

YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY
ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

Democratic Party

Political Experience

O.H. 22

RICHARD P. MCLAUGHLIN

Interviewed

by

Mark Connelly

on

February 5, 1974

RICHARD P. MCLAUGHLIN

Richard P. McLaughlin, a native of Youngstown, Ohio, has been an important local public figure for several years. Although he had spent some fourteen years outside the local area, his roots have always been in Youngstown and his career as a successful lawyer has come to maturity here. His political career, while promising in the early 1970's, has been eclipsed by his legal and business career by 1976.

Richard McLaughlin's two attempts to unseat Charles J. Carney, 19th District Congressman, while abortive, were helpful to McLaughlin and the area. The two races surely gave impetus to McLaughlin's career, but equally important, these campaigns propelled many people into politics who do not normally take an active part. In the process McLaughlin and others close to the campaign came to know something of the infrastructure of politics in the Youngstown-Warren area.

McLaughlin has always been an active and involved individual. He was a leader in high school and college, serving as president of his senior class in both instances. After graduating from Ursuline High School in 1952 and Youngstown State University in 1958, he took his L.L.B. in 1962 and the L.L.M. in 1964 from Georgetown University Law Center. During this period and until 1970 he worked for the government in Washington, D.C. In 1968 he was selected as one of the outstanding young men in America. Upon returning to Youngstown in 1970, he established his own law firm and embarked on his first campaign for Congress. Having

placed second in a field of thirteen candidates, he ran again in 1972. Although he lost the race he did keep the incumbent to 56% of the vote.

McLaughlin is currently the senior member of the law firm of McLaughlin, DiBlasio, and Harshman Active at St. Edward Roman Catholic Church, he is also founder and chairman of the Mahoning Valley Chapter of the Epilepsy Foundation, Chairman of Assumption Nursing Home, and founder and chairman of Mahoning Valley Cablegram, Inc. Attorney McLaughlin lives with his wife, Betty, and their four children at 1849 Coronado Avenue in Youngstown.

Dr. George Beelen

YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY

ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

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INTERVIEWEE: RICHARD P. MCLAUGHLIN

INTERVIEWER: Mark Connelly

SUBJECT: Democratic Party

DATE: February 5, 1974

C: This is an interview with Attorney Richard P. McLaughlin for the Youngstown State University Oral History Program, dealing with the Democratic Party in the Youngstown area. It is being done by Mark Connelly at Mr. McLaughlin's office located in the Legal Arts Centre, downtown Youngstown, on February 5, 1974, at 9:45 a.m.

C: Would you please describe, very generally, your activities in Washington, D.C. from say 1960, when you first became associated with the U.S. Department of Labor, up to 1969?

M: All right, in 1959, I was in my second year of Law School at Georgetown University. I was in the evening classes from 5:30 until 7:45 p.m. five nights a week. I was employed full time during the day. I was not married at the time. I was married in 1960.

I was first employed in the United States Department of Labor in 1959 as a labor economist, dealing with the Landrum Griffin Law, which requires labor organizations to make certain filings with the Department of Labor. My job was general in the sense that I assisted them to comply with these federal laws.

I also prepared opinions for the Secretary of Labor dealing with conflicts or questions arising over the application of that law.

Prior to this time, I had also worked with the Wage and Hour Public Contracts division of the Department of Labor which administers the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, and which law imposed minimum wage and maximum hours limitations on employers throughout the country. Again, during this time, I was not an attorney, but working as a labor economist and my work was more economic in nature than legal.

During this entire period my work dealt with labor relations since I was gearing myself for a law degree to specialize in labor relations with the ultimate thought of representing labor or management in that field. The question usually arose whether I was pro-management or pro-labor and in all honesty, and I don't know if it was my training or my background, or what, but I tried vigorously and honestly to see both sides of the question, and I knew that there was no universal wrong or right side. I labored with that decision over a long period of time and never really resolved it. I felt comfortable in representing the issue involved rather than labor or management on a continuing basis.

In 1963, when I graduated from law school from Georgetown it was my decision to take the Ohio Bar Exam, thinking that I would eventually return to Youngstown, or at least Ohio, but without having any specific plans whatsoever. So consequently in the summer of 1962, I obtained notes that were available that would assist one in preparing for the Ohio Bar Exam. I did not take any "cram course" as ninety-five percent of the graduating law students did.

I drove to Youngstown with my family, left them in Youngstown, and then drove to Columbus where I took the Bar examination on July 30, 31 and August 1, 1962. I remember vividly that I was not that confident about my performance in the Bar exam and I was taking it along with fellows who had attended Ohio law schools such as Ohio Northern, Western Reserve, and Ohio State. While they seemed to be right on top of Ohio matters, I remember that my background in broader matters such as constitutional law was far superior to theirs. In any event, I was not that confident, thus it was quite a pleasing surprise to know in October of that year that I had not only passed the Bar exam but had done surprisingly well in relationship to all persons who

took that bar exam.

After taking it and returning to Washington, I started "looking around" for employment opportunities, which at the time were moderately plentiful, although there was nothing that really turned me on. Because of my interest in labor law and my desire to specialize, I enrolled in the evening program at Georgetown for the Master's program in Labor Law. Very briefly, the L.L.M. or Master of Laws involved two years of additional classroom work of about three nights a week, plus the requirement of two papers of original research of publishable quality and it was in that area that I really concentrated. I really wanted to distinguish myself as a scholar in the field of labor relations. I was given the opportunity to join the Office of the Solicitor, which is the same as the General Counsel in the Department of Labor and I accepted the opportunity rather than a private law firm, feeling that there was much more I could learn in the Federal Government.

In connection with the Master's program, I wrote a paper entitled, "Custom and Past Practice in Labor Arbitration." It was an extremely lengthy article; the professor at the time was Herbert Schmertz, who at the time was General Counsel of the Federal Mediation Service, and Mr. Schmertz advised me that this subject had never really been given careful written treatment by anyone in the field, but yet it was one of the most important considerations of any long-term labor-management relationship.

So I wrote the article and in its original form was about 125 pages or thereabouts, and I really worked my tail off in terms of reviewing every volume of the Labor Arbitration Reports for every reported labor arbitration decision. Schmertz was very impressed with the article and felt that it would be one of my two publishable articles.

I was lucky, because along with his help and influence, we had the article published in the Arbitration Journal, a publication devoted to the use of arbitration, not only in labor but in commercial uses, and which is a fairly authoritative journal in labor relations. Of course, the article was substantially cut down. The article came to the attention of Secretary of labor, Willard Wirtz, in 1963, who at that time was involved in a very thorny labor-management conflict involving the International Longshoreman's Association and the Association of Maritime Employers on the east and gulf coasts of the country. That covered all seaports from

Searsport, Maine to Brownsville, Texas. There had been such a bad history in this industry where there was always a strike and any longshore strike would substantially interfere with the commerce of our country and would prevent the free flow of goods. Thus, the Secretary wanted very, very seriously to deal with the anticipated strike, which was due to begin on December 31, 1963, but also to prepare the framework for a workable long-term relationship between the parties.

The worst issue, or the most difficult and thorny issue with these two parties, was the issue of customs and past practices. Over the years certain customs had arisen that were extremely uneconomic and the employers could, in no way, modernize the techniques and the work methods of the longshore industry. As a result, they had a huge task to overcome these customs. With my article being what one might call modestly, one of the best articles on that particular subject, the Secretary called to ask whether I would like to work full time on the project in the capacity as Special Assistant to the Secretary. Of course, I was thrilled with the prospect of it and I agreed to do so. This meant a promotion in pay for me. It was a big status move, from the standpoint within my peer group in the Department of Labor. I had my own office, my own secretary and all kinds of other perquisites amenities of the office that really made it good.

In addition, of course, I was exposed to people like Bill Wirtz, and Jim Reynolds, who was then the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Ted Kheel, a New York attorney, who to this day remains as one of the most admired men in my life, Ronald Houghton, who was then a professor at Wayne State University, Detroit, and is now the President of the American Arbitration Association and others like them. In short, it was the opportunity to work at an extremely high level on important matters in a field which I thought would be my field for the rest of my life.

This then, was in the middle of 1963. My work with what was commonly referred to as the "Longshore Project" involved working with, in particular, David Stowe, who was brought into the government by Secretary Wirtz to head up this project. David Stowe is now the chairman of the National Mediation Board in Washington and remains a very close, personal and social friend of mine and my family.

As I indicated, the jurisdiction of the Longshore Project was from Searsport, Maine to Brownsville, Texas. Hardly anyone could envisage a more interesting assignment than this. I was given the authority for developing a program that would seek to overcome the custom and past practices which had grown or developed over the years in all of these ports. There were about fourteen ports involved. I visited each one and I might just illustrate how it worked.

Of course, New York was the largest port and New Orleans was the second port. There were other small ports like Searsport, Brownsville, Tampa, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. In each port the situation was different, because there was no common unifying factor or problem that was found in each and every port.

So you would have to go to a city, meet with the management people, get a complete rundown of what their problems were. We would then meet with the labor people in that particular city and get the same kind of rundown from them. We would then have to go out on the docks and observe for ourselves how the unloading and loading of material actually went on. It was a very educative but tedious process as one might imagine. No one port was like any other port. Each was "sui generis".

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this job was my experience dealing with the New York port where I actually lived in New York city during the summer of 1963. I was esconced in the luxurious Barclay Hotel, was given my own suite, and I could sign for everything which really made life extremely comfortable. Through Jim Reynolds, who was then Assistant Labor Secretary, I had exposure to a lot of the most interesting people in our country. Jim Reynolds was the brother of Quentin Reynolds, the famous author who gave me an entree and exposure to a lot of very interesting people while living in New York.

I would like to digress for a moment to November of 1963, when John Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas. I'll distinctly remember remarking to a complaining taxi driver that we Washingtonians never minded the crowds associated with the appearance of President Kennedy, who was then in Philadelphia, at the same time I was. I made very light of it.

Then, the very next day, Tuesday, I went to Miami, Florida, and coincidentally, the President followed me down there, the day after. Again we had the same

situation where people were complaining about all the crowds and the difficulty in getting through the traffic. I pooh-poohed it and said this is one of the attributes of a free society, that our President could travel wherever he wanted and it was right that he should do that so people could see and touch him.

I left Miami on the "red eye flight" Thursday night arriving back in Washington about 4:00 Friday morning. I went, of course, directly to my home and because of the hour, I slept in until about 10 o'clock, got to the office about 11 o'clock or thereabouts and naturally the news about the President's death was about one hour later.

One of our secretaries had a little portable radio on her desk, and of course we couldn't believe the news about the President's assassination. I ran upstairs to the wire service office and of course actually saw the news of the President's murder coming across the ticker. As a matter of fact, I "snitched" the wire copy containing the dreadful news. I still have that today as a remembrance of that event. At the time, Dany Moynihan was an Assistant Secretary of Labor with whom I had reasonably close contact. He is today (that is November 29, 1975) our Ambassador to the United Nations. In any event, Dan and I were quite broken up and walked up to the White House, a walk of about a dozen blocks, and actually stood in front of the White House with thousands of others waiting for any bit of news about the President, the assassin, or any later developments. It was a bad day. The remainder of that weekend of course was spent in either watching the television set, watching the cortege from the White House to the Capitol, viewing the President's casket in the Capitol, and then of course attending the funeral Monday morning. Those events will never be forgotten.

The changeover from the Kennedy to the Johnson administration was not as vivid in my recollection in that we had an ongoing project that was nearing completion. Secretary Wirtz told us there was to be no change in the policy, that he had met with President Johnson, who had informed him that the work must go on, so we had no change of staff, no change of personnel, no change of direction and our object was to finish the study as soon as possible.

As I indicated before, the key date in the Longshore effort was December 31, 1963, since that was the anticipated completion date of our project. The closer we

drew to December 31, the more obvious it became that the work of the project was succeeding and that we had persuaded the leaders of both management and labor to accept certain formulae that we had devised that would serve as the basis for postponing the strike then scheduled for December 31, 1963, and also to be the framework for a long-term relationship, hopefully to avoid any strikes in the future.

So, as 1964 came and wore on, it became more and more apparent that the project would succeed. Labor and Management in the Longshore industry were now meeting on a rather regular basis to apply and implement the formulae we had developed for ending their traditional disputes. Concurrently, since our project was coming to an end, I became more interested in employment in the private sector. There were several opportunities being made available to me arising out of my contact in the "Longshore Project". I accepted invitations to interview several larger law firms in New York City, but I could never overcome my built-in dislike of living in the "Big Apple". In addition, there were several management-type opportunities being opened in the Longshore Industry which would have taken me to either New Orleans, Florida, or New England, but I chose not to become affiliated on a full-time basis in that industry.

The question really was whether I would return to Ohio or stay in Washington. By now, we had become assimilated into the more glamorous life of Washington and the exposure to people at high levels. I felt that we would stay in Washington, rather than returning to Ohio.

I must say, however, that I did interview some law firms in Ohio. At that time we had no interest in returning to Youngstown, but I did explore the possibilities, both in Cleveland and Akron. A law firm in Akron made a reasonably good offer, but the City just turned me off. My sister and brother-in-law then, and still do, live in Akron, and of course they were very encouraging that we accept the offer of employment. However, we could just never warm up to it. In Cleveland I spoke with several firms, including the firm of Squire, Saunders and Dempsey, which made an offer to me. While they did have a strong labor section, they indicated I would have to spend at least three years in two of their legal departments before I could get into labor. Since that was my expertise at the time, I thought it would be foolish to spend four or five years outside of my field, and so that offer was also declined. I should say throughout that my wife and family were perfectly satisfied with staying in

Washington, but I felt these interviews were good, if only to confirm my basic thoughts.

There was no doubt that my wife and I had a high interest in politics and in public life, and I never really considered the monetary aspect of being a lawyer. I assumed that I would make more than enough money to get by, but that was never really a consideration from my standpoint.

I interviewed firms in Washington and chose to join the law firm of what was at the time, Caretta and Counihan. Al Caretta was then reaching his retirement age and was in the running for a job on the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. His partner, Don Counihan, suggested that the name of the firm remain the same with the thought it might help Caretta in getting the presidential appointment to the bench.

In point of fact, Counihan was being joined by E. Reilly Casey, who was about a 44 or 43 year old lawyer who, together with Dan, was organizing a new law firm. They were going to have a fairly substantial labor practice, representing both labor and management, and I agreed to join the firm on January 1, 1965.

I recall at the time that my salary was, I started at \$10,000 a year and prior to that I was earning nearly twice that in the Department of Labor. So it was a very substantial economic reduction but I guess that refers back to my idea that even \$10,000 was enough to live on and I really wasn't hurting for money, simply because I had watched my money rather carefully and we weren't extravagant in our tastes or our way of living. I took the job feeling it was the best that Washington had to offer at the time.

CARETTA AND COUNIHAN

I joined the law firm in January 1965 on the representation that I would be doing a fair amount of labor work. It was interesting because Ed Casey was not that knowledgeable about labor law, although he had attracted a very sizable number of labor relations clients. He was a tall, good-looking, articulate fellow who inspired confidence and was able to attract clients and generate a substantial amount of business, although I knew deep down inside that I was much more competent than he. Nevertheless, we had a good working relationship.

The work generally of this firm was "Washington oriented". Caretta and Counihan had, over the years, represented various trade associations, such as the Linen Supply

Association of America, the National Foundation of Health, Welfare and Pension Plans, the American Grain Millers' Federation, and groups such as that. In the representation of trade associations, one becomes deeply involved in industry work, that is, work before Federal agencies representing the needs of a particular industry. So, in other words, we don't have a lawsuit or a cause for a particular employer involved, but rather the needs of a whole industry. For example, the Linen Supply Industry always opposed the use of paper and consequently they were against any Federal programs that would facilitate the production of lumber, or the transportation of lumber from the West Coast to the East Coast. The National Foundation of Health, Welfare and Pension Plans was desirous of keeping those plans under private control and not public control. So we dealt with the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and other agencies, seeking to keep these plans private and through this kind of work, I became specifically involved, or representing clients before virtually every Federal agency from the Department of Labor, to the Food and Drug Administration, to HEW, the Tariff Commission, and virtually every other agency.

On the other hand, there was the labor work to be done. I found that I was spending about 50 percent of my time in the work described above and the remainder in labor relations work. My law firm at that time didn't do the kind of work that is normally found in cities like Youngstown such as divorce work, or personal injury work. I did handle one divorce, though; it was for the Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission and it was done as a favor to him and that was quite an interesting experience. But, as I said, we did very little of that kind of law work which is done in the city of Youngstown.

My labor relations work was for both management clients and labor clients and involved work before the National Labor Relations Board, Department of Labor, private arbitration work, and court and litigation in Federal and State courts throughout the country. It was highly interesting work and I loved to travel and I could name my own travel schedule, virtually. In addition, on a side note the compensation increased rather dramatically and quickly, and I found that money would never be an object from my standpoint, at least as a practicing lawyer. I doubled my salary within the space of a year and a half or two, and found that at least at that time, it appeared the sky was the limit, although it's interesting to note that even then, I was not really interested

in the money, for whatever that's worth.

As one will recall, I entered the master's program in September of 1962 and I continued, religiously, following through on that program, and did indeed, graduate in June of 1964. You'll also recall that two articles of publishable quality were included in the requirements and the second such article was entitled, "Collective Bargaining - The New Trend" and that article appeared in the Labor Law Journal in 1965. It was basically taken from my work on the Longshore Project and it suggested certain ways that employers and unions could enter new frameworks of collective bargaining that would avoid labor disputes and would be good for the country because there would be no interruptions of work or commerce or loss of employment opportunities.

In any event, during the years of 1965, 1966, 1967, and part of 1968, I was involved in that kind of work. In summary, it can be said that I spent about 50 percent of my time in Labor Relations matters and the other 50 percent doing the typical Washington-kind of law. It was excellent experience to say the least. At the same time, I kept my fingers in political matters in a variety of ways, such as working for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee of which my Congressman, Mike Kirwan, was the Chairman. Having close connections in all levels of the government, I was always interested in the prospect of rejoining government at a high level. Jobs and rumors of jobs would come and go, and all of us continued to have such a mild interest in them. In the latter part of 1967 however, the prospect of one job came up that really turned me on. I learned that an opening would occur in the position of General Counsel for the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

The General Counsel of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service in 1967 was Morris L. Myers. Before joining the government he was the General Counsel of the Kaiser Steel Company in Fontana and San Francisco, California. In connection with my work before that agency and also on a social basis, I came to know Morrey Myers rather well. He indicated that he would be leaving government to return to San Francisco and suggested that my name be placed in the hopper to become General Counsel of the agency. At the time, I was only 32 or so and I felt that I was a little presumptive because it was a presidential appointment and the salary at the time was in the neighborhood of 26,000 dollars. The law firm was not too interested in seeing me leave because its work was developing rather rapidly. It was also obvious that there was a spot for me in the firm, which I assumed meant a good compensation structure for the future.

Nevertheless, the prospect of serving in this capacity encouraged me to accept the job. Before leaving however, the firm wanted me to recruit an individual to take my place in the firm. I talked with perhaps six or eight attorneys who were moderately qualified to do so. The person I finally selected was Francis T. Coleman, who at the time was an associate at the firm of Hogan and Hartson. Tom at the time was basically involved in litigation and he was anxiously seeking a job in the labor field. He appeared to be moderately qualified and so, upon my recommendation, he was hired by the firm when I left.

GENERAL COUNSEL-FEDERAL

MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION SERVICE

As indicated, about half of my legal work was in the field of labor relations and I naturally had a sincere interest in that field. However, I was a little bit reluctant to pursue the job of General Counsel because it would have involved an interruption in my natural and orderly progress and development within the firm. But yet, because of the high status of the position, I felt it might be worth it for a year or so. One of the first persons I consulted about it was my Congressman, Mike Kirwan, who at the time, quite frankly was not that astute about many things that were going on in the world and he wasn't really that familiar with what the General Counsel's job was. He recommended that I just stay in the law firm where I could become sort of a lobbyist and he promised to send me all kinds of business, which never materialized, and he was in general, very bearish on taking the job. As I indicated, my law firm was not too happy about it, my family back in Ohio was not too happy about it, although I never really looked to them too much for advice on what I should do in my personal life. But I thought out of courtesy, I should just touch base with my mother, which I did.

The Director at that time was William Simkin, who was the nationally prominent arbitrator from Philadelphia, and extremely highly regarded in the industry, that is, in the labor-management relations industry. He, after several interviews and checking on me, determined that I could have the job if I wanted or at least that he would make the recommendation that I be appointed. When I approached the firm with that news, they prevailed upon me to postpone the date because of certain matters I was then working on. I can't even remember what the cases were, but there were several pieces of litigation that I was handling and they asked me to stay until those pieces of litigation were virtually over.

We had a little problem because Morrey Myers had to organize a law firm back in San Francisco and he had to go. So I worked out a deal with the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and my law firm that would permit me to divide my time between the two jobs. I was named Acting General Counsel and was paid on a per diem basis, which allowed me to spend about three days a week with my law firm and finish out those two or three major cases that I was working on. This was in January of 1968, and that status continued until about March, 1968, at which time I then moved into the job on a full-time basis and the "Acting" was dropped from my title.

The job of the General Counsel of the Federal Mediation Service is what it implies, you are the person responsible for giving legal advice to some 200 mediators throughout the country who are involved in labor disputes on a rather continuing basis, in fact, that's their job. They don't get involved until the parties reach an impasse or a strike is involved and as a result, this part of my work was a rather steady demand on my time. There were about eight to eleven other lawyers in the agency, who would, on a continuing basis, do legal work for us. In addition, I was in charge of administering the arbitration provisions of the agency. In brief, arbitrators are individuals, who by virtue of their training, education, and other qualifications, are qualified to serve labor unions and managements as independent third parties.

The procedure works this way. If a company and union have a labor dispute, they normally come to the FMCS and ask that we either assign an arbitrator or furnish a list of individuals who are particularly qualified in any particular kind of dispute. And we will do that. We have no power to settle the dispute, but simply to furnish an arbitrator. In connection with that work, my job was to evaluate the efficiency of arbitrators, to admit new arbitrators onto the list, to attend arbitrators' functions throughout the country, get to know them, et cetera. This was one of the more interesting parts of my work. Public relations was the major feature of the job and I could give speeches all over the country which enabled me to put together very interesting travel packages for my wife and I. We traveled from coast to coast, from Maine to California, giving talks and that sort of thing.

About this time the listener will remember, and that is March 1968, Lyndon Johnson announced to a shocked country that he would not seek, nor would he accept the

Democratic nomination for re-election for the election which was rapidly approaching. His Vice-President, Hubert Humphrey, of course, was obviously interested in the job, as were a number of other individuals, not the least of whom was Robert F. Kennedy.

I felt that it would be really fascinating and interesting to be a part of a presidential campaign, so I started just checking around to see whether I might have an opportunity to work in the campaign for the Democratic party. I have always been a Democrat, and I just assumed that whoever the Democratic party nominated, I would be able to fully support and work for.

I went, but as General Counsel of the Federal Mediation Service, of course, my opportunities for political activity were somewhat limited, and as I was told, I'd better "watch myself".

In April 1968, Hubert Humphrey announced that he would be a candidate for that seat. I was invited to attend the parties that were held in connection with that announcement, and I remember vividly the party held at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington and I was given some indication that I could have a pretty top job in helping the work on the campaign. Not a top job, but a rather decent job working in the campaign. The person who made that indication was Martin McNamara, who to this day remains a good friend of mine, and who at the time was an attorney in Washington, and since he had ten kids and he knew I was one of ten kids, he just had sort of an emotional attachment to me. In any event, Marty told me that if I had the time and inclination, I could certainly work for Hubert Humphrey.

At this time, there was a good deal of dispute in the country about Hubert Humphrey taking over for Lyndon Johnson. The major focal point of his opposition was in the person of Robert Kennedy, who was then Senator from New York. I can remember that most of my friends at that time were for Kennedy and they were all amazed that I was apparently going to be working for Humphrey.

I can report what I felt at that time, but this is very dangerous business because nearly eight years have passed since that decision, but I can recall that I made it very consciously and it was not a quick decision that didn't have good thought behind it. I knew Robert Kennedy and had worked for his brother. I knew the family and loved most of what they stood for, but I knew Robert Kennedy and I found him personally to be a highly abrasive person who had never been reluctant to use his office, whether

it be Attorney General or anything else, to conduct his own personal campaigns.

I call your attention to Robert Kennedy's personal campaign against James Hoffa, who was president of the Teamsters. Not that I am making any book for Hoffa, and I don't know whether he was guilty or innocent, but the fact is that Kennedy left no stone unturned in putting him in jail. And I rather suggested at the time that the Attorney General could put anyone in jail, if he, you know, really devoted enough time and energy to that function. I just felt that Kennedy was too abrasive and would not be the kind of healer or unifier that our country needed at the time.

I wasn't totally gung ho for Humphrey, but I felt he was the best in a bad situation, and it was for that reason that I agreed to work for Humphrey.

Another motivating factor in that decision was the influence of Fred Harris, who at the time was the senior Senator from the state of Oklahoma. Although he was then only 37 years old or thereabouts, I was quite impressed with him. Fred was elected to the Senate at the age of 33, when he beat J. Howard Edmondson, the former governor of Oklahoma, who had appointed himself to the seat upon the death of Senator Robert Kerr. And the next year, Fred beat Edmondson in the primary and then went on to beat Bud Wilkinson, the former Oklahoma football coach and a national figure, in the general election.

In short, Fred Harris was a very turned-on, brilliant lawyer who, in my view, was completely candid in the way he addressed himself to the issues and in the way he looked at life. His wife, incidentally, is an Indian woman who to this day, is quite active in efforts to improve the lot of the American Indian. In any event, I had met Harris, and he really turned me on. He and Walter Mondale, a senator from Minnesota, also known as 'Fritz' were selected as the co-chairmen for "United Democrats for Humphrey." So in any event, the decision was made that I would work for Humphrey.

I went to see Mike Kirwan about this, and of course, he was delighted because, in spite of what he told the public, he really didn't like the Kennedys. He felt they were too smart, too rich, too liberal, and too many other things, including too young. Mike had a way of thinking that everyone should be at least 60 years old before they do anything significant, otherwise they would be too presumptive, and with Robert Kennedy this was no exception. In any event, after touching base with Mike, and getting

his direction in the campaign, and that meant he made a couple of calls for me and told people that I wanted to work for Humphrey, that put the deal together.

A more important part of the deal was that I went to Simkin, my boss as FMCS, and asked him if I could resume my "acting" status that I enjoyed just prior to that. By doing this, I would be able to remove myself from the Hatch Act Limitations, which of course, prevent government employees from engaging in political activities. Simkin was a little bit leery about it, but I prevailed upon him, and really came down strong and since I was doing my work well at the Mediation Service and he had grown to like me and I'd been developing a rather good name for myself, he consented.

After I had worked out the deal with William Simkin, Director of the Mediation Service and the Humphrey campaign to divide my time between the two, I reported directly to Marty McNamara. At the time, Marty was in charge of advance work and scheduling. Advance work, I came to learn, was one of the most important parts of any well-organized campaign. An advance man is a person who would prepare the candidate for a visit to a particular city.

Customarily, the advance man would go to the city maybe a week or so before the candidate's visit. He would meet with money people, with labor people, with various other local interest groups, and would put together the best possible set of appearances for the candidate. Now all of this depended upon how much time the candidate was going to be in a particular area, but if for example, he was going to be there for a day, or the better part of a day, well, you'd be just amazed at how much you can cram into one full day of active campaigning. Or let's face it, the candidate also has to sleep sometime. If he stays overnight in a particular city, that means you can even include a dinner, a night-time cocktail party or private visits, then a breakfast the next morning, and in short, there are a lot of things you can do. Our job was to not really cram the candidate, but to put together as many possible appearances that would maximize his impact on the local community he intended to visit.

The first city in which I was involved was the city of Akron, Ohio, and this was to be the candidate's, that is, Humphrey's first campaign appearance after making his announcement, which I seem to recall was the end of April of 1968.

Marty McNamara wanted me to come out to Akron because he knew I was from Ohio and felt I might be able to move around a little quicker. I don't know whether that's true or not. My basic feeling is that you should get an advance man to go into an area which he knows nothing about, because then he can then go in and he's not impressed with state chairmen and he isn't locked into the existing structure of power, so to speak. In other words, he can go in and just do the very best he can for the candidate, without regard to his own personal involvement. For example, when I came to Akron, I knew some people and while that helped a little bit, I also think that it prevented me from doing the best possible job for the candidate. I don't know if that's worth discussing at any great length, sort of an esoteric observation, but it's true.

In any event, we came to Akron and I was maybe number three on the list of handling Akron, a fellow by the name of Edward Allfrend IV, who was president of an insurance company in Alexandria, Virginia, was the chief advance man, and his job was to put the whole deal together. There were probably six advance men that came out to Akron. We were staying at a hotel in Aurora, Ohio, and the basic purpose of that visit was for Hubert Humphrey to meet the Ohio delegation to the Democratic National Convention. In addition, there was one dinner, one breakfast, a cocktail party for labor, a cocktail party for potential fundraisers, a meeting with the black community, all of which had to be organized into a stop by the Vice-President that would last from 3:00 p.m. on one day until about 9:00 a.m. the next morning.

You will remember that at the time the candidate was also the Vice-President of the United States and thus was entitled to Secret Service protection. Consequently, everything that we did had to be cleared with Secret Service and the preparation of the candidate and his campaign always conflicted with the security conscious desires of the Secret Service, who always wanted to put the candidate in the best possible security position, without regard to its political impact.

If I can give just one example, I'll never forget in Akron, Ohio, they were having a dinner in a room which was rectangular. The head table was scheduled to be along the longer side and in that way they could put every conceivable political figure at the head table with the Vice-President, which meant over a hundred. The room was all set up and ready to go but the Secret Service vetoed the idea because there was no exit from the room from behind the speaker's table. Consequently, the Secret Service required that the speaker's table be

placed along the shorter wall, which had an ingress and egress door and permitted easy access in the event of an emergency. But obviously, the speaker's table was going to be cut down from about 100 to about 40 and it created huge problems, local political problems, for the person to decide who was going to be left off the speaker's table. You can just imagine how people got uptight and got their noses out of joint because they were not going to be seated at the head table with Mr. Humphrey.

In any event, that's what the Secret Service does and their presence is usually a debilitating factor in trying to maximize the candidate's exposure.

The next trip in which I was involved was in Atlantic City, probably in May of 1968, and it was for the national meeting of the International Ladies Garment Worker's Union, which is a very liberally oriented group. They were anticipating probably 4,000 representatives to the convention, and it was really quite an experience being close to these individuals over a week's period of time. The Vice-President was coming in, like on Wednesday, and Robert Kennedy was coming in on, like the day before, Tuesday, so there was a good deal of friendly competition between the two groups, as to which of the two candidates would get the better reception and which of the two candidates would make a better impact, not only upon this convention here in Atlantic City, but upon the country as a whole. Now that I think back, I'm not certain that Kennedy was a candidate at that time, or if he wasn't a candidate, he was on the brink of announcing. In any event, it was well known that his appearance there meant that he was going to run for the presidency. I was the number two advance man for this trip and it was being run by Jim Reardon from New Hampshire, who was also a lawyer up there, and he had known Humphrey for a number of years. He was a man of maybe 45 to 48 years of age.

I can say this, that in the course of preparation, and again we were there for about a week, Reardon broke his arm and as a result, he asked me to do a lot of the interesting stuff. This involved meeting Humphrey at the airplane and telling him what we were doing and really taking him by the arm through the entire day.

One must keep in mind that the campaign for the presidency is like the General Motors Corporation, You have more people running around than you can imagine. We had the highest state of the art in communications technology. We even had a device that would enable Humphrey's main office in Washington to run a piece of paper through a

Xerox machine and the copy of that would come out of a machine in the President's airplane. Ground-to-air, air-to-ground communications were simply incredible, and of course, the Secret Service men were all over the place, and each one of them had a radio, so the communication was at a very high level. It still continues to really impress me.

In any event, part of my job was to actually greet the Vice-President up in the airplane. There was a receiving line at the airport in Atlantic City of maybe 30 people, ranging from, I don't think the Governor was there, but the Mayor of Atlantic City and the Senators and the Congressmen, whose names I can't really recall at the moment. But in any event, people are angling to get named to the receiving line, and even things like this where there might be a hundred people who want to be on the receiving line but yet, someone down in Washington says there can only be twenty. So you have to decide which twenty are going to be selected.

For each of those persons we would have prepared a little 3 x 5 index card, that would have their name typed real large, their function in life, their station in life, how the Vice-President knew him, and what good they could do for the Vice-President. It would also indicate little bits of personal information like, "She knows Muriel from the National Women's Association," or "Her son went to college with your son." We had little personal anecdotes that would help the Vice-President in appearing to be right on top of it.

So, in any event, when the plane landed, I shot out to the airplane, I got into the airplane with Mr. Humphrey and would show him these cards, let him run through the cards, familiarize himself with who was going to be in the receiving line. Of course, he already had a very specific and detailed itinerary of just exactly what he was going to do, who he was going to see, be with, how important it was and in short, he was totally briefed on what he was going to do on that visit.

I think the brief description of the advance work in our trip to Akron and Atlantic City shows how much detail there is that makes a candidate run. The next trip which was to Cleveland, Ohio, will demonstrate that even more.

My recollection of dates is not that precise, at the moment, this is six years later, but it will be remembered that Robert Kennedy was murdered after the California primary which was in June of 1968. I can't recall the dates but I know he was murdered at that time.

Meany because he was a little too old and crochety and needed to have things his own way, but we certainly respected his power.

The last comment about the importance of Ohio is the presence of a high black population. It will be recalled at this point in time--I hate to say that, because of the way Nixon has overused that phrase--in late June, 1968, we are only two months past the death of Martin Luther King and there is still a great fear that the blacks will continue to express their distrust and concern and hatred in violent ways, and it was felt that Robert Kennedy could certainly get to the black population. A severe question arose as to whether or not Humphrey could do that, and it was felt, or many felt that the best candidate would be the one who could unify the blacks and the whites together, and believe me the black-white situation in 1968 was really up in the air and nothing was taken for granted.

So for all of those reasons, Ohio was looked upon as probably, if not the most important state, after California and New York, then certainly one of the most important states. I was privileged to be named to be in charge of the advance group that went to Cleveland in the latter part of June, 1968.

Locally, there were a couple of problems we had. One is that Carl Stokes was the young, articulate black mayor of the city of Cleveland, who had won despite the opposition of old, white, conservative, crochety Bert Porter, who was chairman of the Democratic Party in Cuyahoga County.

Bert Porter was very strong for Humphrey, but Carl Stokes was not, and every time our advance group did something that would give Stokes some headlines, Porter would get angry and vice versa. We had a severe problem in working with local officials because of the internal squabbling. I can give you a good example. Humphrey landed at the Burke Lakefront Airport and he got into a car that had to be sent to Cleveland by air. It seemed that Stokes wanted him to ride in the mayor's limousine, and Porter wanted him to ride in his limousine. The decision could not be made between the two except to bring in an outside car, which really shows how stupid this whole thing is, and how much money is wasted simply because people get their noses out of joint.

In any event, Humphrey landed and Bert Porter and Carl Stokes were in the car alongside of him and that was the first and probably the last time that those two individuals ever sat in the same car together. In any event, our job

was to try and bring some peace to the warring factions within the city of Cleveland.

Humphrey was going to spend about a day and a half in Cleveland which, for a candidate, is a very long time. Later on in this tape, I will be very specific in what the program was because I have at home and will give to my friendly examiner, copies of papers that I have which might be helpful to better understand all the work that goes together in advancing in a presidential campaign.

I can recall several specific events that we had to put together for the Vice-President. One, we had a meeting with labor for Humphrey. Some of these individuals were deadset against him because they had been RFK people and our job was to get them on the Humphrey bandwagon. I can't recall many names at the moment but I'm sure I can refresh my recollection. One of the ways Carl Stokes got into office was because he was able to rally behind him the real establishment bluebloods of downtown Cleveland. The presidents of the May Company, the Higbee Company, presidents of the banks and most of the big developers were all for Carl Stokes, who ran on the basis of "Cleveland now." His promise was to redevelop downtown Cleveland and consequently he had very much industrial support which was otherwise conservative Republican.

We had a breakfast meeting for Humphrey with these gentlemen and Stokes came on strong in trying to get support among the businessmen for Humphrey. I have the list of names of those who attended and will also give it to Mark Connelly. After that breakfast meeting, all these businessmen were placed on a bus and taken out to the Hough area near downtown Cleveland, which, at that time and still today, is all black and sort of symptomatic of all the ills of the modern American city, or at least the modern city of 1968. I'll never forget we had been there the night before, and we had worked with black leaders, almost paying the black leaders to get people out to see the Vice-President and the place looked like it was deserted. There simply were no people there to greet the Vice-President.

Now, I'm not trying to evade responsibility for the dismal showing, since I was ultimately in charge of the whole deal, but we had two persons, in fact one, Oldfield Dukes, was sent out from Washington. He was one of the top guys in Humphrey's campaign in black and other minority affairs, and was supposed to be in charge of getting a crowd there and he didn't do it. The National Press was with us, and as a matter of fact I saw on television that night, pictures of Humphrey walking through a desolate Hough area, where there should have been black

people all around him, cheering him and slapping him on the back and so on. These national newsmen even then were questioning whether or not Humphrey was getting his message across to the black people, and they were giving their opinions that he was not. The lack of a crowd in the Hough area, in their view, was ample evidence of his inability to get his point across. I'll never forget that because this was a case of where good advance work could have created the opposite impression, where if we had blacks all over the place and jumping on his car, those major newspaper people and television cameramen could have honestly reported that, "Humphrey is now getting through to the blacks," but we blew that one.

There was another part of the trip where Humphrey had to visit a playground which had been constructed by Federal funds in an area for deprived children, and it was not much of a deal. He was just going to drive up through a housing project, get out of his car, walk down a hill, across a bridge, and through a park. We had some appropriate little black kids who were going to come up and give him flowers and talk to him and that sort of thing, but we just wanted to show the country and Cleveland and the blacks that it was Federal money which had built this beautiful playground.

I'll never forget the night before, I went out there with two Secret Service men for the purpose of going through a dry run of what Humphrey was going to do. We got out of the car exactly where he would get out, we walked down a hill just like he would do, and we were walking across this old rickety bridge which went over a creek about six inches high, and there was a plank missing on this bridge. The Secret Service man said, "No way is Humphrey going to cross this bridge," because he could trip and fall on that place where a plank was missing. Of course I thought it was pretty stupid because the missing plank was obvious to everyone and all he had to do was look where he was going and he wouldn't have any problem

The Secret Service man insisted that we get a carpenter to replace that missing plank in the bridge and it really looked like a sore thumb, so we also had to get the carpenter to stain the wood and give it the simulated impression that it, too, was as old as the rest of the bridge. This facility had adequately served the black community for probably fifty years, and now here comes the white Vice-President and he's getting a new plank. This just really bugged them no end, because of the ridiculousness of it all. But in any event, the Secret Service, as always, prevails and we had the plank put in.

Another very interesting function which I had to perform in Cleveland was my contact with Howard Metzenbaum. Howard Metzenbaum, who is today the United States Senator from the state of Ohio, is a businessman, lawyer, and industrialist, who made a great deal of money and has always had an interest in politics. He was very strong for Robert Kennedy in 1968, as he would be four years later for George McGovern. In short he's known as a very liberal-oriented guy.

Now at the time, I was about 32 or 33 and was considered to be among the so-called liberal camp of Humphrey's campaign team. I was directed by people on high to search out Metzenbaum and to see if I could swing his support for Humphrey. We were at a cocktail party being given by this attorney for labor in Cleveland, and I called Metzenbaum then and explained to him, told him who I was, and what I was doing and what I wanted to do. He was extremely gracious and kind and thoughtful, and he said he'd be delighted to meet with me and recommended that we get together at his house.

He gave me directions of how I could be picked up by one of his daughters at a very central location, because he didn't want people at my party to see who was picking me up. So I had to ride up to a gas station about a block away from where the party was and Metzenbaum's daughter picked me up. She was a young girl about twenty or so, and a very friendly girl who drove me to Howard's house. His house, it goes without saying, is really a spectacular home, which has all the earmarks of dollar bills running through it, but in any event it's really a delightful place.

Howard personally greeted me at the door, introduced me to his wife, Shirley, and three of his four daughters and took me on a tour of the house. We then, that is Howard, Shirley and I, sat down about ten o'clock this night and we proceeded to talk about Humphrey until the wee hours of the morning. Although it's hard for me to evaluate how well I did with Metzenbaum, because he went to Europe the last ten days of the campaign, he was prevailed upon to give an extremely substantial contribution to the Vice-President's campaign efforts. So I have to assume that I did some good at least. That meeting with Howard Metzenbaum was the good beginning of a relationship which continues today because as I talk, I am making arrangements for a private luncheon meeting with him on this Tuesday, three days from now.

The name of Fred Harris was brought up earlier. Fred was, as I indicated, co-director of the campaign, along with Senator Walter 'Fritz' Mondale of Minnesota, who is presently being mentioned as a possible candidate for

national office in 1974. In any event, Fred and I did become very close personally, and as co-director of the campaign, he asked me to work more directly with him in his travels rather than Humphrey's. I was a little bit pleased with this, because Fred Harris was a very turned on guy, involved in very unusual campaign efforts, and I was quite frankly getting a little bit uptight with all the Secret Service precautions that made life really unbearable in taking a trip with the Vice-President.

My first real trip with Fred Harris was to New York City and I assume this must have been in the middle or end of July, 1968. Again I have a program of what we did which I can furnish to Mark Connelly. But I recall that we had a taping with a local newsman who today is not local, his name is Dick Cavett, but at that time Dick had a local news show on Channel 5, I think.

The impressive thing about Fred Harris is that he was the most articulate and glib speaker I've probably ever come to know. He could talk about anything at the drop of a hat and would have in his possession every conceivable fact and detail, which impressed me. Of course, Cavett then, as now, had a reputation for really preparing himself for his visitors and Fred was no exception. But Fred more than held his own and I think really snowed Cavett with his grasp of the facts and the philosophy and background of politics in America.

We also had a dinner meeting in the home of Averill Harriman in uptown Manhattan. It was a private dinner meeting for about 25 or 30 people, designed for fundraising purposes. Molly Parnis, the famous dress designer was there. I can give the list to Mark; there were a lot of people who represented millions and millions of dollars. The purpose there was to have Fred Harris talk to them in the context of the Humphrey campaign and to try and shake loose some of that liberal New York, often Jewish money. This money and these people, again, had been strong for Robert Kennedy, and we had a tough time in getting that money over to the Humphrey campaign.

Also in New York, I came to know Jack Valenti, who was originally on the staff of LBJ, but had since become the president of the Motion Picture Producers Association. Valenti was a very interesting individual and I had a chance to have more than just a few cocktails with him and grew to respect, if not his knowledge, then his desire to do his work and willingness to turn every stone to do a particular job. LBJ called Valenti and apparently had given him the word that Humphrey was the man. But

LBJ of course didn't say that publicly but only privately to Valenti. Valenti really knew how to get things done in New York City and to this day whenever you need anything in New York, Valenti is the man to see, because he is a real operator in the typical Texan sense of the word. So Valenti was helpful to Fred Harris and his wife, Ledonna and I during that few day trip in New York.

- C: This is interview number 3 with Attorney McLaughlin. It's Thursday, February 14, 1974, approximately 9:20 and we're in Mr. McLaughlin's office.
- M: I'll resume this morning with a description of my travels with Senator and Mrs. Fred R. Harris into California during the presidential campaign of 1968. The listener will recall that it was after the California primary of that year that Robert Kennedy was murdered. He had virtually won the primary, the results were coming in slowly. He took the microphone and apparently was going to say that he had won when the assassin did his work. So you can appreciate the feeling that the state of California had for RFK. He not only won the state in the primary, but the population of California is such that it would naturally favor a candidate of his kind.

California is a younger state; I guess fifty percent of the people who live there came within the last five years. There is a big turnover of people in California which decreases the conservatism that one would normally find; people are younger which often makes them a little more liberal, and in short it's a rather liberal state. The presence of Hollywood contributes to that, and the communications industry as well as the climate which makes for a large resort-type influence prevailing throughout the state. Whatever it is, California is a rather liberal state. But on the other hand, it can elect someone like Ronald Reagan, which no one can really explain.

In any event, it was that kind of background that we had going into California. We knew that the Democratic Party there was weak, and that a lot of the money that was generally available to the Democratic candidates was either used up by RFK or it was in the hands of people who didn't particularly care for Humphrey. So we knew there was a huge job to do.

I went to California probably about a week before Harris came out. I can't recall the specific date that I went to Los Angeles where I met with Joe Cirrell, who was head of the public relations firm of Cirrell, Winter, and Associates. This PR firm had represented the State Democratic Party for years and years and was very knowledgeable and influential in state affairs. They were also

helpful to me personally in getting around to meet all the people who had to be met. You can appreciate that in a campaign of this kind when people were for candidate X and candidate X is no longer around and candidate A comes in, well these people don't come over to you naturally. You have to search them out, and you have to ask them to join your particular campaign.

The attitude and philosophy that I tried to follow was that these people had been for RFK but they weren't going to voluntarily support Humphrey. They had to be asked, they had to be solicited, and you had to stick after them. That's what I personally did and I don't know if Humphrey appreciated that but that's the way we looked at it. In any event, when I arrived in California, it was really horrendous, it looked as though anybody could beat Humphrey there, that the Democratic Party was totally disorganized, and that there was no money around.

Cirrell got me in touch with Lloyd Hand, who had been Chief of Protocol for LBJ. A former Texan, he was now an attorney, in private law practice in Beverly Hills and certainly one of the classiest individuals I had the pleasure of meeting and spending time with. Lloyd Hand could get us around California and particularly in the Hollywood crowd, better than most anyone else. The first person he set us up with was Joey Bishop. Now Joey Bishop at the time had a night show much like Johnny Carson or Dick Cavett has today, that was taped and delivered twenty-four hours later. There was a one day delay.

We had arranged for Humphrey to be on Bishop's show. But first, I spent time with Joey Bishop and then when Harris came out, the three of us got together for the purpose of cultivating Bishop on what we wanted him to get out of Humphrey, and in the process, Harris got an invitation to be on the Joey Bishop show. Harris was on, it was taped, virtually a thirty-minute spot which was a very large portion of the show he was going to be on.

On a personal note aside, after the taping we went back to Bishop's house where we were going to have dinner. Present for that was Fred Harris and his wife and myself and Mr. and Mrs. Bishop and Bishop's lawyer, whose name I forget, and his wife who was a movie star, and I guess that was it.

In any event, after the taping, we all went back to Joey Bishop's house where we had been invited for dinner. Now everyone in Hollywood had pool tables. They are often located right in the living room, and that is the focal point around which conversations take place,

cocktails are enjoyed, and in short, it dominates the whole room. Since we arrived before Bishop, we were served cocktails and Fred Harris, Lloyd Hand, and I were demonstrating our proficiency in this well-known sport. When Joey Bishop came home, it was exactly ten o'clock. When he walked in, a bell rang and we all had to sit down for dinner. There were no gratuitous pleasantries or anything else, it was all business. We didn't even finish our drinks.

When we sat down for dinner -- the dinner was a very hard and over-cooked roast beef-- Bishop asked us if we wanted to hear his latest record, which was a recording of country and western songs but with a symphonic background. The symphony portion of it was quite lovely but of course, he's not much of a singer. In any event, he turned this record on so sky high that we had absolutely no dinner conversation because of the volume. What made the dinner even worse was that Joey Bishop drank cherry pop all through it. In short, the dinner was lousy, there were none of the usual amenities associated with the people that one might expect, and it was a very boring situation.

After dinner was over, it was then time to watch his show from the night before which had been taped twenty-four hours earlier. Of course, he had two television sets, one in black and white and one in color, brought into the room and we all sat around dutifully to watch his show. There we were all sitting around in his living room watching the two television sets and we weren't even allowed to say one word while he was on the tube. In all, I was very unimpressed with this guy as being a real egotist and I didn't appreciate his brand of humor in any way at all.

I might go on further, however, that we had lined up with Bishop the concept that he would bring Humphrey out of his shell. Humphrey at that time was not really speaking his true heart with respect to Vietnam. He was talking about supporting the President, and supporting the war effort, but deep down inside he didn't really believe what he was saying. He was very much afraid to upset and contradict then President LBJ. So as a result of this, we thought that if we could get Humphrey in a setting where he could give spontaneous answers that he would come out in a much more dovish response rather than his mealy-mouthed answers which largely supported what was then going on in Vietnam. We felt that the only way to get the Kennedy support and get the Democrats out to vote was to cultivate that liberally-oriented wing of the party.

We had this deal all set up with Bishop. This is what he was going to do. In fact, I even personally prepared the question, I wrote out a question on a piece of paper that was going to be the key question that Bishop was going to insert with Humphrey. When I had a secretary, I developed a whole line of questioning, just like a cross examination, that one does as an attorney in preparing for a very critical examination of a witness. You actually write out the questions in advance, so you know the exact wording and phraseology and how to make the biggest impact with the line of questioning. I did all that for Bishop and I thought, quite frankly, it was good how we could gradually lead Humphrey down a primrose path and then have him ask this one last question. He would have had no choice but to adopt the liberal view toward the Vietnam War and thus, in our view, sever the chains that were around him from the Johnson administration.

This whole idea never materialized because Bishop flaked out. He said something to the effect that he didn't want his independence questioned and he didn't want his show used for political purposes or something like that which I believe is true, but nevertheless, we were disappointed that he didn't do it.

I had another interesting experience in the Hollywood part of our trip with Nancy Sinatra. Nancy Sinatra had been described to us as a sort of cult leader in California, and because of her father's prominence in the entertainment industry, she was very important and she was supposedly very strong for RFK and very lukewarm on Humphrey. So we called her and set up a dinner date and the dinner date included Fred Harris and myself, Nancy Sinatra, and her fiance, who at the time, I think his name was Jack Haley. He was a very plain looking man about forty who was the son of a very famous comedian. I didn't know who the famous comedian was, but I think it was Jack Haley.

There was another young man with us who was a Frenchman who wrote "Stop the World, I Want to Get Off," and I think he wrote "Doctor Doolittle." Again, I'm not quite certain of his name. There were the five of us there and again, the pool tables were there--you know their whole life revolved around their pool tables and stereo sets. We played her father's records all night long.

We did go to dinner in Beverly Hills, the very star-studded crowd, with people coming up to say hello to her and I was very impressed with the whole thing and of course all the beautiful starlets running around. But

I was more impressed with Nancy Sinatra's intelligence and apparent genuine concern for the state of affairs in the country and particularly the presidential election. Her basic line of questioning with us was how could Humphrey relate to the problem areas in our society, the young and the poor and the black, basically. That's how we spent our entire evening. I might point out that after dinner, the five of us went back to Nancy's house, which if it was on Fifth Avenue in Youngstown, would be in the neighborhood of \$100,000. It was nothing really spectacular that you might expect from somebody like her, but a very nice home. We stayed there and talked and played pool until about 7:00 a.m., so we had a very long evening with her. To this day my wife doesn't like to hear me say that I spent the night with Nancy Sinatra, but I did.

One other interesting experience I had was with Joe Cirrell and Lloyd Hand. If I can amend what I said, Lloyd Hand and his wife Anne, were also with us at dinner at Joey Bishop's house. I forgot about that. In any event, Lloyd Hand also set up a dinner with money people for Harris at the home of Bob Six, who is the husband of Audrey Meadows. Her sister, Jayne Meadows, is married to Steve Allen, but in any event, Bob Six's home in Beverly Hills was really spectacular. As a matter of fact, it was not Bob Six's home. It was Eugene Kline's home and Eugene Kline is the owner of Financial General which at the time in 1968, was doing a lot better than it's doing today in 1974. I think the only holdings that Gene Kline has today, in addition to probably one hundred million in cash, are the San Diego Chargers. I understand that he's now taking a very personal interest in training with the team, et cetera.

However, in 1968, he was really the hardest charging money guy on the West Coast, and at the time was only like 37 or 38, but was a millionaire many, many times over. It was in that kind of setting that you could see how Harris could crack through the sound barrier and talk to millionaires and how he could promote their contributions based on their involvement in a system which had been very generous to them, and in a free enterprise system which had enabled them to make all kinds of money. Fred characterized it on the basis that these people had a responsibility to support these candidates who would foster an economy that would not only permit wealth to develop but would also provide a generous attitude toward those who were less fortunate than the rich who were sitting in that particular room. He was very effective at creating that kind of mood.

Although Sacramento is the state capital of California, we did not spend much time up there because it really is remote from the two population centers, which of course, are San Francisco and Los Angeles, but not in that order, and thirdly, San Diego. Nevertheless, we were in Sacramento to just put together the nitty gritty of the State Democratic organization. We worked with a Mr. David Rust up there in Sacramento with nothing spectacular to report.

In San Francisco we dealt with Mayor Alioto and his Public Relations Director, whose name escapes me, but Alioto was one of the more impressive figures that I had met in connection with the campaign. It was rumored that he would be a potential VP candidate and I could certainly see why. He was a large, very personable, dynamic individual who had made over a million dollars practicing law. He was very articulate and the son of Italian immigrant parents, so he obviously had a great attraction not only to the professional, liberal elite, in our community, but as well to the ethnic-oriented people, particularly Italians. He was a very impressive figure and to this day I think highly of him and certainly hope that he will aspire to and succeed in achieving higher public office.

There is nothing else that I really remember about San Francisco except of the great difficulties we had in getting the Democratic organization together. I remember we had a cocktail party and there were like two hundred people invited and about one hundred people showed up or not even that, to meet Humphrey, and with that kind of response, you know things are not going well. Some of the people came only after really severe arm twisting on Fred Harris's part.

I also remember in San Francisco we spent time with a man by the name of Walter Shorestein, who was a very wealthy land developer, who went to San Francisco after the war and made millions. Because Fred was busy, Walter was content to spend time with me. He had earlier given Humphrey \$25,000. On this occasion, he gave me a check for \$10,000, made payable to the Humphrey for President Committee. He said he only wanted one thing out of that, and that was, four tickets to get his wife and two daughters and himself into the Convention. At the time that was a pretty simple, very modest request and I virtually guaranteed that it would be arranged for him and I put it on the basis that "Walter, you look me up and I personally guarantee it." I'll give the sequel to the story about Walter and the tickets later on. He is one of a number of money people we met along the way.

We then had a private airplane available to us and Fred and I flew down to San Diego, where we were going to have a cocktail party and a few TV appearances. As a matter of fact, we had a close call in the airplane; I'll never forget. It was a very small plane, and the wheel broke or something broke as we landed in San Diego, the only time I really came close in an airplane. But, in any event, San Diego was very warm and welcoming to Fred Harris and it appeared that San Diego was generally good for Hubert Humphrey, better than San Francisco and Los Angeles by far.

We had a cocktail party hosted by the Mayor of San Francisco, whose name I can't remember, but interestingly enough, the leading city councilman in San Diego was J. Michael Shaffer, who had been a classmate of mine at the Georgetown Law School, which was a matter of coincidence.

That evening, after our cocktail party in the afternoon and a later television appearance, there was a dinner at the Kona Kai Resort Hotel. Later on, we had a cruise on a yacht owned by this millionaire businessman whose name I can't remember, but I'll never forget that night because of two things that happened. First, that night the Russians invaded Hungary and I remember Humphrey was trying to be not necessarily compromising, but a little bit soft against the Communists. Of course, Nixon was a hard-lined anti-Communist. Certainly this latest evidence that the Commies were still willing to resort to violent and uncalled-for acts such as that, did not augur well for the Democrat line of thinking.

The second thing that happened that night was that then General, former President Dwight D. Eisenhower was gravely ill and it was felt that he would be dying within the next few days. We had a telegram from the Humphrey organization in Washington which said, "Just stay where you are and do what you are doing right now, because it appears that Eisenhower is going to die and if that's the case, the Convention will be held up for two or three days." Outside of the huge chaos that that would put everyone under, we felt it would be an equal blow and we were just as happy to spend two or three days down there in San Diego, cruising around in that spectacular yacht, looking at the beautiful lights of the city. But in any event, bright and early that next morning, the word had changed that Eisenhower did not die, and in fact had made a rather dramatic recovery of his earlier bad condition and the Convention was on as planned. So we had to leave San Diego and go back to the world of the real people.

At this time, the normal chronology would require that I move in to the Democratic Convention, which in 1968 was held in Chicago, Illinois. And I would like to give only a summary of it, and we will supplement later on, a more specific description of the events that occurred there. It will be remembered, however, that the Democratic Convention of 1968 was replete with riots both on the streets and in the convention hall. There were many other physical events which all contributed to make Chicago a most deadly convention center.

We left San Diego and flew directly to Chicago, and when we arrived, that is, Fred and LaDonna Harris and myself, the city was under the strain of a taxi strike. There were no taxis. The Democratic Party had arranged for private cars to be used to pick up Senators and other prominent people like that. However, it must be kept in mind that at a convention there are a lot of very prominent people, so consequently, even though you might have been a U.S. Senator, it didn't mean you had chauffeur service available. Well, we were lucky in that we did have that service available. We then drove into Chicago and it was also suffering under the greatest heat wave of probably all time.

It was ninety-five degrees in Chicago and it was the end of the day. So there we were. We had no taxis and it was extremely hot, which placed huge demands on all the utilities. The air conditioning at the Conrad Hilton Hotel where we were staying, was out and also the telephone operators were on strike, which meant that you couldn't really place long distance telephone calls. Those three factors, no taxis, heat wave, and thus no utilities and no telephone operators, all contributed to the very severe problem of just living and operating in the city of Chicago during that convention.

I was there for about one week and was fortunate enough to observe everything that history will show was worth reporting and preserving and we will supplement this tape later because I have some notes to use in refreshing my recollections in reporting those events to this Oral History Program. So I'd like to leave Chicago and if we may, continue on.

After the Convention in 1968, that would have been just before Labor Day, my wife and I took a vacation over the Labor Day weekend. When we came back to work I was informed by Bill Simkin that I could have no more campaigning activities, and that I had to stay home at the office and do my work. So I did, except for a few weekend trips to New York and Detroit, as a matter of fact, three weekend trips to New York, twice to Detroit, and I did nothing

else during the remainder of that campaign. Of course, we all know that Nixon defeated Humphrey in 1968 and although I don't know if my interviewer wants me to give my reasons, all I can say is that Humphrey was not able to demonstrate that he was an independent person, that he was able to speak for himself, that he was able to cut the strings from Lyndon Johnson. In short, he did not demonstrate that needed quality of executive leadership that any president must have. As a result, the Democrats did not vote in 1968 and Nixon won by a slim majority.

So then from Labor Day until the end of 1968, I was just busy at work being General Counsel of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

DECIDING ABOUT CONGRESS

I suppose it was in April of 1968, and that was about the same time that Humphrey announced for the Presidency, that Mike Kirwan told me he would not be seeking re-election for Congressman in the primary election in May of 1970. He was giving me two years' notice.

So throughout the campaign of which I was deeply involved with Harris and the others, I was contemplating the possibility of returning to my home town for the purpose of running for Congress. I suppose that the more I saw Humphrey, the more enthusiastic I became about doing it myself, because the less enthusiastic I became about Hubert Humphrey. In short, after looking at him, and working with him, being involved with him, I felt more of myself and I thought I must have been a pretty sharp cookie because I thought that people like me should get involved in politics.

During this entire period, I was contemplating just what we were going to do and whether or not I was going to run. I might say that when Mike told me, we went out for lunch, and Mike always ate very early for lunch, like 11:30 or 11:45. We went to the Rotunda for lunch, which is a very plush restaurant up on Capitol Hill and Mike was not hearing too well. We went into the restaurant and of course, they all knew him and produced a table for him immediately with no waiting, and we sat down, He had his drink, which was bourbon and water, and I probably had one too, and then I started pressing him on what he was going to be doing. Unfortunately, he couldn't hear me unless I really talked loudly and it reached the point where I was almost shouting in his one ear, you know, asking him if he was going to run for re-election and he was talking back to me very quietly.

I'm sure Mike and I presented a very pretty picture, a young man shouting in this old man's ear and the people could hear the questions from me but they couldn't hear his answers. In any event, that's the way he told me he was not going to run for re-election. He told me that he felt I was the kind of person whom he would like to succeed him. However, he did point out that he was not going to become involved in the Democratic primary, that he had done enough for the Democratic party locally, including Jack Sulligan, and he was not about to help them fight their battles. So he didn't really give me his blessing, but he did not dissuade me either. He seemed to indicate, at that time, that he was going to keep his hands off it, and not become involved in any way in the fight in the Democratic primary to succeed him.

All of this was going through my mind in the fall of 1968 and the early part of 1969, as I tried to determine what life meant for me at this time. Shortly after the inauguration of President Nixon, the "top" officials of the new administration were invited to a private reception and I was included in that. We went to meet with Nixon. I was very lucky in that I knew labor people coming in. George Schultz was coming in as Secretary of Labor and I knew George rather well from his earlier days as a Dean and a Professor at the University of Chicago Business School and in fact, I had done for him many favors in the arbitration business, you know, getting him jobs and things like that.

A pretty good friend, Arnold Webber, also came into the Labor Department. People don't know his name that well but he was really the key behind George Schultz, and although he has now left government, there is no secret among his friends that he probably could have moved as quickly and as rapidly as George Schultz did from the labor job into the Department of Treasury. In any event, I knew the new labor people coming in. Bill Usury was the Assistant Secretary of Labor in charge of Labor Management Relations, and I knew Bill. He was a medium-level fellow at the International Association of Machinists who were good friends of mine. Those are the only new persons who come to mind. George Schultz was the Secretary of Labor, Arnold Webber was the Assistant to the Secretary, and Bill Usury was the Assistant Secretary for Labor Management Relations. Of course, a very key job was the Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Bill Simkin was intending to resign, having received a very handsome offer from Harvard University to teach a seminar in Mediation and Labor Arbitration. Bill's family was all gone and married and so on. He and his wife were in their middle sixties, and he looked upon a teaching assignment as a very good way

of ending what had been a very successful career. So we knew he was going.

Nixon made the word clear that he wanted virtually everyone to stay, which was sort of an unusual statement. Of course, I had never had the experience of being in an administration which was changing so I didn't know what the standard was. Here we were notified, not by Nixon himself, but by George Schultz, his new Secretary of Labor, that we were all invited to stay.

When I met Nixon at this private reception, he knew who I was, and at that time asked very pointedly if I would stay on in his administration. I don't look upon that as an honor because he had been very well coached by his people and I think he knew everyone by their first name as they came up to meet him. In any event, the deal was that I could stay on if I wanted.

The new Director of the Federal Mediation Service I did not know was going to be Curtis Counts, who, prior to his appointment, was Vice-President of McDonald-Douglas out in California. Of course, that company was the manufacturer of aircraft equipment and Curt Counts was very well known in the management field as a very sharp labor negotiator. But it was very unusual because my boss apparently had nothing to say about whether or not I'd stay on since the President had already asked us to stay on.

Counts came on and he proved to be a very nice person. His deputy was Lowell McGinnis, a former Superintendent of Schools of Los Angeles. Lowell McGinnis was a rather weak individual, nice man but just didn't have that much on the ball.

I felt that I could stay on in the new Republican administration, having been asked by the President to do so. At the same time, I had been very much against Richard Nixon because I never liked him and didn't feel that he was the kind of man that I wanted to have as my President. So there was some strange feeling along that line as to whether or not I could really serve him.

We decided to hang in there, if you will, and I found that working with the Republican administration was no problem. I had access to whatever source of information I needed and working with George Schultz of course, was quite a pleasure, because, he was an extremely bright and able person and was not really known as a strong Republican figure. In fact, I think he was a Democrat before his appointment as Secretary of Labor. In any event, I found that the first Nixon appointees were

excellent. I felt that I could work with them and I'd been asked to stay on so I felt life could have continued at the same level and in the same way as it had before.

Still, in the back of my mind was the idea that Congress was the place for me to go, that the Democratic Party now was going to have a few years out of power and this might be a good time for me to go back home, shore up a political base, and become elected to Congress. Then, assuming that the Democrats got back in in 1976, I would then be in an excellent position to have a shot at something national. I meant either a Cabinet level job or at the U.S. Senate. But I felt that the place I had to start was in the Congress. So throughout this period, my thinking developed more for a return to Youngstown, Ohio, my home, and of course, that required a lot of very subtle work on my wife, who wasn't really turned on about that prospect at all.

I'd like to talk about our life in general in Washington during this time. We had bought a home in November of 1965, a rather modest home from the outside, but like most homes in Washington, it was rather expensive when you have to actually come up with the money. Since we had some, but not much, it was rough putting it all together. In any event, it was a rather modest home in a nice neighborhood in Chevy Chase, Maryland, and of course we had many friends that we had picked up in the years that we had lived there. There were friends from law school, friends from government, and friends from politics which gave us a very charming circle of young, attractive men and women who were bright, very turned-on about politics and about things in general. It was the kind of social life that one would not want to give up very easily.

We had three children at the time, which didn't seem to hold us back in any social way, or any other way, and of course, I was making more than enough money for us to get by. So in short, all I'm trying to say is that the social life at this time in Washington was very entertaining and very attractive and all inducements certainly were for us to stay in Washington.

At the same time, my old law firm Counihan, Casey and Loomis was becoming interested in having me return to the law firm. When I had left the firm originally to return to government, I had induced a young man by the name of Tom Coleman to leave another law firm, the law firm of Hogan and Hartson, and join my law firm to, in effect, replace me during my absence. It was my information that Tom was not working out that well, he was a good guy but he was just not working out that well and there was still a place for me there.

I was still mildly interested, and of course, if I didn't return to Ohio, then I probably would have returned to my law firm in Washington. In any event, there is no doubt that that option was available to me.

As time wore on and as I checked out what was going on in Youngstown, it became more and more apparent that I did want to return. It was in November, I think, of 1968 that a big strike occurred in Youngstown, a strike involving the General Fireproofing Company and the United Steelworkers. We had mediators on the scene for about two weeks and a real serious impasse had developed. All the prospects were of a very lengthy and bitter labor dispute. I felt this might be the kind of opportunity for me to go back and to see what was going on in my hometown, and to get a feel for Youngstown. So I did. I asked Bill Simkin if I could be assigned to that labor dispute. As the General Counsel, that was one of my prerogatives.

I came out to Youngstown and met Lou Davies, who was the attorney for the company. Lou is an attorney with Harrington, Huxley and Smith, and I found him to be a rather nice person, average ability, very honest and straight guy and a person from whom I never got any BS, nor would I expect to get any from him. Representing the union was Gene Green, who had been a labor lawyer since about 1946, and Gene was enjoying a reputation of being a very competent individual. He represented the steelworkers. So I came out for the specific purpose of really getting the "feel" of Youngstown and seeing what was going on.

This dispute certainly gave me that opportunity because I was here probably three days a week for four or five weeks. The dispute finally ended and I came out of it smelling like a rose, although I don't know that what I did was particularly significant or noteworthy. I just happened to be there when the settlement was made and I just happened to come out of it looking good. The man who really ended the strike was Jimmy Griffin who had the power to do so.

I will, out of the sense of immodesty, however, remark on one point of departure that I recommended that I think helped contribute to the end of that strike. It is this: In the past GF had always had a three-year contract, just like the basic steel agreement. The basic steel agreement would always be signed on August 31 or September 1 and the GF contract would always expire the next month. So what would happen was the steelworkers would go to GF and they'd say, "Okay, GF, here's our new basic

steel agreement. Sign it." GF's basic argument was that "We're only a fabricating company; we can't pay all the benefits that the basic steel companies have and they didn't want to be grouped with basic steel. So it was my recommendation, and the parties eventually bought it, that GF be given a four-year contract. That would take them out of the same chronology as the steel workers and would give them a four-year period of known labor rates that would induce them to stay in the Youngstown area. Also it would take them out of their former position of simply following up what basic labor had done. Recent history has shown that this has worked well for the company and it's worked well for the union. So I guess I did make some contribution to the end of the strike.

In the course of working with the parties, I sounded Gene Green on running for office and he was highly impressed with me; there is no doubt about that. He offered me a job the first time he laid eyes on me probably, and he wanted someone in his firm who could attract not only labor but business-oriented clients. In Washington, I'd have the reputation of representing both labor and management, of course, not at the same time, but in different industries. But that was the rather unique characteristic and Gene wanted someone in his firm who could do that very thing.

I'll never forget the night that the strike ended. Jimmy Griffin was the very important person in town and a very powerful person and I'm not speaking for or against him or his reputation, but he was a very strong person. We went out to have a drink after the settlement was reached and we went over to the Voyager Hotel which was a few doors away from the steelworker's headquarters; there were probably ten of us. We all went to a table and the waitress came over and Jim Griffin said, "Now, I want you to go around and find out what each of them want and bring them three drinks each and bring me the bill, and I'll start out with a double." This meant that he was ordering three doubles for himself and everyone else had three drinks on Jimmy Griffin. He was that kind of person.

He intimated that night as a matter of fact, that Gene Green had told him about me returning to Youngstown for the purpose of representing him. What Gene failed to mention to Griffin, however, was that if I did return, it would be for the purpose of running for Congress. There was never any question in my mind or in anyone else's mind that if I ever returned to Youngstown to practice law, it would be for the basic purpose of running for Congress.

At the time, as General Counsel, I forgot how much I was making, but I'm sure that it was in excess of \$30,000 a year. I doubted that I could make that much in Youngstown, but I wasn't really interested in money; I wanted to run for Congress. Gene Green knew that and he knew that if I ever joined his firm, it was not because I wanted to be a labor lawyer, because I already was one, probably better than any labor lawyer in the city of Youngstown, but I wanted to run for Congress. When he made me an offer to return to Youngstown, he knew 100% that I was returning because I wanted to go back to Washington as a Congressman. I forget what the financial deal was; I think I had a draw of \$300 a week, which was probably enough for me to get by on but it certainly wasn't the kind of money that would really induce me to do anything. All I wanted was an opportunity to join a law firm and to get back to Youngstown.

So I suppose it was that labor dispute between GF and the steelworkers that gave me the first renewed look at my hometown in determining whether or not I was going to return.

- C: Now, while you were in town working on the GF labor dispute, did you find out anything about the party in this area as far as the situation? Did you make any overtures to Sulligan and his followers about running?
- M: No, not to Sulligan. Of course, I knew who he was; everyone knew who Sulligan was. But the party always had the image to me of being a very strong monolithic, silent kind of institution and I really gave no serious thought to even contacting Sulligan. I just really wasn't interested because I had assumed that he would not be happy about me becoming a candidate for Congress. The one power group that I thought I should be close to was labor and I felt that if I came back from a high government appointment in a labor capacity and if I came back as a lawyer with a law firm that represented labor, that that would be enough. At no time, certainly during this period did I even consider talking with Jack Sulligan.
- C: So there was never any thought of conciliation with the party machine?
- M: There was never any thought of conciliation with the party machinery. I just felt it was an old line party that wouldn't tolerate someone like me, and I consequently didn't do anything with the party.
- C: But you still thought you could win without their help, so they weren't all that powerful.

- M: Yes, I felt I could win without their support, if I had the support of labor.
- C: Labor would be the key then?
- M: Right. Labor, I thought, would be the key and it was my plan to return and join the law firm that, as I say, would give me labor support. Next, I planned to go up to Youngstown State and teach, which I felt would help me with the younger people, and I knew that if I made the race it would be a huge fight, but I felt that I could do it.
- C: What specific weaknesses did you see in the machine that you felt either you could take advantage of or that would hurt itself?
- M: I felt, number one, that they didn't have any good candidates. Even Mike Kirwan himself, God rest his soul, was never known as being a sharp guy, and he got his power by virtue of his seniority and that was it. As I reviewed the local scene, there were no outstanding candidates and I mean that. I looked them all over and I didn't see any candidate whom I thought had more competence than I had, and I felt that if I ran, labor and good-thinking people would see the obvious, and that is, that I was the superior candidate and thus they would support me and not anyone else.
- C: So you thought your qualifications would carry you?
- M: That's right.
- C: Is that like a more sophisticated campaign than we're used to here?
- M: That's right. Well, that was my mistake. I didn't know enough about the people here to really evaluate or project how they would respond to my candidacy. I felt they would look upon me as a bright young guy who made it on his own, who was a local product, and who could do a job in Washington, all of which is true. What I failed to consider was that people don't vote for political candidates based on qualifications. In my view, they vote for a candidate for a lot of different reasons, and not the least important is whether or not they know the one they are voting for. I can tell a cute story here.

My youngest daughter, who is four years old, tells me all the time how much she loves me and just the other day she said, "Daddy, I love you more than God." Last night I had people over for dinner, including my brother Jim and I told him the story and he said, "That's simple

She knows you; she doesn't know God." I guess that kind of thinking applies to politics. They can know that McLaughlin would be a smarter, a younger, a better, a more honest candidate, but they didn't know me and they knew the other fellow. So they would vote for the fellow they knew, just like my daughter likes me better than God, but she does that simply because she knows me and she doesn't know God

- C: Did you feel that anybody might consider you almost as a carpetbagger? Did you feel that some might think that way?
- M: Yes, I felt that some people would have that feeling. I felt they would be in the minority and that others would look upon it as a very natural and logical move. Indeed, during my entire life at Ursuline and at Youngstown, I had been active in politics, whether it's classroom politics or otherwise and I'd always been successful. I was always president of everything and people told me always, "You should run for office." I always knew in the back of my mind that someday I would. So I felt that, yes, people would think that, but I could care less. I felt they'd be in the minority and more people would not look upon it in that way.
- C: Now, while you were here for this dispute, did you start actually setting up your machinery, your campaign at this time?
- M: No. The only real specific thing that I did was to talk with Gene Green about returning to Youngstown. Obviously if I wanted to return, I had to have a place of employment and Gene and I talked. He wanted me to join the firm but I immediately dominated the conversation by telling him that I was thinking of running for Congress and if I did decide to do that, that I would need a place of employment. So he knew right off the bat, that if I joined his firm, it was only because I wanted it as a springboard into Congress.
- C: There was nothing concrete as far as the campaign was set up at this time?
- M: No, I did nothing except talk with Gene Green and I did nothing with respect to any organizational activities. Keep in mind now that this was in about November, I think, of 1968
- C: So it was back to Washington then after the dispute was over.

M: Right. I went back to Washington after the dispute was over, and of course, it was around this time that my wife and I began soul searching as to what we were going to do. If I can place this all in proper perspective, the GF strike as I recall was in November of 1968, and then I went back to Washington where the new President had been elected, and I didn't really know what my future was in Washington at that time. It wasn't until January that I knew that I had a job as General Counsel if I wanted it, if I wanted to stay on.

Then from January until maybe March or thereabouts, we were determining what I should do. It was in April that I accepted a speaking engagement in Warren, Ohio, before the Jefferson-Jackson Democratic Club. It was then that I really became serious as a candidate and I recall that, you know, I had superior speaking ability and I could just see in talking with other prominent people that there were no other people like me. I felt there were no other young people who were bright, who could speak well, and who had the guts. In short, I didn't feel that I had that much competition, if I wanted to run, but I learned.

C: How soon after this Warren speaking engagement did you move back here?

M: I think the Warren speaking engagement was in March or April, and we moved back into town and bought a home in June of 1969. I assume the decision was made like in April to move back and it took a couple of months for us to actually consummate the move. Part of the problem was that I had commented to Bill Simkin and to Curtis Counts, who was the new Director of the Federal Mediation Service, that I would stay on for a certain period of time. They didn't want the appearance to be that I was leaving because of a new administration and obviously that was not the reason I left. So I agreed to stay on in an informal capacity, and what that meant was that I would be paid by the day, but I still held the title of General Counsel of the Federal Mediation Service, even though my family was living in Youngstown and I might be working two days a week in Youngstown. I would fly down to Washington for Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday and work, and come back here for long weekends. While I was here in Youngstown, I'd work in the law firm of Green, Schiavoni, Murphy and Stephens. So I was doing both things at the same time.

C: There wasn't too much time for setting up any sort of campaign at this time, was there?

M: There was time for setting up a campaign except that from the earliest moments upon my return in the Green

law firm, I was working on politics.

C: In what capacity?

M: Well, I did very little legal work. I did some legal work for a couple of the steelworker local unions but did very little legal work. I was writing letters, I was going around seeing people and I was trying to determine what kind of a campaign organization I'd have. Of course, keep in mind that at that time the Congressional district included most of Trumbull County, as it still does, and I didn't really know Trumbull County that well. I had to get up there, introduce myself to people, and just get around and get to know people and that's what I was doing. On every person I met, I'd make out a little 3 x 5 card, with name, address, phone number, their age, position in life, how they could help me, how I could help them, developing a campaign list.

C: How long did it take before you actually got down to really concrete planning of your campaign?

M: It's hard to answer that question, I can't really recall. Considering that I moved back here on a full-time basis like in September or in October, I would say it was shortly after that, probably sometime in October. I announced for Congress in December of 1969, and I assume that most of my conceptual work had been done before that time.

C: Which type of conceptual work had you done?

M: Well, I tried to set out what people and organizations in the black community were going to help me. Let's stay with the black community, for example. I knew that in the city of Youngstown, 29 percent of the population was black. I knew that the blacks were becoming more and more politically active and that I would really have to do something with the black community. I felt comfortable with them. I was raised with them, and went to school with them, and I felt natural with them. I had never been the kind of person who was pushed around by anyone, and I never let them push me around, as they often did with some political candidates. So I started going out to, you know, the Mahoning Valley Challenger, with Nathaniel Lee. Was he important to me? I felt that he wasn't.

C: Why?

M: Because he was an old man. He was over the hill, so to speak. I feel even today, he's a nice man and a good

friend, but he just doesn't have any political wallop, like he did twenty or twenty-five years ago. I observed that the leadership in the black community was rapidly changing and that every other black called himself a leader, but yet it was a leaderless segment of our community, because there were too many leaders.

C: You had to try to distinguish between who was and who wasn't a leader.

M: That's right. In other words, if I would set up a minority committee and appoint a black as chairman of it, I would invariably tee off more people than I would please. So I determined very early that I would not have a black campaign leader of any kind, because I felt that the black community was an amorphous uncemented divided community that in no way could be consolidated by me or by the appointment of anyone individual.

C: Which individuals did you feel that you had to get support from?

M: Black labor leaders I felt were very important, and some of the militants. I sounded them out. They weren't too interested in supporting me although there was no doubt that I was closest, I could talk their language. There was no doubt that they were opposed to the old-line Democratic party, the old-line machinery, but they weren't ready to put all their eggs into the McLaughlin basket, so to speak.

That was a source of disappointment to me in the course of my campaign in that there were a number of people and a number of groups who for every reason, should have been for me, and yet they weren't for me because of their own personal selfish attitude or feeling that they didn't want to get the party mad, or they didn't want to get Carney mad. They would tell me, "Well, I'm going to vote for you. My wife and I are both for you, and here's fifty dollars cash, but I'm not going to do anything for you."

C: Now, they know that the party hasn't done anything for them and so what would be their hangup about antagonizing the party? Would they give you some sort of hint about what type of people you were dealing with?

M: They sure did. It was very simple. People who are in business, whether they're lawyers or businessmen, want to be friends of everyone and they just don't want to make enemies. There has always been a feeling that the Democrat party here is powerful that they take care of their friends and they try to hurt their enemies. I

can think of a number of people, businessmen, whom I had known for years, some of whom I worked for and knew socially, but yet from the public standpoint, they didn't do a darn thing for me because they were afraid of the party.

C: Speaking about these militants and the older black leaders, which ones did you specifically go after?

M: To name them?

C: Yes.

M: It's very tough for me to even remember who they were.

C: I know there were some at the University.

M: Right.

C: A fellow by the name of Goins?

M: Doesn't even ring a bell.

C: He was big at that time. Tony Goins.

M: I don't think I went out after him.

C: Mike Miller? Obviously not too important. What about the other, more established black leaders, for example, McCullough Williams?

M: Yes. I went after McCullough Williams. I think highly of him because he's a very bright guy; he made it on his own. He has a beautiful wife. He's been a great family man. His kids are very impressive; you know, they're athletes, they're smart. I went after him. I went after Bill Higgins, who is now the City Law Director. Higgins and McCullough Williams were for me as well as a couple of ministers. There was Lonnie Simon, who is now in the Board of Education, Reverend Morris W. Lee, who is the pastor of a church out on the South Side and Reverend Douglas Shamburger, who was probably the most militant of all. I felt that the ministers in our community exercised a lot of power, because of their natural role of advising their flock. For some reason, I was able to get through to the ministers. I'd say as matters turned out, the ministers were the ones who helped me more than any other segment of the black community.

I could never really get through to the black militants because I didn't really know them all, or there was no militant who spoke for the black community. I was a

little bit reluctant to put all my eggs in the basket of one leader, which I could have done if I had agreed to name him as the minority coordinator or something like that and that's what I didn't want to do.

C: Looking back, do you think that would have helped you?

M: No, I don't think that it would have. I think that people always want a title, they always want recognition. There's nothing wrong with that, but I don't think that would have helped because I really don't believe there was any one person or any one group in the black community that could have produced a so-called black vote. I don't mean to concentrate on the black community as being that important, vis-a-vis the white community or labor or anyone else but I just used that as an illustrative way of showing you how I approached them. I just went out openly and candidly and I searched them out. I went to Reverend Morris Lee and I said, "Reverend Lee, my name is Dick McLaughlin, here's a resume of mine, showing you what I've done in the past. I was born and raised here. I'm 35, and I'm a lawyer. I'd like to run for Congress, and I'd like your support. And could I answer any of your questions."

C: What sort of offers did you make?

M: I made no offers.

C: Nothing? No promises? Nothing?

M: No, I suppose I was pretty much of an idealist, at this time. No, I made absolutely no offers.

C: Did they ask you for anything?

M: No, they didn't. They asked me for money. I must admit that I did come up with some money, but that was for, as they said, campaign workers. I remember of Morris Lee, in particular, I think I came up with about 2,000 dollars which he itemized, and gave me a receipt showing how all of that money had been spent. I have no reason today, nor did I then have any reason to doubt that the money was spent in exactly the way that he said it was spent, and that is for young blacks to distribute literature and to work on the polls on election day.

C: Are there any other sectors of our Youngstown society which you went after at this time?

M: Yes. I went after the University crowd very strongly. I taught up there, but I was a little bit disappointed because there, too, it was an amorphous, unorganized

community. There was no way for me to really get my hands on them. I mean they were out there but some were from Pennsylvania and others were too young to vote and others didn't vote, so there was no way that I could get my hands on the ones that were legitimate voters in this Congressional district. I attended every meeting that I was invited to at the University and I must say that my attendance was better than the students' because they invariably gave very poor showing at events of any political nature.

C: Again you get reinforced with the idea of the type of people you're dealing with in this community.

M: That's right. I just want to say one thing, Keep in mind now that I ran for Congress twice, in 1970, when I first got back, and then later in 1972, and I hope that I don't confuse the listener with the two campaigns. I think that I might try to distinguish between what I did in one campaign and what I did in the other one. I'll try to keep it straight.

C: Now Mr. McLaughlin, you said that labor would be the key to your political future, I mean as far as this campaign goes. Now how did you approach them initially?

M: Well, the logical way for me to approach them was through my employment with the law firm. That law firm has been in existence since after World War II, twenty-five or twenty-six years, and they had represented labor for that period of time. I thought it would be natural for me as a new member of that firm to approach labor, to approach the leaders of labor, and ask for their support. And this is what I did.

C: Which leaders?

M: Well, I got a list illegally--I'm not even going to tell you who gave me the list--but I got a list of every President of every steelworker's local union in this district. I wrote a letter to each one of them and the letter said, basically, 'My name is Dick McLaughlin. Here is a resume showing what I've done in the past. I'm a labor-oriented fellow. You know that law firm I'm with; you know they wouldn't have hired me unless I was a labor-oriented guy. I need your support. There's no one else who is going to represent labor in this campaign. Please give me an opportunity to come and talk with you and later to talk with your membership.'

C: Now, say they find out that you have this sort of middle-of-the-road view trying to find out both labor and company views. How did they react to this?

- M: I had no adverse reaction because of what I had done in the past. I mean it was not for me to tell them that I was a labor-oriented fellow, which I think I was, and still am. I don't want to hold myself out as the spokesman for labor because I was not that. I wasn't a one-issue candidate but I thought that having worked in the area steel mills, I had a feel for the problems of the working man and even though I am a lawyer and money's no problem today, certainly it hasn't always been that way. I knew what it was like for these fellows and felt that I could adequately represent them.
- C: You can't think of even one who showed an adverse reaction, possibly?
- M: I can't think of one who showed an adverse reaction because of my prior work experience, no.
- C: Even in comparison with Carney?
- M: No. With Carney, you know, the deal was first, that he was not going to get into the race. My view was that Chuck Carney was a good man and had been good for labor and good for this community, but he had worked his way in the Ohio senate for twenty years. He was the Ohio Senate minority leader and he could do so much more for this community down in Columbus than he could in Washington where he'd be just another freshman. Since it takes three or four terms to really get around in Congress, I continued to say, that he'd be ready for retirement by the time he had reached any position of seniority. I thought it was foolish for him to run for Congress, because he'd never really do anything down there. I told him that to his face. I'm not telling you or the listener anything that I didn't tell him directly. Furthermore, he gave up a very strong voice in the Ohio assembly, the Ohio legislature. I thought that was just stupid, that labor would allow him to give up what they had worked hard for him to obtain in the past. That was twenty years of seniority on the Ohio senate.
- C: Now what about the labor leaders? Who did you have personal dealings with?
- M: Of course, I sought out the very top. I went to Frank Leseganich and Leseganich was not interested in becoming involved because he had just been elected as the new District Director. It was a close election apparently, I don't remember it that well, but he just didn't want to make any waves. So, he was very friendly and agreeable and that sort of thing, but in no way was he going to support me. I then went to Shipka, Al "Big Al" Shipka. He was not friendly right off the bat. I sensed clearly

that he was for anyone except me, I suppose Carney more than anyone else.

Gene Green and Bob Murphy and Joe Schiavone in my law firm, were all saying that Chuck Carney would never run for Congress because he was too old, and there were a number of reasons why he couldn't run. So I dealt with Shipka. I went hat in hand to him just like I did everyone else and since he didn't go for it, I continued on down the list. That meant going to the presidents of local unions. I handled an arbitration case for Russ Baxter, who was president of Local 2163 at the Campbell Works of the Sheet and Tube Company. Russ ultimately supported me and his local did, against the AFL-CIO endorsement, because they were very impressed with the way I handled this arbitration case.

There were other local union presidents who were generally in favor of me. The second was Mike Kunovic. Mike was president of Local 1330, the largest and oldest steelworkers' local in this community. I didn't know him to see him but yet I wrote him a letter and told him I'd like to buy him some lunch and met him at the Ohio Hotel where we spent about two hours talking together. From then on in, he was a supporter of mine and he is to this day. He could care less what Al Shipka, or Frank Lese-ganich or anyone else was doing.

When it came right down to it, his union had an open meeting to which they invited the candidates who spoke, answered questions and then his membership endorsed. They endorsed me along with Harry Meshel, who was running for State Senate, and Jerry McNally, who was running for the State Legislature, I think. Jerry McNally worked for U.S. Steel and was a member of Mike Kunovic's local but they weren't even going to endorse him until I personally prevailed upon Mike to bring his name before the membership. So there are two local labor leaders.

I also went to Joe Giblin, with whom I was raised on the North Side. He was president of the local at Commercial; he was for me. My brother-in-law, Dan Foley, arranged a meeting for me with John DiPiero, who was president of the local at Truscon. He was for me and that union endorsed me.

I then went to the leadship out at the GF local where I'd been involved in the mediation and they were strong for Carney. They weren't strong for Carney, but they didn't come out for me, basically because their staff man was Steve Timko, who was part of the Shipka, Frank Trainor group and they were definitely not for me for some reason that I to this day do not know. Then there

were, of course, locals up in Trumbull County. Jim Heath was president of Local 1375 of Republic's steelworkers. He was mildly for me. He didn't keep me out in any event. Reno DiPiero was president of Local 1310 of the McDonald Works of the U.S. Steel. They were for me. They endorsed me.

I got around to these labor leaders and went to the meetings of the local unions. I hung around the meetings. I passed out literature. I went to the plant gates and in short, I was trying to bypass Al Shipka and Frank Leseganich because I personally know it's been a long, long time since Al Shipka has ever seen a plant gate except for his own personal, selfish reasons.

C: How did you view, say the success of your preliminary dealings with the labor leaders?

M: I suppose that they had never had candidates do this before, especially for that office. Let's face it, Mike Kirwan had been there for years and years and years and they didn't know what it was to support a candidate for Congress. I think that's another reason that no candidates knew what it was like to run in two counties. It was such a new experience for everyone that there were no precedents or standards to guide either political leaders or candidates in how you run for this office.

C: Did you find Mr. Shipka and Mr. Leseganich becoming upset with this sort of undercutting them?

M: Mr. Shipka was definitely upset. I didn't really know Mr. Leseganich at the time and I don't know how he responded to it at all. I know what personally upset Mr. Shipka was that his son had just returned to this area and is now a professor at Youngstown State University.

It seems that Tom was invited to a party that was held for me by Dennis Haines, who was an associate in Gene Green's law firm. Dennis was known as a rather liberal fellow and he wanted to invite a number of younger people to his home to encourage their support for my candidacy. Tom Shipka was one of the fellows invited to Dennis' house. As a result of that house meeting and subsequent meetings, Tom and I became reasonably close friends and he determined to support my candidacy, regardless of his father's wishes.

Tom and I were both liberally oriented, and I assume it was for that reason that he supported me. At a later time, Tom accompanied me to various local union meetings to announce his support of my candidacy. And then after the AFL-CIO endorsed Chuck Carney at a meeting out at

Local 1330, Tom Shipka stood up and publicly announced his support for me. He stated that he's not afraid of Big Al Shipka and no matter how much pressure Big Al Shipka would bring to bear, that he would continue to support Dick McLaughlin. Then he very dramatically ended his statement by saying, "And I should know Big Al Shipka because I'm his son, Tom," which really was a bombshell, not only in the circles of labor, but I'm sure it was an even bigger bombshell in the Shipka household. Quite frankly, subsequent to that, I know Tom got very uptight about the way I blasted his father. His father made threats to me that I would never have a decent job as long as I stayed in the Youngstown area. I assume Big Al really came down hard on his son. Since he has come down hard on Tom, we have had a tentative, but very friendly relationship, but he knows and I know what the history and origin of our problem is.

C: What sort of blasts did you make at Al Shipka?

M: I said he was a tyrant and a dictator, which in my view he was then. He's not now, because I don't think he has any power today, but he certainly did at the time, because Frank Leseganich was new on the scene and Shipka was president of the AFL-CIO. Today there are officers of the AFL-CIO who don't allow Shipka to dominate the whole council as he once did. I don't think the building trades are as strong as they once were. I think there are local union presidents who are a lot stronger. I don't think the staff workers of District 26 are big fans of Mr. Shipka. In short, I think he's there because he has the seniority but he has no strong power base.

C: Let's shift right now away from the labor area.

M: I would like to say one other thing about labor and I think it relates here, and it is my problem with my law firm. As I said, I joined that law firm and Gene Green, who is the only member of the firm with whom I dealt, knew that the reason I was coming back was to run for Congress. His view, and I can almost quote him verbatim, was, "That's a good deal for me. If you win, I have a Congressman in my office; and if you lose, I have the best labor lawyer in the community." From his standpoint there was very little risk.

Now I came back, and I'm sure I got a lot of noses out of joint within the legal profession and within a lot of various groups because I was a big deal coming back and getting engraved stationery, a couple of thousand dollars worth of office furniture my own secretary, and Gene Green even talked about bringing over Anne Hudak

who had been Jim Griffin's secretary, to be my secretary. In short, Gene Green was making things very comfortable for me and I appreciated that.

We had a financial deal that was very loose. I didn't really make any money with the firm. I mean I was compensated, but I didn't make any money. In all fairness to him, I wasn't really doing that much legal work either. I was mostly campaigning. When it became apparent that Chuck Carney was going to run, efforts were made by Al Shipka and Leseganich to get Gene to persuade me to drop out of the race. They called him and he had an ongoing correspondence or conversation with Shipka and with Leseganich about me. That was basically it. They wanted to keep me out of the race.

It finally reached a critical point and Gene arranged a meeting for us to meet with the AFL-CIO council leadership over in their office in the Realty Building. It strikes me that it was a Friday night, but I can't really remember. I went over there and Al Shipka was running the meeting although Leseganich was there and Anderson, the fellow from the butchers' union, who was on the council was there. Steve Timko was there, Mike Beckes from the carpenters was there, and I really can't remember who else was there, except that it was the leadership of the AFL-CIO council. There was no doubt that Al Shipka was speaking for the council and he was speaking for Chuck Carney. He was emphasizing how Carney had been favorable to labor and how Carney deserved this and how Carney was everything that labor could possibly want.

I came on just as strong and told Shipka that I thought Carney was too old to become a freshman Congressman. He didn't know anything about Washington. His experience and his background and all his efforts had been in Columbus and it would be foolish and stupid for labor to allow him to give all that up and become a freshman Congressman. In my view, he was selling the community short because labor put him where he was and he built up all that seniority and now he was just going to throw it all down the basin to achieve a personal selfish goal of becoming a Congressman. I thought it was stupid and I went on to point out that I was more knowledgeable about Congress than Carney was. I had been in Washington; I had dealt with the Congress; I was a lawyer and knew more about it in general than he did and that I was a younger man and could acquire that seniority and still be young enough to reasonably relate to what was going on.

I felt quite strongly about it and others asked me all sorts of questions, but I didn't back down one inch. Al Shipka asked me why I didn't run for Carney's seat in

the Ohio Senate and I said that it was for the very reason I'm running for Congress, and that is, I know something about Congress; I don't know anything about the Senate. Conversely, Carney knows something about the Senate but he doesn't know anything about Congress. That's why he should stay in the Senate and I should run for Congress. Of course, Shipka wasn't too happy about that. I'm not saying that he offered me the Senate job on a silver platter, but he left no doubt in my mind, or in anyone else's mind, or in Gene Green's mind that I would have the support of labor if I wanted to take Carney's job in the Senate, but I declined

Gene and I walked back to the law office, really undecided as to what we were going to do. The next day, I believe, Frank Leseganich called Gene and told him that a big case was coming up for the steelworkers and he didn't think it would be proper for me to represent the steelworkers in that particular case. Then a day or so later, Gene got the word, the same word, from Mike Beckes, or someone from the carpenter's union, who conveyed the same message, that they knew that I was a great lawyer, et cetera, but they didn't think it would be good for me to represent the union.

It became perfectly clear to me what they were doing. They were bringing pressure on Gene Green, who was their lawyer, to put some kind of pressure on me. But in all fairness to Gene, he never did. That was why I undertook to write him a letter in which I recited basically what I just now said, that is, from the very first my intention was to run for Congress. This was no surprise to anyone. Green was for it, but I was not about to let these guys from labor, meaning Shipka and Beckes and a few others to bring all kinds of economic pressure on the law firm to get me out of the race. That's when I withdrew from the firm. And there is a letter to that effect in my scrapbook.

C: Now, what effect did this have on, say your outlook?

M: Well, it had a large effect on my outlook because I knew these fellows were playing for keeps and it just shored up my reserve, I'll say that, and I was not about to get out of the race.

C: Didn't you get sort of frightened because of the lengths that they were going to? Actual blackmail was what it was amounting to.

M: Well, blackmail is no novel experience for the guys who were playing that game. They had done it before and I suppose they are going to do it in the future. But yes,

it shook me a little bit but I got my secretary, Carmella, who I hired in November of 1969, and who is still with me, to go over to the Ohio Hotel where I got a suite. We set up our office over there and everything was then run out of the Ohio Hotel.

C: Now, Mr. McLaughlin, as far as your staff goes, your campaign staff, who were the major figures in it? Can you tell us who they were and what their duties were and why you chose them?

M: First, I had my secretary, Carmella Nagy, who, as I said, is still with me, and I hired her when I first came to Youngstown. She's a very accomplished legal secretary and was with me over in Green's office, so of course, she knew my background there and most of the names and numbers of all the other players. Of course, she was what you might call my confidential secretary or my executive secretary and she worked full time right there in the Ohio Hotel.

In addition, I needed a formal campaign structure and of course, I was very mindful of the ethnic background of our community. I first obtained, as a Co-Chairman, J. Walter Dirgalovich, who, although he's from Youngstown, was the Assistant Prosecutor in Trumbull County. Walt is a Serb, and I thought had a good ethnic name for acceptance in our community. Then, at the suggestion of Walter, I contacted an attorney in Mahoning County, Henry DiBlasio for a similar role down here. He agreed to serve as Co-Chairman. So I had an Italian and a Slav as Co-Chairmen of the campaign.

As far as money was concerned, I wanted someone who was a lawyer, not necessarily a lawyer, but a Democrat, and who was well accepted in the business community as a pretty responsible and straight person. I was therefore lucky I thought, when I secured Charles Owsley to be my Treasurer. Chuck Owsley is a Princeton and Harvard law graduate, who had been in the foreign service for about twenty years. He came from an extremely prominent local family. As a matter of fact his father designed and built Youngstown's City Hall back at the turn of the century. Chuck, at the time, was a lawyer with Manchester, Bennett, Powers and Ullman, a very solid, although Republican business-oriented law firm.

Chuck, strangely enough, was a very liberally-oriented person, who was, as a matter of fact, for Eugene McCarthy in 1968. So those three were the formal leadership of my campaign.

Then, somewhere in the course of my early days in the

campaign, I met a young man by the name of Robert Casey, a big, red-headed fellow, originally from the East Side, who lives with his three children on the South Side of Youngstown. He is a teacher at East and was a very liberally-oriented young man who also had an interest to go to law school, which he is now doing. Bob was a very good friend and I persuaded him to take a leave of absence from teaching at East High, and he joined me on a full-time basis. He and I were a very familiar sight. We're both about six foot, three inches tall and Bob had flaming red hair. Bob was really the executive director of the campaign. So that, then, was at least the formal structure of how the campaign was run.

There were others who were very close to me, obviously. Naturally there were many others who helped in the campaign, but this was about the extent of the real organization that I had. I had individuals working in certain precincts or in certain cities. For example, in Lowellville I was oversupplied with ready, willing, and able workers in the persons of Don Nolfi, Joe Ferraro, Steve Conti, and several others. In Struthers, for example, the mayor, Tom Creed was a good worker on my behalf. I had virtually no support in Campbell, outside of Mrs. Kay Travers, who was President of the Women's Democratic Club at one time. I really had no organized structure that had coverage in each and every ward and precinct of every city in the Congressional district

C: How would you evaluate the performance of your workers during the campaign?

M: Well, I think we all suffered with one big problem and that was the problem of inexperience. For example, I did not have the organization that I should have had. I did not have the entire Congressional district broken down with key leaders in each specific area. That was a very substantial deficiency.

C: Did you receive any assistance from say, some of your more nationally prominent friends, specifically Fred Harris?

M: Yes, I did. I recall late in the campaign, I'm pretty sure it was in the 1970 campaign, Carney tried to rely upon the help of labor out of Washington alleging that Al Barkan, who was the national director of COPE, was going to come in and speak at that ill-fated labor dinner and in fact, he did not come in.

I was able to prevail upon friends of mine in Washington to take a "hands-off" attitude as far as this primary was concerned. Harris did not give me any specific help,

but in fairness to him, there was really little he could do. I do recall he came in to speak at the commemoration dinner for Jim Griffin, which was an event at the Mahoning Country Club and everybody in town was there. Of course, being a friend of mine, he gave me a very nice plug, which really upset Jim Griffin and everyone else. In answer to your question, no, I really didn't get that much help from my nationally-oriented friends.

C: What about simple, helpful advice from anybody that you felt was significant?

M: Well, unlike a lawyer whose only stock in trade is his time and the advice he can give, in a political campaign you get more advice than you need. If I got as much money as I got advice, I'd be in Washington today.

C: Would you describe your relationship with the Democratic Party, especially the machinery of it, as the campaign wore on?

M: Well, you have to keep in mind that there were two Democratic Parties, one in Mahoning and one in Trumbull County. Let me confine my comments at least now to the Mahoning County Party

Very early, I wrote a letter to all precinct committeemen suggesting that the campaign be an open one and that there be no endorsements. I said this would be the best way of selecting a successor to Mike Kirwan and that if it was open, a lot of Democrats could run and then the winner would have the support of all other candidates. Of course, this is contrary to the maintenance of the strong machine who wanted to hand pick their successor to Mike Kirwan.

I made no bones about it during both campaigns. As a matter of fact, that the first thing I would do would be to remove Sulligan and people like him, if I were elected. They knew it and I rather assume they were fearful in that regard. Of course, I'm not the first one who has tried to blast the machine but in short I had a very arm's length relationship. I claimed that it was the rank and file who made the important decisions on voting and it wasn't right that a few individuals could hand pick in the name of the Democratic tradition, a man for Congress.

Now the situation in Trumbull County was drastically different, in that the leadership there, Dr. William Timmins and Attorney Mitch Shaker were almost for me. They assumed a gingerly relationship with me in which

they did give me help from time to time but they never really came out strong for anyone. They just took an arm's-length relationship, although they personally were very friendly to me. Of course, they don't endorse up there in Trumbull County, or at that time did not endorse, so there was not the same kind of effort to get them to take action for me.

C: Did your attitude toward the party bring any response from Sulligan?

M: Oh, very definitely. There was no doubt that Jack Sulligan did everything in his power to undermine me. For example, he brought pressure upon Charles Shutrump, the owner of the Ohio Hotel, to throw me out, which Charles Shutrump never did, but at every turn there were efforts by Sulligan to undermine me in the campaign.

C: Did you have any personal relations with him?

M: No. I made no secret about my feeling. I spoke to him on the street. You know, I don't take things like this personally. I looked upon him as an institution rather than an individual and so whenever I did see him, I would say, "Hello, Jack, etcetera, etcetera." But I never told him that I wasn't doing what I was doing. He knew, loud and clear what I was doing and I made no bones about it.

C: Now the big question it seems, in the campaign dealing with the party was the question of endorsement. There was a lot of confusion that surrounded the whole question of Kirwan's endorsement. Now could you clear this up a little bit?

M: Well, I don't know if I can clear it up. I can only relate what I know now in 1974 of an event that happened about four years ago. I think that what I said at that time was generally accurate, and it is that Mike Kirwan was in the hospital, he was slipping, and in some way they were able to extract from him an endorsement for Charles Carney. I have personal knowledge that he didn't care for Carney, and I have personal knowledge that he said in no way would he become involved in selecting his successor.

C: You say, 'they' extracted an endorsement. Who are 'they'?

M: I think Jack Sulligan would be the key, and of course, there would be help there from Roberta Messerly. Now strangely enough two years later, Roberta Messerly came

out and worked for me, but at that time, it's my view that she wanted to go along with Sulligan. I assume that she had been informed that she could continue to run the office, to have jobs in Washington and that sort of thing. I just assume that that was the motivation for her to get that kind of endorsement from Kirwan.

C: She never sort of recanted after she started working with you?

M: Two years later when she came out, we just never talked about it, really. I mean it was there, and she told me several times what a big mistake she had made in 1970, but I never really tried to nail her down on the so-called Kirwan endorsement. I just didn't think about it. It was water under the dam; it was done and over with, and I was looking to the future and that was of winning in 1972.

C: Now turning to labor again, can you describe your relations with labor as the campaign wore on? Were there any changes in attitudes on either side?

M: Well, I persisted in my efforts to go to union meetings and to meet with laboring groups and quite honestly I felt I was rather effective. My credentials as a labor attorney were so solid and no one could detract from those. I was a good speaker at union meetings and I could talk about issues that affect working men and women. So I must admit that I think I was successful in getting individual union leaders to come out and support me even though the AFL-CIO had taken the opposite position. I would go to union meetings and I'd really politic and then I'd arrange for a news release after the meeting and all this really got Al Shipka uptight. But it was sort of fun.

C: Now on January 19, 1970, I think you got a letter from Al Shipka's son, Dr. Thomas Shipka, telling you to sort of lay off hitting at his father, the main reason being that he thought that the time of the union boss was really gone. Now, did you heed his advice?

M: Well, I suppose I did. I didn't heed his advice as such, but I suppose I eased off hitting the union boss because the endorsement was over with and there was no further reason for me to blast the endorsement I didn't want to make that the basis of my campaign. But there was no doubt in the minds of anyone who heard me that I believed that the day of the union boss was over, and I don't know that I really mentioned Shipka in particular. I assume that I did from time to time, but I didn't follow Tom's

advice. I thought the advice was motivated by a desire to please his father.

- C: As with the party, a big issue or one big event that sort of caused a stir was the Carney fundraising dinner. Could you go into some detail about this?
- M: Okay, fine. I think my scrapbook contains some of the actual evidence in this incident and the first document being a postcard that Al Shipka sent out which said, "Come to the meeting on such and such a date, because we're going to endorse Carney for Congress that night " I thought that was very presumptive to think that the delegates wanted to endorse Carney. So I thereupon wrote Shipka a letter, a registered letter, and return receipt requested, requesting the opportunity to meet with the delegates so they could evaluate and consider my candidacy. Of course, he didn't want to respond to that letter. I then held a news conference and claimed that Shipka was running the whole thing, and that he was not allowing others to participate.

Later on, after the endorsement, I received a copy of a letter that he sent out to individual union presidents talking about this dinner and saying that they could spend union treasury funds to buy tickets for the dinner. Now under the law, and I have stuck to my guns by this, a union is permitted to spend union funds for the purpose of educating its members. It is not allowed to spend union funds, which are raised by membership dues, for the purpose of supporting candidates outside the union. Now you have to distinguish between C.O.P.E. funds that is, funds which are voluntarily contributed and which can be used for any purpose, and funds which are taken from the treasury of the union and which represent the dues of union members. Those latter funds cannot be used for general political purposes but can be used only for educating members within the union.

In my view, the purpose of that dinner was to create an attitude within the community as a whole, that labor as such, was supporting Carney. I felt, and I still do feel that that was an improper use of funds. I alleged that an individual union president who arranged for the expenditure of general union funds could be liable, and I believe now as I did then that that was true.

Gene Green came out with a letter that was released to the news saying that it was an irresponsible act and reflected an unawareness, or lack of knowledge, I forget exactly what the letter said. But strangely enough, the opinion that I relied upon basically, in addition to my

own, was the opinion of a very substantial labor lawyer. I happen to have a copy of his opinion in my file, which states that what the AFL-CIO was doing was illegal. But like anything else, you can't run a totally negative campaign, so after it was evident that they were going to stick by their guns, they had their dinner and I, of course, never took any action.

- C: Now Gene Green called it, "your opinion, reckless, irresponsible, and completely out of merit." It seems strange for a man who was such a close friend of yours to come down so hard upon you with such a hostile reaction. What do you think was behind his hostility?
- M: Well, Gene Green has represented labor since 1947, and I would say that the vast majority of his income is derived from groups within the labor community. Every man has his price and Gene had an object of continuing to represent those groups and I think he got the message that he had to come out with a very strong letter. It was that simple.
- C: Again, do you think that Shipka was again directly responsible for this?
- M: I don't know, but it wouldn't surprise me. At that time Frank Leseganich had just come into office, as I recall. The dates are a little bit hazy but it was about that time that Leseganich came in and he didn't know Gene that well, and I don't think that Frank had as strong a position in the community then as he does now. I honestly don't know who was responsible for it.
- C: Is there anything else on your labor relations during the campaign that you would like to talk about?
- M: No. I believed then and I do now that it is improper for leaders of labor to assume the knowledge of their membership. I believe if labor unions take an active role in the campaign, they should do so only after giving candidates an opportunity to come to union meetings, speak their views, and answer questions. But right now, that's not the way it's done. There are a few people who make that decision and that decision then filters downward to the membership. The membership is told who to vote for.
- C: What about the coverage given your campaign by the Vindicator?
- M: In general, I would say the coverage given by the Vindicator was not as bad as it could have been. For example, in the very early days of the campaign, I again as my

scrapbook will show, made a large number of speeches. I spoke to any group that would listen. Then upon the conclusion of the speech, I would have a little news release and hand carry it over to the Vindicator. That's what Carmella would do among other things. By and large those news releases would appear in some form in the Vindicator. So in that respect I thought it was reasonably good coverage.

I didn't think Clingan Jackson was particularly fair, because he made no independent efforts to secure information. I have a personal opinion that his relationship with the Democratic Party is of such long standing that he doesn't really have an objective approach that one in his position should have. Thus I feel that I got the short end of the stick as far as Clingan Jackson was concerned. Concurrent with that, the endorsement of the Vindicator, I felt was the principal handiwork of Clingan Jackson, and again, because of his relationship with the Democratic Party, I thought unfairly portrayed the views of that party and not of an independent campaigner.

But any newspaper in a one-newspaper town has a very substantial responsibility to the people, and that is of trying to be not only thorough and comprehensive but fair and objective. I think they tried, but the Vindicator, like anything else or most other things, is a human institution. There are several, I think, inferior humans involved in writing for the Vindicator who allowed themselves to be used, either wittingly or unwittingly. But on balance, I don't have any large complaints about the Vindicator, at least as far as that election is concerned. I have a substantial complaint about their editorial policy and some others, but that's neither here nor there.

C: Now, what about the other news media, television or other newspapers?

M: Let's take other newspapers first. It was my experience and it still is today, that the other newspapers in our community are more aggressive in searching out the news. They have reporters who actually go out and write their own stories, whereas in the Vindicator, you have to feed them by hand, to give them a news release, before they'll even consider doing anything. As far as a news reporter of the Vindicator going out and independently researching and writing a story, I have no personal experience of that ever happening. There is a large difference with the Warren Tribune Chronicle, in which there are several fellows who were always out searching and looking and thinking and writing their own stories, which to me was rather impressive.

The suburban newspapers, not only the Niles Times, but the weekly papers, for example, the Girard and Hubbard News, the editor of which is Mike Varveris, were very good. I thought and I still do think that Mike is an excellent newsman, because he really works at it and I don't think the Vindicator does because I don't think they have to. They're not in a competitive situation as the other newspapers are. As far as the electronic media is concerned there is radio of course, but I have no strong opinion because they don't really carry that much news. You know, they have the three minutes or the news on the hour or something like that. As far as television is concerned, if I called a news conference, I would call it at a time that I thought would be good for them, but I had good coverage as far as TV news was concerned. I had no big complaint with TV; I think they did a much better job in coverage and independent thought than the Vindicator did.

C: Would you, in general, just sort of reflect upon your campaign, describe it, compare it if you want to Carney's or any previous campaign that you had knowledge of in this area? Was it unique?

M: Well, I don't know. Some people say it was the first time that anyone took the party head-on and made no bones about it. I don't know if that's true or not because as we will recall, I'm a carpetbagger and I was away for ten years. So I can't really compare it with any other campaign.

Another thing you must remember is that this campaign embraced two counties. A campaign in Trumbull County was dissimilar from my campaign in Mahoning County and that was a very difficult problem to overcome, because you had to be one thing in Trumbull County and another thing in Mahoning County.

C: For example, what were you in Trumbull County and what were you in Mahoning County?

M: In Trumbull County I was much more positive. I mean I would get into issues and deal with them specifically and there I found that when I had confrontations on issues, that invariably occurred in Trumbull County. In Mahoning County the big problem was my fight against the machine and against big labor. It was almost a negative kind of campaign.

C: So the machine sort of stifled any real issues.

M: That's right. I was never really able to get into discussion on issues as much in Mahoning County because of

that. People were more concerned about what I was going to do with Sulligan or what I was going to do with Shipka if I won rather than what my stand was on education, or crime in the streets, or anything else.

- C: Could you contrast your campaign with Mr. Carney's campaign?
- M: Yes, it was easy to compare it because he had the endorsement of labor and the endorsement of the party which are large institutions that have been in campaigns long before Carney and I and they'll be there long after Carney and I. So they would do their thing and their thing is the distribution of literature, the manning of the polls, and telephoning. In short, Carney's campaign was bigger than he was because he had these larger groups going for him. He has a very good name. He'd been in politics for twenty years and he knows a lot of people. He could take a more comfortable approach to a campaign, whereas I couldn't because people didn't know me, I had no large groups out there working on my behalf, and I had to get out personally and hustle. Mine was more of a personal campaign than his was.
- C: How do you think people reacted to this sort of aggressiveness? Your campaign was more aggressive than Mr. Carney's. How do you think people reacted to this?
- M: On balance, I felt that wherever I went, I came off well. I say that modestly, meaning that when people actually sat down and met me and heard my views and talked with me and asked questions and got answers, that they were generally impressed. But you can't do that, you just can't meet everyone in the county or in the congressional district. I felt that if I had done more of that or if I had started earlier, that I probably would have done better. I felt then and I do now, that I could hold my own in debate with any person and that's what I really wanted, the opportunity for a head to head confrontation with Carney, especially on television, but that was never to be.
- C: Did he ever give a reason for refusing your offer of debate?
- M: No. He never gave a reason. I just never heard from him. I sent him telegrams, letters, and made phone calls, but he never responded to any of them.
- C: You came back to Youngstown within a year of the election. How much effect did this late start have on your campaign? Did the fact that you couldn't get out at what we call the grass roots level, the level of the precincts, hurt you?

- M: Undoubtedly, it hurt. There were people who I'm sure would have considered my candidacy very seriously if I had just met them. There were some prominent people who I just never met during the campaign. In politics today it's difficult, especially at a local level, to be for someone that you don't know. When you're in politics or when you're in a prominent position, you don't support a person unless you know him. A lot of people didn't know me, and even though they knew me on television, that's not enough. They could call Carney "Chuck", and they knew him on a first name basis and even though most of them would probably agree with me that it would have been better to have a younger man and a more educated man in Congress, they knew him and they knew what he was like, and they knew he would answer their phone calls. That is a good sign for him and that's hard to beat.
- C: A big question which is always prominent in a campaign is financing. How does a man who just comes back, and really doesn't have as many connections as his opponent, go about financing his campaign?
- M: Well, if that individual has money of his own, that's the first and obvious source of campaign funds. That was in my case. I came back. I had a reception in Washington honoring me for my work as General Counsel and that reception was held after I left the government service so there was never any question of me being able to help those who helped me at that reception.

I forget what I made, I think I made in the neighborhood of \$5,000 at that reception and I probably had personal resources of maybe \$7,000 to \$10,000 of my own. So that amount was right there. Then there was one individual in the community who is a very prominent person, a member of my church whom I've known for a long time, who came up with a rather substantial amount of money to assist me in television and radio. And that was a very large contribution. Other than that, I had cocktail parties, I sent out letters, made personal solicitations, and I found out that I was spending more time doing that than I was giving speeches.

For my fund raising, for example, I had three doctor friends of mine who would send out a letter to all the doctors asking for money. I had three podiatrists, friends of mine who sent a letter to all podiatrists asking for money and I had three architects, three dentists, three school teachers who helped me, but they were not successful because I didn't get money from them. The best and most efficient way to raise money, it seems to me, is to do it yourself. As I say, I had a very difficult time

of doing that.

I have one other comment about raising money. This idea about the small contributions in my view will not work. It's very nice to think that if you get 50,000 people, each of whom will give you a dollar, that that's enough for a campaign. People just don't give money. We had what we called a McLaughlin Booster Club and it cost one dollar to join. We sold about 150 or 200 memberships. There was the work in putting that booster club together in relation to the amount of work that was made and well, there was no relation at all. The small contributions are very hard to raise in light of the amount of money that has to be raised. That's what makes fund raising so difficult.

C: Mr. McLaughlin, would you summarize what were the major reasons for your defeat in the Democratic primary of 1970.

M: I think there were reasons that contributed to my defeat, but, I think the most important one was the fact that I was new to the community and they didn't really know who I was. I have since firmed up that opinion because it seems to me more people will vote on the basis of who they know, rather than on the basis of straight qualifications. I think the degree of that point, that is, whether you know someone, gets less and less important the higher the political hierarchy, so to speak. In other words, you don't vote for a city councilman because you think he is immensely qualified, you vote for him because you know him over the opponent. The same holds true for mayor and for Congress. However, when you vote for Governor or United States senator or lastly, President, I think there, the element of a person's basic qualifications becomes more important.

Here, for example, I didn't really know that many people and a lot of people did not know me. When I got around and I undertook a very extensive speaking campaign, if you will, those groups where I spoke were basically influenced and impressed, I would say, not immodestly. But I just couldn't get around to see all of them. That was the basic reason, the fact that the people didn't know me.

C: What about the other candidates involved? How much influence do you think you had, on the outside?

M: Well, I think it confused them even more. If you'll recall in the first campaign, of course, we had Charles Carney, who had been the minority leader of the Ohio Senate and a State Senator for twenty years, and before that a representative of the steel workers. He was obviously very well known and while he was no genius, he

at least did his homework and answered the constituents' mail, so to that extent he did his work, and a lot of people knew him. He had done favors for many, many people, and that was very tough to overcome. Also in the campaign was John Hudzik, who at that time was, or just had been, President of Youngstown City Council. Many people knew him.

Up in Trumbull County, we had Gary Thompson, a County Commissioner, and Violet Whitman Campana, who was the County Clerk of Courts. There were others in the campaign who were very well known, and when you just review that list of thirteen candidates, you'll see what I mean.

In addition, Tommy Gilmartin comes from an old political family with a good name in politics. Frank R. Franko, I have no comment about qualifications or anything, but the fellow had been mayor. In addition, there was a black, a fellow from Hubbard, and it was just a hugely confusing campaign but I think the basic point is that people voted for the candidate they knew.

C: So really money or experience of your staff did not have that much influence.

M: Oh, I think more money would have helped. It would have enabled me to have, as politicians call, an election day set up, which I really didn't have except for volunteer workers. It would have enabled me to do some things that I didn't do. So yes, I think more money would have helped.

As far as the experience of my campaigners, that's partially true. I think that at least the people that worked for me, most of them, made up in aggressiveness and enthusiasm and determination what they lacked in experience. I would as a general observation, never ignore the offer or support of the inexperienced, but yet committed, campaign worker.

C: If you would, just describe your feelings immediately following your defeat.

M: Well, I was obviously shocked. No, I shouldn't say shocked. We must distinguish between the two campaigns. The first time out, I was exhilarated to some extent because we had done so well. I had finished second, and had substantially beaten all of the candidates except for Chuck Carney. To that extent, I thought the political future looked very rosy. Of course, I was upset naturally, because I didn't win.

I was more upset because of the fact that I had no job at the time. I had no law firm; I had nothing. So I knew that immediately I would have to get into the money-making business.

C: How soon after the election in 1970 did you start planning or actually feeling it was worthwhile to give it another shot in 1972?

M: Well, there were several things which arose in the interim. For example, the first was the composition of the Congressional District. The United States Congress redistricted to include all of Mahoning County in the new Nineteenth Congressional District and so that included Boardman, Austintown, and Canfield. 1. I thought that the people in those communities as a general principle, would be more inclined to favor a non-party candidate. 2. The constitutional amendment passed which permitted the eighteen-year-olds to vote. I thought that was a very positive improvement over 1970. 3. Chuck Carney was not distinguishing himself in the Congress and not the least item which appeared adverse to him was when it was disclosed he had certain people on his payroll, and he apparently made an effort to hide it in some way.

C: How much do you think the people in this area were actually aware of Mr. Carney's inactivity in Washington?

M: Not that much. I mean as the Congressman, he was always making speaking engagements and fulfilling them. But I think that the payroll issue was very adverse to Sulligan and I think that that received wide notoriety.

Then of course, I was more experienced, having gone through a race. I thought that that experience would help, and also there was the prospect of a head-to-head basis, which I thought was more favorable. There was also the prospect of getting more support out of Trumbull County. For example, my law partner Walt Dragelevich, had been named as County Prosecutor, and I felt that that would help. So in short, all of these events taken together, influenced me that the stage was set for a winning campaign in 1972. I don't know when that decision was made. It was probably made sometime in the spring of 1971.

C: What changes did you contemplate for your campaign in 1972?

M: Well, I contemplated that my campaign would be well financed, well organized, and well run, but at the same

time, in addition to those improvements in campaign administration, I thought for example, that I would have more younger people working for me. I knew I would have better support in the black community. I also felt that I would do much better within the labor community because Frank Leseganich had made it clear, that he would give me support, perhaps not openly, but that he would turn over some of his best campaigners to me.

C: You said that it would be better financed than the previous one. What led you to believe this?

M: Just the fact that more people knew me, that I knew more about raising money, and that the prospects looked better. And people contribute to political campaigns when they think they're going to have a winner.

C: What improved your relationship with the black community?

M: I don't really know what it was. I had joined several groups, for example, the NAACP, and I got around to more minority oriented activities. I just got to know them better and I think that was it.

C: Were there any changes in your personnel beside the influx of younger people? Were there any other changes in your personnel in your campaign?

M: Well, we became really well organized, I thought. Whether or not that improved the campaign, that remains to be seen. But I had the campaign structured more rationally. For example, I had a full-time press officer, who did nothing but prepare my news releases and that sort of thing, who kept it well organized. I had a fellow who was in charge of issues and I had developed very specific positions on about twenty different issues. Of course, I always had access to those issues and each was prepared in a folder with resource material in that same folder. So I felt intellectually I was much better prepared to confront the issues. Moneywise however, I was not well organized. For some reason, I just wasn't able to raise enough money to run that campaign and I can't give you any reason. I don't know what happened, whether the general money market was tighter or what. I honestly don't know, but the fact is that I was notably less successful in raising money than I was in some of the other management aspects of the campaign.

C: Now, what about your over-all approach? Were you going to be continuing along the similar lines of the more

aggressive type of campaign?

- M: Very definitely. Yes. I felt that I was out, he was in. I had to run that kind of campaign. As I indicated, I had his voting record down to a T as for example, voting for the SST. I knew that I would not have voted for it, but he did, because at the last minute, labor came out and said that was the thing to do. I was prepared to confront him on that issue and all other issues where he had to vote. I can't recall all of them now. One was an environmental issue, there were a couple having to do with the termination of the draft and a continuation of the Vietnam War, that's about all I can think of right now. But the point is, again, that I was prepared to debate with him on not only the issues in general, but on his specific voting record. I had his voting record down to a T.
- C: You said that you anticipated better relations with labor. What about this? Did you have better relations with labor?
- M: Well, I had better relations for example, with Frank Leseganich, the District Director of the Steel Workers who was for me, but it was done in a quiet way. In other words he allowed some of his key individuals to work with me and for me and they could come out openly, but he at that time, did not make any open break with organized AFL-CIO which again endorsed the Congressman.
- C: What about your relationship with the party machine?
- M: No different. They were the same old faces, the same old opposition and I treated them the same as I did before. That is, I made it very clear, not only in my speeches and in my campaign literature, that one of the first things I would do would be to exercise my influence as the party nominee for Congress, to remove Jack Sulligan as Chairman. I felt that would have done more to improve the quality of our party than anything else.
- C: What type of reaction did you notice once you made this statement?
- M: Nothing that was out of the ordinary, just continued hostility, resistance, opposition and fear. They were really afraid, and I think the comments of anyone in the party would confirm that. They were really afraid I was going to win and would totally upset the apple-cart.

- C: What about your relations with the press during this campaign?
- M: No basic difference. Again, the newspapers in Trumbull County, I thought were more independent oriented in that they seemed to give us a better shake in terms of news releases. Carney had a built-in advantage because he was the Congressman and could make news much easier than I could. But I felt the Warren Tribune and the Niles suburban newspaper organization were both fair in giving me an equal opportunity to present my views to the voters. The Niles group of newspapers endorsed me, for which I was thankful, and I'm not saying they did a better job simply because they endorsed me. That newspaper has reporters who actually go and dig up facts, and that was the point I made with the Vindicator because the Vindicator does not do that. If they do it, they do it very quietly.

My relationship with Clingan Jackson was not altered at all. Again, I believe that as the political analyst for a newspaper in a one-newspaper town, he should be fair and should also look fair. As a member of the Executive Committee, it didn't look right that he should be there writing editorials about candidates who were fighting the party when he is, in fact, a part of the party machinery. That's the conflict I see.

- C: Generally speaking, would you say that the campaign run in 1972 actually panned out as well as you thought once it was all over?
- M: No, because I didn't win.
- C: What specifically do you think went wrong with this campaign?
- M: I really don't know. I thought we had a winner going in there. Everywhere I went and appeared campaign-wise I detected a spirit of optimism and hope and I was largely convinced that I was going to win. One issue came up at the eleventh hour which had to do with my working for Mike Kirwan, and Carney filed a complaint with the Fair Campaign Practices Committee alleging that I, in fact, never did work for Mike Kirwan, when in fact, all of my campaign literature said that I did. I think it came out on Friday, the Friday before the election.

I'm not trying to answer it now but very briefly, when I went to Washington, I was going to law school, I had no job, I had a couple of hundred dollars, and I needed work. I didn't know Kirwan, I went to see him and he

put me on his personal staff. Kirwan paid me out of his funds as he paid others and as Charles Carney pays people today, that is, out of his own funds. So it's obvious that I was not on anyone's payroll except Kirwan's and it was not a lot of money. It was enough for a law student to live on and to give me an opportunity to find other work. That was the basis upon which I took the job, that is, just getting something to tide me over until I could take the proper government exams so I could go to work with the Department of Labor, which I did in July or August of 1959.

After, my relationship with Mike Kirwan from August of 1959 until I came home, was that of a personal advisor. He never paid me for that and I never solicited any money, but I worked for the Democratic Party through Mike Kirwan. He got me into high level work with the Democratic Party. I advised him on his personal business, such as his estate, and preparing his will, and some of his personal investments, and that was my relationship with him. I was closer to him as a non-employee than any employee was.

In any event, Carney brought this up on the Friday before the election and it said that I was an elevator operator. Now what that was apparently, was that Mike had certain patronage jobs, which he could pass out, and apparently I got on that payroll and received money from the Architect of the Capitol who is the employer of those persons on patronage jobs. I was perfectly unaware that that was the connection in which I was working for Mike because I got money directly from Mike.

In any event, this came out on Friday and I don't believe I could intelligently respond that weekend. I think, in retrospect, that it was a mistake to even dignify it with a full-fledged response as I did. I have learned since then that the Carney camp was very uptight and fearful of losing and they used that as a last resort. They assumed that I would not respond to it, but they figured it was worth a shot. And I did come out strong, in fact I think I called a news conference and really blasted Carney because it was a lie and apparently the public didn't believe me.

C: Did you consider that a personal attack?

M: No, not really. It was an example of a political opponent using anything at his disposal to blast his opponent. No, it doesn't bother me that it was made because you have to expect anything being used against

you and that's one thing I did learn, that the rumor mill in this area is enough to kill you. I mean, there were things like, my mother never really had ten kids, the fact that my white hair was a wig, and the fact that I had more girl friends than you could shake a stick at. If I took care of all the women who they alleged I took care of, I'd weigh forty pounds. And it is not true.

C: Like you say, it seems like this area is more attuned to rumors than they are to issues. Now there seem to be many rumors connected with Mr. Carney that you could have used. How is it that you never took advantage of these?

M: Well, I feel there is, if you will, an ounce of sympathy in all of us and I'm no exception. Charles Carney is an older man. He had an affliction which doesn't look good. I would never suggest that that affliction impaired his ability as a Congressman or as a politician. But it just doesn't look good. First, I felt that by coming out with personal things, I don't know, would not be my style and second, I didn't think it was politically sound, because it would be inconsistent with the image I was trying to create. But believe me, I heard the rumors. I heard a lot of good ones.

C: What about the Carney campaign that year? How different was it from the campaign he ran in 1970?

M: Well, in the campaign in 1970, he ran a low-visibility campaign, relying upon his name, and the endorsements of labor and the party and having a lot of money.

In the second campaign, he had to address himself to me more than he wanted to because from every standpoint, and that is in terms of education and age and apparent physical ability and mental ability, he would come out second best, so he avoided me like the plague. I spent perhaps too much money trying to get him to debate with me. He never appeared on the same forum as I did. He would send Attorney Paul Stevens, his campaign manager, or others who would simply say what a great job Charles Carney has done, and at every one of these meetings, I would blast him for not showing up.

C: It was interesting, you said you spent a lot of money trying to get him to debate? Now where would this money go?

M: For example, I bought a half hour of television time on WFMJ, and I had a live program that we made that was

going to appear at 10:30 I think on a Friday or Saturday night before the election. That day I had a big ad in the newspaper saying, "Mr. Carney, I'll be there at 10:30, I invite you to come and debate, etc." Of course, he never showed, so we ran the live show that I had videotaped that afternoon. But I probably spent a very substantial amount of time doing things, trying to force him to debate. Again, I felt that the image I was trying to create and to project was to show the people that candidates for public office should go before the public to talk about their views and to be put on the spot. In other words, they should answer questions on a specific issue, you know, "How do you stand on this, that, or the other thing" and the people should allow the candidates to express their views and thus demonstrate their differences. Yet I was never given that opportunity and when opportunities were sought to be offered by different labor groups, Carney never showed up, never, not once.

C: Do you think any of his stands on any issues were known by the people at all?

M: Well, his basic tactic is to "be for the working man," and that's all well and good. You know, this is a workingman's community. But I think that is the issue that is the easiest to say and then to recite support for all the gut issues, you know, Social Security, improved Workmen's Compensation benefits and stuff like that, all which I basically agree with. But there are some issues which were rather cloudy. For example, on the war in particular and on defense spending he, whether intentionally or not, clouded up the issue.

There is one large difference between Charles Carney and I, and it is that I'm basically a labor oriented person, but I am not going to vote for a particular issue because labor tells me to do it. I may or may not vote for it, but basically my voting record would be comparable to Carney's. I think a perfect issue is the SST, where at the last minute labor came out in support of the SST because of the machinists' union and the machinists' union claimed that they were going to lost x thousands of jobs out on the West Coast.

Well, my view was that we should not spend money for the SST because of the over-riding environmental impact the SST would make as well as the uselessness of that high technology. Less than one-half of one percent of the people in our country could use it and I felt that it was an extravagant use of our funds. My position was to vote against the SST but if that throws all kinds

of people out of work, let's beef up Unemployment Compensation benefits, benefits that would enable them to have more mobility to get retraining skills, that sort of thing. But I wouldn't vote for it simply because the machinists' union said to vote for it. That's how he and I differ.

C: Now you said that you were very optimistic about the outcome of this election?

M: The second election, yes.

C: What was your feeling when you found out?

M: I was shattered. I, very early in the campaign, had made arrangements to travel to Hawaii with the Ohio State Bar Association leaving on the Saturday after the election. There was just my wife and I, and we didn't know one other soul who was going on that trip. That was the best thing I ever did, because we were able to go to Hawaii and we really got our heads screwed on again. We put it back together again, and I realized it wasn't the end of the world. I was very frustrated with the whole political process, feeling that I gave it my shot twice, and that I'm not about to undertake such huge financial responsibilities again unless I had the money.

I had the feeling that I was let down in many ways by people who should have known better. Prominent businessmen would contribute fifty or a hundred dollars thinking that I would be good for them in Washington, but yet, I knew of bartenders who gave the Congressman five hundred dollars. It was just an inability to demonstrate to the people of this district that I probably would be a much better Congressman. There are so many ways that a Congressman can aid his district, not by voting, that's only a small part of his job, it's an important part but it's still a small part. In my view, a larger part is to be the counselor for that district before the federal agencies in Washington, and it is in that respect that I think I could have had a very much better experience.

Further, in dealing with other members of Congress, the Congress is not going to move up into leadership positions, men who get elected when they're sixty years old. They're going to move up young men who get there when they're 30, 32, or 34. And if you look at the Congress today, it's perfectly evident who is going to lead our Congress thirty years from now. They're already there. They're from North Carolina, and Arkansas, and states like that in the South and they are the ones who are going to

stay in the Congress. The Northerners just don't ever seem to get the message, and we still elect older people. You look through that Congressional Record and that will be very vividly demonstrated.

C: How do you think your personal life was affected by your involvement in politics?

M: Oh, a couple of different ways. I don't think it affected my family life with any long-term impact, except that it obviously kept me away from home a large part of the time, which I didn't like, but that was part of the game. One, there was no long term visible impact on my family and two, it probably improved my law practice. I have more business now than I can handle, which I enjoy, so it probably helped me business-wise. The third point is that it gave me a reputation throughout the community which probably has helped me in my business efforts with Cable Television, which I do look upon as a favorable aspect of the campaign.

The most important thing in my own mind, is that I've grown extremely wary of politicians and politics and I doubt that I could ever get back into the business of politics under the same or similar circumstances. I'm not about to put the rest of my life out on the hook for a group of disinterested or unconcerned people who believe that you're cheating anyhow. I don't need that aggravation; I have too much going for me here, personally. I'm not about to put my life on the hook for people, who I don't think realize it or appreciate it.

C: Sort of hypothetically, if you had the chance, would you do it all over again?

M: Yes. I sure would. I've always wanted to be in politics from my earliest days, even in Ursuline High School and through Youngstown State University and then, of course, in Washington I just wanted to be active in politics. So I am very thankful I came out here to run, because if I didn't, I would go to my grave thinking maybe I should have done it.

C: Is there anything else you want to say right now?

M: No, not now.

C: Thank you.

APPENDIX

MEMORANDUM

September 10, 1968

This is the summary of my activities in California beginning the middle of August 1968 through the Democratic National Convention in Chicago and my return to Washington on August 31st. I arrived in Los Angeles, California in the evening of Thursday, August 15. I proceeded directly to the main office of Californians for Humphrey, which is headed up by Joe Cerrell. Joe is the senior man in the P.R. & Advertising firm of Cerrell and Winters. This firm has been retained by the U.D.H. to handle the Southern California campaign for the Vice-President. Joe Cerrell is a personally unattractive person, but who has an outstanding reputation for being a very cool and efficient political professional. I would say he is in the neighborhood of 40 years old, and after the first two minutes of our meeting on Thursday night, I can see how the man earned his reputation for being a cool dispassionate person. He was all business.

The purpose of my trip to California was to do the advance work for the visit of Senator and Mrs. Fred Harris who were coming to California for a few days just prior to the Democratic National Convention. Ostensibly, the Senator was coming to have a few publicity activities in connection with his book entitled "Alarms and Hopes" published by Harper and Rowe. It is basically a summary of the Senator's views on the problems confronting our society and the 1960's. In

addition, however, he was coming here as the Co-Director of the United Democrats for Humphrey, the principal campaign arm to nominate the Vice President for the Presidency of the U.S. In addition, at the direction of Vice President Humphrey, Fred Harris was touring the larger states, particularly New York and California, in that Fred's name had been mentioned as a prominent contender for the Vice Presidency. So, with these thoughts in mind, my job was to arrange for him a comprehensive program in Los Angeles, San Diego and Sacramento for the purpose of enlarging his public exposure both in a personal sense, and secondly, as the front runner for Vice President Humphrey.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 18

My principal contact in Los Angeles was Lloyd Hand, a former Chief of Protocol under Lyndon Johnson, who had recently been an unsuccessful candidate for the Lt. Governorship in California. Lloyd is a native of Texas and endeared himself to President Johnson, and apparently at LBJ's request, came to California to run for the Lt. Governorship. Lloyd is about 43 to 46, blond and extremely good looking. His wife, Anne, who is a dear person, is also blond, very very attractive and is the mother of their five children. Lloyd and Anne were personally most gracious to me in the course of the following two weeks when we were together. Lloyd and Anne and two of their daughters picked me up at the Beverly Wilshire Hotel on Sunday morning around 10:30. They were

putting their two daughters on a plane for Dallas, Texas where they would be spending a few weeks with their grandparents. We would then await the arrival of Fred and Ledonna Harris, who were coming in around 1:15 from Dallas, Texas. Lloyd and Anne and I had lunch and discussed generally the prospects for Fred and the Vice Presidency. Lloyd was most confident that it was a certainty. It was his view subsequently shared by me that Fred Harris was the man who could indeed communicate with the Black people and the Poor people. We both thought this was a necessary ingredient of any successful Democratic ticket. After picking Fred up at the Airport after a minor miscue in terms of time and letting a few things fall between the chairs, we drove to KNXT-TV on Sunset Boulevard where he taped "The Newsmakers." He was interviewed by three newspaper men and in general came off pretty well. Lloyd and Anne and Ledonna and I were in the taping room. Immediately after this half hour show was over, we walked into another room of the same studio where we were greeted by some 60 Indians from the Southern California area (there are some 45,000 Indians in this part of the country). Since Ledonna is a half-blood Commanche and can still speak the language, she was always happy for an opportunity to meet with Indians such as this. We had an extremely successful and delightful meeting with them at which time both Fred and Ledonna sat down and discussed at some length what they were doing to assist the Indians

as perhaps the most minor minority group to achieve equality for jobs, education, recreation, housing, etc.

It was about this time 4:30 or so, and we then departed directly for the hotel. We had plans that night for Lloyd and Anne to pick us up at the Beverly Wilshire where we would then proceed to a few activities that night. The first was a cocktail party in Beverly Hills and was hosted by Michelene Lerner, the ex-wife of the song-writer, Alan J. Lerner. It was strictly a Hollywood-type party, and there were many Hollywood stars in evidence, including for example, Elke Sommer, Faye Dunaway and Hugh O'Brien. There were many others and many persons who were familiar by sight to me but not eventually introduced. We had a delightful time in her home, which was easily a 3 or 4 hundred thousand dollar home overlooking all of Beverly Hills, California. Lloyd, Fred and I all wore dark suits, and it was interesting to see that we stood out like sore thumbs in that the clothing of the other persons there was the most "in" type of clothing imaginable, including for example, the Nehru jackets, white shoes, lime green suits, etc. In any event, ^{after} they pried me away from these beautiful starlets, we went to perhaps the ultimate in Beverly Hills to the home of Gene Klein, who was the financial Co-Chairman of Californians for Humphrey. Gene is about 39 years old who owns, among other things, National Standard and the San Diego Chargers. Included in the dinner were just about six couples of financial supporters of the Vice President

but including Sammy Cahn, the song-writer. We had a delightful time there after several drinks and an extremely exquisite meal ended by brandies and liquors.

MONDAY, AUGUST 19

This day was scheduled to be filled with media appearances on behalf of Harper and Rowe in connection with the Senator's book, "Alarms and Hopes." It started at 7:00 A.M. with a variety show, a 9:30 A.M. news conference, a 10:30 A.M. interview on KABC-Radio. At 11:30 or thereabouts, we met for a private lunch at the Brown Derby in Beverly Hills, with Marty Leshner, who is not only the nephew of Joey Bishop, but is the Associate Producer of his show, and in addition, a Ph.D. in Education. Marty was a delightful person, and we discussed generally the format that would be used in Joey's interview of the Senator. Also present for this lunch and subsequent events was Bill Spohrer, a classmate of Fred's at Oklahoma University, who ultimately married the daughter of the owner of Peruvian Airlines. Bill is now the sole owner and general manager of the Airlines, which is not bad, of course, at the ripe old age of 37. After lunch, we had several TV and two radio appearances in Los Angeles at which time the Senator again made his pitch that he was there in behalf of the Vice President and was not interested in the Vice Presidency himself but only was interested with the hope that the best man would be selected, and that obviously would be a decision of Hubert Humphrey.

We were picked up by Lloyd and Anne around 7:00 P.M. and delivered to the ABC-TV studio on the corner of Vine and Fountain, where the Joey Bishop Show is recorded. It is taped on one night for presentation on the next night. However, the show is live and it runs as is taped, so if there are any mistakes or slips of the tongue or anything on one night, it will run as is the next night. We were taken backstage where we met Joey, who was in the process of dressing, drinking his scotch and water and watching an exhibition football game on color television. In the course of this evening, it became clear to me that Joey's life was centered about 100% around television. We had a very delightful casual discussion with him at this time, and indeed, joined him in a short drink. We were then ushered across the stage into our seats in about the fourth row. There was Ledonna sitting next to the runway, then Anne Hand, Lloyd, then myself.

A very curious thing happened at the start of the show. When Joey was announcing who his guests for that evening were, he concluded by saying and Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma. At that time, there was a commotion in the back of the audience, and a woman was seeking to get the floor. A camera and a microphone were shot immediately back to her, thinking that she was going to say I was from Oklahoma or knew Fred Harris, but she said, "I am Mrs. Senator Fred Harris." Since she was a dowdy woman, in her middle fifties, it was perfectly evident to

anyone who knew Fred's age that she was a fraud. Joey halfway kept his cool and said, "Well, thank you Mam, but I'll introduce you now to the real Mrs. Fred Harris," and thereupon said, "Will the real Mrs. Fred Harris stand up." In walking back to his seat, he said, "And that's where they get the line 'and you're doing fine, Oklahoma.'" In any event, it was sort of eerie for us to know that this was going to be on nationwide television to have this dowdy old woman in the back of the audience stand up and claim that she was Fred's wife, when in fact, poor Ledonna was receiving only one-tenth of the TV coverage.

The show went fairly well. Fred was the last guest, following Anne Miller, Victor Bwano and a singer from England. Fred was extremely nervous. There was no question in the minds of those of us who were with him that he was not his most effective self. For example, when he first came on and Joey mentioned that he was not only married to an Indian girl, but that he was very prominent in the matter of Indian affairs, Fred said that of all affairs, he liked Indian affairs best and that he had been enjoying one for the last 19 years. ~~The audience did not understand, it really laid a bomb.~~ Since the audience did not understand, it really laid a bomb. Since we are our own worst critics, however, and we knew what Fred was going under in having this TV appearance, we were super critical. Subsequent events and watching the show the next night in San Diego proved to us that Fred indeed did a pretty good job.

After the show, we went backstage again where we again chatted with Joey and he confirmed our dinner date at his house. Joey's house is about 10 or 15 minutes from the studio, and we walked in to meet Mrs. Bishop, a woman who looks considerably older than Joey, who was just 50, Joey's lawyer and the lawyer's wife, the actress Pat Crowley. She had just finished taping a show with Dean Martin that is going to be shown on October 3rd, and she was regaling us with stories about how Dean Martin is even funnier backstage than he is on-stage. All of us were in the den where Joey has a beautiful pool table. Fred, Lloyd and I started playing pool and we were having drinks and eating cheese and crackers and looking at all of Joey's awards and pictures and autographs that were prominently displayed in his den. When Joey came in at about 10:15 or so, everything stopped. His wife laid down her drink and said dinner is served. At that time, all of us without even finishing our drinks went directly into the dining room. All of us had suits on, of course, and Joey had simply a pair of dungarees and a yellow tee-shirt and loafers with no socks. I sat right beside Mrs. Bishop and right in front of a blairing television set that was on sky high. After about ten minutes, Joey asked whether any of us would like to hear his new recording of his new album of country and western music, and of course, what can you say at this point, so we all agreed.

Thereupon, Joey brought in a tape of this entire album, which apparently has not yet been released, and he showed us the cover of the album which had him in a cowboy suit that he told us cost \$4,500.00. I might add that the meal was a very mediocre one consisting of roast beef and no wine, but Joey drank cherry pop throughout dinner. He then put on his album and requested that no one talk during the album so that he could point out the high spots and the very interesting aspects of this recording. I must admit that his voice was horrible, and it was evident to all of us at the dinner that this was the case. Nevertheless, we loyally listened to the entire album at high decibel levels. After dinner, we went into Joey's living room, where the nine of us were going to watch his show from the night before. At this point, Mrs. Bishop brought out coffee, brandy, pastries, etc., and we all settled down for Joey's TV Show. He specifically requested at this point no one leave in the center of it, because he liked to concentrate on his show. He had two sets - one color and one black and white. During the course of his show, which was very slap-stickish, Joey didn't crack a smile, although on television he appeared to be laughing so hard that tears came to his eyes. I might point out that in the course of the entire evening, nothing was ever said about who Fred Harris was or how his book was selling or how Humphrey was doing or whether Fred would be the Vice President, but simply how Joey Bishop was as an

entertainer. He's extremely self-centered and allowed no conversation that did not relate to either him, the Joey Bishop Show or to television generally. Since Fred fell asleep on the couch halfway through the show, Lloyd suggested and we all agreed to leave halfway through.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20

After a radio interview by Joel Spivak on KLAC, we thereupon departed for the Airport and left from Los Angeles to San Diego. After several TV shows and a press conference at the Airport (where I ran into Woody Woodrow, a neighbor of mine who was there with his wife), we had a press conference at the Airport. Later on in the afternoon, there was a private reception honoring Fred and Ledonna at the Kyaka Club with about 20 or 25 persons in attendance. It was a very poorly managed cocktail party in that there were no heavy hitters present except A.B. Polinsky, the head of Coca Cola in Southern California, who button-holed me. It appeared that he had contributed much in the past and was willing to line up many large contributors in the future but simply didn't have access to the right staff person of the Vice President

That evening there was a dinner for Fred and Ledonna at the Conaky Hotel where we were staying. This too was also very low level and had no real sex appeal in terms of anyone present who could do Fred or the Vice President any good. The only person there was Lionel Van Derlin, the Democratic Congressman from San Diego, who was sort of a light weigh

In addition, and as I explained to Fred, Lionel was running against an old classmate of mine, J. Michael Schaefer. After the dinner, we were taken as the guest of George Straza and his wife upon their yacht for a cruise of the San Diego Bay. George is a 40-year-old millionaire who apparently has done great things for San Diego and is a long-time supporter of the Democratic Party. On the yacht were Fred and Ledonna, myself, Bill Spohr, George Straza and his wife and Congressman Lionel Van Derlin and his wife. It was at this point midway through the cruise that we heard of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, and we thereupon returned to the cabin where we watched the special TV news broadcast of the Russian invasion. George was pretty diabolical in that he wanted to keep us out so that we would have to watch the Joey Bishop Show on aboard his yacht. It will be recalled that while the show was taped the night before, it was going to be shown this night. However, I was able to arrange and twist arms and get the yacht back to shore at about 11:25 so we had sufficient time to head back to Fred's apartment so that we could watch the show. There we had Fred and Ledonna, Bill Spohr and myself who watched the show. Fred and I got pleasantly stoned on gin and tonics while we were waiting for the thing to come on. Bill Spohr fell asleep as did Ledonna, although she awakened just prior to Fred's appearance.

The next morning we were terribly late in arriving for the "Sun-Up" show in San Diego which started at 8:00 A.M. We got there around a quarter to nine and Fred was on for the last fifteen minutes or so. We then hustled to the Airport, had a quick breakfast and ordered a 10:00 A.M. flight for Sacramento. It was at this point that Bill Spohr and I sat together and had a very delightful conversation about Fred Harris and what his prospects were as a possible Vice Presidential selection.

It was also known that Teddy Kennedy was going to be delivering a national address on foreign affairs, and I went up front and persuaded the captain of the airplane to put the speech by radio over the loud speaker. Although Fred didn't get much of it, we got enough to get a feeling for it. Indeed, I was able to summarize on the back of an envelope what Teddy's principal contentions were, and I went up and explained to Fred that the Vice President's position and Teddy's position could be reconciled when you really considered what each was saying

We were met at the Sacramento Airport by David Rust, who is the Northern California Chairman of Californians for Humphrey. He was sort of an impetuous, pushy kind of person, who tried to assert himself right off the bat. We drove like hell to get into downtown Sacramento in time for our 12:00 news conference which went off beautifully. Fred was so well prepared that he commented on and very intelligently the address

just given by Teddy Kennedy. Following the press conference, we had a luncheon in the hotel where Fred went over quite well among many who were former Kennedy, McCarthy or McGovern supporters. There was one hostile question, but Fred handled it with such aplomb, coolness and thoroughness that he received a standing ovation at the end.

We then had several TV appearances the remainder of the afternoon. Following these, there was a private fund raising reception in a private club called Antonini's in Sacramento where Fred and Ledonna met about 20 of the top financial backers of the Vice President. We had a few drinks there and hustled off at the last minute for the Airport, where we barely caught the plane. We were greeted in San Francisco by Tom ^{is} Saunders, who/a Northern California counterpart of Joe Cerrell. He drove us to the Fairmont Hotel. While there, I arranged a meeting with Fred for Walter Shorenstein, his wife and two daughters. Walter is the financial Co-Chairman of the Northern Californians for Humphrey. We had been told that he has signed personal notes in the amount of \$150,000 for the Vice President. Fred and I met with him where Walter explained that the only thing he wanted was a little bit of recognition, and this could be achieved by us arranging to have his 15-year-old son be named as a page at the Convention. At the very least, he wanted his kids to have gallery passes so that they could appreciate what a Convention was all about. I planned to take care of that.

It was also at this point that we made several phone calls to persons like Gene Wyman, the State National Committeeman and Stanley Byer, Robert Secks, Lou Wasserman and Ed Polly, heavy financial contributors in California. To most of them I explained who I was and explained that Fred was so busy that he just didn't have a chance to talk with them, but that he had asked me to call them to say hello and to inquire as to how the Humphrey Campaign was going in California and to solicit any of their advice or comments about how we can make it better.

We had several drinks at this point and made plans to meet with Price Cobb, who was a Negro psychiatrist in San Francisco and has recently written a book called "The Black Rage." This is a book about Negro society in general and Fred wrote the foreword to the book, drawing from his experiences on the Kerner Commission and particularly with respect to its conclusion that white racism was a predominant factor in causing the riots. We had about six or seven drinks with Price, who turned out to be a perfectly delightful chap, and the four of us then went for dinner to the Imperial Palace at my suggestion. After walking around Chinatown for about an hour or so, we then returned to the Fairmont Hotel.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 22

Since we had nothing scheduled in San Francisco for Thursday morning, the three of us met for a late breakfast and had among other things, bloody marys, eggs benedict, hash brown potatoes, etc., etc.

It was a delightful breakfast. We then left for the San Francisco Airport. Enroute to Chicago, after Ledonna was asleep, Fred and I had a very lengthy talk about what I was going to be doing in Chicago and whether I could involve myself to the extent Fred thought I should. He apparently believed that I was the kind of person who should be involved heavily in Democratic affairs and thought it would be a waste of time for me to simply be doing advance work for the Vice President in Chicago. Since he was the Co-Chairman of U.D.H. and overall responsible for the entire campaign operation, I was inclined to agree, and said that I would be happy to work for him directly and do the kinds of things that he thought I could do best. It was at this time that he suggested that I not only be available to him in a sense as his deputy at the Convention, but also that I should be in charge of and to coordinate all the diverse and unchanneled efforts that were being made by well-intentioned persons throughout the United States to make him the number two man. Fred explained to me that obviously he would love to be the Vice President, particularly since he was only 37 years old, but that he did not plan to "run" for it. He said what we had to do would be to conduct high-level verbal discussions with persons who could directly contact the Vice President and explain why Fred Harris should be on the ticket. However, he did not want to undertake any overt activities which would make it appear that he was indeed running for the office. It was this

kind of activity that he wanted me to handle there in Chicago. Of course, I readily agreed to do this.

Upon arrival in Chicago at approximately 6:00 P.M. or so, we were picked up there and taken directly to the Sheraton Blackstone Hotel where a reception was underway for the delegate section of the U.D.H. There I saw many familiar faces, including Ed Alfriend, Neil Gillan, Fred Israel, Chuck and Zel Lipson, D. J. Leary, Mike Rowl, Lou Rivlin, Bob McCandles, Ryan Vandersie and others. At this point, it was about 95° in Chicago and was terribly stuffy. Right across the street, in the Conrad Hilton Hotel, the air conditioning was operating at about 15% of efficiency. It was explained to me by the Assistant Manager that there was such a drain on the photographic and audio equipment that the air conditioning simply did not have enough power to cool the place down. Thus, it was apparent that it was going to be an extremely unbearable night in Chicago. It was at this cocktail party that Ryan Vandersie advised me that he had an extra bed in his room, and if I had any problem, I could feel free to spend the night with him.

Fred, Ledonna and I returned to the Conrad Hilton where it was evident that they did not have a room for me except in Fred's suite, except we had no luggage which had apparently been lost somewhere along the way. I set about to find it.

After doing so, I felt it incumbent upon me to contact Marty McNamara, who was in charge of the advance, and to apprise him of the fact that I would not be available for his use, but rather I would be under the sole supervision of Fred Harris. He was understanding about this and told me that perhaps I was better off, in that just two days earlier, the Vice President had announced a 1/3 cut of all persons who were slated to come to the Convention. It was apparently born of the idea that the Vice President had the nomination all locked up and it would not be necessary for an extremely large contingent to be there supporting him. In addition, of course, it was an economy move, however, that was purely of a secondary interest. So Marty said I was much better off and that I would have a better time working with Fred directly. At this point, I ran into Mike Murry, who was in charge of the speakers bureau and handles all kinds of different kinds of persons who are available to speak on behalf of the Vice President, including labor leaders, John Granowsky, Orville Freeman, Willard Wirtz, etc. In fact, Mike was the first fellow who fixed me up with the travel bit for Fred Harris. I had a few drinks with Mike and with some of his friends who were there just visiting the Convention and then decided to look about finding a place to stay. It was at this point that I ran into Ken Harding, the Executive Director of the

Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, who said he had an extra room that I could use for that night. Good old Room 2040. Ken explained that he had received a very short shrift by the hotel manager with respect to the rooms made available to him, so he explained that he went down to the manager and utilized all of his influence and power to assure that he would have sufficient rooms. He then said that I could feel free to use 2040. When I went up to the 20th floor and inserted the key in the lock, I interrupted people who were in bed which went to show just how much the hotel management responded to the claims of influence and power by Congressmen, Senators and other politicians, etc. It simply was not the case. In frustration, therefore, I left Room 2040 before I could have any confrontation with the inhabitants and went across the street to spend the night with Ryan Vandersie.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23

Bright and early on Friday morning, I checked in at Fred's suite where I was given a sumptuous breakfast and assigned a pass which enabled me to get into "all areas." It was then that Fred and I sat down and he assigned to me a number of chores that I would be responsible for handling in the course of the Convention, including partially advance work, delegate work, working with the Ohio crowd and handling his Vice Presidential silent quest.

Since he was busy that night, I went out for dinner with Ledonna Harris and her 17-year-old daughter Katherine, Lloyd Hand (Anne had not yet joined us) and Nancy and Wallace Dickerson. We went to the Black Hawk at my suggestion and had a sumptuous meal. In addition, we had a delightful conversation with Katherine, the 17-year-old daughter, who was truly a representative of the new generation. I believe that if her father were not a Senator, she would indeed be a hippie or indeed a yippie in the classical sense. She is an extremely liberal person who can talk about the Black people and the Poor people with much conviction and is indeed a very knowledgeable girl. I was most impressed with not only her intellectual capacity, her command of the English language, but the obvious liberal family from which she came and the sense of freedom that she enjoyed in her family to express herself and her own ideas about what she thought was right. This extended not only to the racial question but also to questions of religion, sex, etc.

Dick Dickerson was^a very delightful chap, very quick witted, as is Lloyd Hand. We had an exquisite meal with several martinis, a white wine with our appetizers and a good solid red with our beef. There was no question that these people were used to the better kind of life.

Our driver picked us up at about 1:00 A.M., and we then returned to the suite where Fred was deeply engaged in conversation with Jack Falenti and several other politicians, including Governor Bob McNair of South Carolina. We joined the conversation and had several drinks.

The conversations went on until about 4:00 A.M., centralizing not only in the Vice President and his success at the Convention, but the Viet Nam plank, the unit rule, the political personalities involved, and last but not least, the chance of Fred Harris being selected as the V.P. nominee. It was Jack Falenti's view at this point that Governor Connolly would never get the nomination because of his obvious relationship with the South. On the other hand, a person like Sargeant Shriver, or any other readily identifiable Northerner would never be acceptable to the South. It was his view, therefore, that Fred Harris was the logical candidate coming as he does from Oklahoma and having his natural identification with the minority people and the poor people.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 24

SATURDAY

I should point out here what the security arrangements were in the Conrad Hilton Hotel. The Humphrey staff was located on the 24th Floor. As soon as you got off the elevator, there were girls there giving out information and assigning people to their appropriate places. There were at least four policemen there at all times who checked a little laminated card that hung around your neck, which entitled you to move into certain areas. I had been assigned a card that allowed me to go into all areas. When I arrived there at Fred's suite in the morning, of course, there was always breakfast available - coffee, juice, donuts, etc., etc. The first order of business that morning was a meeting with Governor John Connally of Texas.

He, along with the Texas Delegation, was on the 16th floor, one floor above Eugene McCarthy. The meeting was attended by Fred Harris, Larry O'Brian, Governor Connally and myself. We first started talking about the campaign generally. John Connally, who was tall, extremely handsome, extremely articulate and extremely forceful, was very angry about the entire operation of the campaign, and he talked to Fred, saying something along these lines: "I am the Governor of one of the largest states in the United States. I am a Democrat. I'm a three-time Governor. I'm closer to Lyndon Johnson than anyone in these United States, but yet, why haven't you called upon me for advice? Why haven't you called me, Harris? Aren't you the

Co-Director of this campaign? And, Fred responded somewhat meekly, "Yes, Governor, I am the Co-Director of the campaign." Connally said, "Well, by God, man, why didn't you ever call me?" Fred said, "Well, Governor, you know there are three people in this country who I believe are so far above me that I just never had the courage or never presumed to call, and that would be Mayor Daly, Governor Hughes of New Jersey and yourself, sir." And at this time Governor Connally, his ego being soothed, harrumphed and said, "Well, I understand that and I appreciate the problems you had, but I certainly wish that you had encouraged the Vice President to call me." This really indicated to me that Fred Harris, even though he has a lot of rough edges, was so smooth in talking the Southern political game that he almost completely conned John Connally. As it later turned out, Fred Harris was the choice of John Connally for the Vice Presidency.

After this meeting, we returned back to the room after leaving Larry O'Brian and Fred, myself and some members of the staff met with David Ginsburg, who had just left the Vice President and some of his staff. At that point, it was David's opinion that the choice for the Vice Presidential selection had been narrowed to Muskey, Shriver and Harris, and Ginsburg, who is a brilliant Washington lawyer, age about 55, with a delightful wife. He explained that he had done

whatever he could, but he simply didn't want to impose himself more than the advice that was asked of him.

I'm not sure whether it was on Saturday or on Friday that I was down in the bar having a drink with _____, when a horrible odor overcame the entire place, and I sensed it quite early and almost felt that I was getting sick. I thereupon got up out of the bar and walked out into the Lobby thinking that I would be relieved. However, the smell, the terrible odor, was just prevalent everywhere, and people were running about almost in a sense of mass confusion. People were getting extremely excited thinking that some lethal gas had been released, and people (this really happened on Sunday) were running about the Lobby of the hotel almost in a state of hysteria thinking that all evil things had been perpetrated upon the hotel. I called Fred's staff up on the 24th floor, and he was out at the time and I directed them to shut down his office and come downstairs immediately, which they did. At this point, there were maybe five or six people in the room and they all came down. But, to make a long story short, the policemen came in, the firemen came in and it was indeed a state of confusion and worry and complete alarm about the entire situation, because we had no idea what the smell was or anything else.

Also mentioned the unit role problem with John Connally.

After returning to Fred's suite, he had a meeting with Roland Evans, and Bob Novak about things in general. Novak was there for just 10 or 15 or 20 minutes, but Roly Evans stayed on and had an interview about just everything about the campaign and how Fred fit in, whether Humphrey was going to win, and if so, by how much and whether Fred was going to be the nominee. Roly Evans was truly in favor of Fred Harris, knowing as he did his total acceptance by the black community and the young people of the country.

Fred had several meetings later on in the day and people were constantly coming in and out of the room - Senators and Congressmen and Governors and Delegates alike, and a lot of oil people too. We had all been invited out to dinner by an oil man from Oklahoma and we had originally planned to go, but it wasn't until 8:30 or 9:00 P.M. that Fred came back in, and he suggested that we just have a very quiet dinner. He suggested this to me and he said, "Dick, why don't you just get rid of everyone else and Ledonna and I and Mary Dell and Jerry Lukas and I would have a great dinner." (Meaning just the five of us on Saturday night in his suite). And so Jerry, who is a wealthy person and a dentist in Oklahoma City and I decided how to swing the party. We finally got everyone out of the room, including all these big businessmen and operators and politicians, and allowed

Mary Dell and Ledonna to order the best steaks they had in the place, and Jerry and I said that he and I would shoot down and take care of everything else. So, Jerry and I did indeed do that. Jerry went to pick up the wine, and I think he got about eight bottles for just the five of us, and I shot to a Chinese restaurant and got many, many Chinese hors d'oeuvres, and in order for me to do this, I virtually had to bribe the people in the back room of the Chinese restaurant and direct what hors d'oeuvres I wanted made. So, as I was returning after running into Carl Stokes and saying hello, I went upstairs and in the elevator, ran into Lloyd and Ann Hand, and Nancy and Dick Dickerson, and they joined me up the elevator to the 24th floor and into Fred's suite, and when we walked in, there were not the five that we had originally planned, but about 15 or 20 people. By this point, we were exhausted just by going out and running and picking up all the food.

But it was really a swinging party in that everybody was loose and comfortable and we all had a delightful time. _____
(I can't remember his name), who was also an executive down in South America, but a native from Oklahoma, had come up and brought along with him about 12 boxes of South American cigars, and so before the evening was over, everyone in the place, including all the women were smoking these wild cigars.

As best I can remember it, this dinner party closed about 3:30 or 4:00 A.M. At that time the consensus was that the Vice President not only had the nomination locked up, but that Fred Harris had the Vice Presidential nomination locked up. Since this was a room full of his friends, we were in a very happy, happy mood.

SUNDAY

On Sunday morning we had a bright and early meeting with Bill Moyers, who had flown in from New York. About ten days prior to this, Bill called Fred on three different occasions, indicating that Fred should begin preparing his acceptance speech for the Vice Presidency, and that he, Bill Moyers, would like to help him write this speech in whatever way he could. We talked about Shriver and the possibility of him being nominated, and Moyers was pessimistic throughout saying that he had recently returned from Paris and talked to Shriver and there were simply too many limitations that he had and too many strikes against him, and Shriver told Moyers that he, Shriver, would not lift one finger in getting the nomination, but as subsequent events showed, this was not entirely accurate, because there were Shriver men in and about the Convention who were trying to generate support on his behalf. In any event, we had a very thorough, candid, helpful and intellectual discussion with Bill Moyers, who really is a bright fellow.

It was along about this time after Moyers and I were talking that Fred came in and we were talking about the Vice Presidency, and I said the only thing he needed to be was a Catholic and a War Veteran, and I gave him the old Catholic bit that if one Catholic can bring another person in, that that person's life/will be guaranteed. ^{in heaven} So, I virtually had Fred convinced that I would make him be a Catholic and he could get the nomination and I could get my eternal reward in heaven because of it.

When we were in San Francisco about a week earlier, we met Walter Shorenstein, who was a self-made real estate tycoon, and is indeed a millionaire in California. We understand that he has signed personal notes in excess of \$100,000 to support the Humphrey campaign. When he and his wife and one daughter came up to Fred's suite and met with Ledonna and Fred and I, and we talked about problems in general, and he said the only one thing he wanted was recognition, not that he wanted to be Secretary or an Ambassador or anything else, but simply that he wanted to have some tickets for his kids to get in, and Crusewell, who was running the Convention, was so adamant that he simply wouldn't allow any tickets to be made available for anyone unless they were approved by the White House.

There was a joke going around about this time that Lyndon Johnson would not attend the Convention, because John Crusewell refused to issue a ticket to him for the floor of the Convention.

Within a few minutes later, we met with Joe Alsop, who had come in for an interview, or as we call it, a "backgrounder" with Harris. A backgrounder means that everything is off the record, except that the person being interviewed will talk in complete candor and give what he thinks the true story is, and the reporter agrees that he will not use any of it except in terms of foundation or basis of the story, and of course, there would be no attribution, and it was a very candid discussion at this point in which Fred indicated again that after his discussion with Ginsburg and the Vice President, that everything was narrowed down to three people, Muskey, Shriver and Harris, and Alsop thought Shriver was totally out of it because of his relationship with the Kennedys and his political liabilities with respect to the war on poverty, particularly in the larger cities where some of the more militant groups had completely overtaken the poverty programs and simply were not doing a good job and there were many, high, high salaries being paid to people who simply were not qualified to receive them. In short, Alsop thought at this point, and this was Monday about noon, that it was down to Muskey and Harris and that was it. He personally preferred Fred and indicated that he would virtually let Fred write a column on his own behalf if he, Fred, wanted to do so. But, Harris, feeling the inhibitions of being the Co-Chairman, declined to do so on the basis that his job was to nominate the Vice President and not to run

for the Vice Presidency himself. Alsop is an old 58 or 60 looking person. He's fairly short, a very crotchety looking man, but very incisive in his thinking.

On Sunday afternoon, we had several meetings with Larry O'Brian with regard to just about any number of problems that had been arising with respect to the various state delegations. At this point, as I indicated before, there was no air conditioning and that personal circumstances in the hotel were simply terrible. O'Brian came into our first meeting, and I think there were two Governors there from the New England States, and O'Brian was wearing bermuda shorts, no socks and shower clogs, along with an Hawaiian shirt and smoking a big, long black cigar. In addition, since he had broken his glasses, he had to wear ^{prescription} sun glasses that he had pushed up on the top of his head. So, he was a real picture walking around the place looking more like a hippy than the fellow who was running the entire campaign.

MONDAY

Before starting into the events of Monday, I should say that late Sunday afternoon and Sunday evening, we could see the influx of the hippies and the yippies and those who were completely adverse to the nomination of Hubert Humphrey and to the war, although I don't know in which order. They were just all over the place. In the the

lobby of the hotel in such mass number you couldn't even move. They were massing out on the street, passing out literature, shouting at people, drinking beer on the streets and in general, having a real ball. They traveled in large groups and cars that were all labeled with appropriate signs like "dump the hump." But, in any event, Monday was the day that the Convention opened, and this was the day that Fred told me to go ahead with what plans we had in mind for making an overt effort to bring to the attention of the Delegates Fred Harris and his views as expressed in his new book published by Harper and Rowe, "Alarms and Hopes." I had arranged a deal with Harper and Rowe that they furnish me two of their people who had automobiles and about 200 books and posters and brochures, and I arranged for them to go around to each of the hotels, where the delegates were staying and to place a large poster on the news stand along with five to ten of these books. It was strictly on a consignment basis. The book sold for \$4.95 and we told the publisher that he didn't have to pay for them but he would make \$2.00 on each book that he sold. So, for them it was no loss at all. All they could do was make money, and at the same time, we felt that we would bring to the attention of the Delegates in the many hotels the name of Fred Harris. I might say that the sale of the book turned out to be very surprisingly high. We had these books placed in about 20 of the hotels throughout the City of Chicago.

Upon returning to our room around 1:00 o'clock, I ran into Jack Lenny, who I had met on an earlier trip with Fred into New York City. Jack is a very short fellow, like about 5'6" or 7", but extremely good looking, wearing the most modern hair-dos, elevator shoes and the wildest clothes you have ever seen. In addition, the fellow is extremely articulate and smart and speaks like his background has him and that is as a former advisor to the White House. As we all know, he's now President of the Motion Picture Producers Association. He knows virtually every politician in the United States. So, in short, Jack Lenny is an extremely attractive person, not only for his personal qualities, but his very obvious intellectual capacities and his ability to express himself. Midway in our conversation with Jack, in walked I. W. Abel, the President of the United Steelworkers of America. Ike Abel had served on the Kernan Commission with Fred and apparently had been quite impressed with his enthusiasm, his liberality and his complete awareness of the problem of the black people and the poor people and the people in the cities. In short, Ike Abel was one of the earliest ~~in showing the~~ and strongest supporters of Fred for the Vice Presidency. We then had quite a lengthy discussion about this very situation and Abel had a complete worked out arrangement about what unions would do what, where the money would come from, who they were for, and how he, Abel, could swing them all to come to support Fred Harris.

The Convention had started at the International Amphitheater. I had planned not to attend that night for the reason that there were other chores in and about the hotel. Actually, it was going to be a pretty boring night in that we were going to deal with credentials. I say boring only in relation to what else there was to be done, but in any event, there were going to be a lot of speeches and a lot of perfunctory items that really had not much of an interest for me. (I'll fill this in later).

After the Convention that night, Fred and Bob McCandless, John Hobing, Jim Wyler came by and myself, along with Ledonna entered Bob's room where we talked about proceedings that night until about 4:00 o'clock in the morning.

TUESDAY

At this point, we were really moving into action as far as Fred was concerned. I was assigned among others the delegation from Ohio. I went over to Convention Hall or rather over to the Sherman House where the Ohio Delegation was staying. I met and chatted with Carl Stokes, the young, bright articulate Negro Mayor of Cleveland, Bert Porter, the county Chairman of Cayahoga County, which includes Cleveland and Bob Blakemore, the Summit County Chairman. In addition, in the course of my visit to the Sherman House, I talked with about six or seven of the fellows from my hometown, Youngstown,

Ohio. The effort I was making was not for Vice President Humphrey, because at this point, it was obvious that he already had the nomination locked up. It had to do simply with things, such as the nominating speeches and the number two selection. Both Carl Stokes and the complete contingent for Youngstown was for Joseph Allioto. Bill Cafaro, Flask and the others were all Italians and I almost sensed that it was more or less of an ethnic reason for the support of Joe Allioto. Carl Stokes, on the other hand, preferred Allioto, I think because he was a mayor, because he was bright and articulate and extremely liberal and does have, indeed, an obvious appeal to the black people. I made the pitch, however, for Fred Harris, and Carl Stokes said that Fred was a great man and he, indeed, had the same kind of attributes by Allioto, except that Allioto simply happened to be a mayor and was more familiar with the problems of a municipality as seen through the eyes of a mayor. It's interesting to point out here that most of these fellows indicated that Ike Abel had been by earlier and had expressed the same interest and had also been feeling them out. When I explained this to Fred after the Convention, he was really delighted to know this, to think that Ike Abel had indeed done what he had promised he would do.

I also spoke again with Fred Droz, a young fellow who works for the public relations firm of Cirrell-Winner, Associates in Los Angeles, California. This is the firm that was retained by Bill Connell in April to handle the Vice President's quest for the nomination in Southern California. Both Cirrell and Winner are pros in every sense of the word and Fred Droz will certainly be one some day. I would guess he's now about 23 or 24 years old, very articulate, very smart and very experienced in spite of his age for political candidates. He had been a supporter of Bob Kennedy earlier in California. In any event, Fred and I set up a deal with the twelve militant student delegates from California. Of these 12, I believe, 10 were black people and at least 7 of those 10 were extremely militant, even to the point of having the natural African hair-do and wearing the African tribal clothes. We arranged that this group would issue a press release to every delegate in attendance to every Chairman and to, in fact, every important person in Chicago, not only expressing the support of this group for Fred Harris, but stating in plain and simple terms that the Vice President, in order to win the election, had to go to the cities and in order to do a job, he was going to have to have as the number two man on the ticket, the young, bright Senator from Oklahoma, who demonstrated his ability to communicate with the black people in his sensitivity for the problems affecting them.

Out on the streets about this time, we had vast groups of people ranging from the Yippies (Youth International Party) and Veterans from the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. They were all passing out literature on behalf of their respective contingents and not only the Yippies and Hippies, the American Legion people were also as distasteful looking.

Some time on Tuesday afternoon, rather Tuesday night, Fred
President
got a phone call from Lyndon B. Johnson, saying that Fred had done such a great job as Co-Chairman of UDH and that he, Fred, was as responsible for the man's nomination that was eminent for the next night, as much as any man in the United States. The President told him to make sure that he did not take a cabinet post, and that he stayed in the Senate and shoot for the Majority leadership. He said, in effect, and although I only heard Fred's side of the conversation, the President said, Fred, "You have done such a magnificent job, you should be entitled to the naming of at least two Cabinet Officers." And, the President went on to say I think you should begin thinking about that, Fred, because the Vice President, out of all fairness, should give you at least that, and please, whatever you do, do not leave the Senate. So, when Fred got back to the room, at this point it was late at night and there was just Ledonna and Fred and I. We had all had a few drinks and Ledonna or rather Fred said, "how about that, Dick, two cabinet seats. Which one would you like?" And I told

him that I'd like the Secretaryship of Labor, but by God, let's get it in writing whereupon I handed him a piece of paper and a pen in order to get it in writing. I might point out, and this is an appropriate time, that Fred's spirits are so delightful. He's such an entertaining person and is such a swinger that it really entrances you to know that here is a man, although, indeed, he is only 37, but he's on the brink of assuming awesome responsibilities, but yet he never lost his cool. He was most unflappable and he never had too much time to joke on himself or any of us or even indeed, Vice President Humphrey. He is a delightful person to be around. His wife Ledonna who is a half-blood Commanche Indian, is a real fun-raiser herself. So, in short, you can see why the three of us had such a good time in Chicago, in spite of all the problems.

The evening wore on and people came in and out and in and out and finally the three of us again were left with our thoughts. Fred told me at this point that if he did receive the selection for the Vice Presidency, I was going to be in charge of his overall operation in terms of scheduling advance work and so on. He said that only I could do the job, in that I had the experience and I had his full trust and confidence. Even at this point, he said he didn't have an idea of how he stood, but we couldn't help thinking, at least Ledonna and I, that Fred was extremely confident about being selected.

We then went on to talk about the Ted Kennedy thing which was then assuming pretty significant proportions, at least in the press. We were being advised by newspapers the nomination was Kennedy's for the asking, that delegates were moving in large numbers to him and that all he had to do was to indicate some interest and that he could have been the nominee. Well, Fred and I talked about the way things might be after 1972, if we had a Republican President. It was at this point that he advised me that he didn't really like Ted Kennedy, that Ted did not have the brutal aspects that Robert and John had, meaning the ability to cut a person up if that was the order of the day. He felt that he was smarter than Ted and felt that in '72 it was going to be Harris and Ted Kennedy for the Presidency, and Fred felt very confident about winning, at least the nomination.

WEDNESDAY

I got to the International Amphitheater about noon in order to sit in on the discussions relating to the Viet Nam plank. I think they started about noon or 1:00 o'clock and I believe each side had 10 speakers in support of their respective contingents. The person winding up the speeches on behalf of the minority plank was Ted Sorenson, who really did a wonderful job. Winding up the majority support plank was Senator Ed Muskey from Maine, who also did a truly spectacular job in terms of laying it out and telling it the way it was, and in short, repeating what he had said before the Platform

Committee earlier. I had been advised the night before that Fred was in strong position for giving Muskey that job, and I somehow, my own personal view is that Harris wanted Muskey to do it on a make or break it. If he did a good job, he'd receive the Vice Presidential nomination, and if he didn't do a good job or something adverse came out of what he said, that he'd be just knocked off absolutely, and this is certainly the case with Richard Hughes who had been the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, and by this point, it was evident that Hughes was no longer in contention simply because of the friends and animosity he created as Chairman of the Credentials Committee. I think Fred had this in the back of his mind, although he never ever told it to me. I think the discussion on the Viet Nam planks lasted until about 4:30 or 5:00 or late in the afternoon.

After a glass of beer and a quick steak at the Stockyard Inn, I returned to the Vice Presidential Office along with Jerry Lukas, Bill Spohr, Bill Carmack and Ross Cummings, all of whom were native Oklahomans and friends of Fred's who were there with me to do what they could as far as the No. 2 spot was concerned. As soon as we got upstairs, and I would guess now it's about 6:30 or so, Ledonna took me aside and asked me to really "lay it on" for a party that night in their suite, and I asked whether this was simply in connection with

the nomination of Vice President Humphrey. She assured me it was not being that she had it on good authority that Fred had already been selected by Vice President Humphrey. I said, "My word, how did you get that?" And, she told me in complete confidence in a corner that Carl Aber had just been there, and that Carl said, "The Vice President told him and he told Fred and Fred told Ledonna and Ledonna told me." So now here we are, the night before the presidential balloting and with this strong evidence, it appeared that we were really in business. In fact, since I couldn't keep a secret to myself, I called Betty in Washington and told her that I was going to tell her something that less than 10 people in the United States knew and that is that Fred Harris had already been selected as the Vice Presidential nominee. The word was spreading throughout the internal headquarters at this point that Fred had indeed been selected and it was all over. Everybody was hovering around Fred at his office, indicating that the lot had indeed been cast for his direction. Ledonna also told me at this point that the Vice President had called her and invited her to come over to his suite that evening and to watch the balloting with him, and of course, we just looked upon this as further evidence that the selection had already been made and that Fred was the man. Later that night when we questioned her, later on, she told me that present in the Vice President's suite were Dwayne Andreas, Bill Cernel, the Vice President and Mrs. Humphrey and that was it. And, when we heard this, of course, we felt it was a complete sure thing. After getting

on the phone and arranging for a real swinging party in Fred's suite, I then went down on the floor, where I just really watched the balloting for the Presidency. At this point, there was nothing to do. The ballots were counted, the ballots were firm and we knew positively that we were going to get it with an excess of 1,500 votes on the first ballot. It was that simple. I can remember the first person I saw on the floor was Ted Sorenson and I pulled him aside and told him what a wonderful speech he had made and asked him whether he was going to be for us in the Fall. And, he said, "Very definitely."

(Point out somewhere later on that several of the Humphrey people, including myself had tried to get to a couple of the liberals to have them gauge their support for the minority plank in the terms that Vice President Humphrey would be able to run on that plank and would indeed go a far way toward relieving him of his burdens of the Vice Presidency. But, in each case, they declined to do so and I simply believe on the basis that they would rather ruin than rule. They knew that the Vice President was nominated, that they were simply looking for the plank, and they refused to bend at all, and I should point out here that the Vice President was most conciliatory in his private talks and wanted to do whatever was possible to get himself on behalf of the minority plank).

THURSDAY

I arrived in Fred's suite about 9:00 A.M. After the events of the night before, we had very high expectations that he would soon be named by the Vice President to be the No. 2 man on the ticket. The papers of the day both from Chicago, New York and Washington seemed to support our view. Certainly the events of last night and the personal contacts that we had seemed to confirm them. Fred got in the room around 9:30 or quarter to 10:00 and he and I started drinking coffee. Ledonna came in about 10:30 or so, along with Vic French, Gary Dage and some of the others. Of course, the secretaries were in the next room. We then ordered a magnificent breakfast, and settled down for what we hoped was the big meal of the day. The first word that we had was from the radio station which indicated that Vice President Humphrey had scheduled a press conference at 1:00 P.M. At first, it was uncertain whether he was going to announce at 1:00 P.M. his selection or whether he would merely announce when he would make his selection. In any event, we kept on both the television and the radio to insure that nothing would be missed. The morning wore on. We read the Wall Street Journal, the New York Times, Chicago papers, the Washington Post and anything else we could get our hands on. Charlie Mangel of Look Magazine, who accompanied us throughout the entire week, was preparing an article on Fred that will appear, I believe, in October. Well, Charlie

was certainly no help because he kept asking obvious questions like do you think you'll be named? If not, who do you think will be and this sort of thing. The suspense was almost depressive, because no one could even talk about it. Accordingly, we talked about the Oklahoma Football Team but principally the riots on the streets. During this time, the kids were still down in Lincoln Park which was right across the street from our hotel, and since our room, which was on the 24th floor, fronted on Michigan Avenue, we had a real birds-eye view of how many kids were there and what they were doing. You could see the movements of the police, how the National Guardsmen were lined up and everything else. We could even hear their speakers, because the audio equipment they had was very effective and wafted up to even the top floors, and I recall at this point that during one of the nights, I believe it was Tuesday or Wednesday night, the speakers to these kids were addressing their comments also to delegates and those of us in the Conrad Hilton Hotel, and they would say something in opposition to the war, to Vice President Humphrey, and they would say, those of you in the hotel who agree with us blink your lights, and I'll never forget on one occasion, little Catherine Harris, their 17-year-old daughter, was running around blinking lights like crazy, because she was truly sympatico to most of what those kids were saying.

In any event to return to Thursday morning, as I said the first press conference was slated for 1:00 P.M. We were waiting first Noon, 12:15, 12:30, a quarter to 1:00 and then about ten minutes until 1:00, there was another announcement that the press conference had been postponed until 2:00 P.M., and so the agony and the suspense continued, unabated, and then it went to 1:15, 1:30, quarter to 2:00, ten to 2:00, and then we heard about then that the press conference had been postponed until 4:00 P.M. that afternoon, and the agony and the suspense at this point were just killing. I think it was about this time that we knocked off the coffee and the newspapers and got down to drinking the harder stuff and to start talking about what in the hell Humphrey was doing upstairs and why couldn't he make up his mind, and by God, if he didn't want Fred Harris, who did he want and why, and if he didn't select Harris, was he going to write off the young people, the black people and the poor people. In short, we were really beginning to become critical of what appeared to be a complete lack of decision-making power. So, the day went on. We had many, many guests, almost too many to remember, but included in that group were Joe Alsop, Congressman Carl Albert, Senator Fritz Mondel, Jack Valenti, Bill Moyers, Burch Bye from Indiana who had a little _____ going for himself in the No. 2 spot, I. W. Abel of the Steelworkers, who as I pointed out earlier was a very strong supporter of Fred Harris.

David Ginsburg, that highly articulate lawyer who was Executive Director to the Kerner Commission and who was a very fond and close friend of Fred and Ledonna, many, many Oklahomans, all of whom, of course, were supporting Fred, Larry O'Brien several times, and I really can't remember who else was there. In short, we had a steady procession of visitors who were sympathetic to the selection of Fred Harris as the No. 2 guy.

I can say during this point that Ledonna was extremely nervous. She was putting away gin and tonics like they were going out of style. Fred on the other hand was extremely loose, cracking jokes and appeared as though he was on a vacation as opposed to waiting for the Vice President's nod. He was completely unflappable, calm, collected, and it really amazed all of us that he could appear to be so unconcerned about the impending announcement.

Finally, it was announced that the press conference would be held at 4:00 P.M. and that the Vice President would announce at that time who his selection would be. So the suspense continued to mount. Three o'clock came, then 3:15, then 3:30, then at about a quarter to 4:00, Fred got a call from the Vice President, who asked him to come upstairs to see him for a few minutes. Of course, at this point, we were all beside ourselves as to whether to wait there in the room for Fred or to go downstairs in the ballroom to attend the 4:00 press conference. We decided to follow the latter course, thinking that

regardless of what happened, we should at least be present for the press conference to witness what and how the Vice President would say what he had to say.

I must be candid when I give the following description that I did not learn all of this that day or even that week in Chicago. Rather it has been supplemented on several occasions, particularly by Ledonna, Fred's wife and also by Fred during our trip during the week of September 18 to September 22, when we were together a very long time, both in San Francisco and Los Angeles, California. During this latter trip, we were able to sit down for hours on end and just talk about what happened, why it happened and what it means for the future, including Fred's plans. I should also point out here that Fred has been very candid with me in telling me his views and how he looks upon the future and what he's going to be shooting for.

Apparently, or at least according to Fred, he went upstairs into the President's suite where he was greeted by the Vice President and taken into one of the bedrooms in the V.P.'s suite. He noted, however, that there were maybe six or seven staff people standing around, all of whom looked completely nervous and all of whom appeared to be completely in the dark. The two went into the bedroom and each sat down on one of the twin beds. The Vice President really didn't ask Fred about Viet Nam or his position on urban affairs or anything else, but merely started some small talk about Ledonna and wasn't it a tragedy

about the Convention and the way things were working out and by God, next time around we should insure that the Convention will be run in an honorable way. Finally, the Vice President said, "Fred, how do you make a living?" And, Fred said, "Just like you did, Mr. Vice President. By writing a few books and giving some talks." The Vice President wanted to know whether there was anything in Fred's future that would militate against his selection or would possibly embarrass Vice President Humphrey in the months ahead. Fred assured him that there was not, that he had a very plain youth and career, both in the college law school and in the State Senate. He really had little time for engaging in much outside activity except for his personal affinity with a good gin and tonic or glass of beer (I should point out here, however, that while Fred certainly imbibes freely, I have never seen him lacking his complete possession of his faculties and I've seen him under these circumstances on more than several occasions). In short, at this point, the Vice President was really getting down to the nitty gritty in asking Fred the most personal of all personal questions, and Fred assured him that there was nothing in his past that could possibly be used against him in the future. The Vice President then said, "Well, I have Muskey in the next room, and as I told you before, Fred, the selection has been narrowed to you two, and I'd like to go next door for a few minutes. Would you excuse me?" And so, the Vice President walked

out of the room, leaving Fred there by himself, at which point he lit up a couple of cigarettes and just sat there looking out the window. Then, about seven minutes later, the Vice President returned to Fred and sat down and they resumed their conversation. Somewhere along this time, the Vice President looked down at his watch and shook his head and said, "My God, it's five after 4:00. I've got to make a decision soon." (Now the reader will remember that the Vice President was on the 25th floor of the Hotel and the press conference was called for 4:00. Since I was down there at that time, I should say that the whole thing was assembled and people were waiting beginning around ten minutes until 4:00. At this point Fred said, "Yes, Mr. Vice President, I guess you should." And then after hemming and hawing, the Vice President said that this was one of the most agonizing decisions he has ever had to make. And Fred said, "Well, Chief, as I told you once before, just make that decision according to what you think is right, and because if you do what you think is right and you live by that, you'll never regret it." And the Vice President's eyes sparkled, lit up and so forth and he said, "Fred, that's certainly good of you to say." He said, "If you were making this decision, what do you think or what would your advice to me be at this point when I have to make this extremely difficult decision." And Fred said, "Well very frankly, Mr. Vice President, I think if you pick Muskey, you choose the cautious course. If you pick me, you choose the bold course. In short, it would be much

easier to select Ed, but I think I'd be a bolder selection, and I think I could do more for your ticket." The Vice President sat down and said, "Fred, I really respect your judgment, but I don't know." And then according to Fred, there followed a few minutes of silence, and the Vice President looked up and he said, "Fred, I think I've made a decision." And Fred said, "No, don't tell me you think you've made a decision. You tell me you have made a decision." And the Vice President smiled grimly and said, "Fred, I'm going to nominate Ed Muskey." And Fred said, "Well, if you think that's right, Mr. Vice President, you know I'll support you to the fullest of my ability and even if you want, I'll nominate him." At this, Humphrey looked up in surprise and said, "Will you, really?" which sort of surprised Fred. So, the two of them then walked out through the outer room and they walked in to see Muskey. The Vice President walked up to Muskey and said, "Ed, I want you to shake hands with Fred Harris...(pause). He's the man who's going to nominate you tonight, and at this point, Ed Muskey, who had apparently been totally committed to running for the job, heaved a sigh of relief and gave a slight embrace both to the Vice President and he shook Fred's hand vigorously. Then the three of them walked out into the room, and the reader must remember that the staff at this time did not even know, and they were trying to make small talk and so forth, but the Vice President just walked right on through the crowd to the elevator and said, "Come on boys, we had a press conference 15 minutes

ago." And actually, the Vice President arrived at the press conference at 20 minutes past 4:00.

(I forgot to mention at one point that after the Vice President left Fred for the first time, Fred had a cigarette and then he walked out into the main room where there were members of the staff sitting around, and people were making small talk. They were afraid to talk to Fred. They didn't know what to say and the tension was obviously at the highest possible level. And then, about this time, the Vice President called into his room, Max Campelman, Jim Rowe and Larry O'Brien, and as Fred said, these are the last three people the Vice President talked to before the decision was made, and as soon as he saw those three go in and be closeted with the Vice President, he knew that he didn't have the job. He figured, "What the hell, here's three politicians. You know they're going to make the cautious and the conservative decision).

Meanwhile, back at the press conference, the Vice President came in at 20 after 4:00 and made a fairly brief statement, commented on the fact that the thing he needed most was someone who had maturity and experience in all levels of Government and someone who would be able to perform his job in the event that were necessary, and that's when I knew that Fred had not been selected.

We then went back upstairs and into a fairly quiet room. Ledonna was there having a drink. It was obvious that she had been crying. The girl members of the staff had obviously been crying, and they were all very listless, but Fred, however, was regaling the seven or eight of us at length about the details that I have set forth above, and just completely unconcerned to the casual observer that he had just been passed over. I remember making the comment that it was not what the Vice President had done that concerned me so much, but rather the way he went about it. And Fred agreed, saying that when he, Fred, sat in the room with him during those last minutes, that the only thing he could see in the man's face was total uncertainty and an apparent lack of conviction. In short, he was just giving the impression that he was afraid to move off dead center, and we really affirmed that.

Last week in California, Fred and I were talking about this and I asked him if you had been Humphrey, when do you think you would have made up your mind about your Vice Presidential selection? And he thought that at the very least it would have been a week prior to the Convention, because the delegate count at least by that time and certainly at the time that the Convention started it was perfectly obvious to anyone who is familiar with the delegate situation around the country that the Vice President was indeed going to win on the first ballot.

Fred called David Ginsburg and asked him to come up to assist him in preparing the speech to nominate Ed Muskey. He had several staff people go over to Muskey's office to pick up materials, biographical materials and materials that would indicate the legislative achievements of Ed Muskey. Fred virtually gave David Ginsburg carte blanche in writing the speech. He continued to sit down and drink gin and tonics and just, at least on the face of it, enjoy himself in a completely good and relaxing time. All of us were simply amazed.

During one time when Fred was out of the room, I spoke privately with Ledonna and then later with his three secretaries, and I told them that how Fred responded to this meaning being passed over would to a very great extent affect his future career. I pointed out that Scoop Jackson, the Senator from Washington, was passed over in 1960 and he hasn't done a thing since of any material note and secondly, I pointed out how even Tom Dodd and Eugene McCarthy, after their pass over in 1964 had never really done anything, that they appeared to withdraw into themselves and become more self-centered and morose about many of the things they did, and I tried to emphasize upon these women that their job in the future was to continue to bolster Fred's spirits, that what may have happened was wrong, but that he was a young man, only 37. He had many, many years left in him and the true test of a man's character was his ability to recuperate from a personal loss, tragedy or a shock and I said, "We're going to find out just what kind of a man Fred Harris is. But, you girls, you who know him so well and work

with him closely should really do your best to not let your true emotions become obvious for Fred." And they really agreed and appreciated that I called that to their attention, because even at this point, they just were so listless and morose, they didn't want to talk to anyone about anything, but they surely did appreciate my observations.

After these talks, around 5:30, after the announcement had been made, people started walking and drifting into Fred's suite just to offer their best wishes and express their sorrow that he had been passed over, and he took them very laughingly and said, jokingly that better luck next time and so forth, and he just completely was in great spirits about the whole thing. A group of us hopped into a cab to go to the Amphitheater at which point the pickets were really having a wild time and we almost needed a police escort to get into a cab. They were shouting at us, and you had the feeling that they were ready to throw something at you. I almost hated to turn my back to them while I got into the cab. But, in any event, we got to the Amphitheater in good shape, and everything was very loose up in the Vice President's backstage office where Fred and Fritz Mandel and Larry O'Brien have their offices. Things were loose, champagne was flowing, drinks were flowing, people were in general having a pretty good time. I got down on the floor at this point just to walk

around, just to get the mood of the people and to for selfish reasons talk to members of the Ohio Delegation. Along about this time, or it might have been a little bit later, Ed Alfriend, a very skilled advance man who was overlooking the South Carolina Delegation came to me to explain that Governor McNair was very, very upset that he had not been notified in advance of the Vice Presidential selection. He explained to me that his Delegation thought he was under active consideration, and they looked upon it as a personal affront, an affront to their state that Vice President Humphrey did not have the common courtesy to give Governor McNair some advance notice. I talked with the man and tried to explain to him that no one really knew until the announcement was made at 20 after 4:00, but he simply refused to be satisfied. He said that he didn't know of it until a reporter asked him to comment on the Muskey selection, and he didn't even know at that time that such selection had been made. So, after his insistence, I told him to hold tight. I shot upstairs to get Bill Connell, Fritz Mandel and Larry O'Brien to see him or even to suggest that the Vice President give him a call, but since the V.P. was unavailable (he was in a sauna bath), Bill Connell and I returned to Governor McNair when he told him essentially what I've told now.

It was somewhere along this time that the memorial film for Senator Robert Kennedy was played. I must admit that while the film was not so good and it could not really be seen too well, the audio was excellent and the sound of his voice droned massively throughout

the hushed auditorium. At the close of the film, the audience went into fantastic applause by just continuing to talk and to chant and one of the most moving demonstrations that I have ever seen. It's my personal view that the tempers and the energies of these delegates were so welled up against so many things, perhaps against the Vice President, against the war, against Mayor Daly, against what they looked upon was a non-participatory way of electing their leaders, against their sense of losing Senator Robert Kennedy and even that subliminal frustration dating back to the loss of John Kennedy. All of these things together marshalled this massive expression of sympathy and sentimentality towards the late Senator Robert Kennedy.

Carl Albert, who as you know is the Chairman of the Convention, was completely heavy handed in his efforts to deal with this crowd. He tried to get the floor, he pounded on his gavel, but all to no avail. The crowd started singing the Battle Hymn of the Republic, which I rather expect they took from the funeral accompaniment of Senator Robert Kennedy. The reader will recall that when Senator Kennedy, during the funeral mass, Andy Williams sang this song in the most moving way, and then he asked the audience to come in to sing, and it truly was a most moving song then, and I believe the delegates just picked this up as the natural thing that they should sing after the film. However, Carl Albert, who was such a jerk in

my estimation tried to move in and tried to interrupt them and try to stop their applause and their singing and their oral demonstrations, but no matter what he did, the chant grew louder and the purpose of these people became more and more obvious. Finally, Albert just sat down and let them sing. Then, the only way he could get the crowd to settle down was by introducing a very nondescript Chicago Councilman, I believe he was, who then delivered a short eulogy to the late Dr. Martin Luther King and at the sight of a Negro who was trying to get the stand, the crowd finally hushed, finally settled down and allowed this other man to speak.

Upon the conclusion of this activity, Carl Albert introduced Fred Harris, who received a good applause, but it was not an overwhelming one. Fred was not nervous. He was supremely confident and he delivered what most people thought was a very excellent address. It was not a moving speech, but nevertheless, it was quick, very articulate, very much to the point, and I thought demonstrated for the first time on national television that this man was a coming politician. Of course, Muskey was nominated. There were efforts made to nominate people like Julian Bond and Channing Phillips and others.

I continued to circulate among the crowd. I saw Warren Beatty, that great movie star from Bonnie and Clyde whose hair was like a woman's. I saw Shirley MacLaine, whose hair was virtually orange in

color. I saw Ed Edelman, who was with me in a graduate school at Georgetown while he was an employee at the N.L.R.B., and Ed is now a city councilman in the City of Los Angeles and apparently is looking forward to a very successful political career. I understand he has one. Ed was a Kennedy Delegate, and we talked just for a while on the floor, and he poured out to me the way he felt about the whole thing, indicating that he was not totally satisfied, but this was the mood and this was the sentiment of so many people, just one of apathy, a resentment against Mayor Daly, a resentment against Carl Albert, a resentment against John Connally, in short, a resentment against the power structure in whatever form it took. There is no doubt that this is probably the principal problem that the Vice President had during the Convention and that was that people were not necessarily angry with him, but they were more angry with the system and all of those persons who represented or spoke for the system.

Backstage during the Vice President's speech, Fred asked Dr. Jerry Lukas (wife Mary Dell) who were from Oklahoma City and who are indeed part of the "beautiful" people. Fred asked Jerry and I to set up a real swinging party back in his suite for afterwards and to get some of the Chinese barbecue we had obtained the other night. After the thing was all over, Jerry and I cut out and after being unable to find any Italian Restaurant went to a barbecue place where we proceeded to pick up all kinds of barbecued chicken, barbecued

spare-ribs, etc., etc. We went back to the suite where a real swinging party was in progress, people were milling about, most of whom were just talking animatedly and loudly, but not really saying anything. At this point, there was not much talk about Fred or Muskey. There was a lot of talk about Mayor Daly and the problem in the streets and the way the Convention was run, and I might say at this point that the chanting and yelling and shouting of the crowd below reached such proportions through our open window that it sounded like they were right next door. It was really a massive display of local _____ if nothing else. Along about 2:00 A.M., we were delighted and pleased to see Vice President Humphrey come in, and he immediately went to Fred and shook his hand so vigorously and whispered for a minute or so in his ear, and again Fred kept saying, "Well, Chief, you did what you thought was right and that's good enough for me, because as long as you conduct your political life as well as any life along the standard of just doing what you think is right, that's the best that can ever be expected of you. And, if your're going to go down in a fight, make sure you go down for the right reasons and you fight for what you think is the right and proper thing to do." (I must say that I was really impressed with Fred Harris because of his constant observance in the role of "doing what is right." He hates probably more than anything else, indecision or simply being dead center. He said, "By God, if you're going to do it, do it, man and do it now and you can't think about a problem forever. You're going to have to move, so the

way to make that decision is to go over the facts that you think are relevant and available to you and make that decision based on what you think is right."

Although Fred continued his high state of amiability, his wife Ledonna withdrew quietly into a corner and I mean that literally and really started crying. The tears were rolling down her eyes, and I thought she'd start sobbing uncontrollably. This was behind the back of the Vice President, who didn't see her. He was very joyous and buoyant. He asked for a beer and then because of our shortage, he consented to have a couple of Canadian Clubs. The Vice President stayed for about an hour or an hour and a half. We all had a delightful time, and he gave autographs to people and that sort of thing. In short, everybody was just happy to have the whole darn thing over with.

Dictated by RPM - can't remember when. This document not even read by me until 3/4/74 - There are things in here I don't remember, and there are things I remember which are not in here - Thus, the text is not complete at all - R. M. Laughlin 3/5/74