included in this the Black Panther groups as well. Then hopefully he can go on television and do the same thing on the law enforcement and order issue and the threat it represents to our society that he has done on the Vietnam. We'll follow that fairly quickly next week then with a speech on domestic issues, synthesizing and bringing together all of the things he's said, and they have been many and good but pretty well scattered. A sharp hard focus on this with a brilliant and effective speech would bring that one into tight use and hopefully wide acceptance and if not detailed understanding a knowledge that there is a program and it is a solid, thoughtful, tough minded, meaningful one. Then we will have a foreign policy East-West relations with the Russians speech which we must get in before Scranton returns from Europe where Nixon has sent him to make a big report.

With these things done, there should be on the record and hopefully well and sharply stated, the Humphrey record, then we can go forward in the last two

weeks with whatever our strategy may be to hit hard and effectively and seek to recover the ground we've lost. I hope we can. Again Peter Lisagor's analysis was people have made up their minds, they're really not listening, there's not going to be much change -- all very depressing.

Humphrey himself yesterday sounded bouncy, if concerned. He has had great crowds last week on the West Coast and expressed encouragement. He really didn't mention the poll at all. Well, enough of the campaign. I'm glad I'm deeply in it. I couldn't stand to be just on the sidelines, but it is heavily frustrating and demanding.

Everyone now, of course, is critical. Cabinet officers are suggesting, as Joe Fowler did to Jane at the Moroccan Embassy, Saturday night, that Humphrey really shouldn't be President if he can't organize any better than seems to be the case in the current campaign. Unfortunately there is a measure of truth in this. If the darn fool had only sat down the week after the Convention and had given some thought during the Convention to the organization of the campaign, it really could have made a difference. In the meantime we always must contend with his tendency to just go and not plan, but as Gus Tyler said, you can expect a genius to be like other people and certainly Humphrey is that or he wouldn't be where he is, given the circumstances from which he came.

Anyway, it's not over yet, but it's darn tough. There can be no doubt about that. I've done some struggling about my own personal problems over the weekend too. The EDP announcement has finally come into sharp focus and I'm going to make it Thursday of this week. I've struggled long hours trying to write a proper statement. I hope it is a good one. I'm going to have a press conference Thursday, in the Department, and make the announcement. I've had very deep and mixed feelings about it. I feel somehow almost like a selfish dilettante at the thought of leaving public service and going with a profit-making enterprise. It's odd that I should, but I do. Also I almost feel disloyal announcing I'm leaving

the Department before the actual day when I must go. However, Greenberg and Associates feel that an announcement on my part will be very helpful in terms of laying the groundwork for the things I want to do when I join them next January 20. When I analyze this at all rationally, it is clearly the thing to do for it will provide me, at least I think and hope so, with an opportunity to carry forward programs of public service both here and also around the world that I've worked for ever since I've been in public life. EDP is a new organization, just getting going with considerable resources both of capital and professional and technical knowhow in the systems analysis and data processing field. I can mold EDP International pretty much as I want it, I'm sure. And the potential in terms of both service and earnings is an exciting one. So I guess I've got to bite the bullet. I've had quite a number of offers of different things -- or at least tentative offers, the last few months, so there's quite a list of people I must call and tell what I'm doing. I hope it's understood and well received. Anyway the fat's in the fire.

It's been a busy weekend. We've been out every night for three nights running. Friday night was a special and unusual one. We were invited to the White House for an off the record affair. We couldn't really find out, although we didn't press very hard what it was. Well it turned out to be a small dinner upstairs for about 30 people. Most of them were very wealthy Jewish people from Chicago, the West Coast, and New York. It appeared that they were major contributors to the President's campaign and all of them had had some personal relations with him. This appears to be one of a series of half a dozen such dinners where he is bringing into the White House people to whom he feels particularly grateful and warm. The only ones from Government were Senator Dan Brewster from Maryland and Jane and I. Why Brewsters and why Freemans I can't imagine. Anyway it proved to be a most unusual event. It was a lovely night and we had cocktails on the big veranda upstairs overlooking the South Side of the White House

lawn with the Washington Monument and Jefferson Memorial sharply silhouetted by the searchlights and the moon jumping in and out of the clouds with the airplanes up and down at National. There was a lot of small talk before dinner, nothing very heavy. The only one there that we really knew were the Arthur Crims. Then in separate round tables the usual dinner and it was lovely and beautifully served and most tasty. Then the President got up without his usual lectern and no notes and proceeded to do a little reminiscing and in a jocular vein relate some parallels historically to what he's doing and other Presidents, and then expressed his appreciation for the good friends in the room and what they had done for him. It was quite impressive and a very good performance. He does this thing really beautifully. Then there was a moment of silence, very subdued discussion around the room. It was obvious that someone should say something. I hadn't even given one thought to the possibility that I might be called upon and in a panic I realized that maybe it ought to be me. Arthur Crim was at my table. He looked across at me and says, "Orville, you better say something -- please do." There I was. I got on my feet. I was absolutely cold. I didn't have a thought and made a little statement and proposed a toast. It took about five minutes. I really don't remember what I said, but the words kind of tumbled out. There was a tremor in my voice because it was a very touching occasion. Apparently it went over extremely well. Everyone there came up to me afterwards and expressed their appreciation and the President and Mrs. Johnson seemed to be touched. Mostly I said that it's tough to be President at a time when everything is gray, rather than black and white. It's easy then. Then went on to relate a few of the outstanding things the President had done and my evaluation of how he would go down in history as a great President which of course was easy to do because I believe it. On the light side I couldn't help but be amused with the situation. When the President came in to the reception room upstairs and went around to say hello, he gave me that limp handshake and

that quick once over lightly. It's obvious that he's angry with me. I've been sending him some stuff on this possible veto of the Farm Bill and he apparently hasn't like it. The number of large payments are not as great as he had hoped, nor are the individuals ones that he can penalize as he has in mind in part I'm sure because of the Abe Fortas filibuster. Then, too, I don't think he liked the veto message I wrote for him which expressed his dedication to farm programs and his veto on the grounds a 1-year bill would mean that farmers are not getting enough time to prove out our current programs, but at the same time that 1-year will keep them from being a direct participant at the time when a new President is making the basic policy decisions which will govern his program and allocation of resources for the next 4 years. That at least is credible and consistent with the President's position. From all I hear, he is still thinking of this veto, is still angry and some of his reservation about farm programs is now bubbling out.. The truth of the matter is that he has given farm programs and me very little help over the years. In the early years of his administration I had to just literally haul him, kicking and squealing before the Congress and often there was a big question of whether I could. Frankly, he's simply had too many Texas conservatives banging away at him on this one. Furthermore, I guess he's been against big payments. He is so contending, and states he always voted against them. Well of course that's nonsense because the only times he voted was in the period of the mandatory programs when payment limitations make more sense. In any event, I don't know what he's going to do. As I've thought about it, I'm not sure but what it might not be a good idea if he takes the line I've outlined. This would really frighten farmers, would put them on notice, and might very well make them decide that they better go with the assurance and stability of a Democrat rather than take a chance on a no program Republican.

In any event, this was the setting at the dinner and he was much less than cordial or warm with me. Then, of course, came the situation with the toast.

Following the dinner we retired into the reception room upstairs while the ladies went downstairs. I had a long talk with Dan Brewster advising him that he ought to be tougher on the law enforcement thing in his campaign while the President held forth sitting on the couch with the businessmen around him talking about his property and its development in Texas. He didn't come near me. I didn't come near him. Lady Bird, however, was most sincere in her expression as we left. So ironically and interestingly enough if he's mad at me I got a break. I got a situation where I could perform, which I apparently did quite well, to say what's on my heart really that I had hoped to have a chance to say in a most fitting circumstance and also get in a stroke in terms of reminding him of this relationship in the hope it would firm up my position where he's concerned. That is one of the little fortuitous breaks for at this time with the tension about this veto and the inevitable tension which revolves around the campaign and my obvious loyalty and dedication to Humphrey, this could all be a very difficult circumstance.

Last night Jane and I were at the Tyler Abells for a Sunday evening get-together. Lots of people for a buffet dinner -- all of them descending on me complaining about the campaign, wondering what could be done better, and going on and on and on. It's fun to be a point of interest, but frustrating at a time like this when everyone recognizes we are not doing as well as we should and can't help saying if you'd only do it this way it sure would be different.

One more thing -- I lashed out myself last week, going after Nixon on his lack of a farm program. I tied him up with the Republicans in the House who blocked the 4-year farm bill and then sent him a letter and challenged him to state what he was going to do about the specific commodity farm programs. No response, of course. There is a paragraph in his Des Moines farm presentation which says in effect that if there are men of good will who are creditable, don't worry about the details, we'll work it out. I went after this pretty hard

and in response to a question described it as garbage. That phrase was used around the Nation. Democrats have come up expressing approval. It is however a bit shrill and hardly casts the Secretary of Agriculture in a dignified position. Nonetheless if it got some attention, that's good. I'm sorry to say there wasn't much around Washington. I must now sit down when I get to the office this morning and resolve where and when I'm going to go out and make about four major farm presentations in places around the country where it will do some good. If the President should act to veto the Farm Bill it would give some attention and focus so I might be able to get some real mileage and conceivably frighten farmers as much as Truman did in 1948 and make some impact. It's an ironic business and I'm having difficulty keeping my own tongue quiet, but the truth is that in the areas in the country where the most has been done for farmers, that is in the Midwest -- Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Indiana, Illinois -- it's clear beyond doubt that Humphrey is being clobbered overwhelmingly. There is no evidence of appreciation. Nothing but grumbling at low grain prices. I must say regretfully that farmers are the most ungrateful, complaining people in the world. Perhaps lots of reasons for it -- I say it without bitterness, but I can't help some disillusion. I must be careful in the weeks ahead before I leave that I don't appear bitter about this. I will undo many of the good things that I've done if I should, but I must say as I said off the record to Bert Schorr of the Wall Street Journal who interviewed me this week, that if I were doing it over again I'm not at all sure but what back in 1963 when the wheat referendum failed I would have said all right, no program. That's what we said before the referendum, but I didn't stick to it. I kind of chickened out. Well, maybe I could put it a little more constructive and say that I concluded that if the nation and the farmers were not to suffer we must have a farm program and acted accordingly. There were those who recommended "put 'em through the meatgrinder". If I had, it might be a different story now, with an entirely

different consciousness in the minds of farmers as to the need for programs. What a difference it would make if they really supported their programs, tried to sell them to people around the country, and didn't poor mouth all the time so it's impossible to build up the kind of support in the Congress that makes it possible to carry these programs along. Literally, and I say this without any particular pride or egotism, I've almost put those programs through Congress all alone. They are my programs -- it's been my determination and continued efforts and pressure that has brought them into fruition. They're right and somehow they must be continued. Of course, when I say "I" I don't mean just Orville Freeman -- I mean the Department and the handful of related people in the farm organizations and outside who responded to my leadership and demands and worked with me every step of the way from the White House to the Congress.

October 3, 1968 -- 6:20 am at my desk at home -- A short night again. Rolled into bed about 2:00 o'clock. This has been going on now for most of a month. Nonetheless I feel amazingly well. I just keep moving fast enough during the day so I don't get sleepy.

Yesterday was what can only be described as a triumphal day -- at least relatively. When I got up yesterday morning and did my exercises I could hardly face the day. It involved doing so many unpleasant things, mostly because my announcement as to what I would do after January 20 was coming to a head. Somehow I dreaded having to tell people about it as if I were doing something that I shouldn't do, or betraying a trust, or leaving a responsibility. I lectured myself that of course that's not true and clearly it's time for me to leave the Government, that I simply must have a change of pace at this stage of the game, but nonetheless that nagging feeling was there. However, there was nothing but to face it and so I went through a routine of meetings and of course they didn't turn out as badly as I had feared or dreaded. First I told the girls in the office. They knew this day was coming, but they and I were sad, but they were very kind and more than generous.

The big meeting I had wanted to duck was that with the President. He's been, I thought, rather unhappy with me of late. I called and did get an appointment. It was for 2:00 o'clock -- I got in at 3:30. He was, however, exceedingly outgoing and generous; warm and friendly. He expressed his complete understanding at my desire to leave Government for a while -- told me I need only be sure that this new company had enough money to pay me for a year because by that time I would have it a success, that whatever I did would be a success, and that my ability, integrity, etc. was superior to 95 percent of the businessmen with whom he dealt and had all his life. He paid Jane and me the highest praise as an unusual and effective team and went on to praise our loyalty and accomplishments. He just couldn't have been nicer.

Then last night when we were at the White House for a dinner for the President of Chad Jane sat next to the President and he then spelled out for her in great length his evaluation of the Freemans, much the same as he had told me, with the added element of expressing what Jane described as his admiration for our loyalty -- loyalty to Jack Kennedy -- loyalty to him -- loyalty to Humphrey. Nothing could make me feel better. He's a strange, moody, difficult man, but a very wise and resourceful one. That he would make such an evaluation, repeat it to her, and be as outgoing as he was and as completely cooperative and to assure me of his help and support without reservation, it really made me feel good.

At the conclusion of our visit in the White House, I asked if I might make another comment to him. Standing face to face, almost nose to nose, I looked him right in the eye and said, Mr. President, I do hope that you will find a way to fund the Food Stamp Program. I then pointed out that it's a good program, There are a lot of hungry people out there that need it and it's practical, hard-headed and workable, consistent with everything he believes in, and equally that if he doesn't with the high level of public awareness and interest in feeding

hungry people, if this is not funded pursuant to Congressional authorization that he's the one that will really be attacked. That that would be unfair and I don't want it to happen. Later last night, Charlie Zwick called me and said you must be a good salesman the President told us to go for the full supplemental on Food Stamps. This, after he had been giving them a very bad time and saying he wasn't. Joe Califano told me yesterday afternoon that the President had said when he gave him a memo pointing out the alternatives of \$225,000,000; \$245,000,000 or \$245,000,000 plus \$90,000,000 that there was no possibility of the \$90,000,000; the question was \$225,000,000 or \$245,000,000 and that he was just as tough and arbitrary and mean about it as he could be. I was worrying about that all night and all day and when I got that message I couldn't help but feel good.

Last evening we put on a little reception in the office and had the six Vice Presidents of EDP in to meet them and to hopefully get off to a good start with them. From all intents and purposes it worked beautifully. They are an impressive bunch of professionals in their field and we enjoyed them and they seemed to enjoy us. My little reception room was all fixed up. I went over the pictures with them and all in all it was fun as well as useful and then Jane and I were off to the White House at 8:30, leaving them all there.

I talked to Humphrey early this morning about 1:00 o'clock. He was on the up beat, had had a terrific crowd at North Carolina, the same in Tennessee, the hard line attacking Wallace was going well, the young people he said were coming. He sounded very enthusiastic and positive. So far this has been a good week. Ever since Salt Lake things seem to have been moving in the right direction. I sure hope the tour of West Virginia today works out well. I went over a number of schedule things with him for next week and his response was cooperative and right down the line. So now I can lay them on antry and go on to this incredibly difficult job. So that's it. Now I've got to go over some press release material for I have the press at 11:00 o'clock to tell them of my plans after January 20. I'll be glad when it's over, but at least the decision is made, the announcement is made, people know and it's a real burden off my back.

October 3, 1968 at my desk at home -- One other thing that was highly disturbing yesterday but finally resolved. Sandy Greenberg called me in the middle of the afternoon to relate a problem from the General Counsel of EDP. It seems that either on his own or pursuant to some of the Board Members who are with White, Weld or the Rosenwalls, that he had a call and a request that I should get from the President a certification to go in the Congressional Record that there is no conflict of interest in my going with EDP, particularly in light of the fact they do have a couple of contracts with the Federal Government, but more particularly that they have bought Cornell Aeronautical Laboratories and are still negotiating that sale which involves the participation of a representative of the Defense Department with whom they do 80 percent of their work, said representative to participate in the details. This disturbed me deeply. After all I've had nothing to do with any of this and we are making a public announcement.

October 3 - 10:00 pm in the office -- Well, it's done. I had my press conference today and announced the new adventure -- to wit, EDP after January 20. Sandy Greenberg, Tom Rowan, the Vice Presidents from around the Country, were here. It went well, but I was flat. To bed very late last night, up this morning -- it's been 3 or 4 hours sleep a night for several weeks now and I dragged today. The press was not at all antagonistic and I thought the conference went well, but I wasn't scintillating. Then we went down and had lunch together with a far ranging discussion. It is a stimulating, knowledgeable group. I had just a little feeling with at least one of them that there was a little resentment. Back to the office and into the Humphrey campaign. I just returned a bit ago from going to the airport where he came in from the West Virginia Tour. It didn't go too well, the crowds weren't as good as we had hoped or expected and Jim Rowe reported to me the press was grumbling why were we doing something like that, that we could have gone into two or three big cities and gotten a lot more

exposure. That may be right, but this was the way the Governor recommended and I thought a big turnout and a real tour would bring Humphrey home on the up beat. I guess it was a little down beat, following what was apparently a tremendous reception at Charlotte, North Carolina. This has been a down beat day for me. Actually telling the staff this morning that I was going to leave and where, and then reflecting on it myself, and being tired, I just simply felt blue, down, out of sorts and the day was not a very happy one. It is difficult to think about leaving this Department and all the people here of whom I am so fond and I am kind of sorry I had to make the announcement so far ahead of leaving. In many ways it would have been better to wait and there would always have been the element of doubt. On the other hand, perhaps it was just as well to make the break and Sandy Greenberg was anxious that I should and it'll probably have better results in terms of my arrangements in going with them than if I had waited. Too, he seems of the opinion that my having joined up with be an active stimulus to the Company and they will get many things in the mill preparatory to my arrival. Anyhow it's done and now we must go forward with a bounce and not a drag.

Jane is coming in in a little bit. She's been up to New York to make a speech. She's the one moving around, making public appearances while I ride a desk here. Well, enough of this. This transition will be a kind of difficult one, but one does come to the end of certain trails and start up new ones. Maybe a more abrupt break would be wiser, but again that decision is made.

Enough of all this, back to the pile of papers with a night's sleep tomorrow will be another day.

October 9, 1968 -- 11:50 pm in the office. Tragedy has struck since I last dictated a week ago. Mother died last Saturday. I was working here at the desk when Jane called. I could tell from her voice that something was seriously wrong and the first thought that flashed through my mind was something had happened to Mike or Connie. It proved to be Grandma. She keeled over and was instantly dead. She had finished watching the World Series Game. Les Schroeder was there. Went to the grocery store, came back and put the groceries on the table, fell over and that was it. So we went out to Minnesota Sunday evening, had the viewing Monday afternoon and evening, the funeral at 11:00 o'clock at Holy Trinity Tuesday, Merritt and I transacted some business about Grandma's estate, and I returned Tuesday night. I was in the office here until midnight last night and again tonight. Jane stayed out to clear up some of her things and returns tomorrow. It's hard to believe that she is gone. Over all the years she was a wonderful pal and confidant to me. I remember so vividly the countless times I washed dishes and we talked and talked and talked. As I think back on it, she was a wonderful guide and helper. She always appealed to the best in me -- always gave great trust and confidence and made me want to live up to the standards she set. I seldom heard Mother complain. She was tough, determined and self-reliant.

I've sure done some soul-searching over the weekend as we returned to familiar places. I hadn't been in Holy Trinity Church for 20 years. I wandered around and lived again many boyhood experiences with mother prominent in all of them. The same was true several nights when I awakened and thought back over the years, so many little things. It's a great loss. It seems impossible that she isn't available. She looked proud, self contained, and peaceful in the casket at the viewing but oh my so cold and hard to the touch. She's resting now near Dad. That's where she wanted to be. She was terrified of cancer. Les had it. He will be gone in a few months and she was caring for him and I'm sure that is what brought her to the

end of the trail. But with her father and six sisters before her dieing before her, her fears were understandable. She would have liked to have gone this way, but my how we will miss her. I'm thankful for so many things. I realize it so clearly now. I only wish I had more so over the last several years and had given her even more attention. However, the truth is I've spent more time with her since we've been in Washington than I ever did when we were in Minnesota. For each night I spent with her when I was in Minneapolis I usually woke up with a hang-over and only a few hours of sleep, but the conversation was worth it. It's hard to believe she's gone. She was a great, courageous, wonderful woman and the many things she did for other people came to the front during the course of the funeral.

I returned last night and have been banging away here today trying to catch up. The papers flow in in even greater volume now because I've got them from the campaign.

We had an excellent conference with Humphrey last Friday. He started out cross and ornery but we finally got him on target. He accepted the theme of the campaign which we're going to reproduce in ads and a very simple brochure and try and focus everyone's attention on it. The theme is simple -- "This is a great Country -- the Democrats made it such -- don't let them take it away -- you can't trust Nixon and Wallace" -- it's about that simple. Now if everybody will pick that up we can maybe make it into something. We also had a long discussion on what to do about the law enforcement thing and came up with a proposal that we would try and identify with the lower middle income white. The polls show clearly that this is a group that Wallace is reaching. They are fearful of their security, worried about law enforcement, also resentful at Negroes who they feel are getting a free ride, aren't willing to work, and generally they feel resentment. That's the group that's moved into the "have" class, at least almost, and want to protect what they have at all costs. They are less worried about their

jobs now and thereby less willing to accept Civil Rights and social progress. It was put very well by one of the discussants, that these people don't think Humphrey is white -- they really think he's black -- that his interests run more to the blacks and to the down-trodden than it does to them who are having a hard time and who are paying the bills and the taxes. The proposal was to identify with them by expressing the same fears and anxieties and doing it in terms of describing a Negro community with 3,000 people, 2700 of them law abiding, never on relief, working hard, trying to help their children, but 300 being dope-heads carrying guns and knives, that these 300 must be dealt with, and then go on from there. Even this much of course represents a hazard where the Negroes are concerned, the danger that Humphrey will be charged with being strident, trimming his sails, trying to buy votes, waffling again, etc. I've got some language here of a speech draft supposedly to be used next Saturday on another Nation-wide half hour television show. I'll run it at the group at breakfast that meets with me every morning at 8:00 o'clock here in the Department. Many of them will protest I'm sure.

Also, I'm trying to get the National Committee to put on a half-hour or hour television production about the campaign and what can be done to participate in it. It might be called "20 million people vs. 20 million votes". So far many people have been cool to this concept, but in this period when television has in many ways negated the need and the part the political parties play something different and unusual of this kind really seems to be needed. I can't say the campaign is going well. There seems to be an up beat in Humphrey's reception and in the general public attitude. It's possible that the tinniness of the Nixon campaign with its repetition of the same format, it's vague generalities and refusal to move into problems, it's ducking of debate with Humphrey is catching up with them, but it seems he's a long way ahead. However our polls in the key industrial states indicate that we are leading or close to it in most

of them and that when you get down to electoral votes as distinguished from popular votes, that we're very much in the ball game. Anyhow, we got out a press release to that effect and it's being rather widely used. Hopefully it will not only encourage people, but it will also bring in some money. We're terribly short of funds and I sympathize with Bob Short in the struggle to raise money. Clearly the big contributors, the oil people, and others, who have come in heavily in other years are holding back now and this makes for a terribly difficult situation. Organization clearly lags very badly in New York. Art Goldberg was going to take it on and now seems to be backing away. In California it appears to be a mess, particularly in the South. John Simmons called me today. This is not my bailiwick of course, but I keep pushing into it trying to help and of course trying to get the President and Vice President together. I talked to Jim Jones about that today, early in the day, and the hope that we could get the President scheduled. He called back later, reading between the lines it seemed that the President was irritated, that supposedly some people in the Humphrey camp thought he ought not to participate and Jim said we'd better leave it up to the principals. However, as I pointed out to him when Humphrey and the President did talk last Friday, and accordingly to Humphrey when I called him this morning, it was a warm and friendly discussion with the President saying he would do anything, they didn't get down to specifics. So now I'm trying to con Jim Jones into working out a little schedule to take the President into the border States we need and also to get him to deal with health and education and perhaps conservation, defending his program, and responding to the Nixon attacks. I think this is important, but it is going to be difficult to get him to do it. So I'll just try and work it out and get Humphrey to ask him directly and personally and maybe we can break through that barrier and prevent people from thinking that LBJ isn't really helping Humphrey when I'm confident he means to.

I've also had quite a scramble on the scheduling. Everybody wants to get into the act and it's been so difficult to get things pinned down, pre-advance pre-schedule men out in the field. Poor Jim Thornton has really taken on a heavy burden. I made some rulings almost unilateral today when I couldn't reach Larry O'Brien who was in New York and I think it's pretty well frozen now so that miserable headache should be off my back. The advance work seems to be going pretty well - crowds are good, and the reception warm, and Humphrey seems to be coming through well on television. I must say that Nixon seems to me to come through very artificial, play acting, not sincere, with very little spontaneity. I suppose I'm prejudice, although I must say over the past several years when I've bumped into Nixon on a personal basis I felt reasonably well impressed. He's running a smart thoroughly organized campaign. I guess I would do as he is if I were ahead and try and avoid all controversy. Our job is to smoke him out.

Last night the Congress was in session all night, that is the House, because the Republicans were trying to filibuster to prevent the passage of the law which would make possible the debates sponsored by the television stations. It passed and now it looks like we may get debates. This could be a major breakthrough and opportunity. On the other hand ironically the fact that Nixon was ducking and we could have made him look for some time like he was ducking might be worth more than the debates which are likely so often to be highly inconclusive.

Anyway we have got hope, but there is a good deal of disillusion. My what a strange time this is in this country. Columnists are writing negative stuff about all three candidates. Wallace is out screaming from the rooftops, getting big crowds, but violent reactions and confrontations between hecklers and supporters wherever he goes. The heckling of Humphrey seems to be easing off. McCarthy made his first public statement last night from New York. It was awful. He in effect set down some demands on Humphrey, said that things hadn't changed and that he would continue in his position.

Saturday, October 12, 1968 -- 1:22 pm at the office. Just returned from a trip to the Missouri Boot Heel -- a campaign trip this time sponsored by a Committee for the preservation of farm programs. This was deep Wallace country. I went down there to try and do some shocking and stirring up to see if the people who have profited so much from farm programs; in that area the cotton program has been desperately important with crop insurance with three successive crop failures, could be driven away from Wallace to Humphrey. This is a part of an effort to get farm groups really excited and moving to reach their members. It was kind of disappointing. There was short of 500 people. Press and television coverage, both in St. Louis and down there, I would say was rather minimal. There really wasn't any great excitement. The crowd listened as I spoke for about 45 minutes outlining what farm programs had done for them and what their loss would mean. Questions followed. They really didn't have much bite either and the meeting adjourned after an hour and a half and just kind of went away.

Coming back on the airplane to St. Louis where I spent the night, talking to Marshall the ASCS Chairman and Clell Carpenter the Missouri Farmers group, we agreed that maybe the thing to do would be a Nation-wide television show in which I would tell farmers the story of their farm programs, how they work, how they were threatened and the importance of their voting for a Presidential supporter at this time and place. This is my hard-hit theme, mainly that Nixon has said nothing, has always voted wrong, has refused to answer our questions and I've sent him a letter and asked farmers to join in a massive letter-writing campaign questioning him. Then I point out that as farmers' power in Congress goes down with reapportionment and fewer farmers, the importance of a President who can get Democratic city Congressmen to support farm programs grows greater. Again they listened -- the question is whether they'll respond very affirmatively. When I mentioned Wallace, there was considerable applause in the crowd. No one