

**Richard C. Wade Oral History Interview -RFK #2, 2/13/1974**  
Administrative Information

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Wade, Richard C.; Historian, educator; Campaign worker, John F. Kennedy for President, 1960, Robert F. Kennedy for President, 1968. Wade discusses his and Richard J. Daley's involvement in Robert F. Kennedy's [RFK] presidential campaigns in Illinois and Indiana (1968), conflicts that arose during them, and Richard G. Hatcher's role as mayor in Gary, Indiana, among other issues.

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## Richard C. Wade- RFK #2

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## Second Oral History Interview

with

Richard Wade

February 13, 1974  
New York City

Roberta S. Greene

For the Robert F. Kennedy  
Oral History Program  
of the Kennedy Library

GREENE: Last time we started to talk about the beginnings of organizing in Illinois in '68, and I know you didn't get very far before you were yanked out of there and dropped in Indiana, but there were a couple of things. First of all, you seem to have taken over at least the nominal position of chairman in Illinois as of March 6, when you talked to Kennedy [Robert F. Kennedy] and he said go ahead, right? What did this really involve besides getting a headquarters address, and pins, and buttons, and that kind of thing?

WADE: Well, what it really involved was preventing any other Kennedy movement from popping up in Illinois, because after '60 and after '64 there were all kinds of people who had asked Kennedy to run for president in '64, and then asked him to run for president in '68, taking out ads in the newspapers and who appropriated his name to themselves. Well, that was very dangerous because they were almost always marginal political figures. If the word had gotten around that that was the Kennedy campaign in Illinois, he would have especially annoyed the regulars, and Daley [Richard J. Daley] in particular.

GREENE: So, in other words, you were very open about this? Was there an announcement or any publicity about the fact that you were. . . . How did you explain, since he hadn't announced, and at this point he was still, you know. . . .

WADE: No, we didn't do that until after the announcement. Between March 6 and March 16 I went to see Daley, and I told him. I was then the head of one of his committees. It was called something like--I forgot--the Committee for Community Involvement. It was the idea that the communities would get involved in city planning, and so forth. It was relatively early in that kind of thing. I was chairman of it, and I went to him, and I said the reason we had to open an office was to knock out any possible embarrassment that other people would pop up.

Then you would have to be in the situation of either making him a cochairman, or removing him, or doing something of the sort, or claiming he had nothing to do with Kennedy, which. . . . You never like to turn off a volunteer, no matter what he might be or what you might think he might be.

Secondly, I wanted to assure Daley that there wasn't going to be any massive assault on Illinois right away, and that we would keep in touch, that it was right across the street from city hall; that we would be in touch all the time, and that he would always know whatever decisions were made in reference to Illinois, particularly the primary that would be coming up, and the state committee which was coming up. Because it was still technically feasible to file Kennedy into a primary in Illinois, although the primary didn't mean anything. It was a preferential primary. All it would do is show that you are better than somebody else. It wouldn't resolve any delegates which would all be elected without preference on the ballot, less than half of them without preference to a candidate on the ballot. And then the state committee would appoint more than half at their own convention. So what we wanted to do was to assure Daley that there would be no sudden descent on Illinois because it was one of the remaining primaries that we might possibly get into. So we decided for two reasons: one was to preempt the field; the second was to assure Daley that the Kennedy campaign would be in responsible hands.

GREENE: And what kind of reception did you get?

WADE: From him? Oh, he was very happy.

GREENE: Was he surprised? Had he heard from them?

WADE: No, he had not heard from them. In fact, he hadn't announced yet. I went in before. So far as I know, there had been no contact made with him. He wanted to know whether I was sure about it. I said, "Well, as sure as you can be in politics," that he was going to do it. And, I said, especially because I didn't see any way to keep out of it by this time. He'd gone too far down the road. I would say we are roughly in March 10. I think he announced it the sixteenth.

GREENE: Right. The primary in New Hampshire was the twelfth. It was before that.

WADE: Well, I think it was a Thursday or Friday before he announced.

GREENE: Okay. Then it was after the primary.

WADE: Yes. It was after the primary. He had had a press conference in Washington by that time. It was in that

period, the next two or three days. We also just occupied the space, and it was in a place called Mayor's Row. Everybody knew what goes on in Mayor's Row. I mean you couldn't keep secret the fact that I had rented the space, so you wanted to make sure that he didn't hear it from somebody else or in the newspapers. I remember my saying, "I will resign as chairman of your committee if you want me to. I don't want any conflict between what we're doing in those meetings and any presidential ambitions of the senator's." And he said, "well, no, no. You stay on, and if it gets harried then later we can handle that," he said, "But I don't want you to. . . ." What he was really saying is, he didn't want to appear to be anti-Kennedy by my resigning.

I would have resigned before the announcement, which would have made it easier for him, but he wanted two things. He wanted both to be close to Kennedy, so that he knew what was going on, and secondly, the committee that I was chairman of had been getting exceptionally good publicity. The momentum had sort of built up. He didn't want it to look like politics had been involved, which it hadn't, because the people in that committee. . . . Well, and I do remember, though, we had little RFK '68 buttons--those little teeny things which we made up ourselves. I was wearing one, and I went into city hall because I was head of this committee, which was the biggest citizens' committee he had. Lew Hill [Lewis Warren Hill], who is still the city planner there--he's the top nonpolitical appointment but who is very politically oriented--I got into the elevator the day after the announcement was made wearing a little lapel pin. He was, for a very close friend of mine, decidedly cool. He said, "We have to know who's on what base don't we?" And I didn't get the. . . .

GREENE: Now, what is the timing on this? Was it before the announcement?

WADE: This was right after the announcement. Let's say the announcement was on, what?

GREENE: Saturday, the sixteenth.

WADE: Well, it was the following Tuesday. And it was also announced that we had opened a headquarters right away, so that there would be no other self-styled headquarters around. And so Lew Hill had not heard from the mayor yet that it was all right. Then after I was on the elevator when we went to the meeting, it didn't seem to be any different. At the end I said, "Why don't you talk to the mayor about it, if you think it's something funny." So he later did, and by the end of the week things had been cleared.

GREENE: Do you know what happened with Daley subsequently in the campaign?

WADE: Well, let me tell you. . . . The arrangement we made

then, when I went in to see him, I said, "We're going to open a headquarters." I told him, "Generally speaking, we are not going to touch the city. There's a lot of people around who are for Kennedy. We can't cut off that kind of enthusiasm for him, so we'll open up wherever we've got enough people in responsible leadership and they can sustain it themselves without any outside money." I said, "We're not going to pour any money into Illinois, there are more important groups all the way through--going through Oregon, California north. We're not going to pour a lot of money into it, but we're not going to discourage people who are for him. As soon as we get a responsible leader in each of the counties, we'll start taking them on or in congressional districts first. But this will be the citywide operation. This isn't going to be a countywide operation, so you don't have to worry about anything. Nothing is going to happen around here that we won't control. And outside we're going to start building up those areas and start responding to people in those areas."

He was very happy about this, and then I said, "I'll be here across the street all the time, or here with your committee, and any time you want to, we'll talk about it. But I'm not going to talk to you about it during my committee meetings here. But anytime you want to talk. . . . But most importantly," I said, "I think you ought to deal with Kennedy directly. Not with me or not with any other self-styled Kennedy spokesman. There are a lot of them around town." There was the Merchandise Mart bunch. I said, "Don't talk to any of these people. Talk directly to him. That's the way he'll want it. I talked to him about it. That's the way he wants it. That's the way you want it." I said, "I'll come in every Wednesday after the primaries, and we'll talk about it." So every Wednesday after each primary I'd come in, and things, of course, went well for a while. Then Oregon came. It happened that I was actually out of town on Wednesday. Academic--it had nothing to do with the campaign; I was just out of town. He thought that I. . .

GREENE: Couldn't show your face.

WADE: . . .had skipped it because. . . . I had just blandly assumed that we were going to win Oregon. Everybody told me that, and I wasn't paying any attention to it. He sort of got ambushed in there. I didn't show up then Wednesday, and Thursday morning--he was given to calling at eight o'clock in the morning (he was at the office and I was in bed)--he called up and said, "I missed you yesterday. I want to see you." Then I was pretty upset, because I thought, now we're going to get it. That shows Kennedy hasn't got it, and so forth. There's always this business of reviving of Johnson [Lyndon B. Johnson] in the newspapers all the time. I'm really going to get it.

So I went into the office. You have to know Daley's. . . . He has this immense desk about four times the size of this. Absolutely clean desk. I've never seen anything on it, and he always leaves the door open. As a result he speaks in such a low voice you can scarcely hear him if you're sitting next to him at the desk. It is always, as I say, very quiet. I always was able to go in to see him right. . . . There was always, outside of Daley's office, guys sitting there. These are not just small people. These are some of his biggest lieutenants--will sit three hours. They would be told, "You can see him in the morning. Come in at nine," and at eleven-thirty they'd go in. And it has always been the case whenever I called up, if the appointment is at 10:15, I was in at 10:15. The worst part about this is the press is always out there, and they always noticed that I would go in and out on time, and the rest of the big shots would be sitting there--you know, commissioners and things like that--would be sitting there for some time. I was worried about that, that there would be a press story coming out of that business.

Anyway, I went in to see him, and I told him immediately that I couldn't get there because I was out of town. Then he said, "Don't worry about it." I thought he meant, don't worry about missing the appointment. You see, it was never an appointment. I usually would call up on a Wednesday and come in to see him. But there was a felt appointment that never really. . . .

GREENE: Right.

WADE: He said, "Don't worry about it." I thought, "Well, don't worry about meeting him yesterday." He said, "The primary's cut everything." He has these sort of pudgy hands that he kept waving in the air. "If he's all right in California, he's going to be all right." He was virtually telling me that he wanted Kennedy to win in California. That would give him an easy way because, he said, they were drawing up the slates, you see, for the state convention. He was really telling me he hoped to hell Kennedy had won. I had no doubt in my mind that if Kennedy had lived, he would have won the New York thing, and Illinois would have gone 90 percent for Kennedy. He had come to that point. Part of it was. . . .

GREENE: Was he encouraging all along after Indiana and after Nebraska?

WADE: No, he was skeptical before Indiana, because he told me one day, "Who have you got down there?" And I said, "We haven't got anybody; that's the reason I'm down there." I said, "If we had anybody down there we wouldn't have to take this whole operation." To get those petitions signed we put four busloads down there in two straight days. That's probably four hundred people. This is just for three counties. By the time we

were through, the office was filled with people from Illinois. There was a time in that office when I couldn't find a single Indiana voter.

GREENE: Now, you're talking about the Lake County office in Gary [Indiana]?

WADE: I'm talking about the Gary office. Also then we had offices set up in Whiting [Lake County, Indiana], in North Chicago [North Chicago, Illinois], in Hammond [Lake County, Indiana]. . . .

GREENE: East Chicago [Lake County, Indiana]?

WADE: East Chicago, and then we put on out in a place called Lagrange [Lagrange County, Indiana]. . .

GREENE: Yes.

WADE: . . . which was an utter disaster, which nobody ever came into. And we got absolutely clobbered by McCarthy [Eugene S. McCarthy] out there.

GREENE: We are sort of jumping around, but these busloads of people, these were just volunteers that your own people generated?

WADE: These were all volunteers who came into the Chicago office. When they would call up the Chicago office, they would say, "What can I do for Kennedy?" I'd said, "Forget Illinois. Can you get down? Do you have a car? Can you get down to Gary?" Gave them names of people. "Can you get to Whiting?" So people were just sent down from Illinois into Indiana. In fact I told them we never wanted more than five people in the office for those phones. If there are more than five people, they're wasting their time. They're supposed to go down to Gary.

GREENE: I think what you say about Daley is very interesting. Do you think that you were the only contact?

WADE: I don't know. He talked to Kennedy twice.

GREENE: One would be right after Johnson?

WADE: First of all, he intensely disliked Sargent Shriver [R. Sargent Shriver]. He had been chairman of the school board, and Daley always thought he did a lousy job. He referred to him as a champagne liberal. And one of the reasons he liked me there is that he didn't have to talk to Sarge. I presume Sarge was telling people in Washington, "The Kennedy operation. . . Well, you know, I'm from Chicago. I know Daley." And of

course, the guy's from a crowd which Daley never liked, so I was a great. . . .

GREENE: Are they Shriver's people?

WADE: They're Shriver's. Yes, he ran the place.

GREENE: Right. They remained his people?

WADE: Yes. We needed ten thousand dollars on the Illinois campaign. We didn't have any money. I got the fellow to give us the office for nothing. His name is Angelo Giocaris, who is now high up in the Dan Walker [Daniel T. Walker] administration. An old friend. He owns the building. If we had paid for it, we'd have to pay right away. We got people to lend us. A fellow named Jerry Goldwater lent us the equipment and the typewriters. We did have to pay for the telephones. I think maybe I paid for the telephones, to get them in. Then as time went on we had to pay for the buses, and when people went down there, we had them sleeping on the floors of gymnasiums and things. We had to feed and everything else, and the money started to roll up. It was hard to get money in Indiana directly from the so-called national Kennedy campaign which you could never locate.

So I would deal with John Douglas [John W. Douglas] who is an old friend of mine. He knew how to get some money, but he wasn't getting enough. He was only getting it for Indiana, but I needed it for Illinois, because we were feeding Indiana. It was really for Indiana, but you could never convince anybody, because it went to Illinois that it was therefore then diverted from Indiana. In fact it was the same operation. So at one time I needed ten thousand dollars, and Chuck Daly [Charles U. Daly] was vice-president of development of Chicago at the time and an old friend of Kennedy's, and he was very helpful but he had to be under cover because he could be less partisan than I could be. He knew the bunch over there, so when Sarge came to town one day-- I've forgotten the occasion--I got Daley and Shriver and someone named Olman [Walter Olman] or something like that.

And there was one other person in the room whose name I forgot, and I got them to give me a pledge of ten thousand, and that I would pick it up the next day because pledges are easy to come by. Politics. And so the ten thousand dollars actually came out of Illinois directly out of the Merchandise Mart business. But because Daley disliked Shriver so much, and disliked the Merchandise Mart so much, I didn't want to get so closely connected that he would think that this was some kind of operation really directed down there. And also I got a couple of his kids involved in the Kennedy campaign.

GREENE: His own children?

- WADE: Oh, yes. They couldn't go down to Indiana, but they'd come in and do certain things at night and so forth.
- GREENE: Did you go to see him, or did you speak to him on the phone, after the Johnson speech on the thirty-first?
- WADE: No. Never have said. Because I had said before that I thought that Johnson. . . . I didn't know. . . .
- GREENE: Did he give you much of a feeling during the first couple of meetings of how he felt about Johnson and whether he was troubled by the problem?
- WADE: First of all, he thought Johnson was going to win--because I first met him before Wisconsin, before the withdrawal--that he was going to win and that Kennedy had come in--this is my impression, I don't remember his exact words--too late, but that he disliked McCarthy so much that he thought Kennedy was a more responsible opponent to the war than McCarthy, to keep the thing under control, because by this time in Illinois the McCarthy thing was the wildest operation you ever saw. It was half against Daley. I said, "We're never going to say. . . . We're not going to attack city hall. We're not going to say a word about any questions that come up inside the city." In that sense he liked Kennedy; but he thought, old-fashioned, he really believed that, you know, a dozen of them decided who was going to be president. That's what, after all, he had done in Los Angeles when JFK [John Fitzgerald Kennedy] had been elected. He still thought that that's the way things ran. The fact that a president could be unseated--an incumbent president, that is--was beyond his expectations.
- GREENE: Did you see him after Wisconsin? Did that make an impression?
- WADE: Well, no, because I told him at the first meeting, "I don't think Johnson's going to be in there. I don't see how a president--I don't care if he's a sitting president--can lose every primary and still get the nomination. If he does, he'll certainly lose the election. I don't see how he can possibly both govern the country, go into the primaries, and then lose them, and stay in." But that was just a feeling. . . . I had no idea that Johnson was going to pull out when he did.

I did see him, though, after I came back from Milwaukee, the Wednesday before the Tuesday up there, I said that I thought that McCarthy was going to win the thing handily, and my only regret was that we didn't jump in sooner because we would have won it. I'm not that sure of it now, but that was what I felt at the time, because I had been in Milwaukee and that was good Kennedy territory. When I said that I thought Johnson was going to be badly beaten, I don't think that I said that he would have to

pull out, but I can remember Dutton [Fred Dutton] telling him that. He was a little surprised, because he had just gotten word from, of all people, Ramsey Clark, who was up there campaigning for Johnson and the war, that everything was okay.

GREENE: That's interesting.

WADE: Somehow Clark had conveyed to the Illinois people--I don't know through what channels--that he thought that Johnson was all right.

GREENE: So much for their information.

WADE: Yes, so much for their information. Well, that's nine-tenths of all this.

GREENE: What about Humphrey's [Hubert H. Humphrey] involvement.  
. . .

WADE: To go back to Daley and Kennedy, I think there must have been a couple of telephone calls.

GREENE: I'm sure he called him after Johnson withdrew, that Sunday night. I'm almost positive that he was one of the people. It was only logical that he would have been one of the people that would have been called, but you don't remember?

WADE: I remember twice leaving, assuming that he had talked to Kennedy directly. A lot of people were trying to get to Daley on behalf of Kennedy, and he wasn't taking their calls, and didn't for a variety of reasons. A lot of people say, "Well, I can tell Daley, because I'm an old friend." He didn't like that. He plays everything very close to the vest, and he wants to be personally. . .

GREENE: Courted.

WADE: . . . certain that he is dealing with the real thing.

GREENE: But he did make, obviously, an exception in your case?

WADE: Well I was, after all, his appointment, and then I became his housing commissioner. We had dealt with one another long enough to know each other, and what was always between the two of us, we always leveled when we had troubles and differences. He always knew that I would, that I would never go to the newspapers, and that if I had a difference of opinion, as I often did with Lew Hill who was his top man, I would have it out directly and I would ask Lew Hill to come in so there would be no confusion. So we always had, and still have to this very day, a relationship where you can just talk. I don't

have an occasion to much anymore. I would feel comfortable any time to call him up periodically, put in Cawley as police commissioner, and things like that.

And then afterwards, after the assassination, I told him I didn't want to be a delegate. He wanted me to be a delegate to start with, and I said, "I don't want to be a delegate." Everybody in this business is out for something. The minute you take a delegateship, you look like everybody else who wants to have a job and wants to have a position. I said, "I don't want to be a delegate, so don't put me on; but I'll give you a few names of our people who should be on." So he agreed to that. And then afterwards, after the assassination, he put me on as a delegate without even asking me.

GREENE: You really did go to the convention?

WADE: Yes. But I would have resigned it, except the fellow who was right behind me was a son-of-a-bitch, and I wasn't going to let him sit in that convention if it was the last thing in the world. I'd have propped me up for four days. I wasn't going to let him get there.

GREENE: What difference did it make to Daley when it was no longer Johnson and it was Humphrey [Hubert H. Humphrey]? Did that create a greater personal dilemma for him, do you think?

WADE: Yes. He thought Humphrey was very weak. Never liked him.

GREENE: Is that so? I really didn't know that.

WADE: Oh yes. In 1968 at the convention, you perhaps remember that the Illinois delegation withheld its judgment for three days, from Sunday to Wednesday, which it never has done. The Illinois delegation has always waited till Sunday afternoon and made its judgment, and that had been previously a very important part of any convention. He decided not to do it, because he thought Humphrey was weak. He knew he would lose Illinois, and he was waiting to see if McGovern [George S. McGovern] could get off the ground, and he couldn't. So then he finally went to Humphrey at the end.

GREENE: He wasn't waiting to see what Ted Kennedy [Edward M. Kennedy] was going do?

WADE: No. A lot of people always say that he was doing that. He called me up in the convention, as a mater of fact, and asked me if I heard. . . . You know people were saying that I was behind the Kennedy movement. Because the Kennedy group from the Illinois office, veterans of Indiana,

average age twenty-three, were out whipping up the Kennedy sentiment. They were the ones. People now claim in retrospect that they were controlling this. I know that Steve [Stephen E. Smith] was at the Standard Club and Paul Corbin was around and Bill vanden Heuvel [William J. vanden Heuvel]. They were all my people, and they were all undirected by anybody, and they were doing it on their own.

And that word got back to him, that I was involved in this, and I told him no, I wasn't. I said, "Once I told McGovern I was going to support him in '68, and also Kennedy said he wasn't going to do it," I said, "I don't jump ship. I mean, I'm in this with McGovern to the end." But in that period a lot of people were calling him and telling him, "Let's vote for. . . ." He didn't like Humphrey. He had a premonition of a disaster, and Kennedy he would have liked. McGovern he would have liked. He wanted anything, but he just saw that Humphrey couldn't win.

And personally, he was never a hawk. On the surface it always just seemed that way. But I remember the first day I went to talk to him about Kennedy. He had said, "Professor, you tell me this. You're a smart man." This is the way he always has of revealing his own views. "You're a smart man," he said, "Remember there was an attack on a place called Hamburger Hill [Apbia Mountain, Vietnam]? It took place for a long period of time. Immense losses and so forth."

GREENE: Massacre. Yes.

WADE: And he said, "Now when they've done it, it cost thousands of lives and all they've got is a piece of real estate."

GREENE: Which they'll always remember. . . .

WADE: Yes. Right it is.

He was a private dove. He never understood the war, but he always supported the presidency, like people always support the mayor. He believes in authority. If you get there legitimately, there is a certain respect and deference due to that fact.

GREENE: But I can remember when Kennedy met with him, and in just the period he was sort of vacillating on this thing, Daley made it clear to him that he hated the war, that he just didn't think Johnson could win.

WADE: He had four kids he kept out of it, who were drafted, and if this had been World War II those four kids would have been the first guys in.

GREENE: You mean, because of public. . . .

WADE: Because he didn't believe in the war. He believed in World War II. He didn't believe in the other one. If it were a good war, patriotism would have required your kids to go out and do what everybody else was. He would have had them in there. But not in this one.

GREENE: You must have gone in within the first week to Indiana, because you were talking about petitions.

WADE: My memory may not be precise on this but I think that he announced on the sixteenth?

GREENE: Right, on a Saturday.

WADE: On a Saturday. I know that next Saturday and Sunday, I think we had to get our petitions into Indiana by noon on Monday, maybe noon on Tuesday. Maybe Monday. And we needed twenty-five hundred signatures. We should have anybody. By this time I had talked to Hatcher [Richard G. Hatcher] and I said, "We'll get some petitions down to you." He said, "We're not good at that." You know, they're just not good at getting signatures. They're all going to be looked over--to getting authentic. . . .

GREENE: Was he saying that they had more trouble getting them by, or something like that?

WADE: Yes. I've forgotten who was the county chairman there, but Hatcher had just beaten him in a primary to be mayor, and they were in guerrilla warfare. DeAngelo [sic] [Gordon St. Angelo] or was he state chairman?

GREENE: Yes, he was state chairman.

WADE: Well, there was a county chairman who was a real son-of-a-bitch. Any signatures that came out of Gary witnessed by Hatcher's people were going to be trouble. They knew damn well they wouldn't go after them. We only had two days. I think Gerry Doherty [Gerard F. Doherty] called me maybe on a Thursday and said, "We have to have twenty-five hundred signatures out there. We can get them but barely. . . ."

GREENE: Tell me, to get twenty-five hundred authentic authorized signatures. . . .

WADE: Five thousand.

GREENE: Is that what you need?

WADE: My own rule has always been five thousand.

GREENE: Because I was thinking, you said you had about four hundred people counting all the busloads in two days.

You know, each person is getting--what?--eight to ten signatures that way, but if it is five thousand, it comes out to much more.

WADE: Yes, and then the logistics of it. You see, we don't even have lists of who's Democrats, so we had to go to seventy-five hundred people. You go to the door and you say, "Are the people here Democrats?" And they'll say yes. Well, they may have voted Democratic but not registered, or not even be a registered voter at all. So the overkill had to be very extorted. Also, what we had to do was to leave Hatcher the black areas, and also because all our people were white with, say, maybe five percent exceptions. Then we had to go to the white areas where the. . . .

Let me put it this way: there are three candidates, Branigin [Roger D. Branigin], McCarthy and Kennedy. None of the county chairmen are for Kennedy. They've all been on the streets for fifteen days. You can only sign one petition, and the petition you sign first is the one that counts. So that we have to find seventy-five hundred people that haven't signed somebody else's petition, and the Branigin people were trying to knock Bobby out by absorbing the registered Democrats. They have very big petitions, bigger than ours. You never know whether a person is telling you the truth or not. You come, you say, "I'm working for Robert Kennedy for president. Are you for him?" "Yes, I'd like to sign it." You don't know they've signed one before, because their district leader can come around and sign one for so-and-so running for county treasurer.

GREENE: Oh, you can only sign one petition entirely, not just one for each office?

WADE: That's right. They would have Branigin at the top, you see. They would come to the door and say, "Our good friend, our incumbent mayor, is running for reelection, would you sign his petition?" The person says, "Oh, of course I will." The top has Branigin's name for president. So they were mopping up all the. . . .

I think I talked to Gerry Doherty on Thursday. I went myself to Whiting [Indiana] on the following day. We had no petitions. We had to have a place where we could pick up the petitions being sent by Doherty from Indianapolis to get them into the place to start with. They had to be printed and everything else. They had to be authorized. So I went down myself with a fake petition to doors to find out what was going to happen to us--in Whiting which we knew to be difficult because of the race question in the white areas. You could see it was do-able. The people responded very fast to it and so forth. Then we went back to those houses and said, "It was an imperfect petition, and this is a perfect one, and you can sign it." So you had to get them in two days.

You had to get them on a weekend. This is in May, very nice, the first pleasant weekend, so getting people at home is very hard.

So that then we had to put a guy in a car--his name was Paul Michael Grady, our Paul Revere. Then we had to go over each one, have lawyers go over them, make sure the petitions were all right, and then he got in the car and drove for four hours to get there on time to the county seat, wherever it was. So you had a candidate after ten days where you didn't have a soul the day before.

GREENE: Okay. What's the next thing that you get involved in after. . . . Did you stay on full time at that point, or were you commuting back and forth from the university?

WADE: Oh no. I never missed a class.

GREENE: So you were really there. . . .

WADE: It's only twenty-five minutes by car. You see, I lived on the south side of Chicago, and it was twenty-five minutes from my office to the Kennedy office.

GREENE: So would you do it in the afternoons after classes?

WADE: Or sometimes I would go down in the mornings. I would be there five hours a day, every day. I'd spend the whole weekend. The other time I would stay in Chicago where we were recruiting people. Also keeping the Chicago press honest, who kept saying we would buy the election. I said, "Why don't you come with me someday. There isn't a single person paid here." I think I paid Billy Singer \$200, \$100 a week probably. Judy Weiss, \$200 a week and Grace Ann Carroll, now Grace Ann Barry, I paid her. I think there were three people on the payroll, that's all.

GREENE: Well, what were they doing after the petitions were out of the way?

WADE: Well, they had the election. And we still had no. . . .

GREENE: They were just working in Indiana the same as the Indiana volunteers?

WADE: And trying to find Indiana volunteers, which was very hard going. So they would do everything. They would canvass, they would hand out literature; then because we were short of natives, they did telephoning. Then, what's his name, that fellow from Philadelphia, the computer telephone expert.

GREENE: I know who you mean.

WADE: It begins with R.

GREENE: Matt Reese [Matt A. Reese, Jr.].

WADE: Matt Reese appears, who is not wholly successful because he wanted to call people in Gary, when I had made arrangements with Hatcher that he would handle Gary and there would be no outside Kennedy interference in the operation. Because it wasn't so much to protect Hatcher whom I'd known and worked with, and who was a great admirer of Bobby's. There was never any question about his loyalty. There was when Jerry Kretchmer [Jerome Kretchmer] arrived and . . .

GREENE: Okay, that's what we have to talk about, too.

WADE: . . . which upset me, but so long as he . . . We had the arrangement that he would handle all of Gary, and that we would work on Whiting, Hammond, North Chicago, and the suburban fringes inside Lake County. And also Miller, which is a middle-class Jewish area along the lake to the east of downtown Gary. We would take those areas, and if he would have the rest, there'd be no . . . And our volunteers were not to do anything in the black areas, whether they were black or white. They would be his. Well, a lot of people got upset because they thought, "How can you trust Hatcher?" Except they didn't know him. Well, I mean it was a gamble.

GREENE: When you say people were questioning whether or not you could trust Hatcher, who were . . .

WADE: Every parachutist out of Massachusetts, New York . . .

GREENE: Parachutist. Oh, that's the word you used. I thought you were calling them bombardiers [Laughter]. I knew it was a military . . . Okay, paratroopers.

WADE: Parachutists.

GREENE: Oh, parachutists.

WADE: People would drop out of the sky. It would happen every day. You could almost see them coming down. Uninvited, often not even instructed by Indianapolis. they would just appear. Some of them were very good. A guy named Tom Farrell was the best there was. Tom was great.

GREENE: Was he from New York?

WADE: Yup. He still is. He lives in Riverdale. Really great

fellow.

GREENE: Well, you say, uninvited, where did they come from? They just decided to come to Indiana?

WADE: Somebody would be sitting down there in New York, he'd say, "Yeah, you take some time off and go out in Indiana and help."

"Well, where to?" They'd look up on the map like this, they'd say, "Well, Gary." They were just dispatching the people. You never knew what was happening. He was dispatched. Matt Reese came in. He could have without my even knowing it, but they took Cleverdon [Dave Cleverdon], who was my statistical guy, and took him in to work on the telephone. He was our math man that we'd gotten . . . . He was a student of mine from the university [University of Chicago]. Ab Minker [Abraham Minker] had used him in his congressional campaign. He went down. He was very good; best guy in numbers there is. And we took him later out to California, after he had left Gary. Then people began to arrive. It was bad enough to have an invasion from Illinois, but in many ways Illinois and Gary are so, you know, connected that you feel like neighbors, even though you're in different states. But these people coming in with the Massachusetts accents, made it seem even more like it. Like--what the hell was Bobby's cousins? . . . began with a "D."

GREENE: Gargan [Joseph Gargan]? Don't you mean Gargan?

WADE: No, Gargan, no. Give me something. Begins with a "D." Cousin.

GREENE: Well, Fitzgerald. . . .

WADE: Yeah, well he's a Fitzgerald but not. . . .

GREENE: I'm not sure who you mean.

WADE: I'll think of it later. Well, anyway, he came in ultimately to distribute the money, which led, I might say, to increased chaos as time went on. But it all happened so fast, you know. There was only a three week campaign. You started from absolutely nothing, and the key area was. . . . Well, if you couldn't carry Gary, you couldn't possibly stay in the game. In fact, we had to carry--my calculation at the time was--60 percent. I think in Gary we got 90 percent. In the Lake County area we got about 60 percent, maybe a little bit less.

GREENE: What happened when Kretchmer and Blumenthal [Albert H. Blumenthal] arrived? Is it fair to lump them together?

WADE: Yes. They were very close friends, in those days.

GREENE: Yes.

WADE: And they arrived and the general idea was. . . . One was, they arrived and started doing things. Nobody ever knew exactly what. I mean, you could lay out a week ahead what you think you had to do. And, of course, my major consideration was keeping contact with Hatcher, and with the mayors. There were mayors of Hammond [Joseph Klen], who on the eve of election came out and got a number for Kennedy. And the mayor of East Chicago [East Chicago, Indiana] [John Nicusia], whom we had a handle on because I was doing work for him as a consultant in the city planning board. We were in good shape there, and I've forgotten who the mayor of Whiting [Frank Harangody] was, but at one time, if Bobby had made a couple of telephone calls, the four mayors would have endorsed him. I called him at McLean [McLean, Virginia] one morning and told him about it. I said, "They're all ready to go, but they need calls." So he had Teddy call, but it was maybe ten days later, and the moment. . . . Because we'd just finished petitioning, and these guys say, "Well, Jesus, if this is what it's going to be like, we don't want to be on the other side of it." So we missed a chance in there. And then when they talked to Teddy they fudged around and said, yes, they were favorable, but they didn't think they would do it publicly. And then we decided not to have Hatcher endorse publicly because then he would be the only public official in Indiana who was black, who was voting for Kennedy; it would only magnify the problems.

GREENE: Right.

WADE: So we decided for no endorsements. In fact, Hatcher technically never endorsed Kennedy the whole time. He rode in the car with him, but he did make clear that he went to a McCarthy cocktail party. Hatcher dropped in and Branigin never showed up, so. . . .

GREENE: Is this an isolated case, where you asked Kennedy to take care of something like that and he didn't do it when he should have?

WADE: Yes. I called him maybe four times during the campaign. One was, I wanted to get all the mayors of the area to endorse Kennedy. That would have made things a lot easier in the area. And I think right after the petitioning we could have done it. They didn't like McCarthy, and they had their own troubles with Branigin. What was happening elsewhere I don't know in the state, but these four people were personally for Kennedy, and they had other reasons for doing it, too. But, they needed nurturing, and I'd gone down and seen them. They'd been very friendly. They had given me lists; they'd given me people to help out on petitioning. I went down that first day and went to see each one of the mayors, and they gave me names. They all

turned out to be good, and there's every reason to think when it came to campaigning, they would appear with him. But, an initial endorsement would have been very helpful, because it would have really crippled the Branigin thing, which was more dangerous than McCarthy was in that area, but what was happening in South Bend and elsewhere, I don't know.

GREENE: Why do you think he didn't do it? Was it just that he got. . . .

WADE: I think what he did was he called Ted and told Ted to do it.

GREENE: Why, do you think? Why would he want to avoid doing that himself?

WADE: I don't know. I may have said in the telephone call, "Either you or . . ."

GREENE: Teddy?

WADE: Yeah. I may have said that, probably did, probably did. But, the important thing was not the fact that . . . . Well, maybe a phone call, but it was delayed.

GREENE: It was the delay more than . . . .

WADE: I think it was the delay that was important, because I never got . . . . In fact, the telephone calls weren't made until . . . . Then I flew down to Indianapolis, I would say, maybe give another five or ten days. Oh, I know, it was the day that Johnson pulled out, because I was up in the air. I'd left Indianapolis with a big game plan. By the time I'd landed of O'Hare [O'Hare International Airport] Johnson was out, and the whole two days were shot! [Laughter] That was the day, and he called them then, but that was at least seven days after I talked with Bobby about it. Another time I talked to him about campaigning in Gary, and to make sure that he didn't do anything to look like he was avoiding Hatcher. A lot of people were telling, "He's black, six percent of the population's black," you know, all the rest. Told him about my strategy, namely, "We depend on this fellow. He's as sensitive as anybody else."

[INTERRUPTION]

GREENE: Now, when you say people on the outside were uneasy about Hatcher, who do you have in mind? Does that include Douglas [John W. Douglas] and Doherty?

WADE: I don't know about Doherty. Douglas agreed with me. I mean, he just took my word for it. But if I can think of the name of the fellow who was sent in from

Massachusetts, who was a kind of internal fellow. He was a nice guy, not much brains, very good, hard worker, and he was related to the family in some way.

GREENE: It's probably real obvious, and I'm just not thinking of it.

WADE: You'll find his name. He didn't. And then in came Kretchmer and Blumenthal. Kretchmer was just the last kind of person you wanted around in the Gary area, so we sent him up to do a lot of his work up in Chicago. He went on the campuses and recruited students. There's a wonderful phrase: "You may be clean for Gene, but you can be a slob for Bob." And we didn't have to cut your hair. Well, we started getting some of the ones we had to put in the back room after a while. But he was very, very good. He always created a sense of excitement. When he left he would always walk away with twenty volunteers and he was very effective in that sense.

[END OF TAPE 1]  
[BEGIN TAPE 2]

GREENE: Okay.

WADE: And Jerry, coming from New York, and especially dealing with black leaders in the areas where he's been working, never trusted Hatcher. And he kept going to see Hatcher and in such a way that got Hatcher very upset. Finally Hatcher said to me, "If you don't keep Kretchmer out of here I'm going to endorse almost anybody."

GREENE: You mean checking up on him kinds of things? Is that it? Second guessing him?

WADE: Yes. I would tell Jerry that Hatcher was going to do this. Most all of this, you see, had to do with election day so there was no way to tell whether or not Hatcher was doing what he was supposed to do. Except there were always a lot of informers who were from the . . . Hatcher had just won a very close election, and people had been telling Kretchmer and others how unreliable Hatcher was. Well, I had written Hatcher's speeches in that election, I had known him for years, he had been out to the University of Chicago where we had organized this whole urban program, and so forth. And I had known him; he was a good friend, and I just believed him. We had no alternative, because if we didn't believe him and he went against us, we were dead ducks. And the minute you showed some feeling that he was like a slippery black politician, he would have. . . . You know, he's as sensitive as anybody else. He's going to go against you.

GREENE: Right.

WADE: So it was very hard. Finally we just told Jerry--I think Hatcher told him--he cannot come back to his office, even though he sort of found Jerry amusing, which he is.

Al, on the other hand, was much more effective in a different way. He went to see the assemblymen in Indiana; assured quieted their fears about what Kennedy would be like and all the rest of it. A lot of misunderstandings. And he was very good with volunteers because he's very low key. They were very good. They came in for three or four days a week, and then they'd fly back home.

The best guy was a fellow named Tom Farrell. He came in early and he stayed the whole three weeks never was paid a penny. Stayed at the Sheraton [Sheraton Inn, Gary, Indiana]. He was paid expenses.

GREENE: What was he doing?

WADE: Anything you asked him to do. He asked no questions. He was just an errand boy, but a high level one, and would go see anybody, could host a party at the Steel Club if we had to, see a councilman or a lawyer, or see the newspapermen. He was just very good. Wonderful fellow. He got very discouraged by the assassination and never came back to politics. Not making an awful lot of money here.

GREENE: Some people, I think Kretchmer for one, told me that the Hoosiers were real impressed by the fact that these New Yorkers would come in to court them in Indiana, which somehow didn't quite ring true with what I would have expected. Does that sound right?

WADE: Certain people would. See, I tried to put these fellows on public officials, and the argument that I would make in calling up and saying, so and so's coming over to see you, he's a legislator from New York, and I would make an argument. I'd say, "If you want to know what kind of a guy Kennedy is, you have got people out here. We're not paying them." They would never believe it, never believe it. We're not paying them; they're coming down on their own. As soon as something closes down on Tuesday they're up here on Wednesday, or Thursday, they're up here on a Friday and stay the weekend for us. And that was one way.

But what Jerry didn't see because he didn't get any fallout. . . . You see, all these guys would disappear. They didn't like Kretchmer. They wouldn't tell Kretchmer, they'd tell me, and I would be getting all the flak from this sort of stuff and just trying to rearrange people, and keep everybody out of everybody else's hair. Then also, some women began to descend onto Indiana,

and I never knew where they came from. But they were all staying at the Sheraton, and our people were all commuting. And you had sort of two different groups, and they got to hate each other.

GREENE: When you say women, you mean Kennedy women?

WADE: Yeah.

GREENE: From New York?

WADE: I don't know where they came from, mostly from New York. I never knew where they came from. You didn't have time to find out, for heaven sake. All I knew is they were over there, and partying late at night, and our people were going back home. And you had a kind of class conflict between the two. And also, they were connected with. . . . What the hell is his name? Well, it will come to me, the fellow who came in and who was related. . . .

GREENE: The relative.

WADE: The relative, and who was handing out the long memos, signing all the expense accounts, and spending all the money. My job was the political job, his was internal and paying, and then we had Matt Reese with this black operation which was an utter total disaster. It was all paid for. You can't imagine how much they finally paid him for this. Cost us. . . . But that was another internal fight.

GREENE: You didn't have anything to do with Indianapolis, did you?

WADE: No. I had Grace Ann Carroll; she was doing the students. Came out of the young people. She was down there so I kept contact. Then I would call Joe Dolan [Joseph F. Dolan] a lot, John Douglas, Gerry Doherty. These were the three people I'd talk to.

GREENE: How did you feel? Did they have things under control as far as. . . . You couldn't tell?

WADE: Also I've learned long before not to get worried about things that you can't control. And, if it's a disaster in Indianapolis, I'm not going to pick up in Gary, and if I get down there, it would be more of a disaster. I mean, there's nothing I can do about it. So I've always assumed in any campaign that everything was going perfectly elsewhere, and just took care of the problems you had yourself.

GREENE: What about the money situation in this area of Indiana? You know, again there's stories, and I don't know how to interpret them frankly, in terms of how much money

there was, what kind of authorization it came with if any, what kinds of strings, how it was distributed, what controls were made?

WADE: There was no control. I mean, comparing now with the JFK campaign, or the RFK in New York, or the McGovern campaign in '72. I never saw anything like this. I never knew where the money was coming from. People were being paid, would show up on the payroll, that I never heard of.

GREENE: The payroll in your own area?

WADE: Yeah. And I don't know who was paying them. They were running up bills at the Sheraton, Hertz [Hertz Corporation] or Avis [Avis Incorporated]--I've forgotten who it was--the American Airlines [American Airlines Incorporated] bills went up. I had to sign personally for the telephones, and even by that signature I didn't get much control over it. In fact, we wound up, as late as two years ago I was still getting twelve thousand dollar bills from the Indiana Bell Telephone Company, which I'd send on to Steve and tell him, "Don't pay it. I wouldn't pay it if I were you." But, I had signed for those phones. You know, that's a hell of a lot of phones in that area, because nobody else would. I called up Steve one day, and he said, "Have you got the phones in yet?" And I said, "I can't, I haven't got any money." He said, "Oh, just pay for it yourself." And I said, "Okay, you'll take care of it?" "Yes." And I never thought another thing about it. Then afterwards, of course, it turned out that I was responsible for the phones.

GREENE: What about in terms of Hatcher? I gather for the election day organization, since you say that's where his people were working. . . .

WADE: He had the same organization, even better than he had for his mayoral election. It was just the previous year, you see. It was all intact and sharpened. It was the best black organization I've ever seen, and on election day I never really got to the fine niceties, but it must have been, oh hell, 95 percent in the black areas. We were able to bring in two of his enemies, importantly, Mexicans. See, there were Mexicans at the west end of town. They came in and they worked out of our office instead of Hatcher's office. So we had a coalition of people who otherwise were anti-Hatcher. So we got almost all of Gary. We carried Miller which is the Jewish area, then we lost the ethnic fringe on the south and southeast.

GREENE: Is that Hammond?

WADE: Hammond we lost barely. We carried North Chicago and we carried Whiting, which is all white, which surprised

me. I thought we'd do a little bit better in Hammond and that we wouldn't do as well in Whiting.

GREENE: But was Hatcher getting a lot of money, that you know of?

WADE: Nope. We gave Hatcher sixteen thousand dollars on election day, and he didn't want any more.

GREENE: You didn't give it to him until election day?

WADE: Not until the day before election day. He had no money. I was running the campaign out of his office, though. This was the mayor's office. I would be sitting there with his silver phone, given to him by Hubert Humphrey and with his color television set, and all the amenities, and I did all my telephoning out of Hatcher's office on private lines. People knew that I was doing this--I mean Jerry and people like that--and they wanted to start using that office. But if word ever got around that. . . . But we were good friends, and I could walk right through the network, including bodyguards, because he had been threatened by that time. So from the beginning, he had everything to gain by being for Kennedy, plus the fact that we were good friends.

And the only question was, how often does Kennedy come to Gary, and when he comes what arrangements would he make. One of the reasons I'd called Bobby, I said, "Make sure you don't ever make a trip around Gary, going to the white areas. It will be in the paper the next day. Whenever you come you've got to come to Gary, and Hatcher is going to meet you at the boundary of that city and go right through it and get off--which he was willing to do--at the other end. We can never risk people thinking of a racially calculated campaign."

GREENE: I assume that presented no problems for him.

WADE: It presented a lot of problems.

GREENE: Really?

WADE: With a lot of other people who always wanted to have this trick, you know, that he was in trouble in the white areas. And they would land at Gary airport and somehow go all the way around without ever seeing Hatcher. So I said "The first thing you've got to do is you have to have a rally in Gary. That would assure Hatcher that you didn't want to avoid it." So we did, the first time he came to town.

GREENE: But I mean, Kennedy had no trouble understanding what you were saying?

WADE: Oh, no. He was just getting advice from everybody else the other way around, including our Massachusetts friend.

GREENE: Whoever he is.

WADE: Yes, whoever he may be. They were always saying that I had put too heavy a racial connotation on the campaign because of my friendship with Hatcher. So I tried to be very invisible, as much as I could. But we had to hold on to what was our only chance of winning. And it was very delicate for a period.

GREENE: Yes.

WADE: And there were people you dared not explain the strategy to because they might tell a reporter.

GREENE: That would be great.

WADE: So that I had to play it very carefully and just make the assertion that we could count on Hatcher.

GREENE: The sixteen thousand dollars that you gave him, what is that for?

WADE: It was for per district. What they were giving us in Indiana, they gave a certain amount of money per district. I've forgotten exactly how much it was, I think fifty dollars. And we were giving more money elsewhere for election day purposes. And Hatcher said "I don't want any more." He said, "If I start, if I pay more now, in the next election they're going to expect more." He said, "I can't do that. You give me the money, and I'll take care of it, and I'll pay our people for the gas, the day off, and their work. But I don't want you guys to come up here and up the ante on me, so that they start getting twice as much money as they were getting before, because I've got to run again." So we paid less money to Hatcher than we were paying over at Hammond where we were getting nothing out of it.

GREENE: Well, where would a guy like Kretchmer get the impression that Hatcher was handling vast amounts of money, and nobody was controlling it, and that kind of thing?

WADE: Because Jerry didn't know. You see, Jerry never trusted him, and he heard all these rumors, and he comes from the Upper West Side where that's the way things are done. And he could never believe. I remember vividly that night before election, sitting with Jerry and with Al and a member of our staff, having a steak dinner. And Jerry says, "Well, you damn

well better be right tomorrow." Which is true. I damn well had to be right. But that was Jerry's view right down to election day. On election day Hatcher was in his own car cruising the polling booths, because there was a lot of hanky-panky in Indiana all the time, put in a direct phone to me. Now, can you imagine the mayor of a city doing our work for us, going to each one of those? Whenever I'd call him up on the phone and I'd say, "There's trouble in the thirty-eighth district," the limousine would pull up in front and it would all stop. Nobody will ever have an ally as utterly trustworthy as we had in Hatcher.

GREENE: Did Kretchmer ever say anything afterwards?

WADE: Yeah. He thought it was a great show afterwards. He said, "I was wrong about you." The funny thing is, he never said, "I was wrong about Hatcher." The night of our party. he came up to me half gassed and said, "Jesus Christ, was I wrong about you." He really meant, was he wrong about Hatcher, but that's the way he was saying it. I've got to get to Columbia.

GREENE: Yes. We're just about finished, as far as I can tell. I was just going to ask you two things. First of all, how much organization McCarthy had, and if that presented any real problems?

WADE: He had virtually nothing in our area.

GREENE: And the Branigin people?

WADE: The Branigin people had every state legislator, every state official. I mean, he would start in our area. I calculated four thousand people that was there. And they did well with him, considering the guy was a nobody. I thank God, in retrospect, he was there.

GREENE: Why do you say that?

WADE: Well, there is an anti-Kennedy vote in this county, and it was divided between McCarthy and Branigin, but Mike Branigin got more of it.

GREENE: We didn't talk about any visits Kennedy made to Indiana. Do you think it's worth it? Is there enough to continue on?

WADE: Well, we can do it some other time. Why don't you save me another hour and a half sometime.

GREENE: Okay.

END TAPE TWO RFK 2