

said anything when I outlined the fact that he simply couldn't win the election, that he didn't have enough support in the big states where the main electoral votes were to be found. I took this kind of soft approach rather than ripping into Wallace, his record and all the rest for he has no record on agriculture and if anything is a kind of a populist and I predict that he will likely come out for high supports and more farm spending. He may have done that already because I got a press conference question where I allied him with Ezra Taft Benson - higher supports, but no real controls. In any event, it did seem to take hold a bit when I outlined that a vote for Wallace was a vote thrown away, but how deep it will go I don't know and the feeling of the people there was a little skeptical. They felt that as matters now stand it's clear that that area would go for Wallace.

It's so hard to know -- Humphrey has wanted to go back into North Carolina, South Carolina and Florida. I've taken them off the schedule because the polls simply don't show the kind of support there that makes it rational. On the other hand Horace Godfrey and some of our fellows report there are some changes and that things are firming up, so yesterday I called Frank Griswold, sweet talked him out of \$5,000 and we're going to do some telephone spot polling. I kind of took Frank off his seat, but after gulping three times and asking whether he was expected to do it all alone he said he would. It's the first time I've actually ever asked him for a sum of money in all our years of good personal relationships.

The campaign rolls along. At this point I'm not sure what is going on, Humphrey is in New York, he canceled out yesterday's and today's schedule -- he had a stomach flu, and I'm sure they are wrestling mightily there, maybe at this very moment as to what the law enforcement speech should be and how far he can go to identify with the lower middle income white. We've been around, up and down on that issue, and about 10 drafts have been written. These are the people who consider Humphrey more black than white -- they are the ones that are irritated and resentful of Negroes who get all the relief they think, who refuse to work, witness the job - help

wanted sign in their place of employment, who are tired of riots, who tend to blame the crime that they are frightened about on the blacks. It's a part of the general racial problem now in this group who for the first time have gotten some stake in society and feel it threatened by those coming up and resent the taxes they must pay for special programs by those who they consider beneath them. The idea was to identify solidly by reflecting the same fears and the same irritations in such a fashion that it would not cause a black reaction. I'm not sure what the language is now but I would guess that it had to finally be given up as too dangerous.

I have about completed I think my first phase in the campaign. The basic issues involved are pretty well set. They can be expressed best I think by the terms "who will the people trust" and Humphrey is hammering at this one again and again, attacking Wallace, lumping Nixon with him in a campaign of fear and talking about his record of social progress, but mostly trying to draw the line of who can you trust, and building the various issues around that. The common campaign theme we have worked out should be in mass production by next Monday. I'm working on the possibility of a major Nationwide television program that would be beamed to the ordinary citizen telling him what he could do in the campaign, a kind of participatory politics pitch which I think has some wisdom. If television has almost destroyed political parties, and I think it has, why then we ought to use it as a means of getting people to participate where parties can't do it any longer and to tell them specifically and in some detail how to campaign and reach others, at the same time exciting them and reaching them on issues, seems pretty logical. There is some opposition to it on the grounds it would exhibit the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party.

There is some reason to believe about now that the polls show a turn and that Humphrey is gaining. A lot of this may be wishful thinking, however, our polls do show that Humphrey is tied or leading by narrow margins in most of the big

industrial States except in Illinois, Indiana and California, and of course Florida, which is now Wallace according to the polls. Our analysis which we released counter the general negativism, in part the product of the Gallup poll still showing us far behind, would show Humphrey with more electoral votes, some 240, than Nixon but no one with enough to become President.

There is quite a rustle going on in New York, I'm just on the fringes of it, where the McCarthy electors are concerned. After initially saying that he would not be on the ballot the Secretary of State of New York backed off and said the State would no longer appeal, presumably the Democratic Party will have to appeal now. I'm glad I'm not involved in New York. It is a first-class mess. Art Goldberg got in, said he wanted to do it, and then when he saw how messy it was with no money and all he tried to back out. It's hard to tell where he is now. He made a very damaging statement that the world wouldn't come to an end if Nixon were elected President. McCarthy seems to be more arrogant than ever. He made a speech for O'Dwyer in New York, refused to endorse Humphrey, let it be known that he had some conditions four or seven or what all. Apparently they come down to the liberation front as a dominant part of a Government in Saigon and he simply is not going to play ball. Someone called him about the suit in New York and he was sulking and angry because of some very gentle and quite reserved remarks that Humphrey had made and asked the question what had the Democratic Party ever done for him. He sure is a hater. I only hope that he has cut himself and bled enough now so that he's not going to be able to move politically two years from now. I hope, but I fear that may not be the case, he is a national figure. He's hurting now because of his bad sportsmanship and stubbornness, but that may be forgotten and he probably will be hard to beat simply because he is a big public figure. It's probably a good reason I'm not going back to Minnesota or there would be people working on me already to run against him. Perhaps Humphrey might even do that if the election doesn't come out as we want it too.

Just talked to Mike. He's coming down here and we're going to play squash. I was heartbroken. Muskie was to go and speak at Rutgers. Mike had gone to infinite trouble to try and line it up, to work with the advance men, it had been on and off. I made several calls to the Muskie people and then at the last minute Humphrey allegedly called Muskie to New York. He canceled it out. And it didn't take place. Mike was an awfully good sport about it over the phone, but it makes me furious. I was so hopeful this would be a great thing and a great step up for him. But he sounded cheerful and said that was the breaks of the game and I hand it to him for that. I guess it is and it can't be helped, but it's really too darned bad.

I sweat out the farm bill yesterday as to whether the President would sign it or not. Jim Jones called me several times. I relayed messages through him as to what the President should do. I urged that he sign it. On the other hand I told DeVier Pierson later that the President ought to have the viewpoint in mind that a veto on the grounds that farmers would be overlooked for a year while the basic policy of a new Administration was set might be sensible. In my own mind it might have been a good thing, because it would frighten these farmers, shake them up a bit and make them realize how important that new President is going to be right away without that year to sleep it off. But he signed it, although with a regret and maybe it's the best thing at this point.

I'm trying to do some forward thinking here as to how we close book. I've talked to John Schnittker and Walter Wilcox about it, suggesting the possibility that we have open review sessions with key farm leaders before we make decisions on such things as cotton, feed grains, soybeans, et al. In this fashion with the press present we could review these decisions and bring into public attention the factors that need to be considered. In the process my basic analysis and our policy and orientation could be made clear as well as my recommendations for the future. This needs to be done. It's ironic that these programs which I am confident would work in the long run should be showed under now with over-production around the



world. If only we'd had another short crop year around the world like '65, they'd be looking very good indeed. But that's the way it is and despite the fact farm income will go over \$15 billion this year, the third highest in history, there is little enthusiasm. How much negativism is hard to tell because farmers are voting on the same issues as city people, to wit, Vietnam and law enforcement and race problems. Like labor, they're probably not very stirred up economically despite all the poor mouthing of the leadership. But that very poor mouthing has cut the base of support for these programs and threatened them. If only Staley and Dechant and some of the rest of these people had spoken up, explained the programs, told the people the circumstances under which they were passed, how difficult they were to hold and not continue to attack them for their own political purposes, we'd be in an awfully lot better shape today. It's hard for me not to be bitter about this because it could have made such a difference. I've already made some intemperate remarks, now that the necessity for holding my tongue is not so great, and I guess I'd better cut it out. That's not likely to do much good -- it'll make them angry and make it more difficult for me to make the other points that I want to make as my term here comes to an end. Anyway I hope I can use this time usefully to tell what's been done and to reach as many people as possible as to what needs to be done for the good of the country.

October 15, 1968 -- 11:05 am. I'm going over to the campaign office in a few minutes. I've been tidying up some affairs here. Just a few reflections. The Humphrey campaign simply isn't going well. We haven't been able to get hold of an issue. Nixon has avoided any confrontation. He has managed to slide over all the sensitive issues and rely on the reaction against the "ins". We still have serious disaffection within the Democratic Party and perhaps even worse, no real organizational direction. I don't think Humphrey has called me once in terms of basic policy or direction or what he's trying to do. I get a scattering of memoranda, as do other people, about public appearances, get out a speaker, we

shouldn't write off a given state, scheduling problems, but no real thoughtful appraisal in connection with where do we go from here. We had the meeting with him a week ago Friday and outlined a policy and a direction, and he did not follow up on that at all. Toigo now has it prepared, but at the moment it's going nowhere.

This morning in the so-called think tank we spent an entire hour talking about Saturday night. Humphrey has an hour prime T-V time. He has challenged Nixon and Wallace to debate. Nixon refused if Wallace was on. Wallace refused if Nixon wasn't on. Humphrey will probably shoot back at Nixon inviting him alone. Nixon will clearly refuse. Query: What do we do with the time?

A number of proposals were made. (1) There could be dummied up a situation of conflict using Nixon film clips. It was argued that it's too late in the campaign now to talk about positive issues, but instead a situation of conflict was necessary to get attention. The same argument was used to direct a program based upon fear, trying to frighten people, what it would mean to have a Nixon or Wallace succeeded by an Agnew and the General. This with the questions of the atomic bomb, nuclear proliferation, the arms race, the split in our society, and Nixon with no record. The question was raised whether that would really be creditable. Toigo made a long presentation about the advantage of a positive approach, using our theme, to wit, this is the greatest country, the Democrats made it such, don't let them destroy it, here are the issues, listing 12 of them, and saying you can't trust Nixon and Wallace. The response of the group was at best lukewarm. He was quite adamant, obviously frustrated, because we have not landed on and are not implementing and carrying forward any constant theme and as a professional he said you can't sell on that basis and I think he's absolutely right. So we went around and around and it didn't jell. Somehow it must get resolved and soon because Sunday night is not far away and a repeat of the shambles of last Saturday must be avoided.

Apparently Humphrey was wild in New York last Saturday, spent the whole day revising and re-revising the speech and taking after everybody within ear range, finally got to the studio with only seconds to spare and barely got on at all. I thought it was pretty good, but it certainly could have been better. Again it was dead-pan, just Humphrey for half an hour taking into a camera without any props, any supports, or any contrast. Everyone seemed to agree this morning that that needed to be changed and livened up.

There were a lot of other suggestions, such as trying to bring in McCarthy, McGovern, Ted Kennedy, and then have a kind of panel presentation. I think that's lousy. As usual, in this kind of a discussion no matter how wise the people are nothing is finally resolved, so I wrote down all the suggestions, called Larry O'Brien asked to meet with him just as soon as possible to go over this. He said he would call me back. I told him I was ready and available to go see him at any time. That was more than half an hour ago, and he hasn't called back yet. I have no idea what that means. I'm afraid too that we're getting some subtle or maybe not so subtle sabotage from the President. I got Joe Califano to agree to go up and speak at Yale for something Mike Walsh is putting on and the President said he didn't want him to go. I had talked to Jim Jones about trying to work out a schedule for the President. He hasn't followed through at all. I talked to Marvin Watson a week ago about having a luncheon Monday or Tuesday of this week with Cabinet officers to review with them what they are doing, or failing to do. He did not do it. None of the Cabinet officers that I know about are really striking out aggressively to take on Nixon even to the extent of defending the record of their Department and the President. I can't but believe that the President must be dragging his own feet for whatever reasons I don't know.

So, frankly, it's kind of a bleak picture. We have our own polls in the industrial states that do look fairly good and show some possibilities. The Minnesota poll last weekend showed Nixon actually leading. At best it's a pretty grim picture.

I can't help but feel very sorry for Humphrey. If there ever was a man battling against the torrents, it's more than a tide, it's him. I am sure doing my best to help, but as always he's a terribly difficult man to help and in this instance he still is not sitting down and really analyzing carefully and thoroughly and delegating out the things that need to be done. I must say that I have not been particularly impressed either with Larry O'Brien's leadership. The Monday, Wednesday and Friday noon meetings drag on ad infinitum. He seems to be looking for consensus among everybody on the campaign with resulting endless conferences witness our troubles on scheduling. There simply seems to be an absence of crisp and decisive direction. Some of the people around him are definitely limited. He's got McCandless running the State operations and I don't think he is competent or up to it. It's all too bad. It could change, but at this point I'm afraid it's not very likely.

I had a meeting here this morning with my own people. I'm planning to make about six or seven appearances around myself now. I guess that's about the biggest contribution I can make and at the same time try and hang on on the issues area but it's very difficult to make an impact and if I can't do it on the Sunday program I might as well forget about it and go out and talk myself.

October 19, 1968 -- 3:55 pm at the USDA OFFICE. Just left Humphrey and his office in the BOB Building. Had a nice talk with him. He sent a letter to Mike too apologizing for the cancellation. He's in good form and is tired but determined and increasingly confident. He was a little bit dejected because of another problem with the President. He was to see the President at 2:00 o'clock -- when he got there, because they had had a press inquiry as to whether he was going to see the President, the President refused to see him. Humphrey then refused to see the President on Sunday. It could be that the President was worried about any leaks as to such a visit because of Nixon and the negotiations. I should reserve judgment on that, but I doubt it. It's the same old business of the President's



petulance and pettiness. This is what has made it difficult for him and why he has lost his personal popularity -- such a shame. How and why he could be this narrow and petty, even making allowances for the fact that he resents and dislikes what he calls Humphrey's mouthiness and tell all and even though he thought Humphrey was trying to use him now by coming to see him and therefore leak it on purpose, even given those circumstances, for him to be so petty and so mean with Humphrey at a time like this when he comes in from the trail running for President, tired, and refused to see him is just incredible. It makes me furious and completely out of patience with him. It's an outstanding example of the kind of things he does that hurt him and hurt everyone and then have cost him the affection of the people of this country. Would it weren't so. I'm going to call Jim Jones and tell him to get those men together over the weekend.

Since I dictated in Arkansas night before last, it's been a busy weekend and the optimism that I felt there I feel even stronger here today. I flew into New York from Little Rock. Had a heck of a time getting there with the delay in St. Louis, but finally arrived in New York about 2:00 o'clock and attended the first meeting of the Executive Board of the Lutheran Church of America. I wasn't too impressed -- a big Board of able people spending an awful lot of time on issues that are details rather than basic policy, but I mustn't criticize prematurely. I finished up with that about 10:00 o'clock and went back to the Waldorf Astoria and then saw Humphrey which was the end of his day. He was tired but feeling good. He said to me that for the first time he feels like a candidate instead of a Vice President.

The New York Times and general attitude is good too. For the first time I really have the feeling that the campaign is moving and that we're going to win. The Harris Poll showed Humphrey within 5 points of Nixon. I saw Nixon on T-V last night and I must say he is a miserable speaker. I can't see how he has gained the popularity he has as shown by the polls and that he definitely demonstrated during the primaries. A good example was the appearance he made in Boston. Instead

of going to a big rally, he moved it inside on invitation only. This to avoid the heckling. It must be that that's getting to him and bothering and that he is not as self-contained and as super-confident as they have tried to portray. That antiseptic campaign of his is beginning to hurt him I'm sure. Anyhow, with negotiations going on and some reason to think there might be a cease fire in Vietnam he has taken the position that he will support the President in this effort. Instead of doing this on a basis of magnanimousness, he did it stridently. He used the lines about not pulling the rug out from under the President, as if it was the punch lines in a political speech, hammering, and literally shouting, with the crowd responding with some cheers. Obviously he should have played that by leaning over the podium, modulating his voice and saying, "We are Republicans, but first we're Americans. There is only one President. We want to end that war. Stop that shooting. Save American lives. And we in the Republican Party, as Americans, support and will support the President in his efforts for peace." The one would have been entirely different. He would have come through entirely different. When I see him on television, seeking to be humorous, why he gets an off beat look on his face, his timing is bad, he's obviously uncomfortable, it simply isn't impressive. A number of people, including Jim Farley, said that he looked terrible at the Al Smith dinner. I'm sure that he is really beginning to feel the pressure. His antiseptic campaign, the protection he gets, the lack of physical pressure, such that he gets tired enough to sleep, all of these things must really be a problem, for now we're beginning to close on the polls, Humphrey is clearly on the initiative, the contrast of Humphrey as a fighting candidate out with the people, moving into the crowds, on the attack, all over the place, all of this by way of contrast with his carefully modulated slowly paced campaign must drive him crazy. As I told Humphrey a few minutes ago -- Nixon is going to go through the tortures of the damned for the next two weeks and his pain is going to be infinitely less because he's got a tough crowded difficult schedule while

Nixon is on his antiseptic course. As I was saying to Humphrey, it reminds me so much of 1958 when I was running way ahead in the Governor's race and George McKinnen was running around the state attacking me, putting out mass mailings accusing me of all kinds of things and I was beginning to slip a little as more Republicans came out for McKinnen. I went through the tortures of the damned running out that campaign. This is what Nixon will have now and I wouldn't be a bit surprised if he cracks under the pressure. I also told Humphrey that when he was President I hoped he would really give Gene McCarthy the business. I pointed out that McCarthy had not only refused to help him, but that McCarthy had gone out of his way to hurt him, that again and again McCarthy had cut him, ridiculed him and that one of the reasons some of the columnists, people like Tom Wicker that's been nasty in The New York Times; and of course Doris Fleeson and some others, have ridiculed him throughout is because of McCarthy's jibes and cutting way to take after him. I pointed out to him that once in a while you have to use fear in this world and use power and not always be the good guy and forgive everyone no matter what they have done to him. And there was one thing I wanted to ask of him in this campaign and that is when he's President that he not do that, that he would be little himself and the office and that he'd give that McCarthy the business from here on out. He's got it coming, and believe me he does. Humphrey seemed to agree and then he laughed and teased me about being such a friendly, generous, open-minded, forgiving soul -- but I think what I said hit home and I hope it does some good. This just isn't anti-McCarthy bitterness, it's one of his weakness to be all things to all people and he won't be a good President if he doesn't show he can be tough and mean once in a while.

I talked to Horace Godfrey a moment ago about my going from North Carolina where I'm touring on the 28th into South Carolina on the 29th. I think I'll put in a call for Governor McNair. I'm also getting some people in tomorrow afternoon after we've finished at the T-V studio to go over Q & A's and have a little more

briefing for Texas where I go on Monday for a farm speech and a Q & A at Lubbock.

That again is a target farm area and one that I think I can do some good at.

Well, I'm tired. I've got a whole host of mail here, but I do think that the show for tomorrow now is in fairly good shape. As I say, I really blew my top at Napolitan and Squire at the DNC because they had not gotten a good moderator to stand-by and carry the program format as we had agreed upon it before I left.

Instead they had merely dumped it on Charley Guggenheim to produce the show. His idea was to have half a dozen people in to question Humphrey. I didn't like that John Barlow Martin didn't like it either. There was a big question mark in a

number of minds about the Democratic Party film, so we showed it, and both Ted VanDyk and Martin liked it. Then we went to Guggenheim's office to see what he had. This was quite an interesting experience. He is a very reputable, highly regarded, professional producer and photographer who has been involved in a lot of campaigns and produced a lot of films. I had a rather interesting dialogue with

him. Clearly he is one of the new school politicians -- new politics versus old politics. As he put it, political parties are dead -- they've been killed by television. He didn't like the film, that's the Democratic Party, that's the old Party, that doesn't have any salability now. Further, he clearly didn't have any great stock in Humphrey. He felt that he was strident, hollering, pounding, talking about the old issues, this was just a New Deal re-tread. He wasn't that crude, he's

a very nice gentle person, but that's what came through. He did make the point on the format, however, which I finally bought, that Humphrey does not come through

very well in terms of the private Humphrey, the inner man Humphrey, the sensitive human kind of Humphrey, and that he won't come through that way with a studio audience

nor will he with an interrogator or a moderator, but if you get half a dozen good people who are honestly critical, the kind that say "I'm for Humphrey, but" and

then they move in on that "but" theme, then you've got a kind of a direct, personal confrontation, eyeball-to-eyeball so to speak, and then the real Humphrey that's missed so much could come through. On that basis we all bought it and now he is



producing this show. I'm going to go to the television station tomorrow, but I feel much, much better about it. The film will be left in. I, of course, don't think he's right. I still don't know what this new politics is -- what he's talking about is exactly what I was doing in my campaigns almost 20 years ago. It's a question of style and tone. Humphrey does have a certain stridency. Because of his oratorical flare he tends to be heard, reported and seen when he's working over a big crowd. That crowd is warmed up -- he's with 'em -- they're with him -- hence the empathy that has brought such great results. But from the outside, certainly from television, you miss that. Therefore, Humphrey doesn't come through. His own personal appearance also, as he's gotten older and his features have sharpened somewhat and become florid have a little bit of the prototype of the politician in them. But otherwise I still don't know what this nonsense is about new politics. Except there is a lot of truth that political parties as we know them simply don't have the substance they used to, nor can they attract the people. However, and I pointed this out to Guggenheim and he didn't agree but couldn't argue very effectively and most people agreed with me, there are a lot of people, a great majority of the voting people, who still do respond to the symbols, who still do have Democratic loyalties, who still will be worried about some of the dangers of losing their bread and butter programs, and who will respond to their loyalties and their affection to the Party that they have followed for many, many years. You can't write that off. I'm surprised that someone as perceptive as Guggenheim seemed to be apparently does write it off. I just had the hunch that he was completely swept up in the euphoria of the Kennedys and I don't say that in any way disrespectfully or disloyally for I miss them both and I strangely enough perhaps because it's newer miss Bobby the most. I had a special feeling for that little guy, but they were a special case, and they were a special technique, and they were and did have a certain empathy that very, very few have, but to define those two exceptional human beings and in a sense that same style which is more

kind of conversational, kind of de-emphasis, kind of making a virtue out of understatement instead of overstatement, this is in part the McCarthy way too and it's in part the Muskie way and it is more acceptable to the educated, alert more sophisticated, but that's still not most of the people in this country and fundamentally it's again a matter of a change in emphasis, rather than a complete turnover and a sharp change in politics just like you're turning the page or something. Anyway that was an interesting dialogue and I hope that program is on tract now and it will be a good one tomorrow night.

The 'phone ringing a minute ago was Jim Jones. I talked with him and in all fairness to the President ought to set the record that they did have problems over there. Apparently the call setting up the appointment was made on a very careful and exclusive basis to Ted VanDyk, it did get out somewhere, they think it probably was Norman Sherman. Humphrey thinks it was because some smart news guy knowing that Humphrey was going to the BOB felt he might be going to the President and called to inquire. Anyway, Jim Jones and I agreed that we ought to get these men together and now it is set that the President will call Humphrey when he returns some time tomorrow night from Camp David and Humphrey will then slip over to the White House to see him and that ought to take care of that and keep both of them on track. My, oh my. Politics, always the ark and challenge of human relations and in almost nothing else are people as sensitive as they are in politics.

affecting mental activity, growth, etc., exists without doubt, but at what dimension no one can be clear. They were quite contemptuous of the report Hunger USA that has captured the public imagination and sparked the current wave of emotion on this subject. That's reassuring to know but the fact still remains the public doesn't know. So I spent at least half a dozen hours going over alternative programs whereby we can improve direct distribution and strengthen and improve the food stamp plan with better scheduling and hopefully eliminating any payment or at the very lowest level. We'll probably have some trouble with Leonor Sullivan on that one. She's apparently adamant that some payment be required and has come to be the power and the spokesman in the House for Food Stamps.

Other events of interest during the week were -- Poage passing out of the House Committee an extension of the Food and Agricultural Act of 1965 without any changes. It came out 24 to 5 -- unhappily it's only a 1-year extension, so we've got to do something about that and hopefully can in the Senate and then compromise it out in Conference and get at least a 2-year bill. That would be a significant victory. It's going to be touchy to schedule School Food Stamps also. So far Poage has been unwilling to do anything about our recommendation for an increased authorization up to \$240 million. Now we want to go up to \$275 in order to have a program even moderately improved. If he won't do that, Leonor Sullivan has literally threatened him to move it out of Committee by petition. And if he won't do it, it's almost certain that we couldn't pass the Farm Bill on the floor of the House. I'm not sure how we will work that one out. Maybe we can get some action out of the Senate. Maybe Poage will move. Maybe she'll have to petition it. I'm going to have to work into that next week. I also hope I can get Ellender to move on bargaining power in his Committee and get Holland to move on the strategic grain reserve bill, so I've got some work to do on legislation - on appropriations too. I must see Holland on Monday on trying to restore a number of cuts that Whitten made, mostly again on food programs.

The highlight of the week was my birthday on Thursday -- the 50th.

The Praeger Publishing Company put on a party and it was quite a show. Unfortunately they proved to be poor planners and poor hosts and so it was a little stiff and clumsy, but on balance, I think, successful. We had a number of press people around Washington there, friends like Kirk and the Max Kampelmans, Eugenie Anderson -- Whitten and Poage were there. I got a birthday cake and then the book, and then responded to a rather poorly prepared given toast by Praeger. Happily, Poage and Whitten then stepped in. Poage made a very nice talk proclaiming the merits and accomplishments of one Orville Freeman and that although Agriculture is in tough shape, it would be in worse shape had it not been for me. Whitten was not to be outdone. He was carrying a pretty good load and made a great talk about the virtues and importance of agriculture and then kind of stumbled into a theme that Orville Freeman was a modern Secretary of Agriculture, conscience of the need to get votes and sensitive to consumer importance as a necessity, that I would have been a miserable failure as Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of Agriculture, but that I had been a success under modern conditions and needs -- quite a lot, coming from Whitten. He'd been drinking -- as a matter of fact was almost obnoxious during the course of the evening, but the sentiments he expressed didn't hurt and seemed to indicate some regard there. He's a tough one to get along with, but I was delighted he was there. Ellender was to have come, but got ill at the last moment. Mike and Connie and Jane and I went back home and had a private little birthday party then where we exchanged gifts, both Mike and I, and didn't roll in until almost 3:00 in the morning. I was real proud of the kids at the party. Connie had a new formal gown on and looked the prettiest I've ever seen her, all smiles and bubbling personality. Mike was at his best, tying everybody around the room and projecting his own. All in all it was a happy occasion, and it was great to have the kids there, and even greater to be able to be so completely proud of them.



I came from a meeting in the White House just a few moments ago on the Poor Peoples' March. Joe Califano called it -- Ramsey Clark, Bob Weaver, Udall and myself from the Cabinet, Jim Reynolds from Labor, Harding from OEO, and a few others I didn't know were there. It was a rather rambling meeting with nothing very conclusive. The so-called Poor People leadership don't have a very good idea of where they are or what they're doing and we're just going to have to play by ear. Whether we should receive them as they have requested and present a written answer to their demands? Whether we should insist that we would see only a Committee? Whether there should be big meetings which everyone agreed would be dangerous, for there will be a lot of riff-raff connected with this and they probably won't let us speak anyway? How are we going to get a fair public exposure for the things we really have done and accomplished? All of these questions were pretty well left open. What it comes down to now is that they will be doing some negotiating with Ramsey Clark and we'll try and figure out just how we fit into it and play by ear. I've got a draft of some answers not too well done by John Havelock that I will need to have worked over.

Last night Jane and I went to the Iranian Embassy for a party in honor of Dean Rusk. Ambassador Ansary and his wife are delightful people. He's completely Americanized, very relaxed to be with, smart and attractive. They have a lovely Embassy. I really enjoyed the evening. I was at a table with Dick Wilson and I'm afraid I waxed a bit eloquent on balance of payments, making the point that we shouldn't be intimidated by the International speculators as big and strong and economically viable as we are and that until we break out from that restriction we are not going to be able to do in this country the things that we need to do. He agreed academically, but then lapsed into some comments on practicality that weren't really very meaningful. I teased Dean Rusk that he did hope to be Secretary of Agriculture before he got to be Secretary of State, which he only half-way

laughingly denied, acknowledging in a pleased way my references to his background on the Rockefeller Foundation and their contribution to agriculture.

The paper reports today are optimistic about Humphrey's reception around the country. We've got Maryland buttoned up with the unit rule -- apparently Wyoming is solid, too. He seems to be doing well in Colorado and according to the papers had a warmer reception than Kennedy in Omaha. I just talked to Roger Kent in California a few minutes ago for Pat Brown called me yesterday wondering whether he should come out for McCarthy and help McCarthy in California. I sent a message to Humphrey as to that request. Roger Kent thinks that we should encourage Pat to do that, that McCarthy does have a chance in California where Kennedy seems to be slipping and McCarthy growing in strength. I also advised Humphrey that I'm going to try and talk with Bob Coates and Mayor Alioto before the day is out. Next week I hope to sit down with Mondale and Harris and go state by state so I'll have a firm grip on the picture all over the country. Actually this may not work out too bad. This kind of private discussion seems to be within the President's ground rules and without getting involved in a lot of minutia which I would inevitable do if I went to work in the campaign, I can have more time and use the prestige of this office with probably more effect than I could with a deeper personal involvement.

Anyway at this moment the Humphrey prospects look pretty good. Kennedy's victory in Indiana was at best a qualified one. As he said, it was about the equivalent of Wisconsin in 1960. Well some paper shuffling here and I hope I can get home and get my lawn moved yet this afternoon, although it is perhaps a little dark and wet.

May 14, 1968, 6:00 p.m. -- I just returned from a Cabinet Meeting that ran for 2 hours. This is one of the few times in the last 7 1/2 years when I felt that the President was really looking for help and opinions with an open mind on a vital issue. The issue of course what that of a problem of a tax

increase currently coupled in the Congress by virtue of a Conference Committee with a \$6 billion expenditure cut and about a \$10 billion NOA cut. This will be extremely damaging to our on-going programs and the question basically was should we take the tax increase and the expenditures cut or should we fight it out. Even more specifically it came down to whether the President should refuse to take a \$6 billion cut when he had already indicated he would take a \$4 billion cut. First the President went around and talked to some of the members of the Cabinet who would be particularly hard hit by the cut. Clark Clifford was one. He pointed out, almost pathetically, that every time he went to the Congress he was criticized because there weren't enough M-16 rifles in Vietnam, that our air defenses were dropping, that we needed more helicopter engines because of heavy losses in Vietnam, that we were falling behind the Russians in submarines. In other words, every demand was we're not doing enough, we're not spending enough, and yet here he is faced with the requirement of a \$2 or \$3 billion cut. He grimaced, said he would do what had to be done, that he recognized the need for the tax increase all right, but that it would be terribly painful. It was interesting the way the President moved into this. First he had a statement from Art Okun, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. In the course of the introduction and later, the President made it clear that Okun was a liberal economist. Okun came down hard for the tax increase with the expenditure cut if necessary. His grounds were to hold the dollar's value and to check inflation, that he thought this was too big a dose of cutback and it might threaten our economic stability and our economy, but that the danger the other way in terms of the international results if the dollar was weakened in terms of inflation internally was worse and therefore he was for it. The President then went to Joe Fowler who related in great detail the nature of the problem. Fowler was clearly for the tax increase even with the big cut and felt, which he told me later, that only in this way could it be gotten through the Congress.

He claims Mills is playing this as a political game, that he doesn't care what the expenditure cut is that he wants to get through the tax bill and an NOA cut to hold down future spending and commitments. As this went forward, the President made several points that would lead one to think that he might be inclining toward taking the cut to get the tax bill. He emphasized Fowler's point that if we did not have the tax bill and if we therefore ran at a \$31 billion budget deficit level that the debt would have to be increased and to raise the debt ceiling the necessary amount would result in the same problem of expenditure cuts we face now. As a matter of fact the situation might very well be worse because without the tax to help out on the asset side, Congress might be even tougher in cutting back expenditures. The President also made the point that Congress could vote perhaps for appropriations when they faced a \$4 or \$5 billion deficit, but they simply couldn't with a \$31 billion deficit to add to the national debt.

The President then went around the room, although I got into the act following Clark Clifford. I asked the question, posing it as a radical question, that we are going through this in order to maintain the dollar -- what would happen if we didn't maintain the dollar and allowed the dollar to find its own level in international trade? That I was personally questioning more and more that we were subjecting ourselves to International speculators and to outside demands related to international finance at a time when unemployment level is the lowest in history, gross national product exceeding \$800 billion, and our economy vigorous and effective -- why should we subject ourselves to this? As usual, I got no answer. Fowler said you couldn't tell what would happen at the end of the tunnel, that the last time that was tried was in the late 1920's, but he hastened to add that he wasn't predicting the same thing would happen then. Okun came back to declare it wasn't only the dollar, it also was the domestic economy and the inflation. The



President made no comment on this. When he went around the room, it was interesting that Ramsey Clark said that the consequences of cutting back our programs and failing to meet program levels would be worse than the danger predicted for the economy if we failed to get the tax bill. Smith was the only one enthusiastically for the tax increase with the \$6 billion expenditure cut. Bob Weaver was kind of equivocal. When the President pressed him, he said he would go for the tax cut if necessary. The same was true of Marvin Watson who related how ridiculous the cut was in the Post Office Department. Wirtz came out very strongly and violently against, stating as a matter of principle it ought to be declared that the new economics must be made to work if that meant the ability to increase taxes as well as to decrease them and the President ought to take this issue to the country and stack it right up to the opposition. Wilbur Cohen related how terrible this would be in HEW. Stew Udall stated that he thought the President ought to turn us loose so that we would be able to impress on Congress what they were doing, that actually they didn't know the consequences of the cuts that would follow from the action they were taking. The President's response to that was that's fine if you want to lose the tax cut. That about did it on that section of the meeting.

Following the meeting I had a little visit with Charlie Zwick. He told me that honestly the President hadn't made up his mind, that he had heard him on both sides of this. It sure is a tough, mean issue. I'm not going to get into a sweat about it because it's hard to tell what will happen yet and when we get the numbers over here finally, we'll decide what we have to do. In the meantime I'm having the fellows run a model based on a \$600 million cut here, which in this instance will be across the board including CCC which is not exempted from this as has been the case in the past. If, of course, we change the numbers and estimates for CCC and then end up running out of money next year why we can go in for a supplemental. As a matter of fact I just talked to Senator Holland. He is now

threatening to make no appropriation for CCC because the Bureau of the Budget has refused to recommend full restoration. This is an ancient song on his part. I don't think he will carry it through but it is dangerous and I urged him not to do that, explaining the Bureau's action in forcing me in making appeals not to go to full restoration on CCC, that it was the product of the difficulties of the current fiscal crisis.

One of the points the President made somewhat tellingly was the fact that his first budget was \$97.7 billion and that his budget this time is \$147.4 billion, so we've increased \$50 billion. He further said that he has stated publicly that he didn't think there should be any cut in his budget and as a matter of fact he had some supplementals on his desk that were pressing and needed and so he was against any cut. This the man who half a dozen years ago was alleged to be a great and penurious conservative. He's gone down the line for these programs and he's fighting for this one now, but believe me he really has a tough problem in hand. As Charlie Zwick said, if he can avoid getting pinned down on the basis of his agreeing and committing himself as a matter of principle to this cut, once he got the tax bill he could go back with supplementals to restore a lot of it and he rather indicated to us that that was what he had in mind. So we'll have to see what happens and see what he decides. I did have the feeling that he was earnestly seeking some counsel and advice and bouncing this one off of us to get more nuances in his own difficult decision making process.

Otherwise, the meeting skipped along fairly rapidly. Dean Rusk cautioned us that there would be long and arduous negotiations in Paris with North Vietnam, that so far they were demanding that we cease all bombing as aggressor before they talk about anything else. This was to be expected, but we should be alerted to it. He expressed sadness that U Thant and also the new Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau had attacked the United States for bombing again. In connection with this he pointed out a number that he said we ought to remember and that is that 90 percent

of the people and, as I recall it, 78 percent of the area is exempt from bombing in North Vietnam, but there is no protection from the Viet Cong at all in South Vietnam. He also made the point that the information is now in that makes it clear that so far as the Viet Cong TET offensive was concerned, it was successful only psychologically in the United States, that in Vietnam they paid a high price and actually ended up the net losers.

Ramsey Clark discussed briefly the Poor Peoples' March, talking about the general layout of the situation and efforts to have some kind of orderly interrogation with these folks. I'm worried about that here. Their Resurrection City is almost in our backdoor and they are apt to be in here almost any day -- as a matter of fact they are threatening 5,000 people in here already. I'm not sure what I would do if they came in.

May 16, 1968 -- 6:40 pm in the office. I'm waiting for Jane to come in from Madison, Wisconsin where she spoke today. We're going out alone for a little dinner on the town. Papers are spread all over this desk, but in the meantime a few reflections.

Yesterday was a satisfying day for we celebrated the 35th Anniversary of the Triple-A. We brought in a lot of the old timers here in the Department and presented them with a certificate from the President. I made a little speech recalling some of the historic events of that New Deal period and Judge Marvin Jones, then the Chairman of the Agriculture Committee in the House, spoke for almost an hour. We couldn't turn him off. However, he was really very good. Then I raced to Iowa and we did the same thing in connection with the first corn-hog Committee and the first corn loan. Again a lot of old timers thoroughly enjoying it. Barney Allen made a speech and was in his element. Bob Garst, speaking through one of those throat gadgets that can be used when one has had his thorax cut out, spoke as well and did very well. Then I tried to do some political work. I had to absent myself from a reception while Barney Allen and

Ray Hemingway talked a little Humphrey politics. I came in later and kidded about being super-Hatched. I did manage to reach Lex Hawkins, the former State Chairman in Iowa and get him to come up and have a private conference with me in my room. He had been drinking and repeated himself a lot, but I wasn't too pleased with what I found. He apparently will be able through his previous Executive Secretary, now the State Chairman, to be a strong voice in selecting the 20 delegates at large at the State Convention. He is slated to be Convention Chairman and assured me he would not allow Kennedy to railroad and instruct the delegation. However, at that point he stopped and said he knew nothing, wasn't participating any more, had no power, and therefore couldn't talk much. He claimed too that in the week following President Johnson's withdrawal, he who had been committed to Johnson looked where to go, talked to Cliff Carter and then moved out of the picture permitting his law partner to line up as a strong Kennedy spokesman. The Governor, he made clear, will go with whoever he thinks will do him the most good in his campaign for the Senate. He claimed not to know very much about the various district situations where caucuses and conventions have been held. There are a lot of delegates and it's going to be very hard to get to them. Ray Hemingway didn't seem to be very well organized or to have very much by way of resources. So I came back and got Tom Hughes together with him and we're going to try and turn FHA and ASCS loose out there on almost 100 percent basis working for Humphrey in and with those delegates. I hope we can get some of them by the time they have their convention a week from tomorrow. That went on well into the night so it was another sleep-short night and I raced back here, arriving about noon. Incidentally, I resolved two nasty problems before I left yesterday.

The Administrative regulation requiring Land-Grant College Presidents to have an employment plan preventing discrimination in the Extension Service, including a requirement that they spell it out and send it to me for acceptance and there be provision for appeal to the Secretary of Agriculture by complainants was finally



promulgated. I've been worrying a good deal about this one since it came to my desk for the Land-Grant College Presidents together with Southern Members of Congress could contend Federal invasion and raise a lot of hell. It is a bold step, but I'm glad it's finally made. Holland got wind of it and called me. I went up to see him on my way to the airport and he wasn't bad. He read the regulations, suggested we take out a line that was really kind of inflammatory without adding any necessary body to the regulations. I did that. Otherwise I haven't heard from other States and inasmuch as information leaked out of here to Holland perhaps the States and the Members of Congress won't say anything. We sent letters to all the Land-Grant Presidents and to key members of Congress. However, there's enough pressure on now on the Civil Rights area that maybe it will sail through without a lot of trouble. In that connection I must reflect that power and constituency really makes our Government work. Of course it has to be that way because it's a Democratic Government responsive to its constituency. The trouble is that very often people who need help the most, aren't heard and have the least power. Then the free instruments of Government, such as petition can be used. It's a last resort and a difficult one and the organized groups, the special interests are heard first and these pressures brought to bear. But then something like the Poor Peoples' March come, they're here now, we will be contending with them next week. I am concerned about it, about the problems of security, what I'll do if they come into this building and sit or engage in violence and how we will handle them in connection with their demands. But fundamentally I am really delighted they're here. They're going to put a lot of pressure behind things I would like to do but haven't been able to for reasons of Congressional resistance or lack of funds. So if I'm criticized a bit and somewhat unfairly in such things as the current hunger conflict, why it's worth it for the cause.

The pamphlet "Hunger USA" I finally got a chance to read on this trip and although it is misleading, over-states the case, has some direct inaccuracies, I think in the main its thrust is a powerful one and that it will be useful in helping us to get this program improved. I just had a radio broadcast in which I declared repeatedly, there's no excuse for hungry people in the United States, let's correct it. On the other hand, when they go nuts and strike out blindly they may do more harm than good.

Also this afternoon, a meeting in Joe Califano's office with Charley Murphy, DeVier Pierson and Jim Gaither about a memo to the President recommending what to do on the food thing. We're trying to thrash out alternatives that are possible in terms of financing and these in light of sensible administrative practices. Again it was mostly talk and no decisions. Until the basic tax and spend question is thrashed out, why this simply won't come into sharp focus.

Also yesterday I finally got out the Chicago Milk Order that has been bothering us for many, many months. Again an example of maneuver and pressure and also politics. Harold Nelson and Dave Paar and the whole Mississippi dairy group have been a real problem all along, although they also have been very helpful and active. They helped the President strongly in Wisconsin, they're working now for Humphrey in Iowa, and there were several of their people out there last night. They have put into effect a premium on milk 50 cents above the minimum price and made it stick. Now with the Chicago Order they are worried that they will be subjected to competition out of Iowa and want to use that to increase the Iowa price through a higher minimum while holding their current premium. Rod Leonard recommended against this. My initial reaction was against it. Yet these fellows have been helpful and although I am resentful of their continuing pressure, yet they do appreciate actions on their behalf. For example, we got over 5,000 appreciative letters from dairy people when I raised the dairy

people when I raised the dairy support price. That's the first time that's ever happened to me since I've been in public life.

I had a call from the Ranch, vis-a-vis, DeVier Pierson saying try to help them. Humphrey called me saying try to help them. And so I overcame my irritation at pressure from them and once again took a hard look at the merits. I was the only one here for the increase. John Schnittker was against it. Well when I analyzed it it became clear to me to do this might require an increase also in other places in the country, but if it did it would be only 20 cents and not likely to cost the Government anything or to result in a consumer increase. With production and consumption in balance and the future very uncertain in dairy there was not reason why not to do it. So in this case why should I do otherwise than increase dairy farmer income when in the process I can go along with the request of people and organizations who really are helping us and also expressing their appreciation. So the decision was made and in the process it resolved a problem from Herschel Newsom who came in protesting the inclusion of some Indiana counties because their prices would go down in the larger order. By adjusting the Chicago price up, that was largely taken care of and so that one was settled. Both of those problems, the Extension Regulation and this milk problem have been dogging me for four or five days and I'm glad that they're made and now I'll turn my sails looking toward the Poor People next week.

Referring again to the application of political power and how it is done, there is no question but what the analysis in the Hunger U.S.A. report has some merit. It does put the finger on us on the grounds we are responsive to the power of commercial agriculture politically. This is true and this is what has happened in the past despite the fact I have struggled hard to try and get improvements in the food programs. Now when pressure is being brought to bear by these unsettled times by the riots in the city and now by the Poor Peoples'

March carrying the banner of Martin Luther King. Despite the grumbling there's going to be some listening and more done than otherwise would be the case unless they go too far and it ends up in violence. Hopefully that won't happen.

Yesterday at the program for the old timers -- the 35th Anniversary -- Paul Porter made the point here in Washington and Barney Allen in Des Moines that the Commodity Credit Corporation 35 years ago was a product of a farmers' march and I recalled in my speech the dissent, the dissension, and yes the lawlessness of farmers at that time. We also saw some of the same lawlessness by Labor with the sit-in strikes, and I can remember that one well. So maybe some of these sit-ins and some of the Poor Peoples' March will be a good thing and so long as we've got a flexible and democratic society and people can be heard in this fashion, we can make this Government move. Unfortunately it moves too slowly.

May 21, 1968 --2:45 pm. Another busy week, almost in mid-stream. This food thing is really bugging us. The Poor People are camped up the Mall here. We got a wire yesterday to respond to their requests -- held a big conference here with Gaither from Califano's office and Bill Carey from the Bureau of the Budget deciding what to do. The questions are both substantive and strategic -- in substance, should we put everything down on paper now and what can we do? -- in terms of procedure, how much do we want to give them and how much do we want to string it out so that they can get and show results -- what are the dangers if we don't respond affirmatively of their coming in here and more or less taking over the building which has been more than obliquely threatened. No real answer yet for they don't know what they're doing. Apparently the wire we got was sent by a girl, Marion Wright, on her own initiative supposedly to get factual information for Abernathy. He knew nothing of the wire. I talked to the White House a moment ago as to whether we should send over our big paper which we're putting together here responding to them across the board. They don't know yet. If we



give them some satisfaction now, will that deny them the opportunity to claim they forced it and it was a success? If I recommend that they break into task forces to review the problem areas with us, will they automatically refuse because we suggested it rather than themselves? And so it goes. In the meantime, I am a target and food seems to be the most emotional issue they have going for them. At the same time CBS is putting on a program tonight on hunger -- again attacking the Department, concentrating mostly on the \$250 million we turned back in Section 32 funds. I can explain patiently ad infinitum that this money could have been used to improve the diet of those on the program, but this is really a supplemental program, but that it had little bearing on reaching new counties for the issue there has been can we convince those counties to go into the program. However, it doesn't help much. All I can do, as the President says, is hunker up and take it and proclaim honestly and loudly that we welcome this support, wish we had of had it before, outline what we've done, and go on from there.

Tonight the Freedom from Hunger Foundation has a banquet where I am to speak. I'll present Bill Gaud and this time I will talk mostly on domestic food problems to which they are also beginning to shift some of their attention.

Tomorrow I testify before the House Health, Education and Welfare Committee about the proposal to set up a Joint Congressional Commission to review the whole food picture. Again I'll try and outline what's been done and welcome new support. We're also getting out a food white paper for the same purpose. We're spending endless hours staffing every possible contingency in connection with new food programs preparatory to making alternative recommendations to the President, but that's kind of like shooting fish in a rain barrel because he is not receptive to proposals at this time given the tax and finance picture which still is an open question. No one knows where that will land.

Holland is now marking up our appropriation bill in the Senate. Goodness knows what they will do. He's threatening to not restore any CCC appropriations

on the grounds that this will force the Bureau of the Budget to go along with a full restoration which he wants each year. I wrote him a letter urging that he not do this because if we fail to restore this year, next year the number will be so big that it will give the enemies of farm programs a very good target. What with the Farm Bureau, people like Abe Ribicoff who are playing politics and attacking farm programs, and now the Poor People contending that all we want to do here is take care of commercial agriculture at the cost of billions of dollars and let people starve, things are kind of rough and I'm worried. At the same time the Committee seemed to be moving on extending the basic farm legislation. Poage went in for a rule in the House today for the 1-year extension. Ellender is going to have a meeting in a day or so for a longer extension and so things are in really a state of flux.

As this wasn't enough, I was up today before the House Interior Committee on the Redwood Park proposal with strong and determined testimony opposing the swap of a purchase unit which is in the National Forests to the timber companies out there who might go along if they could get this other land. There is a principle involved here of payment in kind which can threatened other National Forest areas and therefore I went up to oppose it primarily on principle. I had a rather difficult time for the Committee, at least many of them, wanted to accommodate the private timber interests. It is true that this is a very expensive proposal and they argue very conveniently that this is an exception and why not if the private company can continue relatively whole themselves and after all the Park Service is getting the Redwood areas they want and if we have to give up something, so what? It's all in the same government. All I can do is respond rather sharply that what you're doing is selling one parcel to buy another and that's bad practice. We're backed by most of the conservation organizations on this and are making a pretty good

record. The Forest Service was anxious that I should do this, but I was uncomfortable and the distinction is very difficult to make; particularly when they force me to the wall as Mo Udall did and asked, is it your position that at no time, under any circumstances should one single acre or parcel of Forest Service land ever be sold? That makes one look very unreasonable indeed.

Just finished lunch with Bill Kubicek. Bill looked and acted and seemed more relaxed than I can remember. Things in Minnesota politically seem fairly quiet with most of the votes Humphrey votes. He's down here for a Science Advisory Committee Meeting, anxious to do what he can for Humphrey. I'm still waiting for Tom Hughes to get an analysis of State by State around the nation so I can review them and see how we can be more helpful to him and how I can be more helpful to him as the delegate contest goes on. Kennedy continues to draw great crowds around the country with a real air of excitement. Most people are marking McCarthy off. The Oregon and California primaries will be quite critical and that whole picture bothers me and is another problem on the desk. Kennedy has trimmed his sails rather sharply beginning in Indiana and then in Nebraska and now carrying on. He no longer is declaring that the whole country is going to the dogs. He is calling for law and order, urging more local responsibility, and generally no longer striking out blindly with a shillelagh. Thoughtful press comments where he's concerned are strengthening and he I'm afraid is getting more and more dangerous.

Last week end was interesting and I think quite constructive. I flew out by Jet Star to Oklahoma and made an RC&D tour through the Cherokee Hills area. Again I was impressed by what's being done. Some 120 new projects -- clear evidences of local leadership, a program which included not only physical soil conservation and water resources, but schools, industry and the whole complex of community development on a three-county basis. There was a clear awareness of what needed to be done. In this instance a young soil conservationist, a professional, was assigned to this full time and getting results.



I flew from there to Stillwater, Oklahoma where I spoke to a Conference on Population Migration sponsored largely by Senator Fred Harris who got a Senate Committee on Research together with the University to be the official sponsors. They had a very blue ribbon program, getting down into considerable detail, as to how to reverse the country to city migration. I got there only in time for a press conference which was quite spirited and then spoke. It was a good speech, this one written by Stan Weston, very well received. The choice of language was sharp with a strong drive to it and it expanded our orbit now to national planning for the people space equation. It was really well received.

I flew from there to Knoxville, Tennessee and drove to Gatlinburg, Tennessee. The meeting of the Board of Trustees of the National Park and Recreation Association was boring on the one hand and interesting on the other. There was the usual quibbling about such things as dues and membership to the expected in bringing together all the tricky elements involved when you've got a lot of different organizations meshing together. I got in the act where legislative programming was concerned for they had a resolution to give the Executive Vice President complete authority to take legislative positions. I opposed that on the grounds that there needed to be more consultation and prevailed with the conclusion that a 3-man Advisory Committee for this purpose should be selected. We had a bus ride through the Gatlingburg area, the great Smokies, a new park area which I enjoyed although I was terribly sleepy having got in the night before very late. Then a barbecue and a square dance. I had a chance then to visit around with various members of the Board and this was interesting. It's a unique group, composed of some of the New York and Eastern intellectuals and highly placed social folks, many of whom were pioneers in the park movement and are strong conservationists, combined with a leavening of professionals in the recreation field. I hope I can stay with this. It's stimulating and useful.



The President, a lawyer by the name of Davidson, talked with me about succeeding him as President of the organization. Perhaps I can work out something here that will complement whatever I may be doing down the road. In any event it was a relatively pleasant, and I think constructive, useful day, exploring a new field and making some new contacts.

I flew back in early Sunday morning and we had a very pleasant Sunday with Mike and his friends. He's through in school -- happy to be home. I got in about noon and we had a relaxed brunch and then worked in the yard. One of his friends helped, trimming some of the trees; while the boys played football I did some work, and then a Negro friend and fraternity brother of Mike's came in and we had a long somewhat argumentative dinner, running from 9:00 until after midnight. The young Negro fellow, Bruce Hubbard, was very bright and direct and quite out spoken. It was clear that he had been involved in a good many of the various student movements including the students for a Democratic Society. He showed a lot of know-how in terms of political maneuver. He's on the Council with Mike and they got into quite an argument about various tactics and decisions there and he seemed much more sophisticated, matured, and calculating than Mike. Mike showed the same tendency I used to have and still on occasion suffer from over-reacting and over-speaking too quickly. Nonetheless it was very encouraging and satisfying to observe the interest, the know-how, and the determination of these boys. Bruce made the point that he was suspicious of the Students for a Democratic Society and their far out tactics, that the same people show up everywhere and always seem to have enough money to take time and to travel and to spark the various so-called revolts. The militancy, the need to always be out-promising, and always be active and kinetic came through in this young man's presentations. Apparently he's charged with being an Uncle Tom at times and Mike says he identifies more with the white middle class, but I found a good deal

of militancy in his make up. This was a useful session, a kind of back-up for evaluating what's going on at Columbia and now goes on in France where the students have stimulated almost a Nation-wide revolt against DeGaulle.

I've been doing a little reading when I have a few minutes and some discussing trying to figure exactly what all this means. What with the Poor People around our ears here, the threats of the Civil Rights militants, the College Campuses erupting, the question is -- What goes? All of this of course tossed into the middle of a political campaign. I'm still feeling my way along but I can't see that what takes place now is much different than it was say in the 30's. Now most people are well off. However, the War on Poverty has on the one hand created expectations and at the same time it has exposed great needs and made those well off groups of people feel a bit conscious stricken that they have so much, and so many have so little. Hence, the tolerance for some of the excessives we see now. This spills over into the college campuses. Perhaps it is what fathers the idea that society is sick and that we must leave materialism and stand for new values that one hears on every side and even seems to be behind the student movements in the Communists countries.

The President made an excellent speech last night in New York pointing out this was not a sick society and we were not irreparably split by Civil Rights tension, that we had made tremendous progress, were continuing to make it, and that we ought to sort of speak, keep our cool. I was glad to see it. This is the Humphrey line and it's right. Kennedy has tried to say that Humphrey was all sweetness and light when we have these terrible problems but he appears to be grinning his sails in terms of the way out statements that he had previously been making.

One other dimension of all of this is, I think, more troublesome. Civil Rights and the War on Poverty can be understood. Progress has created expectations.

Militancy and more demands are inevitable. They are necessary in order to jar a complacent society and a Congress that hesitates to move or to fund what needs to be done. More basic is the problem of the increasing size and complexity. This means that people are fearful they are swallowed up. They don't count for anything. They haven't got a place. This troubles me. Our whole rural urban balance thesis and the importance for more local participation and leadership and identification might provide the answer for this. In any event it is a wild and interesting period. We never had more and we appear to be more dissatisfied than ever. Off not to a Conference on the Poor People's March again. A Press conference preparatory to the Freedom from Hunger banquet where I will speak tonight. Incidentally, Ed Piszek of Philadelphia (Mrs. Paul's kitchen) has purchased 400 copies of my book which he will distribute at every table there tonight.

May 23, 1968 -- 3:25 p.m. I'm sitting here waiting for the delegation from the Poor People's March to appear. What a comedy of uncertainty and errors this performance is. They've got this town standing on its head. The problem of course is one of uncertainty. In the first place they can't control their own people, although they are doing much better than I would have dreamed possible. They already have sent home by bus some gangs from various cities and groups that make trouble. This morning an off-shoot group went to the Hill and when Mills wouldn't see them began to picket and sing in a restricted area. A number were arrested but finally a cooler head got there and dissuaded them from that course of conduct. On our part, not know what they can do and not being able to talk to anyone it is terribly difficult to make a judgment. Will they come in a small committee? Will they come in a big mob or somewhere in between? Will they negotiate <sup>in</sup> good faith, or will they put on a show? Do they want press and television, or don't they? We don't know. What should we offer them and when and so it goes. At this moment the Assistant Attorney General for the Criminal

Division and the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights are over here. They were to come in at 3:00 o'clock. I had to go to the Hill for a meeting about peanut price supports that Dick Russell convened where I said "no" politely with some difficulty and then raced back here to find the meeting would be 3:30. A few moments ago I was informed the meeting would be 4:00. Goodness knows when they will get here.

I've been on the phone half a dozen times today as to whether we should have 100 or 20, should it be downstairs or up, and then of course the substantive question of what can we offer them? This gets all involved in the tax and budget cut problem. Here the President hasn't made up his mind and so no one knows how far we can go. As I reported earlier we still haven't gotten a memorandum with alternative recommendations to the President because we really don't know the framework in which we can expect there will be some consideration given. Apparently Charley Murphy sent in a program that reached into the billions for food stamps and it was, of course, promptly shot down.

The ball bounces from Califano to Pierson over Ramsey Clark and back again. The whole thing has been accentuated where I'm concerned because the Hunger U.S.A. report came out and gets wide circulation. Night beforelast CBS had a Hunger U.S.A. hour documentary which was inaccurate in some important respects. Its total emphasis was a heart wringing one of starving, hungry babies and it closed with an attack on the Department of Agriculture because it would serve the farmers but not the consumers, and particularly not the small consumers. So this group of Poor People who understandably feel bitterness towards their more prosperous neighbors who are larger farmers, who they see not plant and get a Government check, now can take it out on those farmers by charging them and me with heartlessness because they have not been taken care of. At the same time where the school lunch program is concerned a study called "Your Daily Bread" which a group of women made and it's excellent came out exposing dramatically that the



most needy children weren't getting school lunches. As a result Congress moved with a resolution to set up a Joint Study Committee and up I went to have hearings on that yesterday, which got all over the television, and according to Joe Califano who called me last evening at the baseball stadium where Mike and I had gone, we are getting murdered on television. That didn't help me to enjoy the ball game one little bit. I think Joe was pretty excited and over-reacting. But the fact remains, I'm in a spot where I can hardly answer. It's ironic. I've worked harder on nothing -- and the real reason I came to this job was to try and get food to people and here I am in danger of being the focal point of an emotional demagogic attack. Anyway the current runs no one knows where.

I was on the Hill all day yesterday before the House Education and Welfare Committee. The Republicans sought to charge the Administration with negligence where food and poverty are concerned. They zeroed in on the \$200 million plus that we had failed to spend that came here under Section 32. I spent the whole day, first explaining that this didn't really revert, it's just money that we could spend that would be charged up to expenditures, but that did not require special Congressional line item authorization. They claimed long and loudly that I could have spent it to meet all the problems in the School Lunch Program where kids are concerned, an area where we can't move because the program by law must be handled by the States and the local school boards with money expended on a formula basis. I can, of course, refuse to send any money to a State but that's hardly practical when it would disqualify all the school lunch programs. They also claim we could use it in the Food Stamp Program. Again I argued "no". I accomplished my purpose, I think, in the record. I won that argument legally, but by that time so much attention was attracted that we had money we didn't spend that I perhaps lost the battle for that's what people will remember. I tried to make the point that that isn't money that we turn back, it's money we simply haven't drawn on and that it's charged as an

expenditure like every other expenditure, but that's too complicated. Anyway this went on over there from before 10:00 until almost 1:00 o'clock. Then an appearance on mass camera where incidentally I charged CBS with sloppy and careless reporting. I'm not sure whether that was wise, but we'll see. I did the same before the Committee and will submit a list of their inaccuracies. I hope they are sufficiently dramatic now to make the point so I don't get a bounce on that one.

Then I had to go back at 2:00 o'clock and it went on until after 5:00. Then a squash game last night with Mike whom I can still beat, although he's a lot better -- to a ball game which we enjoyed, to home and to bed, and at it early this morning.

By 9:00 o'clock this morning I had Phil Landrum in here, Herman Talmadge and a number from Congress and then a red-hot delegation from the poultry industry claiming that our inspectors were doing a terrible job. Phil Landrum, a fine responsible Congressman, was exercised on this. He pointed out wide deviations of rejects from the same flock in plants only a few miles apart. This information had been used to inflame poultry producers and processors who were susceptible because of the high rejection rate from leukosis. The meeting might have gotten very emotional but I managed to get it on target. It was true that we don't have any clear standards for our inspectors. The reason however is that there is no clear and absolutely accurate measure to determine leukosis. The lesions which can be seen may or may not mean leukosis. Therefore in some places they are rejected and other places they are not, depending on the inspectors. The problem and our weakness is that if we have a sharp hard criteria, we must then acknowledge that certain blemishes are being passed. And those blemishes, it appeared today, cannot catagorically with 100 percent certainty be said to not show leukosis, nor can it be said that leukosis will be transmitted to people who will then get cancer. However, as I pointed out to

these people, the problem is that a Ralph Nader and a Nick Kotz, witness what they did on meat inspection, would not hesitate to write that the Department has relaxed its regulations, is passing poultry because of pressure from Congress and from the industry that might give people cancer, that we therefore when there is a doubt instead of protecting the consumer are giving in to economic pressure from the industry. This is a rather dramatic example of the kind of decision making that Government has to make in the overall aura of public response. With television cameras et al in the political arena, that makes it difficult to act and also makes it difficult for Government in the abstract to perform appropriately. I don't know what I'm going to do about this one now. Bill Kubicek happened to be here. I called him in and also Bob Somers, the head of the Meat and Poultry Inspection, and Ned Bayley, George Mehren's deputy, and told them to try and develop a standard we could defend from a Nader attack which would give more specificity and exactness to our criteria so our lay inspectors could do a better job. In any event, I think I have fused a potentially dangerous political issue for the time being. What we can do in light of this overall situation, I frankly don't know. That meeting broke up about noon to be followed by hectic meetings with a Deputy Planning Commissioner from Pakistan who wanted to negotiate for a little more wheat and under easier and better terms; a quick conference with Dorothy on some international agricultural matters, a conference with John Baker and Horace Godfrey preparatory to the peanut meeting with Dick Russell and Company, and now I wait for Abernathy and his Poor People.

This week has been like that. The mail is piling up. I've got some writing to do and tomorrow I'm off for another speech. In the meantime I simply haven't had any time to involve myself to even check or hardly read the newspapers in the Humphrey campaign as it develops and this concerns me deeply, too.

In the course of this whole food public relations problem we tried to make an effective counter-move on Tuesday when I agreed to go over to a press

conference called by the Freedom from Hunger Foundation who passed a resolution directing their attention not only to international but also domestic food problems. Dorothy got alerted to this - Jane's on the Board, otherwise the new Executive Director, Leonard Wolfe, would probably have been attacking me like other people. I got there in time to pick up the press who had been covering the Hill which tipped me off as to the charges being made by Pucinski from Chicago. Actually he was much milder than he might have been when I actually got before the Committee. I made a good statement, I think, at that press conference and a good speech later that night.

Then I signed dozens of my book purchased by Ed Piszek and given to everyone there. However, that appearance, that speech, my testimony, none of that so far seems to have come through, rather the wildest charges get the front pages of the newspaper and the "tube" as Mike would say.



I wish there was more that we could give Abernathy and company but I'll just have to do the best I can. I do feel somewhat reassured because I talked with the President this morning. We had a warm and friendly conversation and he ended up telling me he was proud of me and to do what I thought best. It was a kind of measure of confidence which is reassuring. I really haven't hardly seen or talked with him since his dramatic withdrawal. It was clear from the conversation that the President basically is very troubled by all this. He said that he had agreed to the Poor People coming in and being accepted in this fashion and given a permit and helped only with real reservations. He said he was going along with Ramsey and he hoped (Ramsey Clark, that is) that he is right in making this approach. He was kind of speculating out loud and didn't necessarily mean everything that he said, but the conversation is quite revealing. He quoted Carl Albert just back from Oklahoma who said no one could get elected these days the way matters are going on, that we're spending and spending, and running the biggest deficit in history with all the dangers thereto and the savage contest about tax and cut, at the same time that we have increased our appropriations to astronomical levels -- the very people we are seeking to help in Medicare and education and welfare and Food Stamps are protesting louder and louder and giving no recognition or allowance for what's been done. Our efforts seem to have resulted only in anarchy. He reported a conversation with Dick Daley, the Mayor of Chicago, to the effect we are through the OEO programs and the poverty work literally financing gangs of 14-year olds, violent kids, Daley contending that his jails are full of people who actually are getting their OEO checks forwarded to them while they are in the jail. The President went on to say the groups here have

every degree of people, they're loaded with <sup>peacocks</sup> peacocks, and that it really makes one wonder. The Negroes, he said, seemed to be worse than they used to be when there was a greater degree of responsibility, when people seemed to be willing to work. Now, he said, we give them relief up to a level where it's hardly worthwhile working any more. Further, the women no longer bother to get married, they just keep breeding. The men go their way and the women get relief -- why should they work? Then he referred to a woman on the CBS food program with 7 or 8 kids pregnant with another one not working and apparently not caring. Then he zagged off and said this was all really a political job, that it had started way back when Bobby Kennedy called Martin Luther King in and began to finance him in the work that he was doing, this despite the fact that when he was Attorney General he regularly bugged his wires, knew all about his life, and the indication was that Martin Luther King himself had had a life of very questionable sexual practices, all of which showed, including liaison with a number of different women in the reports on wire tapping with Bobby Kennedy's name on them. Yet he, the President, had stopped the wire tapping as soon as he became President. This appeared to me as mostly an outburst of irritation, but there was a strong feeling that this whole effort to get the leadership of these Civil Rights and other groups tied into dependence on the Kennedys would result in building a base of political power. At least that was clearly the charge and in part substantiated by the fact that they never acknowledge any of the progress that's been made. The President then advised me against making a proposal to these people that we would eliminate the necessity for payments at the lowest level of \$30 a year or less on Food Stamps saying where can you draw the line. Rather he thought I better just give them what we can within the current budgetary limits, tell them what we've tried to get Congress to do by way of appropriations and legal authority and urge their support and pledge ours in trying to reach those goals.

Well, it's 3:55 - there area lot of noises out in the hall here. It would appear to me it's about time to go in and see what happens. The next few minutes ought to be interesting. I repeat it's ironic that I should be a target on this basis, but I guess it's understandable. If the opportunity presents itself I may go before whatever big crowd of these people they have and just tell the story of what we've done and what I want to do and what needs to be done and see if we can't out maneuver them or at least get equal treatment from the media. It's not likely that can be done, but I'll have to do my best and in the meantime tryand keep my exposure, my balance, and understand the workings of the ironic set of facts that bring the current situation into existence.

May 23, 1968 - 10:10 at my desk at home. Well the Poor Peoples March has come and gone. As it worked out, Abernathy appeared with 100 or more insisting that all would have to be included press and radio as well so rather than fight about it we brought them into the downstairs room. Tom and the boys got them lined up, put our progress charts behind and I came in. I greeted Abernathy in a friendly way and visited with him for a moment informally and then sat down, television cameras on the right with press, the Poor Peoples Marchers on the left, and I made a brief opening statement outlining that our goals were the same and that I really took the job as Secretary of Agriculture because I wanted to feed the poor, related briefly what we had done by way of progress, that we welcomed their help to do more, but that we had to have authority, that we had to have appropriations, and then in terms of our decisions we welcomed their help in making them. It was like talking to a stone wall. They looked into the air and obviously weren't the least bit impressed or even listening. However, I think the television cameras were on and the press was there. Abernathy they read a fairly long statement. It really was not too obnoxious although it bugged me very hard about the alleged Section 32 funds that had

turned in and stated again and again they wanted action now. When he finished after having been interrupted by applause a number of times why I thanked him for the statement. He then asked if some of them could speak and it was clear they had selected them before. Only one was really unrehearsed and genuine and that was a man from Chicago, pointing out how he and his wife couldn't live on \$130 a month. They then had the same woman from Mississippi and Jim Eastland's county who made the same impassioned dogmatic unreasonable statements and demands; then a little boy from Alabama who had been thoroughly rehearsed, he talked about poor and hungry but he was roly poly, well dressed and seemed anything but a deprived youngster.

Then I stated that I would respond to some of their specific demands which seemed to surprise Abernathy a bit. I could have at that point have broken and said I would take your demands under advisement and we can get together again and I think everyone probably would have accepted it. However, I proceeded to state that we would put one or another of the programs into all of the 300 counties. They made me repeat that a number of times, complaining that my July 1 wasn't enough, they needed it now. But they didn't know exactly what to say when I pointed out that this took some doing, you had to buy the food, select the administrative committee, certify the people, develop a warehouse and procedures, and that I couldn't guarantee that we would get it all done, but this was our goal and I thought that we would, or soon thereafter. I then told them, too, that we were going to expand the list of commodities available, and named the commodities, and they stated that was fine although they didn't enthuse over getting these things very much, but rather accepted them, nor did they



state we had done anything or made any progress. Abernathy didn't know really much about it. The one who was informed was the girl, Marion Wright, who was a young Negro lawyer girl. We met her a year or two back at a Bobby Kennedy anniversary party shortly after we had been on a RAD tour in Mississippi. She was insistent that we should have direct distribution and food stamps at the same time and we should consider it an emergency until such time as the food stamp program had been adequately improved and liberalized. I tried to slide that one, but she was sharp enough and determined enough to stay with it until I had to say I would not do that, that both programs in the same county would destroy the food stamp programs that I thought were highly desirable and that therefore I would not go along with that proposal although we would do all we could to improve the food stamp program.

At that point we slide away from specifics pretty much with a number of statements from the floor. One of the leaders, an attractive young fellow, a Reverend Young made an impassioned and somewhat bitter statement about the South and discrimination and the Department was part and parcel of it and the level of discrimination in the Department and that that's what kept the colored people down and they wouldn't stand for it. My response to that was to say to him that this was an intemperate, untrue and inflammatory statement, that if he had any allegations of discrimination in the Department I wanted to know about them and if they could be proven that strict and stern discipline would result, that we were doing everything we could. I further pointed out that we had submitted a detailed statement in a number of areas and I twitted Abernathy for having more or less ridiculed it by saying they didn't want long and detailed statements, they wanted action now. Apparently our 45-page detailed statement kind of snowed them a bit. This went on with a good bit of yammering and yammering and it seemed like we were not going to get much further when one young fellow quite

vehemently said, "Why don't you take the Selective Service System? That always manages to find people, and use that as a means of distributing food?" That was nonsense of course and I didn't really respond to it. So at about this time, it having gone on for an hour and a half, I said to Abernathy that I thought everybody was tired and that perhaps we should bring it to a close and he readily agreed and got to his feet as did other people as if everyone was ready to quit whereupon I slipped out of a side door and went up to the office. There was no need for further television or newspaper action.

May 25, 1968 -- 12:50 am -- Kansas City, Missouri. A long day in Missouri today. Flew out early this morning, landed at Kansas City to get into a charter plane with the Missouri Farmers Association crowd to go down to Sikeston, Missouri and I was met by a television camera. It was a CBS local station. The question was the usual "When do you stop beating your wife?" In this case, "How do you explain turning back \$400 million when there are lots of hungry people?" I took off and pointed out that the CBS program on hunger was a piece of rank demagogery, factually inaccurate, seriously misleading, an attack on the Department and the Administration which did not portray an accurate or meaningful figure, a disgraceful bit of irresponsible reporting. It sure shook up the questioner. We went on with a whole series of questions and comments and I laced into each one a charge in connection with their program and then challenged them to run it. I went on to Southern Missouri and it doesn't look like they did use it at all, but we're building up a bill of particulars which I will file with the House Education and Welfare Committee on Monday and I think call a press conference to press my charges against CBS. I really don't have any alternative. That program and those documents have created a sensation in the country and people are horror struck with what exists. It has led to a complete over-statement of the problem, has ignored what we've done, and of course farm commodity programs and

they would be coming back again and again and again and what they want is immediate emergency action to be sure that everybody is fed at once. That's a kind of a tough one for we can and will say that we are doing it as fast as we can, but to do it at once which sounds good obviously is just out of the realm of the attainable, but they'll keep it up and in the meantime with these programs in the background it's awfully hard to not look awfully bad.

May 25, 1968 -- 4:00 pm at the office. I flew out of Kansas City this morning into Baltimore about 10:00 am. Joe Robertson met me. I had called earlier and said I wanted to go to the office although the boys had advised against it because I might have more callers. As a result we came in the South Building through the tunnel and up into the office almost surreptitiously. It seems silly but another delegation wouldn't contribute much.

I had a meeting with Obert and Weston and Robertson about my planned blast toward CBS. They're very shaky about it. John had written a very polite letter commending CBS on many things and acknowledging many things but pointing out there were some errors. It was gentle. I exploded and said I wanted a fight. The only way real attention would be focused on this problem and what needed to be done about it would be to promote one. And that I wanted a strong statement charging them with demagoguery, irresponsibility, failure to check their facts, that in so doing they were contributing to despondency, restlessness, and hopelessness among the poor themselves for it would appear from this no one was interested or trying to do anything. Then I proposed to demand equal time to report what had been done, what the situation really was. They didn't argue with me. I was too angry and determined. I'm partly sustained in wanting to do this by a quick conversation with Humphrey last night in which he related a call from Muriel expressing the same concern that my mail has showed here today which really makes me heartsick. The country is stirred up and it is furious and the contradiction between farm programs and people hungry is terribly difficult if

the Department have been violently attacked and I'm afraid discredited. I don't know where this will lead me. It's pretty tough to take on the media, but I think I have no alternative. Only in this way can we point out what's been done, defend programs and the Department.

Had a good meeting in Missouri. This was kind of paying a bill for the MFA crowd. Fred Heinkel wanted to consolidate his position down there with some of those cotton farmers who are really in the Black Belt. They were responsive and I gave them a fire and brimstone speech on farm programs which they seemed to like. They're being flooded out there with no crop for the third year and the payment provisions which continue under those circumstances are a Godsend so they should be for the program. It ought to help Humphrey, too.

I flew up from there, changed planes in St. Louis and into Kansas City here where the Associated Dairymen had their annual meeting. They presented me with a plack of appreciation and a watch. I guess I'll have to take it, although it worries me a bit for I recently made a decision for them. Humphrey was there -- well received -- made a fine speech -- and I just finished a little visit with him up in his suite. Things are moving very well. It looks like Missouri might give him a unit rule. Pennsylvania might, too. The press is beginning to sense and pick up the strength he's showing among delegates around the country and Bobby seems to be in a close race with Gene in Oregon. At the moment I would say that Humphrey has momentum and it really is beginning to look like his prospects are more than 50-50.

Call from home from John Obert a bit ago. It seems that a Reverend Jackson, a young bright preacher from South Carolina, marched in today with a group of people, made a repeat of demands, and then made the demand by bull-horn to his assembled flock that Brother Freeman who has a good heart should join with them and march arm in arm up to the Congress to demand their rights. They stated they



not impossible to explain. I'm wracking my brain as to how to go about this. It seems that I indeed am going to be a target and a continuing one. So an attention getting blast, reviewing what we're doing appears to be the wisest course of action. It will undoubtedly bring about renewed demands, maybe it will help with the Congress. Besides the Appropriations Committee held their appropriation to the authorized level for Food Stamps. We'll work to correct and increase that to the Senate Ag Committee authorized level of \$245 million, but that's still \$100 million short of what we really need to do anything meaningful. I wonder where the proposed message that Califano and Pierson are thinking about sending to the President as a major thrust. I hope they are moving it to his attention. Of course the tax and cut bill still hangs and he will hesitate to move I'm sure for obvious reasons. I'm troubled, too, by demands that I take emergency measures. The truth is we're doing about the same as we would do in a natural emergency when we commit to opening programs in all counties that don't have one. That of course doesn't answer the question of opening direct distribution so long as food stamps are not adequate, taking too much and giving too little. The problem of giving too much and it's resulting in bootlegging by poor people falls on very shallow ears indeed. Where the emotional feeling of the poor themselves can't cure our concern and the Nation at large -- so we go around in a circle. The result is I came in here feeling a bit tired cause I slept so poorly last night, but I am a lot more frustrated and unhappy and kind of despondent about it all right now.

I've been plowing through mail here. I'm trying to catch up. Today is Jane's birthday and she called so I'll go home and ramble around the yard and we're out to dinner tonight.

Turning to another subject -- trying to put our commodity program through the Congress this year brings into light the kind of by-play, bargaining, and blackmail that is indigenous to the process. Currently the one-year extension

in the House rests in the Rules Committee - held there really because of Leonor Sullivan and those who want a Food Stamp Program. So the bargaining goes forward to put together a combination there. Over in the Senate, Ellender did not call a Committee meeting to deal with voting on an extension there. He alleges too busy on the Appropriations Committee. Actually, the boys tell me that the Louisiana and Florida sugar producers facing a 40-percent cut because of over-production want to have the Puerto Rican quota, which they were unable to meet and must now be reallocated, used so they can produce more. However, by law that balance must be distributed among the Latin American countries. The rest of the sugar people are unwilling to open the sugar bill which is really a can of worms. Poage so told the Florida and Louisiana producers. Ellender now apparently is dragging his feet at their instance to try and force some kind of an agreement to change that section of the sugar law to make that sugar quota available. I have on my desk this morning a memo from Dean Rusk to the President calling for that re-allocation to the Dominican Republic. Perhaps I should make it fast. Ellender doesn't usually deal in this way, but maybe he is this time. Aiken is in the act, too, not so much on the commodity program extension as on the International Wheat Agreement. He is furious because the Food and Drug Administration revised their ruling which excluded evaporated milk from coming in here for sanitary reasons. They did this at the instance of the Attorney General who in turn apparently was pressed by importers. Aiken thinks that State initiated it in order to help other countries. I think it probably was State although I don't know for sure. In any event, Aiken's vote is essential to move the International Grain Agreement and that old fox, even though we're moving hard to do something on the milk thing, is not just sitting. It's desperately important that we move the International Grain Agreement increasing wheat production around the world, Our markets dropping in a number of areas, pressure to move prices down, the threat of real panic in wheat markets dictate some action. All the other three signatories have already signed up, but that won't bother

Aiken one little bit. So he sits. And so that's the way the game is played and I'm going to have to put my back into legislation, appropriations, et al, next week for that's really pushing.

Another comment on the extension of the commodity programs -- I was shocked, surprised, but pleased that the Republican Policy Committee voted to support the 1-year extension which came out of the House Agriculture Committee. I would not have believed that possible. The overwhelming majority of the Republicans have always bitterly opposed these programs, suddenly they line up prepared to support them. It doesn't make sense except this is an unusual year. They can come home free with a 1-year bill and then come next year without the pressure of an immediate election they will be against any extension. However, even though we only got one year we will still have a program from now until 1970 another election year, but of course not a Presidential year. So we must move in the Senate and get a compromise in conference. It will be tough going though for the Poor People food thing standing in sharp contrast to the big farm payments to the people who take their land out of production are a dramatic contradiction for all but those who understand what goes on. My how the problems pile up.

May 27, 1968 -- 5:00 pm at the office. Well the fat's in the fire. I held a Press Conference and released the letter to Frank Stanton demanding equal CBS time and filed the bill of particulars. It was as big a press conference as I can remember with television cameras at every angle. We met here in the office early this morning to consider and reconsider; the PR boys Obert, Lindell and Weston were real squeamish about it. John Schnittker was too, he thought we were being defensive. But after listening to all this and reviewing it again in my mind I resolved that I could do nothing else but proceed. It's clear this wretched program has reached people all over the country and upset them. There is no way that I know of that we can get our story told unless we get into some

kind of a confrontation and do at least something to create suspicion, reservation and concern about the program itself. So I went ahead. Read a good bit of it, answered questions for quite some time. When I walked out there was a low whistle as if to say, "man, oh man." What will happen now. What CBS will try and do to me remains to be seen. Anyway, I just sent over the materials to the White House. I debated as to whether I should alert them, but decided against it because no one over there would feel free to make the decision and the President really wouldn't either, and so I just went ahead.

Earlier in the day I went over to an annual meeting of Labor Editors which Bill Wirtz sponsors and spoke to them. I had a lot of questions about farm programs, the usual subsidy questions, big payment questions and then of course I spoke to the food question and attacked CBS again over there for the food program in question. They had any number of questions and I could have stayed there all day, but I cut it short after about a 20-minute question period when Gene Rostow came in as the next participant on the program.

I'm tired today. This has been quite a strain. What with the press conference and of course the Poor Peoples March swinging around. They said they will come every day and I suppose they will. Jackson was over here and brought about 150 today. They wanted to have a tour and see the people who were "denying them food" in C&MS. We tried to relate that this was just offices and paper work, but they still wanted to see them. Bill Seabron was a little shaken up. He apparently met with Jackson last night and today Jackson said to him, "Who are you and what do you do here?" He showed no evidence of recognition whatsoever and was very brittle. They said they wanted to eat in the cafeteria and Joe said, "Fine, are you prepared to pay?" Jackson asked, "Do you ask your other guests that question?" So they went through the cafeteria line, got food, did not pay and Jackson said he would take up a collection and pay. Apparently he



said when he left the building to someone, "That's only a part of what the Department owes us anyway." For a moment I was going to deny them the privilege of eating at the Cafeteria, but that probably would have been a mistake. They now have had their tours -- maybe they will have more -- and fail to pay. They've left without an incident. We'll send them a bill from the cafeteria which is the Employees Association and if it isn't paid promptly no one will be permitted to eat here from the Poor Peoples March until such time as it is paid. That'll be the first line that we draw -- then we'll go on to the next one and just have to play it by ear. I'm afraid they would welcome an incident -- we must try to prevent one, but there is a limit and I hope we're able to guess when that limit is reached and act firmly and properly.

Had lunch with Max Kampelman today about the Humphrey campaign. He was worried about his leadership and direction, alleging that Mondale was not doing a good job, that he had been much too bossy and arbitrary and heavy handed and was alienating lots of people, wouldn't listen, didn't have any real experience nationwide and that the thing was kind of in trouble. He related again that Humphrey had wanted me to resign and take over the campaign, but that Mondale had strongly opposed that. I expressed my surprise for I thought that Mondale was able, knew how to campaign and I made the estimate that Mondale might be over-reacting.

June 2, 1968 -- Radisson Hotel -- Minneapolis, Minnesota - 8:00 p.m.  
Well, a wonderful Kawawia fishing weekend is now history. I took the boys, Mike and Seibee Marshall with me and we spent 3 full days up there on the Canadian Lakes. As usual, it was great -- the weather wasn't what it might be. It was cold and rainy two days and only a little sunshine the other, but that didn't make much difference. We fished all the time anyway. The good thing was that we caught fish. Not an awful lot of fish on the big lake where they come slow, although I picked up a couple of very nice trout -- one about 8 pounds within an hour after we had put

our line in the water on Thursday noon. The hole at the end of the lake where the river empties out produced as usual. We were there three nights bobber fishing and the last night in particular we caught walleyes almost as fast as we could throw our hook in. They started out small. Later on in the night the larger ones came and we filled out with a good batch of walleyes. Gerry Heaney was along and Bill Waters and his son Stephen whom we enjoyed very much.

Diary — 2

I got mixed up &  
dictated a few minutes  
on the tape already  
used —

Carry No. 1 forward  
with a little rate  
overlap —

No poor people yet this week. They have been descending on the Department of Justice and Ramsey Clark is getting his lumps. He wasn't going to see more than 20 of them and they had something of a stalemate yesterday, but according to the reports he is meeting with hundreds of them today.

*Part of Japan  
over play*

Jim Reynolds and I played squash tonight and as we walked out we talked about Bobby. He related a conversation the other day with Kenny O'Donnell referring to Bobby's alleged ruthlessness and Kenny O'Donnell said he isn't nearly as ruthless as Jack. If someone got in the way, Jack would say remove them. Bobby would say remove them but what about their family. That corresponds to my experience back in the Billie Sol Estes days when he was much more tender with some people who had to be removed than I was and also with Charlie Murphy when it came right down to the wire. Particularly to the young Jewish Lawyer about the report Hunger, USA and challenged its validity very strongly. I was a little more gentle with the Negro preacher. As a matter of fact he was more outgoing and fair than the young lawyer. We covered the waterfront pretty generally on the food matter, on Civil Rights, poverty, etc. There is no way of know how it will come through but it's probably a good thing. Certainly we must shoot down some of these wild reports which on the one hand may help to mobilize public attention but on the other shake confidence in the very institutions that are trying to do something about it.

When I finished the television I raced to a press conference which was also quite torrid. Political questions following up the Kennedy loss to McCarthy in Oregon which I answered after declaring myself super-Hatched -- only a few farm questions, again pointed ones on Poor People and food. Then I spoke to a Chicago Foreign Affairs Council and answered questions. I really had a good speech, tracing what has been done about the world food problems from the beginning and pointing out what needs to be done. I presented my book to a



Mr. Smith who was the President of the Council. I thought it went very well and I was particularly pleased when Eppie Lederer, better known as Ann Landers, came up and was quite estatic about the fact that I answered every question directly and in depth and with a clear showing of complete knowledge and mastery of the subject matter. Anyway, that was that for the work day. The boys seemed to enjoy it. We hoped to go out of the Meg Airport in downtown Chicago but it was closed in. We went out to Midway. Picked up a Forest Service Plane and flew directly to International Falls by way of Duluth where we picked up John Wormath, the Regional Forester. I had a chance to get briefed enroute on what's going on including developments in the Boundary Water and the Superior and the proposed park. We reached International Falls about 8:00 o'clock, full of beans and anxious to go up that night and then discovered that the weather was such that there was no flying. So we had a spot of dinner at the hotel, deposited the boys at a Motel along with Gerry and Bill Waters and I went to speak then tonight with Wayne and Opal Judy with whom I visited until about midnight. We got up rather leisurely for the traffic was backed up behind the bridge a long way. It's supposed to be a 2 1/2 hour wait, but we got across in about half an hour and then sat around out at Vern Jones for another hour or so, but didn't do too badly for we were at the cabin about 11:00 and on the lake by 12:00.

The high point on the fishing was I think today. Mike, Seibee and I got up about 6:15. We had a little lunch and went over to the main portage and across into the main lake. We piddled around over there and picked up one good laker which Mike got, Seibee got a Northern and then we went into our little bay and picked up two more Northerns. We had a number of strikes. It was cold and dreary, but lots of fun. And we came back feeling quite satisfied. We crossed the portage and Mike having caught a 10 pound Northern or so the first day asked if we couldn't cast just a few times before we went back into the mouth of the stream. Well, Seibee got a hit on a dare devil after about the fourth cast and

much excitement as we coached him how to handle a big fish, hold the tension on the rod and line and bring him to the surface, give some line where necessary. Mike missed with the net and finally back-netted. It was about an 8 or 9 pound Northern and Seibee was ecstatic. I got the fish out of the net, the hook out of the fish, the line in the fish, the fish into the water -- Seibee casting and on the third cast he hollered, "I've got another one" and this time he really had a monster. I netted that one -- it weighed at least 12 pounds. So in the course of about 5 minutes Seibee comes up with two enormous Northerns. Mike was almost as pleased as Seibee and back to the cabin we went to hectically clean up ourselves and the cabin in the process of which we ate walleyed pike pan fried on the rocky point by Gerry -- walleyes that were wiggling only a few minutes before and it was delicious. We flew out -- went to Wayne Judys and got the fish fixed up, cleaned up there. Jimmy Dougherty was up to meet us and we drove back to Minneapolis. I've deposited the boys at Mother's and just called Bill Lockhart to make an appointment for Mike to see him at the law school. The boys are due next Monday in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and they plan to hitch hike. With the amount of duffle and baggage they have, I shudder the thought of how they're going to make it, but I'm sure they will one way or another. All in all it was a great weekend. I'm sure Mike will never forget it, nor Seibee and to me it was pure joy to see those boys enjoying themselves so much. They're awfully good kids, willing, conscientious. They dug an enormous hole for the backhouse, through all the rock and shale and sand that I didn't think could be done without a pick axe and generally pitched in at every occasion to do their share and were responsive to instruction. I sure hope they have a good summer.

I got in a pretty fair day's work -- managed to polish up the speech for Connie's commencement next Sunday, and to work on some of the materials for the submittal to the President of the 10 largest problems we face in the world today with my suggestions on how to meet them. That's a man-sized assignment. I'm out

of here early in the morning and back to the Washington turmoil.

I had a little chance again to think over the weekend. I must see the Vice President soon. I had lunch with Max Kampelman last Tuesday and he suggested to me that perhaps the Vice President had wanted me not only to get a few people together for some general over-view planning and policy discussion about the general election, but actually get down to planning it in detail including media, schedule, issues and the rest. If that's the case, that's a man-size job and I've got to allot out some time. I must decide also whether I am going to go to Vietnam next week. I've been planning to go but with the campaign and with the Poor People parked on my doorstep I don't know if I should. Certainly I will have to check it out with the President.

Radisson Hotel - Minneapolis. In addition to the Vietnam, Vice President questions I've got to barrel in on legislation. Things are kind of at sixes and sevens now. I did see Leonor Sullivan on Tuesday and she's quite cooperative. She's going ahead with her bill. She's willing to support the extension of the commodity program, but she wasn't able to tell me that the people she would have on her bill would necessarily support that legislation. I had thought that they would, and that concerns me considerably. I must talk with Ellender, too. He seems to be stalling, but there's little chance that he will move I think until the House does. Ray Madden really went after farm programs on the Floor of the House last week. He even twitted Page Belcher to the extent that Belcher said he wouldn't even support the 1-year extension and the word I have now is the Republicans are going to insist that if they vote for this they do it with a clear understanding that there will be no extension of the time in conference and that of course is precisely what we had hoped to do. So at the moment, the overall picture is rather snafued up and I've got to address myself to some hard decision making and planning on that one.

Then of course the Poor People will be there and from what I hear they haven't let up one bit, and the same kind of problems will continue during the week and we'll have to try and ride with them. So it promises to be more of the same without much let up, but having had the weekend and the time with the boys I should be a lot better for it. On then to another week.

June 4, 1968 - 7:10 pm. I'm at the office alone. Jane will be down shortly and we go to a dinner at the White House tonight for the President of Costa Rica. I just returned from the White House where I saw the President for the first time in quite a long time. He was very pleasant but also very pointed. It was a typical Johnson performance. First I presented him with a copy of my book. He didn't say much -- read the inscription and seemed pleased. Then I called to



his attention the dairy import problem with the pending Section 22 action, the International Wheat Agreement deadline with Aiken blocking it because he wanted action on imports. I reported that the whole Government was agreed on this course of action and I hoped he would move promptly. He grunted, asked if it would affect the current struggle on the Hill with the protectionists. I said no that it would strengthen our position because it shows that we're prepared to act and carry forward the law when there are clear abuses and dumping to the detriment of American producers. He then said, well if Aiken wants it, get Aiken in here, I'll see him in the morning. So now I have a call in for Aiken and if the phone rings it's probably him. I then moved swiftly to the question of Vietnam, the fact that we have an opportunity to dramatize the Green Revolution including increased production of rice but that that is endangered by failure to carry through sound pricing policies and move rice from the Delta to Saigon. He grunted again and said it was up to me if I wanted to go, although he showed no great enthusiasm. I said that I hesitated because of the Poor People's March in here. He then took off on John Schnittker. This was truly typical LBJ. He declared that he couldn't understand a man like this -- that he didn't even have enough sense to keep his mouth shut -- that he didn't have enough sense to pour the proverbial out of a boot -- that even if he felt that way, he should shut up and certainly it was being disloyal to his President to act in this manner. He then went on to say that we people from Minnesota are really a triumvirate, again he included Walter Heller, Humphrey and myself. He related that we are wonderful people, dedicated, loyal, articulate, hard working, but we talk too much and we in effect are always loving up instead of giving the business to our enemies. He was relating some instance in general where Humphrey had put his arm around someone who had been anti-Humphrey and was all prepared to live, love and forget. He then related that Walter Heller recently had been on Meet the Press and had been great, that for each question he had hit a Mickey Mantle and

knocked the ball out of the park. I said nothing through all this. I was tempted to say that the great milk of kindness and forgiveness that courses through Humphrey's veins are not as evident in mine, nor am I as ribose but that was not needed and no use. I just shut up. It was typical LBJ -- a cutting edge of criticism, at the sametime he didn't mean it with the full import and thrust with which he said it with irony and wit mixed in but all in all if you didn't know him, a kind of a heavy hand. It really didn't bother me. We talked a little bit then about Vietnam and he pulled out two letters from his son-in-law Chuck now over there writing to him about the action involved, that our men were not as impatient about Paris as some might think, but rather were amazingly well informed about the difficulties of negotiating with the Communists, further their morale was good, that they were very careful about civilians which was a most terrible loss, people as he described it, they were good people, and wanted only to be left alone. It's clear he has been a Company Commander in a very active sector and he very calmly and modestly pointed out that they had acted aggressively to contain Communist action and with considerable success. The President was proud, also you could tell was worried. I mentioned to him that a Sergeant in my old Company 3K9 was in to see me today, now a Lieutenant Colonel, that's Jim Cummings and his wife, whose son is about to graduate as Second Lieutenant from Annapolis. I then told him that Bob Giles had had the same Company in Vietnam that I had had in Bougainville and how we had swapped stories and the President then said he had prayed that boy home, that all the time he was gone his little wife pregnant was around the White House with Lynda and he repeated several times that he prayed that fine boy home. About this time Jim Jones hauled me out because the President was waiting another appointment and also due at the dinner tonight. As I left the room he asked me to give regards to Jane as he always does and said tell Jim Jones the story on Aiken. So now I have to reach Aiken and the phone hasn't run yet.

Otherwise nothing greatly exciting the past few days. I got in on schedule and plowed into the problems on the desk. I met with Poage and we're going to nurse along a combination we hope between Food Stamps and the Commodity Bill. I also met with some of the cotton people and they are hard at work. I lunched with Ellender and he agreed to help further with the International Wheat Agreement and now I'm trying to nurse that one along so we can meet the deadline of next Monday when we must tender a bid on Japanese offers. If we don't we'll lose the sale. If we do, under current conditions and can't put the reverse subsidy in effect we will have to bid too low, that will drag down the other countries and abort the International Wheat Agreement before it even starts. It's going to be tight though. Mansfield said today that he didn't know whether he could schedule it or not. Sparkman is down in Alabama and doesn't want to come up and suggests that Mansfield can convene the Subcommittee. Aiken returned my call at 7:00 o'clock this morning and was more crude than I can ever remember him. Usually he's evasive when he wants something. On this occasion he merely said bluntly, "There are 800 acres of wheat in Vermont, but there are many thousands of cows. That ought to make it quite simple." So we deal. Mansfield warmed up considerably when I talked to him because he was obviously apprised of Aiken's problem and sympathetic to it. So that's the way the game is played in the Senate. Ellender, as always, made no demands on his own, but asked if I couldn't do something about sugar, that we are reapportioning a considerable allotment to Latin American countries at the same time as a very significant, as much as 20 percent, cut in production must be taken in the sugar cane area. Ironically and unfortunately his nephew has expanded a sugar operation including very significant investment, he's a good operator doing well, but a 20 percent cut would devastate his whole plan of operation and financing. So what do we do about this one when it will require a change in the law to re-direct these quotas

back into the United States, that can't be done because the sugar beet people refuse to open it up so what can I do. That's an example of the kind of problems.

Yesterday I had a long session with George Mehren, asking his evaluation of the various programs he is running. He is an odd fellow. Way off in the stratisphere somewhere with methodology and methods and generalities. On the other hand he seems to have gotten pretty good results in directing some of the research and education programs. He was highly critical of Extension and regulatory in this instance. I'm glad he's gone for I never could get a hand on him and now of course that means the problem of replacement with some little move in the White House from DeVier Pierson for an Assistant Secretary and some alternatives for a Director. I think I'll move to Ned Bayley internally, but I must talk with him first so I can get the feel.

June 5, 1968 -- 3:25 p.m. Another day of perfidy in American history. Jane and I were at the White House last night. We went out to Lee Leovingers for a little party for Fraser raising some funds for his campaign. Then home where we watched the election returns from California until almost 2:00 o'clock when it became clear that Kennedy would win but not by much and then went to bed. I got up before 7:00 because I had work to do for the day and had lots of paper to move. I was at it until about 8:00 and then shaved and dressed. I was a little slow and Jane hollered up to me, "Do you have on the radio? Are you listening to the news?" The tone of her voice was muted and I was immediately concerned and hastened down the steps. Her face was palid and drawn. It was clear something horrible had happened, and then she told me Bobby Kennedy had been shot. We hastened to the radio and had a rather tearful breakfast listening. The events are history and will be many times recounted, but all day today we've been pressing the radio to get the latest reports. As of now he's out of surgery, alive, the extent of brain damage undetermined. This assailant has refused to talk and appears to be a deranged young man. What a <sup>tragedy</sup> ~~tragedy~~. I was



scheduled to speak at a trade conference at 9:00 o'clock and somehow made it. Although it wasn't much of a delivery. Then by plane to Morgantown, West Va., where I addressed Governor Hulett Smith's Industrial Development Conference. It was a pretty good speech, an adaptation of the Stillwater, Oklahoma, one. They listened intently. It however resulted in no great enthusiasm. I know that my delivery was although strong had not much bounce for I don't have much bounce. No one knows what all this violence means.

I was reading Newsweek coming back on the plane. Some minister, philosopher who attributed it all to a permissive society and permissive child raising and affluence and the lack of discipline when the good things of life come too easy for many. Yet that hardly explains the poor people. Clearly they don't have much. Nor are they lawless. Perhaps this tendency to murder prominent public figures that seems to be growing is no more than always, particularly in a world where there are dangerous weapons and more and more people deranged just because there are more bodies. Who knows? The President has ordered Secret Service coverage for all Presidential candidates. Otherwise life grinds on here as we all hope.

June 6, 1968 -- 11:55 pm at the desk at home. I was to be in Denver tonight. I cancelled. Bob Kennedy is gone. Today has been a very blue day indeed.

This morning when I turned on the radio the arrangements for his internment and funeral were being outlined. The grim fact of his death faced the nation. It seems impossible. That strange, moody, intense, combative, competitive but really gentle and sensitive human being is gone like the brother before him.

June 7, 1968 -- 12:15 am at home. Anyway, Bobby is gone. What it will do to the election remains to be seen. It could well mean an eorsion of Humphrey's strength for a number of people, including apparently some significant contributors, no longer will have the fear of Bobby to goad them into supporting Humphrey. Time will tell.

I canceled my trip out. Whether I'll go to the funeral remains to be seen. Dean Rusk called today to say that the family is making individual invitations, that it's likely those who served in the Cabinet with Bobby will be invited, if so he will fly down and I'm invited to accompany him. I hope that doesn't mean that the President will not be invited. Bobby's anti-Johnson feeling was very bitter and deep. I'll never forget the first Cabinet meeting after President Kennedy's death. I hope the family doesn't carry that into this funeral.

Plans to testify before the House Ways and Means Committee today on trade legislation were abandoned when the hearings were canceled. The Senate met briefly. We did succeed in getting the International Wheat Agreement out of Subcommittee and out of Committee. George Aiken has moved. He got his dairy action and he's been working to get us wheat action. We probably won't get it passed until early next week, but hopefully we can delay the Japanese tender and still come out. This sudden burst of energy may very well accomplish passage where otherwise it could have been difficult.

I lunched with Humphrey today and am launched on a new enterprise. As Max Kampelman suggested a week ago, he does want me to take over the planning of the general election campaign. There are resources to do it, he wants it to have high priority, to review and consider the issues and to plan the mechanics. We had a long talk. He related the campaign personalities, how he is trying to handle them, pointed out that he has backed up Fritz Mondale who has apparently been kind of tough and arbitrary, that Fritz now is in charge of the total

arrangements for the Convention, that Fred Harris is the Chief Delegate hunter and that these two young guys have done well and have projected a very favorable image. This by way of partial explanation to me. I think he's right. Gronouski is now the Executive Vice President and the actual day to day shaker and mover with Hays, Harris' assistant, serving as No. 2. Maguire on funds, Bill Wirtz on speeches, Bob Nathan on issue development. Humphrey told me that a lot of people had wanted to take over planning the general election but he had decided that I should do it, that Bill Wirtz had concurred and Mondale and Harris were amenable and I should proceed using Max Kampelman to the maximum for he is a little bit unhappy because Mondale apparently told him that there was some cloud over his involvement at this time because of his difficulties which surfaced because of representing Northwest Rappaports. Humphrey gave me a strong expression of support and backing. I was impressed with his calmness, his determination and it would seem to me a new maturity and organization. He obviously was working people over very carefully. He seemed calm and contained and not at all erratic. We discussed the issues and something of the nature of the campaign to come. I told him I would try and have a master document for careful review and evaluation a week before the National Convention so National Convention strategy and actions can be shaped accordingly. I'm meeting at 8:00 o'clock in the morning with Bob Nathan and Max Kampelman. This will be a big job. It may be crucial in my delaying the Vietnam trip. I tentatively plan to go the middle of next week, but with legislation pending, with the \$6 billion cut imminent, and with the wind up of the Poor Peoples business before us, I probably should be here. Anyway, I left Humphrey's office in the Capitol determined to do a good job on this. The last person in the world I expected to have any initial trouble with was Bill Wirtz. Yet while Jane and I were visiting tonight he called. I had to exercise every bit of tact not to have a problem. He had heard that I was meeting with Bob Nathan and I was doing this big planning job. That immediately seemed like

a threat to him and he thought well he better get new clearance from Humphrey. That's the last thing in the world I want. So I carefully backed off -- told him that he was the philosopher and I was the mechanic and that we ought to set the tone of this. I urged him not to talk to Mondale and Harris, that we should decide how to handle them and have them conform to our direction, not we to theirs. This mollified him. He agreed that Nathan was high quality, but stated that some of the people in the Humphrey operation were seeking to play him off against Nathan. Same old game -- even though Humphrey recognizes these efforts, that anyone knew his inner-staff people tend to land on, yet it goes on. Well he couldn't be expected to change overnight. It's always existed in the Humphrey operation. Nonetheless I think he has greatly matured and he's smart enough and resourceful enough to adjust to whatever the challenge might be including his own self-discipline. So we'll have dinner with the Wirtz's tomorrow night, breakfast tomorrow morning and wade into this new and exciting dimension.

June 8, 1968. 6:05 pm. This has been a very sad day. I'm here at the desk in my office, having returned from New York by plane waiting for the train to come down bearing Robert Kennedy's body. The funeral was graphic and touching. In some ways, even more so than that of Jack Kennedy. We flew out early this morning, many Cabinet officers on the American Airline plane. We were on our own. No arrangements made for the big brass this time and maybe it was fitting that way. I had managed to rent a car in New York and got to the Cathedral in good time. With a little confusion we were ushered to our places right up at the front in a special Cabinet section. The casket was right up at the front in the aisle so close I could almost touch it. A kind of honor guard stood there -- six men. After a few minutes other men came up and in this fashion could pay a personal special tribute. No one asked me to do this. I wish they had, but I hesitated to volunteer. There were thousands of people



there. The family of course commanded all eyes as they filed in. Their eyes were mostly dry -- children of all sizes -- Ethel looked very young, dry eyed, calm and in complete possession of her faculties. After the family was there Jackie came in with John, Jr. and Caroline from the other side and sat up on the other end. Ted Kennedy was in the front pew with Ethel next to him. Robert Kennedy, Jr., down the line a bit. Mrs. Kennedy, Sr. there looking much younger than her 77 years. The sisters were all there. Shriver and Smith as well. The sermon was a gripping one, although Catholic services are difficult to follow. Ted Kennedy gave a very appropriate eulogy looking to the future. His voice broke once half-way through and I thought he might not make it. He did. The Bishop's message was timely. In addition to lauding Bobby he quoted President Johnson to the effect that one man's shot doesn't mean that a nation has gone mad, nor the 200,000,000 people that make it up. I was glad he landed on that for there is a little evidence of wild thinking and fear of conspiracies in the air these days. It's amazing how a little word of re-assurance can make a difference.

As we landed coming back, a couple sitting with me in the tourist section recognized me and made a comment about the seriousness of the times and I said to them, Yes they are but when you really think about it, no more so than other times. I remembered the depression and the great strains and doubts then and we survived it. Only now we seem to be engaging in a tremendous orgy of self-flagellation. They looked at me with almost relief saying, you know we think you're right and thank you.

It was a heart rendering thing to see that service come to a close and see that family march out with the Battle Hymn of the Republic being beautifully sung. They all carry themselves indomitably. A very special touch in the service was to have the little children taken up into the altar where they had a special communion. I didn't walk out with the casket. The family left

fairly slowly. Jackie brought up the rear and almost got left. I slipped out a side door, got my driver and made the 12:30 plane back. Supposedly the train was to be here at 4:30 -- it's now 6:10 and it's scheduled to be here at 7:45. Connie has her party out at the house tonight at 8:00. We thought of canceling it but this is her graduation. It is an occasion where she has earned some recognition of this kind and I'm sure that Bobby of all people would say go on.

I've been terribly depressed the last few days. I had a deep affection and respect for that determined but strange man. It will be a long time before I forget the picture on the front page of the paper right after he was shot with his mouth open, his eyes wide, looking all like a little boy who had been surprisingly shot in the face with a water pistol. According to the accounts he asked for water, and asked how other people were as he held to consciousness for a few moments. Apparently the brain damage was very serious and he would have been severely hampered and restricted had he lived at all. So it's best this way. So cruel, so painful, such a needless loss of two fine, determined, able, competitive, tough but sensitive men in the same family. It tears at your heartstrings. There seems to be no reason why it should have happened. But life goes on.

I've been working here now this afternoon getting to the mail, telephoning and dictating memoranda, I'm trying to shape up my assignment in the Humphrey campaign. I've met now since I lunched with Humphrey on Thursday with Mondale and Harris, with Bill Wirtz, with Kampelman and Nathan, and with Kampelman and Dick Maguire. I'm going to try and see some other people and be sure that I have touched all the bases. I am assuming strongly a position of complete anonymity so I don't get into any organizational cross currents. I find there is an undue level of disorganization here even though it's better than I would have expected.

Frankly there doesn't seem to be any real campaign manager, but rather some assignments of various kinds which Humphrey himself has made and Harris and Mondale for all of their good work in the delegate search really don't seem to be sure where the policy development machinery is and is working, where the funds are or how much, and there is no evidence at all that they have done any work in terms of the general election contest itself. So I've been listening and listening and talking and talking and trying to shape up in my mind how we can go at this thing. Clearly the first target will be to get some campaign papers which will highlight sharply the issues. When we get them, and this seems to be Bill Wirtz's primary responsibility with Bob Nathan back-stopping by way of policy statements and the building of an intellectual task force. Anyway if we can get this sharpened down I can then get some polling machinery in shape and try and get some readings on both issues and on Humphrey's personality and how it's taking. Then I can go to work with the media people and also with the voluntary committee people. I hope with the two to fan out and have a Regional man in each region in the country, have him get a State man and they begin to feed in here some of their ideas on how they would like a campaign run in their region and state. Then, Tom and I will try and select one Congressman from each State and ask him to submit to us a campaign prospectus for that State. I've got Jim Thornton beginning to break down the candidate's time based on a 5-day week with one day of rest and one day of preparation and we'll try and do that on a Regional basis perhaps building around a major statement to make in each of these six or seven regions around the United States. I've got to get some close insight into the P.R. media business. They've got a high priced New York P.R. firm with a big reputation and it's costing them a lot of money. We sure won't know what to do about that until we get clear what the issues are going to be, but I want to get the feel of how good or how bad they are. So this promises to be a big project indeed.

I'd hoped to leave on Thursday for Vietnam but it looks now like I'd better postpone it for about 2 weeks and go out of here the weekend of the 28th if Jane thinks it will be all right to miss Jim Freeman's wedding. If not, I can come back for it and leave on the 1st of July. That would be open and if I got back about the middle of the following week why it would be all right. The trouble is that now is a crucial time in the rice problem out there, but with the Poor People plus this campaign I guess I'd better be on deck.

Also, we have testimony this coming week on trade quota legislation.

June 10, 1968 -- 10:10 pm at my desk at home. Well, another weekend has gone. Bobby Kennedy has gone to his rest. Connie is a graduate cum laude of American University and the Commencement speech I have fussed over is now history. How fast things move.

I left the office Saturday, went to the train station, and even though I didn't get there till 8:00, it was still a 2-hour wait. I walked in and found the Vice President and luckily made arrangements to ride in the cortege with him. The President came in about 9:00 and waited an hour himself. It was a somber and sad occasion. The train finally came in in two sections. The people on the first section moved straight to buses and then to the cemetery, then came the second section with the body and the family. The President and Vice President again greeted them and the casket was placed in the waiting hearse. There was an honor guard and a red carpet along which the casket was carried with the band playing a funeral march. The family still maintained their composure - remarkable. There were thousands and thousands of people lining the route -- sometimes eight and 10 deep. Candles burning along the way. Just as in New York a silent, sorrowful, mournful crowd. We got to the cemetery and worked our way through the crowd up close to the grave side. The casket lay there in the open, there was no evidence that the grave had been dug, with the American flag on it. Cardinal Cushing had had some physical problem coming down. He rushed by me



still walking in the train station, so another Priest conducted the ceremony. I don't remember what he read. It was so sorrowful. Jackie and John, Jr. and Caroline were just a little ahead of me. Ethel maintained her composure as did Ted. The ceremony was stated, then the pall bearers folded the flag and it was presented to Ethel, apparently the same one that had been used with President Kennedy's burial. The family came up and knelt and kissed the casket. There was a moment of silence and some confusion. It was dark by now. Bright floodlights beamed the area from up the hillside close to the Lee House and the usual inevitable television towers were built there with the cameras grinding away. Then finally the pall bearers left, walked through the crowd and down the hill where we were and that was it.

I decided to walk and left the group. Humphrey proceeding to his car. I ran down the hill and over a side road and finally found Thompson. Luckily we extracted ourselves from the crowd quite quickly and came out to the house here where Connie was having a graduation party. Everybody was waiting -- some of her girl friends, Martha and Nancy and Connie greeted me very warmly and it was a step up. Members of the faculty and friends were here and we talked and discussed, particularly the young people, until almost 3:00 o'clock in the morning.

We slept in a bit and got up to a somewhat messy house, but no time to do anything, and on to church where we had communion. Then back here and on to a Baccalaureate Service which was really quite appropriate and stirring, then to a lunch for honored guests and we came home to rest up a bit and me to do a little work for I had gotten a wire the night before from Concerned Students and Faculty charging me with neglect and negligence and heartlessness in the food programs, demanding my resignation and declaring it was a travesty on the University and on Robert Kennedy that I should get a degree and speak at the Commencement. I did some thinking as how to respond to a student walk-out, but it didn't materialize.

It started to rain cats and dogs by the time we left the house and so suddenly the ceremony was moved inside at the Synagogue. It was a mess. A lot of people didn't get in. Traffic tie-up. But it worked out although a lot of parents were disappointed. I thought the speech went really very well. It was so hot in there I almost melted. Perspiration literally dripped from my face to the manuscript. I pounded away -- maybe too hard. But as Connie and some others said, the response was the longest, loudest applause of any commencement speaker they could remember and there appeared to be a lot of genuine appreciation and expression of approval. So I was relieved. Connie was happy, although terribly disturbed. She almost didn't get in at all for having gotten caught in the traffic. Didn't sit with her friends. It was really kind of too bad. We worked our way back to the International Service Center where there was a reception that helped some. Then back here and then out to Fred Joseph's for a little graduation party. Back home and to bed about 1:00. I can't remember when I was so drained or so tired.

**THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY**  
**Washington, D.C. 20016**  
**OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT**

May 28, 1968

The Honorable Orville L. Freeman  
2805 Daniel Road  
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015

Dear Secretary Freeman:

In less than two weeks now our Commencement exercises will be held. I am indeed happy that you are to give the Commencement Address. We have been in touch with your assistants and with Connie and have the information that we need. If you have any questions about the routine, please feel free to call my office at any time.

The Commencement activities begin with the Baccalaureate service, which will be held at 2:00 p.m. in the Washington Hebrew Congregation at Massachusetts Avenue and Macomb Street, N.W.

Mrs. Anderson and I will entertain all of our honored guests at 3:30 p.m. at a buffet in the Faculty Dining Room of Mary Graydon Center. We shall be pleased to have you and your family as our guests. I am enclosing five tickets. If you have need of more, please call my secretary. I am also enclosing a parking permit and special seating tickets for Commencement.

Robing for the Commencement exercises will take place in the Hughes-McDowell Connecting Lounge at 5:15 p.m. We have rented a cap and gown for you, and they will be in the Lounge at that time. The exercises will begin promptly at 6:30 p.m. on John M. Reeves Athletic Field.

We are indeed happy that we are to present you for the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. It has been our practice to award the honorary degrees and the Ph.D. degrees in person before the entire audience immediately following the exercises. We then award the bachelor's and master's degrees en masse by schools and colleges. The exercises are closed by the benediction, after which the various schools retire to different locations on the campus for the distribution of diplomas.

The Honorable Orville L. Freeman

May 28, 1968

You will be presented for the honorary degree by The Honorable John J. Sparkman, who is a member of our Board of Trustees. He and Mrs. Sparkman will serve as your host and hostess for the afternoon's events.

It will be a great honor and pleasure to have you here for this occasion. Please do not hesitate to call me if you have any further questions.

Very cordially and  
sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Hurst R. Anderson".

Hurst R. Anderson  
President

HRA:nh  
enclosures





THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY  
Washington, D.C. 20016  
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

*Handwritten signature*

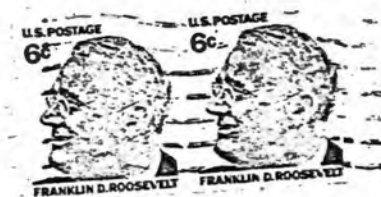
*Orville*

*In your info  
of Audrey*

*I have kept tickets -*

*JT*

*Audrey*



The Honorable Orville L. Freeman  
2805 Daniel Road  
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015

**CLASS OF SERVICE**

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

**SYMBOLS**

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International  
Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1968 JUN 8 PM 4 40

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DL PDF 2 EXTRA WASHINGTON DC 8 300P EDT

ORVILLE L FREEMAN

2805 DANIEL RD CHEVY CHASE MD

PRESIDENT ANDERSON OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY HAS BEEN REQUESTED TO REVOK HIS DECISION TO GRANT YOU HONORARY DEGREE SUNDAY.

WE DEMAND THAT YOU SUBMIT YOUR RESIGNATION TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON BEFORE NOON MONDAY BECAUSE OF YOUR MONUMENTAL FAILURE TO USE YOUR POWER AS SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE STARVING PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY. THIS CEREMONY WOULD BE A FARCE AND AN INSULT TO THE MEMORY OF ROBERT F KENNEDY AND TO EVERYTHING THE UNIVERSITY SUPPOSEDLY STANDS FOR

THE AB HOC COMMITTEE OF CONCERNED STUDENTS AND FACULTY  
(338).

## STATEMENT OF BELIEF BY THE COMMITTEE OF CONCERNED STUDENTS AND FACULTY

TODAY, SUNDAY, JUNE 9th, 1968 The American University--its Board, its Administration its faculty--intends to award an honorary degree to Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman. Are we, this evening, insulting the memory of Robert F. Kennedy and the ideals for which he lived and died?

WE, CONCERNED STUDENTS and faculty, have telegraphed Secretary Freeman not to be present at The American University on Sunday to accept this award but rather to submit his resignation to President Johnson on Monday before noon in recognition of his own monumental failure to respond to the cry for aid of his fellow Americans. We have telegraphed President Hurst R. Anderson of American University requesting that the invitation to Secretary Freeman to attend the commencement exercises be withdrawn and that the decision to confer the honorary degree upon him be revoked.

WE ARE at this hour supporting the Communications to Secretary Freeman and President Anderson with our presence here during these commencement exercises. We ask at this time for the support of all faculty, students, parents and friends who are concerned for the honesty of American universities and the integrity of higher education in our nation.

WE, THEREFORE, request that you show your concern by joining with us and departing from the exercises when you have determined that the Secretary of Agriculture is indeed receiving an honorary degree from the University on this national day of mourning for Senator Robert F. Kennedy, who would not stand idly by and remain inactive at a time of national crisis.

WHY ARE WE ASKING this? Because Orville Freeman is still the Secretary of Agriculture.

Because Orville Freeman, as secretary is directly responsible for the food distribution program that has not functioned.

Because Orville Freeman has his hand on a gigantic food surplus and keeps it there.

Because Orville Freeman orders payments to farmers not to produce food.

Because Orville Freeman has bungled the food stamp program by using it to inflict indignity and pain on whole families instead of offering relief.

Because Orville Freeman has turned back to the treasury millions upon millions of food dollars each year.

WHY IS THE awarding of this degree a grotesque memorial?

Because Robert Kennedy was so deeply concerned for the poor and oppressed of his nation.

Because Robert Kennedy sought actively to achieve justice for his fellow citizens.

Because Robert Kennedy joined with the poor people Orville Freeman has failed.

WHY ARE WE doing this? Because more than 40 million people in this country are bound in the chains of a grinding poverty.

Because more than ten million men, women and children are being programmed into outright starvation.

Because more than four million this weekend are in the desperate condition of hunger for more food.

Because parents in this land of ours are watching their children die. . . . .

Monday - June 10, 1968. Today has been fairly uneventful uneventful. I was at the Senate Office Building for breakfast with Aiken and Mansfield at 8:00 o'clock. I just wanted to consolidate our position and be sure the International Wheat Agreement moves and it would appear that that's in fairly good order. Aiken seems very happy and he certainly lived up to his part of the bargain. I'm glad we got that dairy thing through. It helped when I testified before the Ways and Means Committee along with Dean Rusk and Betty Furness on the Trade Expansion Act seeking to stem the current protectionist on-rush. It was fairly mild for me. Bryne worked over Rusk and the State Department a bit. He tried to land on me but the dairy thing, the ex-Dairy Executive Order, had pretty well pulled his teeth. We got to joshing one another and so it worked out fairly well.

Had a 2-hour lunch with Dick Scammon, reviewing the possibilities of research and polling and what the issues are. He was of a mind and we pretty well agreed that perhaps two overwhelming issues are: Unity which the country is looking for with an end to divisiveness and contention. Perhaps my commencement speech with the theme the Revolution goes on might be a blanket under which a lot of other proposals could be brought with an appeal to pride, patriotism, a chance to emphasize progress made and still highlight action needed to complete the Revolution and reach the ideals. Anyway I sent it on to Humphrey along with a long memo. The other issue of course is crime, law enforcement and safety in the streets. Here it's had to make a sharp image. A liberal, one like Humphrey, simply must emphasize the needs.

Wednesday - June 12, 1968 -- In many ways this has been a day to end all days and seldom have I found myself so much in the middle. Again Poor People and Food are at the center of the stage. I testified this morning on increased authorization for the Food Stamp Plan. Leonor Sullivan testified yesterday and really laid it on the line to the House Committee -- in effect openly demanding a deal or no Farm Bill. The commodity programs are resting in the Rules Committee



with a 1-year extension. Poage finally is bringing up the authorization recommended by the Administration of \$20,000,000 more - this passed by the Senate. This will not satisfy Leonor Sullivan and her group. They want an open authorization to be appropriated for each year after careful review. I don't want to go to the Hill and talk about sums of money in light of the tax and appropriation cut issue which is No. 1 on the President's agenda. So I'd like to stay away from numbers and the open end authorization gives me a possibility that I can do it and get away with it. Also it would give some maneuver room so Poage can perhaps ask for more and at least keep in communication with the Sullivan contingent. So I prepared some pretty good testimony and go on up. When my testimony was completed the first thing Bob Poage says is: "You pulled the rug out from under me." And then with considerable emotion he laid into me as to whether I supported the Administration's proposal of \$20 million more initially, whether the President supports my recommendation now, why did I not stay with my word, etc. So it was something of a stormy session -- although it could have been worse, and I've seen Poage worse. I simply backed off and publicly apologized and said that I felt that I had discussed it with him and that was my intent and purpose and let it go at that. The testimony went well. I hammered home that we knew there was hunger in every county and there ought to be a Food Stamp Program carefully administered in every county and it took more funds to do that. There was some effort to under-cut the program, claiming it fed striking workers or beatnick college kids, but I managed to keep that up fairly well on track. Almost all of the Committee commended me for my position, vis-a-vis, CBS and it was already known that they will replay that abortive program on Sunday. That's their response to me. Obviously it stirred up a storm and they want to get more attention directed to it and figure a good offense is better than a defense. I fired another letter off to them, demanding equal time again and reciting additions of fact. Anyway the testimony wore on and in the process I think I made a

mistake in allowing some numbers to come out. Carefully qualifying my remarks that a full program 3, 4, or 5 years from now would I estimated, and qualifying that as only an estimate, it might be a billion and a half dollars. Well that's the figure that ended in the headlines and on the wires, and immediately the White House was after me, the President deeply concerned, and stating through Califano that he didn't wish to but he might have to pull the rug out from under me. I quickly dictated a memo to the President, actually it was prepared before this call, relating all the forces involved here to wit, the public at large, the current emotional level, vis-a-vis food and malnutrition, the Poor People and the attention they can demand with CBS and others, the fact that we must protect an image of concern and care and give them as little to mislead people about as possible, and the legislative situation vis-a-vis both Food Stamps and the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, all in the context of not wanting to commit the Administration in any way or disturb the likelihood of passage of the tax increase and expenditure cut bill to be voted on a week from today. He is at this moment in New York at the United Nations -- how he'll react to the memo is hard to tell. It ought to explain adequately that this is a touchy business. Anyway after having laid it on the line and fought right down to the wire with everyone for the food for the Poor People, they've been here all afternoon picketing the Department, have sent in some more emergency demands, currently it has been raining cats and dogs and the poor devils are marching around the block here obviously soaking wet and I can hear their hollers as I dictate here in the office. I came in through the garage and walked through the South building and through the tunnel in order to get here without having to create any disturbance.

Then as a part of all this I also had a long 2-hour negotiation with SWAFCA the Alabama Coop. In this case they want to eliminate the normal conditions by FHA in making a cooperative loan and get an \$850,000 loan without such conditions.

When we cut through all the verbage though it came down to their deep distrust of the FHA in Alabama and the supervisor on the job who they fear will wreck this coop if he has the power which a supervisor does have under the ordinary conditions of a loan which so far we have been insistent upon. I've instructed John Baker to try and work out some new kind of supervision, perhaps from Washington, to get over this hurdle. I hope he can. So it comes at me from every angle this evening. Now on to some paper work and then to the International Neighbor Club with Jane at 8:00 o'clock. Maybe I can shed it for a little while.

June 13, 1968 -- 9:30 pm at the desk at home -- It's a hell of a time to get to work but it's that way when I play squash, come home, have a drink before dinner and we visit a little over the table and I have a few minutes nap. I needed all of them today for I've been a little bit depressed. It's hard not to let this food-Poor People business bug you. They've been all around the Department 24-hour vigil now, singing, chanting, demanding and of course focusing attention. I remind myself it's their right to do this. They have been acting within the law and properly and therefore it's their prerogative. In fact it's so darn unfair when I'm trying so hard to help them and to wiggle something out of Congress it doesn't really make any difference. Now CBS is running the hunger program over again on Sunday and there advance notice makes reference to the big turn-back from the Department and failure to spend money -- again making it look like I'm just an ogre who has to be forced to spend money so poor people can eat.

Then, another call from the White House -- the President hasn't called himself, rather as is his frequent style he has Califano do it and as Califano put it, "He's been climbing up the wall", and "I really haven't had a rational discussion with him about it." Califano relayed the direction that I'm to make a statement to the effect that I do not advocate spending more than the President's budget and the accusation that the President had specifically instructed me not

to make such commitments. This is discouraging. I thought I was doing the right thing going up there and mushing up the situation. It's hard to understand his being so offended by this for really the stories in the paper weren't bad at all and they helped to put me and the Department in a better light important because we've been taking such a plastering. But that doesn't seem to make any difference over there and if he's very touchy about the passage of the tax increase bill, and that is tremendously important, I guess it's understandable and I should ride with it. Anyway I worked on testimony for tomorrow, again on food, this time before the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, the Joe Clark-Bobby Kennedy thing investigation, et al continued, and in it made it specifically clear that I was not and had not earlier this week recommended expenditures in excess of the President's budget but rather was merely asking for authorization so when the judgments were made as to the level of appropriations by the Executive and the Congress needed increases for Food Stamps would not be precluded because of the lack of authorization. The President is in Texas. Califano will wire down. He did that late this afternoon and perhaps it's acceptable or I would have heard this time from Jim Jones. This is the bad side of the President now. Not telling anybody about this, letting matters drag. In the meantime the rest of us are on the firing line with very little direction or supervision, doing our best to protect the Administration and the President and as we do subject to this kind of expression of disapproval and order for corrective action which would make things a lot worse.

I'm concerned too about the Humphrey campaign. I've talked to a lot of people, gotten a lot of information, but I really don't have any real organization moving yet or any clear cut sharp assignments to people to do things in the nature of issues, itinerary, media, etc. I guess I shouldn't be too impatient about this but it gets involved in my own timing and the things I have to do.



Right now I'm asked to go to the Philippines week after this one for an official Corregidor observance. The President's plane is being made available and a number of Congressmen are going. It would be a nice trip but it would take from Wednesday night until the following Monday. Then I've got to go to the West Coast with Mrs. Johnson with a day in between for book promotion in Kansas City and if I'm going to Vietnam the first week in July which is now tentative I just don't have the time to really get this Humphrey Campaign organized with assignments made so that things will move. Several bright lights for the day:

Gus Tyler called from New York. He indicated in his brusque, terse way that after June 19, the New York primary, he would be available on the overall campaign in New York and I, of course, snapped it up and had quite a discussion with him about possibilities and what we might do. Tomorrow morning I'm breakfasting with Jack Valenti. Tomorrow noon with Bill Connell, Welch and Van Dyke from the Humphrey internal staff. I'll probably see Bill Wirtz tomorrow, meditate over the week end and hopefully next week begin to get some more specifics set down so we can move on them.

All in all, uncertainties, criticisms, et al -- I'm tired too, not much sleep, -- it's just one of those days.

Oh, yes, the other day brightener, the International Wheat Agreement passed. We were worried about it and I made quite a number of phone calls and it came through o.k. Tom didn't have the detailed head count and that troubled me, after a few panicky calls from the White House, but it came through ~~in~~ good in good shape. Now tomorrow morning I'm going to meet with all the farm organization people interested in wheat and put out our wheat allotment cutback and get the wheat thing underway.

Always problems -- I have to testify tomorrow.

June 14, 1968 -- 8:15 am at the office. Had a miserable night last night. I got the chills, then the aches, went to bed, finally it broke and I perspired heavily. I awakened about 4:30 and right now feel dragged out, achy, and not very sharp. I'm waiting here in the office for Jack Valenti to come in and discuss the Humphrey campaign. I'm to testify before the Senate on Food Stamps again today and then lunch with Humphrey's inner staff, Connell, Welch and Van Dyke. We hope to go down to Front Royal tonight but at the moment I don't feel very enthusiastic about the prospect.

Incidentally, lying last night in bed, not sleeping very well, I thought about John Schnittker's statement yesterday that the likely reason for the President's apparent extreme irritation with my testimony on Monday might well be that he had planned to make a big splash in the food area and my statement as to what could and should be done might detract from him. If so, why in the devil hasn't he said something. He would argue he dare not or there would be a leak. He may be right, but this kind of secrecy causes all kinds of problems and this is a good example.

Monday, June 17, 1968 -- This is a somewhat frustrating Monday. It commenced at 6:40 when the White House phone rang and we jumped out of a dead sleep. It was Tom warning us that the Poor People were on the way out to picket our home. What a way to wake up. Subsequently the radio confirmed that some of the pickets around the place had said they were on their way to the Freeman Household. Jane of course was disturbed and I was angry. We checked to notify the police. I dressed and moved the car into the garage, finally Joe Robertson called to say the bus had turned back. When I got to the office the usual picketing was taking place. It started again to rain hard and matters moved to a tension point. We were prepared to put a bunch of them in jail for they sat against the doors, almost broke some, and there was a solid wall of bodies and no one could get

either in or out. In the meantime the rain was beating down and there was some panic in the building and calls were made to Congress. Joe and Tom handled it very well. They communicated with the leadership of the Southern Conference who when they found what was taking place responded quickly, sending Hosea Williams down here, who according to Tom and Joe stepped out of a car, waved his arms, and like sheep they all followed him away. The evidence of panic and concern was seen by a call I just took from Governor Tootell of the Farm Credit Board who asked what should we plan to do on Wednesday as these matters build up to a danger point and was most reassured when I told him we were prepared to act to put them in jail if necessary.

The main casualty of this outside of tension around the place was that Bill Connell and the people from Humphrey's office whom I had been trying to see for a week to talk about my assignment of developing the overall campaign prospectus came here, couldn't get through and went elsewhere and I still haven't seen them, much to my frustration. This Humphrey assignment is kind of frustrating anyway because it's clear that things are at sixes and sevens within the campaign and in the meantime it's hard for me to get hold of what is really taking place so we can get on to some of the solid planning that needs to be done to perform my mission.

I did have Lane Kirkland, Meany's No. 1 assistant, and also Al Barkan, the chief political guy, here for an hour and a half for a wide ranging discussion about polling, issues, etc. They reported to me a serious degree of dissension and problem within the Humphrey campaign which came as no real news. Lane Kirkland gave an example of getting a list of Labor People for an ad, before he got through he had been called three times by different people to do the same thing, each not knowing that the other was involved, and the ad ended up without six of the names, important ones, whom he had solicited individually to go on it, they agreed and then felt left out. I was interested in their comment in

connection with the current strategy. So many people now and all the columnists and press are talking in terms of new politics -- Humphrey being his own man, separating himself from the President, reaching the college intellectuals and activists, reaching the Negroes and minority groups. For the life of me I can't figure out what the new politics is, but rather a kind of style or tone which says in effect "We are going to do something different", but not how it is different, nor how the issues are different. Actually it really comes down to an effort by the two that broke away, McCarthy and Kennedy, to develop a rationale under which they could take sharp issue and command attention counter to the Administration of which they are a part and which particularly in Bobby's case issues were shaped while he was in the Administration. This has been my feeling and it was theirs. They felt very strongly that Humphrey now was running far ahead, that he ought not to say anything sharp or break with the record or seek to separate himself from the President or make any particular overtures towards the ADA liberal anti-Vietnam fringe, that he wouldn't reach them anyhow and in the process he would lose a good deal of the support and fail to pin down the middle which at least from the polls it looks like he holds now. This is my position. There are matters and things of style that he can do and should do to show that he is not fully satisfied with Vietnam, who is, to express his feeling for the need for stability yet progress, who doesn't support that, but that it ought to be done carefully. I'm fearful he is being beat on by a lot of counter forces in this connection.

I wanted to see Bill Wirtz today too and try and get him to sit still in connection with developing issues and whether we should go to polling or not which is a big field that we probably need to move on but a touchy one for it and registration and get out the vote are operational now as well as part of the big plan. By the time he saw Humphrey and got back to his office, the day was almost



gone so I'll see him tomorrow. So I'm simply kind of frustrated here at this point -- awfully anxious to get on with action on the Humphrey front, doing a lot of reading, listening, clipping papers, talking, trying to sift out issues and techniques, but not getting my teeth into it much yet. I have left a call for Humphrey and hope to go over some of these things with him tonight which may help clarify matters. But it does go slow and it looks like it's going to be more and more difficult to do this job without getting at cross purposes. It looks to me that it's the same old story. Humphrey made Mondale campaign manager, yet for one reason or another various people refuse really to work through him, think they have individual assignments, proceed to do them including hiring people and do not let Mondale know. Apparently last week there was a direct confrontation around the question of hiring a get-out-the-vote person. Connell had negotiated it. He merely submitted it. Mondale jumped him and asked under what authority and Connell said, "I don't work for you." As of today, that person <sup>St. Angelo</sup> Sanangelo from Indiana who probably would have been pretty good isn't hired yet. I hesitate to get into this but I think I must call it to Humphrey's attention and will if he calls me tonight. Well, there'll be a lot more of this and I'm going to try and stay out from getting involved, keep on track the big show and story as I see it, try and prepare this basic document at the right time, and do the best I can to avoid getting emotionally involved which would destroy my effectiveness pretty completely.

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE  
WASHINGTON

June 18, 1968

Dear Mr President:

It has been called to my attention that the testimony I gave called on to give to congress might detract from a food program you plan to send to congress at the appropriate time.

I hasten to write you this note to assure you that such was in no way my attention. Quite the contrary!

You are well aware that food & the V.S.D.A have been made a prime target. That is of key importance to the extent it reflects on the administration. It has been my purpose to protect the position of the Administration of which the V.S.D.A is only a part & to turn the attacks on it to the Congress where failure to fund the President's

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE  
WASHINGTON

Programs of the President have prevented the  
progress by your recommendations - would have  
accomplished if carried out. The best way, I  
thought, to do that was to put the appropriation  
process so far as authorization rather than  
expenditure <sup>and concern</sup> on their back. By so doing with  
an "open end" proposal <sup>no</sup> ~~no~~ could be  
avoided thereby any conflict with the top increase bill.

May I emphasize that it was  
not in any way my intent to anticipate in  
any way the President.

Please accept my regrets if I  
have done so.

The last few weeks have been  
difficult. I have tried to carry out your  
intentions as I understood them.

Sincerely yours,  
Quille.

June 19, 1968 -- 9:45 pm at home at the desk. This has been kind of a tension ridden, sad frustrating day. It was the big Poor Peoples demonstration and as nearly as I can tell fairly well done. Seemingly there was a large crowd. It was orderly. Mostly a gala mood and no violence. No pickets around the Department today, but the television was on and I looked at it from time to time and there was a generous measure of attacks on the Secretary of Agriculture. I still find this very hard to live with, especially as one views the extremism, the intemperance, and the general attitude of some of the leadership of this group, Abernathy making his speech today apparently went down to line and said he made this one do that, that one do that, and the other one do something else, but that was only the beginning, he was going to make them do a lot more. This kind of business of acting with a gun at your head one can't help but deeply resent. Then there is the whole business of what this process spews up by way of leadership. As Jane says as we talked about it, if these were white men living in a plush motel while a lot of poor people are out there suffering with a lot of ne'er do wells drinking and hoarding and gambling and all the rest around Resurrection Village, which seems to be the case, while Abernathy and Company are living in a motel and enjoying a steam bath, this country wouldn't tolerate it for a moment, but because they are Negro why the YMCA, the YWCA, and all the rest look the other way. What concerns me in the long run is that this becomes almost license and an invitation to irresponsibility, lack of standards or determination, contrary to all the ethic that has made this country great and that builds a sound and sensible society. I check myself because I wonder if my own ire and irritation comes through as they pound on me, ignoring what we've tried to do and even failing to come up with any specifics of what they want. It may be that's coming through a bit. I was at Channel 5 at noon today and answered some of the questions about the food program and there was some evidence there



that a lot of questions were being asked by knowledgeable people. I made the point then, and made the point to a young reporter working for Carl Rowan, that I worried that the excesses of the CBS program and what they're doing one day not too distant would result in a reaction that would undo what good may well be done in attacking the country to the needs of a great many people that we largely have ignored. I suppose this country deals in extremes and it takes an extreme and wild leadership to command attention and then it settles down. I still have great confidence in the stability, the wisdom, and judgment of the people in this country and remember that Washington and what we think here is hardly typical of the country, and of course that was my experience when I was out there in the boon-dogs during such periods as the Joe McCarthy period.

Anyway, it was a frustrating day. Sitting listening to this, being attacked by such people as Walter Reuther, being the focal point of the no-goodniks and the calloused bureaucrats that are doing nothing, I should be able to smile philosophically, understand the process, and not let it get under my skin. I can do that theoretically, I do do it speaking to the press and expounding publicly but privately it's kind of hard to live with. I'm afraid it spilled over at home tonight. Connie has been emotional, a little bit upset and working hard. The wedding is going forward and increasingly she's tended to shove it off on Jane to do. If we're not careful to take it for granted and in the process to wear on our sleeves some of her liberal, equalitarian principles, justifying all of this; this is irritating, but in all fairness she has been very considerate and very supporting of her father and even fairly gentle when I get a bit explosive. The line got drawn a little sharply tonight as to whether she and Gary really wanted to have a wedding and what it cost, that we wanted to make sure we weren't forcing it on to them as typical affluent parents, pushing for wedding which would be another example of status seeking, that we don't want and don't need.

I think she really doesn't feel that way. At least she made it clear how much the wedding meant to her, although she exhibited what I think was healthy pride in moving off and saying if we didn't want it and thought the money could go best for other purposes why we should decide and she would concur in that decision. But it was clear she didn't want that and we backed off, so we certainly didn't humble her or affront her on it. I probably triggered some of this although there was some tension between Jane and Connie anyway. Talking it out, hopefully resolved it, and we will go on from here. It's a difficult period. The whole business came rather well into focus last evening. I've been disturbed and a bit hurt at the President's attitude. He got on me so hard on my testimony for open-end authorization. It then became rather clear that what he wanted was to come up at the right time with a big food program himself, which is understandable. He doesn't want to do it with a gun at his head. The tax increase bill still is in the offing. In all frankness he's getting plastered and criticized and was today more than any of us, yet look what he's done and how little credit now as he has abdicated his power and finds his prestige eroded and these extremist making him a target. So I wrote him a little hand-written note stating I didn't intend to preempt his ground at all, but that life went on and I had to testify, and I was trying to protect the Administration's position and still make progress towards the goals and targets and purposes that we sought to accomplish. No response. Then yesterday Ramsey Clark called with the thought that we might take the \$30 income class and exempt them from the down-payment requirement on Food Stamps. I told him I was willing to do that and to again have my nose rubbed into it that this had been forced out of me, provided there was some quid pro quo that they were prepared to pack up and leave town which they ought to do anyway, but that I had been subject to indignities, I was willing to absorb them for the cause if that was necessary to make the point before the Nation but I'd be damned if I would go up there during the March and fawningly

acknowledge and accept all the crap they had been throwing my way. That I refused to do and so I wasn't very receptive to the concept of making this concession at this time. Ramsey was hot for it. He thought it might be the key to getting them to agree to leave town. So I told Ramsey that I'd go along if it was useful but that the President had strictly limited me in doing this in an earlier conversation. So Ramsey said he would take it up with the President which he did. When I got home last night there was a call about 11:30, Larry Levinson, Joe Califano's assistant. The President had asked him to call me. The President wondered what I thought about Ramsey's proposal. I told him the same thing I told Ramsey, that I'd been subject to these indignities, I could absorb them provided there was a quid pro quo and something accomplished, but it was my guess it would open a whole new bag of worms and that that would merely be another accomplishment that they would contend that they had forced out of us and it wouldn't do a bit of good in getting them to get out of here and let us get on with our business. So far as I was concerned personally I wasn't disposed at this point to give them a thing, but I was willing to go along in the overall interest. Larry said he would call me back -- he didn't. Incidentally this again is Presidential practice. Instead of calling directly about a matter like this he communicates through his assistants. What a lot of damn foolishness that is.

In any event, I went on for the evening. Jean Eisenberg was here. She's moving out across the street and one of Connie's friends came over and I had less time at the desk than I wanted. Anyway about 10:00 o'clock this morning Joe Califano called to tell me that the President agreed with me, that this would merely be an additional accomplishment to be glorified without any quid pro quo. Apparently in the process of reporting this to Ramsey Clark, he made some slurring remarks about the horrendous food programs in the Department of Agriculture. That's typical these days, I'm sorry to say. Califano himself early in the day

had questioned whether there was a conflict of interest, whether the programs ought to be moved out of the Department of Agriculture and that same bunch of trash that's rolling around these days, and which might incidentally force the programs out of the Department and our humiliation. Although I'm prepared to fight that. In any event it would appear that the President agreed with me and ironically enough although this had nothing to do with my decision my being a bit mean and tough-minded about this may very well have increased my posture a bit with him for he's no patsy and he's angry and disturbed and frustrated, as well he might be, as to the whole picture. It's incredible. I was watching television today when Humphrey came up on the screen. He was probably wise to go. He couldn't completely ignore it, but how ironic. McCarthy came and received cheers and apparently adulation. He's hardly lifted his finger for Civil Rights or for Poverty. He wasn't even there to vote, although in principle he agreed. Humphrey has been a key prime mover for 20 years in the United States Senate, he's written a record that is almost without parallel. When he came there were boos, mixed cheers, but mostly boos. What kind of a business is this and what kind of leadership is it that goes to this kind of ridiculous extremes. Well, I don't know. On the one hand, some excessiveness, some demagoguery, all the rest is probably logically and understandably a part of the process. We declared war on poverty, we've done many things. What we've done has become accepted. Today it would be hooted down as nothing and an insult to offer it. These expectations in the main are justified. The question is how can we produce. In a society that is conservative, that's affluent, that lags -- in a Congress composed such as this one, these kind of forces may well be necessary. However this is a piece of Russian roulette and darned dangerous because the break point will come when we will slop over to the side of extremism running the other way and this minority group will be clapped down but good and we may be close to that point.



If these people will get out of town now, they've made a point, they've done some good, and we might get some action. If they stay here and push and push and require increasing action to keep them in line, it is building up. In the meantime it is a most sensitive and difficult political position. I feel for Humphrey. Tomorrow he speaks at the Press Club. Should he move to identify more with this group, with the young, the college people, minority groups, on the poverty thing? This is his natural emotional habitat as it is mine. On the other hand, the great mass of people in this country don't want this and can be pushed only so far. So I've counseled him carefulness and conservatism for he's really registering surprisingly well at the polls. However, where is the dividing line and just how does he make this adjustment. The election in New York yesterday went for O'Dwyer, the Dove, against Nickelson, the Hawk, relatively speaking. Yet as Dick Scammon pointed out when I talked with him less than 25 percent of the people voted which he interpreted to mean that Vietnam is not an issue. That's an over-simplification I think, but Humphrey must keep his cool. In the meantime unfortunately his campaign managerial-wise is all fouled up and as I try desperately to bring together the components of the general election campaign I find myself caught up in it unable to get answers and really I don't have the staff of people or myself the know-how to do an effective job. This adds to the sense of desperation and almost frustration. If Bill Wirtz would cooperate it would help an awful lot, but he's the worst hand-dog of all, apparently considering my interjection into this even on a staff general election campaign basis as a kind of invasion of his area which as nearly as I can tell he has not organized effectively or concisely, but rather has gotten himself into something of an emotional trauma because of some of the unorganized aspects of the Humphrey campaign.

So all of this has kind of added to a period of restlessness. I thought that this could be a period to review programs and to carefully do the things

that needed to be done, instead I find myself on a worse merry-go-round than ever. Well, maybe it wasn't such and it weren't so intimately exposed, I would be more unhappy than I feel tonight.

One thing can be said, the Secretary of Agriculture was becoming somewhat anonymous, the little man that wasn't there that no one noticed, for we had if not solved at least placated most of the big problems. Now with this food thing running wild I suddenly find myself something of a focus of interest, witness the TV program today, and as John Obert said when he came in he's getting calls from all over the country from people who want me to appear on their programs. The attack by CBS has apparently commanded a good deal of attention. One of these requests is from the Joey Bishop Show originating on the West Coast which is late night-big audience affair. Ostensibly they are for the Administration, for the Secretary, and anxious to give a forum to respond to CBS. So maybe it's an open system after all and if you stand up and battle you can get a hearing and the process is healthy and virile. We can fuss and weep and complain and wiggle and waggle but they can still work it. Time will tell.

Saturday, June 22 -- 11:30 am at my desk at home. It's a lovely morning and Jane and I just finished a relaxed breakfast out on the porch. We had a lovely party last night. I do enjoy dinner at home with good company. This time it was Bill Abbott, my former White House Fellow, running for Congress, as a Republican incidentally, in Massachusetts, Jack Kennedy's old District; Pete Townley and his wife, the current White House Fellow in the Post Office Department from Minnesota and a young and very active DFLer out there; and Fred Harris and his wife. Much talk about politics, campaigning, small talk -- it was nice. I could use it. Last week was a nasty one.

On Thursday we were going to have the White House Fellows for dinner at the Department and I literally couldn't get back in. I had been over to Humphrey's office for a review of media for the campaign, which incidentally was extremely well done by the New York Public Relations firm, and when I got there a note came that I shouldn't try to come back. Out of a clear sky the Poor People crowd descended on us, sat in on the doorways, not allowing people to go out, sat in the streets and they arrested some 80 of them. It was handled really well by the police. They interviewed them, took their belongings, told them their rights, and then carted them off. I didn't know what to do. I started toward the Department, was going to try and come in on the "C" Street side and they called again and said no they were sitting in the streets. So I went over to the White House, collected my phone calls, made them from there, and came home somewhat disconsately and ~~Not~~ very happily. Apparently it broke up after awhile and I went back in on yesterday and then they came yesterday afternoon for a further confrontation. This time late enough so that most people had gotten out. According to the paper, they're still there and have been left to sit in the doorways, sleeping there, and camping there. They apparently will have the confrontation when people come to work Monday and more of them will go to jail. I looked out the window and it made me feel sad. Most of them are college kids, some of them under age, probably equally white and black, girls in bare feet. In the meantime, Resurrection City is a first class mess. The Chief Marshal resigned with a protest that the Powers that be wouldn't back him up and related some of the things going on. Abernathy in the paper this morning had said that there were some such things all right, but that wasn't as bad as the poverty, et al, and then related it all all over again.

In the meantime it is pretty hard to keep this from troubling you and my stomach has been bothering me, not serious but it's all kind of disconsolating. Bad mail keeps coming in on the CBS Food Program. They ran it again last Sunday

and they, as I reported, merely ignored my charges, showed some footage and quoted me acknowledging existence of a problem, and have gone their merry way. We are getting a lot of invitations to appear on television and radio shows, et al, and I'm tentatively planning to do that in California when I return from the Vietnam trip I'm now planning for the first week in July.

In the meantime I've had a busy week trying to nurse legislation along. Poage will likely vote out a Food Stamp Bill of sorts next week, then we will try and move the commodity bill which did get a rule, although Madden is now protesting he wasn't there and it was sneaky to vote it out without his vote and he'll probably raise hell on Tuesday. We think we can pass a 1-year bill, but the danger is that they will try and put a limitation of payments on it, the Republicans with Quie and Goodell leading. Our tentative head count would indicate that would carry. If it does, whether we could then pass the bill on the Floor on that basis because the cotton people in particular and the sugar people would violently protest and maybe vote against the whole thing. So it's kind of at sixes and sevens. In the meantime that means difficulty scheduling whether I should be gone the first week in July or not -- the usual conundrum.

Anyway it's been kind of a fussy week. I've also been troubled and flustered as to how I can get my teeth into the plan for the Humphrey general election campaign. That's beginning to shape up a little. I've met and talked with almost all segments of the campaign and interested parties now. I'm going to have a kind of advisory committee for breakfast on Monday. I hope they can get into the Department. We're getting boiled down to cases on polling, there's a pretty general agreement that we should and the series of questions that Kirkpatrick had developed are now being reviewed by some experts and I hope to see Max Kampelman about that for a few minutes tomorrow.



Also, I've got Jack Valenti to agree to take on the whole question of scheduling and developing a new approach to campaigning and I've contacted the Chairmen of the Congressional campaigns in the House and the Senate, O'Hara and Muskie, so we can coordinate with them. Hopefully the polling can be coordinated, too, so we will have fresh information to coordinate with the candidate's appearances.

Now I've got the desk piled high here -- hope to plow through some of this and then spend the afternoon in the yard. Jane and I are going to dinner at Took Gathings with the Bob Poages tonight. That's really the supreme sacrifice, but it's timely and am sure will do some good in terms of keeping that liaison.

I sent over to the White House yesterday a \$400 million new food package, what the President will do with it we don't know. It's kind of sticking my neck out in light of his general resentment of anything that exceeds his budget, but basically his desire apparently to send a big food package at the right time and maybe he'll welcome it, maybe he'll explode. DeVier Pierson called a few moments ago and said that he and Joe Califano thought it wouldn't be tactically sound to send it to the President this weekend. Let's wait until we see what happens at Resurrection City, so I laughed and told them to use their own judgment. At least everyone in the White House and Budget Bureau seems to be aboard in terms of my having done the right thing, wanting to do the right thing, and now it's up to the President who of course has been so hold back and reticent, unapproachable on all this, that it has really given us all fits.

Yesterday we had a Cabinet meeting that was of considerable interest. The President came in really looking very well, new suit, well tailored, and seemed to be reasonably peppy. He first called for reports on Vietnam, Paris Negotiations and the military situation. They were relatively perfunctory. Rusk indicated there was little evidence of progress in Paris and it would be more of the same.

Clark Clifford reported that fighting was heavy in Vietnam generally. Particularly in there was evidence of new troop concentrations, less pressure in the highlands, but a lot of individual actions around with heavy losses, that our losses are running almost 500 a week, but that the North Vietnamese were running 5,000 and that he had carefully checked these reports that seemed too heavy, but that they stood up and he felt that was about the case. The shelling of Saigon has taken place intermittently he said, they're trying to stop it, that apparently the Vietnamese will set up a mortar and then fire it electronically 400 - 500 yards away and then get out of there because it will be hit within minutes.

The President talked at some length about the passage of the tax increase-budget cut bill. He allowed Fowler to give us quite a sermon on how we had to cut back now what he had done. Apparently Fowler had been put up to this. Charley Zwick, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, then related how we would have to accomplish the cutbacks; after the President had read the numbers we all must absorb ours was \$600 million. I interjected that if we weren't supposed to talk about this and hold it quiet and yet do it, that I had my reservations as to how that was possible. This followed a somewhat petulant Presidential statement about how he had tried to get some information from around the Cabinet about the difficult issues of the day and immediately someone had given it to the press and so stories were appearing. He also complained kind of bitterly that when he saw the radio and television and read the papers that were all critical and anti that none of us were really standing up to the Administration accomplishments and telling people about them. He complained about the Poor People's rally, that it was all negative rather than recounting things done and when Bob Weaver tried to say anyone who had tried to recount would have been booed out of there, he brushed that off and repeated again what we had done, what must be done, and how we simply had to be on more television and radio as Clifford and Rusk had been the day before. Wirtz tried to say that he had made a strong pro-Administration accomplishments

speech but the press wouldn't report it. The Vice President did the same. The President knows this, but his own hurt was showing through. I marvel that it doesn't show through more. I'm afraid mine has shown through more on the Food criticism I'm getting than his even showed through on the plastering he's taking after all he's done. He related in terms of a plus the fact that the latest unemployment showed only 1.9 percent for white males over 20 and for non-white it only showed 4 percent which is an all time record, and yet the press and apparently TIME and LIFE are trying to run stories that nothing is happening and that the President is inactive and grounded and the Cabinet Officers aren't doing anything despite our active efforts on the Hill. It's the same old story, an adversary press seemingly sharpened and heightened by the fact that the President himself doesn't communicate with them very well and they're out after him, plus I'm afraid the fact that power aborts a vacuum and he is feeling, I'm afraid, that fact and its going to make it increasingly difficult for him and us too. He also pointed out how the budget on the unified basis which had been \$118 billion when he came in was now \$186 billion sent up, \$180 billion when the cuts are made that Congress requires. In terms of the old budget that's from \$90 billion to \$147 billion. He had just been reading the Congressional debates and the passage of the tax bill and they apparently had been quite critical with a number of accusations that what he would do now would engage in a lot of gimmickry to prevent making these cuts or would go ahead and spend the money now and let the new President figure it out after January 1. This seemed to touch him up a bit and hurt him. Further he related Congressional consciousness of the fact that during this all time prosperous period that our budget had climbed so sharply and the debt too and that Congress was acutely conscious of this; hence, the problems in the tax bill and again a lecture as to our making cutbacks. He asked us not to do any hiring at all. I don't know whether that's practical. The tax bill said that only <sup>three</sup> ~~four~~ out of <sup>four</sup> ~~three~~ vacancies

should be filled. I'm not sure how we should do this. My inclination frankly is not to work too hard at it, to do whatever gimmickry I can to protect our programs and to heck with it. I don't believe it anyway, and we need the programs. I do want to do what the President wants all right, but he's not really sure what he wants himself and that adds to the problem.

In the course of this he did say quite seriously and soberly, and it was quite impressive, that we had to be terribly careful or we were going to lose our programs as had happened before. He related, for example, the loss of the National Youth Administration program 20 years ago, 25 years ago, when he headed it up because Roosevelt could no longer get a Congress to support these programs. He expressed deep concern about the Poverty Program. John McClellan has started hearings now and has some gang leaders from Chicago in testifying to the fact that they got OEO money which they used really to build arsenals and to plan revolutions riots and violence. It reads terrible. It's all over the morning paper. And then he asked ironically the question, "How will it be when Mundt starts holding these hearings?" Well, Mundt won't be much different than McClellan, but it can be pretty rocky. He referred back historically to what happened after the Civil War when for a little while there were Negroes in the Senate of the United States and in the State Governments, but that the reaction set in and warned us all that that same kind of reaction could come again and that we must be very careful that it doesn't and that we do not lose our programs. I think he's right and this frightful business out in Resurrection City now adds to all of this. I just saw a Minnesota poll, 60 percent of the people against the Poor Peoples march and all that goes with it. The real guts of the session dealt with what should be done about Resurrection City. Ramsey Clark presented the situation and I thought did it very calmly, very coolly, very methodically. He related that most of the real poor people had left, that the young violent group had moved in, that there was



almost no control, that they were trying to put some of them in jail and keep them there, that they were trying to seal off the area and prevent more from coming in but that was almost impossible, that it would be extremely doubtful that the permit would be extended, but they didn't want to announce that publicly because it would mean a new influx as they seek to recruit and bring in more people, that they would hope then and they were running models as to how to proceed, that they would get the necessary force - police, National Guard, or the Army - that they would make announcements that they would allow the people to take their belongings and leave, and then they would move in on those who were completely intransigent, there might be guns in there and it could be a rather difficult and bloody mess, and well it might.

The paper this morning clearly stated the permit would not be extended. So they will be preparing to move in on them. He stated that some of the movement now by the leadership was likely motivated in their repeated statements they were prepared to go to jail and would be shortly by the fact that they would rather be in jail when all this takes place. I hope this comes off all right. It may be because Resurrection City is so thoroughly discredited now that everyone would be pretty happy to get rid of it.

The President was impatient with any efforts to talk about trying to work out an agreement with them. The Under Secretary of Commerce talked about a new plan developed for Negro small business not costing more money and the President almost brusquely told him to talk with Ramsey Clark. Humphrey did the same, making an excellent statement which he almost had to insist on the President staying to listen to that we had to maintain communication with people, that he's been in touch with Mrs. Martin Luther King, with Dr. King's brother and father, and even with Abernathy and others. He mentioned Walter Reuther having financed a good bit of this and that we had to call these people and get these people to prevail on the leadership to now withdraw, or at least to announce what's taking place.

Again the President almost bruskiy referred him to Ramsey Clark. It's really hard to say whether the President is just disgusted and refusing to deal with these people, whether he thinks it's a mistake in the overall before the country to deal with these people, or whether he just doesn't want any part of it. He certainly has stood apart from all of this and had as nearly as I can tell hardly given Ramsey Clark any direction. I'm afraid that this is evidence again of how the man in the office and the occasion is such that he no longer is President really in fact, or at least substantially so, and this is going to be difficult for him to live with.

Humphrey in the meantime is beginning to come, I think, to the front. His appearance at the Press Club last week was well reported, he hit a good note about being the Captain of the Team which would be different than being one of the Lieutenants. This a much better note than the statement of last week by Bill Moyer which was shocking to the effect that Humphrey was going to disassociate himself with the President's position on Vietnam which Humphrey promptly and properly denied.

During the meeting with the media people last week Humphrey made several short little speeches about the need to communicate, the need to solve problems, and he is growing as the new responsibility comes into focus, and I am really quite pleased with his general conduct. The campaign, however, seems to be in something of a shambles or at least a number of people report. They are having trouble with funds. Dick Maguire is kind of sabotaging much activity between now and the Convention. There is a lot of back-biting as to leadership. Max Kampelman seems to be having a little private campaign that there should be someone other than Mondale as Campaign Manager and that part of it is not so good. The polls coming out over the weekend however show Humphrey continuing to hold his lead over both Nixon and Rockefeller but they also show McCarthy coming up and some cases of being even stronger than Humphrey. So this will be a ball game and a contest. McCarthy

people are nastily militant, way out -- they're going to make trouble any way they can and it's going to be a delicate situation, but at this juncture I would say there is reason for cautious optimism, a lot of people involved, and a lot of real work and dedication to getting the job done. So, it's been a busy frustrating, harrassing, not very satisfying week, but as of this sitting it could be worse and it is nice to have a day home.

June 26, 1968 -- Timberline Lodge, Oregon -- What a beautiful spot this is. An old, old, great big wooden lodge built back in WPA days. It sits right at the timberline on Mt. Hood, the great mountain with its glaciers above and the rolling hills, mountains, valleys in the distance. There are ski runs in every which direction. We came up today from Portland where I opened the day at 7:30 in the morning, meeting with the timber people about the log export problem. I was somewhat shary about the meeting. Bob Dwyer in effect kind of pushed me into it. I'm trying to build him up here and this has political import and he really is a good friend, a very effective fellow in many ways, although he's a terrible pusher. What I thought would be an informal meeting with some leaders grew into a meeting with about 50 of the top people in the industry. I was fearful it would be a gripe session, but it ended up quite constructive, reviewing this log situation, what we could do to sell lumber rather than logs to Japan. It looks like the Japanese may be dragging their feet intentionally and at least that possibility gives me a chance to go after them and by so doing perhaps to hold off some of the Congressmen who are raising ned.

We then went to the Municipal Auditorium for a meeting of the American Institute of Architects, some 3000 of them, where Mrs. Johnson gave the first Morrison Lecture sponsored by ARS and I participated in a panel after introducing her. It was all most enjoyable and went really very well. I am always happy and intrigued with the natural resource field. Then we drove up here stopping for a delightful lunch at one of our Forest Service camping grounds. Went up

the mountains a way in a snowcab today. Ed Cliff and I took a long hike, a swim -- and there was a dinner and relaxing evening tonight. In the cocktail party preceding the dinner I received word that the Southern Leadership Conference is now suing me because I'm turning back money instead of feeding the Poor People. My ulcers are beginning to jump. I shouldn't let this business bother me, but it's been going on a long time and they're making me a No. 1 target. Yesterday when I left the Women's Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy was picketing, today some of the Ministers around town at the instance of Abernathy were doing the same and the focus is what a bastard I am . I should be philosophical about this, but it begins to bite. I'm virtually helpless by way of responding and until the President moves on that big package that I sent over to him, there is simply nothing I can do. When I tried to testify for unlimited authorization, he was highly incensed and so my hands are pretty completely tied. There's no sense meeting with anybody, although if the occasion presents itself I'd like a platform where I could say to the Nation, "All right you've been popping away at me, now some of you folks go home and see what's happening in your own community, organize some car pools and get these people to the food distribution points or the Food Stamp issuance stations and you can do something instead of just talking about it as we've been doing for 8 years.

In Portland during a reception held I had a chance to go on a CBS television station where I was queried directly about my charges against the "Hunger in America" Program. They showed me a column in a New York Paper really working me over in connection with this. It would appear that the CBS PR Organization is now moving out to continue the counter-attack and of course my resources to respond are limited and it's not too difficult to make me look like a nitpicker. Nonetheless I'm going to keep this battle up in every way I can if for no other reason than to make other producers of these documentaries a little more responsible and a little more careful.



I had an interesting breakfast with Ted Sorensen on Tuesday before I left on Wednesday. Ted is often hard to talk to and this was no exception. He kind of sat and looked, offered very little. I of course had something to sell and so it went a bit slowly. I'm not quite sure what he wants or where he's going to move. It might be he was negotiating and could be had. He expressed some of the usual reservations about Humphrey, some of the people around him, his lack of decisiveness, that he was too nice a guy to be President, but he didn't seem very far out on McCarthy either except for the Vietnam thing. And when I asked him -- What would you do? His response was -- Stop the bombing. I intentionally didn't argue about Vietnam, but tried to in a gentle way compare the Humphrey McCarthy capacities and the threat of Nixon in which he agreed. I then told him bluntly that we wanted and needed him and he of course emphasized the need for Humphrey to make a bridge to the new politics. I am surprised that he seemed so swept up in this. I haven't felt that it is a necessity to carry forward a vigorous Democratic campaign, but maybe it is. It is certainly clear that the bitterness, the nastiness of the anti-Vietnam forces threatens the Democratic Party with some basic ruptures. We're also struggling to keep Humphrey from being labeled as the "old, backroom political maneuverer" with all the bad imagery of the word "machine politician" as well as the old politician with no new ideas in a time of such enormous problems demanding new and creative ideas. I hammered away at this theme in terms of follow through and the need to get the job done.

June 28, 1968 -- 7:25 pm -- Just a quick note here as I race home to dress and go to the Jim Freeman bridal dinner this evening. We got home from Oregon in one piece. We couldn't go hiking as planned and had a long trip by car instead through the Mt. Hood Valley and down the Columbia River. It was interesting but my stomach was complaining and I was tired and not very happy. I worked hard coming home on the plane when I should have slept and by the time I got home and in bed it was well after 2:00 in the morning and I should have

felt lousy today. Somehow the chemistry worked out over the night and I've felt quite peppy and on the job today and things have gone fairly well on a very active day with a host of conferences involving the Humphrey campaign, the trip to Vietnam when I leave on Sunday, and I just came from an hour with the President. It wasn't a happy hour. I had figured that there might be some come-uppance because of the actions I had taken on food and negotiating with the Poor People, to wit, a guarantee that we would reach the ~~thousand~~ poorest counties and the enriched food package and the cost involved therein. He said categorically that he had not authorized that. He said that he had indicated to me that I should not do that and then his choice of words was that he wanted to know what we had made commitments in regard to, unauthorized, arbitrarily and unreasonably committing him. We kind of shared the blame jointly because DeVier Pierson, Joe Califano, and Charlie Zwick and Jim Gaither were all a part of the deciding to go ahead as we did particularly Califano. They did not race in to say "we" o.k.'ed this when the President in a sense said categorically that he had directed me not to do it -- which wasn't true. He really told me to use my own judgment. They o.k.'ed it and thought he would back it but as he made expressly clear there was nothing in writing and he had no recollection of his authorization. They should have come in and said, Well, Mr. President, Freeman did review this with us and we did think we should go forward and thought you concurred, but they didn't. I didn't pursue it further by telling him that I had understood that he had told me to use my own judgment. So it was mighty tense. He fussed a bit about the magnitude of our program from \$300 to \$400 million more at a time when we were cutting \$6 billion -- obviously he was stung by the Congressional allegations that he would be cheating and wouldn't really make the cuts that he had been mandated to make. He then asked lots of questions about the programs, demanding "yes" or "no" answers -- bugged me a bit on the

politics of it and when I told him we had Food Stamps and the commodity programs back to back, he indicated his tacit approval. Anyway it all ended up pretty well. We kind of shared his ire for a while. He moved on to a discussion of the programs, demanded more information as to the counties it went to, the kind of people, contending that he wanted to be sure how this money was being spent and also making the point, and he's right, that usually if local people won't put up matching funds the program itself is a boondoggle. He didn't argue with me when I said that some hard-headed County Commissioners in some of these counties, many who are racists, simply refuse to put the programs into effect. He ended up saying that we should work out a package \$250 to \$300 million, around \$250 more or less, which is about where my middle recommendation rested, so I think he'll come around. He then demanded that we bring that to him on Monday.

Well I'll be gone to Vietnam on Monday so there was a little crisis about what I should do and I finally talked them into preparing the program, sending it in to him, if he called for a meeting to tell him I'm in Vietnam which he already knows. So that's progress, but it's also rather typical Lyndon Johnson in a sense that he takes out his ire in a rather mean way sometimes and unfairly but then he moves in the right direction. As he said, he knows there are hungry people, he wants to see to it that hungry people are fed, but he's also going to be insistent that we get down to cases where he's sure the food does reach them and also that we'll have the horses to pass it in Congress when we get it up there. He does well at this and I must say, he's a tough and effective one.

I also spent a good bit of time today calling Senators about Abe Fortas.

July 1, 1968 -- I must say I like that Hong Kong. It was all lights and people and activity last night. I awakened about 6:00 o'clock after about a 7 hour sleep and got up and it was still dark but the lights dimmed and the sun came up and that beautiful harbor and the activity of the ships going to and fro. There is a spirit of drive and energy -- people well clothed, well fed, active and energetic. Quite a difference from when I first visited there in 1957. However, I think I'd get claustrophobia if I stayed there too long. Nothing but people - like ants - underfoot every which way you turn. We flew out in a little twin engine jet, 2 1/2 hour flight into Saigon where I was met by Ambassador Bunker, Bob Komer and the Minister of Agriculture Truong Thai Ton.

Today has been a busy one from the Ambassador's office to USAID, from there and those general backgroundings to MacDonalds, the AID Director, for a working lunch. Then on to MACV, Abrams, Commanding General, who was quite impressive. I got off the helicopter. The sun was bright and it was very hot and there was a figure standing there in fatigues. I had hardly time to look up and down and I shook hands and mumbled the usual amenities and then I saw four stars on the jacket of the fatigues and sure enough it was the General himself who proceeded to take me to his headquarters. He's a kind of taciturn fellow. He explained to me first off how they managed to interdict the rocket and mortar fire that hammers in here almost every night by having hovering helicopters and also towers that give an immediate fix on any flash and then transmit it by way of Azimuth to both artillery and the helicopters so as he says they have a one minute retaliation, which may be the reason why there has been no rockets lobbed in here for the last week or so.

Saigon looks much the same -- streets packed with motorcycles, bikes, and automobiles. The traffic never seems to let up. It's interesting to see the women in the native Vietnamese costume, very attractive, riding these motorbikes everywhere you go. Weather hot. A great deal of security -- they sat in front



of me and behind me and a number of my proposed stops have been scratched by the security people.

The briefings have gone about as expected, but I'm at this point rather well impressed with what I find. First of all, the Members of the Cabinet here now seem much more knowledgeable, more decisive, with a much better spirit of confidence and goal. The Minister of Economy Hon is particularly impressive. I'm to have dinner with him to get his program for moving rice prices in the Delta up. He didn't want to talk at lunch today, apparently because what he said might leak and affect the market. I gather that means the institution of some kind of Government buying program. The problem is the usual one in agriculture -- they're beginning to lick the production problem, everyone is optimistic. The number of acres using IR-8 rice is coming close to the original target which was cut in half at the time of Tet and now has moved up again. They apparently have moved fertilizer through the private sector of the economy with great success and they're beginning to do it with pesticides and from all indications the rice has been enormously successful. The farmers like it to eat, the increase in yields has been more than significant, but now the usual problem, the price has dropped. There's too much P.L. 480 rice positioned here in Saigon even though all shipments from the U.S. are now going to go North. The price is about the same as it was last year, a little higher, but the cost of both inputs and transportation has gone up sharply, a result of the new insecurity the product of Tet. This does not reflect itself in prices in the Delta and everyone is worried that this soft price situation will discourage the expansion of the IR-8 program because there will be little incentive for going ahead on the part of cultivators. I've been hammering away at this one but trying to check out some other things as well. The protein program, i.e., hogs, chickens and fish, seems to lag, absent the

kind of driving leadership that is found in the rice program which has gotten spectacular results on the production end. A lot of other things are being done, too, as I've gone over my checklist of 2 1/2 years ago, as much as one could reasonably have expected. The reading here is that the people by and large in the cities have been activated and concerned because the Tet offensive made them realize this was their war too and apparently it has had an impact on the Government here which has given them a great deal more drive and confidence and sense of their own importance. Bunker is very bullish about Vietnam as are the others. They feel that the Vietnam military is improving steadily and effectively, that the program of economic development is going forward slowly but effectively, and that all the things that we have wanted to do are in process and that we certainly shouldn't discourage very easily in connection with it. It's hard to know if you're being brainwashed or not, but I must say that the sincerity of these people seems to show through pretty clearly. It's a sad comment that there is so little of that in the United States. Bunker commented on a Newsweek Article which he said was shockingly inaccurate in connection with what really takes place. The same old problem, how do you get your story across and so I've been trying to get some notes pulled together and figure out what I can and should do with the press conference I've got coming up before long. If you go too far and wax too enthusiastic, these guys will give you the cynical "Who sold him?" treatment. On the other hand, I think there's a story to tell here and I've got to figure out how to shape it in a fashion that will be dramatic and have an impact with resulting attention directed to the fact that this Administration has not neglected the so-called second front war, but that an enormous number of things have been done and are being done and will be done if we persevere. I do hope I can figure out how I can get that story across without turning all these guys against me on the grounds

someone's trying to give them a soft sale. Well, I'd better head for that bed. At this sitting having just come up from eating where I had a drink and a little wine and some food, and incidentally I felt remarkably well today, a little sleepy late this afternoon, my stomach has been performing much better than I would have dreamed possible, but at this moment I'm about as tired, my eyes are about as heavy and that bed looks about as inviting as almost any time I can remember.

July 3, 1968 -- Saigon. I just rolled out of bed. Another pretty good night's sleep - down before 11:00, up at 6:15 out at a quarter of 7:00 in the field. I hope it's a good day. I'm carrying a whole crowd of press along with me today. They're highly skeptical. I hope I can convey what I sincerely find here a whole new attitude in relation to the Government and a new confidence in what seems to be a positive forward thrust. Anyway I hope to do a pretty good job of selling on that tomorrow, but the main source of the story is that absence and unexpected emergency why they've really got it made on rice and that's apt to trigger all the other things up the line, but I do have a whole shopping list of things that I want to trot out on the officials tomorrow.

It is gratifying that that MacDonald and Cooper were wildly enthusiastic about tonight's meeting when I urged the Minister Ho that they ought to establish a real price support system by establishing a purchasing system with the Government agreeing to do advanced purchasing like our dairy program and in this fashion to be certain that prices would be good, then farmers need not be discouraged or deterred from making the necessary purchases to get that IR-8 thing rolling at a maximum speed.

We flew out of here by military aircraft down to Can Tho early yesterday morning. Minister Ton, the Minister of Agriculture, was with us and his chief planner. There is not much need in my repeating page and verse what I have in

my notes on the trip and where we appeared at the different communities except to say by and large how proud I am of the Americans that I found everywhere I went. They really were a bunch of definitely dedicated people, capable in the main too, and doing a job, from the Peace Corps girl Jacqueline Hagen that I met at the Bien Hoa Refugee Hamlet, she was with Peace Corps in India and said to me that the Vietnamese are a lot easier to work with and more responsive than the Indians, or Walter Begley, incidentally from Warren, Minnesota a really gung ho district agriculturalist. These people believe in what they're doing and they're doing great things. In the chicken business for example they took us in to see some chicks a week or so old brought in a day old from Singapore that they now can raise in 90 days and on 200 chicks make 19,000 piasters as compared to what a carpenter could make about 10,000. Of course they're given special assistance by way of supply availabilities that the ordinary farmer couldn't get. But everywhere I went I found this. In the military and otherwise, in Phan Rang today there was a Major Hendrickson, gung ho as could be, as the helicopter landed, they had had a VC fight last night and one of his men had been killed and his dog, they'd been up all night fighting and chasing them and he was an adviser. This is                      troops now. They had killed several and recovered a good deal of equipment and now he was prepared to talk about vegetables and onions and how shallow wells would work and would produce onions that would gross \$4,000 and net \$2,000 an acre. Actually I think the plot we looked at and the well we saw is the same one I looked at in that same area 2 years ago. Anyhow, here was a soldier citizen and a regular army officer at that. Then at the close of the day and down at the refugee village we had the same thing with the Major down there. This time he was from Texas and actually a graduate agriculturalist, a darn attractive guy. His tour was about over - his name was Major Greenwood - and he couldn't stop talking about those chickens and what they cost and how much they got out of them, so he was really enthusiastic too.



This is the general picture. A lot of these guys wearing sidearms, prepared to be shot up, and as Walter Begley said, "You've gotta be courageous enough to go on out and not worry much about it, but not such a dam fool that you go to the wrong places where you won't have a chance to do anything." And that seems to be about the posture. In any event in my notes I've got towns, places and numbers, but my total overall conclusion trying to make allowances for my natural ambivalence and sometimes over-optimism that this country is beginning to go and furthermore what a potential friend it may be for the United States. Certainly I was impressed in my visits earlier this year with the loyalty and real affection that come our way from Korea and Taiwan. Now that we've put so much into this country, they've got six excellent ports, more airports than almost any country around the world. Their people have had enormous training in technology and electronics and of course organization, they'll soon have a million men under arms -- these people can be our friends ad infinitum; and in the process if we stop the Communist expansion here why Thailand and Vietnam, together with Japan and the Philippines, Indonesia and even India could be a bastion which would resist any on-rush of Communism and provide us all with some peaceful years to come. So the stakes are high even though the redhats and the screaming meanies back home don't know it or don't care -- the people out here seem to and it really is good to have a small part to play in it and to feel as I honestly do as I roll in now dead tired with a 6:00 o'clock call set that perhaps I'm contributing a little bit too in this constant struggle to provide identity and purpose and build friends in some of these countries around the world so we can have our own security back home. Well, I'm thoroughly out of gas -- already about asleep, so I better cut it for now. An unusual 4th of July to say the least.

July 4, 1968 -- Saigon. Who would have ever thought that I would spend the 4th of July in Saigon, but I did. I'm back in my room tired. I just left a call with the Marine Guard for 6:00 am to do a little work, but I thought a little dictation at this point might be in order. I'm tired. I've had the trots most of the day and my stomach has been performing badly, but I've been acting badly so I guess that's to be expected.

I just finished a 2-day tour out in the countryside down in the Delta south of Can Tho and then from there, where I spent last night, back to Phan Rang in that area and then back touring around some of the outskirts here in Saigon. I returned dirty and muddy about 5:30, showered and cleaned up.

The Ambassador had a 4th of July reception here which was part work and part enjoyable. I saw a lot of people I know. I never cease to marvel how many people there are in the Foreign Service that I've met in different countries around the world now. They all come up and say hello and I'm ashamed I remember so few of them. There were three tonight from three different countries.

Lyle Schertz and Chuck Cooper, the economist from USAID, and Don MacDonald, the Director of USAID, and I had lunch with the Minister of Economics, Minister Ho, an enormously attractive fellow and two of his colleagues to discuss the rice price problem. An enjoyable evening. I just back here and compared a few notes for a moment with Ambassador Bunker and now back to the room.

It's really been quite a day and quite a trip. Incidentally I called Jane earlier in the evening. She was worried because the news got on the wire and around the country that I'd been shot at here -- that was true, but not very exciting really. We were traveling south of Can Tho and the fellow next to me in the helicopter said, they're shooting at us, I see tracers. And I looked down and thought I saw some and about that time one of our escort helicopters called the Tigers took off, diving very precipitously and opened up

rockets and machine fire into a clump of what looked like coconut trees and that was the extent of that. It didn't amount to anything and I forgot all about it until later that night when we returned to Can Tho and the press began to ask me about it and I passed it off. Apparently then the Mission here in Siagon denied it and contended that they were merely putting on a demonstration for my benefit. The press then came to me and this was a little sticky so I just refused to comment. Apparently when the press guys then went out to the air base and checked with the pilot of the helicopter who confirmed that there had been some fire at us, that took care of that. Jane, of course, was worried. We had a cable when we returned so I called her and she was most reassured and very happy that I'll be in Saigon for the rest of the time. So there is a little extra dimension of attention and I'm sure when I return to Washington everybody will have noted that I was shot at, so I guess it's a plus in terms of an attention getter, but that's about all.

Actually being out here and looking at the weapons and seeing the Marines and Army people and all, I almost feel like volunteering to go out patrolling. All the military people out here and everybody concerned are so positive and so confident, consider their task so important, and are so gung ho about it that it makes you kind of ashamed of the attitude that we find everywhere in the United States.

Actually I'm tremendously pleased with what I've found. I've been trying to figure out how best to capsule it for the press but the long and the short of it is where the rice problem that I fussed with 2 1/2 years ago is concerned it's licked. This new IR-8 rice is going like a house afire. Every place I've gone there is just no question but what the yields are so increased that farmers can't do anything else but use it. Also, fertilizer and pesticides, hog serum too, in grievously short supply 2 1/2 years ago are all available now. Prices vary, but by and large they move into the private sector of the economy and the

private sector's performing enormously well. I found this true in the Delta. I found it true in III Corps District, II Corps around Phan Rang, and found it true here around Saigon. There is just no doubt about it's effectiveness. They couldn't stop it now if they wanted to. The only real worry is that there is nothing to back it up if somewhere out of the clear blue sky a blight should come and it should be threatened, because there just really isn't any fundamental research back-up. I visited a research station near Phan Rang today and it was nothing. We have an ARS young man there and he seemed reasonably knowledgeable, although certainly not very dynamic and the director of the station as nearly as I could understand had about the equivalent of a technical school education and he was backed up by one high school graduate. It's hard to understand how they have any experiments that amount to anything at all. I really didn't have time to get a hard grasp of it, but apparently they've done some fairly useful work in grain sorghum. That leads to the new big area that I'm going to try to push tomorrow when I see the President and the Prime Minister and with the press as well the day after when I leave, and that is that the new horizon now has shifted from rice to the protein products mainly poultry, eggs and chickens. There is great profit to be made in each. All of them are bringing a return in terms of price three, four, or five times that of the United States. It's hard to understand why and how it costs that much more, but it's the old supply and demand question. The fact production doesn't react to these prices is tied to a number of things. One is security. That it's still very hard to move things because of the VC interdiction. It's amazing to see areas very close to Saigon and to Can Tho or adjacent to relatively secure areas and some very secure and know that this is VC area. Some of it devastated and cleaned out with all people moved out of it. You see evidences of deforaging here and there and of course you see buildings and churches that have been blasted into nothingness and today we toured by helicopter around Saigon here and



saw quite a number of areas that were completely devastated, and as long as that exists there is a problem in moving that feed out. But I suspect the power of the dollar would get it done if it weren't for some other things. They haven't been quite use to going into this kind of enterprise. The average family has one hog -- not 10 or 20. Chickens, rather than growing them for broilers on a 90-day schedule, are something to scratch in the barnyard, as it were. The first thing apparently is related to security for if you build a fish pond and in come the troops whether they be ARVN or VC, as one of the Ministers said tonight, all they've got to do is toss a hand grenade into the pond and that takes care of all the fish. It reminded me of what we used to do during World War II in some of the rivers in Guadalcanal and Bougainville. Anyway this is a new frontier now and one that they can tap and set this whole country alive if they will only do it.

July 6, 1968 - 11:25 p.m. Saigon, Vietnam -- another long day, interesting, but very tiring. I'm having stomach trouble and I've really been out of gas today. Tomorrow off to the Philippines. I've got a press conference at 10:00 o'clock and I've been concerned and worrying about how to handle it. The press out here is so supercritical that I feel it necessary to be very careful not to talk or over-state. On the other hand I do have a story to tell. This rice breakthrough is very exciting and I would like to give a positive turn to developments here because everything has been so negative. So I think I'll roll in in a few minutes and get up early in the morning and plow through some material. I just came up from a session which was quite fascinating. Mr. Barry Zorthian, for 4 1/2 years the Public Relations officer for the US Mission, is leaving to go home and the Ambassador had a dozen or so of the top press people here and also General Abrams for a dinner party. I met early with our Ag people - got back about 9:00 and got in on the tail end of this one.

I joined them about 9:00 o'clock. I was anxious to get some sleep but stayed with it and I'm glad I did. The discussion was about reporting, its accuracy, how it's handled. This and other wars. The important thing was the kind of focus on this one and what I think might be said to be the general conclusion and that is that this is the most complicated, the most difficult war ever, that judgments have to be made by the press people in a confused situation and that there has been a creditability gap, that this has been protracted and it has been terribly confused. At one point General Abrams burst out in a very strong statement that he sometimes wondered about the United States, that in other wars and he cited the Arden's breakthrough at the end of World War II, the country although shocked immediately rallied behind its men but he wonders sometimes if what they are doing out here is really supported or approved. At this point I moved into the picture myself and said that

it was an unusual and maybe a historic situation, none like it, for in effect those who supported our position were handcuffed, the President withdrawn as a Candidate, the Paris talks preventing his being an advocator or telling the story, in the meantime the opposition, vis-a-vis, McCarthy and the intellectuals being able to claim the center of the stage with continuous sharp criticism. The encouraging thing about it all was the indications that the press were beginning to understand this and that their support for it might be better than it has been in the past which certainly has been totally and completely frustrating. There was also a tone of creditability gap and I read into it all, no one said it, that if the present Administration had been more frank, and some of the reporters cited General Stillwell after the Burma road when he said frankly that we were badly licked, that if there had been more frankness we would be better off. Rex Beach, of the New York Times, I think, more or less closed off the session by saying that he could not but admire the Viet Cong who had succeeded in tying up the most powerful nation in the world for this extended period of time and creating such a horrendous problem for us. I was glad I sat in. It was an interesting session.

I saw President Thieu, Ky, and the Prime Minister today. The song was much the same through a long day, mainly my complimenting them on important progress on the rice front and urging action to start a purchase program to support prices. I worked into as the day wore on the suggestion that they set up some purchase stations where the Government would buy directly and try and use the farmers associations to make sure that the merchants wouldn't take all the price increase and the farmers get nothing. I'm not sure how well I succeeded. Minister Ho the Finance Minister said at a reception late this afternoon that they would be ready to act next week. Thieu and Ky seemed well informed and very sympathetic. I needled them with the thought that this is a very, very important and advantageous political issue and they should ride it.

They seemed receptive. The Prime Minister hadn't been briefed and knew nothing about the issue. He gave me a lecture on the difficulty of the War and how conservative peasants were about adopting new practices. After an exhausting hour we perhaps moved him around a little but it made me wonder whether the Minister of Agriculture Ton had done any good with him at all. The Ambassador seemed to think that things were in pretty good order and also MacDonald and everyone is most complimentary. My boys on PASA in agriculture met with me late today and they were most grateful. I had met of course with all the IV Corps people down in Can Tho late into the night and they were apparently very grateful. We have gotten some reasonably good press and every body seems to think this has been very important.

The interesting thing today really was the discussion with Ky. Thieu didn't talk politics with me at all, or the war; but Ky plowed right into it. He came in as usual in flamboyant clothes, a sort of sports outfit of matching, open at the throat sports shirt and slacks. He was barefooted with open toed sandals. He had hurt his ankle water skiing and that was wrapped in an elastic bandage. He was as colorful and dynamic as ever, sharp and quick. He was critical of the U.S. support of the war, or at least worried and of course was critical of the Paris peace talks. He said without any equivocation that the war was revolving around those talks and that the Communists who were losing the war and would make one more great effort and move to the peace table because that's where they thought they could win. His tradition was that there are three divisions around Saigon, that soon they would move in and take perhaps three or four provinces all of which would be widely reported as to the Communist resourcefulness and resources, at the same time there would be a good bit of sabotage and dissension in Saigon with a number of instances of bombings and sniping, that all this would be widely reported as the tremendous resourcefulness of the VC, at which time the people



in the world and particularly the United States would become panicky and a political settlement would be made that would be highly advantageous to the North Vietnamese who he said were just about through. All they've got left is one more effort, no one can be sure when they will make that effort, he thought likely after our Conventions and during our general election but some time soon. He said he had predicted they would make the TET offensive except he hadn't predicted the time nor had he predicted they would hit Saigon, but that they were preparing to do something like that in desperation he had foreseen. As always, he was direct, blunt, positive and aggressive and it was interesting to talk with him about it. I tried to reassure him about the United States situation, pointing out that both Nixon and Humphrey were in strong support of what we're doing here and I assured him in depth that although Humphrey might play it a little soft now in trying not to have a confrontation with the pro-McCarthy anti-Vietnam people there should be no doubt about his position. He listened carefully to that and it may have done some good. Otherwise no one here, surprisingly enough, has talked to me about the attitude of the folks back home about the war. Well enough of this. It's time to head for the pad.

July 6, 1968 -- Saigon, Vietnam, 6:15 am.

I had hoped to get a good night's sleep last night and give this ulcer a licking but it didn't work out. I awakened about 5:30, to bed about midnight, just a bit cold for I'm sleeping almost directly under the air conditioner. I had to go to the bathroom and when I went back to bed didn't go back to sleep, too much on my mind. Instead I let it run through my mind a host of things that might come up at this press conference. It will be kind of touchy. I hope to do more good than just agriculture, to express confidence in the military situation and the recovery since Tet, to set out some of the things that have been done that give promise towards eventual victory and improvement in the country, to pay tribute to the Government itself which is gaining increasing confidence and effectiveness, all this plus rice and agriculture. It will be touchy for I'm not informed in depth, nor am I a spokesman in these areas and I don't want to make a mistake which could turn on me and this whole business. So it will be touchy. I hope it

works out. I'm confident it will. I also lay here and ran through my mind a check list of things I've seen and want followed up in this country. The Ambassador is giving a lunch for me just before I depart. I must be sure to have Jerry Overby invited to that. I'm afraid I haven't given him quite adequate attention. This would be a prestige builder. He's a quiet fellow, not as aggressive perhaps as I should have here, but he's got along and if he had been aggressive we probably would have had trouble. I also suddenly realize I can distribute copies of my books to a number of these people which might make a suitable gift. I haven't even had time to get a present for Jane yet, but I guess I'll leave that to the Philippines. I'm also beginning to worry a bit about what goes on at home. I had a call out here from Face the Nation. They want me to appear a week from Sunday and I have agreed to do so. That plus the Joey Bishop show means I will be getting very wide exposure almost as soon as I hit the States. I hope I can do some good. Certainly a voice of confidence and positiveness in this whole business would be highly in order and this will give me a chance to at least try.

Another tidbit as a part of some of my conversations with the Ambassador is statements he apparently has gotten from both Thieu and Ky that they realize an accommodation will have to be made. They are prepared to negotiate with the National Liberation Front when the time is appropriate, but that time isn't now witness that they fired Dan when he was in the United States for talking about it. So it comes down basically to a question of timing and they're more realistic about it than the press would generally indicate. I've just been reading again as I get ready for the press conference the Herman Cohn book on Vietnam and the proposal there that what we really need is a total plan which will involve considerable detail as to how we're going about this on the long run tying together military and civilians. The strong emphasis is on security, that police action should be enormously strengthened in the respective

districts with a lot more authority there and that overall military plans be tied in to give the necessary support and protection so the police security can go forward.

July 6, 1968 -- 11:55 p.m. Manila, Philippines. Well, another day. I felt much better today. Odd, too, I awakened at 5:30 this morning. I was dead tired when I went to bed and I've had a good bit of bounce today. The press conference went amazingly well. A fair turnout -- it could have been better, but the questions were by and large constructive without many nasty or loaded ones. I hope I got the message across. At least they wrote it down, they seemed interested. After the press conference I went by a handicraft shop and bought a few gadgets for Jane and the girls in the office, most reasonable. Then back to the Embassy when I packed. A nice lunch with the Ambassador and Jerry Overby and Don MacDonald where we reviewed an action checklist, then to the plane, a nice delegation to see me off and 2 1/2 hours later we landed in Manila. I put on a barong tagalog on the plane, Soapy and Nancy Williams were waiting. I had a rather spirited press conference at the airport and then to the Embassy residence where I cleaned up a bit, visited a little in preparation and called at the Presidential Palace on President Marcos. He was very cordial. What they wanted me to do here was to put in a strong pitch that he get through the Philippine Senate the necessary appropriations to hold the troops that they have by way of an engineering civil development battalion in South Vietnam. I was able to work that in, and Soapy thought effectively, by commending them on their performance and then making the point that at this critical time it would be misconstrued and harmful should they pull out. Whereupon Marcos said that he thought they could keep them there whereby he had said in opening the conversation that he hoped he could get the Senate to do it and that he had had difficulty in a caucus with them in the morning. I reviewed the overall political and military and economic situation



in South Vietnam which interested him greatly. Commented a bit on the fact we were fired on and what took place, then teased him a bit about campaigning, bringing greetings from the President and the Vice President, and it all went along pretty well.

When we left the President's office, I asked from the anti-room to see Ramualdez, the Governor of Leyte and the brother of the First Lady, who finally came out and said that she had asked if we would come tomorrow evening at 8:00 o'clock as their guests for a dinner. So that's very nice indeed and we can look forward to that which constitutes a pretty good reception.

Then back to the Embassy residence where we had a relaxed evening. The No. 2 man in the Embassy, Jim Wilson and his wife, together with the Williams girl and a girl friend and their boy friends, and we generally visited.

I got a chance at the briefing at the Embassy to get a hard look at the Philippine situation which I had never realized before that this country basically was ruled by an oligarchy of a few families almost in 18th Century feudal style. It would appear that they have a kind of schizophrenic attitude with affection and loyalty to the United States and yet deep resentment, a considerable amount of anti-Americanism. They want us here for protection, but they wish to extricate the best price they can get. They really haven't yet found a national identity as such, despite the fact they do have vigorous elections the spread between the rich and the poor seems to grow sharper and sharper. Instead of encouraging they have a host of restrictions that discourages capital investment from outside and with a very young population increasing in numbers and a considerable improvement in education, it is reported there is a potential tinderbox of young, relatively well educated people unable to find jobs. When you realize that minimum wages here, which are about \$1.50 a day, really are the ceiling, not the floor, and it's only half that on the farms and in the meantime that a handful of families grow richer and richer

and take over more and more and your superimpose on that a law enforcement problem where there is literal banditry, very weak law enforcement, and outmoded and often corrupt judiciary, you really have a tinderbox. The paper today for example talked about a mayor of a suburban town with his gang of body guards armed who first challenged a police officer in an early morning brawl to a gun battle and when he refused then proceeded to beat him up so badly that he was taken to the hospital unconscious. This on the front page and not unusual. One wonders, given all these circumstances, how this country continues to muddle along and yet it has enormous resources and a great opportunity to build a better life for its people. At the moment the one bright light appears to be agriculture and particularly the rice situation and I'll be looking at that tomorrow.

July 7, 1968 -- Manila, Philippines -- 1:10 am. Another busy day but really a useful and gratifying one. We were out of here early in the morning, left by helicopter and went down to Los Banos where Dean Umali gave us the usual treatment there at the College. I was quite resentful of his presentation for he kept making anti-American jibs, such as brain drain, we can do this as good as the Americans, and a number of others. I was almost tempted to call him on it and then Miller of the Cornell Team told me that he was unhappy because he was being thwarted in his efforts to build up at his College the regional center for agriculture which is a part of the regional program locating a center in the various research and education disciplines in the various countries that make up the five I think it is Southwest Asian countries. He expressed later his frustration that it was our policy and our 50 percent matching funds to force sequestering of funds for purely the regional operation isolating it from the rest of the college which he said was impossible and bad judgment. Anyway it was the kind of the usual installations tour, not see a great deal except some pretty good research on corn, sorghum and rice. The highlight was a visit to

the International Rice Research Institute which was really sensational.

It's a beautiful physical plant. They gave us a thorough briefing. Dr. Chandler and his associates were great. They know exactly what they're doing. They have systematically isolated some 10,000 different strains of rice. They are proceeding to develop new derivations and new kinds, following through on the positive strains as they cross breed. They are investigating very thoroughly what can be done with double cropping such things as sweet potatoes, sorghum, soybeans with really fantastic results. As Dean Chandler said, there are two things first the seed itself and its composition which can be improved and is constantly improving and then the environment which is the human factor, i.e., how it is used, proper cultural practices. As he points out, with sun 12 months a year if there's water, there's literally no end to the production potential. It really was exciting what's taking place there may revolutionize all of Asia as tropical agriculture comes to the front.

We had a very delightful lunch with the eminent scientist there. I then gave a brief talk in which I went way out in predicting in great things from what they are doing provided, and then emphasized all the other things that must be done before we get results in agriculture. It seemed to be well received. Then we went out into the Countryside and went to Laguna where we were given a rundown on what had been ~~one~~ of the first and primary pilot efforts which set out the organized system of credit, extension and all that went into getting the new rice started. They said their profits were almost 100 percent IR-8 or IR-5. A farmer whom we finally got to the front in his own words said that inputs cost the same, price was the same, but his yield was more than double a year ago and he was simply making twice as much money. We saw new houses constructed as the result of renewed prosperity in the countryside. President Marcos is running on this and apparently Governors and Mayors all over as well. It's a heartening

picture. Also, they said at Erie that they didn't think there was active danger of serious blight or insect infestation of these seeds at this time, although a careful survey was needed to see precisely what was taking place in South Vietnam.

Back to Manila by helicopter. Soapy and I took a quick swim. I tried to nap a bit -- not too successfully -- off to a reception at the Embassy, rather well attended and not quite as intolerable as most of them. Then to a very lovely party at the Presidential Palace. They really went all the way out.



I had thought that this dinner party which was put together so quickly as I recited already, when we called on President Marcos yesterday Romualdez came out and said that the First Lady would like to have us for an evening gathering at 8:00 o'clock. Instead of a little gathering it turned out to be almost a formal State dinner. Most of the Cabinet were there. It's a beautiful palace. When we came in a lot of people were standing around and I was immediately taken and brought into an anti-room, the President's greeting room. Quickly a receiving line was formed and everyone went through with the President, Mrs. Marcos, and myself. Just before that they had presented me with gifts for Jane which were gratefully accepted and placed on the desk. We then went into the anti-room where people were gathered, visited briefly, had a quick drink and then out on a kind of terrace looking over the river. The serving was buffet style. We went through the line and then sat and had a most engaging and interesting visit across a small table shared by Nancy and Soapy Williams, Vice President Lopez, Mrs. Marcos and myself. She is one of the most alert and most beautiful women I have ever met. I've never seen such a glowing complexion, a lovely figure. She's lost a good deal of weight as I recall and she is just as alert and beautiful as she can be. He's mighty attractive too and we discussed politics with a good deal of bantering back and forth, some serious talk about Vietnam, a little about agriculture, mostly a fairly engaging evening. We stayed a long time. I began to get restless and impatient wondering whether we should be the ones to make the break until finally the President said, "You must be off early in the morning so we can't keep you too late." He then took me out on the terrace to show me his driving tee, apparently he begins there and drives across the river where there is a golf course. We then worked our way out gradually. I asked for Romualdez hoping his wife would come to bring Jane's greetings very warmly again. She

didn't but he did, and at least I was able to thank him for a shirt, and to again ask my respects to her. I could see that Mrs. Marcos was very pleased that I did this, and I commented to the President what a fine job he had done in Washington which I am sure made him happy and will go back to her which will please Jane.

Before I left they took me back again into the President's office where she asked that I unwrap a package, which I did, and it included a beautiful ring with a black pearl. She said she had given one like that to Mrs. Johnson. Really they were going all out and I must say most of it seemed to stem from the fact that Romualdez had brought back glowing accounts of how nice we had been to them which really came down to Jane being so nice to her. In any event it will be a beautiful gift for her.

I then went to the Manila Hotel and spent several hours talking to John and Louise Orendain. It was a kind of depressing conversation. They are not very happy, I'm afraid. It was the same old story -- corruption in the Government here and their deep concern about it. They related that Marcos had started strong and effective in his Government trying to fight corruption with some success, but that recently particularly after one of the Senators who was the President of the Nationalista party had wheeled and dealt with the liberals in order to get to be President of the Senate that Marcos had become highly political and that he was now using the office seeking to build up funds for the election to come which they predicted would be the most corrupt, bitter and violent one yet, and they expressed their great disappointment. The strong focus was to try and eliminate the corruption which exists. They said Lopez, the Vice President, they would support, not because he was strong or colorful and they doubted he could get elected, but because he was honest and courageous, that he tried to do the right thing and that he also had enough courage to stand up to Marcos. We sat in the Champagne Room at the Manila Hotel, really lovely

looking out over the Harbor. They also related anti-Americanism, describing it in various ways but mostly its derivation from Communist infiltration of some of the Universities with resulting attitudes and reactions from the students as they were in effect propagandized. Here also they related there were no clear voices telling the actual story of what was happening in Vietnam. They seemed older, disillusioned, but still trying. Louise is going to write a Master's Degree on the Whys and Wheres of Corruption in the Philippine Government. John is practicing law mostly with an American firm, strongly American, worried about the threatened expropriation of American property in 1974, the policy discourages investment here much as I heard at the Embassy briefing. Interlaced between all this was two phone calls to Washington. One with John Obert and then with Jane. The big issue was Should I go on "Face the Nation"? I pretty well told them in Saigon I would if they didn't put the producer of the Hunger show on which they agreed not to do. However, John and Jane and apparently also Tom had felt I shouldn't go on and had indicated I had other commitments, so the matter appears to be in limbo. It was Jane's feeling that I can't win at this setting, that the Poor People are still making problems, those arrested have refused to work, Congress is refusing to appropriate money for the District of Columbia unless they are sure it won't go to pay passage home for the so-called Poor People, and the whole matter is bitter. Therefore, they contend reasoning from the fact that CBS is so anxious to get me on the program that they're up to no good and under the current circumstances I can't win. For my part I've been strongly inclined to go on. I want to tell something of what I've seen in Vietnam and here in the Philippines too and I don't see anything to be lost by taking them on and telling the Poor People story in regard to food and going once again after their distorted program. However, I'm not on the scene, they are. Apparently the President has not yet come forward with a food message and is not likely to. Congress, from what they

say is in an ugly mood. The country is unhappy about it and that to try and sit in the middle where I would be rather than either condemning the Poor People and telling them to go get a job or completely sympathizing with them and demanding more money, why I simply can't win. The matter is up in the air now. I guess I'll just have to wait until I get to Los Angeles and talk with Obert, but that's most unsatisfactory. Well, It's 1:30 I'd better hit that pad.

July 8, 1968 - 2:20 am Manila time enroute on Philippines Airlines to Honolulu. Dawn broke just a bit ago and I awakened from a fitful sleep in my seat here. I'm looking out the window at the white fluffy clouds and 30,000 plus feet below is a blue sea. I've got a kind of headache and sore throat, but I feel much better than I have any right to. The Philippine trip was both interesting and useful.

Yesterday, Soapy and I went down to one of the Provinces, Bulacan, more specifically Quezon City with Vice President Lopez. We flew by helicopter getting a good view of Manila, a very beautiful city in some places and a collection of miserable shacks in others. We went down the coast and observed the salt beds and a very bright colorful countryside. We landed on the town's athletic field, welcomed by a large crowd of people with a lot of very attractive school children. This was the first day of the new school year. We proceeded to the gymnasium which was not unlike one in an average American town where a program of briefing took place together with speeches by myself, Soapy, and Lopez the Vice President who ~~plainly~~ emphasized that the United States was the Philippines best friend. Then we got in cars and drove out into the countryside where we observed again new rice and checked what we had seen the day before mainly that Philippine farmer income has indeed doubled. It was impressive. We even took off our shoes, rolled up our pants' legs and had a picture taken



with a little mechanical weeder which you push through the paddy. The water and mud were actually almost hot and thoroughly disagreeable but we made a lot of fun out of it.

Back to Manila by noon -- Lopez hosted a luncheon where we ate Chinese food which was excellent. The luncheon was most cordial, probably because I was being lobbied so the Philippines wouldn't lose their sugar quota. Then back to the residence to complete packing. To the airport and on to the plane.

I'm glad to have had a few days in the Philippines. On the one hand it was depressing to realize a growing anti-Americanism and the frightful corruption and lawlessness. One could easily be discouraged. On the other hand when you get out into the countryside and talk to people one finds them very friendly and with the warmest feelings towards the United States. Further things seem to be happening. For example, the young Governor of Bulacan recently elected, a feeling the incumbent seemed attractive and at least claimed to be honest and to have collected his campaign funds without commitments. However, the pattern seems to be that once in, a few motions are taken to prevent corruption, and then officials begin to get rich. In any event, it is a rich, populous country with a residue of good will and hopefully relations can improve. Soapy Williams and Nancy are making a good impression. Already the press is saying that he has shaken more hands than the President himself who is noted as a great campaigner. This will continue and I am sure will do a great deal of good.

I also called on the Southeast Asian Bank before I left and had an interesting visit with their Board of Directors. Their questions went to the very heart of the economic problems, to wit, what about great surpluses in some of these countries. I of course had no answer except that some kind of arrangements would appear to be increasingly necessary. I said to them the importance of making the International Wheat Agreement work and that the United States would

not once again become a residual supplier for grain. This shook up the Canadians and Australians a bit. I then urged that they hire someone like the Rand Corporation or the Hudson Institute to make a hard headed study of alternatives in Asian agriculture and see if they could develop some policies for consideration of the different countries as the new adjustments that will be required in agriculture now that there appears to be such a significant breakthrough in grain and forage production.

I dread going home. On the one hand I'm anxious to see Jane and the family. On the other, I am depressed at the prospect of tackling the food and Poor People Problem again. I still haven't resolved what to do about the Face the Nation television show, although I've about made up my mind to appear. I'll call Tom as soon as we get to Honolulu. Actually I'm in this thing so deeply now. I've been attacked so much that it seems to me there is little to be lost by telling the story of what we have done and what we are trying to do rather than just sitting back and being a punching bag. There is of course the danger where Congress is concerned but they understand clearly my position on this anyway and I think honor it so there's little to be lost by holding a confrontation . We'll stop in Honolulu for a few hours and then on to Los Angeles for the Joey Bishop show and then home. The same feeling of apprehension and concern that always dogs me after I've been gone a while and set out for home. I feel again I wish I was there and caught up, but it has been a good trip and refreshed me enormously on the international agricultural front.

July 10, 1968 -- My watch says 3:20 am, actually I guess it's 6:20 am and we're approaching Baltimore. We've been flying into the sun and the dawn has been coming rapidly -- first a streak of orange on the horizon, now a general glow through a cloud bank with a blue sky above. We should be landing in a few minutes, then home. I've had quite a trip.

It was a rather miserable flight from the Philippines on in to Los Angeles. I began to get a sore throat and that didn't help matters very much. My mail didn't get to Manila, and in Honolulu I didn't find it. I had indicated my desire to have a little time at the beach and that turned out not too smart. It was a long drive to and from and I only had about 20 minutes, but at least it passed the time. Then into Los Angeles. I went to bed immediately and today was a busy day. I was up about 9:00 -- worked on briefing papers. Actually I went out and sat in the sun, hoping to shake off this cold which by the time I reached Los Angeles had gotten real nasty. Then I went down to do two television shows -- one, an agriculture USA Show which was a 4-H College people, and the other a regular news kind of quiz show. They went well.

The big target of course was the Joey Bishop show. I had a briefing on it from the producer of the show who came to our hotel room in the morning. He was most gracious and helpful. Then I went to the station, after a brief nap, and had an interview with Joey Bishop. It was a light, gay, fast moving program. First they had some youngsters who had a band on and then me. Bishop asked the questions that were planned. I had a chance to go after CBS, but I don't think I over did it. John Obert and the fellows were almost estatic -- they thought it was the finest performance I have ever made. I'm not so sure. Their main impression was that I came through as a liberal. They were concerned about this program, which they have worried about, in this whole nasty struggle which has tended to make me look like Scrooge. Whether I was sharp or pointed enough in getting after CBS, I'm not sure. But as the program moved along it seemed to me that there was danger of over doing that. Actually the format was very simple. I walked on the stage, was greeted, sat down. Bishop asked the questions and I responded directly into the camera. Then we moved to the other stage where a kind of wing went down between the live audience and I answered some questions on Food Stamps and food distribution.

July 11, 1968, 10:45 pm at my desk at home. Well, I made it back home and am deeply involved in the usual hectic rush to catch up. It was made a little tougher this time because my cold got worse and I felt perfectly miserable yesterday. It was 8:00 o'clock in the morning before I arrived at 2805 Daniel Road. I had breakfast with Jane and Connie. Jane and I visited a while and then I lay down, sleeping fitfully until about 11:00 -- showered, dressed and in to a Cabinet Meeting. There was nothing particularly exciting about the meeting. Reports on Poor People, a report on the military situation in Vietnam and the President called on me for a report on my findings. I could hardly talk, I was so hoarse.

I returned to the office and did my best to prepare my report to the President on my trip and worked through some mail, but I was so doopey and sick that I came home about 5:00 o'clock, slept until 7:00, then I did work after dinner until 11:30, when I saw the Joey Bishop show myself. I didn't like my performance on it very well. There were innumerable times when I would have answered questions more precisely, but apparently the general impression was, as John Obert said, excellent for I've had any number of compliments today. The Vice President called and he was exceedingly warm, friendly, and outgoing. He is home ill, has had to cancel part of his speaking tour in California, but sounded cheerful. He was most complimentary about not only the Joey Bishop Show and my reference to his winning on the first ballot in Chicago, but also on a lot of other work that I have done. He said that it had been kind of Freeman memorandum day and he referred very favorably to my address in Oklahoma "Not so Wild a Dream on Rural Urban Balance". He emphasized that once the Convention was over that if the President would not let me really free whirl in the Campaign, he was going to ask me to resign and he talked in very positive terms about winning the election and about how many things there



were to do yet in this country and how we had to find jobs for some of these youngsters who had a purpose and a meaning, that the trouble was they had too much affluence, too much money, and no real sense of need or participation. He sounded quite confident and positive about it and said that he really felt like he used to feel when we first started out in politics -- full of desire and hope and optimism, in terms of getting things done. I was really pleased to hear him talk in this vein. There was nothing indecisive or doubtful. He sounded confident and operating on all cylinders.

I saw the President today, too. He was ornery. He kidded me about my trip, but not asking anything in detail, merely referring to my report at Cabinet. The purpose was to set the stage for my conducting a press briefing which I did and I hope it will get some decent response. He was sitting in the rose garden sunning when I went to see him and we walked into his office together.

On the way in he was fussing up a storm at Humphrey, calling him a demagogue and generally most unhappy, apparently because Humphrey had made some speech about Israel and planes and help for Israel. He's got the Jewish vote anyhow, the President said, and doesn't need to say that, he's just demagoging and doesn't have a thing to do with it and all this time, he, the President, was trying to get something out of the Soviet Union which I couldn't quite make clear to what he was referring. In any event, he was ornery.

Early in the day Califano had called to tell me the President had said "no" on the food package they had submitted to him with a request that he send a special message to the Congress. Joe asked me to take one more run at him. His argument to the President had been that action on a hunger program would round out his welfare program and his record. I approached him in the same vein saying that he deserved credit for this, that Congress was going to act favorably and that I hated to see him get other than full credit. He snorted and said that he would have been for a reasonable program but anything up in the \$300 and \$400 million was simply more than he could send to Congress during this period of a tax cut. Anyway, he said, he thought that most of this was pure emotion rather than hungry people. Joe Califano told me later that the President doesn't really believe there are hungry people and has on occasion said this is a good year, the rains have been good, anyone can grow a garden. That's unfortunate. But, we'll proceed and I think he understands is. It looks like the Food Stamp thing will move in the House. The Perkins passed the Senate with \$100,000,000 for School Lunch and now rests in the Senate Committee. The Conference Committee will likely retain the Javitz Amendment, although the sugar people are fussing, which would make it possible for me to use Section 32 funds.

The Farm Bill is pending, but the limitation of payments amendment gives us serious trouble. All in all it's going to be a crucial legislative period and I've got to get up on that Hill and go to work on it very hard in the next week. I'm also anxious to get a plan for the Humphrey General Election Campaign moving along.

I napped tonight after dinner a bit. My cold has been better today and I think I'm over the top. If I can get one good night's sleep now, why I'll be recovered and able to pick up at the same old pace. That I've gotta do for

there's so much to be done.

July 13, 1968, 5:30 pm-- This is Saturday and I've spent a long day in the office here, arriving about 9:00 am. I've managed to catch up and look forward to Sunday with absolutely no paper work I have to do. That doesn't happen very often.

Yesterday was kind of a wild day and so I'm glad that I've been able to catch up and clear my desk and get organized. First I had a delegation of over 100 people representing a Civil Rights Alliance, including labor people, ADA, ABC, church groups, etc. Joe Rauh headed it. They reiterated the Poor People's demands in front of radio and TV. I was quite angry with Tom for setting it up, but actually even though I wasn't feeling very well it worked out satisfactorily. They didn't press too hard and weren't too mean and I had a chance to more or less take over the meeting and state what the real problems were. Two hours later I met with the Women's League for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament. They've been picketing around here from time to time, too. They were much more reasonable than I expected. They learned quite a little, too. Then I spoke to the Cotton Club on the Hill at the instance of Bernie Sisk, a group of Congressmen and administrative assistants interested in cotton. This was followed by a meeting with John Blatnik who is now pushing hard to include some forest land in the Crane Lake Region in the proposed Voyageur's National Park. He has really been crafty about it, talking to other Members of the Minnesota Congressional Delegation and getting it all set up before he talked to me; then when he talks to me he apologizes all over the place and says he told them he wasn't dealing fairly with me. Obviously, he knew pretty well that I would tend to be opposed. The only argument he had for it was that Boise Cascade would go along much better and he could avoid a fight with them if this Government land was put in as well. Further, he contended that he couldn't afford a fight with them, that

he had all kinds of political problems up on the Range and I guess that might be true. The old timers are about gone and there is a new group not any younger, but meaner, and they apparently are giving him trouble. I would guess he hasn't been spending enough time up there. I don't know how to handle that one.

Also, early in the morning we had a kind of frustrating meeting on Humphrey's campaign - particularly polling. The polling service we have at work now came in to ask for more direction. They didn't know exactly what they wanted, the meeting was kind of unstructured with Al Barkan and Max Kampelman. Bill Connell came over and brought Chuck Tyroler and Jerry Hirsh, Morrie Hirsh's son. We went round and round -- perhaps some good came out of it, at least it back-grounded Jim Thornton a little. I've been able today to meet with Jim at considerable length and Jack Valenti came over too and I think we got some under brush cleared away so far as getting down to the detailed scheduling of Humphrey for the future which I think is very necessary.

I talked to Max Kampelman, too, and apparently they're having organizational troubles and Max keeps pushing that I should take over the campaign. I sure don't want to do that although I'd be sorely pressed if Humphrey really asked me. So all in all, yesterday was more than a little hectic. In addition I had pressing on me the legislative challenge. Congress is running close to the end now and we've got a rule on both the Commodity Programs and Food Stamps, but still can't get them scheduled. I've been trying to put pressure on George Mahon so he would let up on scheduling some appropriation bills so we could move Food Stamps and the Commodity Bill inbetween and get them up week after next. At the moment it doesn't look too bright. This delay will hurt us. We're bringing in a whole host of farm people Monday to really start lobbying the Hill. They'll get the Senate first where the Food and Agriculture Act should come up on Tuesday. It's too bad the House can't act promptly so we can use them at the same time.



Apparently the only real threat is limitations of payments and that is a danger. If it carries and the cotton people don't stick, the whole farm program is down the drain. Yet the Farmers Union insists on holding its leadership. That's another example of the irony of trying to work with these farm organizations, almost impossible.

July 17, 1968 -- 6:00 am at home. I'm sitting here in the kitchen looking out over the yard. It's a hot, sultry morning. Again I slept very fitfully. I don't know what's the matter with me since I returned from Vietnam. I've been awakening every couple of hours and haven't had a really solid night through sleep. Perhaps it's the cold which still hangs on -- then there is a lot of pressure because of the legislative situation. Jane, Connie and I are going up to Ocean City over the weekend, maybe I can snap out of it there.

We have a lot at stake the next week where legislation is concerned. Actually we're much further along and have a better chance of doing well than I would ever have dreamed possible. First of all the Senate will move tomorrow on the 4-year extension of the Commodity Bill which came out of Committee by an 8 to 4 vote. Considering where we started with Ellender opposed to 4-years, that's remarkable in and of itself even though the bargaining power section was dropped out. That's a casualty I guess to the Humphrey Campaign for Fritz Mondale to sponsor simply didn't follow up and when it was clear that the Committee would drop the Title I, mainly the Farm Bureau independent board section, he went along with the suggestion of laying it all over until next year. Perhaps it couldn't have passed anyway, but I think it might have and it would have been a step forward. I got after Tom Hughes on this for we should have been alert enough to be certain that he would be informed, aggressive, and on the job. However, the important thing is the commodity bill and from all indications the Senate will act favorably on it. We're somewhat worried about limitation

of payments which will be once again strongly advocated by Williams joined by some others, including Abe Ribicoff, nonetheless head count looks like we can make it. For a good while I was worried that we simply wouldn't get up in the House, which is now racing for the August 5 end although many say they can't make it. We had hoped we might get up this week and then suddenly over last weekend I discovered that with four appropriation bills scheduled for next week it would be impossible to get up then either, laying us over until at least the week of July 29, a week before adjournment. That was impossible. So I went to Albert who said nothing could be done, appropriation bills have priority. Barefoot Sanders in the White House was with me, but he couldn't do anything with Mahon whom he talked to. So I went to work and we got the cotton people on Mahon. The report back was that they were unable to budge him. I went over on Monday to see Poage to review with him some matters in general, including our effort to modify the Sugar Act, first to buy some sugar and minimize the acreage allotment cut we must now require in Florida and Louisiana with Ellender and Holland raising hell about it. We sat in Mahon's office across from the House Chamber because they had so much business on the floor he couldn't get back to his. While we were sitting there, Mahon himself came in and Poage asked him about the possibility of getting the Farm Bill up and he said, fine, I'm for it. To my great surprise and delight. He said, "Let's get the Speaker, he's on the rostrum now." and we left his office, bumped into Albert in the Hall, got the Speaker, ended up in the Parliamentarian's office where in 15 minutes it was arranged that the Farm Bill will come up and the Food Stamp Plan as well the first of next week. So now we're seriously head counting on that one. We've had in representatives from about six Farm Organizations who are for the bill. We sent them up to lobby. They are reporting back. I spoke to them on Monday. Here again, the question is limitation of payments which will be strongly advocated. There are some in our own shop who are for it, John

Schnittker for instance, so on Monday morning I called a 7:30 am meeting and after Ben Steele's report that we couldn't pass a Farm Bill with limitations in it because the cotton people would break and if the cotton people broke, the city people would as well. I just ruled that we would oppose limitations of payment and now I have a letter which I hope to send up to the Senate on it today. Nonetheless that will be a tight and difficult one. Even more difficult of course will be trying to go to the 4-year bill, even though he prefers the latter, because he could not have gotten a 4-year bill out of Committee and he does have the 1-year that being the case it will be tough, but if we lose on that perhaps we can get 2-years which would make a compromise in Conference of 3 possible and desirable. So at the moment things look fairly promising, but there is a lot of hard work to do yet.

Then there is Food Stamps. The head count on that looks excellent. The Congress would appear to have a strong plus motivation for food programs at this point. This must be the result of the attacks made and the strong publicity, in many cases irresponsible and factually inaccurate, to which I have objected to so strongly. The public interest resulting is a plus or a minus. Anyway, the head count is strong on the Food Stamp Bill and the only question now is should it come up first or should the Farm Bill come up first for there will be some Southerners who won't vote for Food Stamps under any circumstances because it has some racial overtones and their failure to support it could give an excuse for some City Democrats to break on the Farm Bill. But I'll leave that pretty well up to Poage. The Speaker is suggesting we would be stronger if the Food Stamp Bill passed first. These then are the two big things.

Morse and Javits apparently agreed that if actions were taken to make \$50 million available for School Lunch Program, they would not make the given amendment to the Vocational Education Act. There it rests then with possibilities where child nutrition is concerned that we had never dreamed could be made possible, because the Appropriations Committee simply wouldn't appropriate that much money. Suddenly in the front out of a clear blue sky, again the product of awareness of the country at large and evidence of support for food programs -- an idea whose time has come, if you will. How much the Poor Peoples Campaign and their excesses had to do with this, I don't know. No one ever will know, but suffice it to say, here we see an example of what can happen when people nationwide do get excited and in support and Congress suddenly awakens to that fact. Bureaucracy moves slowly, but it sure is moving pretty fast on this one right now.

Anyway, yesterday Ellender and Holland called me up for a private meeting. Mahon and Whitten are pressing them to kill the Perkins bill altogether. They can't do that head on. They do have a strong position jurisdictionally because Morse agreed that the Perkins Bill would not go to the Education Committee at least this year. There is a jurisdictional dispute involved there so Ellender has the bill -- what to do? We tried to get them to pass the Perkins Bill and limit the amount of money in the Appropriations Act. They brushed that off because of the vigorous opposition of Mahon and Whitten with whom they must bargain in the Conference Committee. We finally worked out a pattern whereby they will pass a revised Perkins Bill, but down the \$50 million for 2 years and send it out to be attached to the Vocational Education Bill with the agreement that they hope to negotiate with Javits and Morse that if they act in the Appropriations Committee to make that \$50 million available



in addition to what's already been appropriated by the Senate that they will allow that amendment to drop. The \$50 million is adequate if we can get it. They will use the Perkins bill as bargaining power to prevent Whitten from cutting it further. However, we will only get 1 year in this fashion and that concerns me. Nonetheless, my guess is that we couldn't get more, that in the last analysis Whlender and Holland would prevail on the Floor and we would lose if we pushed too hard. If we get that \$50 million and have it committed and moving, appropriate appropriations I'm sure will come later. So I'm sending a letter this morning to the Committee saying that we can't use more than \$50 million, which is true but still worries me in the present tension situation and they will be proceeding as I've outlined above. Thus we see a host of legislation facing us and prospects at this moment fairly good. Interestingly enough, the President has had no part to play in any of this. I guess he's saving his ammunition.

The Food Package that was submitted to the President, he refused to send forward. I saw him briefly last Friday when I went over to brief the Press on my Vietnam trip. He was sitting in the Rose Garden, and after a very brief conversation interrupted when he directed one of his staff to call Humphrey and express his strongest protest about a statement in connection with Israel Humphrey had issued. His complaint was that Humphrey's statement supporting selling fighter planes to Israel interfered with his delicate negotiations with Russia by way of nuclear disarmament, that Humphrey didn't have to say that, that the Jews are with him anyhow. That Humphrey was nothing but a dam demagogue talking like that on that subject. His remarks were very strong and probably directed in part towards me. I haven't told Humphrey anything about it. We went into the President's office and I just mentioned to him that I knew he had ruled on the food thing, but I wanted to say once more that Congress

was going to act in this area, that he, the President, was entitled to credit for it and I would hope to see him get it, urging that he send up a recommendation. His response was that he had hoped to send up something if we could have worked out a reasonable package, but \$300 to \$400 million was more than he could send to that Congress. He then snorted a bit that most of the food business was emotion anyway, which I very strongly denied and emphasized the importance and the need. It did not good. So on the food front I'm still walking on cut glass. I ducked out of testifying today because it would have exposed me as advocating more than the President's budget. Yet I am quietly maneuvering as I've outlined to try and get all we can on all fronts, including the House the open-end authorization for food stamps which I was so severely criticized by the President for advocating before the Committee. I don't know how he feels on the Farm Bill. He has not said a word about it since we originally made the recommendation to Congress. We're going alone on that so far as I know and I won't bother him with it unless we get into trouble and need help. I was going to do so on the scheduling, but we managed to work that one out. Well enough of legislation.

It's most interesting how all these things have come together this year and the climate under which we work. I only hope the results are good. It's been a busy week on other fronts, too. I've been hoping to move more effectively now on the Humphrey campaign. I am anxious to begin getting some of it down on paper and had a long session with Jim Thornton, and also with Jack Valenti who came over on Saturday reviewing what we can do.

Humphrey called me last week and was most kind and generous with his comments on the Joey Bishop Show and further than that on what he describes as the great contribution I've made to this country in this job over the years. He's still home and in bed with a fever which is bad and the controversy about management in his campaign continues.

July 18, 1968 -- 12:20 pm -- An interesting morning today as legislative maneuvering takes place and also the Humphrey Campaign. Yesterday I was called in Hot Springs and urged to try and get Mike Mansfield to schedule as planned the Farm Bill in the Senate today. It was to be laid over until next week. I tried frantically to reach him unsuccessfully -- did this morning and he said he would do what he could. It worked. The bill is now scheduled for this afternoon. In the meantime, over in the House Page Belcher, the ranking Republican on the Ag Committee, has seen the handwriting on the wall. He has withdrawn in the Committee his commitment to support a 1-year Farm Bill. He has done so for he foresees Senate passage of a 4-year bill and a compromise in Committee. This has upset Poage. We are now urging him to go for a 4-year bill. He says we can't pass it. We say the count is already 200. He says he doesn't believe it. So we're going to go over the head count with him. I suspect he doesn't really want a 4-year bill because he would like legislation to come up before his Committee thus he is in the limelight as frequently as possible. In the meantime I find Belcher has set up a lunch with Aiken, Ellender, Poage and himself. He'll be making a pitch that the Senate agree not to go for more than a 1-year bill. Now that I've talked to Ellender about this, which I did just a moment ago, I think he will firmly resist that suggestion and he is, I hope, firmly committed. I'm not sure what Aiken will do, but he always plays it cagey. Not sure what Poage will do. But in the main I'm reasonably confident that the Senate will come through with passage this afternoon. We have the House scheduled for next week and this may come out yet, but it's sure a tortuous process. I met this morning with some of Humphrey's campaign staff mostly to open the door to Jim Thornton. I had in McCandless, Larry Hayes, Marty Freedman, Al Spivek, Marty McNamara and Bill Connell came too. We reviewed the overall campaign organization. They are doing more than most people realize and struggling against limitation of funds and



some overall disorganization which I think is the product of Humphrey's inability to delegate and then follow through on that delegation. In any event, it was I think a useful meeting and now we'll see if Jim can work out the scheduling and we can get something organized that we can build on by assigning specific spots and times where the Vice President will appear.

I'm lunching with Bill Wirtz in a few minutes, hopefully I can get from him a better insight into the policy and issue level of this operation so I will be able to do better planning to integrate the policy paper statement, speech writing kind of machinery.

All of which leads me to the problem I'm mulling over in my mind today. When I returned from Hot Springs last night there was a call waiting for me from Humphrey. I returned it and found a very unhappy frenetic, despondent Vice President. He has been ill. He's worried about the polls and the fact McCarthy seems to be creeping up on him a little and he's striking out in all directions where his campaign is concerned, complaining about over-spending, an alleged \$800,000 in debt, failure to coordinate and integrate to use people who want to help. That McCarthy appears to have the initiative in many ways. That a lot of excellent people aren't being used, etc. Finally it came down to his asking me if I would take over the campaign and saying that he should have asked me in the first place. I had kind of seen this coming since last Saturday when Max Kampelman had indicated to me that Humphrey was moving toward a realization that he had to have a full-time person to run this campaign. I told Max I didn't want to do it. I backed off on Humphrey's suggestion, but we left it in doubt. I told him first of all I had legislation and things to do here that I couldn't leave. Further, that I had no real experience in a national campaign and that with Larry O'Brien available he had much more background. Humphrey nonetheless insisted that I could do it best and he didn't want to put Larry that deeply into it so soon, but rather perhaps turn the Convention over to him and maybe a couple



of the big States. Kenny O'Donnell also has indicated his support and willingness to come aboard after the Convention, but argues he can do better now working with and providing a bridge to the Kennedy people. In the course of the conversation as I asked him about Fritz and Fred Harris he said that he had needed them, that they had done excellently, that the delegate search operation was tops, and that they would continue, but that they were not available or in the office and hence decisions weren't made and coordination wasn't accomplished for no one had the prestige or stature to do it. He indicated their willingness to step down in this sense and then he spoke kind of vaguely about a sort of Board with the citizens operation, with Mondale and the United Democrats, with his own Bill Connell and interoffice people, and myself to kind of run things. I didn't say anything but this is no time for Board management, certainly from an outsider. I emphasized to him that he would be better bringing in someone totally new because there are some old scars and resentments where I'm concerned. Well, he said, he knew that but if necessary others who protested would have to go, they weren't that good anyway. We let it go at that with the agreement we would talk further after sleeping on it and I've called Vi Williams for a luncheon date with him on Friday as matters now stand. I asked Tom about it. He responded that from my own personal point of view this would be an excellent way to make my break from the USDA being called to a higher and more important job. That contrasted with Jane's reaction last night, that this might look like I was running out before the task was done, to wit, legislation on the food front so it couldn't be claimed that the Poor People and the various attacks in connection with that had forced me out of this office. That's interesting contrast. For my part I want to think about it more, but there's lots of personal reasons why I don't want to do this now and certainly I would hope to carry forward what we have in the mill here and not make any kind of moves that would separate me from the Department until the terms run out. Time will tell.

I surely don't look forward with any anticipation to taking over that campaign. No one can work wonders. The next month or so are going to be difficult regardless for McCarthy and Rockefeller as the challengers are getting great attention. Humphrey will be tired and jumpy during this period and if there is a change made there will be lots of press criticism, speculations, and I don't see how Mondale and Harris could feel other than let down and their people, McCandless with Harris, Hayes with Mondale, and others in the campaign organization will correspondingly be more difficult to work with, and get cooperation and direction from. Then, I don't know whether Humphrey can ever be disciplined enough that he will really delegate and back up the one to whom he has delegated. On the other hand if a switch is made at the Convention, a logical break point, it could be a different picture. Anyway, I don't know what to do but I'm strongly inclined, almost definitely determined not to take it on at this time. If he really goes way out to push me and insists, I just don't know what I'll do -- but if he doesn't do that I probably wouldn't get backing anyway so I ought to sit tight.

I was in Hot Springs Arkansas yesterday. The American Institute of Planners had the fourth or fifth of a series which they are having around the country directed to the question of deciding the future. I shared the platform with Elbert Mayer, a very prominent architect and planner and development author. He wrote "The Urgent Future." It was an interesting and stimulating meeting. I directed attention to the need of a national policy, describing it in terms of inner-city, suburban sprawl, new towns and growth center multi-county developments. I got a good number of questions and was pleased with the response for I do think we ought to enunciate in broad and exciting terms such a policy and get the nation thinking about it. I'm hopeful Humphrey can make such a speech but I haven't been able to get out of John Baker yet the kind of a document upon which it could be based. He sent up about the third draft of something yesterday and

it fell far short of what we need. In any event it was encouraging to see the number of people there and the interest in rural urban balance. That sure wasn't the case just a few years ago, so we are making progress and it is somewhat gratifying to note that many people recognize that this whole dimension of space and people and developing the rural areas has come into focus with our leadership. Mayer made the point that he hadn't realized until he checked in preparation for the meeting in Hot Springs just how much had been done in the Department of Agriculture.

July 19 - evening. Well the plot thickens -- I went off today after dictating the above for lunch with Bill Wirtz. He's been really cussed about cooperating with me on my Humphrey project. Today he was better, but most evasive. I really went to talk with him about how we ought to plan and structure the policy press communications section of the general election campaign. He kept deviating from that to the proverbial mainly the organization of Humphrey's campaign. It seemed he had some inkling that a change might be coming about. However, he was unwilling to express himself specifically as being critical of anything, stating that if Humphrey insisted on operating the way matters are being done now he could comply and we would get by. On the other hand, he indicated the desirability for stronger leadership and direction. So we went around and around. I didn't tell him about Humphrey's urging of me last night, although I said I was concerned that I might be asked and hesitated to do so. What it really came down to after a long discussion was that the stopping place and the problem seems to be Humphrey's staff people. I doubt if anyone is consciously trying to block anything. However, he has been working with them for a long time. He relies on them for his day to day operations, both as Vice President and in terms of his schedule and action and public appearances. They have access to him, they see him constantly -- the others do not. Therefore, when he jumps around issuing instructions or criticising actions either directly to other segments as the campaign, such as the citizens or the United



Democrats with Mondale and Harris, they will often go through them or at least they will know about them. Then in the process of execution it will tend to come back to and through them on the way to him -- they then frequently adjust, change, or transmit differently or even block. This may be done consciously, sometimes it's more likely that it's just a part of getting the job done on a day-to-day basis. Bill illustrated by a man he asked to do something who refused, who he in effect said he did it or else, who was then counter-acted by John Stewart who assigned the man to something else and Bill in effect was left dangling, what could he do? I've heard similar stories. I'm not surprised for Humphrey himself is brighter, more energetic, more imaginative than almost anyone. He tends to be impatient with those around him. He would logically then jump over them to people actually executing some of his orders and would tend to fail to clear it or to have join with him in issuing orders the person to whom the delegation was initially made. It doesn't take too much of this before everyone is running to him for decisions and he is unable to make them for the press of other things so his staff necessarily gets involved in it again. The result is friction and more confusion. I really don't know how it can be corrected short of Humphrey himself. Tomorrow we lunch. I'm going to have to tell him this. So far in our renewed relationships I have not been critical or negative or given personal advice. I've tried to stay from the daily operations, but I'm going to have to get into it now that he's pushing me to take it over. I have about resolved that shouldn't be done, that if I did move in it would result in all kinds of speculation and problems and nothing would basically be changed unless he would write in blood the new day and way. I doubt if he's likely to do that. I may suggest that Charley Murphy come in to be just a quiet Executive Secretary prime mover, this to carry on till the Convention. Anyway that lunch will be a key and an important one.



Another hectic day -- I just returned from the Hill -- Lunch with Humphrey. He kept me waiting almost 2 hours and I almost left, but he's the one under duress and so I swallowed my pride and indignation and we spent an hour and a half. He's tired, tense, and deeply concerned. He feels that the McCarthy campaign has all kinds of action and initiative, while his is more or less hanging. The comments that he has the delegates necessary and that he shouldn't be disturbed merely irritate him. He projected what could happen and of course he's right, that he's got 600 to 700 solid votes, other people like Hughes and Daley are waiting ostensibly with him, but if the polls show McCarthy ahead the argument that Humphrey can't win will get some credence, after two or three ballots the King makers could well look elsewhere, and that's that. So almost frantically he demands action and whips at his staff.

It's awfully hard to know what can be done and this gives me trepidation at the thought of conceivably taking it over for although I have no doubt as to my ability as a manager, organizer, administrator, I'm not the world's best creative innovator or sparkplug or idea man or promotor. With a little time I can get promoters and move these things, but I don't know all the people around the country now. Further, what Humphrey wants fundamentally is not possible because you simply can't in the middle of summer whip up the kind of enthusiasm which he wants and needs if these polls are not going to drift towards McCarthy for until the Convention is over and the nominee selected McCarthy has some very real things going for him. In the first place, he has been out -- he has been campaigning -- he's been doing it a long time and he has a lot of people involved in it and a lot of organization in states where Humphrey doesn't have it. He wasn't in the primaries. He got in very late. Further, McCarthy has going for him this complete emotional state of fanaticism of the anti-Vietnam people and along with them a lot of cranks, screwballs, extreme lefties, and Communists too; all the trash in the country. They're wild, energetic; politics and these issues are really a way of life for them and

they will and are producing a fanatic level of activity. We can't hope to match it but we must try and counteract it. So this is required, but tough. Also the fund thing is incredibly bad. Humphrey says its \$890,000 in debt. It's inconceivable to me how either he or Maguire would allow that to happen. Why there have not been fund events organized -- why Maguire hasn't brought to a halt some of the spending before now and counter-balanced it with programs to raise money, I can't for the live of me figure out. I must ask Max Kampelman about that. Humphrey says Maguire is now asking him to borrow \$5,000,000 with notes cosigned by wealthy people around the country and Humphrey is refusing. That might be all right after the Convention, but not at this time. After, it would be a Party obligation. Now it would be his, and that's impossible.

At the moment it appears that a lot of things are absolutely dead center simply because there isn't money to do such simple things as hire equipment. Ken Birkhead told me that he spent most of his time trying to get furniture for the campaign was so in debt to every furniture place in town that no one would send any more.

All of these are really little things, but they're big things too and I have a real hesitancy about jumping in mid-stream to try and pick it up. I also told Humphrey I feel strongly about leaving here. I can't run away from legislation and appropriations and I want so much to get things lined up in an orderly fashion here in terms of issues, organization, programs, and turn it over to my successor when that time comes, goodness knows when, and not just turn my back and run out on it now with files, papers, programs, projects scattered from one end of the Department to the other. I further feel there would be resistance and resentment if I moved in now, although Humphrey says no that Mondale and Harris and others recognize the need and are prepared to accept me although he related some things people had said that I had some liabilities, to wit, the farm program is unpopular, I've been cut up and scarred by the Poor People and the food attacks, etc. All of these

things he brushes aside and says they'll wash out quickly, they don't bother him. Anyway, he left it that he would talk with Mondale and Harris further. He would likely ask Connell to take over the post of overall campaign coordinator. He would ask me to associate with Connell on that in a quiet way so I would know in more depth what's going on, so I could advise, pull, cajole, in connection with it and have all of the details in mind as I shape up the total campaign plan. Then he said he hoped I would be prepared at the Convention to step into the breach and to take over the campaign. I indicated to him my willingness to do this with the hope that the President might give me a leave of absence so I would return following the election to close out affairs here. We'll have to see on that. If Kennedy should go on the ticket with him, that would necessarily open spots for others and that picture might change. So we left it at that. He'll be back at me later.

All this leaves me with mixed feelings. On the one hand, a desire to step in and help him. I feel for him. He's holding up well, but the pressure, the demands, the needs, all of these are heavy and as he said he simply doesn't have the energy he used to have. On the other hand as related, I'm fearful that no one, least of all yours truly, can do the job. So we'll have to see.

Ed Jaenke just called from the Hill. Our bill is progressing in the Senate. The 4-year extension has now been voted. Aiken proposed dropping it to 3 --that was a tough one. The vote was 40 to 40 and the amendment lost. The debate is going forward now on the limitation of payments, John Williams amendment. We should beat that handily. Perhaps we can get the reserve tacked onto the bill which will be tried by Monroney. We ought to make it this afternoon. I hope Jane, Connie and I can go to the beach tonight.

In the meantime, my stomach is jumping -- another one of those days when I'm at sixes and sevens, pulled a dozen ways.



July 19, 1968 continued -- It's ironic how things work in Government -- how facts, emotion, predetermined positions, and personal objectives can get all intermixed. This has been quite a day despite my involvement in the Humphrey campaign and its decision-making and the Farm Bill in the Senate. I've had some flack once again on meat and poultry inspection. What it comes down to is Holland has introduced an amendment which would provide that if and when the States meet Federal inspection standards and are so certified, meat and poultry inspected by them could move in inter-state commerce. Ralph Nader, Nick Kotz, and all the red hot consumer group immediately went through the roof and began to charge us with all kinds of duplicity and involvement with the meat packers, the State Commissioners of Agriculture, et al. The newspapers are ready to write stories -- all of this regardless of the facts. The focus has been a letter by Rod Leonard supposedly endorsing such an amendment when in fact no such letter has been written. Instead Rod wrote a letter April 18 which said the question of when the States can ship in inter-state commerce after meeting Federal Standards can be resolved in the future. The point that I make is that the kneejerk, emotional extremists immediately react all over the place and we are dealing not with facts or issues or principles, but emotions and an attack is in process now on Rod accusing him of collusion with venal meatpacking interests and stupid local politicians, to wit, State Commissioners of Agriculture. It's all ironic because meat legislation is an example of something that we strongly recommended. We could get no place in passing it. We worked patiently before the Congress and finally got out of the House Committee a proposal which was joint Federal in nature. Up to this point no one paid any attention to it. Then all of a sudden it came to light because Nick Kotz, Coles reporter, and Ralph Nader started muck-raking. This got involved over in the White House, Betty Furness and the President being eager to get a consumer program moving. So in this instance they grabbed hold of this one and it got all over the newspapers. The attack being registered on the Department as being negative. In the meantime



to get it through the House we had made some working arrangements with the State Commissioners. So we were kind of stuck and got bloodied up. But the muck-raking and the emotion were sufficient so a meat inspection bill passed. And it continues and will probably defeat the Holland amendment and one by Talmadge that are not good at this time, so I suppose that's a plus. The same kind of muck-raking and emotion is true with the Poor People's March and with the food programs, to wit, patiently, carefully, working for concurrence, trading votes, we succeeded in moving a food stamp program to a \$250 million a year funding level, reaching 2 1/2 million people. Now in order to break through and get another \$100 or so million plus \$50 million for Child Nutrition where again we patiently got legislation and gradually inched up appropriations over a period of 6 years, and now in a great emotional binge with muck-raking and finger pointing and the Department again being charged publicly, criticized widely for being negative and anti, we see getting the results that we want. So I guess it's all right. What we want is results. We want to pass the programs, but isn't it ironic and a commentary on the process.

July 22, 1968 -- 4:15 pm in the office. Well the weekend has come and gone. It was a perfectly delightful one. I was here until after 7:00 o'clock on Friday and then raced for home. Jane and Connie were almost ready. We loaded the car and took off for Ocean City. We stopped in Annapolis for dinner at a place called Harbor View. We had to wait a while and strolled around, had a drink and a relaxed and very enjoyable dinner. The drive for the rest of the way was pure torture. I really was tired. Jane talked to me, I scratched my legs and pounded my feet up and down to stay awake, but finally we made it, driving directly to the Gateway a new kind of Motel right on the beach. We had the best room in the place, on the third floor on the North Corner facing right on the beach with a delightful balcony. One room, a little kitchenette, a plastic divider with a hidabed for Connie and two three-quarter size beds. We had a quick drink after we hauled all

the stuff in. It was now 2:00 o'clock in the morning. Looking out over the ocean it was a lovely night -- then to bed. I was completely exhausted, just numb. at 9:30 the telephone rang, and it was Ed Jaenke calling from here. He asked me to get on the phone and call some Senators, which I did and rode the phone for an hour or two until it was clear that the bill was going to move through the Senate in good shape. Then we took a long walk up the beach, spent the afternoon laying in the sun, off and on in the ocean, had dinner in our apartment that night, read, hiked in the moonlight, slept in a bit more the next morning and more of the same all day Sunday. The weather was simply beautiful. The sun was hot, and bright, the surf was high enough to be fun, the water was cool, the beach was simply packed with people, but it was worth the price of admission going up and down to see the different, sizes, kinds and shapes. On Sunday night we went out to dinner and up at 6:00 o'clock this morning and drove in. Connie drove while she and Jane talked through the wedding plans and I plowed through the Sunday papers and got ready for this day in the office.

I've been here now since about 4:00 o'clock. I was supposed to have lunch with Mondale and Harris, but they called to cancel it because Mondale got tied up and said they would reschedule. I expect that they are going to talk with me further about the Humphrey campaign and a follow up of the conversation I have already related with Humphrey last Friday.

I've been restless this afternoon as I've moved through mail here, mem-  
branda and conferences, trying to get up to date for I am anxious to talk with them.

It was good that I had last weekend to do some thinking. Humphrey approached me on Friday -- it came so quickly and strongly that in a sense it kind of shook me up. The thought of leaving the Department to go into the campaign was a shock. Whenever I do leave, and events will determine that, I would at least like the

time to sort out my papers, belongings, and get the material organized in such a way that I can use it. There is a book or two in the offing; or at least a run-over of the events of the last 8 years so that I will have them refreshed in mind.

However, if the circumstances of the campaign require it, after long thought over the weekend it seems to me I have no alternative but to respond. Humphrey's proposal that Connell be the coordinator and I should be associated with him in some kind of fuzzy way doesn't sound like a very satisfactory arrangement -- almost better that I should move in and take it over and start running it. To do that effectively of course would require acceptance and fundamentally that means Mondale and Harris for they're the ones who might be sniped at by the Press, and they're the ones who would need to accept it and go along with strong support if I'm to be effective. In the meantime I've been thinking of how things might be arranged here with the President so that I could take a leave and return after the campaign to decide where we go from here. That wouldn't be so difficult I think if it weren't for the President's unhappiness with John Schnittker which stems from Schnittker's coming out for Kennedy several months back. I can't quite see the President leaving him in charge here in light of that. What the alternatives are I don't know. I had a call from the Ranch a few minutes ago. I wrote him a letter last week expressing my concern that I apparently had gone contrary to instructions in putting out that release on tax exempt status which would have removed the exemption from gentlemen farmers. In that note I explained the circumstances and said I would like to see him for there are several matters that lend themselves to possible misunderstandings. Jim Jones called about it and asked for a memo as to those topics and that I would be seeing the President later on in the week. I better try and bring the Humphrey campaign thing to a head at the time of that meeting, but for now the next move it seems to me is theirs. But in the meantime, time is awasting and I do wish we could bring the whole thing to a head.



July 23, 1968 -- 12:55 pm -- In five minutes I'm going down the hall to room 218 and meet with the farm organizations who are lobbying. I've had a rough morning. One worth recording as to how legislation is accomplished. A désultory process at best. I met this morning with the Democratic Study Group which is the liberals and tried to sell them on the combined package Food Stamps and Farm Bill. It was a good meeting -- smoked out some -- I thought cleared the air -- was useful. Ironically, Bob Poage who had been waiting for me in his office since 10:00 o'clock responded to a call of the Rules Committee and went over on a FHA matter, whereupon they bugged him hard as to his intentions, vis-a-vis, 4 years or 1-year and he came down solid for 1-year. Further, he indicated that he would follow the will of the House in Conference. I knew nothing about this. It was happenchance that he got bugged in this fashion. In the meantime when he wasn't in his office, I went and called on Carl Albert the Majority Leader and reviewed the overall situation with Carl. He's highly sympathetic, recognizes the problem with Poage, but expressed his concerns and his doubts and reservations as to what we could pass just as Poage and others have done. In the meantime, our vote count as set out by Ben Steele is now well over 200 but they won't believe it. I planned to return to Poage's office, instead he came over, and I met with him in Carl Albert's office. He had his Counsel, Black, with him -- just the three of us. From the first moment Poage was defensive. He related to me that we should have made decisions earlier -- half way apologized for having made them unilaterally, described how he had been put on the spot in the Rules Committee, that he had to state what he was doing and outlined what I have described above. I was aghast -- for the moment at least it seemed like the roof had caved in and we would get nothing. I turned on Poage fairly strongly initially and told him that I thought this was unfair and improper and he almost flared up declaring his responsibilities and his need to make judgments and generally getting huffy. I pushed him to go along and try to pass the 4-year



bill, that it would strengthen his position for the 1-year bill. He simply denies that fact. I talked to him about the Conference Committee and he declared he could not indicate and would not that he would do other than try and see to it the House position prevailed in the Conference. And then he said with some glee he would win because Ellender was anxious to go to Russia. He repeated that Belcher had put him on the spot, that his word and integrity were being questioned, that he was going to live up to his commitments, that he had to be around for a long time. It was clear there was no use arguing with him, that Belcher had himself voluntarily backed away from any commitments, and therefore Poage was released. Somehow or other he doesn't seem to see it that way.

And so however we turned Poage was a big mimic. He threw up to me also my adopting the Leonor Sullivan proposal on Food Stamps -- obviously that and her prevailing in a sense rankles him deeply. Whatever Poage's motives, a sincere judgment of the likelihood of passage, a commitment that he's afraid he will be accused of breaking, whether he wants a 1-year rather than 4, or whether he's just generally angry and desirous of having better relations with the Republicans, i.e. he did accuse me of politics, and merely trying to make votes, and my response was as I testified before the Committee and said to the Study Group this morning that in a sense this was above politics to me for if we had 4-years we could demonstrate beyond a doubt the workability of these programs and they would be a part of the fabric of our Government and agriculture. One-year would not be enough and the whole aura of uncertainty and doubt would continue. Therefore, the political chips could fall where they might, the basic issue was all important. Anyway whatever Poage's motivations at that moment in Albert's office, it all seemed almost impossible. I kept probing, however, looking for something that could be salvaged out of this and perhaps got two things. Finally, I said to Poage, if this comes up on a motion by Neil Smith, will you instead of attacking it on the

merits state that you favor a permanent farm bill but under the current circumstances the Committee at your instance had voted out a 1-year bill, that you would vote against the amendment because you felt that you couldn't pass more than a 1-year bill at this time and did not want to deviate from the Committee recommendation. He thought a moment, looked at Black, said he didn't see why he couldn't do that, that that was the truth and what he believed anyway. I made him repeat it. Black repeated it too. I think it's a firm commitment. When I returned to the office and got Jaenke, Hughes, Steele, Godfrey and Schnittker together, they all said this was more than they had been able to get from Poage and considered it a plus. I further got him to indicate that if he did his bona fide best in Conference so that he was living up to his commitment that perhaps there was a possibility of something in Conference. This in response to my needling him -- Did a conference committee go normally to conference with a commitment by the Chairman - that under no circumstances would he give at all, but rather would let the legislation die? That that wasn't my understanding of the process. At that point he evaded and opened the door to the possibility of some adjustment. So, apparently I salvaged something.

I hurried back to the office -- got the boys together and right now they are assembling the farm leadership which due to Poage had been equivocating and had all these big doubts and now I'm going to read them a hard, harsh, clear, tough, ringing line and send them out to go to work all the way up and down the line. I think I'll communicate with the President and see if I can get him to call Poage as well. It's shaping up and it's quite a battle, but it's ironic how chance operates. In this instance, a protracted meeting with the Democratic Study Group at which time Poage slips away and makes public commitments to the Rules Committee which might have been avoided if I had gotten to him earlier and the Study Group hadn't met as long so we could have worked out matters before he made public commitments. Now we can only try and recover, but maybe it's possible, and what

seemed impossible a few moments ago seems at least possible now and we'll give it a solid 100 percent run.

July 24, 1968 -- 8:30 am. Just a quick comment before I go down to staff this morning. My meeting with the farm lobbyists seemed to go well yesterday. Our problem is with the cotton people who think maybe if they stay with the 1-year bill they can be stronger to beat limitations. We gave them the count cold turkey and I exhorted all concerned that we had victory in hand and should carry it through strongly. I also urged that we try for 4-years because we have nothing to lose, it can only strengthen us in getting 1-year if that proves to be all that is possible. This is especially true with the Chairman standing beside and supporting the Committee 1-year bill. The farm organization people fanned out and have been up on the Hill since. I've sent my count to Carl Albert and talked to him, reporting on my conversation with Poage. My big question now is whether today I should personally go call on Albert, on Boggs, and on the Speaker, with the count as it now stands explaining the very unusual situation that we're in. I think I probably should and may schedule these appointments.

A new flap about Poultry and Meat Inspection. Nick Kotz and Ralph Nader are at it again. This time they have sent me a letter demanding reports that we allegedly are suppressing and of course making a great flap about the Holland amendment providing that intrastate inspected poultry and meat can move interstate when the States meet Federal inspection standards. Apparently when the press called the White House, Levenson (Califano was apparently with the President) told them that Betty Furness speaks for the Administration on this matter, not the Secretary of Agriculture. Holland has played with this now with a speech on the floor of the Senate. I find it embarrassing, but it's true and I'm not quite sure how to handle it. This of course goes back to the Meat Inspection Bill which I've already outlined which was difficult and embarrassing when the President got



off on a hectic consumer pace and instructed Califano to proceed forthwith with a meat inspection bill that went much further than what we had managed to extract out of the House Ag Committee with the help of the State Commissioners of Agriculture. Previously legislation had lain dormant and we couldn't move it. This was most embarrassing and put me in the middle. I probably should have gone directly to the President and explained the circumstances in this instance, but instead I let it go and we had lots of pain but managed to limp through looking rather bad, but getting the legislation and letting the President get the credit. We, as usual, got the worst of both worlds, attacked by the Commissioners through part of the Press for improper inspection, investigation and release of materials while at the same time Kotz, Nader and company were accusing us of covering up information. Incidentally, Kotz got a Pulitzer price for it. Now it pops its head up again and I find it difficult and embarrassing to handle. So be it.

Levenson in the White House apparently told the Press that Betty Burness speaks for the Administration, not the Department of Agriculture and I'm debating in my mind whether I should take this to the President with a strong protest, and whether I should go see Holland. I'll have a conference on this before I decide.

July 25, 1968 - 7:45 pm. I'm alone in the office -- just returned from a squash game. Jane is coming in at 9:00 from Chicago where she's been working on the Humphrey campaign arrangements. Two more days are history. They've been largely uneventful for the heat went off of the agricultural bill. We couldn't get it scheduled this week. I went yesterday and managed to get the Speaker and Majority Leader together and with Mrs. Sullivan got a time certain hopefully for next Monday. We sent our lobbyist crowd of farmers home. They'll be back on Monday to go to work bright and early. I then went around and saw Bernie Sisk, Wilbur Mills, George Mahon, the Majori Leader, and gave them all our head count



which at 222 is strong and excellent and I think convinced them that we can pass this bill and they should go for it, so I feel like it's in pretty good shape. Then I returned to the office and went to work on the Humphrey Campaign most of the time since.

I had over to my office John Stewart, Humphrey's Staff man; Alvin Spivak, the Communications person; Bob Short, and we'll have McCandless tomorrow. I'm going with them over what they're doing and getting a feel of what really is going on in the Humphrey campaign.

Then I sat down and wrote out myself an organization chart which showed what I expected that there were a couple of key people, particularly Bill Wirtz, in the issues, policy big section who for some reason or another Humphrey is not dealing with, that he is using his staff for line purposes, and that it is generally kind of messed up. In the main, however, he does have excellent people and the makings of a good campaign.

I went up to sit in on a Task Force on Vietnam because he's planning to get out a Vietnam paper and I gave him a copy of this when I left. He was to call me last night and didn't. He called me just late this afternoon and told me that Larry O'Brien would take over the responsibility for the Chicago Convention, and also be the coordinator for the campaign until Convention time. I suspected that this was coming. I almost talked myself into feeling that I should go over and take the campaign over instead of playing a secondary role. Tom discovered that a group of the delegate searchers went to Humphrey on Sunday night, apparently complaining primarily about Bill Connell. They also objected to my taking an important campaign spot on the grounds I was so unpopular with farmers in the Midwest. Isn't that ironic? In any event when Mondale and Harris did not reschedule the planned lunch for Monday noon, I had a hunch something had changed. In any event I expressed real enthusiasm to Humphrey. Larry O'Brien

will be good. He is to call me. I think I can save him a lot of time by getting to the heart of what needs to be done in this campaign. It surely is ironic. Today Mark Hogan, the Lieutenant Governor of Colorado, was in, a young fellow in his early thirties. He and so many people in that age range now are talking the new politics. When I try and grasp what that is no one can define it. The best they can say is that it means you are for looser and freer procedures in the selection of delegates, in the convention rules. Then you're just for change. Any reference, according to him, as to the very real accomplishments of the Johnson Administration is per se old hat. That's derby and cigar backroom politics. According to him the anti-attitude towards the President's personality, the credibility gap and all so permeates the accomplishments that no one can afford to be associated with them and that Humphrey must separate himself from that in some fashion. I had Hogan travel to some of the Western States getting an analysis of what should be done to campaign there and his findings were that the only people that turned out for Humphrey affairs or meetings had to come on crutches or canes and needed geritol. They were all old. All the life and all the bounce was among those practicing the new politics. Again, he couldn't define it. It's crazy but at the moment true. I'm a little worried that Humphrey is moving too far in the direction of courting this so-called new politics crowd. He can't win them in the short run. He could lose the solid base which gave him such an early strong standing in the polls. I just wrote him a little handwritten note, telling him to consider this and maybe move back a bit to the unity - we made great progress, now we must do better; American isn't sick -- it's healthier than ever, but it's strong enough now to correct it's wrongs theme. Max Kampelman was in late today and it was his opinion that the losses that have been suffered are because this theme has been abandoned and instead Humphrey has in a sense aped the McCarthy anti-line

the Rockefeller line that accentuates all the things that have to be done and implicitly at least says how terrible things are instead of how good things are but let's do better. He's a master politician. He's on the stump getting the feed back. He can make the decision, but I did want to call this to his attention. It is ironic that it should be so and I can't help but feel deeply for the man in the White House. Herache has built a record of liberal progress in any field you might want to name second to none and in effect he can't even talk about it now and it is labeled "old hat", "looking backwards", "not good enough", "Does that mean you won't do other things? You have no imagination?", etc. It must be heartbreaking, heartwrenching.

I went over to see the President today. I had written him several long memos about things I had done so there wouldn't be any question of my exceeding my authority. He was in one of his noncommittal moods. He was warm and friendly. We sat down. He said, do you want to go through this, or should I? Most of it is past now. I went over the head count with him -- agreed that it was passed now but I just wanted him to know about it. Talked a little about India and dairy imports and left. It was about that simple. He didn't seem anxious to talk about it. He made no point about the instances in it where he had previously felt I had exceeded my authority. He knows what I am doing now and I feel I can go ahead. He didn't seem to want to talk more about the instances, nor did he seem to want to examine the strategy or even discuss the legislation, and so I didn't push him. At least he knows now and I can proceed with that in mind and hopefully he will be reassured. He is sensitive and I can understand it.

I mentioned to him that I was not in the Humphrey campaign now except for occasional consultation, but I was working to put together the general election campaign and I would like to over it with him when I got something on paper. He indicated he would be pleased to do that, but again wasn't very expressive. In



any event I feel the air is cleared on that front and I can go ahead with a good bit more freedom and reassurance.

So with Larry O'Brien in the campaign slot, with legislation moving along under control, with my project for the general election campaign moving in pretty good shape, things for the moment seem to be in order. I wonder how long that will last.

July 29, 1968 -- 6:15 pm at the office. I'm running through the day's mail here waiting for a 7:00 o'clock squash game with Bob McNamara. We haven't played now for almost a month. He has been gone around the world, so I called him this morning. I hate to play that late, but he always schedules himself to work late, a late dinner, and no work at home. I work late and not quite so late dinner and work at home. I think he's schedule is better. Anyway I look forward to playing with him.

Events over the weekend have been fairly quiet. We had all the agricultural organizations lobbyists in this morning early and they are on the Hill now. The Sullivan food stamp authorization should be before the House. The vote count still looks good. All the organizations are now in line. Still a good bit of the leadership reserves on whether we can pass a 4-year bill. If the food stamp thing goes according to schedule, we should be able to do it easily. I sure hope so -- it would be a real coup.

The weekend was fairly relaxed. I worked all day here in the office following an early morning meeting with Dick Scammon who went over the country region by region as a part of our scheduling exercise with Jim Thornton, John Havelock and myself. Then I spent the afternoon catching up on the mail here. Jane and I had a quiet evening at home and a quiet Sunday at home as well interspersed with a swim at the Max Kampelman's. He sure has his house fixed up nice now with a wonderful pool, and pool surroundings. We spent about 3 hours working in the yard. I enjoy that and one enjoys the yard more when you do put a little



of your own time and sweat into it. I ran across an amazing fact on the Humphrey campaign over the weekend. It seems that Jerry Hursh, a young PhD, son of Maury Hursh, has been hired under contract by the Humphrey organization to do work on polling and research related thereto. No one knew this -- not even Max Kampelman. So I had Hursh in here today -- got him straightened around, in touch with both Kampelman and Kirkpatrick, and we're going forward now on a unified basis to do something about a systematic approach to this whole polling problem.

It seems that Connell hired Hursh initially. Mondale got up in the air and told Connell he exceeded his authority, which was undoubtedly true, so Connell got someone from the outside to finance Hursh. In the meantime Hursh had no one to report to. He sent memos to Connell and to Mondale and nothing happened. Then today I get a copy of a memo to Humphrey from Mondale and Harris saying they had asked Tyroler now to coordinate with Hursh the whole polling picture. That'll work out. I'll just tell Humphrey I have that firmly under control and we'll proceed as I have outlined. I'm trying desperately to get all the ducks in order now on the general election campaign. That means mostly scheduling and organization. I had McCandless in here who runs the delegate search operation with a full time man in virtually every state in the country. We will use his men, many of whom are potential campaign expeditors in the respective States, to try and pull together the necessary information state by state so we can be ready to move immediately after Humphrey is nominated. Hopefully we can get to each state, perhaps appoint a state campaign manager, give them some kind of a prospectus of organization and meet with them in Chicago immediately following or even during the convention. If I can get that done plus overall organizational prospectus of the campaign and get it down and agreed to across the board, it'll be a great contribution.

In the meantime, Larry O'Brien has taken over as coordinator and also in charge of affairs at Chicago. He has not called me yet. Humphrey told him to do so. I wish he would. I'd like to go over with him what I've discovered. I could save him a great deal of time and effort, I'm sure. Somehow I have the feeling where politics is concerned, and some other people have said the same thing, that Larry simply doesn't give out. He more or less holds you at arms length. I hope I'm not right. We can't stand very much of that in any campaign and particularly so in this one which has been so disorganized. Anyway I'm glad he's aboard and I am not required to make that move until at least Chicago.

Friday evening, Jane and I had dinner with Neil Staebler. He's a great guy and it was good to see him and discuss some politics with him. He made an interesting point that the middle and lower middle class, particularly those who have moved up from the South to industrial areas, carried with them and continue their antipathy towards Negroes, plus their tendency to want vigorous law enforcement and some authoritarianism. In addition they have now a stake to protect. As Neil put it, during the 50's and early 60's these people feared unemployment. Now the economy has been strong, jobs have been available, they no longer fear that and therefore they are inclined to stray in voting based on appeals to authoritarianism, law enforcement and anti-racialism. In the earlier period their fear of unemployment and economic recession overcame their antipathy on these other points, but now they're pretty hard to reach. The stick is gone and the carrot isn't great enough and they tend to drift in the Wallace direction. Humphrey had a bad weekend this weekend. He was out in California and a group of militants shouted him down and literally drove him away from the Watts area in Los Angeles. He wasn't able to speak and he was also picketed. He got bad press on it. Maybe he'll get some sympathy. At the moment it sure runs counter to his plea that he can unify.

The series of incidents in California over the weekend were reported very brutally and abruptly. They certainly run counter to his alleged position of desiring to bring about the unity throughout the country. The press was real nasty about it. It may get him some sympathy. At the moment I would tend to believe it's counter productive. Nixon is also having his problems as a Rockefeller drive, at least according to the press, apparently threatens his first ballot victory.

After dinner with Neil we drove out to the Hale Boggs' to pick up some material Jane had left there. Hale had just returned from the Congress, and we went in for a drink. I was surprised in the course of our conversation with the vehemence of his feeling that the President should never have withdrawn from the race. Boggs is very close to the President and very loyal to him, but he felt this was a terrible mistake. He agreed with my analysis that power abhors a vacuum, even worse he said it made the President look like a quitter and because of this many of the excesses we see today with no one to fight back are taking place. I'm afraid there are a lot of people thinking this way and that doesn't help matters either.

July 30, 1968 -- 9:55 am. I just came up from staff and had a long talk with John Stewart in Humphrey's office. It appears they are thinking of trying to make some statements about the overall food and need problem national and internationally, vis-a-vis, Biafra and the domestic food scene. They're going to run a statement over to me for clearance. I told them to stay away from the domestic food scene because we were doing about everything that could be done. I'll take a look at it.

Tom just drifted in to say that as we go to bat today on food stamp and farm bill there is a rumor that Frank Thompson, head of the Democratic Study Group, and Poage had agreed for a 1-year bill. This is hard to believe, but we're trying to check it out. Also Poage apparently was with the President on Saturday. I gave the President detailed memoranda explaining Poage's position and asking him to talk



to Poage. He said he would, but he didn't know as he could do any good. We're wondering what the President might have said to Poage and have no way of finding out other than asking him which I don't feel I can really do. If he wanted to tell me he would. The truth is he has not been ever very intellectually or emotionally committed to our farm programs. I know he gets a lot of pressure from his wealthy Texas friends, such as Jay Taylor, against it. In 1965 he did little to help as he acknowledged himself shortly before Christmas when I thanked him for help. When I talked to him last week about it, he showed little enthusiasm but he wasn't enthusiastic about anything that day. So I don't know exactly what to do except we'll try and explore through Labor and Ken Birkhead where Frank Thompson sits and then I'll try and call him if there is any doubt. Our count says we have the votes, but we're very nervous about it.

Well, the Food Stamp Authorization passed. Tom just called in the results on final passage -- 315 to 83. We did lose to the Teague Amendment eliminating strikers and college students. It carried 150 to 135. The motion to carry Mrs. Sullivan's amendment carried 150 to 134. Tom reports that the Democratic Study Group and the City Liberals appreciate the fact that Poage voted against the Teague amendment and most of the Southerners absented themselves or voted against it. They stated they are ready to support us on the final passage for the 4-year farm bill. That will be under way now shortly -- here's hoping.

July 31, 1968 -- 3:15 pm. Here I sit alone at my desk sweating it out. The House went into session at noon today. The Farm Program is up. The Smith Amendment going from 1 to 4 years probably is being voted on at this very instant. I'm worried about it. That count doesn't seem as solid now. Tom Hughes sounded uncertain a moment ago. I called Mannie Celler from New York this morning counted a "yes". He was uncertain. Poage and the leadership still think it can't be done. I sure hope it is. It would be a crowning accomplishment. But at the moment I have that sinking feeling.



I spent yesterday reviewing my Task Force Manuals and gave the staff a hard shot this morning to get back in harness and work through the task forces to project not only 5 years ahead, but at least 10, and to review and analyze our programs now that the Congressional year is about over and we're preparing to move into the fiscal '70 budget. I want to set down just as hard and sharp and clear what we have done, its reasons, so that whatever happens here it will be solidly established and not deviated from casually or lightly.

I've talked to Wayne Rassmussen. Maybe there is a book in the making on all of this. It could be called "Two Presidents and Eight Years". It could have an autobiographical chapter and then move into the six major areas and relate the direction which we moved and why, with appropriate anecdotes and inside information as to what really took place.

Had a busy morning this morning. From staff I raced to see Ellender. We had decided we could not extend cotton loans which he had requested some months ago. Today was the last day. He was decent about it -- said that so long as support price and market price were so far apart, it seemed the coops were taking advantage of the program and he certainly didn't want me to do something that wasn't right. No problem. He is disturbed about Food Stamps however. He's not comfortable with the open end authorization and asked me for detailed figures as to what we wanted to do and its cost over the 4-year period. I must deliver them this afternoon. This will be a haggling and jiggling operation. I certainly hope I get him to go for at least enough authorization to reach the some 250 counties standing in line cutting plus/the required payment based on what income groups have been spending and increasing the food stamp bonus. But that will mean pretty close to \$150 million increase. That'll go hard for that fiscal conservative, then of course we must get it in the President's supplemental and no one knows what he will do. Charley Zwick said at Cabinet this morning, maybe he won't be as ugly then as now and more apt to do it. I hope so. Both of us feel the President . . . (end of tape)

Both Charlie Zwick and I at Cabinet expressed our regrets that the President hadn't acted more vigorously on the food programs. That there is a lot of credit he could have gained and would now lose, but we also resolved that if we get him to move on these various things they could come together in a package and it would be forgotten that he really didn't move on this very aggressively, rather it would be a part of his program. I don't understand his hesitation on this when he has moved out to identify his program rather aggressively in other areas the last few weeks. For example, a book To Heal and To Build - The Programs of Lyndon Johnson edited by James McGregor Burns just reached my desk. I've barely looked at it, but it looks well done with introductory essays and then excerpts from the President's Messages to Congress on strategic subjects.

The bell ringing was Tom Hughes. Nothing definite yet. The Smith Amendment to expand the program to 4-years was subsequently amended by the Quie amendment on limitations. There are mostly Southerners on the floor now, Tom said, and it's likely that will lose which ought to if anything strengthen us for the 4 years. So there we are.

Going back to the President -- Today in Cabinet we had a very interesting and detailed presentation in connection with progress made in the Negro's position in society with pointed references as to how that progress had accelerated under LBJ. Naturally, understandably, he is stressing record and accomplishment as indeed he should, and I'd like to help. But why he hasn't grabbed hold of this food one I can't quite figure out. Maybe he doesn't completely believe it, maybe he's piqued because some of us moved a little faster than he wanted to, maybe he doesn't want anyone to say that he was pushed by the excesses of the Poor People. Whatever it is, he isn't communicating and that includes everyone on his own staff and Charlie Zwick as well. And so I'll just do the best I can with Congress and hope that he will come through when we must get that supplemental.

I have in my hand a wire service release in which the Vice President is criticizing the Administration, the country at large, and particularly the Department of Agriculture, for not enough action on food programs. At first I resented this very fiercely but with after thought decided to relax. My reaction typifies Humphrey's problem. He does need to get a national image as his own man. Yet if he is critical at all his friends and co-workers in this Administration resent it and I'm sure most of all the President. What then can he do? The current of discontent runs strong at this time for a host of reasons. He doesn't strengthen his position by lauding what's been done. He runs into a hornet's nest if he's critical. This gives McCarthy around whom all the antis can collect a free run and it's not a very satisfactory situation and so I guess I'll relax and not get angry at him. The extent of this feeling was made rather clear to me the last couple of evenings with Bob McNamara. We played squash Monday and Tuesday. When I referred to the Presidential campaigns he lashed out at Humphrey -- not personally, but in the sense that Humphrey simply wasn't running the right kind of a campaign. When I pressed him, he really didn't know why but that he simply hadn't established himself as his own man. Apparently the day before he had been at Kitty Graham's and there had been some Harvard Seniors there. They were anti-Humphrey, again because he represented the old not the new and the McCarthyites were not given a fair chance procedurally. Well Humphrey in part corrected that by coming out against the Unit Rule and the word is probably getting around that McCarthyites have been guilty of even more excesses. Nonetheless Bob McNamara was affected by this. When I asked him on Monday and followed up on Tuesday, how that should be done it came down to the bombing of North Vietnam. He felt that it should be curtailed and ended. He said, denying any classified information, that the rate of casualties was way down, apparently the movement of North Vietnamese wasn't down, and it could be said based on the San Antonio formula that the North Vietnamese had responded to the President's cutting back of the bombing



by cutting back their activity. Therefore, he said, Humphrey should have acted and declared for no bombing which would have made for a clear separation between him and the Administration and taken his chances at the President's displeasure. After all, Bob said, what could the President do. Then picking up the newspaper he went on to say, now Rusk has issued a hard line statement that we need a representation from a highly placed North Vietnamese to curtail further our bombing and that the events in question do not represent anything significant. So, says Bob, it's harder today than it would have been yesterday for the Vice President to act. Now as a candidate, he went on, he doesn't have the same obligation to the President or to the Administration that he had when he was per se a member of it. Bob then urged me not to quote or use his name anywhere. He was not saying anything. He thought he should not say anything. It would be disloyal to the President. But it was clear to me that he felt strongly about it. He further said that the majority of people in both State and Defense felt that bombing should be curtailed. Humphrey feels so, too. At the meeting last week with the task force on a proposed Vietnamese statement he declared quite strongly that a lot of places south of North Vietnam could be bombed with equal military results. The question, of course, is a political one. Bob McNamara agreed and disassociated himself as a non-politician, non-experienced. When I called his attention that the reaction of the country and things the President might do that would affect the same needed to be considered in this as well as the "I'm my own man" philosophy.

Well following the Cabinet meeting today Humphrey's position is even tougher. Rusk and the Secretary of Defense both reported that based on recent visits and communications the build-up of the North Vietnamese was continuing strong and it was expected that an attack would be made likely at Da Nang and maybe at Saigon about the middle of August and that they were prepared for them and would hit back hard and strong. Abrams communication was a very vigorous and positive one in terms of search, destroy, eradicate the enemy. So it is clear now in a Cabinet meeting all concerned with Humphrey sitting there saying nothing that this whole question



is frozen in more deeply than it was even a few days ago when the Vietnam statement was considered for several hours by the task force.

So the Cabinet meeting itself and the report from Rusk and the Secretary of Defense boxed Humphrey into the corner even further. As the Cabinet meeting drew to a close following a presentation showing improvement in the black community, Humphrey made a comment on his recent trip to the West Coast describing with some bitterness the treatment he received from the "far out" group including the meeting at which he was unable to speak. He described the signs along the airport fences, the unkemptness, and the bitterness and literal hatred, and then said, "Anyone who runs for office these days ought to have his head examined -- he was plain crazy." The President, rather than responding to this, expressing interest or sympathy, busily engaged himself in a conversation looking over some papers with Joe Fowler about whom he had said some very kind words as Joe goes in for surgery tomorrow morning. It's clear it's terribly hard for the President not to be himself in the eye of the tornado. That's not hard to understand.

Another report -- the limitation of payments amendments all were decisively vetoed according to Tom's just phone call. Apparently they were defeated with very substantial Republican support. A number of other amendments are pending. It will be another hour yet before the Smith 4-year amendment is voted on. Tom reports Poage is handling himself well, not using all his time, and generally making a good appearance. That's much of the battle. Tom also says that people continue to pour through our chances to win. The votes are there if they'll only vote 'em. Here's hoping.

Well, we lost it -- not only lost it, but lost it bad. Tom just called. The vote was so bad that they didn't even make a teller count. There was a voice vote and then Neal Smith called for a rising vote and Tom said it was something like 120 to 35, or something like that. Obviously, not very many there. Few of the city people were there. Frank Thompson did vote. Jim O'Hara apparently

wasn't even on the Floor. Poage spoke against any amendment, although I guess he lived up to his commitment that he would say that in principle he had been for a longer bill. Tom said Carl Albert apparently didn't even vote. There simply wasn't any steam behind it at all. This is what they had said from the first -- that it couldn't be done. Yet, Ben Steele brought me this count. It was something like 220. I showed it to the President. I used it on Barefoot Sanders. I told Ellender we had it. I went around to the Leadership of the House and gave it to them and told them that was the count, to count it, and I just assumed it was there. I guess I should have gone back myself to Mills, to Mahon, to Albert, and asked them if they had counted it, and what the situation was; but I assumed that Tom and Ben knew what they were doing; that Labor would bring these people onto the Floor, and that the vote would represent the commitments; instead there weren't a handful of people there. The likelihood now of getting anything more than a 1-year bill is pretty slim. The whole business is highly embarrassing and frankly I really don't know what to do about it.

August 2, 1968 -- 4:45 am. Just had another one of those nights. Got home last night for dinner after 9:00 and decided to go to bed and get up at 6:00. There were so many things running through my mind that, as often happens, once that first sleep of dead-tiredness is worn off I wake up with a racing mind, that I did about 45 minutes ago and finally got up and I'm at the desk here at home.

I really don't know a great deal more now than I did yesterday as to what really happened on the vote in the House. I spent most of yesterday on the Hill talking with Ellender, Poage, Albert and trying to put the pieces together. I have gotten after Tom Hughes and Ben Steele very strongly and have charged them with inefficiency, ineffectiveness, carelessness, and just not knowing what they are doing. They deny that, contend that their count was good, but that people simply did not live up to their commitments. They insist that the leadership did not support the program, that Mahon and Mills for example were on the Floor but didn't

even vote, that most of the Members of the Committee stayed with Poage and didn't vote. When I charged them with why weren't there more people on the Floor, where were all these commitments, they shrugged their shoulders and say they don't know except the Leadership didn't take a strong position and they just didn't show. Further, Labor was disturbed because of the anti-strike amendment on Food Stamps and spent most of their time in the Senate trying to do something about it. They didn't do anything to get their people on the Floor. Further, the Democratic Study Group people and Mrs. Sullivan apparently didn't do anything. Frank Thompson and Jim O'Hara voted right. Mrs. Sullivan was there all day, spoke and voted right, but nobody turned up. So perhaps what happened was that we had the votes but they didn't vote. The key, as Barefoot Sanders said several days before, was "Lookout now that you get those people there to vote. If they are not there when the voice votes and then the rising vote and then the teller vote is taken, why you just lose. There's no way then to get a record vote unless the amendment to the bill out of Committee passes. If it doesn't pass, you're simply hung up." And that's what happened. Albert told me that he himself was embarrassed and as a leader to be identified with such a small group. I ended up apologizing to him for embarrassing him and taking the blame myself for the judgment to go ahead, and that I had to do because it was my judgment. I did rely on that count. I did tell people it could carry. I did prevail on people to so act. I simply assumed that what would be done is what people said would be done, and I was wrong.

August 2, 1968 -- 5:00 am at home - continuation. So that's over. Now as has happened again in the past all I can do is try and pick up the pieces and I spent a good bit of the day doing that. It seems clear that the House is not about to pass more than a 1-year bill. In any event Poage is not prepared to try. Albert is not prepared to try. I'm in no position to ask for more, so it's one year or nothing. I probably couldn't stop 1-year if I wanted to. In any event although a vote on more than 1 year forcing the Republicans to stand up and be



counted might be useful for political purposes. I can't get it unless I opposed a 1-year myself and I'd look bad doing that. So the question of the politics at this point is academic. In any event, as Jane said last night when we discussed it, it will be only the more sophisticated farm leadership that would understand and be affected politically, most rank and file farmers know they have another year's program and the next Congress can do something, therefore there is no immediate pressure and it's extremely doubtful that they're going to be affected much short of something enormously dramatic which now won't happen. So we might as well now salvage as a part of our record whatever we can.

There have been a lot of parliamentary shenanigans because Poage's motion to go to Conference was objected to and without unanimous consent he couldn't substitute the Senate bill for the House bill and therefore there was nothing to go to Conference. Ellender, therefore, although he was furious, went to the Floor of the Senate and succeeded in putting through the Senate the House bill with what the Senate passed. He got unanimous consent for that so there is something to go to Conference. Now Poage will try to get permission to go to Conference and if he does they will confer today. It seems to me quite clear that they will come out with a 1-year Farm Bill and no limitations. The Republicans will support that and it's likely it will pass the House on a bi-partisan basis. However, the limitations thing might prevent passage. It's hard to tell.

At this point I privately really don't care. Walter Wilcox tells me that the cotton program would work anyway, although the larger cotton growers would be hard put. It would really cost them a great deal. The other programs will work. The farm programs as a whole will not be as vulnerable as they are now. We can make the argument until the cows come home, but still these big payments stand out like a sore thumb and even though they are logical they invite the demagogues and it's hard to catch up with the accusation. Nonetheless the likelihood is a 1-year farm bill with no limitations and that will clearly be the end of the road and



there will have to be limitations from here on out, but that probably won't be my doings any more.

The biting problem now is what we ought to do about Food Stamps. The House has the striker amendment, Ellender doesn't really care. Labor is wild to get it out. What should I do? Labor didn't deliver for me and I really don't feel too strongly one way or another under these circumstances although I'd like to see it come out. Further, Ellender doesn't like the open end authorization. Neither does Poage. Poage is absolutely determined and was to stay with the Committee 1-year bill position, but he doesn't feel that way on Food Stamps and he will willingly relinquish. Ellender is inclined to go along and establish some dollar amounts and I've given him a memo to that effect. Poage is going to feel those amounts are high -- he's not very sympathetic to the Food Stamp thing anyway. It's possible that when Ellender tries to get permission from the Senate, if he doesn't already have it and he may, to go to Conference on Food Stamps that they might instruct him vis-a-vis the open end authorization and the striker amendment. I doubt if they will but Ben Steele thinks they might. It's possible that if he votes back less than open end with the striker amendment that the Senate might not accept it. If they don't the whole question would go over again until December. He would, of course, be furious. I can't very well connive so that his authority will be limited in the Senate -- he's the only one that has been really loyal and cooperative with me and I can't double on him and won't. So it's kind of messed up and I'm not sure what will happen. To additionally complicate matters, I had planned to go to New York today and have lunch with John Swanson from General Electric. He has talked to me about the possibility of my representing that corporation and some others if and when I return to the practice of law. I don't know about that, but this is something that I do need to follow up on. The Heaneys are in New York and we plan to have dinner and go to a play tonight with them, returning to Washington tomorrow. So here I go again. Every