

11-13-2003

Welsh, William "Bill" oral history interview

Don Nicoll

Follow this and additional works at: http://scarab.bates.edu/muskie_oh

Recommended Citation

Nicoll, Don, "Welsh, William "Bill" oral history interview" (2003). *Edmund S. Muskie Oral History Collection*. 405.
http://scarab.bates.edu/muskie_oh/405

This Oral History is brought to you for free and open access by the Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library at SCARAB. It has been accepted for inclusion in Edmund S. Muskie Oral History Collection by an authorized administrator of SCARAB. For more information, please contact batesscarab@bates.edu.

Interview with William “Bill” Welsh by Don Nicoll

Summary Sheet and Transcript

Interviewee

Welsh, William “Bill”

Interviewer

Nicoll, Don

Date

November 13, 2003

Place

Falls Church, Virginia

ID Number

MOH 421

Use Restrictions

© Bates College. This transcript is provided for individual **Research Purposes Only**; for all other uses, including publication, reproduction and quotation beyond fair use, permission must be obtained in writing from: The Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library, Bates College, 70 Campus Avenue, Lewiston, Maine 04240-6018.

Biographical Note

William Brownlee Welsh was born in Munfordville, Kentucky, on September 18, 1924. His mother, Mary Cox Welsh, was in charge of dining halls at Berea College in Kentucky. His father, Benjamin Tibbetts Welsh, worked in a labor program in Berea. William grew up around Berea and eventually attended Berea College. However, Welsh split time during his childhood between Kentucky and Boothbay Harbor, Maine, where his grandfather worked on a dairy farm. Welsh spent every summer of his youth in Boothbay Harbor with his grandfather, until he went away to fight in World War II for three or four years. Welsh was elected president of the National Student Association in the mid-1940s and spent a year putting that organization together. He was chosen to join the staff of Senator Herman Lehman as his assistant. After Lehman retired, Welsh took over for Phil Stern as the research director for the Democratic National Committee. He also was the Administrative Assistant to Phil Hart. Welsh became acquainted with Muskie through his connections in Maine and eventually went on to be the assistant to Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

Scope and Content Note

Interview includes discussions of: family and educational background; Berea College, Kentucky; Boothbay Harbor, Maine; early political career; National Student Association; Assistant to

Senator Herbert Lehman; Rule 22 repeal; research director of the Democratic National Committee; connection to Muskie; Agriculture Committee; Public Works Committee; assistant to Hubert Humphrey; Phil Hart; and Humphrey's selection of Muskie as vice presidential running mate.

Indexed Names

Atchinson, Dean
Berthelot, Helen W.
Butler, Paul
Clark, Joseph
Dole, Robert J., 1923-
Douglass, Paul
Eisenhower, Dwight D. (Dwight David), 1890-1969
Galbraith, John
Harriman, Averell
Harris, Fred
Hart, Philip A. (Philip Aloysius), 1912-1976
Hill, Lister
Humphrey, Hubert H. (Hubert Horatio), 1911-1978
Inouye, Daniel
Jeffrey, Millie
Johnson, Lyndon B. (Lyndon Baines), 1908-1973
Kefauver, Estes
Kennedy, John F. (John Fitzgerald), 1917-1963
Kerr, Robert Samuel, 1896-1963
Lehman, Herbert Henry 1878-1963
McCarthy, Eugene J., 1916-2005
McGee, Gale W. (Gale William), 1915-1992
McKnight, Leila
McNamara, Pat
Moss, Ted, 1911-
Muskie, Edmund S., 1914-1996
Nelson, Gaylord, 1916-2005
Nixon, Richard M. (Richard Milhous), 1913-1994
Rauh, Joseph L., 1911-
Rayburn, Sam
Reuther, Walter, 1907-1970
Sparkman, John
Swainson, John B.
Truman, Harry S., 1884-1972
Tupper, Asa
Welsh, Benjamin Tibbetts
Welsh, John
Welsh, John, III

Welsh, Mary (Cocks)
Welsh, William "Bill"
Williams, G. Mennen "Soapy"

Transcript

Don Nicoll: It is Thursday, the 13th of November, 2003. We are at 212 James Thurber Court in Falls Church, Virginia, at the home of Bill and Jean Welsh, W-E-L-S-H. Don Nicoll is interviewing Mr. Welsh. Bill, would you state your full name and spell it, and also give us your date, place of birth and the names of your parents?

William Welsh: My name is William Brownlee Welsh, and I was born in Munfordville, Kentucky on September 18, 1924. And my mother was Mary Cocks Welsh, the daughter of a Methodist minister, and my father was Benjamin Tibbetts Welsh who was born in Boothbay, Maine.

DN: And how do you spell your middle name?

WW: Brownlee is B-R-O-W-N-L-E-E. Those are Scotch-Irish that came down into the Shenandoah Valley and then went off into Kentucky after the Revolutionary War, and the home I was born in, in Munfordville, Kentucky, was home of my maternal great-grandfather.

DN: How did your father get from Boothbay to Kentucky?

WW: Well, that's a good story. His grandfather was a sea captain out of Gloucester who was born in Boothbay of Irish immigrants, and went to sea out of Boothbay and then went down to Gloucester, married the daughter of the harbor master down at Gloucester, and sailed principally in the Caribbean and around the Horn trade. And interestingly enough, I'm right now digitizing and working on organizing several of his ship logs so people can get into those and read them. He, as a young man, bought a farm in Boothbay out on Dover Road, but he didn't live there until around, bring his family there until around the 1880s. But he raised the family in Gloucester; his eldest son John was my father's father, was his, also went to sea with him as a first mate on the schooners at some time. And he had five daughters and two sons, and he sent all five daughters to college.

And great Aunt Mary, his eldest daughter, went to Wellesley and was in one of the sixth or seventh classes at Wellesley, and ultimately turned up teaching and became the dean of women and so on, down at Berea College in Kentucky. I guess she went down there around 1898 or somewhere in that period. And subsequently she brought all of her nephews and nieces, the children of John Welsh, down to Berea to go to college, and they went on and did various things. The last one just died this summer in Boothbay, John Welsh, III, who was a very prominent zoologist-biologist at Harvard and had a lot to do with the invention of what serotonin does in the brain. Anyway, he died this year, Uncle John, but my father stayed in Berea and became involved in the labor program there, which is one of those "no tuition" schools where you work your way through school, and my mother was in charge of all the dining halls and so on and

taught institutional management in the home economics department. So I was raised at Berea and went to school, college, at Berea over the years.

DN: So you were raised in the community and then you went to Berea.

WW: I was raised there and went there, that's right. And spent every summer of my life, except during the three years that I was in World War, three or four years during WWII, coming back to Boothbay and spending the time on the farm on Dover Road with my grandfather. So I have pictures of when I was one year old at clam bakes down at Oven's Mouth, Dover, and with my grandfather who ran a small, at that point a small dairy farm, and got the best of both worlds in the sense I was raised partly by people in Kentucky and partly by people in Maine.

DN: Did you know your great Aunt Mary, by the way?

WW: Oh yes, she was quite an influence because she retired from Berea in '33, '33 or '34, but I went back to Maine and spent, would always visit her in the summer, and she was a great influence because for a while, until I was about eleven years old, we had an apartment in the same, my father and mother had an apartment in the same dormitory where Aunt Mary had her apartment, so she was a great traveler and traveled all through the Middle East and Europe, and taught art education and art history, and so she sort of, I would go up to her room and go through all of her slides and she'd tell me stories, and so she was quite an influence in that regard. And subsequently after she died, the house that we owned from about 1955 or '56 in Boothbay was her, in effect, summer cottage, summer home, which she always went back to from Berea and where she retired in 1933. So we just sort of continued our tradition, and two thirds of the furniture that you probably see in this house may have come from that house.

DN: Now, did you have brothers and sisters?

WW: One brother, who was a geologist. He died last year; he lived out at Salt Lake City in his later years, worked for Shell Corporation and for Anaconda Copper, and then in his later years was an independent geologist, oil geologist.

DN: Was he older than you?

WW: No, he's three years younger than I, so the two, just the two of us.

DN: Now, did you go directly in the service from high school?

WW: No, actually I was, for some reason I skipped the eighth grade which probably, people say it is the reason I don't spell very well. But anyway, and so I was in my, starting my sophomore year in college when I went into the service, and signed up in 1942, and then got called up early in '43 and was one of those that after my basic training in the signal corps, they sent me off back to college for six months and went Aberdeen, South Dakota, which was an interesting experience in ASTP, and then left Aberdeen and went directly into an infantry division that was a replacement division, the 66th infantry division.

And we went over to England in November of I guess, went in October, November '44, and just as the Battle of the Bulge hit, they were beginning to around Christmas time move our division in, was to go on the northern edge of where the Bulge had hit, and as we went across the Channel, one of the ships ahead of me, about six or twelve hours ahead of my ship that carried a large portion of the 262nd infantry division, was torpedoed off of Cherbourg and lost two or three thousand men that, wounded and frozen and died and so on. And that episode, which was an interesting story we don't need to get into, but because the division had lost part of its strength, they sent us then down to the ports of St. Nazaire and Lorient, which were the submarine ports on the Brittany coast in France, and a pocket of Germans in there, fifty thousand of them or so, as they swept by out of Normandy. And so we stayed there for six months until the end of the war.

Then I went subsequently down to Marseilles where the division ran the big camps that were set up to begin to transport troops to the Far East, and when the war in Japan was over with, then we moved, sent us into Austria for occupation. So I stayed in Austria until I guess March, April of 1946, and then came home and went back to Berea and back to college.

DN: And when did you finish at Berea?

WW: Well, I went through my junior year and got involved in the organization of what was then, ultimately to become the National Student Association. That was being organized by students in some of the eastern colleges, and maybe there were a hundred or so that had met, hundred or so universities and colleges, that had met in the, around Christmas in '46 in Chicago and set in motion a system by which this National Student Association would write a constitution at a constitutional convention in Madison, Wisconsin in the summer of '47.

So I got elected from Kentucky to go up to that as a regional representative, to go to that constitutional convention in the summer of '47. And without getting into a long story, ended up being elected the president of the National Student Association and spent a year with four or five other officers putting that organization into being. And then came back to Berea after that year in Madison and went and did my senior year, and while we were in Madison I got married and so that was a big, big year, '47-'48. Interestingly enough, as a sidelight, a very major effort is underway to write the early years history of that National Student Association, which should be completed in another year or two; that will be very interesting.

DN: That's quite an accomplishment.

WW: Well, it was an interesting, I think the reason, there are disagreements as to why I got elected, but the, and you can, in the history you can read everybody's version of this, but my version of it is that one of the really major debates at this meeting, convention, was over the question of taking a stand on segregated education. And Berea was founded originally as an integrated college after the Civil War, and stayed integrated until the state laws in 1903 forced segregation, and then the college split and the Black students of the college went over near Louisville and the white students and so on, stayed in Berea. But Berea had this history behind it and was known widely in various, you know, circles as that, with that tradition. And I was, quite by random I think, but who knows, I was selected to chair the meeting at which the convention

debated its position on the segregation of education and how are we going to deal with, we're going to lose all the southern colleges and etcetera, etcetera. And it was a very heated and very difficult debate, but we kept the organization together and we got through that session and nobody walked out, as they did at the 1948 Democratic convention. And the organization over the years became very significant in terms of keeping some level of integration and relationship and membership with black colleges in the south, and we didn't have as many [southern] white colleges as we should in the membership, but there were a significant number.

And so there's a, I think because of my, you were talking earlier about a debate coach; I had a coach in high school in speech and debate who was a stickler on everybody learning parliamentary procedure, and so when I got to this organization up in Madison I was pretty good at parliamentary procedure and at running a meeting, so I think that plus my, somehow Kentucky being halfway between north and south and with a credible background on this whole issue of what kind of a college it was in terms of the racial issue and the segregation issue, probably is why I was. Now, other people have other versions of this and we can go into that some other time.

DN: Now, you went back to Berea and finished up your undergraduate-

WW: Yeah, then I got a fellowship in something called the Southern Regional Training Program in Public Administration that was funded by the Rockefellers. And this was an effort to upgrade the quality of civil service state personnel in the southern states, which of course had traditionally been mostly patronage jobs and they wanted to begin to create a base of professional public administrators. So, and there was no college in the south, no university in the south that offered a public administration degree totally as such, when they started this, and I guess I was in the, probably the third class that they took.

So what they did was, you had a summer of internship with a state agency, and then you went for a quarter at the University of Alabama, a quarter at the University of Tennessee, and a quarter at the University of Kentucky, at which after that you could write your masters thesis. And I got sent to Alabama, to the state planning board in Montgomery, Alabama, in the summer of 1949. And one of my very close friends who had been in the Army and who I knew before we'd gone in the Army, was Governor Jim Folsom's press secretary, and the head of the planning board for the state was a man by the name of Bill Dobbins, and was quite a liberal in the context of everything and was a, certainly a Folsom kind of Democrat. And my job was to go to the legislature and sit in the legislature and watch for somebody jumping up on the floor and moving to abolish the state planning board. And the reason that was a problem was because there was an editor of one of the Montgomery newspapers by the name of Bill Dobbins who was quite a liberal by those standards in those days, and they kept confusing the Bill Dobbins at the newspaper with the Bill Dobbins that was the chairman, or the director of the state planning board. And so every once in a while one of these old characters would jump up and rail against Bill Dobbins and, let's get rid of this guy.

So I had the experience of sitting in the senate, mostly in the senate, of the Alabama state legislature through the summer watching all the characters, including the old senator who sat in the front row and ate his lunch out of an old tin bucket, which was an experience. And then my

friend Ralph Hammond, who was the press secretary, would take (*unintelligible*) and I around, and take us around to the various sights including the, we went down one weekend to the, I guess it was the Grand Hotel on Mobile Bay where there had been the headquarters of the Dixiecrat party during the '48 election. And we were sitting there one night having dinner and the band struck up Dixie, and you know, this was several, this was a year after the campaign. And you wouldn't believe it, the whole crowd broke out and got on the tables and swung their napkins around and so on, so we had an interesting experience in Montgomery that year. And then went on through the program to, with good teachers at the three universities, and graduated.

And then after I graduated, the man that had been the head of the program in Alabama had gone up to the Maxwell School at Syracuse and he wanted, he asked me if I was interested in coming up there, and so I figured I was going to be a teacher and I needed a doctorate, so I went up and got a fellowship there and taught as a graduate assistant at Syracuse, freshman government or something, or lectured for part of that, those courses, you know the way they did it with other people, and worked on my doctorate.

And one day in the second year that we were at Syracuse, the dean of the Maxwell, I don't whether he was the dean of the Maxwell School or one of the other deans in the graduate school there, Crawford I think his name was, yeah, I think it was Finley Crawford, came down the hall and said, "Bill, are you interested in going to work in Washington?" And I said, "Well, I don't know," I said, "I hadn't really thought about it." And he said, "Well, Senator Herbert Lehman is looking for somebody, a young fellow that could come back and join his staff down there, to add to his staff, and I think you ought to go down and interview with him." I said, "Well, I'm not from New York." And he says, "Well, you're a Democrat aren't you?" And I says, "Yeah, I'm a Democrat." He says, "Well, go down and talk to him," he said, "it would be an interesting experience for you." So I got on a plane and went down and walked into the old Senate office building and up to the senator's office and waited a little bit, and walked in, and Senator Lehman at that point was about seventy, maybe seventy-two, seventy-three years old and had a long career of course of governor of New York and all kinds of other things, and sat down and he looked at my resume and he said, "Well now, Mr. Welsh," he said, "I only have two questions for you," he said. "I believe in the United Nations," he said, "and I want to be sure that people that work with me believe in the United Nations." And I said, "Well, Senator, you have any problem with me on that, that's fine." Then that other thing, he said, "You're from Kentucky, and I have pretty strong feelings about civil rights and I want you to feel comfortable if you're here because of my positions." I said, "Well, you won't have any trouble with me on that, Senator," I said, "we're all okay on that." And he says, "Well, now go back, and Crawford says you can't come until you take your exams for your doctorate and finish up with those, and then I'll call you."

So I went back, took my exams, subsequently passed those and so on. And Lehman called me and said, "Come on down and go to work for me." So I came down and I think I was paid fifty-five hundred dollars at that point. And he had the largest staff in the Senate. And it was about, fifteen of them were paid by the Senate payroll, and the other fifteen were paid personally by the senator. And I was on the, my check came from Lehman Brothers, from the Herbert Lehman account at Lehman Brothers. I figured out about six months or eight months into that job that I should get on the federal payroll, which I subsequently did and that made a lot of sense over the

years. But anyway, I was sort of the junior person on the staff, and what we should say about Lehman is two things: one, he was very interested in young people and we often had dinner with him and his wife in their apartment up in Wardman Park Hotel here. And he took me both to the 1952 and '56 conventions with him, which was a really eye opening experience I was in, and all that was involved there.

And I worked with his administrative assistant, a man by the name of Julius Edelstein, who was a difficult but very brilliant, very competent administrative assistant. And in those days the Senate was involved with, well matter of fact, we started right off in, when the Senate came back into session after the '52 elections, in January came back and we had the initial fight over changing the filibuster rule, and there were three votes to change it: Lehman's, Wayne Morris, and I guess Hubert [Humphrey], I'm not positive about that. But I, and in that, in the meeting that those, I was in the meeting with those senators when the decision was made as to whether they were going to push the issue of the Rule 22 repeal. And Morris and Hubert were a little edgy about not doing this so much, and they weren't so sure about it, and Lehman says, "I don't care what anybody's going to do it, I'm going to get up and move." So the other two came along with him. And those were the days, an initial brief and material were prepared by Joe Rauh and Clarence Mitchell; Clarence was the lobbyist for the NAACP and Joe was the [UAW lawyer] and head of the ADA at the time. And that kicked off the whole Rule 22 fights [which continued] almost twenty years in the Senate.

DN: By the way, what was your role at that point on his staff?

WW: Well, I was, it's a very, I was in effect Julius Edelstein's assistant, which means I was a free agent, I did whatever Julius wanted done, which sometimes was sort of crap, but other times it was being able to sit in on all kinds of meetings and, in a sense, represent the office and so on. The other significant thing, well, and I had, you know, small legislative projects and did some writing and learned very quickly the legislative processes of the Senate.

The other thing that happened was that there was a, over that five or six years I was there, there was organized sort of a liberal senators caucus that was very important - - Lister Hill, John Sparkman, Lehman, Douglas, Joe Clark of Pennsylvania, Wayne Morris, about twelve or thirteen - - and they did a great deal in the various issues they brought, worked on, to frame the issues for the Democratic party that went into the, well obviously the '56 election but more significantly into the '58 election of the class of '58 for the Senate, and John Kennedy's [campaign and presidential] agenda. If you really want to understand where, and we don't need to get into the Kennedy business, but if you want to understand where those issues were framed and so on, I mean Lehman for example had a universal medical, universal health care bill, and Lister Hill was sponsor of it. So it's a, and the whole education issue was raised and put in context of the Oil for Education bills which were to take the off-shore royalties from off-shore oil and earmark them for the school systems. Lots of interesting, creative, and the whole poverty program you can trace back, and much of that in terms of what they were supportive of.

So that class, that group of twelve, fifteen or so liberal senators, and Julius sort of acted as the executive secretary for that group. And the other important thing of that time, and I haven't said anything about the whole civil rights frame work because that was, all that was constantly being,

evolving in the Senate at that time. There was a woman on the staff by the name of Frances Williams, African American woman, who was the first professional black woman hired in the Senate. And her father and mother, interestingly enough, were graduates of Berea College, before the college was segregated. And Frances had had a fairly extensive career in the government and with private organizations that were working on civil rights and human rights, and Frances immediately took me under her wing and taught me everything I know about the African American community, the civil rights community, what's going on here and what was going on there, and really mentored me in terms of that whole world. I have a collection of some of her memos that I'm trying to think about what to do with; she was a graduate of Mt. Holyoke, and her father ended being the head of the segregated black schools in St. Louis and so on. But she was very perceptive, very knowledgeable, and had great influence over Lehman, he relied on her extraordinarily, more than anybody in terms of what should he do with this group, that group, how should he deal with this issue.

DN: Primarily civil rights?

WW: Civil rights, primarily civil rights. And, for example, she got me in, I got in and sat in on one of the arguments before the Supreme Court on *Brown vs. Board of Education*, she was friends with all the lawyers that were arguing for the change in the laws and so on so she said, "You've got to go there and sit in on this," she says, "you'll learn something and maybe it'll be historic." So, Frances was a very dear friend and very important influence in that regard for what I learned. So it was really, the Lehman experience was a learning experience. I learned about the Senate, I learned about the Democratic conventions and parties, worked on the Harriman campaign for governor for a while, the Harriman presidential campaign that didn't go anywhere. I worked a little bit in the Wagner campaign when he was running. So, you know, it was exposure to New York politics which was, you know, very important, and exposure to the Senate and exposure in some ways to the Democratic Party.

DN: And you continued there through the '58 campaign?

WW: Well, no, Lehman retired in '56 after the convention, said he was retiring because he, his doctors told him, he said, "I didn't want to die in the Senate." And so I got a call from Phil Stern who had been the research director of the Democratic National Committee and had, earlier on had been on [Senator] Paul Douglas's staff at one point. But anyway, Phil was looking for a replacement and said, "Do you want to come down and talk to Paul Butler and to me about taking over?" And I said, "Well, I got to find a job." And he said, "Well, this is a good job," he said, "you should come down here, and I think you'll enjoy it." And anyway, the main thing that's going to happen in the next two years is we're going to have to, we're going to, you know, try to elect some senators.

So I went down and was hired by Butler and so on, the crew down there, to become the research director and was the research director for the committee in '57 and '58, primarily concentrating on the senatorial campaigns. And the material, you know, people say well what did you do, well, the truth is we put out a lot of gutsy issue material and voting record material, and techniques, some material on how do you run campaigns. And the crew that I inherited down there were a rather remarkable crew of volunteers and a couple of women who were again very

influential in helping me. A woman by the name of Leila McKnight was the world's [greatest human] repository of all information on voting records. And in addition to voting records, they had maintained and begun to massage and nurture what I'm sure were the first comprehensive indexes and catalogues of everything that Eisenhower and Nixon said, so that ultimately the stuff we did on Nixon was all used by the Kennedy campaign, and the Eisenhower stuff was used in the '58 elections. And so anything, people would always call up and say, "Do you have any quotes from these guys on this or that?"

So, and the party, at that time Butler was a very energetic, he created the, a Democratic Advisory Council which was an interesting mix of senators and governors and party people, and former President Truman was on it, and various subcommittees and committees underneath it. Dean Atchison headed up the foreign policy, and Galbraith headed up the economic committee, and they put out tracts and it was quite an institution.

DN: Did your research staff provide staff support for them?

WW: Some, usually in terms of the kinds of things they would want in terms of presidential material or, I mean in terms of what did Eisenhower say or what are the votes in Congress, what was going on in Congress, mostly that kind of material. We didn't, I mean, when you're dealing with a Dean Atchison or a Ken Galbraith you don't do staff work, you know, they do their own staff work. But their Advisory Council had a significant political impact that people forget about.

Often these committees would meet on a Saturday morning in Washington, and then they would hold a press conference around one o'clock in the afternoon and put out their statement on the party's position on foreign policy or whatever. And we always made front page in the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post* Sunday morning with these position papers, and they were prestigious, you know, opposition policy positions. And old Johnson and Rayburn didn't like that, they thought, but they never quite knew what to do with this advisory council and Paul Butler, and they sort of, you know, always sort of a standoff. But when you had former President Truman and you had Atchison and you had Galbraith, you know, there wasn't much that Johnson or Rayburn could do about it. And they'd grumble that the positions the party was taking were too far out and all this kind of stuff, but as long as you made the front pages in the *New York Times*. OK?

So that was two years, and then what I really focused on was the '58 campaign, and this gets us to Ed Muskie because that was a very important effort to find, help find candidates, send the material out of Washington, kind of issue material that we thought [would be helpful]. I can't remember whether Ed was running against an incumbent senator, I don't think so.

DN: Yes, he was.

WW: Oh, okay. Oh, that's right, he was, sure.

DN: (*Unintelligible phrase*).

WW: Well, I'm sure what we did was, all the voting records were sent, the complete voting record, which we were very careful, to check and double check and be sure, we'd describe what the vote was, we'd extract votes by subject matter, we'd [send] background sheets that focused on impact of specific votes on the state. So we nurtured a whole range of senatorial candidates, and I guess in that year, twelve or so [new Democratic senators were elected].

DN: Yes, that was the famous class of '58.

WW: The famous class of '58, and of course there was Phil Hart and all the rest of them, Gail McGee, and-

DN: Gene McCarthy.

WW: Gene McCarthy, yeah. That's when the Senate really took on a whole new dimension. And I was fortunate in, after going through that experience, of being hired by Phil Hart as his administrative assistant when he came down to Washington. And I think probably the reason I got hired was not only that I had some Senate experience, but I think the, Millie Jeffries of the UAW who had been [Michigan's] Democratic National Committeewoman, was at least, and Helen Berthelot who was director for the CWA, a legislative director, and Millie was the special assistant to the UAW, to Walter Reuther. Helen Berthelot also was the campaign manager for G. Mennen Williams and had known Phil through all that Michigan period. So they both were friends of mine and I think they suggested that Phil come and talk to me.

DN: Well, did you work with Neil Stabler?

WW: Oh yes, sure. Although my own sense is, and Neil and I always got along very well, I don't mean in any way to neglect that, and I'm sure that if Phil talked to him and Neil would have given me a good mark, but I think the two women were more, the more aggressive in terms of - - Neil was off often theoretically thinking things and not thinking about the practical matter of who do I put in that office.

DN: The Michigan group, including Millie Jeffries and Helen Berthelot and Neil Stabler and company played a very important role through the 1950s when Paul Butler was chairman.

WW: Oh yes. They were very, they were, and the forces that they represented, the labor forces and liberal Democratic forces were very significant, very important in terms of his staying on as chairman and so on. Butler's, we can talk a little bit about this. Paul Butler told me one time, he said, "You know, the Kennedys never appreciated what I did for them in the '56 convention." He said, "If you remember, I had a big projection chart above the convention hall there that showed the running tally as the states voted for the presidential nominee." And he said, "I decided to take it down for the vice presidential [vote]," which was Kefauver and Kennedy as I recall, I think, those were the only two, although there might have been a third, I can't remember for sure. And he said, "Kennedy," when the votes were being tallied, John Kennedy was running substantially ahead of Kefauver. And he said, "I'm convinced to this day, if the crowd had seen that and the audience had seen that, they would have nominated John Kennedy for vice president and he would have gone down in a blaze of glory as the vice

presidential candidate for Stevenson.” But, he said, “They never appreciated the fact that I took that [screen] down.” And the first thing they did [after the '60 election] was to get him out of there when they can, '60, get him out as chairman. But Butler was a very significant force for all that preparation for the victory in '60 and the '58 and '60 congressional elections and senatorial elections.

DN: Did he, when you came in, give you a mandate for running the research operation?

WW: You know, that's an interesting thing. I don't think so. I mean, partly the reason for that is that Phil Stern and the other people that had been there had pretty well set a good framework as to the kinds of things that should be done. So I, I mean I'm, I can't go back and think of what I did, you know, what I did differently and what I put in, but we just kept doing based on the groundwork they had laid, but doing more of it to really get into the '58 campaign. And their publications, the *Democratic Digest* and their campaign handbooks and, you know, there's a whole sheaf of stuff that went out of there. People don't have any idea, I'm sure, of the usefulness of it.

DN: Not long ago, incidentally, I was doing some work at the Muskie Archives and there are folders after folders of material from that period, including *Democratic Digest* and exhortations to get subscriptions to the *Democratic Digest*.

WW: That's right, well, that was a fun publication, and it was a time where "dollars for Democrats" was one of the great programs that was pushed, and the *Digest* and its publications and the attempt to really strengthen the concept of a strong grassroots party organization. Once Kennedy got in that, I don't think there was ever a sense of purpose [at the DNC] compared to that period. Even though I went back and worked there later on, I mean, it was in more of a, much more of a, a very different kind of a period.

Well, anyway, that's jumping ahead in our story, but I went up, to stay in sequence, I went up and interviewed Phil Hart and he didn't, I mean I'd met him before this, of course, and sent all this kind of stuff out to him during the campaign in Michigan, but he was a very low key, very soft spoken, quiet man and I wasn't sure at the time what this relationship was going to be with him. But he offered me the job as administrative assistant and says, “I want you to put a staff together for me, and I'm only going to bring two people from Michigan, two or three people from Michigan for the staff, you start out and start interviewing people and let's see what you can put together.”

So that's essentially what I did. I took, I got Muriel Ferris, who had been involved with the League of Women Voters and federal government agencies, came in as legislative director. And Leila McKnight, who worked with me at the DNC, came in as office manager. And you'll be interested in this, one of the first things we did was to call in the National Archives and said to them, “set up our file system and our procedures in the office so that we never have to worry about what we're going to do with these files, that every year they'll go off to a storage and be ready for an archives.” So that's what we did from the beginning. The University of Michigan Library now which has all those things, says that it's the best thing that ever happened to them. But anyway, maybe you all did that, too, at Muskie's office. But that was, I can't remember why,

oh, I guess the reason I did it was we were very careful at the DNC, while I was there at the end of the '58 period, to be sure that the files were put together and sent down to the archives. The DNC files go to the presidential libraries, and I think, and I don't know for sure, but I think they waited, well I don't know whether that period is up at the Kennedy Library or whether it's at the Truman Library, but whichever, the Truman Library has some in that period but I'm not sure which.

DN: That would be a goldmine for a historian.

WW: Oh yeah, yeah, yeah, it's, no doubt about that. So I, we could talk a long time about Phil Hart but we should talk about Ed Muskie and the, back up a little bit. My first encounter with Muskie was, the first I remember anything about him was, I'd go up and spend August at great Aunt Mary's house in Maine and I guess the first year we had it was the summer of '56, when we actually took the family up there. And he was running for governor, reelection.

DN: Reelection as governor.

WW: Well, then I have to back off, well, let's say this is '56, I mean as much as we can identify. I remember turning on the radio and hearing him do a fifteen minute campaign piece in which he was taking apart the speech of his opponent, about highway programs in Maine, and would run a little tape excerpt of this speech from his opponent about highway programs, and then turn off the tape and comment on it, live, it was obvious. And then he'd turn on the next thing, 'Now let's listen to the next thing he says that's not true', and then would turn it off and comment on it. And I -

End of Side A
Side B

DN: This is the second side of the November 13, 2003 interview with William Welsh. Bill, you were just finishing telling us about the radio campaign broadcast you heard from then Governor Muskie in 1956.

WW: Yeah, I thought that was a, that particular technique was really intriguing, and he obviously did it extraordinarily well. Then in '56 he came, the neighbor at our house on Sawyer's Island in Boothbay there, was a man by the name of Vartan, V-A-R-T-A-N, Malcolm who was a retired lawyer in banking investment from New York and had retired up there in the 1930s and was an Armenian. A very interesting person, he had come as a child to New York to get away from the Turkish pogrom against Armenians. His family had sent him to New York and he'd gone through college at Amherst and Harvard Law School and so on and so forth. Anyway, Malcolm retired, and he came over and knocked on the door one day and Jean was there and he said, "Mrs. Welsh, I haven't introduced myself but I know who you are." and so on. "I knew Aunt Mary, and are you and Bill Democrats?" And Jean says, "Yeah, we're Democrats." And he says, "Well, I'm having a little fund raiser, a little reception for Ed Muskie over at my house Saturday or Sunday afternoon, and I'm having a hard time getting Democrats, finding enough Democrats around this area, Boothbay and so on. But would you two come?" So that's when I first met him, and we have a picture, if you want me to some day make a copy of it for you, of

the group with Ed Muskie out, and Jean and I and maybe fifteen Democrats from Sawyer's Island in Boothbay.

DN: Including, I suspect, Asa Tupper.

WW: Asa's in the background right there, that's right, and I can probably identify about half of them, but I'm not sure. But anyway, it was the first chance I had the chance to meet him. And Malcolm was one of the few Democrats I think besides Asa in that area at the time. So that's when I first met Ed Muskie. I think, what you wanted to talk about in the context of the Senate and the class of '58, '59, '60, I mean, what is it that you want to get a sense of? You were there and so you have a sense of it as well as I do in terms of -

DN: Well, I'm interested in giving future readers and listeners a sense of what it was like to come into the Senate with this group of young Democratic senators, freshly elected, liberals, and at that point relating to the majority leader, Mr. Johnson. And also some of the interplay, particularly among those newer members of the Senate. It was a fairly feisty group, and they had very distinctive personalities.

WW: They did. What, I don't recall that they organized themselves as a class in any sense, but I think the McCarthy, Gene McCarthy and Ed Muskie and Phil Hart particularly, the three of them as I recall, sat on the back row. Maybe with somebody else, I don't know. But I think this was a, these were all war veterans; a little side light on Phil Hart, it turned out that he and Bob Dole and Senator Danny Inouye all were in the same hospital in Michigan, veterans, Army veterans hospital in Michigan after WWII recuperating up there because of their serious wounds. And there's a, that's just a little side light. And I think, Inouye, was he one of the, in that year, did he come that year?

DN: No, he came in a different year.

WW: Okay, well see he was part of the group in a sense, he was involved. Phil, we were, I mentioned the Rule 22 fight, okay? The issue came up at the beginning of every Congress; does the Senate have the right to institute as a matter of procedure at the opening of the Congress, the Senate, to adopt its rules as the House does. And it's all the old fight over whether the Senate's a continuing body and so on and so forth. Well, the civil rights groups were hell bent as always to always make the fight, always have the issue put forth at the opening day of the new Senate, and the last thing Lyndon Johnson wanted as the new majority leader, I guess he was, had not been, had he been elected in '58? I don't think so, well, maybe yeah. Let's see, McFarland, well yeah, he had been elected, yeah. And so Johnson, opening it, did not want to, you know, he had all these young new firebrands coming into his Senate and he wanted to be sure that he established firm control over them all, and he wanted to, he also wanted to negotiate with each one of them about, "Now boys, don't rock, get out there and rock the boat on me, and I'll see that I can take care of your committee appointments and just what do you want," and was doing all the Johnson business. So Phil very much wanted to go on the Judiciary committee, and of course the civil rights groups and the labor groups, and what was by then the more organized leadership conference on civil rights, came to Phil and said, "We want you to participate in opening up, in the opening session of the Senate, be sure you vote to consider the rules." And of course

Johnson had said, "We don't need any of that foolishness, boys, none of that, we'll take care of this on down the road, but let's don't rock."

To make a long story short, Phil was I think was again one of the very few that voted on that opening procedural motions to oppose Johnson, and I said, "You know, Phil," I said, "you may not get your Judiciary spot," I said, "it's a long shot." But it turned out that Johnson was smart enough and shrewd enough not to be that vindictive. And he didn't need to be vindictive, I mean, the truth is. And I suspect that that was, you know, that this was a period in which, well, I don't suspect, I know it was a period in which Johnson had clear national ambitions and looking towards the '60 convention and everything and didn't want to rock the boat with that, those elements in the party.

So Phil got on the Judiciary and he got on Agriculture committee, and that was a, that is an interesting thing that weaves us into the Muskie picture a little bit. He didn't know what to do on the Agriculture committee, but as it turned out it was probably the smartest, made a lot more sense in terms of the state of Michigan for him to be on there than it did the Judiciary because Michigan had an enormous agricultural economy. And that's a whole other story about how we identified with the dried bean growers and the black cherry growers and the milk producers, and so on and so forth. But as a member of that committee, he was selected to be, and he was the one senator from the Great Lakes region on that committee, he was selected to be a member of a Senate special committee on national water resources, which was chaired by Senator Kerr of Oklahoma. And they took members from Agriculture and Interior, and probably Public Works, and I think Muskie was on that committee.

DN: He was on the Public Works committee, yes.

WW: And wasn't he selected for this select committee on -?

DN: Yes.

WW: He was on there, okay. So we'd go off to Maine, you remember this story, when they went to Maine, the committee? And we, Kerr got an airplane from the Corps of Engineers to fly everybody around the country, and we got up, landed in Brunswick and the Navy put us in cars and drove us up to Augusta, to the hearing. And I remember they had the, well, I don't know the particular titles of the state officials but, like the head of the Natural Resources Department and the Maine Forestry Department and the Water Resources and whoever these top officials were. And there was Phil and Ed Muskie and Kerr and two or three other senators sitting there listening to this testimony about, and the essential issue was, you know, what were the main problems, the main issues in terms of preservation and protection and development of water resources and clean water and all this kind of stuff in various parts of the country. And there were, you know, Great Lakes had one kind of problem, and coastal Maine others.

So I remember this one testimony where the official from the government there, in Maine, was basically saying, "Senator, we don't need any federal assistance. We're getting along fine and things are okay," in effect is what his testimony was, and, you know, and maybe other parts of the country. And Kerr puts his glasses down over his nose and looks down over the podium and

says, "Well, I have some interesting information here," he said, "Mr. Director. By my understanding at this point, about ninety-two percent of all the sewage in the state of Maine goes into the tidal rivers and the ocean untreated. Is that an accurate description?" And this guy sort of swallows and says, "Well, I guess so, Senator, that's probably right." And then he goes to another (*unintelligible word*), "Ninety percent of Maine's water systems are nonexistent, they just are untreated or something, municipal water and so on." "I guess that's probably true, Senator." And he said, "Now, am I getting your testimony correct, that Maine doesn't need any assistance in terms of upgrading its water quality and protecting its oceans and lakes and so on, is that what I'm hearing?" Well, yes, Senator, I think we can handle it all ourselves." And he says, "Well," he says, "I must say, the people in Oklahoma really want to thank you because," he says, "we know how to use that federal money, and for recreation." And he went through this whole business, you know. Well, the fascinating thing, I remember watching it, and we'd have to go back and look at the hearing transcripts, but I think Ed Muskie never said a word, kept his, had a smile on his face, enjoying this Bob Kerr work over of these Maine directors or whoever the hell they were, I mean, you know.

DN: Commissioners, yes.

WW: Commissioners I would have thought, and was just having a ball watching this thing. And I'm not sure, but it seems to me that much of Ed's work on the whole clean water business and so on and so forth must have emerged about, right after that period of time. Does that ring a bell with you, or not?

DN: As governor, he had worked on reclassification of the streams to initiate the clean up, and then in the Senate it was after Bob Kerr and Dennis Shevis died -

WW: That he took over the subcommittee.

DN: That the subcommittee was created by Pat McNamara, and that was '63.

WW: That was on down the line. But I remember this first whacko, and laughed about it and thought well, you know, this is an opening that Muskie will use somewhere down the line that'll take off. But that was, so what I think, I think there's two things to say about this that are probably worthwhile observations to think about. Ed Muskie, Phil Hart, Gail McGee, Gene McCarthy, and I'd have to take a look-

DN: Gaylord Nelson.

WW: Gaylord. Now those four, though, were all Catholic I think.

DN: Yes, the first four.

WW: The first four, and there may have been two or three more in the class. I don't ever remember any evidence, I guess that's a good word, in which they ever took a position with regards, on a Senate issue, that was an issue that was dominated by their religion. I mean, that was a whole different world that they'd come out of in terms of their pre-Senate political

experiences, their own personal experiences, their war experiences. This was a very, I don't know the right way to say it, but they certainly didn't wear their religion on any badge; much less so than the Kennedys. I always was fascinated, I think, by the fact that this was a different breed, if that's the right word, and I don't want to make too much of a point about it, but it was quite, they were different in terms of how they approached and used their religion as part of their -.

Now, Phil was an extremely, was a very devout Catholic. He often attended Mass every morning across the street there from the Senate, in that little church, I can't remember which one it is, would go over and stop in and attend Mass. Very devout, personal, but you would never know it. I mean I, in eight years, I mean I just can't think of anything in the time I was in there that I could say that that was a predominant influence on a decision that he made with regards to public policy.

DN: He and Ed Muskie were very much alike, (*unintelligible phrase*).

WW: Yeah, I think, I mean that's my impression and so on. And he was very close to Ed, it seems to me. I mean, I think between Ed and Gene McCarthy, and Gene had his own problems and his own quirks and so on, but the three of them seemed to me to be very close, and essentially dealt with Johnson in much the same way and didn't get at cross purposes. Their fights in most instances didn't turn into personality fights. Now, we have, this is the period in which Humphrey was minority leader, and I guess had been elected minority leader in '60, right? Or was it '64?

DN: Sixty-four. He was the -

WW: No, he was '60, he was the minority, I don't mean minority, I mean he was a majority whip, he was a whip in '60.

DN: He was the whip in '58, '59.

WW: Was it '58, that early?

DN: He was the whip in '59.

WW: Okay, alright, well, I was going to say the role he played for Johnson, and for himself, and I, this is what I told Karo when we, he did an interview and we talked about this. I always took the position, and from the outset, and I talked to Phil about this, you know, and others, that these two men, Humphrey and Johnson, were, had a symbiotic relationship. They both needed each other. And that Johnson had to have Humphrey to be, to interface in a sense with the liberals in the Senate, and Humphrey had to have Johnson if he was ever going to go up the ladder in national politics because of Johnson's link into the south and because of his financial resources and so on.

So, that, and I think, and I don't recall, but it seems to me Humphrey did not play a terribly influential role in the way that these three that we were just talking about, Muskie and McCarthy

and Hart, approached things. It seems to me they approached their relationship with Johnson in a much more direct interface, and did not go through Humphrey, did not really let that kind of interface occur. Now, I don't know that that's the case, but it seems to me that it was a, not that they didn't respect or cooperate with Humphrey, I don't mean it in that sense, but it didn't seem to me that he was that much of an interface with these guys, these three people, as he was with other senators in the Senate.

DN: Now, they certainly, with Ed Muskie and my impression is that with the rest of that class, that Gene McCarthy was his own independent spirit, Gaylord Nelson, Gail McGee, Ted Moss, Phil Hart.

WW: Vance, Vance was in there. Now, Vance was a much more Johnson person.

DN: Right, and he was sort of outside that group.

WW: Yes, yes.

DN: And, but they tended -

WW: Take their own counsel, isn't that a sense, basically what you sensed with it?

DN: Yes.

WW: So do I, yeah. And they, now I haven't gone back and really, Karo made a lot of, and I've got to go back and read his book again. I mean, I've just been through it, skimmed it and haven't done a thorough job. He made a lot more out of the 1958 Civil Rights Act, or was it in '57, '57, '58. Well, we had a Civil Rights Act of '57, and we had more civil rights action in '58 and '59. He made a lot more out of that in terms of Johnson's wanting to be identified with that and wanting to succeed on that. Then of course I thought that the act substantively warranted, I mean there was not a lot of, maybe the extension of the Civil Rights Commission, very little on anything else was major, I mean it was major significance.

DN: Incremental changes, really.

WW: Very small. You had some poll tax at one point, I think we had, that they worked on. But I mean, the real high powered civil rights operation of this class of '58 didn't come in until the '64 and '65 acts, and that's when they were all in various leadership positions in terms of pushing that through.

DN: And you also had an administration by then that was very supportive.

WW: Well, supportive, and critical to it. What did the, I can't figure out how much time we've got here, but let's see, let's jump ahead. Two or three things I want to be sure we talk about, and then we can go back and pick up pieces. The whole clean air/clean water kind of thing that Ed did was extraordinarily important in terms of Phil Hart's identifying with that, for Phil, in terms of the Great Lakes Basin. I mean, the water issue, there was a horrendous problem on the

Detroit River coming down into Lake Erie there, and the whole Lake Erie died. I remember Phil making probably the first speech in the Congress about the dead Lake Erie, that they'd worked on with some people out in Michigan and so on, some biologists and so on. So that whole issue, and the interface with that resources kind of issue, was extremely important to Phil, and Ed's leadership on it. So I think that should be -

DN: Interesting question here: Senator Hart was not on the subcommittee or on the Public Works committee.

WW: No.

DN: And he and Senator Muskie were very close. I think if there were two senators who were best friends, they were it and they obviously communicated a lot. Do you recall involvement by your staff with the Muskie staff or the Public Works staff on those Michigan related issues?

WW: Well, you had mentioned earlier that Senator McNamara was on the, I guess chaired the Public Works committee at that point, so in a sense that was, I mean, Phil would have deferred in terms of public, in kind of public issues and stuff to McNamara. But what I'm sure we were, we made great mileage out of and must have been intimately involved with is things like the interface between the agriculture department's small watershed type programs that were, the grants and all of that, the mechanics and so on. We made a lot of use out of that. We got, held little informal hearings around the state on that, soil conservation interface, there are five national forests in Michigan, they would all interface with this. And of course the, this, going back to the other point, this, the programs that related to small communities' adequacy of their water systems. I mean Michigan, if you got out of Detroit, was a small town, the minute you moved, you know, a little bit north in the state and up, a small town without adequate sewage and water system programs, just like most other rural parts of the country.

So all of that was significant. The answer is, I'm sure that there was a lot of back and forth work, and particularly when we got into the issues of the, like the Detroit River clean up. Governor Swainson, how did he go? Was, there was a lot of direct involvement back and forth with McNamara and Hart, and I'm sure the Public Works staff, and the governor's office when the governor decided to make a move on the pollution. And I think you had to have a governor's clearance for certain enforcement acts to take effect, and I can't remember the structure, but he had, he was under a great deal of pressure not to do anything because this involved the Ford River Rouge plant. And you had bottled, the water at the southern end of the Detroit River going into Lake Erie was, it wasn't just murky, it had solid particles in it that would not, you took a gallon jug of it and looked at it and held it there. These damn particles wouldn't precipitate, they'd float in the water when it came out at that end down there. It was really bad.

So Swainson took on a major effort in terms of coordinating with all these forces that are involved in that federal enforcement action to clean up that river and that lake. We went in to, I remember when I went to work for Humphrey and one of the first speeches, the first things that we worked on with him as vice president, we went into a town, in Munroe, Michigan that was right below the head of the Detroit River there, next to Lake Erie, and made a speech about this in 1969. Interestingly enough, I wrote the speech as a water pollution speech. We went in there

because there was a dedication of a new library, and Humphrey read the water pollution speech and then he turned to the woman who was retiring that the library had been named for in this little town, this small town, and God knows what her name was. But anyway he turned to her and he did one of those Humphrey things that, you know, you never believe it can happen, he made a twenty minute speech about her that he'd never met in his life, about what in effect it meant to be a small town librarian, what she'd done for the kids, her significance to the community. I mean, they were all wiping their eyes. It was the damndest speech. I thought, well, Welsh, you got to learn but no matter, best laid plans, when you're working for this guy, are out the window. Let's switch over, I want to be sure we talk a little bit about two things, a couple of recollections I have. One is Humphrey's selection of Muskie.

DN: Yes.

WW: The people that were involved in that, I think the people that he was thinking about, the list that he was thinking about in terms of possible vice presidential running mates were Fred Harris, who'd been chairman of the Democratic National Committee and senator from Oklahoma, and who else? Governor Hughes of New Jersey. Seems to me there were three possible ones. I had taken the position early on, inside the immediate small staff discussions on this, that I thought Ed Muskie was the right person for Humphrey to run with, and we had, and never, and I don't think, as I look back on it, that there was ever any, I can't remember any negative arguments about Ed Muskie being a vice presidential nominee. The problems that I recall were that Humphrey felt some obligations to Fred in terms of Fred and his wife LaDonna who were both of them extraordinarily pushy at that point and pulling out all kinds of strange people to come in and talk to Humphrey on his behalf, and so on and so forth, and there was a lot of negative about, in terms of discussions about Fred and so on going. But I don't think he was ever a serious contender, at least in the latter stages, the last few days of the convention.

Well, anyway, what I wanted to be sure I told you is that we were up in Humphrey's suite the morning before he called, before he talked to Ed. And he said, I think he said to me, "Go down and get him, or go out and call him and say I want to talk to him." And Ed came up and talked to him, and there was a long conversation about something and I thought, well this is going on too long, and there was some indecision back and forth. And as it turned out, it involved one of his children, Ed's children, I guess a daughter. And Ed had some problems in terms of would this be something that would have an impact on her life and her situation. And that was a stumbling point there for a while. But he'd made the decision and they'd worked this through, Humphrey turned around to Vi Williams who was his secretary and did what he did on a number of occasions and that is, I want to dictate a little memorandum about why I selected Ed Muskie. And the essence of it was, as I remember one specific phrase from it, is that there's a time when a president has to have somebody that he can talk to that he trusts implicitly. He can't talk to his wife, he can't talk to his staff, he can't talk to any other politician. There's only one person that he can really, basically can confide in, and that's his vice president who is a Constitutional officer and who has to assume the responsibility along with him, and I've got to have somebody that I can implicitly trust. Which I thought was interesting; then he went on and talked about some other things.

Well, I want to make a point about that memo because, Norman Sherman, who was Humphrey's

press secretary and has done a lot of work in and out of the Humphrey Library up in Minnesota, and I remember on a number of occasions, not a lot of occasions but several occasions when Humphrey would come back from a meeting with Johnson in the White House and he'd just go nuts and say, "I've got to get this off my chest, and let me dictate a memo about what went on" kind of thing. We can't find any of those goddamn memos. I said, "Norman, they've got to be somewhere." Well, Vi I don't think is alive any more, I think she's passed. Marcia, who was the other personal secretary, when some researcher went and visited with her on this general subject, said, "Well, we never had time to type those memos; he never had time." Well, that's not true because I know a couple of occasions that memos were written. I mean at least they were dictated to Vi, I don't know whether they were, I'm sure they were transcribed.

But anyway, there's a gap in terms of what people have been able to find, and my memory of two or three crucial memorandum; this was one of them. Another was the time that Humphrey had been out to a group of Protestant ministers that were meeting during the course, during the '68 period on the war, and had gone out and done a speech defending the Vietnam position and the administration. And even though they all were in disagreement with him, they gave him a standing ovation when he left. So he got back to the office, and Johnson called him over and said, to the rooms upstairs in the White House, and said, "Hubert, I hear you've been making speeches around town." And he said, "I hear that you were out there with those preachers and you really got them going." And he said, "Now Hubert," he says, "what I want you to do is to give me that speech," he says, "I don't know why I can't do that. You give me that speech." So Humphrey said, I started to, he poured me a drink and I started to sit down and, "No, Hubert, stand over there, give me the whole speech, just like you gave it to the preachers." Humphrey said, "You know, that sonofabitch, he said, he made me stand over there and give him a forty minute speech." And he was, I saw him ten minutes after he came back to the office, and he was so mad he could barely stand it. He was just at the end of his rope. And he went in and dictated a little thing to Vi about this.

Well, anyway, I'm telling you that if you can ever turn up, if anybody ever turns up, there's a very interesting memo on, if you can't find the memo, I've given you what the essence of it was in terms of why he made a decision, because, I mean, including things, somebody has to, you want somebody who can be president, I mean all the usual things, but I thought that little quirk that he put in there was an interesting piece in terms of his choice and so on.

DN: And revealing about him as well as -

WW: Are we going to get any lunch, Don?

DN: I think we should, and I think what we can do is stop today's conversation, and in January I'm coming back to Washington and we'll set a date.

WW: Well, that would be fine. I'd like to do, just say two things that we need to talk about in January. We need to talk about Muskie's own campaign in '70-

DN: Sixty-nine to '72, yeah.

WW: Sixty-nine to '72 period, and I've got some things that would probably be interesting to say about that. And there was something else, well, there are two or three stories out of that period that I want to be sure we cover. And I will do some more thinking about the Senate situation with Johnson and Muskie. But, well, I need to talk a little bit more about Phil Hart and why Muskie was an important colleague in terms of Phil's own personal problems that I think are probably useful to have in that interview.

DN: Yeah, that whole relationship is very important. On the substantive side, we want to talk a bit about air pollution and automotive, and how that affected Phil Hart. And then in the 1968 campaign how that played out in terms of the working relationship and the campaign relationship between the staffs, which was I suspect fairly unique, when one thinks about the way those campaigns usually run.

WW: Yeah, all right, that's fine, okay, that's good.

DN: Thank you very much.

End of Interview