

D I A R Y

Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture

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Friday, May 29, 1964, 2:50 p.m. I'm in the office on this Friday before Memorial Day -- it's a holiday. I just flew in from Florida where I spent the night with John Duncan and four Commissioners of Agriculture from South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Tennessee. John arranged this party. We did a little fishing -- a little drinking -- a little story telling, and generally built some fences.

Wednesday I had a very hectic day -- flying to Kansas City to speak to the Packinghouse workers, then into Minneapolis to speak to the Amalgamated Lithograph Union, and had dinner with Mother who seemed in tolerably good spirits, flew back to Washington, into the office yesterday and at 1:00 o'clock enroute to Florida.

Yesterday morning the White House called and said that the President was calling a small gathering together, that it was not required that we attend but that it was desirable. I didn't know exactly what to do. When we checked around we found it was a memorial service for John Kennedy. Accordingly I got Joe Robertson to take our Memorial Service here in the Patio of the Department and Charley Murphy and I went over. It was really a very touching and appropriate occasion. We gathered in the East Room which was partially partitioned off and sat down. The President then read a brief message in memoriam for President Kennedy. He related his great dedication, how we had gathered there to serve him and the country, how much had been done, and he expressed his gratitude to all of us for surviving the shock and for making it possible to accomplish the transition. It was really a warm, touching occasion, and he spoke with great sincerity. Doug Dillon as the senior person present, for Dean Rusk had been called to India for Nehru's funeral, responded most appropriately and that was it. We all felt better for it. There were about 50 of us there, all who had been appointed

and come into the Government with Jack Kennedy. It was a nice thing to do and showed, I think, another side of this complex man L.B.J.

I'm going to leave the office here now in a few minutes and drive up to Camp David where the McNamaras, the Days, the Wirtzs and the Dave Bells are going to spend Memorial Day week end. We've been looking forward to this. I can sure use a couple of days off, although I've been feeling pretty well.

We've been shorted a bit on sleep this week. Thursday night was the \$100 Gala. I had been wanting to talk to Jerry Magnuson and so when I called to see if I could see him when I was home and discovered he was in New York City I reached him there and he came down for the Gala. First we went to a Department Party which was a very gay one with some 600 people from this Department who bought tickets at \$100 each. I bought two. The National Committee really put on quite a bit of muscle on this one. We were some 20 or 30 over our quota which was very good. Jane and I shook hands for an hour or so at the Department Party, had a quick drink and a bite to eat and then out to the Gala which was really good entertainment.

We went from there to Paul Young's where Sidney Soloman, the Chairman of the event, had a party for all participants in the show and Cabinet people and such. We didn't stay long but thought it might be fun for Jerry Magnuson and I think he enjoyed it, particularly visiting with Larry O'Brien, Ken O'Donnell and Jesse Unruh from California. Then we went home and had a long talk about the law firm, what it has done, what its future is, and Jerry stated unequivocally that they hoped I would return to the firm and there was most certainly a place for me there. I told him that this job certainly would not go on forever, but that the future was uncertain at this

point, although some time in the not too distant future I probably ought to get into something which will be permanent, and if I'm ever going back to law practice it will have to be fairly soon. I didn't indicate to him the unhappiness I feel sometimes in the current arrangement and the difficulties of adjustment. When I was home I called Leonard Lindquist and he immediately urged that I return to the firm, too. They seemed to mean it and to think that I could add a dimension that they need and prosper in the process. We didn't get down to cases or amounts, but maybe Jerry will do that and in any event it is something to think about. However, nothing will happen unless there should be an explosion around here which is not at all likely, I'm sure, until after the election. It was good to be wanted. We had an enjoyable visit, but we sat up until 3:00 o'clock and were up and away at 6:00 to get him to his airplane and me on the way to Kansas City and Minneapolis.

We've got a kind of nasty problem here. A hangover from the Billie Sol Estes case. The man, Battle Hales, who was the nasty inside informer, who not only planted misstatements but actually went to the Committee room while I testified and even held a press conference contradicting me in the same room while I was there, is in the news these days. His in grade longevity pay increase came up and we passed him over. We did this because we think we will bring charges to dismiss him for refusing to divulge information to his superiors, but we don't want to do so until the Estes Report gets out of the McClellan Committee. It's still being rewritten. In the meantime, Horace Godfrey got one of the distinguished service awards, which he richly earned. The result is the Republicans jumped and tried to warm up the Estes case and Clark ^{Mollenhoff} Mollenhoff of the Des Moines-Minneapolis Coles paper started writing stories and got Ricahrd Wilson to write one, too,

about cover up and also about persecution of minor employees. Mollenhoff talked with me and said expansively, "Now you must be nice about this. You're on top and this is a little fellow on the bottom and shouldn't be persecuted." This is certainly true enough and an employee who feels something is going wrong whose own moral sense leads him to call it to the attention of others certainly must be protected. This however is another instance. Here we have a different kind of potential and actual persecution for if you have an employee around who is prepared to leak anything and to reflect upon his superiors if he doesn't get what he wants, one whom you have to watch every minute lest he take something out of context, you indeed are creating serious problems and a kind of inverse persecution only this time on the superior. I'm not sure that Battle Hales is quite that bad for I don't think he's that strong and he's been tucked away here I guess pretty well. On the other hand, his conduct which was completely reprehensible and out of line has been such that it would encourage others and could be a serious factor in the Department working properly. I certainly don't want to hurt anyone, but this fellow I think needs to be sharply disciplined. Anyway, it makes it difficult now because having had to pass him over the wolves are going to bay. The stories are going to be written, and we can't move decisively because we want the Committee Report to come out first. It's just another one of those problems.

I continue to sweat out the cotton thing. I spent a good deal of time this week going step by step over possible procedures myself. In the meantime I've been called by the big coops who want the last handler to get the payment and when I pushed them hard as to why, they haven't come up with very satisfactory answers. They're extremely nervous about the whole thing. Humphrey has been operating on this and I'm not quite sure why. He

told Mike Feldman that Ellender said he wouldn't pass out the Food Stamp bill if we didn't make the payment to the first buyer, and that Ellender was most unhappy with Charley Murphy and myself after we met with him last week. When I called Ellender yesterday there was certainly no indication of that. He was as friendly as could be. I talked to Hale Boggs, too, who hangs tough with the first buyer, but who is sympathetic as to the difficulty of the problem. Yesterday in the White House, Mike Feldman was pushing us on it, but I told him that we ought to make this decision away and apart from the President. About that time the President walked up and mentioned it, but then slipped away in terms of talking about what ought to be done. Jack Valenti has told me that the President wants to be informed about it, but I gather he is following the advice of a number of people, including mine, that he ought to stay out of this one. Anyway, I'll have to make it pretty soon -- next week.

Otherwise, things have been rather quiet for the last week. Once Memorial Day is over we will be off and running, but now on to Camp David and what I hope will be a delightful week end.

Thursday, June 4, 1964 -- This has been another busy week. We did have a delightful week end at Camp David. I worked my way up after leaving the office last Saturday, my last dictation incidentally, arriving about 5:00 o'clock in time for a good swim. It's a lovely spot. It was a bit nippy and cool. I went into the pool, which was heated, swam on my back and looked up through the fresh green trees to a cloudless blue sky and thought, this is really a spot and a place. That night we had an enjoyable dinner with the McNamaras, the David Bells, the Willard Wirtzs and ourselves and some of the children.

Bob McNamara and Bill Wirtz got into quite an argument as to which was the basic problem in the Civil Rights area, discrimination or lack

of jobs. It was McNamara's position that it was discrimination as such. It was Wirtz's that jobs were the most important. Obviously both are important, but I tend to side with Wirtz. It's true that the intellectuals and the educated feel the sting of discrimination, and lash out, and understandably so, but the great majority want jobs and an opportunity to pay their bills and have a place to live and don't have much time for the luxury of feeling the sting of discrimination when they've got an empty belly or 10 people in a room. Anyway this went on over the week end. McNamara was more blunt and less tactful than I've ever seen him. Laying by the pool which was delightful one noon where we would gather to have a few drinks, visit, swim, and then have barbecue hamburgers, we got on to politics and he labeled Estes Kefauver as an immoral person both privately and publicly and for that reason no one should ever have supported him in quite arbitrary terms. We didn't discuss the private morality where I tend to agree with him, but in the public morality area Bob for the first time did really reflect the kind of big business background and a very clipped kind of arbitrariness which I expect is a strength in terms of his determination and inflexibility in his current assignment but certainly would be a problem politically. In the meantime, his wife is pushing. Margie wants to know more about politics. I haven't been much disposed to discuss it. I think, as Jane does, they probably have some Vice Presidential ideas. Anyway, we had a delightful week end and drove back on Sunday night in time to unpack and get prepared for this week which has been a busy one.

Monday morning I went to West Virginia, driving down to Shepherdstown with Senator Randolph where I made a Commencement day speech. It was keyed

to what seems to be the President's current theme of the great society and talked in terms of abundance and its use and newly available manpower and how it could be used to build a better society. It was well received. I picked up an honorarium of \$250 which can go into our charitable account and help in donating to causes we otherwise couldn't afford to donate to.

I got back in the office about 2:00 o'clock and immediately plowed into cotton. This is a tough one and we finally made the decision after going up, down and around. I had had the boys prepare some flow charts and we went step by step through the mechanics of requiring that the person receiving the payment should guarantee the consumption of that cotton within the period of the bill. I then met with a group of cotton producers, mostly the big coops and listened to their story. Actually it wasn't a very good one. I don't see how they would much hurt if the payment did go to the first buyer, although their argument is difficult to answer because it revolves around the question of quoting cotton at a low price and they're for getting people used to that low price and therefore inhibiting any future cotton program by alienating the producers. The guts of it really is that if a payment is close to a producer these fellows are concerned about limitations of payment. George Mahon, now the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, said as much to me and used himself as an example planting several hundred acres of cotton. Different from other commodities cotton is basically controlled by relatively few, although they have strong differences, and you've got to get them all together if you're going to pass any legislation. In this instance, producers are basically run by the larger producers and the big coops without much voice on that little producer and so we must face the political realities.

Anyhow, after meeting with them and then meeting further and discussing with Ellender and with Boggs and going up to see and talk with Humphrey, I

finally made a decision. We announced it yesterday and all has been quiet, although the exchanges apparently suspended operation and haven't decided exactly what they are going to do yet. Anyhow, the decision is made.

We also had in town yesterday, R₂ Hannas, Lucy, and their two little girls and their son, Mike, who was 4 years old when I was here with the Marine Corps now graduated from college. It surely does make one realize that these years are slipping by but fast. Jane took them to the White House and they had a delightful tour. Then last night we took them to a reception which launched the new book on L.B.J., written by William S. White -- then to the Viet Nam Embassy for a reception for their Foreign Minister who is visiting here. Then I stopped off to say a few words at a Synagogue on behalf of Mike Feldman. Then a late dinner. I worked until after 1:00 o'clock, they leaving at 11:00, to appear before the House Ways and Means Committee on beef today.

Actually it went fairly well. Byrnes and Curtis are usually real rough in that Committee and they started out that way, but we had the facts and they weren't too well informed. Also, they did agree that Agriculture has not been given proper consideration in International Trading and in our agreements around the world in previous years and although I didn't make it on a partisan basis they generally concurred in that observation and in their support of my vigorous position supporting agriculture in these negotiations. They kept me until almost 1:00 o'clock. The tough person on this issue was Al Ullman from Oregon, a good friend, who was deeply concerned. He makes the argument which the cattlemen are making that although cow prices have held up rather well, being down only about \$1.00, yet if they had gone up higher which they would have without the imports we would have had cows moving to

market and not so many feeder cattle. I don't think this is right for actually our cows moved into producing calves and out of the market before the imports came flowing in here and we also can't let cow prices go much higher or more imports will come flowing in here. Nonetheless, this position is strongly and emotionally held and he worked me over. Thankfully it was at the end of the testimony and the Republicans were gone by that time. I think we made a pretty good record.

I rushed from there to lunch today with Chris Herter who came over to talk about the GATT negotiations. This was primarily a public relations gesture. He didn't really have very much to report and from the looks of things on the trade front things are going to be pretty quiet until this fall. Lists of exceptions are now being filed, hearings are being held, some meetings of the Agricultural Committees will be held, but the Common Market crowd is fighting each other and the common grain price is far in the future and Mansholt is unwilling to sit down and really talk sense until he gets that settled. In the meantime, Erhard is coming here and all we're asking the President to do this time is to emphasize to him that we intend to adhere to our position of insisting on agricultural progress as well as industrial progress.

The Prime Minister of Israel Eshkol was here this week and we had a rather nice luncheon aboard the Sequoia with him hosted by Chief Justice Earl Warren. There really wasn't much of particular interest, although I was interested to get comments on some of the cooperative agriculture in Israel which works fairly well but only on those farms where highly sophisticated people with a philosophical socialist background and orientation live coming from Western Europe and being dedicated to the principle of from everyone according to his ability to everyone according to his need.

Apparently this principle is not expanding much in Israel today.

We also had a rather interesting evening on June 2 at the Australian Embassy where the Minister of Primary Industry, Charles Adderman, was the honored guest. This was mostly a discussion of agriculture and a fairly pleasant evening.

This afternoon so far I've been trying to catch up with a lot of outstanding things. A new crisis has come and a board meeting will be held probably soon in connection with it revolving around a shortage in dairy products. This illustrates the dilemma of our operation. A year ago we were heavily loaded with all dairy products, particularly butter. We moved out butter at heavy cost and it's down. We have had enough dry milk -- moving close to a billion pounds into the Food for Peace Program. All of a sudden now our availabilities for next year are not much more than 300 million pounds. This happened because of the situation in Western Europe, with a demand and a subsidy program here to try and move out our heavy supplies on a commercial basis which the law really mandates us to do. Therefore, we continue to sell and to push it out and we really didn't catch it here until it got at a danger point, whereupon Dorothy Jacobson got into the act and developed a sound and rational theory that we ought not to permit this to go into animal feeding because we want to develop a market for our various kinds of meal, rather than allow them to use dry milk powder. On this basis, we in effect stopped exports as soon as we could, but in the meantime we face a critical situation and apparently Dick Reuter who is most alarmed and somewhat wild about this is calling in the voluntary agencies people and instructing them they must cut back their programs with some 30 million children around the world on school lunch program much of it depending upon the availability of dry milk powder. This ties to the hard nut of the dairy

problem. For although we've made some progress in our milk order areas the manufacturing milk situation in the Midwest continues almost impossible. Prices are too low for the farmer to really make a go of it. We have a 75 percent minimum parity - that doesn't pay enough - I can't increase it given the supply situation and the cost situation. On the other hand, it isn't enough for the farmer, but the real power politically rests with the big cooperatives in the milk order areas where they are reasonably well satisfied. Those that handle the milk, those that process it, don't object to heavy supplies and heavy government subsidies, where by the same token they'd object violently to any kind of government supply management direction. This is one commodity we have not been able to move at all. It's conceivable we might do something within the framework of the current political situation plus the current shortage under "Food for Peace". This is now being staffed. It really would be a major break though if we could get a workable program, get the President behind it, and maybe get something done. I've got my doubts but we will certainly try.

Friday, June 5, 1964 -- 6:50 p.m. I'm in the office alone, doing some paper work and planning for next week. Jane will be down in about an hour and we'll go to a dinner tonight in honor of the Shah of Iran. My black tie outfit is in the bathroom and I'll make a quick switch. The last two days have been reasonably quiet, giving me a bit of time to plan and program here and to do a little paper work. I tried to play squash today, but my legs tightened up so bad I could hardly move, which is still a product of last week's touch ball game. I guess I'm really getting old. That sustained hard running stayed with me and those legs just won't loosen up. Anyway I got a work out, although I got beat.

A good example of the unpredictable course of agriculture events can be seen in the dairy situation we're now facing. Dairy has been a

No. 1 headache. There is no representation of the little dairy farmer. The political power here is exclusively the processors and those who store and the National Milk Producers group under the irascible leadership of Mike Norton. We've had a tremendous surplus and had to drop supports to the legal minimum of 75 percent a couple of years ago with much criticism and noise. Now we suddenly find ourselves in a short supply situation where we may not be able to meet our commitments under Public Law 480 Food for Peace, particularly for school lunch feeding programs. Dick Reuter, the Food for Peace Coordinator, has pushed the panic button and everyone is all excited. What has happened basically is that we have at great cost given away our butter as ghee-butter oil when we really should have been using vegetable oil which is in the private trade but in significant surplus. But we got the butter down which is expensive to hold and we couldn't very well throw it away. Then with the crop failure and bad weather year and expanding demand in Western Europe, we suddenly got a heavy run on our dry milk which they apparently are now using for cattle feed, especially with calves who are starting out, so that the cow milk can be used fresh. We of course have been seeking to sell commercially all we can for obvious reasons, and have subsidized it fairly heavily, and the job of our sales manager is to move products and under Public Law 480 Food for Peace we can give away under Titles II and III only when there is no commercial outlet. Hence, a dilemma.

The matter drifted along and the dry milk poured out of here before Dorothy Jacobson finally got on top of it and stopped it. We developed a rationale whereby we argue, I think with real merit actually, that this milk now is preventing the development of a permanent market for soybean

meal which we do export in considerable quantities and at the same time the milk is being taken away from sources where it will have a potential benefit in human use by way of promotion and future markets. The trade is grumbling about this but Dorothy is going to call them in. We'll need to check it through on the Hill so we don't get in trouble there with people who will be only commercially minded. Then it also opens the door on the question of a long-term dairy policy and whether a new bill, the Nelsen-Kastenmeier bill, which would make for production payments to farmers with low supports on butter and more reasonable supports on dry milk solids and cheese. Such a program would make more sense for we could move butter at a much lower price, perhaps increase its consumption and therefore not have the butter as a dead weight on our hands, keep up the little farmers' income reasonably through the payment and then move the cheese and dry milk solid into consumption where it's needed both domestically and in our Food for Peace program. It is possible that we might be able to break this loose now because of the current situation -- or, in the alternative increase price supports when Congress leaves with a notice that we will be proposing a new dairy program which is called for in light of developing world circumstances and a poverty program and the need for strengthening dairy farmers income which would be a favorable and well received action on the part of the Administration.

I just had a call from Ken Birkhead a few minutes ago that for some reason unbeknownst to anyone the House Agriculture Committee has now scheduled the Proxmire bill which has passed the Senate and rests in the House Committee which would call for a two-price system on milk in milk order areas whereby farmers would get paid a certain amount for Class I milk that goes to the table and another amount for Class II milk rather than a blank price.

This is a small improvement for the manufacturing farmer for it would cut down the subsidization of manufacturing in the milk order areas, but for political reasons the Farmers Union have opposed it and now Gil Roddy and Ed Christensen are violently opposed to it, while the Grange supports it and I find myself in another box. Well maybe we can have the Nelsen-Kastenmeier bill introduced as an amendment to this one when it comes up in the House. We'll have to see, but this dairy situation is a good example of how rapidly things can change with causes completely beyond our control. Maybe we can make some good come out of it. That's what I try to do when the ball seems to be bouncing the wrong way.

Reaction to my testimony yesterday on beef and also to the cotton announcement has been relatively mild but it will pick up steam I guess. Actually I am a bit disturbed for the cow price is down a bit more than I had realized and as such there is more credence to the argument made by those who are complaining about imports than there would be if it was as high as it has been over the last 5 years on the average. Nonetheless, we have the imports down now and that's really the guts of the whole question.

I'm planning to spend this week end at home. Actually, getting my lawn mower fixed and painting a back porch -- I don't get much chance to do that kind of thing and I'm kinda looking forward to it. Tomorrow night we'll be on the Sequoia with a party for the Assistant Secretaries and Agency Heads in honor of Willard Cochrane who is leaving and Dr. John Schnittker who is taking his place. I'm kinda looking forward to that, too. I hope I'll feel up to snuff. Actually I haven't felt very well this week. My stomach has been bothering me and I haven't slept well a single night. I guess it's probably an adjustment to the tensions of the past three or four

months, for the last week has not been particularly rough as the weeks go around here.

Wednesday, June 10, 2;10 p.m. -- I'm leaving in a few minutes for the West Coast to speak to the Washington Grange. I'll have to meet head-on out there the question of cross compliance on wheat. This is a good example of the kind of problems one runs into for the Senators out there are pressuring heavily because farmers who have more than one piece of property want to comply under the wheat program on one, not on another, and in this fashion get a blend price. To make matters worse the State of Washington apparently has a number of farms that they have rented out where the same problem exists and we have to deal with them as one landowner and require that they get compliance on all or else they can't come in with any. I'm meeting the Land Commissioner out there, Bert Cole, an old friend, but it promises to be not very comfortable.

I have lined up Ellender and others here to support us in this for otherwise there would be heavy leakage and no supply cutback and I just called Walter Jenkins in the White House to alert him and also the President so I won't get any political pressure from that end.

This morning I spent over an hour talking with Willard Cochrane, who is about to leave us, as to what he had learned in 4 years here. It was interesting conversation which I might summarize as follows:

First, that farmers are unwilling to accept and cannot be convinced to willingly accept real mandatory controls. Therefore, that we really are in the position given the political facts of life of less farm representation where the city voter and the city congressman is going to have to make the decisions as to where we go on agriculture. Willard feels that our overproduction will continue and that the cost of our voluntary programs will

grow increasingly heavy and burdensome. He agrees with me that we are in the ironic position where the people we are really helping with our programs are the so-called adequate size commercial family farmers who are doing fairly well given our current programs and are close to parity of income. The real poverty group we are trying to reach through Rural Area Development, Poverty Programs, Appalachian programs, etc., and they present a special kind of social problem. In the middle there is a group that makes your heart ache which is the family farmer who does not have a large enough operation to make a decent return, but who is trying to struggle along and who has such a heavy investment in land that at current prices really can't quite make it. This is the desperate group which today make up the NFO.

I'm now in Wenatchee, Washington, in my hotel room after having an informal session with some of the Grange people I'm speaking to here. It's 1:30 Washington time - Actually 10:30 here in Wenatchee. I also made some television shorts and am now getting to bed. It will be a busy day tomorrow with the breakfast meeting at 7:30 with wheat and dairy representatives that have come in from around the State. A speech, a meeting with the State Land Commissioner, and then back home to Washington for tomorrow night.

The sound of the telephone a moment ago was Bill Thatcher from Minneapolis returning my call. That old buzzard was about as blunt as a meat axe in telling me that I'd better do something for the GTA or they wouldn't do anything politically in Minnesota. I had a call yesterday from Dick Parrish in Minneapolis asking me to call Thatcher because he had seen Dwayne Andreas and Andreas had said if I called Thatcher, Thatcher would look into it and might help Parrish in his campaign against McGregor. So I called Thatcher thinking that relations were good which they had been and asked him about the political situation and he said it was bad, that

that the GTA was in the red and couldn't do anything politically, that the NFO was giving Ed Christensen and the Farmers Union fits, that he had read in the Kiplinger Newsletter where I was going to do something about cooperatives and he wondered if that was just publicity or if I really meant it and that he needed about 10 million bushels of grain in his elevators, and that last year he only sold Continental one million bushels of wheat and the CCC sold 5 million. I've cooled off now, but it really made me angry, and our conversation ended on a cool note. I told him in effect, all right if that's the way it is we'll just go to hell in a basket together. I did call in Ed Jaenke and Bob Lewis and asked them to take a look now as to what operationally he might be beefing about. There is not much sense in getting angry at the old goat. On the other hand, this is a kind of pressure blackmail that makes me furious. If we are competing unfairly, that's one thing, but I don't propose to turn the Department of Agriculture over to the GTA. It makes me angry also to see the way this was set up and how Thatcher was obviously waiting for the call in this regard. Well, there's another pressure group.

To get back to the conversation with Willard -- it really pains me that this group of family farmers who just don't quite make it are the ones I would like to help and it pains me to see them hurt. On the other hand, those we are helping are the ones who are complaining and don't want to be helped, but who would be seriously hurt, as would agriculture and the nation, if they were destroyed as would be the case without any programs, only they don't realize it. I asked Willard to put down on paper for me what really would happen if we had no farm programs. The economic studies at Iowa and other places make it clear that prices would drop sharply, but then what would happen. His estimate is that the little man of \$2,500 gross income would

tighten his belt and hang on. The fellow with financial resources would also hang on. The amount of production would probably not drop very much although the amount of input such as fertilizer would probably start to go down. As prices drop, the value of land would go down as well and the little family farmer who is now gradually moving out would be forced out quickly and harshly. We would then end up in a few years down the road, Willard said 10 to 20, where probably agriculture would be pretty well under control of a relatively few people who would then practice private supply management. In the meantime there would be a sharp inflationary effect on the total national economy. This of course is academic because it isn't going to happen that way. As the situation now stands there is still enough political power that we are not going to have farm programs thrown out the window over night. On the other hand, it is conceivable that with cotton, wheat and feed grains all up next year that there could be a failure on the part of Congress to act and in effect over night not farm program. I spoke to the people here at the Grange about that a bit, pointing out that the alliance we put together that made it possible to pass the cotton-wheat bill is one that we've got to hold together for legislation next year. I told them, too, of my meetings with Congressmen in the effort to build support among city people at a time when we didn't have pressing legislation to act on with all the emotions and pressures that go along with that.

I've also got the boys working to try and develop something for the Democratic national platform which we might be able to use as a vehicle. I also have Willard and the boys trying to put together an overall statement about American agriculture which I might put out in pamphlet form which could be useful in the campaign and also in the education process preparatory to

the legislation which will go before the Congress next year. In all of this the most worrisome thing is the price tag which according to Willard's estimates is much higher than our forward estimates as submitted to the Budget Bureau would indicate at this point.

It's all really rather worrisome. As I said to Willard, we've accomplished a great deal. We've held up these farm prices very significantly. We have pioneered these volunteer programs but they are costly and it is conceivable that the whole house of cards might come tumbling down. If that's the way the land lies, I'd just as soon not be here when down they come. On the other hand, if I'm not on it why the house is pretty sure to come down so I guess my responsibilities are rather clear in that regard.

I think I've related already that my press conference on beef went I thought along in pretty good shape. We made the point that there was not need to legislate quotas when we had accomplished them voluntarily and we need not, therefore, run the risk of weakening our bargaining position. I'm not sure how well this will take with the red hot cattle people, but we'll have to see.

Another critical area down the road is that of Civil Rights. The Senate voted cloture today and I called Humphrey to congratulate him and he was quite gleeful. The Civil Rights bill will pass now, probably within the week, and then we will get back to work in the Senate. When it passes we're going to have a real problem in the Department of Agriculture in administering it for so many of our programs like Extension in the deep South with matching funds may very well no longer be effective when the requirements of integrated operations by law go into effect. I've had several meetings with our Agency heads about this. They're making some real efforts, and as I've gone over them with them, agency by agency, it's gratifying to see the progress that has

been made in most of the Agencies. Some of course have not done at all what they should.

Last Saturday night we had a delightful party on the Sequoia attended by Assistant Secretaries and some Agency heads and my staff people. It was a kind of going away party for Willard Cochrane and then a recognition and welcome aboard for their promotions for John Schnittker who succeeds him and for Nyle Brady the administrator for our Science and Research Operation and for Dorothy Jacobson for her promotion as Assistant Secretary. I don't think any of them had been on the Sequoia before, including Charley Murphy, and they really enjoyed it. I ought to do more of this kind of thing, but it is difficult to do the cost situation being what it is, although I can cover this I think in the expense drawing account that I have. I didn't feel very good myself for I was fighting a summer cold which got worse after Saturday and I was really miserable Sunday and the first part of the week, but I seem to be pulling out of it and feel a bit better today, so I think I'll roll in for it is now getting on towards 2:00 o'clock Washington time.

June 13, Saturday, 10:30 a.m. -- I'm at my desk after getting the beginnings of a picture set up on barbecue in the backyard so we can get out some promotion material to sell some more beef, I hope. I just called the office to tell the girl on duty there where I am and that I can be reached.

My Washington day at Wenatchee was I think successful. I spoke to the Grange, met with delegations of wheat and dairy groups, had a press conference and generally I think a very good reception. Lars Nelson was in good form and spirits and felt that we had turned the corner on the cross-compliance wheat question. I was very firm in connection with compliance, stating that legislative history was such and the need to have broad public support and be responsible if we expected to pass any legislation was so strong that although

I would of course like to see farmers make more money, that we couldn't expect some to do so at the expense of the entire program. It's still going to get the reaction because I didn't leave many doors open to argue about. I did have a rather sharp discussion with Bert Cole, the Land Commissioner in Washington, for they have about 350 farms owned by the State with wheat allotments and about a dozen who are refusing to comply. Technically, the balance would then be thrown out of compliance. Cole didn't want this, didn't think we should do it, and started on a rather cocky basis saying that bureaucracy shouldn't force us to this ridiculous result. My response to his initiative was to say, that it need not if he only had the guts to enforce the lease and kick the dozen off who were unwilling to cooperate. He declared himself as against compulsion and pointed out his great success as a Land Commissioner in convincing people to cooperate and stated he wouldn't compel. I stated that then he was the one with the weak knees, not us. Bert Cole is an old friend and he came around and we finally decided that he would work on it himself, case by case, and then we would see where we were. In the meantime we could delay a final decision for as much as a month and the heat would be off on the individual cases so the Farm Bureau and others couldn't use the fact we might have to make some exceptions under these abnormal circumstances for the State as a basis to further muddy the waters and criticize the overall program and to alienate the individual citizen farmer who is unhappy because he will have to comply and perhaps plow up considerable wheat acreage that he had seeded. The Farm Bureau got across the idea that there was a commitment that this would not be the case -- further that there had been delay in planning the program, therefore there ought to be a year's grace. There has been a great deal of confusion in Washington about the whole program because of a weak wheat

growers group, but hopefully it is settling down now. I raced from my speech to the airport, got in a National Guard small plane, flew over the Mountains to Seattle. With my bad cold I had the worst ear ache I ever had in my life. It was really painful. Bert Cole flew along and that's when we had our conference. We ran from the plane to the big jet, thence to Chicago and into Minneapolis. I worked the whole way. Mostly reading over the materials that I had worked out over the past year with George Barnes on the prospective book. I really think that this might be a good idea and I'm going to go to work on it further. I've got Willard Cochrane reading the materials now. I landed about 9:00 o'clock and went to Don Fraser's where a campaign fund raising party, which Lee Loevinger and I sponsored, was underway.

I really had a lot of fun. Saw a lot of ex-Minnesotans and it was gratifying to get their general reactions to my job as Secretary of Agriculture. Most of these of course were old friends and were normally and naturally friendly disposed. Yet, even allowing for that, the reading would seem to be that we had done a pretty good job. I run into this around the country to a surprising extent and the general attitude seems to be that we have done a good job. This helps to overcome first the very unfair criticism which really doesn't bother me very much and also the resentment that I do feel towards the indifference in the lack of interest and concern towards agriculture which really is a cross to bear. This until one gets to feeling, so what? Yet on the other hand what we do is so important that the real gratification in it ought to come from the job and not from any kind of recognition. Again I don't think it's lack of recognition that bothers me, it's the purpose to which you can direct recognition. In this case I come to the question of Vice Presidential selection. I've been thinking about this and

we've kind of moved into something of a course of action on it. Jane and I talked a couple of weeks ago and she pointed out to me on a matter of fact basis that really when you take a look at political experience as a State Chairman, campaign experience in six State-wide campaigns, administrative political experience in three terms of Governor and now in one of the world's toughest jobs as Secretary of Agriculture, and compare this with any other people discussed as Vice President, actually we rate pretty high. Charley Murphy said the same thing to me some months ago when he urged that we get out in front on other subjects in addition to agriculture and cultivate more support within the Democratic party. I haven't done that. In part because we've been so absorbed in our own work, in part because I've found it extremely difficult to move in any areas other than agriculture and in a sense agriculture foreclosed others because there wasn't a base of interest. It's just like the kids said at the Young Democratic Convention out in Las Vegas after I finished speaking and they were wildly enthusiastic that they complained when told the best they could do was the Secretary of Agriculture but were tremendously delighted once we had finished. Hence, the problem. Further Humphrey has pretty well usurped the field and Civil Rights, Defense, and Foreign Policy are really the burning issues. I guess maybe I could have been more aggressive in actually soliciting appearances and trying to build a broader public awareness in other areas, but the very pressure of the job precluded it and again I haven't basically felt like being pushy, and getting in a position where I could be accused of running for Vice President which I don't think is going to accomplish the purpose. After all, the President will make that choice and he'll make it based on the circumstances that exist. However, he needs to have in mind the alternatives and it's more

than possible that having known and worked with me over the years that he really hasn't considered this, and hasn't reviewed what we might do in that capacity, politically and as a Vice President and helper. This again reads back to the fact that there is relative indifference to agriculture unless someone is getting hurt and then they squeal and cry.

Where the President is concerned the squealing and crying is now on the beef thing and this doesn't put me in a very good light. Going back again to conversations vis-a-vis Bob McNamara where he said several weeks ago, and again in a conference yesterday, what a "can do" guy Bob McNamara is. Obviously he is tremendously impressed with McNamara who certainly is a "can do" guy, but who also has about as little preceptiveness, understanding and sensitivity in politics as anyone I've ever talked to. I think the President is wise enough to see this.

At the Fraser party, talking to Bill Simms, our former associate in the Mayor's office 20 years ago, he related a two-hour conversation with Humphrey where Humphrey expressed his disappointment that Gene McCarthy who Humphrey alleged had opened an office and hired staff to campaign for Vice President hadn't even discussed these matters with him, Humphrey. Humphrey also apparently told Simms that he thought McNamara and Shriver were the leading candidates for the Vice Presidency.

Tom Hughes, coming back from Minnesota, reports that the story out there is that Humphrey is the No. 1 choice if the President can possibly avoid naming Bobby Kennedy. That the President would really like Humphrey. Humphrey is clearly running hard for this and wants it so bad he can taste it and is in a very good position with success now coming on the Civil Rights Bill, cloture having been voted by a strong vote just last week. By the same token Humphrey hasn't discussed the Vice Presidency with me and this undoubtedly

goes back to 1960 and the simple fact that it's my turn now and he knows it but he has moved out himself instead and has pretty well usurped the field. Thinking back, I wish I had gone to him a year ago and said, "Humphrey, this is what I want and I want your help for it this time as I've given you my help over the years." This, however, was not really possible for I've needed his help and it has been forthcoming generously and usefully in passing legislation before the Congress. Humphrey is in a position of power and I'm not, vis-a-vis the President, and I might as well be realistic about that.

Anyhow, in the course of all this I had about resolved that what I was going to do in a conference with the President tomorrow would be to say to him just as matter of fact as I could that I am interested and remind him of the background and tell him I wouldn't propose to campaign but that I was interested and I wanted him to know it and that I thought I could make a contribution if he saw fit to make the selection. I discussed this with Jane and she felt it was not the right course to follow. She pointed out that this was Midwestern directness plus, which as she put it was always my general characteristic and not always a strength and that he, Johnson, would never operate in such a direct and forthright fashion and would tend to down rate anyone who should. I'm not certain she's right about this, but in this kind of area where people and personality judgments are concerned over the years she's had a better feel than I in the main and so I vetoed that idea. I went to bed Friday night and thinking about this layed awake a good share of the night. That was silly, we ought to have some fun with this, it's an outside possibility but I'm not going to get emotionally involved for a host of good reasons.

Anyway, on Friday I did have the conference which I had asked for a week before with the President and it was none too satisfactory. I'd wanted to clear the beef picture, to report a course of action, and to particularly nail down the question of credit so if we had a disaster during the year that he would be appraised that we had asked for some of the machinery to deal with it and further although there is some question about this that credit would prevent some liquidation which would prevent marketings and also strengthen our position. I made that point, but not too sharply for he wouldn't listen much to credit and said that the cattlemen he had talked to had indicated that it wasn't important. In effect he said, that those who can't get credit ought to be washed out and that will cut the number of marketings and help solve the problem. The same argument would apply of course to purchases but here you don't have to break the budget because when we've spent \$170 million of Section 32 funds we can go into CCC. I did have a chance to tell him that might mean going up for supplementary appropriations for the Commodity Credit Corporation at which point he launched off into concern with the budget and a conversation I found out later he had the night before when Henry Luce had dinner with him about stories TIME is preparing to point out that his budget is a phony budget. It's clear that this is a really touchy point. I really didn't know what he was talking about and he didn't either he had simply denied it, but obviously was going to do whatever required to prevent a phony label on his budget. This is going to be difficult and cause a lot of us some uncomfortable periods for there always is a certain amount of mirror work in a budget. I told him that over a long period agricultural budgets usually revise upwards in mid-year as much as a billion dollars because there was the very natural tendency even with all honesty to estimate minimums when there was a legitimate range and then the changes that come about

with weather and other factors are such that inevitably the end product involves more money. I also pointed out that the question of financing was involved and we'd left some paper in banks so it wouldn't show up on the budget. In any event, we spent a good deal of time on that, and then got off onto beef exports and then on Germany, and then he got off again on a long story about his own ranch and the manager of his own ranch who was complaining about hearing on the radio some predictions that it would get worse before it got better and that if only all our so-called experts would be quiet things would work themselves out, that we didn't need to remind them again and again. They knew well enough that things were bad and on his own ranch the manager said he was unable to sell feeder cattle at any price. He also had talked over with Erhard about beef and wanted to know about the West German situation and I promised him a memorandum .

This was not the relaxed review I'd hoped for for Jack Valenti came in and said, "Mr. President, you're behind schedule." But the President didn't seem too pressed for when the girl came in with the latest wire stories he read us most of the late news which obviously he watches very, very carefully. I did get in a few moments about the future of Rural Area Development and Conservation vis-a-vis John Baker who as it is now planned will leave to go to the Farmers Union next spring. I pointed out to him that we needed a top person here and I wanted to move in an assistant to be ready next year to take over and then repeated Bob Lewis' name and I wanted to check to be sure that this would be all right, despite the fact Bob comes from Wisconsin. He said clearly and categorically that he wouldn't appoint anyone from Wisconsin, that there were too many people and that Wisconsin had too much influence in this Government already, and that if Wisconsinites had had their way he wouldn't be where he is today, and that was that. Charley Murphy

pointed out that Bob Lewis had left Proxmire because he couldn't stand him and didn't want to work for him and all but said that it's not fair to take it out on Lewis and it was at this point that he said the Wisconsin had never sent anyone good to the Government anyway and had too much influence already. This is a very harsh, unyielding and I think intolerable position. The same mean attitude was reflected when we went over a list of names for the Marketing Commission which he gave short shrift, commenting only that we ought to have a cow man in here. Thurman Arnold he reacted favorably to. Marvin Jones he reacted favorably to. Others he didn't know. He reacted absolutely negatively to Bob Nathan, saying that fellow has been on his back over the years and he'd never appoint him to anything. I guess I can't blame him for that. Bob is an outstanding person but he has been an ADA'er and as such associated with Joe ^{Rauch} ~~Rowe~~ and therefore the reaction is I guess understandable. Yet by the same token so has Leon ^{Kyserling} ~~Keyersling~~ and he's just appointed his wife over in the State Department. So I suppose these things change, but it's clear this man has a long and bitter memory of those who have crossed him. I wouldn't be surprised if it runs back to the letter I wrote him in 1958 and some of my associations too.

Anyway, it wasn't a very satisfactory conference all things considered. Charley and I returned to the office and cranked up the machinery to shoot over a memorandum on Germany and beef which I did, pointing out that our current price for comparable meat is substantially below the German and that there are shortages in Germany, something Erhard had already denied. Later in the day I talked with the President. He had told Erhard, he explained to me in great detail and evident pride, that if he, Erhard, would buy some meat and help the President out of a difficult political situation this year why next year he'd buy some meat from Erhard, and that Erhard had laughed and

understood and would do what he could and then I had specific instructions to call the German Ambassador and tell him we were really going to sell some beef now and to take care of those Germans when they come to the United States. I couldn't help thinking, what a deal. Here a meeting on a Head of State basis is talking about how much meat can you sell in the framework of the political heat that's on. But on the other hand, I guess that is an understandable framework and it is important and it will do some good and little things are as important as big things. But I can't help but wonder what kind of an image this leaves in terms of the United States with someone like Erhard or certainly with some others we might name when the President of the United States is probably giving more detailed and specific attention to whether he can sell some beef to Western Germany while issues of great import get at the best no greater emphasis or attention. By way of contrast I suppose we wouldn't want a President who like DeGaulle would say that anything except military power and foreign relations was really a matter of housekeeping and below his standing in stature.

I also shot over a memorandum straightening out the budget questions and setting down specifically the comparative personnel situation as compared a year ago for he had said to me, "You are down in personnel, aren't you?" All this is distressing as we look to the future and programs for the budget is going to be a holy cow and we've got it down so low now that it has adverse program implications. I went back and reviewed and found that we are about 2,500 estimated below fiscal '65 as compared to fiscal '64 on a man-year basis but we are a few hundred over '63. This despite the fact that we have tremendous increases in program since '63. Further, where end of year employment is concerned we are again a few hundred over, but if the accelerated

public works people, about 3,000 strong that were not included in the official figures, are included and we were using them and using many of them on work for which people have been released then and must do now, we are several thousand below, and so I sent this over as well together with the budget explanation pointing out first that the opposition was jumping on the fact that we had not in our budget asked for full restoration of the Commodity Credit Corporation for expenditures made on commodity programs and under Food for Peace. I pointed out to the President that this merely means that we would not be spending as much probably next year as this, or at least we didn't need to restore at this time so that's not much of an argument for TIME to use.

The other point I made, and I said the same thing strongly to Kermit Gordon the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, was the end of the year review of budget which we make contrasting January estimates as compared to July new budget to go into effect ought not to change agricultural estimates. It is true that we sent over estimates increasing our expenditures for the coming fiscal year about a million dollars. This based on a late passage of the cotton bill and other factors. But, as I emphasized to the President, this is all conjecture, much can change and it's simple foolishness to take on needlessly the exposure of further estimates when we don't know what'll happen.

All of this took up most of the day and I really didn't feel it was much by way of accomplishment. I did have lunch with Charley and talk about the Vice Presidential thing and told him quite frankly that I was still interested and that it seemed to me the only really meaningful way to move at all in that direction would be to impress availability, hopefully ability, on the President through the medium of those with whom he would have contact.

So Charley and I went over some names and he indicated he would think about it further and would talk to people to whom he might have access.

Tom and Barbara were over last night, and I talked somewhat with Tom on the same thing, along the line that the contacts he had and that we had jointly, such as John White, the Commissioner of Agriculture in Texas, who is close to Cliff Carter; such as John Duncan, who is close to Commissioners of Agriculture generally; possibly Barney Allen with Commissioners of Agriculture around the country, that all of these might be impressed to, if the circumstances were appropriate, bring this to the President's attention. I'm not sure how far we should go. We certainly don't want to launch a full blown program or campaign, but I think some actions along this line to at least bring it to his attention are reasonable, would be interesting and ought to be done. Sometimes I'm not so sure I'd want to be Vice President and work with this fellow closely on a day by day basis. On the other hand, it'd be a great challenge and I think I could be of effective service and of course although he would have made the selection the people would have made the final determination and that would carry with it independence and would be a somewhat inhibiting force on his irascibility and erraticness in dealing with people around him. One of course does pause in connection with the job of President. As I said to Jane I feel somewhat like I did about the Governorship, so far as the domestic is concerned, so far as the political is concerned, I would feel no hesitancy, but that I was competent to do the job. I would feel a bit thin in terms of the international aspects for although we've traveled broadly I've not been deeply involved in the decision making apparatus in State or Defense where international political questions are concerned. However, I know the people in the process and again measuring against the possibilities I think I need not feel inferior to most

of them. So we'll see what happens. This ought to be interesting. It's always a possibility, although I think extremely doubtful, and in the meantime we will go on with our work.

I've been trying to reach Tom Hughes and Joe Robertson this morning because it's pretty clear the Civil Rights Bill will pass now. I've had preliminary meetings with Department Heads, alerting them to actions that may be necessary and what the law would mean to them throughout our Department for it will be law soon and we will need to put it into effect rather quickly. I need a follow-up on that.

With the passage of the Civil Rights Bill, too, we will need to crank up on a number of things that have been waiting. P.L. 480 testimony and Food Stamp Testimony before Ellender will come soon. I'm debating whether I should see him. I'm inclined to wait until the dust has settled a bit on the Civil Rights question, because I think likely he's a bit irritable at this point.

I've gotta have Jamie Whitten over next week, too, and have a general pow wow with him, perhaps for breakfast on Tuesday, so we keep our channels clear there.

Then our appropriations will be moving fairly soon and I've got to get that picture clearly in mind and have some conferences with Holland about that one.

So once Civil Rights is out of the way, Congress ought to move, and the next weeks will be pretty hectic and busy ones. We also need to do the kind of advance planning, thinking and programming in connection with the commodity programs and work out the political strategy looking to the national convention and what we can use it for by way of platform foundation for

future actions, the political campaign, and how we're going to shape our public posture and how we can maybe use it to get votes and also get support for future programs, and of course the determination of what Congressional districts we'll concentrate in and how we'll operate in them. All this relating to my schedule. It'll be a busy year and I guess I better dig into this and quit snorting around about trying to adapt to the characteristics of the new President, but it really is a bit trying and confusing to say the least.

Enough for today. We've taken our backyard pictures for Father's Day and beef promotion, and I'm going out and eat a bit of it now. Then make a few 'phone calls and off to a baseball game with Mike today. We've gotta have a bit of fun and I'm going to try and do a little bit more of this kind of thing this summer than I have before. He'll be 16 only once. Our relations are pretty close and we need to spend some time together this year and I know I'll regret it for the rest of my life if I don't, so I'm gonna. At least I'm gonna do my best.

Sunday, June 14, 1964 -- 8:15 p.m. Back at the desk again after what has really been a relaxing and enjoyable Sunday at home. We got up for 9:30 church. Mike was mighty excited and off to a picnic at Chesapeake Bay with the car. We had a bit of breakfast. I read the paper. Napped a bit. We worked around the yard most of the day -- Jane and I together. Merritt and Patty Freeman came over for a little bit; Merritt to deliver a letter from Len Wolfe down in Brazil on Food for Peace; and then we had dinner just the two of us out on the porch. Now for a little work and to bed.

We didn't get much sleep last night for we ended up with Humphrey over here until almost 2:30 this morning. First we went to the Press Club,

which is a Negro press group, banquet and awards evening. The program revolved around Civil Rights. Awards were given to Bobby Kennedy and to Carl Rowan, and to a number of other people including Mrs. Medgar Evers on behalf of her slain husband. It was a long, long program but an interesting one and it gave me a chance to soak a bit in Civil Rights and to realize how far I've strayed away from some of the subjects and topics that were so intimate and vital just a few years ago when I was Governor and before that in politics reaching back to Humphrey's historic Civil Rights speech in Philadelphia in 1948, to the drafting of what I think was the first FECP ordinance in the United States when I was in Humphrey's office when he was Mayor of Minneapolis, and my lobbying got ordinance through the City Council on to when I was Governor and passed an FECP State law. I made speeches all over the country on Civil Rights in those days and I've been mighty quiet about it since, not particularly on purpose although it would have contributed much less to Civil Rights than it would have damaged my efforts in agriculture before the Congress because of the make-up of the Committees with which I must deal. As I told a Mrs. Hurley whom I sat next to and who was quite an impressive lady, an attractive Negro woman who apparently heads up the NAACP 5-State Southeastern Regional Office, that it is one of the ironies of a lifetime to go from the reputation of a left wing Civil Rights liberal to the extent that every Governor south of the Mason-Dixon line would automatically vote no whatever was said at a Governor's Conference to become identified with the kind of agriculture which the Southeast supports and to work closely on excellent terms with such men as Allen Ellender, Dick Russell and others. I told her, and it is true, that I had found these men in many areas involving economics and humanitarianism

as well to be decent and liberal, but on the Civil Rights thing to be moved predominantly by political forces and of course underlying sociological factors. I talked with her about the kind of contacts and the kind of planning during the transition stage under the Civil Rights Bill that will make it possible to put it into effect quickly and forcefully, at the same time to avoid the difficulties which can arise if the wild eyed people on both sides are permitted to push to confrontations. She acknowledged her virtual ignorance of anything in agriculture, but agreed on the need for transition and careful planning.

Yesterday I did call Joe Robertson and tomorrow morning at Staff I'm going to issue a directive to all Agencies to submit by next Friday a detailed analysis of how they will apply the Civil Rights Act, what difficulties they anticipate, and various alternative means for overcoming those difficulties.

Humphrey came on out about midnight following the banquet at which he spoke and we had a really good visit. For all the problems of the past and Humphrey's overwhelming ambition and often deviousness he is a wonderful guy. He is fundamentally honest, although many people take advantage of him. His ambition gets away from him, but his dedication to liberal principles and his honesty in espousing them is more than creditable. His personality as always is outstanding and one can't help but love him. He is feeling his age a bit now and said that he wasn't sure he wanted to do anything except be a good Senator. In our discussions about LBJ and his conservatism in terms of his budget and his peculiarities and unreasonableness, Humphrey indicated that there were good reasons for wanting to be in the Senate where he in effect need not be responsive to this kind of thing but could be considerably independent. He didn't pursue it further and that's about as

far as we got in talking about the Vice Presidential business. He did express the concern that Johnson was far too much impressed by the business community. These were the men, to put it into Humphrey's words, who had made it and were in a special status and their praise and recognition and adulation, Humphrey feared took on a special status with Johnson. Kennedy, he said, would laugh at that and would understand them and would not be impressed. After all, he came from the same group, but it's different with Lyndon. I think there is a lot of merit in this observation, when you combine it with Johnson's style of wanting to get everybody under the same tent and his pride in having made inroads in the business community it presents a dangerous situation where future budgets are concerned. As I said to Humphrey, I for one had gone all the way in trying to cut personnel, hold back budgets, postpone programs, because economy and the budget were a bona fide political issue, that Johnson had succeeded in it, I admired him for it, he had stolen the economy thing away from the Republicans. If however this budget and economy stance become his primary measuring stick in terms of the Administration he will head, that's another thing, and I must say I worry about this.

So far the money squeezed from Defense has gone for some good programs, such as the poverty program, but that is only a beginning. Now when one looks at forestry, soil conservation, recreation programs, FHA, and a host of other things that are important to do what he is talking about by way of helping the folks, as he puts it, we will have to see what his actions will be. I'm fearful when you see his style and method of concentrating on a simple goal seemingly not relating it to the end result and then demanding specific accomplishments in connection with it without much by the way of a realistic appraisal of what it's significance is and what it really means. As

() Charley Murphy said the other day the system might well be to tell 'em as little as you can and go on about your business doing what needs to be done. It may come down to that. For as I said to Humphrey, if that's the way it is, the time may come when I for one would just as soon take a walk. On the other hand, as Humphrey said, in the weeks immediately ahead now for he confidently predicts passage of the Civil Rights Bill this week, there is a great deal to be done and I should be ready to move to try and write the kind of Food for Peace program we want, the same for Food Stamps and other things, and to hit hard now in the next few weeks. He's right, that's why I'm at the desk tonight so that we can be prepared to do just that.

I'm going to have to see Holland about the budget. See Ellender about Food Stamps and P.L. 480. See Jamie Whitten. And at this point, Humphrey threw up his hands and said, "Well you've really got the beaners to deal with." And that, I have.

It was interesting to hear him tell about the Civil Rights fight and how he has spent endless hours talking with Dirksen, who is competing with Hickenlooper, and how he felt that Dirksen gradually had come into his own for as he, Humphrey, put it, he had come to understand that he could never be President. He was too old and not strong enough and this was the time for him to put his mark for all time on history in this great occasion. This Dirksen did and he came through and brought most of the Republicans with him. At the same time, as he pointed out, tremendous pressures were mobilized and particularly the churches keeping constant contact with the questioning votes together with some of the enlightened people, especially in the Jewish Community, finance and industry who had a line on and influence on such people as Mundt and Curtis, all these were mobilized.

Humphrey told the interesting story of how the President called him last Wednesday night, the night of the Danish Prime Minister's dinner at the White House, and asked how many votes. Humphrey said, 67 for sure - 69 maybe - and possibly a few more. The President said how many and Humphrey repeated the number and then the President asked him, "Where do you put Yarborough in that?" Humphrey said, "He is to vote 'yes'". The President said, "How do you know?" Humphrey said, "Because he told me so a few days ago." The President said, "Well you'd better check him. I don't think you got him." Whereupon Humphrey did call Yarborough and found that he was equivocating, did then call the Archbishop down in Southwestern Texas where the Mexican-Americans are strong, poured a lot of pressure on Yarborough, who as Humphrey put it was pale green when he voted for cloture the next day. Again, the President was on top of it directly and intimately informed. On the other hand, Humphrey said that by their mutual agreement the President did not do much direct arm twisting. According to Humphrey the Southerners generally were in a pretty good frame of mind, that they had not been rough or try to ride over them, and the only one who was really ornery and unhappy and bitter was Dick Russell.

Really we had a very good visit. I had a chance to tell him of my recent problems with the GTA and he told me that old Bill Thatcher was impossible. That he had been riding him, Humphrey, also and was angry at him because he couldn't make me do the things that Thatcher wanted me to do.

Jane and I both agreed after he left that this is a strange man in many ways, but indeed a lovable one. Muriel is not here. She is back in Minnesota. He's alone and lonesome, but as we agreed maybe it's best for them that way. Although Jane said she would never leave me. Certainly not in an occasion as important and vital as this one. She wouldn't and thank goodness for that.

But on the other hand, in these circumstances I'm sure that Humphrey is as completely unpredictable, irrational and irascible, that he is almost impossible and Muriel really has never fitted herself in or enjoyed the life of Washington and so she is back at the lake cottage, water skiing and all the rest.

The Reporter magazine had an interesting story today about the selection of a Vice President. I don't think it is a very realistic appraisal for I still think that Kennedy offered the Vice Presidency to Johnson because he felt he had to to keep him happy and was surprised at Johnson being interested in it. The story concluded that Kennedy had pretty well resolved that Johnson would be the best man and had been firmed up in that opinion by his father's strong feeling. It was interesting that in the story LBJ was quoted as saying that Freeman, Symington and Jackson were mentioned by Kennedy to him as possible choices. That he didn't remember in what order. Johnson then said that he was of the opinion that Kennedy would have chosen Freeman. I rather doubt that as I look back at it, although I recall so well when I got the call about noon on that fateful day to go to Kennedy's suite and sent for Jane and we walked in together and then into his bedroom and then the sequence of the events which I have related before. I suppose somewhere inbetween all of this the truth really lies, but I doubt very much if Kennedy expected or if he ever concretely made the decision and exercised the influence and effort to get Johnson to run which this article indicated.

Friday, June 19, 1964 -- 10:30 p.m. At home at the desk. This has been a reasonably quiet week. Tuesday night Jane and I went up to New York for a fund raising dinner for the Kennedy library. Allegedly everyone there paid \$10,000. Jackie Kennedy was there. We went up on the plane with the President and Mrs. Johnson, the Celebrezzes, McNamara, Teddy Kennedy and a few others.

I enjoyed a colloquy on the way up between Teddy Kennedy and Bob McNamara with the President listening. Kennedy was taking after McNamara for closing Naval bases in various areas in Boston, Massachusetts, and on the East Coast and doing it quite effectively. McNamara was defending himself effectively as well; and the President was pretty much siding in with McNamara. There's no doubt that he thinks a good deal of McNamara. Art Goldberg was there and he told the President he wasn't so brave about closing bases when he was a Senator from Texas, but the President came back and said that he closed the base in the Congressional District which was the key in carrying Texas in the 1960 Presidential Campaign. So it goes. I again had the feeling of some reserve where he is concerned. I just don't feel that I communicate very well. I called him the same day that we went up to report that I was going up on beef testimony before the Senate Finance Committee and also to recommend the name of Fred Marshall as a possible appointment to the Market Commission. He listened politely and that was about it.

We almost got left completely in New York. Luther Hodges was furious and so was Jane, but I more or less laughed it off. It went like this. We were all sitting at circular tables at this banquet and when the program ended, and incidentally it wasn't very good, Frederick March read very emotionally passages from President Kennedy's writings in a loud voice that wore everyone out and was quite morbid and I'm sure was a very great strain on the President. Anyway when it concluded, he headed toward the back of the rather small banquet hall and I ushered Mrs. Johnson who was at the next table in that direction when her way was clear, leaving her to go back for Jane. We got kinda boxed in with the people and by the time we got down to the lobby which was only a few minutes the whole Presidential cavalcade was gone. We ran up

and down the street a moment, traffic of course was all piled up. Eddie ~~Duffman~~^{Duffman} from the Attorney General's Office was there with a car and an FBI man who then gave us a ride. We wandered around the John F. Kennedy Airport for almost an hour before we finally found the backup plane and there we were just ~~Duffman's~~^{Duffman's} wife; Marshall, the Civil Rights Assistant Attorney General's wife, Hodges, Jane and I, in that great big Jet No. 2 plane. We got in well after 1:00 o'clock. I was up at 6:00 in the morning getting ready to testify on beef.

After all the work, careful preparation of testimony which did not mention the effects of imports but rather concentrated on the fact we had imports down and therefore passing a legislative quota was meaningless, the hearings didn't really amount to very much. They were on for nearly two and one-half hours, but mostly it was a wrestle with Curtis who is a stupid blockhead. He is persistent, dumb, ornery, and thoroughly unpleasant and irritating. I was a little bit hung-over. I drank a bit too much wine the night before. And it was hard not to let Curtis get under my skin. I had to repeatedly contradict him head-on in order to prevent a bad record which he then would broadly use. His main thesis and I wasn't quite prepared in minute detail on this was that because our meat inspection reports showed more meat inspected since the first of the year, we were deceiving the public when we said imports are down. He then contended that the import figures from Commerce really weren't any good, we were using them rather than others we had in Agriculture which actually did show increases, not decreases. All I could do was say, "This isn't true." He then got off on farm income, trying to use parity price indexes and I had to again and again tell him he was distorting the facts and that income actually was up and that parity index as such didn't mean very much any more, that adjusted parity index including Government

payments was the important figure and on and on we went. The next day I testified on Food Stamps before the Senate Committee and this went really much better. I think we're going to move that in pretty good shape, and it will be a great thrill to have that bill passed.

Incidentally, Ken Birkhead called me a few minutes ago, telling me that the Marketing Commission passed the Senate by unanimous consent late tonight. Earlier the Civil Rights Bill had passed. Jane and I called Humphrey to congratulate him. This is really a great accomplishment for him and he has done a superb job.

This was really one of those weeks when we bounced from one contest and one problem to another in this great Department that I'm privileged to head. After I finished testifying on beef, I went over and spent two hours with Poage and Cooley on sugar. This is going to be a nasty fight. The foreign countries who want to ship sugar in and the refineries who handle it here are allied and determined that the foreign quota is not going to be decreased. On the other hand, the domestic beet areas want more acreage and claim they are entitled to it even though the Act of 1962 where they're concerned was to run until 1966. They claim that because we turned loose acreage when we had high sugar prices that they really have a commitment for more acreage and they're going for broke at 750,000 more tons of quota. Cooley, as always, wants to stay out from the middle, but is completely involved with the country quota import people, a strange position for a Congressman but of course he's got half the lobbyists in town and enjoys being the Secretary of State for sugar. So we're really in the middle. After much conferencing in the Administration we pretty well resolved, and this was Charley and my decision which others have gone along with, that we ought to wait to testify something like we did on cotton. In other words, let them fight, and we'll come in after while.

Cooley doesn't want to do this First he would like to force the contending sides to an agreement and so would we but it can't be done. Then somehow he would like to get out from the middle -- he doesn't worry if we're in, if he can take the heat off himself. But when I pushed him, he had to admit that he could control this and rather than the Committee forcing me to testify that if he scheduled the witnesses he could control that and the Democratic Majority which might not vote with him on substance would certainly go with him on procedure. So we left it at that. But this is one example of a nasty commodity problem and we're in the middle.

Cotton continues agitating with unhappy people but that could be worse, although now we're writing regulations with ancillary kinds of problems.

Then this week, Red Bamberg and Ed Mauldin from Alabama came in. In a very nice way they made their point that they had worked and delivered on farm legislation, now they had a problem and they didn't want an Alabama handler to be forced into the Mississippi Milk Order and although they were nice and understood that we had to operate fairly within the rules, yet they were putting the arm and saying "We've been with you - this is important - now you be with us." It was amusing that by the same token I had a conference the following day when I finished the Food Stamp testimony with a group from California, this time five Congressmen, who were saying almost the same thing where wheat and grain movements to the West Coast are concerned, claiming bitterly that they are shipping out of the Pacific Northwest, which is actually more efficient, and stating that we ought to ship and store at least some in California. They again were reasonable in the sense that they recognized we had to operate where it would be most efficient, where we could make dollar sales, but they, too, had been our supporters. They had been with us on farm

legislation, now they felt they were entitled to some real consideration on this one. So it goes -- and this is the way you pay your bills in politics. I must say in all fairness, that in neither case were they so demanding as to insist that it must be one way and only one way, but it's hard to make these decisions and it means a great deal of pressure.

Another example, late today we all met wondering what to do about tobacco. Hearings will be held next week. HEW is asking for power to regulate advertising and to insist upon a warning sign and various kinds of possible labeling on cigarettes. Federal Trade Commissioners held hearings on the same. There are about 8 bills before the Committee and we have been asked to comment on them. On the one hand, they're not very good bills and they leave the door wide open to what could be some harmful and misleading advertising, but if we oppose them we will automatically be accused of supporting economic interests at the expense of people's health. There is enough pounding on us the way it is, including the pesticides problem without getting in that posture. On the other hand, the tobacco industry is smarting and sensitive and there are tens of thousands of tobacco farmers who need that income desperately. So what do we do? Well, we kicked this one around quite a while and I finally came to the conclusion that for the time being that we don't know what to do, to do nothing. Dorothy made the argument that it would be very bad for the image of agriculture to be in the position which would look like we put economics ahead of people's health. Godfrey on the other hand felt strongly that the Surgeon General's report was not conclusive, the tobacco industry was contesting it as being primarily statistical, and that they expected us to help them. Murphy more or less sided with Godfrey. He added that he thought that was the most popular position. Anyway, I postponed this one and I have in my mind's eye exactly where it sets on the top of my desk right now.

Last night we had a little party for Willard Cochrane that was quite nice. Charley Murphy made a very nice little speech and my remarks seemed to be well received. Willard was thrilled. We'll miss him. He is a great fellow. Thank goodness we've got John Schnittker.

Another good example of how legislation is passed can be seen in the increase of authorized appropriation under the farm real estate and conservation and water loan section. Presently we have a \$200 million guarantee authorization. Poage has been wanting to increase it to \$450 million and it's a good program and needed for a host of reasons. Treasury and Budget have resisted it. The program as it now stands is guaranteed loans with the proviso that the bank holding them can sell them back to the Government after 3 years if they wish. The Government then would sell them or discount them in the open market. Actually this hasn't happened. Poage has demanded this legislation in effect as a price for his support on the poverty bill. I talked with him, mollified him, got a hold of Dillon, worked out a kind of compromise where we would go ahead and they would agree privately, although not openly because they want to adhere to the principle of not making loans or guarantees at any lower rate than the going rate of interest. Nonetheless he would go along with the proposition that we could make such guarantees up to 15 years at $4\frac{1}{2}$ percent interest which he said would be marketable. Our people said it wouldn't and we couldn't do business that way, but I decided we would go forward nonetheless, get it through the Bureau of the Budget that way, and then it might be amended. Poage in the meantime kept the pressure on. The matter was discussed at a Leadership Breakfast in the White House, Walter Jenkins was sent to see Poage and then to see Dillon and the long and the short of it was that Poage got his way. The bill passed out of Committee and is now on the way, I think, to passage. I'm pleased. We need the money. It's a good thing.

Thursday, June 25, 1964 -- 6:50 a.m. I'm down in my little office at home. Work up this morning at 6:00 o'clock even though we didn't roll in until 1:00. I'm going to dictate a few minutes and then off to the office for a meeting again this morning with a group of Congressmen. I've had quite a few in now -- 6 to 10 at a time -- for breakfast, discussing general overall agricultural problems with them and trying to lay the groundwork of a better understanding. The meetings have been good and the response has been excellent. I don't know why I woke up so early this morning, but basically I've been kind of troubled and more or less depressed this week. I'm not sure why. Perhaps because the overall magnitude of this job is so vast and the exact and precise targets so kind of mushy that at times it seems hopeless. Then I try to sit down and give myself a lecture and say that it isn't done in a day, this is all a very difficult process, and the joy of clear sharp accomplishment is not one that the Secretary of Agriculture very often enjoys. Anyway I've been kind of depressed and a bit down this week. I'm not sure why because we did have a delightful week end and I should have felt rested and stimulated by it but somehow it didn't work out that way.

Monday was to have been a quiet day in the office and instead it ended up with a parade of people with a lot of program and policy matters of not much consequence. I did meet with the Extension Committee on organization and policy and tried to stimulate them both in applying Civil Rights Act in the Extension program and also in their Rural Area Development and Poverty work and I think did some good. The Indian Minister of Trade was in and we talked about the timing of extended P.L. 480 agreements with them. They are in difficulty now, food prices are going up, and anxious to have some assurances and help from us. I went ahead and told the Indian Ambassador they

could made some announcements which without being too specific indicated the availability of rice later on in the year. I rather hesitated to do this for I haven't wanted to get India into the Act yet much until we can get P.L. 480 legislation moving. Had some long discussions about sugar again and other kinds of on going commodity program problems. Also the selection of the Commission for marketing, that is the members for it is under way and kind of messy. The President isn't sure what he wants and when you start looking hard it's difficult to find the best people to recommend.

Tuesday I went down to Jacksonville, Florida to the E. T. York, now the Provost of the Agriculture School there, meeting. He calls it DARE, Developing Agricultural Resources Efficiently, of Florida. He had had a series of about eight meetings of agricultural leaders around the State and I more or less climaxed it. We were a bit late, for the plane left Washington an hour late, and rushed in to speak in the gymnasium there. I've seldom spoken to a colder audience and I really don't know why. I'm not sure whether it reflected a general attitude in the South because of the Civil Rights Bill and the current troubles at St. Augustine. Actually flying from Jacksonville down to Gainesville to the College with Doyle Conner, the Florida Commissioner of Agriculture, that seemed to be the case. He expressed his concern about Goldwater. That Goldwater would be a real threat in Florida and with his vote against Civil Rights and the current troubles it could mean problems within Florida for the election. Although for the first time, as he said, all the leaders in the State were united behind the Presidential candidate. Anyway, it was hotter than blue blazes, but I had a friendly reception there and when I got up to speak after a splendid introduction from Dr. York expected to get a good response. The audience really sat on

their hands. I couldn't raise them with stories. They really didn't respond to text. I got off the text because I had the pages of the manuscript inadvertently mixed up and had to try and get them straightened out while I talked. I used every trick I had and it didn't do much good. They sat. This doesn't happen to me very often and I'm not sure why it did on that occasion. Anyway while I was at the table a message came that the President was trying to reach me which seems to be the case every single time I leave Washington. It turned out to be actually some questions from Ken Birkhead via Larry O'Brien about appointments to the Marketing Commission.

I had the usual press conference which wasn't particularly stimulating and then back on the plane.

I worked very hard on the plane going both ways, trying to get ready for the mid-year budget 5-year projection review session which will be held this morning. Maybe that's why I've been kind of depressed, because the program of the Department is vast and I always feel when I get into this kind of helpless for there is so much I don't know and really I guess can't know, yet one ought to know. Then the approach of the budget people and this is quite natural and a part of the process is what can you cut, and Kermit Gordon especially has been constantly emphasizing what are program alternatives and this is very disturbing. Joe Robertson came in yesterday and really more or less shook me up when he said to me, "Boss, what is it that has priority around here?" And I said, "Joe, we've been through that within various programs working on the budget within the last month." "I know," he said, "but between the overall programs, which do you really want?" "We have so many." I more or less flared up in connection with this and said we need all of them and they are all meshed together to meet a common purpose in connection with remaking

the face of rural America. And he shrugged his shoulders and said, "Well when I was your Tax Commissioner and you were Governor and I came over, you didn't say to me 'Why is everything you're doing good?', you said to me, 'What is most important if there is only so much to be had?'" And, of course, Joe is right. This is a part of the process, this is always a bottomless pit. Priorities must be set, and the Bureau of the Budget people are only doing their job. Yet, when I look at our programs, one by one, and go back to the hearings before Congress, go back to our own budget hearings, the sessions that I've had, I realize that these programs are highly refined, are serving an important public need and need to be not contracted which we certainly have done in this budget but actually expanded. And when I've looked at them, I've realized too that we do have a target, that we are zeroed in, in connection with the remaking of rural America, the building of the new great society that the President talks about, and that they are important and essential, and then I actually resolved that what I need to do is to fight as effectively and as cleverly for them as I know how and that doesn't mean meeting the matter head-on and getting on a collision course with the Bureau of the Budget either. Rather I think it probably means being a bit Machiavellian, fighting for what we can get and then using all we can get as effectively as possible. This makes me a bit uncomfortable, however, because it really makes one feel not completely a member of the team in the sense that you are an advocate and not one who is trying to think in terms of the overall total government-wide Nation-wide program.

I'm going to lunch today with my own staff, bringing in the Assistant Secretaries and staff people per se to try and inculcate into them the overall spirit that they are members of a total Department approach and program, rather than advocates for their own program. Really they fight the same battle within the Department that I fight within the Government and I hope I may by bringing them together in this fashion give them more of an overall Department feeling with a sense of participation and decision making and shaping of policy and program with the satisfaction that goes with it than I get in the process of the total wide Government effort from the Presidential policies and programs and leadership. I must say that this is not particularly unique to Johnson -- I had the same feeling very frequently when I worked with Kennedy. The President is busy. Problems on the front inevitably get attention, ours are seldom that kind of an emergency nature, and so it goes.

Mike started work this week in the Senate and that's good. He seems to be enjoying it -- it's good experience and he makes a few dollars, too. He's been going down with me mornings, working at his algebra and some of his studies in my little office and then on up on the Hill for the day. We refused to provide him transportation every day to and from the Capitol as such and he has seemed to understand that. I made it clear to him that he should be on his own and not a burden to people around the Department and he has reacted well for which I'm proud. I'm sure he will do well up there and learn a good deal in the process.

Well it's 7:10 and if I'm going to be with Congressmen in 45 minutes I'd better be on my bicycle for now.

June 29, 1964 -- 7:10 p.m. in the office. Mike and I just walked around the building coming back from the cafeteria where we had a spot to eat. We're going on to a movie tonight a little later on, but will get in a bit of work in the meantime. Jane is still in Minneapolis. She'll be speaking in Toledo, Ohio, tomorrow, coming home Wednesday for the Democratic Women.

I've had an interesting couple of days and feel a little bit more perky than I did when I last dictated. Thursday morning bright and early I went up to testify on the Appalachian program, particularly the grazing part of it to try and set the record straight and counteract some of the cattle interests who are opposing the program which would seek to help some of these frozen in poverty folks get a small cow-calf operation going.

Then I raced to the airport and flew in to Sikeston, Missouri, via Nashville where I was picked up by a private plane together with Congressman Paul Jones and Stu Symington. They pushed me hard to go in there. That's the boothill of Missouri. Actually it is Mississippi in temperament, habits and attitudes. Symington is up for re-election, is confident, but is a bit worried about this area and says the President needs some help there, too, because of the Civil Rights matter. Anyway, I flew in. They had a quick luncheon with the Missouri Cotton Producers Association where I spoke in somewhat general terms, then over to an REA where I made a strong speech about Rural Area Development and about Recreation as a part of new economic opportunities. I worked in some commodities and a little hoop-te-do and razzle-dazzle and REA kind of platform histrionics which seemed to be well received and got in what I was told were some pretty good plugs which will be useful to Symington. Anyhow, he seemed grateful.

After a brief press conference I flew in a private plane to Minneapolis, working on a speech which I subsequently gave to the DFL State Convention, setting down two things -- first the history of the DFL on this its 20th birthday, a chance to remind and put into the record some of the things we had done and that ours was a party of issues and purpose before any person. It was really quite well received. Right after I'd flown in I went to the hotel where we had dinner with the Rolvaags and the Mondales and the Art Naftlins, then Humphrey joined in. Then we went over and the Rolvaags and ourselves stood in line for 2 1/2 hours, and it was as hot as Billy Blue Blazes, at a reception. They figured they would have about 450 people at the outside, and they had 1200. We saw hundreds of people we hadn't seen for a long time. It surely gave one a rather strange feeling for some people had changed very radically -- heavy, grayer, much, much older; others hardly at all. Everyone seemed genuinely pleased to see us and the remarks were very friendly. It was good for the morale that everyone said how young we looked. Everyone, of course, said we were doing a fine job and how proud they were of us and please come home and that kind of thing. But it was actually a very warm welcome.

We went back to our hotel in Minneapolis and the Naftlins came in and then Tom Hughes brought in Jerry Bruno who had been the Democratic Committee advance man who had had a few drinks and who got miserably mean with Art Naftlin, accusing him of not cooperating, not getting up signs for the President's coming, not putting out a special press release or having a press conference, not going on the radio, and went at it again and again. Finally he got profane so I had to tell him to watch his language that there were ladies in the room. I think he was probably right. Art didn't do any thing and had a guilty conscience and that's why Art argued with him and didn't

throw him out. Anyway we were up early the next morning, spoke to the State Convention as I've mentioned, and then I went to a luncheon out at the Minneakada Club which was beautiful, a dozen people put on by the Northwest Airlines, and I made an award, an E Award, to them on behalf of the Commerce Department. There were a number of prominent business men around and I was feeling good and for once in good form and it really went quite splendidly.

I stopped off in the meantime to see Bobby Humphrey who has had an operation with the removal of some muscles and nodules because of some low grade cancer. He seems to be doing well. His mother told me that he was somewhat concerned about the scars and so I went up and matched scars and kidded him about that and they seemed to think it helped him a little.

Then, to meet the President, off to the State Convention, where he made a reasonably good speech but it was off a teleprompter. Not much real zip to it. It was awfully hot and there weren't enough people in the auditorium, nor were there enough people along the parade route, and we were all a little concerned about it, but we hadn't got final information of his coming to the auditorium at all, or of the route itself early enough to really get the information out so people could come.

Back we went to the Minneapolis Hotel, dressed and down to the \$1,000 President's Club affair which was really quite miraculous. About 150 tickets to this was sold. The reception was beautifully handled. The President came in and moved around the entire place, as did Lady Bird, meeting, greeting, shaking hands, and spent more than an hour at it. For my part, I let Humphrey take him around. I moved around and saw all kinds of people that I hadn't seen for a long time. Anyone would think I'm running for office these days. Maybe I am. Anyway everyone was friendly. The response was

excellent. There were more Republicans there than we've ever had at an affair before, and of course that was a lot of money.

We then had a kinda nasty little experience that's hard to evaluate. A good deal of maneuvering about the President's visit revolved around the insistence of supposedly Freddie Gates to get the President to visit the Transoceanic Corporation which is a Dwayne Andreas bank and fiscal operation of some kind. Well, maybe that's all right, but it's kinda silly and Fritz Mondale for one fought it. At the conclusion of the \$1,000 reception, why Dwayne Andreas suggested we come into these offices, and Jane didn't want to go because she detests him so, and that they had a limousine and we could rest for a minute before we went over to the dinner which seemed logical. We got in there and sat around for a solid half hour and nothing happened and I got about ready to go and in comes Humphrey. He'd been talking to some newspaper man, and then they got Humphrey on the telephone and as nearly as I could tell he was calling the President or the Secret Service or someone insisting that the President be routed by this place. In the meantime we all waited, got over to the banquet at least 35 minutes late and to make matters worse, they didn't even know exactly where to take us. It all worked out, but the program started late, and by the time the President was there the word went up and down the table to the few of us on the program that we should cut our 2 minutes to 1 minute, because the President wanted his speech to get on the wires and be printed back East. Fritz Mondale led off with a wonderful introduction of me in terms of the spirit and the meaning and the architect and the shaper of the DFL party. It was really a rare and moving compliment. I actually made my speech primarily to the President as such, having in mind that he might

have forgotten a bit of the background of Minnesota politics and having in mind quite frankly the Vice Presidential situation. Actually it went very well. I thanked him for being there and reminded people of the heavy burdens he carried last week, which he surely did. I then commented on the 20th anniversary of the party and what it stood for in terms of issues rather than people, and then used the President's phrase, "Is it for the folks?" as a measuring criteria which meant that these were his kind of people and vice versa, and spoke in terms of the poverty program, the Appalachian program, the great society theme, and peace through strength. He turned his head when I finished and made a very complimentary remark. Later when I called him to compliment him on his speech which was excellent for the threw away the manuscript and just let go about building a better society and taking care of people and taking advantage of our opportunities, he again went out of his way to compliment me so I felt pretty good about that. He also said repeatedly that myself, and he grouped me with Walter Heller which is pretty good company, were his strong right arm. And, of course, in his main speech he made some very pointed remarks about agriculture, agricultural progress, and then stated that he would be looking for a long time to Minnesota for guidance in agriculture. Everybody felt this was quite sensational and at another reception following the main banquet where Jane and I stayed again and shook hands and visited until after 1:00 o'clock, why dozens of people came up and were very, very complimentary.

All in all, I really did enjoy it. It was an occasion when things went well for a change, and it was nice to have some nice things said back with the home folks. The 1960 defeats still bites, but as I said in my speech to the DFL Convention, it's all for the best.

Sunday morning we were up at a reasonable hour -- breakfasted -- read the paper, and then off to church. I almost got left behind in the Presidential entourage. Humphrey is really pushy about things like this. He kinda took over and was putting people in and out of the President's car. I really didn't give a darn but I almost got left altogether. We went to Reuben Youngdahl's church, and I thought he did a rather lousy job, with only passing acknowledgement of the President's presence and not even naming the rest of us by name. His sermon I thought was relatively indifferent. It was hotter than Billy Blue Blazes and we had to fight our way in and out through hundreds of people.

As we drove from the church to Minnehaha park, I was near the end of the cavalcade and rolled down the window and put my head out and really had a remarkable response from people along the curb. Almost everyone of them recognized me. The remarks were generally very friendly, and the driver, Luther Johnson of the detective force in Minneapolis, said "Here's the story the reporters should have had." But as I said to him, "I don't know whether they like me or not, there's a big question there, but they do know me and that in and of itself is gratifying." Again, I sound like a candidate.

Tom and I came home after the Svenskarnas Dag where the President spoke to 100,000 or so, and we were just one of the crowd, on a press plane coming back purposely on it to get a little press exposure. I'd hoped to plant a few Vice President seeds but it didn't work out that way. Although several times during the day I had a chance, as I did today when Chuck Bailey came in bringing one of the new guys from the Coles organization out here to help him in his work. When Chuck mentioned to me that the boys on the press

plane were asking him about my ideas on the Vice Presidential thing, he said he didn't know because he hadn't had a chance to talk to me, privately that is, he told them. I just laughed at him and said, "Well, that ought to be easy. After all, I've got seniority on this, I've been running for Vice President longer than anyone else. Remember 1960." And I let it lay right there on a kind of light jocular vein. That's about the right way to play it. I've no idea what will happen, but Tom has been dropping a few seeds now. John Duncan is going to do some work with some of the Southern Commissioners of Agriculture and apparently talk with Talmadge and Russell also. Ken Birkhead has talked to Drew Pearson and to Gil Harrison, who has run stories on both Humphrey and McCarthy and I was surprised when he told Birkhead that he had the series planned and couldn't change it now and wouldn't run one on me. I think he's another one who is pretty emotionally committed to Humphrey, but I'm rather surprised that he wouldn't at least run the story. Anyway, I'm just going to take it light and plow ahead and see what happens.

Today in the office was one of those of plowing through papers. I worked on the 'phone for a couple of hours this morning on the Food Stamp Bill which passed out of the Senate with only two dissenting votes for which I am grateful indeed.

The Minister of Agriculture from India was in again and we went over some old ground on the new contracting for India with him. I also pretty much started out the day with a conference with John Baker trying to work out a budget policy which will really integrate our budget hearing in process so that policy and program as well as the nuts and bolts of housekeeping can be considered and all of this organized so that I can be informed and make the necessary policy decisions and establish some program priorities

which need to be established. Don Dawson, formerly in President Truman's office, now a lawyer and man about town, was in to lobby for sugar for India and Charley and I off and on spent probably an hour together today discussing wheat, sugar and a number of other rather nasty commodity problems which constantly plague us.

I also met with an Extension Committee of young Extension Agents in here for a year's special study while they get their Master's Degree who were very attractive and then with a Committee that Harry Caldwell has established of Land-Grant College economists to review our commodity programs.

Now I'll be off after a bit for an evening with my son which I don't get too often -- just the two of us, and we're going to go and see "Seven Days in May", Chuck Bailey's book.

Incidentally before this week end trip I've been talking about, we went on June 25 to a dinner at the home of Averell and Mrs. Harriman for Prime Minister Menzies and his wife from Australia. I thoroughly enjoyed this one. They have a lovely place. I had a long talk with Bill Fulbright and John McCone which covered the Viet Nam situation and also Cypress and was very interesting. The toast that Harriman gave calling on the experience of many years of friendship, going back to the period during war in England, was both touching and amusing. A good many prominent Washingtonians were there and it actually was a thoroughly delightful evening. Also on Thursday our session in the Bureau of the Budget turned out to be really constructive. Actually, the Bureau crowd was so friendly and so receptive and were so much other than pushy that we didn't quite know what to make of it, but

decided that we would just conclude they were happy with our general progress and seemed to think we knew what we were doing. That in and of itself after a week of somewhat doubt was welcome.

June 30, 1964. It's hard to realize how rapidly time goes by. Here half of 1964 is almost gone. It's 10:30 at night and I'm alone in the office. Just a bit ago I helped dress Mike in my tux which fit him reasonably well with the exception of the cummerbund which I had to pin up behind. He's off to the White House to dance. Tonight the President of Costa Rica is being entertained. I wasn't invited, but there apparently will be a dance under the stars and commencing at 10:00 o'clock the young people have been invited to attend. He was really thrilled. We've been batching it the past few days. I came back from Minnesota this week end and Jane stayed. She should be coming in tomorrow after speaking at some Democratic Women Events in Ohio today. It's been kinda fun to have the time with Mike, although of course we miss Mother.

Yesterday we got up and hurriedly made ourselves some breakfast -- cold breakfast food to be sure, and I was down here to the office with Mike along. He's been using my little office, coming down with me at 8:00 o'clock and then walking up to the Senate to go to work at 9:30. He came down late in the afternoon, we went over to the cafeteria and lunched a bit together and then came back here and worked until about a quarter of 9:00 and went out to see the Movie, "Seven Days in May". We enjoyed the movie and it was just good to be together.

Yesterday was fairly uneventful. I worked in the morning with Joe Robertson and Charley Murphy a bit to try and outline a better budget procedure here which I think I've mentioned already so we can direct attention not only to housekeeping budget details but try and develop some real program

() and policy alternatives and evaluate the effectiveness of various programs here which move in the direction of a common purpose or goal.

The Secretary for Food of India was in and we talked a bit about the future of India and our P.L. 480 relations. They are concerned about the new agreement, but quite reasonable. I urged him to rather than apologize for the lack of availabilities of dry milk to try and substitute other things and to sell the new emphasis as a more nutritional if more difficult product. He was receptive.

I was up on the Hill today for quite a while, after a morning devoted mostly to sugar with Dan Inouye, the Senator from Hawaii. I did some lobbying for the poverty bill and I think we did some good in stimulating Senators Metcalf, Williams, and Yarborough, to help push Title III, the Agricultural Poverty part, through the Senate. This will not be easy. Late in the afternoon I got the news that the Food Stamp Bill had passed the Senate on a voice vote and was very happy. Then I returned to the office and discovered that late in the debate that stinker, Senator Jack Miller of Iowa, a really nasty Republican operator who is always blandly friendly on a personal basis, made an amendment stating that nothing could be expended by way of food stamps for imported meat. This is what we had tried to avoid last week by shaping the language to read meat that could be identified by the retailer. Birkhead didn't even know this. Near as I can find out now, Ellender at the instance of Humphrey, Mansfield and others, accepted the amendment not wanting to have a fight on the beef question. This beef thing is really something. The Senators and Congressmen up there are so gun shy that they run from that issue and won't even fight back and I'm getting pretty disgusted in connection

with it. It is true, of course, that Mike Mansfield voted against the quota thing as tacked on to the wheat and cotton bill and saved the defeat of that legislation. I told Ken Birkhead tonight although our food people here are going crazy at this point that I thought we probably would be wise to let it stand. We'll check with the General Counsel, but by getting some kind of appropriate history in the conference report it would seem to me I could issue an administrative regulation that would restrict it to properly labeled food as being necessary to accomplish any reasonable kind of enforcement. With that kind of a conference report, we could then go ahead and let some of these wild eyed beef people scream. Right now it's political and they're all guy shy. Tomorrow afternoon I understand the Finance Committee is going to mark-up the beef quota bill. I've been debating whether I should do any direct work on this now and call the individual members and I don't know what to do. Mansfield was really very decent before and I know he's gun shy because of the election. He may be highly offended if I make some personal calls and undoubtedly I won't be able to block this anyhow and I think we can bottle it up quite effectively over in the House. Nonetheless, I don't want the President calling over here and asking, "What did you do?" and me responding, "Nothing". Ken Birkhead checked with Larry O'Brien and he said he didn't know what to do either and wanted to think about it, so I guess I'll let it sit and call Larry in the morning. This is a good example of politics and pressure grouping. There's been enough hollering here now so that this beef thing has gotten to be almost like a two edge sword and everybody over there are scared to raise their heads.

Had a good squash game today at the Pentagon with Bob McNamara. He beat me 4 to 1, although they were close games and this was one day I did

want to win because Mike was over, but I didn't. I then went over to a reception put on by the Chemical Association for Bob Clarkson of ARS who is retiring who was delighted to see me and I was quite gratified when he came over and said, and I think sincerely, that he had appreciated working for me and that he enjoyed working for intelligent tough administrators who knew what they want and were willing to work at it. He said he would be willing and anxious to do anything he could in the future to help us out if we saw fit to ask for any help. I was glad I went. I only stayed for a drink and a few of the crumpets and then left when they went in to dinner to go down to a cafeteria with Mike. We then came up here and he did some work on his algebra which he is trying to brush up on over the summer while I went back to this desk. Then as I say, I got him all dressed up in black tie and he should be over there dancing on the White House roof right now.

The Commodity Credit Corporation met this morning and we had a bit of a talk about our commodity programs which deeply concern me. At the moment it looks like the feed grain program, even with 34 million acres out, will not cut surpluses in feed grains any for the estimated national output per acre is 71 bushels. We can't seem to get ahead of this, and following the current program the cost next year would run I'm told close to \$1.8 billion -- that's simply more than we can sell. We discussed program alternatives and the question whether we could make any announcements now so that farmers would have adequate notice for advance planning. We generally agreed that it was impossible to go into too much detail because we would expose ourselves politically and also there are some things that we don't know. As always, the estimates could be way off, weather could change, many things could happen, and that's the way in agriculture.

I may have a bit of unpleasantness with Bob McNamara on the recreation problem, we'll have to see. There is an Allegheny Reservoir up in Pennsylvania which has been in process for about 7 years where they conflict between the Forest Service and the Army Engineers as to who will manage the recreation on it. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the Department of the Interior reviewed the matter and recommended that the Forest Service take it over. It was discussed briefly at a Recreation Advisory Council Meeting and the Army Engineers refused to discuss it.

I wrote Bob McNamara about this some time ago, and he referred it down the line and nothing happened. I told him today that I would be referring it shortly to the Recreation Advisory Council and that we would proceed with the Advisory opinion. I just dictated a memorandum ordering the development of procedures and an issue of notice that such a hearing would be held. After all, this is what the Advisory Commission was set up for and this will give us a chance to see if it will work. It is an off beat kind of administrative device whereby in effect this Advisory Council is set up to advise and to try and resolve differences in overlapping and bureaucratic wrangles. It is staffed by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the Department of the Interior which wears two hats, one a recreation operating hat within Interior, and secondly a staff operating hat for the Advisory Council. I'm now Chairman of the Advisory Council and am anxious to get something moving on recreation. This will be an interesting one if Bob McNamara doesn't do anything about it and we now bring it before the Advisory Council.

One more thing about the Minnesota trip -- when the President was speaking, I couldn't help but chuckle when he remarked that the task today is in many ways more difficult than it was back in the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt. This line that now with only a few people relatively suffering

poverty and hardship, it is harder to stimulate others to the need for action than it was during the depression days when some 20 to 30 million people are employed out of 140 million and it touched every family. I've hammered this again and again and again and the words come back. He might have gotten them from somewhere else. It's not exactly the most original thought, but it certainly amused me and reminded me and I sat down and wrote on a note pad and showed it to Joe Mondale, under the heading listen to the words come back, the fact that I made a speech in 1957 down here at an International Assistance meeting which in effect outlined which came to be the Peace Corps. Then, too, as early as 1958 I made a number of speeches entitled "The New Frontier", and actually for my speech as a Governor from the Midwest titled my speech "The New Frontier". Within a day the Kennedy Administration had picked "The New Frontier" as their slogan. Again it probably didn't come from me, but it is surely interesting how the words come back.

Wednesday, July 1, 1964 -- 4:05 p.m. in the office. This has been a generally uneventful day. Mike and I came down early in the morning for another meeting with Congressmen and then a session trying to figure out what to do about Food Stamp Bill which instead of passing the Congress, rather the Senate, instead of passing as we wanted at the tail end of the proceedings an anti-foreign meat amendment was included which would make the bill almost administratively impossible. We are now trying to figure out whether to fight this in conference, or to try and interpret it administratively so we could live with it. We haven't decided yet. This is something of a disappointment. Then we had a legislative strategy decision which may bounce back via Presidential intercession. This on the question of whether I should try and block the beef quota amendment in the Senate Finance Committee which I hesitate

to do because Mike Mansfield feels very touchy about the cattle question. He has been beaten on by these dammed cattlemen and now wants his amendment for 5-year quotas to go through which I oppose for reasons I've given.

It's now 7:00 o'clock at night and I'm waiting for a call from Mike up on the Hill where he is still working in the Senate as the pay bill is debated. The matter I just dictated about has been resolved. The question was whether I should go to the President before reaching a decision as to whether I should lobby this one and get at cross purposes with Mike Mansfield. I finally decided not to. I tried to reach Humphrey, but I couldn't, and later in the day he confirmed that judgment. Then I talked to Larry O'Brien who confirmed it as well and who told me just a moment ago that he had told the President that I had called him for some guidance on it and he had advised me not to get at cross-purpose on it. I haven't actually talked directly to the President on it, but the 'phone hasn't rung so therefore he must be at least resigned. We'll not have to figure out how to stop it in the Senate which I don't think we can do if Mike Mansfield really wants it; or, I'll go over tomorrow and talk to Wilbur Mills and make sure we get it blocked up in the Ways and Means Committee. Carl Albert was crying about it coming over to the House. These cattle guys can sure kick up a real stink. They're doing it and it doesn't make any difference what we do about imports or even beef prices that have moved up. They keep crying and screaming.

So far as the Food Stamp is concerned, we have some interesting developments on that since I last dictated. It seems there is now a possibility that it might pass the House unanimously, as it did the Senate, and Charley Hoeven is considering it. This would mean accepting the language that Jack Miller put on in the Senate. That language in effect took out the words of the Senate Committee in terms of holding the retailer to not selling meat to

Food Stamp participants if it was identified as import and made the language mere read "couldn't sell any imported beef". Our Legal Department worked on this all day and concluded there was nothing we could do to issue a regulation to tone this down. I then read through myself the Congressional Record and found that the discussion which preceded this language revolved around the question whether a processing part of a chain store operation would be covered in the meat they might process and send to their own retail outlets and that there was no discussion about a little grocery store buying in an open market where they couldn't know whether the meat included some foreign beef or not, nor did it mention at all canned goods that might or might not have foreign beef in it. This being the case it seemed to me quite obvious that we could issue an administrative regulation which would incorporate the real sense of the discussion interpreting thereby the language which on its face would make the store owner responsible. I finally got the General Counsel and his associate around to that decision, and we are prepared to go along. I then called Carl Albert and talked to him about it and found at that point that Carl Albert had been talking to the President about something else and the President had said, "Don't monkey with it except the Senate Amendment as it went over to the House." I said to Carl, "Well that's a nice kettle of fish. It's a good way for the Secretary of Agriculture to find something out." Whereupon he backed off and said, "Well the President was talking to me about something else and just mentioned this." Apparently the President also talked to Larry O'Brien and Larry said he had been trying to reach me when I was talking to Albert, so perhaps the President really did try and communicate with me. In any event, these things move fast and I can't expect to be informed every time the President acts, but any failure to communicate is one of the problems of working with this fellow.

I also had a rather interesting situation today with Bill Thatcher. We'd had some calls from Minnesota screaming about moving spring wheat out of Duluth, so when a call came from him this morning I delayed it until we got the adequate information and called back expecting him to hit the roof as he did the last time I called him ostensibly to discuss a bit of politics and got a complete turn down and a real negative reaction and almost a demand for certain things, whereupon I cut off the conversation in disgust. This time it was different. He called. Was reasonably friendly, and then proceeded to say he'd had his Board in and that they had made some commitments for political purposes to include Alec Olson, Ben Wickterman and two people one in South Dakota and one in North Dakota among the Congressional possibilities and also he would try and help Dick Parrish. Then and only then he moved into the question of what they wanted and I informed him that we were moving wheat and would be moving it into terminals very soon now with the harvest and that a good deal of wheat up in Duluth had actually been sold by GTA, bought from CCC out of GTA terminals and moved into export. He didn't pay much attention to that but zeroed in and said what they really wanted was the provision that all the wheat in the GTA elevator system, including their country elevators, would move through GTA terminals. He contended that it had been that way until we came in and we had changed it. It was that way once, but I'm sure it was the Republicans who changed it. In any event, he wasn't sure about that but claimed his fellows had misled him. I pointed out to him that he owned most of the country elevators which meant that he would get most of the grain in the terminals and that his terminals would be full while those of other parts of the trade were half full and that all hell would break loose. I said this is a question of timing. I think there is some merit in this position, and I do. Operationally it would not hamper us. He said he wasn't too impatient and

(could wait but he just wanted to know that I was interested and might be willing to do this. I indicated that I would look into it further and that there was a judgment factor here that we would have to pass on which included timing.

Humphrey then finally called me in response to my call. He had had Thatcher on the line, Thatcher complaining in a letter, going into some detail on the Duluth Terminal situation. He read it all off and then I explained to him that dead storage up there had low grade wheat, that the first in first out rule applied, that GFA itself had bought and moved out wheat-- and he threw up his hands and said he can't seem to get accurate information. I then told him that I had told Bill Thatcher that the thing to do, and Thatcher reacted favorably to this, was for Thatcher himself to come with several of his technical grain and operating people and to sit down here with some of ours and go step by step through these procedures, so we would be talking about the same things, that it's been too often apples and oranges. Humphrey was a little cross about the whole thing and said he would send over the letter and asked me to follow it up, which I will. Anyway, it was a change of attitude and a kinda turn-around for Thatcher. Instead of threatening and demanding in this instance he was going forward with clear cut political action and hoping then that we would respond affirmatively to some of his requests so far as we properly could. Actually I had added the last. He didn't bother about the propriety and really never does, although I certainly do. However, as he puts it, he ought to be able to run his own operation and that would mean take the grain in from his own country elevators and there is some merit in that position. However in light of the tirade that has been turned loose since my statement about Cooperatives from the private trade, I would surely be vulnerable if I did this at this time, but

maybe a fight in an election year with myself being attacked as the Great Cooperator would not necessarily do any harm. That's another one to think about, but anyway I've got to look into this matter.

The other two men that Thatcher referred to were a Ronald Redland in North Dakota who he said had been long the President of Crosby Elevator and would be an excellent candidate who he thought could defeat Short, which would be a blessing, and also in South Dakota a man by the name of Brown who he thought could beat Berry or at least give him a good run.

July 4, 1964, 10:20 a.m. -- at home. I've been up a couple of hours, puttering around with my slides trying to get 1963 in order. I've got so many now reaching back for almost 20 years and I've gotta figure out some system of organizing them and also more convenient access. A couple of months ago when the Stevensons were here we really went back, even back to the old Mexico trip of 1948 and back through spots of the India, Japan, Rome -- it was really fun. As I browsed through some pictures this morning, there were some photographs that went back to inaugurals and a father's day album given to me by Mike and Con in 1955. What a little guy Mike was then and now that big Moose of a boy 6' tall, 175 pounds, who is still sleeping upstairs. Still a sweet guy though. He went to bed last night kind of unhappy because late yesterday afternoon he tried to take a workout with his weights and to run up and down the avenue here and his knee bothered him right away again. He is so anxious to play football, loves sports so much, but somehow he seems to run into tough luck all the way along the line. We're spending a quiet week end of the 4th at home. Yesterday I slept fairly late, read the paper and had coffee, then waffles and brunch which literally didn't finish until after 2:00. Mike had a friend with him and I dozed a bit, worked at my desk awhile and then went over to the hospital after calling down to Texas to the Johnson

Ranch to talk with Dr. Berkeley because my eye has been bothering me and they found over at the Naval Hospital I have a bit of a sty inside the eye -- a little bit of a growth -- which they think penicillin and hot packs will take care of.

When I got back we worked around the yard, had a late dinner, watching television and then to bed. Jane and Mike are still sleeping, but I woke up a little after 8:00. I seem to do that more and more and even though we don't go to bed until real late, I'm awake quite early in the morning. Increasingly about 6 hours of sleep seems to do it.

Several interesting things as this week drew to a close -- The President called a quick Cabinet meeting on Thursday and it was one of the most encouraging ones I've seen in a long time. First of all, it was clear and sharp evidence of his planning ahead substantive-wise, for he told us that he was appointing about 15 task forces from outside the Government to quietly review what we were doing to determine goals and objectives and to prepare our program. He told us that we should set our sights high, that we could pare down and adjust and determine what we could afford and what we could pass later, but that the goal was clearly the goal of the Great Society. This was music to my ears. He also discussed the Civil Rights Act which he later signed, telling us to anticipate problems, to put it into effect sharply and effectively, and to work closely with Lee White in coordinating it's implication. Most of what he said, I've already done. I had before me a chart running through our Department setting down how the Act would apply, what problems we anticipated, what provision we were taking to meet them and generally outlining our whole procedure throughout the Department. I wish I had had a chance to talk about it, but I couldn't very well volunteer we had done this, it would have been too self serving.

I thought for a while Thursday we were going to make it on the Food Stamp Plan. I finally convinced the General Counsel that the language although very strong and difficult tacked to the Food Stamp Bill on beef in the Senate could be interpreted so as to be livable. I then went and saw Carl Albert on Thursday morning and we were hopeful there would be unanimous consent and it would go through. It almost did. Apparently Hoeven and the Republicans were willing, but then John Bell Williams of Mississippi got mad about something and being unhappy with the Leadership refused unanimous consent and so it went down. Now it will have to go before the House again to either accept the Senate changes or to send it to Conference. So near and yet so far.

The Senate did pass the Pay Bill. That's a good thing because my mail over the week end showed an overdraw on our Checking Account. The money sure goes out. It costs a good deal to keep up the house, that takes some help, heavy payments, entertaining and all the rest, and we are just barely keeping our head above water. In order to go on a little vacation planned for next week, a combination inspection trip of some of the National forests and vacation, we're going to have to dip into savings. I sure hope that pay bill takes effect ^{of} on July 1 instead/next January. No one seems quite clear how that will come out.

Thursday we heard at the Cabinet meeting that the Civil Rights Act had passed the House and so I called Jane and she came down. Mike was working on the Hill and brought a boy friend along and we went over to the White House and observed the signing. It was a historic occasion. The President made a very effective statement. It was on television live to make the news shows. He then signed the bill with some 70 or so pens. This just before the 4th made it most timely. His appeal being to work together to implement the Civil

Rights Act in the best tradition of the Declaration of Independence. Then the two boys, Jane and I went over to a little restaurant to eat and the boys left, Thompson taking them home to get the car, for their dates. Jane and I had a relaxed stroll around town, talking mostly about Connie -- her latest letter indicating that instead of going to Douglass she wants now to stay at home and go to college here. We agreed this wasn't a good idea. I think she would not have any social life and that she needs some real campus exposure. So we'll have to jolly this one along. Her letters sound so grown up and increasingly regretful that she's coming home. I have a hunch that she'll be a handful for a while. Although I don't think it'll be as tough as Jane does for she will slip into a routine here fairly easily I hope. Anyway we better plan for it.

Thursday I sat with the team from the Civil Service Commission and Bureau of the Budget who had spent four months reviewing Administrative procedures in ARS, AMS, and FHA. We could only go over it rather superficially but I was impressed with what they pointed out and somewhat shocked that some of the things they recommended we had not already carried forward. This was particularly true in ARS which I've known for a long time was an administrative mess. Now we've got to dig into it. I'm going to try somehow to get time to read these reports very carefully and I talked with Joe over the week end about setting up the mechanism to implement them so we can swiftly carry them forward. I notice my schedule for next week has quite a bit of time in it for this kind of thing and that's good. I do think that I'm in better shape generally in terms of my overall involvement in Department going ons than I perhaps have ever been. I know a bit more about the Department, of course. We have developed a fine cohesiveness and good morale, and now if I can keep at it we can do something about the nuts and bolts as well as the overall policy.

I must say, however, that the thought ran through my mind when the President notified us of the appointment to come of these overall policy program direction committees that our commodity program situation sure doesn't look good.

We had a brief CCC Board meeting also on Thursday and the projections now are that even with 34 million acres out we won't get any cut in feed grain surpluses and that the program if it continues unchanged would cost about \$1.8 billion to just hold our own next year, or rather in 1965. This is more than we can afford. I'm sure Congress won't pass this and we've got to figure out something here for all the commodity programs come into focus next year and there will be a major and very very difficult time. Anyway, we are studying, reviewing, plotting and thinking, and it's premature yet to reach any conclusion. It may not be as bad as it seems. In any event until it's clear that it is, the less said the better, and I've issued instructions that bits and parts of information that could be misused should not be released if we can help it. I think we can get by until after election. After all this has been a major battleground with pros and cons and charges and countercharges for so long that no one knows and therefore we do have some flexibility and can keep it mushed up at least until next year, I hope.

I continue to have some fun about the Vice President thing . Chuck Bailey was in to see me, bringing in a new reporter, and I told him I had been a candidate for Vice President for longer than either Humphrey or McCarthy and he then wrote a story that Humphrey, McCarthy and Freeman all potential Vice President candidates were given about equal treatment when the President visited Minnesota. Maybe in part this will take hold. I was thinking over the week end, too, how I might organize to command a little attention as to our political plans within the Department for the coming year.

I called and discussed it with Tom, considering getting an appointment later on in the week to point out the places in the country where we feel we might score the best and elect Congressmen, emphasizing that I think I can do some good in the South, and then possibly resurrecting the Land and People Conference held in Duluth almost a year ago with the thought that something comparable to the Appalachian plan might be proposed in that area and made a campaign issue. Anyway I'm reflecting on that.

Material prepared
by Under Secretary Murphy
July - 1964

Orville L. Freeman as a
Candidate for Vice President

Major qualifications needed in a Vice Presidential candidate
are --

(1) The ability to discharge the duties of the Presidency if
he should succeed to that office.

(2) The ability as Vice President to perform services valuable
to the President, and

(3) The ability to campaign effectively to bring votes to the
ticket.

These three qualifications are not mutually inconsistent. The
same personal attributes contribute to each of them. Political experience
and ability, for example, are needed for all three; and may well be needed
most in discharging the duties of the Presidency itself. Remember Herbert
Hoover -- a brilliant man who had been a capable administrator -- but he
had no political experience.

Orville Freeman has the needed combination of abilities and
experience to a greater degree than any of the other potential candidates
discussed today.

1. Experienced Political Leader. Elected Governor of Minnesota
three times, he established the organizational structure of the Minnesota
DFL party as its state chairman in the late 1940's -- the structure that
transformed the Democratic party from the minority to the majority. He is
an experienced and effective campaigner. He broke a 16-year GOP stranglehold
on the State house in 1954. He understands people, and they understand him.

He stimulates and draws to the party capable and talented people, creating a leadership reservoir. The record shows that he knows how to make government work in a democracy where public opinion and legislative opinion have to be reckoned with. As Secretary of Agriculture, he has gained the respects of members of the Congress and their staffs. He works constantly to maintain and improve relations with the Hill. He has learned the procedures, methods and lore of the Congress and knows how to operate. He has gained the respect of the conservatives and rates tops with the liberals.

2. Proven Executive. Ten years of executive experience in major public offices -- although still only 46. As Governor of Minnesota for six years, he ran a tip-top state administration. As Secretary of Agriculture, he has revitalized that Department with its far-flung agencies and programs. He has tightened operating management, installed modern procedures and processes, strengthened auditing, inspection and cost control activities, and dealt firmly with misconduct. He has moved strongly to eliminate discrimination in employment. In all this, he has furnished the kind of leadership that has the morale of the Department at a peak.

3. Successful Secretary of Agriculture. Even in this impossible job, he has been a success. Riding herd on a jolting technological revolution in agriculture, he has regained control of the commodity programs that had run wild with Benson. Under his administration the strengthening of the family farm has been made the central objective of farm programs.

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He has made a major attack on rural poverty through the Rural Areas Development program. He has improved consumer activities of the Department and greatly increased the public's awareness of the American family farm as the abundant provider of food at reasonable prices. He has spoken up for the use of this abundant food for the benefit of people at home and abroad. He has sought aggressively and successfully to broaden foreign markets for U. S. farm products. He has acquainted himself with every detail of the Department's operations by driving himself relentlessly. He is demanding of his subordinates, but demands more of himself. His physical stamina is amazing.

Today, more than at any time in the past, the vice presidential candidate will be measured by how he would perform as President. Thus how would Freeman measure up:

Power -- He understands it, is not afraid to use it; he uses it solely in the public interest to fashion support for the issues and policies he believes in.

Issues -- Freeman is a liberal of the new generation of political leaders. He is not doctrinaire, but rather a pragmatic, problem solving politician. He believes that political freedom exercised through democratic government can produce the maximum social and economic freedom for the individual.

Political Instinct: Freeman has highly developed political antennae. As Secretary of Agriculture -- a job hardly guaranteed to win friends -- he has avoided becoming a political hate symbol, a fate so often attached to the office. He can sense movements of public opinion and is adept at timing his actions to take advantage of the momentum of opinion.

Ability to communicate -- Freeman has a quick, retentive mind.

He absorbs complex issues readily and can reduce them to easily comprehensible terms. If he has any fault, it is that he assumes that others can absorb as much detail as he does at one time. But even when he presents a mass of detail, he does it in a clear, logical and orderly way.

He has the knack of dramatizing a story, of finding the best headline. He can quickly sense the mood of an audience and mold his comments accordingly. He rarely allows a gulf to come between him and his audience. He is particularly effective on television, projecting sincerity, warmth and intelligence. His forceful personality comes across clearly.

Courage -- Freeman carries one visible sign of his courage -- a scar at the left side of his chin where a Japanese bullet struck him as he led a marine patrol on Bouganville Island during World War II. He has led many other battles since then. In the early days of the DFL, he led the fight when all Communist influence was removed from the party. As a Governor he fought for income tax withholding, a proposal the Republicans opposed bitterly. In six years, he convinced the public of his position and a Republican legislature adopted withholding shortly after he left office. He lost his bid for an unprecedented fourth term as Governor partly because he advocated higher taxes in order to support education and welfare services knowing it would take all his political credit to achieve passage of the tax measure. A Lutheran in a state where Protestants are suspicious of Rome, he nominated the first Catholic President and then personally led the fight against rising anti-Catholic sentiment in the closing days of the campaign when he knew it could lose him votes.

While he has learned exceedingly well that legislation is a compromise best achieved through pressure and persuasion, his determination once he has committed

himself is an awesome thing. When the farm bill was narrowly defeated in 1962 in the House, he picked himself up from the floor and spent most of that night constructing a new version which eventually was enacted.

He has, since coming to Washington, learned to exercise his political courage with more subtle skill. As Governor, he found himself generally identified with the negative points on many political issues. As Secretary, he has led fights on unpopular issues but has avoided negative identification. Rural people generally seem to associate Freeman with what they like and they associate their dislikes with the system or with others.

National Figure -- Freeman is not publicly or privately identified with any interest group, but is known and respected among the leaders of all groups. His ties with organized labor are especially strong, as they are with liberal groups in general. Labor knows him best as a Governor who is willing to step into an explosive strike situation and defuse it so that collective bargaining can be allowed to work. His support for education and public welfare programs aligns him positively with these

groups, and his success as Secretary to put a workable food stamp program together further strengthens his position.

He has an outstanding record as a conservationist beginning with his success as Governor to improve fish and game, forests and water resources. His actions as Secretary to accelerate soil and water conservation work through small watershed program, the 10-year Forest development program and the wetlands program add to his record.

As Secretary he has greatly strengthened his relations with the business community. The timber and lumber industry feel their relations with the Forest Service are vastly improved, primarily because Freeman has settled many long standing problems. They feel they can get a respectful hearing. Freeman's strong stand on access to the Common Market for agricultural products has gained him impressive stature in the business community.

Ethics -- As a public figure, Freeman carries a strong identification with high moral character and ethical conduct of public business. He issued the first code of ethics for public employees in Minnesota and proposed the

first code of ethics for legislators. His three administrations as Governor were free of any scandal involving appointed or elected officials using their office for personal gain. As Secretary he has established procedures -- particularly the Inspector General's office -- for early detection of wrongdoing in any program area in order that quick and effective corrective action can be taken.

Family -- A dominant characteristic of Freeman is his strong sense of family responsibility. This trait is part of his political personality, but his public life is so well blended with his private life that it adds to an strengthens the family ties. His wife, Jane, is a remarkable person and an outstanding campaigner. She has a warm direct personality which projects itself naturally in groups and particularly over television. A capable organizer, she can be quietly but firmly insistent on her point of view. She is an essential part of Freeman's political personality and one of his best political assets.

The major opportunity which the election of 1964 presents to the Democratic party is to enlarge and consolidate its support among the younger

families in the suburbs -- the people of the new generation and the new communities who are inspired and lifted by the concept of The Great Society.

Freeman is of their generation. He built the Democratic Party in Minnesota from among them. With strong, young, enthusiastic leadership, the Democratic Party under Freeman made its breakthrough and maintained extraordinary strength among the new generation. As Governor, Freeman anticipated the needs of a state in the midst of rapid urbanization and industrialization, and put together a program which met those needs.

Since his first days in politics, he has shown a perceptive understanding of the potential for abundance in America and the constant thread in his public statements has been a plea for the Great Society, in concept if not in that exact phrase.

The Goldwater candidacy says that the Republicans reject the facts of this new age which the new communities recognize either consciously or intuitively. Goldwater will be more than an anachronism for these people; he will be a positive threat to all that they have created or potentially will create.

If the Democrats are to capitalize on this fatal error -- and they have shown a willingness to do so in projecting the concept of a Great Society -- the Vice-Presidential candidate should be a person who projects strongly and positively the potential of the new community. He should be identified as one who has grown up with the problems of the new community

and one who knows how to deal with these problems. He should be conscious of the Nation's power as the dominant force in world affairs, for the new communities are the source of this power. But he also should be able to bridge the gulf between the old and new America...to understand the forces of change and to show that the effects of change must be handled with patience and care.

Freeman has the knowledge and ability to argue the case for solving both old and new problems with the power of the new community. He can do more than any other prospective Vice Presidential nominee to identify the Democratic Party as the part of the future to the generation now coming to power.

7/10/64

July 8, 1964 - 10:55 a.m. in the Office. The last couple of days have been rather interesting. I dictated last week about the change of climate with Bill Thatcher. Humphrey got into the act and we have been trying to do some things that he wants pursuant to his call and change of attitude. Then he called this week about a strike at the Head of the Lakes which was giving him serious trouble. He wanted some adjustments made here, particularly that which would involve a higher handling charge on grain which would mean a higher resale price by the Corporation and give them some more potential profit margin. This apparently so he could pay a bit more on the contract to labor under negotiation. I thought about this over night and then went back at him saying that I wanted him to take up to his Board what he could do to help me if he wanted me to help him in this way, to wit, (1) to meet the bread tax charge which we are now getting because the millers raised the price of flour even though they had bought wheat in June much cheaper than a year before and this is being used around the country as a vindication for the Farm Bureau's bread tax position. It is not a justified increase and I asked his help in trying to set the record straight through GTA and the other members in the Federation of Grain Cooperatives. Rod Leonard talked to Roy Hendrickson about this and discovered they were not very responsive because as Hendrickson put it they didn't want to lose any customers. So here we find Grain Coops unwilling to up-set millers even though a program vital to their producer members is at stake. Ironical, isn't it? Anyway, that wasn't Thatcher's reaction, we'll have to see what he says. (2) The Republicans and the Farm Bureau are hammering away at a \$1.30 wheat in the market place now, pointing out this is only 50 percent of parity, adding it to other parity figures to contend long and loud that this Administration has brought agriculture to a sorry impasse,

Administratively Confidential

July 8, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR FILES

From: The Secretary

Subject: Conference with Senator Allen J. Ellender this date

This was a wide ranging review of a number of things with the Chairman in a state of mind which could only be described as strictly economy. He was highly skeptical, as usual, of our foreign aid programs, of our foreign military programs, of the building up of obligations, of our being in a position where we were the laughing stock of the world, and insistent that this must stop and he would not permit it to continue if he could help it. In his opinion we were rapidly going bankrupt with a \$300 billion plus debt, and \$11 billion a year interest on it, and this was fiscal suicide. If they'd only listen to him we need not be in this position.

He also was very critical of Interior, of proposals for building high power lines into the Southwest, particularly into Arizona, of the use of water subsidized by the Government from dams whereby only half the cost was carried by the producer, and the rest by the Government, that the dams in question were so amortized that they would be worn out before they paid out.

It was in this context and this frame of mind that we moved into P.L. 480 where he made the following points, stating he was insistent that:

1. Better U.S. uses.
2. A sensible exchange rate.
3. Interest

Interest he insisted should be at the going rate. I pointed out it ought not be any higher than AID loans or it would really be discriminatory. He snorted and said, "It's our money in the first place, and it ought to be at the going rate, and no reason why they shouldn't pay it back at that rate." I didn't pursue this matter further. Again, it's really not much worth fighting about, particularly if we can develop some kind of a foundation to make sensible use of excessive amounts of local soft currencies.

4. We then got on to the question of substituting food for dollars in the AID program, rather than merely supplementing one on top of the other. Here I told him that I agreed with the objective of using food wherever possible and we moved in that direction, but that in the process we must not get so enmeshed in the machinery that we would be subservient to State and AID in administering what is basically an agricultural program designed to protect and further the interests of the American agriculture producer.

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Introducing this topic, he did say he wasn't going to insist on this, but he came back to it repeatedly with vigor which caused me concern. I told him the language in a Committee Staff drafted amendment was extremely confusing and that it caused me concern because we would lose our independence of the other operating Departments and become subservient rather than a coequal. He responded by saying certainly I couldn't object to Congress having information, reporting and control over these programs. I responded they do now, that they have to appropriate the money to the Commodity Credit Corporation, and that they do review the programs, and that I thought this system had worked well and had given us flexibility which was essential.

He then bounced off and declared that he wanted none of this nonsense about producing for use. That this was a surplus disposal program, that if we because of good weather and exceptional circumstances had overproduction and could use it that was all right, he was for that; but he certainly would not entertain any thought of producing at all for use, that there would be no way to cut this off ever, that once we've started feeding people in other places around the world, it would go on, and we'd never be able to turn it off. He was very dogmatic, very specific on this. My response was to say that if we were going to use food in an aid program and try and substitute it for dollars, we needed to have some operating flexibility in terms of the definition of surplus, that we couldn't make commitments for programs such as building dams and paying people in wheat and then find we didn't have any wheat or any dry milk, as the case may be. He snapped back on this and said, "That kind of a program is an AID operation, you have no responsibility there. All they will need to do will be to use the dollars they have to buy in the market the food in question in order to live up to the commitments." He was right. I did not go back further to efforts to changing the definition of surplus for it is quite clear that he is zeroed in on this one and will vigorously oppose any effort to change that definition.

He also leveled his finger at me and declared that, "Orville, don't you come back here and ask for any extension of the feed grain program. That program," he said, "this year is costing \$1.2 billion which is more than you thought or said it would, and we can't continue this way. We must go back to the market price, the support level price." When I responded that would be 60-cent corn and catastrophic, he said, "Well then it's up to them to regulate and control their own production, that was the basis upon which we approached this whole program in the first place, and we haven't even worked off surpluses as we thought we would, let alone to control our production. We can't go on paying land for not producing forever."

He also said that the cotton program wouldn't work as we said it would and he was going to want a report from us on the cotton program very soon.

In connection with hearings, he stated he did not want to get ahead of the House and wanted to have a House Bill over first. I didn't push him hard on this, although if the House is not willing to act immediately he might be

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willing to begin hearings but he will not want to begin any markup I think until the House has passed its bill. He did make it clear and was quite emphatic that he did not want a 1-year extension, but rather wanted to review this entire program. This was stated very firmly without any reservation, so I think we can look to action for a definite extension rather than merely a 1-year laying over.

We had some discussion about sugar which was generally inconclusive. He indicated his sympathy with the refinery side of the argument.

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the worst income, the worst parity in history. This of course conveniently ignores the Government payments and the whole adjusted parity ratio net income figures which tell the true story. If I can get Thatcher to go along on these things we can in all good conscience, actually we probably will anyway, go along on the 1 1/2 cent carrying charge business. The old man also continued hammering away at us to get a policy that grain from member elevators will go through the terminals of the parent. This would give GTA terminals a lot of grain for they own a lot of line elevators. This we're staffing out. Humphrey put some pressure on me to do this yesterday, saying we might as well help our friends, the other guys are going to be more and more against us as election comes anyway.

Thatcher also continued his efforts to have some kind of an operating rule that we would not permit the storage of grain by millers who in this fashion were in effect able to carry their own inventories. This intrigues me particularly because these guys are playing horse with us and increasing the price of flour at a time like this. Both of these we are staffing out. In the meantime, I'm playing tit for tat with Thatcher and we'll have to see where the ball bounces.

I just came back this morning from an early morning meeting with Ellender and it wasn't a very satisfactory meeting. It points the way to some future problems quite clearly in the commodity field. Night before last Jane and I had a long talk about all of this for these tough problems down the road, plus a difficult President to work for who doesn't understand agriculture actually as well, at least I don't think he does, I must say honestly don't know, as did President Kennedy, gives me pause as to where we go from here. The Vice Presidential situation being fluid adds to this. Tom is

making some contacts with people around who might drop the thought in the President's ear of "Freeman for Vice President". This is really about all we can do. There have been stories the last week end that Bobby Kennedy is seriously interested and polls allegedly showing Humphrey the odds on favorite of Party people and discussion of other possibilities including McCarthy, as well. Humphrey has earned this -- McCarthy certainly hasn't, but its interesting, and I must say somewhat admirable, the way McCarthy has been able to parlay nothing into something by working rather cleverly with some of the columnists around town and getting his name identified on the Vice Presidential thing. Jane says she doesn't think he has a chance based on her sense of the relationship between the two men and their respective personalities and I tend to agree. Nonetheless, he might want a Catholic on the ballot and McCarthy would be a fairly bland one acceptable to liberals and a pretty good counter-balance to his pragmatism.

Thursday, July 19, 8:50 -- down in the office at home. Time surely flies by and it's hard to get to this dictating. I was last relating some perspective plans or at least evaluations of the situation and a few things have happened since then. Yesterday morning I was up to see Senator Ellender, and this Diary includes a recap of that conversation. It gave me pause and made me think a bit more about where and how from here for Ellender was quite cryptic in connection with farm programs that cost any money in the future. The road doesn't look very pleasant in that regard. Willard Cochrane's prognosis before he left of a steady climb in the cost of all the voluntary programs, plus crop reports, and all indications of continued increased production, with a fall off in utilization, poses a rather bleak picture. There is probably going to have to be a wringing out process here and I'm not sure that I'm the one to maneuver it along. It's premature to make any decisions yet, but it's a

good idea to give some thought to where to now. In that connection the Vice Presidential thing does keep popping up. Today, I had a press conference. It was designed to meet some of the criticism during the transition of the wheat program, particularly prospective increases of flour prices not justified by wheat price, also the Farm Bureau onslaught in the heavy corn and light wheat areas where they're posting elevators contending that it is Freeman's farm program that has produced \$1.30 wheat. Conveniently forgetting that the farmers voted for \$1.26 wheat in May of 1963 and we have rescued them who want to cooperate by setting up the certificate plan now. Nonetheless an elevator posted to show \$1.30 and then contending there would be 70¢ more for the producer if it weren't for the certificate may be a bald face lie but few farmers would detect it. I don't worry about this in the areas where there was heavy compliance for with the certificate and the pay for it, the farmer wouldn't be misled; but where there was 30 percent or less like in the corn areas or the 15 acre wheat farmer it's a different story. Anyway I hit out at that today. Also talked about the increase in beef prices and the cutback in beef imports and took a blast at the beef quota bill now pending. I talked to the President about that again this week and he's gettin real itchy because that beef bill is going to pass the Senate all right and we've got to block it in the House. Today I talked to Speaker McCormack, George Ball and Larry O'Brien about it and there is some reason to believe that the Speaker will oblige by either sitting on it or trying to send it to Wilbur Mills' Ways and Means Committee where he'll sit on it. To do the latter requires some Parliamentary maneuvers and we are trying to work those out. We're also likely to have some problems about the Food Stamp Bill. We decided to turn the food industry, particularly

the retail chain grocer organizations loose on the cattlemen, pointing out that the beef provision in the Food Stamp Bill would preclude the purchase of any kind of canned goods that had any kind of meat in it for the retailer couldn't know but what there might be a little imported meat. This can't do any harm. It's hard to tell what will come. Anyway as a part of the press conference, Bill Blair of the New York Times asked me about whether I would accept a Vice Presidential designation. Luckily Ken Birkhead tipped me off just before the Press Conference. He didn't tell me, which Tom did later, that he and Tom had decided to try and plant in Bill Blair's ear getting Scotty Reston to write a story on me as a Vice Presidential possibility, but he did alert me and gave me a minute to think and I responded to the question by saying that I didn't see any reason to change my position from 1960 when I was actively considered and receptive till now but that depended upon the President. This got on the wires. I hope it gets around and gets some attention. Anyhow, we'll see. There has also been a rash of stories lately trying to chew Bobby Kennedy because of an interview he gave which sounded quite egotistical, stating that all of the Democrats in the North were for him and not as many in the South were against him as people thought. Actually this was a kind of informal off the record interview misused by Bradley of Newsweek but it turned loose a rash of comments, some quite critical. There has also been considerable comment that Bobby's recent trip to Poland was really occasioned by his desire to get in the public eye and was a part of a campaign for Vice President. I really do believe it is and I rather suspect that Bobby doesn't know what to do. Although apparently he is tired of being Attorney General and very interested in the foreign field. Speculation says that he'd like to be Secretary of Defense or State, but that's about all. Also, a story in the paper this week when he brought some Attorney

Generals at a conference over to see the President that they were very friendly and palsy-walsy one with another. Well it's interesting speculation. Jane thinks it is extremely doubtful that I will get the nod and I agree. However, it doesn't hurt to keep the thought in the mind of some people if the occasion should arise.

George Mehren said this week that Harold Lowenthal, General Counsel of the National Committee, had reported my name as one of those in active consideration over there. Time will tell.

One of the things Jane and I discussed was what it would mean to Mike if we should leave here. I'd been worried and thinking about this but she didn't feel it need be of great concern. It would be unfortunate to take him away from school his last year, but in his junior year it wouldn't be so bad. I have tried to call Kirkpatrick to generally talk about the college thing, but he's been out of town on vacation. The more I think about it the more I think it important that there are some alternatives. If I'm going to see through this commodity program business, it's going to take some pretty strong support and understanding over at the White House and we'll only get that I think by the shock treatment of being ready to leave and staying only if he really wants me. I'm pulled and will be pulled of course two ways. Administratively and in terms of building a cohesive Department we're beginning to make some very real progress. I'm tremendously fond of the people here and I know that in another couple of years there is a great deal more to be done. I know, too, that our whole rural development, rural renewal, rural renaissance, as it were, program is important to the country and is making very real progress. The same can be said for food use and our international

posture, Food for Peace, technical assistance and all the rest. The stumbling block of course will be the commodity programs and they look tough. Actually after 4 years we've used up about all the time we have -- now the Congress and others will want results. They won't want to pay the bill -- they don't realize, or want to realize, that this is a process not a problem and having been around for 4 years there is little room for leeway in producing the end product -- and yet that's virtually impossible. I surely don't want to take a powder from a tough problem -- on the other hand I'd better be realistic enough to recognize when the time has come when I can no longer do much good. That may not be. Time will tell but it's surely something to think about. The more I've reviewed in my mind the thought of returning to law practice, the less I am enamoured with it. I rather fear that I would find it rather dull. On the other hand, I think I might really make some money and would be in a position to have some flexibility for doing some special assignments and getting involved again which is very possible. The same of course would be true in some college administrative job. Anyway I'm going to have to do some hard-headed thinking about that, really the kind I didn't do back in 1958 when I could have been elected to the Senate instead of McCarthy if I'd seen fit to run instead of carrying him in on my back. I should have realized then that there was trouble ahead in Minnesota because of the tax situation, but who would have foreseen the drop in the National economy. Anyhow, I don't propose to drift into a box the same way again. It's too tough an experience and as Jane has said, "You can't expect much from LBJ. He's got his course to run and he's going to use and dispose of people according to that course as the occasion requires it."



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

July 10, 1964

Honorable Bill D. Moyers
The White House

Dear Bill:

I'm delighted that the President is appointing a series of task forces to review and evaluate Government-wide operations in various program areas and to make recommendations for the future. Presently we have a task force set up by the National Agricultural Advisory Commission including leading economists from Land-Grant Colleges doing that for the Department of Agriculture. They will, I'm sure, supplement what the President has in mind.

You can be certain that the Department of Agriculture will cooperate in making available information and will welcome all the help it can get from such an evaluation.

In the meantime it might be useful to you and to such a task force for me to sketch briefly the Farm Program for the 60's, the overall approach to agriculture which we have been taking these past 3½ years. The history of the program together with background documents such as selected presentations to the Congress and some addresses which have been given over the years might also be helpful background for the Task Force and speech writers.

We do have a clear-cut policy for agriculture. We do not simply slap a patch on an inner tube here and there in order to keep going. Since the advent of this Administration there has been a clear concept of the goals we seek of expanded food use and better incomes for farm people. We haven't been able to go forward in a straight line, but the goals are still clearly marked. We continue to move toward them.

Rather than being a "problem" agriculture actually is America's No. 1 economic success story. Problems of adjustment are the to be expected by-product of such a success story. The output of the average agricultural worker the last decade has increased almost three times as much as the average industrial worker, and 50 percent more production per acre than 10 years ago is commonplace. It is incredible to realize

that fewer than 8 percent of the people in this country produce enough food and fiber to feed the balance better and cheaper in terms of take home pay than any people any time in the history of mankind. Further, we give away to our needy at home three-quarters of a billion dollars worth of food each year, distribute some two billion dollars worth around the world under our Food for Peace Program, sell for dollars 4.2 billion dollars worth and still have an estimated 25 percent unused capacity. The world has never seen anything like this. It is the forerunner of our new Age of Abundance which makes possible The Great Society.

In terms of the goal we seek to reach and the overall three dimensional program to reach it, reference is made to Enclosure #1 an address I delivered several months ago at the University of Maryland. The President, in speaking to the farm editors several weeks ago, changed point 3, Food Programs, to Consumer Programs and this makes the program one which since we have called The Three C's.

Let me then touch on each of The Three C's.

1. Commodity Programs

Pages 6, 7, and 8 of Enclosure 1 set down our commodity programs in a positive but general context. The address I delivered to the GTA December 10, 1963, Enclosure 2, and at the Midwest Democratic Conference on May 9, 1964, Enclosure 3, might be called bread and butter speeches, for they itemize overall programs including the related programs which are so important to commodity production. I would emphasize that we are not dogmatic or doctrinaire about commodity programs, but that it is simply elemental economics that when there is more supply than the market can absorb, supply must be adjusted or chaotically low prices with widespread deflationary effects will result.

2. Community Programs

Our rural area development program is set down in considerable detail in testimony I gave before the Senate Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations, Enclosure 4. You will note that this community development program now encompasses some 2,000 counties involving approximately 100,000 people on local committees. Each county has in addition a Technical Action Panel composed of ranking officials of the operating programs of the Department of Agriculture within the county (FHA, SCS, FS, FES, ASCS) to give technical assistance to local leadership. The President's poverty program, the Appalachian program, and a variety of other programs to improve rural America fit within this operating framework which seeks to reach every rural county in America. Special concentration is directed to the poverty areas.

3. Consumer Programs

The trade and aid theme is set down, I think, quite comprehensively in addresses I delivered last year in Amsterdam, November 15, 1963, Enclosure 5, and in Rome, Enclosure 6, as well as a recent speech directed more toward commercial trade which I delivered in New York City on May 21, 1964.

It can be clearly demonstrated that our technical assistance and food aid programs build markets for our agricultural productivity as well as furthering humanitarian and foreign policy objectives. Domestically our surplus distribution program reaches some six million people. The Executive Order which more than doubled the quantity and quality of food made available was the first issued by President John F. Kennedy. The Food Stamp Program started by the Secretary on a pilot basis together with school lunch and other institutional feeding programs play a vital part in reaching the needy and making effective use of our agricultural abundance at home.

I believe some powerful messages could be delivered by the President on the subject of food use both domestic and world-wide. Enclosure 7 is a speech I made to the World Food Congress, June 5, 1963. Enclosure 8, a message to the Food for Peace Council delivered September 30, 1963, will be useful. Testimony on the Food Stamp Plan, Enclosure 9, was presented to the Senate Agriculture Committee on June 18, 1964.

I think it is particularly thrilling to note the increased use of food as capital in developing countries. By that I mean food for wages to build roads, dams, schools, irrigation and drainage, the opening of new lands and as a supporting element in land reform. An ancillary benefit in our foreign aid programs when food is used is the fact that the receiving country must organize its people to properly distribute the food. In this fashion they learn democratic practices. This is particularly important in countries which have a deep suspicion and even revulsion of their own government which is far too often the case.

Both the community programs and the consumers programs blend themselves very effectively to the President's theme of the Great Society. Personally, I think this is an excellent theme and a very challenging and dramatic one. I have enjoyed using it and included a commencement speech delivered in West Virginia, June 10, 1964, Enclosure 10, and one delivered to several labor unions, Enclosure 11, and to an REA, Enclosure 12, calling for action to build up our recreation facilities as part of the Great Society.

4

There are some 12,000 to 15,000 farmers selling recreation for cash today. It is timely to emphasize recreation for it has a meaning for city people hungering for recreation, for farmers looking for more income, and for taxpayers. It is very difficult to get a common interest between city and country these days. Recreation provides an increasingly useful bridge.

Much of which I've outlined in very brief form above I had in mind when I first became Secretary of Agriculture. Much of it had been outlined in speeches and special messages to the Legislature while I was still Governor of Minnesota. Certain fundamentals need, I think, to be kept in mind.

1. Overproduction is a simple fact of life. The problem is to work out the machinery to bring about the necessary balance between supply and demand at a reasonable cost to the taxpayers without undue rigidity in the economic process so needed adjustments can take place.

2. Basic resource adjustment must be accomplished. Usually you hear this in terms of moving people out of agriculture. Actually that's putting the cart before the horse for moving people does not move the land, and in many cases land from small farms will be combined into larger units and will produce more rather than less. The basic problem is to move land permanently into alternative and more economic uses. This is what the Rural Area Development program is all about. The larger potential alternative to crop-use is grazing. The long-run potential is good, but the short-run problem of low cattle prices prevents large scale diversion to grazing for the time being. So we will probably have to reconcile ourselves to "land idling," and we are working on ways and means of linking long-term land-use programs to the commodity programs. In addition we are moving land into recreation uses, such as golf courses, picnic and camping, riding, hiking, hunting, fishing, water sport uses, or into wood lots. In all of these uses land will meet a growing economic need and provide income to the farmer as well. This of course takes time in a Democratic society. And with voluntary commodity programs, it will take a great deal of money.

Seeing the goal and having in mind a number of routes to reach it does not mean that they can immediately be put into practice. Congress must act -- legislation and appropriations must be forthcoming.

The following brief historic recap of the efforts of this Administration may be useful.

1961 -- When this Administration took office the immediate and pressing problem was grain. We were desperately short of storage facilities. My first great concern was that a new Administration would be storing grain on the ground because we had no place to put it. The first legislation passed by the Congress and signed by President Kennedy was the Emergency Feed Grain program developed by an Advisory Committee which I called to Washington the first week of this Administration. The feed grain program was put into practice immediately and worked effectively, cutting back surpluses very sharply in 1961. The storage crisis was met and surmounted.

I recognized from the first the very great difficulty of passing farm legislation and, therefore, tried to use all the good will and political muscle that a new Administration has to get Congress to act. Rather than attempting to pass farm programs as such, the initial plan was to establish a procedure which could make it possible for us to develop and put into effect commodity programs administratively without having to pass a bill for each one.

The first farm message sent to the Congress called for the application of the Administrative Reorganization Act principle to farm legislation. President Kennedy recommended that elected commodity committees composed of producers should meet with the Secretary of Agriculture and develop commodity programs. These programs would then be recommended to the Congress and if the Congress did not act to turn them down within 60 days they would then become law.

As expected this proposal had a cool reception from the Congress. Nonetheless there was an excellent prospect for passing it until legislation sent to the Congress under the Reorganization Act itself got at cross purposes with certain Congressional interests with the result that both House and Senate Committees refused to extend the principle to agriculture. Had we succeeded in establishing such a procedure we would now have in effect commodity programs balancing supply and demand.

However, we did pass another voluntary feed grain program for 1962 late in 1961, and authority to apply the same principle to wheat.

1962 -- An omnibus farm bill was sent to the Congress early in 1962. It encompassed the farm program for the 1960's, which was called the A,B,C,D, Program set down in considerable detail in the pamphlet I include herewith, Enclosure 13. This program applied the so-called mandatory approach to feed grains and wheat, i.e. programs go into effect after a two-thirds vote of approval in a referendum. This is the procedure followed now in cotton, tobacco, rice and peanuts.

The mandatory programs are more efficient and much less costly than the so-called voluntary programs of the feed grain type. Early in 1962 I stumped the country speaking about 20 times in two weeks to groups of farmers from one end of the Nation to the other. Strong support was built for the A,B,C,D Program but Congress moved slowly, and gradually as spring wore on the conservative forces sparked by the Farm Bureau began to catch up.

We were one vote short in the House Agricultural Committee for many months. The Chairman, even after we had the necessary votes committed, was forced to adjourn the Committee four times until finally we got all the favorable Democrats there and passed it out of Committee by one vote. The opposition concentrated on the mandatory feed grain section, and the bill was finally lost in the House by a very close vote after a terrific battle. The next morning we called the House Agricultural Committee together again, introduced a very bland bill simply extending the feed grain program, moved it from the House into the Senate where a mandatory wheat section was added and the conservation, development, poverty, rural area development parts of the Farm Program for the 60's (ABCD) added.

The bill passed the Senate in this fashion, went to Committee, was voted out of Committee, and passed the House as a Committee Report on a very close vote over bitter Republican opposition.

The Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 was a far reaching comprehensive piece of legislation, including many of the tools we are using effectively in our Rural Area Development Program today. It is ironic the adjustment, conservation, poverty sections rode in on the back of hotly contested commodity programs. This Act also called for a referendum on wheat and immediately after its passage we went to work preparing for the wheat referendum which was held in May of 1963.

1963 -- Recognizing that we might lose the wheat referendum it was absolutely essential that we have a continuing feed grain program, otherwise there would have been chaos in American agriculture. Accordingly, early in the 1963 session we drove through the Congress a Feed Grain Program for 3 years, encompassing 1963, 1964, and 1965. The wheat referendum was a very difficult struggle. Conservative groups ranging from the John Birch Society to the Farm Bureau bitterly attacked the wheat program. It failed, as you know, and this constituted a sharp but temporary setback in our program efforts.

Following the wheat referendum defeat we sat back to take stock. Initially the Administration took a somewhat detached position, declaring that it appeared that American wheat farmers did not wish a farm program. Then for several months we waited patiently. The Republicans

and the Farm Bureau attacked the Administration, the Secretary and the President, contending that the absence of new program proposals meant that we were taking our disappointment out on the farmers, and as they put it "letting them stew in their juice".

For my part, the referendum result had aroused a doubt in my mind as to what farmers would support. Accordingly, I set up a series of Report and Review meetings and met with groups of up to 2,500 farmers from one end of the country to the other. These meetings ran as long as 3 hours. I mostly listened and freely answered questions. People of all political and economic persuasions attended. They were a liberal education for the Secretary.

It was my conclusion that 90 percent of the farmers recognize there must be a farm program. However, they are terrible confused as to what kind of a program it should be. A significant number, usually the economically better off group, were irritated at supervision, control, (the girl in the ASCS office), in effect at anything which limited their freedom of action. If we hadn't had the feed grain program, incomes would have been lower and this group probably would have been much more receptive to the necessary self-discipline and supervision that goes with any program. Even so, it was clear to me that the overwhelming majority recognized the need for a program, and that it was in the national interest that there should be commodity programs. Accordingly, in the fall of 1963 the decision was made to move ahead on a wheat program and we began to lay the groundwork.

You are familiar with what happened this year. Cotton had been a problem ever since this Administration came into office. Certain commitments had been made to the textile interests to accomplish one-price cotton. Yet the various segments of the cotton industry refused to get together on a common program. The Talmadge-Humphrey program for production payments, which the Administration privately supported, had little cotton support. Most producers were desperately afraid of limitation of payments and it couldn't get off the ground. The Administration did develop an alternative program, but then the textile interests sabotaged it.

It was only after the Farm Bureau overplayed their hand at the Cotton Council meeting in the fall of 1963 that a cotton producers group was organized which joined with the textile people to come up with a program which the Department was able to support. In the meantime we had given lukewarm support to the initial Cooley Bill in the House which was passed shortly after President Kennedy's death. The strategy here was to get anything through the House and then try and improve it in the more responsive Senate. In any event, the new cotton proposal was joined to the certificate wheat plan and the Food Stamp Plan and with the driving support of the President a legislative miracle resulted.

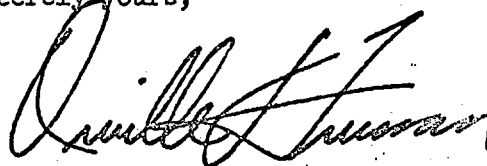
This then brings us up-to-date. The consumer programs -- food use, trade, and aid -- and the community programs -- rural area development, poverty and conservation parts of our program are going forward slowly but steadily. More emphasis, more preparation, more attention, more money are needed, but steady progress is being made.

The commodity programs give me serious concern. As we estimated initially, the voluntary programs for feed grains and now in cotton are expensive and grow increasing so as our production continues to accelerate faster than demand. Crop estimates and program analyses are going forward in the Department looking to some new program developments for 1965.

In the meantime, however, although they have not been a complete success, and have not worked as well as mandatory programs would have, yet we can point with pride to the fact that gross farm income was \$8 billion greater than it would have been these past 3 years if the prices of the last Eisenhower year had continued. Net farm income has been \$3 billion more. Surpluses in grain have been cut from 84 million tons of feed grain to 70 million tons, from 1.4 billion bushels of wheat to 850 million bushels, meaning a savings to the taxpayer in storage alone of about \$250 million a year.

This is progress, I believe, but there is still a lot to be done. I welcome the prospect of some task force assistance.

Sincerely yours,



Attachments

Tomorrow ought to be rather interesting -- I have an appointment with the President at 12:00 o'clock to discuss politics. Tom and I have been working on this, to go over and present to him my analysis including the good we can do in the South to blunt the Civil Rights issue, the recommendation that there should be a Rural Americans for Johnson rather than a farm committee so we can capitalize on our rural development programs and bring together farm and non-farm people in the rural areas, an analysis of Congressional Districts where we will concentrate, an analysis of the Lake States and the possibility of applying the Appalachian program principle, and finally an analysis of the States in which we think there is a special place for agriculture in the campaign. It'll be interesting to see his reaction and useful to keep him reminded that I'm not exactly a novice at this political business. This is kind of scheming I guess, but it's part of what I call the politics around the throne and distasteful or not, it has to be played.

Last night after doing some feverish work to get ready for the Press Conference today and also to see Senator Holland about the budget, Jane and I went over to Tom Hughes' and spent a couple of hours talking with Geri Joseph, our Minnesota National Committeewoman. It was really rather discouraging. The Party in Minnesota I'm afraid is getting frightfully fragmentized. The bad blood between Rolvaag, Mondale and Sandy Keith is quite serious and Geri feels that Mondale and Rolvaag have been pretty petty and foolish in dealing with Keith. I know that they feel Keith is completely self-seeking and self-centered and there you go. The Governor's office is apparently very weak with a great deal of grumbling about its inaccessability and failure to make decisions. He's in a box on his fiscal program because he's been fighting with the Tax Commissioner

that he didn't boot out as I recommended and now with national prosperity revenues are such that a 5 percent cut in the budget which he ordered is beginning to back up on him. I noted last week end how very aggressive and kind of domineering he was in insisting on every iota of recognition when the President was there. Geri told me a shocking story about he literally pushed Mondale aside after Mondale had been introduced to present Humphrey to the DFL Convention last Sunday and did it himself. Apparently Fritz is kind of at odds end, not very satisfied or challenged as Attorney General, and really not knowing where to go. Tom says that Fritz understands thoroughly and will step aside without question if I'm interested in running for the Senate if McCarthy should be the Vice Presidential nominee or taking appointment should it be Humphrey. I really don't know if I would like to be in the Senate or not. Apparently the current Republican candidate is a complete bust and if McCarthy got in I could run a relatively short campaign, probably get elected fairly easy and have 6 years in the Senate to get started. That has some promise in it for there would be a couple of relatively leisurely years to more or less get caught up and even perhaps do some writing before I had to worry about campaigning again. I could, I suppose, adjust to the Senate tempo and the legislative process, although I'm sure I would find it quite frustrating. On the other hand, it's something we understand and enjoy and would constitute a planned career for the rest of my life. On the other hand, something in the academic world might well be more challenging -- or, something else in Government, or with firm Presidential support another 4 years in this job which if it were really forthcoming with some understanding and support I believe that I'd be willing to do it.

I do worry about the Minnesota political situation. There seems to be an undue amount of squabbling and factionalism with very weak leadership from the top. We've held that party together under the general direction of not more

than 25 or 30 people for 15 years now and it would surely be a crime for it to fall apart. Well there's not much we can do about that from this distance, but it's certainly bothersome, and apparently Rolvaag is not working out as we hoped he would.

July 20, 1964 -- 9:10 p.m. on the office. A week and a very wonderful one at that has gone by and I'm in the office tonight, was yesterday, desperately trying to catch up as is always the case after having been gone.

A week ago last Saturday (July 11) we left here for the West -- flying to Chicago and then into Salt Lake City, arriving in the early evening about 7:00 o'clock. We were met by Ed Cliff and also ^{Lloyd} Lloyd Iverson, the regional forester out there, and spent a relaxed evening touring primarily around the Mormon Temple and grounds. We sat in the great pavillion and listened to some music, marvelling at the craftsmanship of those early Mormons and the remarkable acoustics in the place. We heard the history of Mormonism and I learned, which I didn't know before, that allegedly Jesus Christ came to this hemisphere after his crucifixion and was seen by then inhabitants who subsequently perished, but one of whom as a prophet conveyed the message of Latterday Saints to Joseph Smith. Anyway, it was very interesting and a beautiful place with a magnificent temple.

I haven't been feeling very good during the last week and I think the only reason my stomach didn't kick up worse was because I had 6 games of squash that past week with Bob McNamara. Each was a tough game, but I only won the last session for I was off and he was on. Also, I've been wrestling with a number of things from the Bureau of the Budget, where we finally got through, and also through the President a deficiency appropriation for pesticides research, to the struggle about the Allegheny Reservoir in Pennsylvania which I am now carrying before the Recreation Advisory Council as a basic policy

matter. As I think I've related, the Army Engineers are really irked about this for they want to manage a good deal of the recreation in that Reservoir which they ought not to do, most of it actually is in the National Forests. Nyle Brady did an excellent job of selling the Bureau of the Budget on the need for pesticide monies and what we would do about them, hence the successful result. I talked with the President about it and that may have helped, too.

Tom and I had a conference with the President, as I think I already dictated, and brought to his attention some political factors including (1) that agriculture could help blunt the cutting edge of Civil Rights in the South; (2) the Congressional Districts that we thought we could carry around the country defeating incumbent Republicans; (3) rather than a Farmers for Johnson, we should have this time a Rural Americans for Johnson to try and bring small town and farmer together in support.

I also got over to the White House as a part of the continuing struggle around the throne, a 20-page memorandum which went to Bill Moyers who will coordinate the Task Force which will review agricultural programs and policies. This memorandum reviewed our basic policy and program and the history of the past 4 years and briefly touched on the problems we face. All in all, it was a hectic week trying to get ready to leave but by the time I left I really felt things were for the time being at least in fairly good shape.

We went to bed at a pretty good time in Salt Lake City and I took a hot shower and a couple of sleeping pills and had a good night's sleep and woke up feeling in good shape on Sunday morning. We left early being airbound about 9:00 o'clock on Sunday, July 12, and had a very interesting flight for I had a chance to show Mike some dramatic examples of conservation. We flew along the mountains which rise immediately above Salt Lake City and

Ogden and I took some pictures of where selective terracing to control water where it falls has succeeded in preventing floods which otherwise had moved boulders as big as a house down the narrow canyons destroying everything below. This was a great pioneering effort and a dramatic example of how over-grazing can cause disaster and how sensible conservation can correct it. We then turned and flew generally North and West heading for our destination. On the way we saw some interesting things including some of the dry farming of that area, which I hope will show up on my pictures, and then also the Great Salt Lake which we also saw on the way coming in a week later. (Cont'd later in the diary)

Tuesday, July 21, started out on the Hill in Bob Poage's office. The problem was P.L. 480 and its extension. Poage came back from Brazil with the idea we should not have a 5 but a 1-year extension of this law which would have a seriously adverse effect in its management and its administration both in terms of our domestic planning but more particularly the planning of the recipient. He is a strange fellow and it took me almost an hour and a half before we finally got to the heart of the problem. It was simply this. Under current House rules in order to get allowances for travel clearance must be had from the Rules Committee. Poage had real trouble getting it for this trip that he made. On the other hand the Foreign Affairs Committee members can travel and review developments which allegedly are pertinent to their work without having to get such clearance. This means in effect both a personal annoyance and it also means a down-grading of the Agricultural Committee and of agriculture in general. Thus, Poage felt that if P.L. 480 was reviewed each year, the Agricultural Committee would be upgraded accordingly and could travel accordingly. About such things, great decisions are made. I thought I'd done fairly well in convincing him this would be a

bad idea. I pointed out it would result in difficulties in forward planning, would handicap me in deal with State and AID, and that it would generally represent a set-back before the eyes of the world in our food use programs. He listened quietly and I thought I'd made some progress but then he went to the Subcommittee meeting and started all over again making that recommendation. My current report is that he met some opposition and cooled down quite a bit. Mark-up will continue on Thursday. This is an interesting example of what makes decisions and of what takes time. Such is the process. It all takes people.

I also talked to Poage about grants. He's been anti-grants under P.L. 480, but when I expressed to him our policy now that we were beginning to carry forward of insisting that some of the money under Title I whether by way of grants or loans should go to a project which would be dramatic and clearly marked as a United States project, he kinda liked that idea and cooled off a little bit in his anti-grant position. I also told him, and this helped somewhat I think in inflating his ego a bit, that he was going to need to carry the load on this one because Ellender was apt to be highly critical for he has now moved into a strong anti foreign aid position which he holds so close and about which he feels so emotionally strong. So much for Poage.

Then I went to a meeting; the second I've had to have, with the California Congressional delegation about storing grain in California. They want some in California warehouses. Considerable pressure is coming from California people, particularly their warehousemen folk, they have an additional 1 cent wharfage charge and we have other problems of course in laying down grain there because the grain companies have their elevators in the Northwest and most ships run from the Northwest to the Far East. We can handle some, but

we can hardly pay a 1/2 cent more, and so we went around and around on that one, and I agreed to meet with some of their people and go into it further next Friday when I'll be in San Francisco. Actually the California delegation are a mighty decent bunch. John Moss gets a little hot headed but John McFall, in whose District it is, and Bob Leggett are fair and reasonable and they were decent enough to say, and Harlan Hagen, too, that we could not pay more merely to lay it down in California. I told them I would be prepared to do that because I thought we ought to have grain in California by way of reserves, but that we better be prepared to take on an awfully lot of nasty criticism if it should develop, and it probably would as it has before, if we tried to do that. So, another one of these little problems that take so much time.

The balance of this day I've been in the office. Just finishing an hour meeting with Herschel Newsom, Joe Parker, and Harry Graham from the Grange, covering meat quotas which they oppose, recognizing they endanger our position in negotiating agricultural trade concessions; also, they indicating their support in developing our platform and also willingness to try and use that platform in a campaign to develop support with candidates for farm programs which will need to pass the next year. This took well over an hour. Not much was really pinpointed, but the Grange is increasingly helpful and the time had to be spent.

I'm still loaded with paper. I was here in the inner office until 11:00 o'clock last night. I'd hoped to get some paper work done today, but I haven't made much progress yet.

I also lunched today with our own FAS people and with Irwin Hedges from Governor Herter's office. The GATT negotiation thing is on a collision course now for Windom White, the Executive Director of GAT, at the last

meeting told the EEC that if they were not willing to come in and to discuss some kind of negotiating and operating rules by September there would be no sense in trying to meet any November date for filing exceptions. In effect this means that there would be no Kennedy round; that there was no sense in going forward so long as the United States position was that agriculture and industry must be together and so long as the EEC was unwilling to reach any agreements about agriculture and any rules under which agriculture could be negotiated adhering rigidly to their ~~montant de soutien~~ position. Apparently all the other countries were with the United States and so Windom White in effect laid down the law. Now some time in the next month or so this question if something doesn't give will rest on the President's desk for a decision whether we will continue to insist on integrated negotiations and trade concessions for agriculture as well as for industry. In our discussion, it was pretty well agreed, not on the basis of clearly measurable figures but rather in terms of a general concensus and judgment that if we do not get agricultural concessions and if there should be negotiations confined only to industry, which was basically the case during the Dillon negotiations, that the United States would lose. This was based fundamentally on the premise that agriculture is such a large part of our export trade. Agriculture is an area in which we are clearly the most superior around the world. That same superiority is one which cannot be quickly or readily applied elsewhere as is the case in industry and therefore we would unbalance the economic losers. Governor Herter has been real strong and good on this so far. Our position is a clear sharp one. I think I can fairly claim a good deal of credit for that fact. Actually Ray Ioanes here deserves the most. Charley Murphy, too, has been a pillar of strength

as is Dorothy now. But that's the position and the question now will be a basic political one for the President to decide. The political section of State of course is jumping up and down, feeling this is a terrible posture and that we ought to go forward for political reasons at all costs, that otherwise we are in effect allowing the French to accomplish their purpose of facturing the great alliance. Time will tell. In the meantime I'm preparing a trade speech for San Francisco this week end which is quite timely.

Now to return to our trip -- We then struck out towards the Sawtooth Forest for a some 2-hour trip, going over the Great Salt Lake, noting the game refuges, reviewing some of the irrigated valleys and also some of the dry farming.

We also flew over some areas which were old lava beds, where apparently the lava had bubbled up many centuries ago and still remains, and then flew over lands which are grazed during the winter period, but are already too dry for use now. Finally, flying across the plains we could observe in the distance the magnificent Sawtooth Mountains and flew over Haley and Ketchum where Sun Valley is and then on up to a tiny little town called Stanley. Stanley has about 35 people, a few motels, and to say it's primitive would be an under-statement. We drove then to Redfish Lake, stopping at the lodge there for lunch which is run by private individuals. It has cabins, a lodge, and the usual with a recreation program and water sports on the beautiful lake. Following lunch we reviewed the new visitors' center and had a 15-minute slide presentation by Dave Lee, a young ranger there who was most attractive. The slide presentation actually was not as good as film but apparently is quite well received and is being expanded. We then visited some of the new camp and picnic grounds which are most attractive and would seem to be well managed.

We changed clothes at the Lodge and had a trip across the Lake. This is an interesting and beautiful lake. I asked the question why only small fish? It's named after the red fish, which is a type of salmon, but very small, running only to a couple of pounds. However, the salmon do come up into the Lake. Both the sockeye salmon, which are relatively

small, running 6 to 8 pounds, who spawn and die -- some of the sockeye stay and become the small redbfish which remain in the lake. Chinook the big salmon also come up and a few years ago they had counted as few as six and then counted many thousands of small salmon going back down 1,500 miles to the sea. Indeed this is a fantastic story.

I was told that 400,000 people a year enjoy the Sawtooth Valley. We went to the end of the Lake and there at a jumping off place made camp. While the rangers, and we were joined at this point by Ralph Sisco and also had had with us from earlier in the day Max Greery who is the Forest Supervisor, made camp I put some fishing gear together and Jane, Mike and I went down to cast. We promptly got caught up in some rocks and in the course of it with my light rod I pulled off the tip and there I was with not only a lure caught but also the tip of the rod so I left the rod there for the night and we went back up about the time it started to rain. A nice afternoon turned into a rainy evening. It wasn't too bad while we ate and visited, but the mosquitoes were tough. Jane and I went to bed in a lean-to tent and along about midnight Mike came crawling in, a rather unhappy boy. The mosquitoes had been eating him up as they do. He'd been sleeping just out in his bag. It has also been raining. He was going down to try and sleep in an out-house, but he crawled in with us, and although we weren't too comfortable, it worked out not too bad.

The next morning we got up and it was still raining and a bit miserable as the woods and the outside can be under such circumstances, hardly an auspicious beginning for what turned out to be a wonderful trip.

While we breakfasted, the clouds began to break a bit and the rain to slow up, stop, and then rain intermittently. We decided to get packed

up and go on and we were joined by a young ranger by the name of Ed Osborne. He is the deputy to Ralph and is a very vigorous young guy who agreed to ^{dive} ~~die~~ for the tip of my rod. I didn't want him to do it alone and so I prepared to join him. I had enough foresight to have Ed Cliff get in the boat and get out from the landing pier and then we both dove in. The water was ice cold. I came up gasping for breath, took on some water, and reached for the boat. I didn't have it in me at that point to dive, Dave did, he got the tip. I said break the line and forget the lure and swam back and was glad to get up on the dock. I hardly felt accomplished. I just didn't have it in me to go down in that cold water. Maybe I would, if I hadn't swallowed and gagged. Anyway, we got the tip. We both came up shortly thereafter and rode about about 4 miles to a place called Flatrock for lunch. It was a beautiful trip through the woods, beautiful trees with the great cliffs on each side. The mosquitoes were rather rough. I wasn't as sore as I thought I would be at noon, nor when we finally reached Cramer Lake about 2 hours and 6 miles later. We rode up one valley and then broke off to the Northwest into another following Redfish Lake Creek. As we wound through the woods, first we saw a small lake, Lower Cramer, clear, bright and lovely, nestled between cliffs -- then a second lake and at the end of it a waterfall pouring out. We rode along it for perhaps a half a mile, and finally into the end of the Valley where a creek ran down the mountain-sides both directly above us and off to the right to the Southwest now with bright green grass, rocks, towering cliffs, evergreens, a perfectly magnificent setting.

Here about 4:00 p.m. we made camp. Again I got my gear out and Mike and I went down and fished a bit with very little luck. It was still raining intermittently and I took Jane down to take a look at the lake and as

we got down why it suddenly started to rain very, very hard. We huddled under my poncho and saw a magnificent sight as the sun came out at the same time as the rain poured down, the lake was bright, the water was pounding into it, part of the sky was blue, part of it was fluffy clouds, the rest was dark. The lake of course was circled with evergreens and all in all it was an unusual and most magnificent sight.

As night came on the sky cleared, the stars came out, and we had a drink, some relaxed conversation, had lamb stew for dinner and to bed about 10:30. It was cold, clear, and comfortable, but about 5:00 a.m. in what was yet almost darkness I woke up with a bad case of the "trots" and bolted for a makeshift privy where I managed to relieve myself and then walked down to the lake to watch the sun come up. The sun wasn't completely up and so I crawled back into that sleeping bag until 8:00 o'clock when I went down and we fished the lake. I didn't work very hard at it. The Western Brook Trout run very small and hardly excite me after our Northern Pike and Walleye of the Minnesota country. We had a late breakfast and then I took that old novel "Scaramouche" I hadn't read for many years and leaned against a rock and enjoyed browsing through it in the bright sun, dozing off periodically. I paid for that later for I really got burned.

About 1:30 we suddenly began to get a bit of energy and after a quick sandwich, Jane, Ed Cliff, Mike and I started a climb up the trail. We moved in a Southwesterly direction and went up rather sharply beside a plummeting stream which ran into Upper Cramer Lake. It was wet and snowy and we crossed over rocks in the stream several times, finally reaching what was known as Heart Lake on a plateau up about a thousand or fifteen hundred feet. From here on we really hit heavy snow and rock, going another fifteen hundred

feet or so, at which point Jane took our jackets and secured for a rest and Ed Cliff, Mike and I went on up to the divide between the Payette Creek Watershed and the Redfish Lake Watershed. It was a thrill to stand there at the break and see in the one direction the watershed fall away to the South and West and behind us the one we had just left to the North and to the East.

By the time we got back to camp, my legs had about had it. This was a 3-hour climb and a good one. We had some evening fishing, again cocktails, a late dinner and to bed. My stomach had been bothering me and I woke up about a half a dozen times during the night, but managed to sleep in the overall fairly well.

Again we were up fairly late, did a bit of fishing, and after a late breakfast this time laid around once again. This time I crawled in the tent, read a bit of Plato, but mostly dozed. In the afternoon we went down to Middle Cramer Lake and had some pretty good fishing. I ended up in a spot next to the waterfalls where I could look out over Lower Cramer Lake, back of me over Upper Cramer Lake -- it was as beautiful a spot as I can remember. I hope I got some good pictures of Mike, Ed and Jane fishing. We returned to camp again late in the afternoon, had a late dinner, and a most enjoyable visit and off to bed. This time my stomach really roared and at 5:00 o'clock in the morning I awakened, got up and decided to really take a tramp. I retraced our steps up towards the Payette Divide, only this time I tried to break off towards the Northwest and see if I couldn't get up on top of the cliff which bordered our lovely valley to see the sun come up. I was amazed to find a number of gulleys, dips, and hollows between the trail and the cliff-side which I never actually reached. I had about a 2 1/2-hour hike before it was all over and took some magnificent

pictures. This was the day when we were to ride out and so I returned to camp for a quick breakfast with a still growling stomach. Mike was up about now and Jane, and Mike and I went down for a last fishing bit. We returned to break camp and to start the ride back in. We got as far as Flatrock and then decided to take a ride to Alpine Lake. This was a ride almost straight up the side of the valley to the top of Redfish Creek Valley, actually on the Eastern side for if I recall my directions right the valley at this point was running pretty much East and West and we were going East and a little North as distinguished from going generally North and a little West when we came out of the upper reaches of the valley proper.

Anyway, the trail in question was a tremendous one. A new trail which went up a very steep cliff but at a fairly reasonable grade with sharp turns. We could see for miles up and down the valley and the grotesque and unusual shapes of the Sawtooth stood out vividly and clearly. We lunched at Alpine and by this time were beginning to feel pretty sore in the saddle. On the trip down Jane was very frightened making the turns because looking down has always upset her and this was especially true when the horse she was riding kept reaching for grass on the turn. For a while I thought she wouldn't make it, but she did. We reached the head of Redfish Lake about 3:00 p.m. -- sore from riding, but in good spirits. We went across the lake by boat, dropped in at the home of Ralph Sisco and met the rangers and their families.

It was interesting to visit the Rangers Station and to see the young people there and their families with the children. A nicer group of girls and young men one would go a long way to find than Ralph Sisco, David Lee and Ed Osborne, although I must say that when we went to Sun Valley and met

with Jack Lavin, who is in the Supervisor's office specializing in recreation, the former ranger of that area, Dick Stauber the current ranger in that area, I was equally impressed with them. We really do have some very top people.

We had a lovely two days in Sun Valley staying at the so-called Harriman cottage which actually had 5 bedrooms and a kitchen and a lovely lounge. The first night Jane stayed in cleaning up, washing her hair and all, while we strolled around and had dinner which incidentally McCrea the Administrator of Sun Valley insisted on paying for. To bed that night with a pretty good night's sleep and the next morning up for breakfast beside the skating rink which was lovely -- two hours of skating with Jane and Mike, an afternoon trip which I took with Ed Cliff and Max Creery, this time up into the Chalice National Forest, going North from Ketchum bearing East in through an area which was primarily grazing where the use of riversides had largely eliminated the sage brush and built up a nice grazing area. We had a cocktail party with the ranger there and then a very delightful evening by the skating rink again. This time, watching the skating and dancing ourselves. It was a lovely trip.

The next morning we were off and up Baldy Mountain, going up the ski tow which was most sensational and then a plane ride which took us back over the valley where we were able to look down over Cramer Lake and by Redfish Lake and over the area which we had covered on foot before. Then down through the Sawtooth and across much the same way that we had come. It was really quite a trip.

July 22, 12:40 p.m. -- Just a few minutes for a comment before lunch. Charley Murphy is coming in and I'm going to try and catch up a bit on a lot of commodity developments since I left on vacation. Things are swirling around here politically, especially where the Goldwater thing is concerned. Clearly he had complete domination of the Convention and a lot of people who thought he couldn't be nominated are now second guessing. One school of thought of course is giving him the accolades for a superb political organization job and 6 years of hard work with organizational people. An analogy is made with the Kennedy operation of 4 years ago. There is probably some truth in this.

More disturbing is the attitude which tends to go with the victor that there is real power here and more substance than has been realized. In this connection this nomination is being interpreted as a great revolution within the Republican Party, and even more an expression of an underlying sentiment in the United States which is calling for expression -- that somehow Goldwater has tapped this sentiment. I was surprised in the New York Times this morning to read James Reston's column which actually gives to Goldwater a status which the New York Times hasn't before for their editorials have been extremely critical. Reston says that underneath all the personal and partisan issues involved and all the emoting pro and con about Goldwater that he has really raised some basic questions that have troubled men since the days of Aristotle. He goes on to say that the questions of what sort of a world this is where men aspire to good and yet are so often evil, where lies the source of authority in the laws of man or nature? What are the relationships of the individual to the community, to the State and to the eternal? What is man's place in all of this and how are his ideals and values related, not only to an increasingly

complicated and crowded world, but to the universe? He then refers to Goldwater's acceptance speech, which I thought was a lot of meaningless mumbo jumbo, as talking about order and freedom rather than about justice and about progress through power, rather than through the ancient concept of charity. Reston goes on to say that these things rather than Goldwater's voting record and his philosophy need to be reviewed and that the Democrats will make a mistake if they do not really dig into these things, that he, Reston, feels many are attracted to Goldwater who are only part if not actual a political, that it is true in all of history minorities have brought about action such as in our Civil War, our own revolutionary war, the French Revolution, and one could go on; and that somehow or other the philosophical arguments and problems which basically disturb people have been touched by Goldwater.

I don't know what to make of this but it's rather typical of the general feeling that Goldwater has capitalized on a general frustrated feeling of people in a complex society, that he has picked up the backwash on the racial question, that he is capitalizing on the general fear of bigness and anti-big government attitudes, that he is emphasizing the individual in his efforts to maintain his identity in increasingly large and collectivized society both publicly and privately. This last theme is one that Wilson wrote an editorial on in the Sunday paper pointing out that Goldwater really was the individualist and was appealing to people who were subconsciously seeking for identity in this big world growing increasingly collective. I still tend to think that this is upgrading Goldwater far too much, that one can always capitalize on the diffidence, and there's always a lot of them as we used to call the iggly-bigglys back home, that capturing a political party is one thing and winning an election another and that the basic good sense of the people in this country is not

going to pay much attention to this extremism. On the other hand, the Harris poll in the Post this morning showed that the President's lead had dropped by 10 points although it's still 65 to 35, the highest in history at this state in a Presidential campaign, but that Goldwater now was clearly in the lead in the Southern States. With the withdrawal of Wallace, he now apparently is in a strong position and reports generally would indicate that he has climbed rapidly and that Johnson's position has eroded. This may very well spell out a more important and more active need for some good pro-farm campaigning in the South.

Anyway, it's an interesting time as one reads for all the thinkers and all the rest are groping as to what does this really mean. Walter Lippmann this morning was rather devastating in his attack on Goldwater's statement that extremism in the pursuit of liberty was not a vice as literally encouraging lawlessness for what one thing to be a proper end. In these touchy times, riots in Harlem and with great difficulties undermining the Civil Rights, it would seem highly irresponsible for a man to say such a thing, but he stays with it. This kind of extremism will, I trust, although it attracts attention, mobilizes malcontents, simplifies the complex, yet will not have a very broad appeal.

I haven't yet had any exposure to the President since the Republican Convention, but I'm anxious to see him to see if he is getting any buck fever about this, which I hope he isn't.

It's 4:45 p.m. and I'm about to leave for a Cabinet Meeting in the White House called to review Bob McNamara's cost reduction program. We've just completed a session here trying to figure out how we can get some publicity and attention on the work done in this Department, which has been quite

extensive in this field. It's a lot tougher here where most of the programs are service rather than purchases.

I've also just finished reviewing a first draft of a political speech for Saturday night and the question of how to handle Goldwater comes again to the front. Rod Leonard has the thought that Goldwater has reached people, vis-a-vis Scottie Reston and Dick Wilson's analysis I referred to earlier. The more I thought about it, the more I think we are probably building this fellow up and that the reaction to his success is a bit hysterical. After all, all he has done is mobilize a lot of extremists that always hang around the fringes of any political party and has won only one election and that in California, then by a hair against almost no opposition considering Rockefeller's situation. Therefore, the question is how do I handle him on Saturday night. I could hit him head on on the extremist theme, pointing out that I'd fought extremists before in the Southwest Pacific, Communists in the Minnesota DFL Party, but hardly expected to get this kind of "the end justifies the means" in the Grand Old Republican Party, etc. This may give him too much credit and ridicule might be better. On the other hand, a more solemn recital of the benefits which would be lost and the progress which would be forfeited might be better. A number of drafts will circulate around here tonight and I hope tomorrow to get some of our politically knowledgeable people together to hash this one around. Off now to a Cabinet meeting.

6:50 p.m. -- I've just returned from the Cabinet meeting which was indeed a very fascinating session. The President started off with a review of pending legislation and the statement he felt we had a chance to accomplish an excellent legislative record and that this would be one of the strongest things going for us in the campaign. He went around the table and asked each

of us about legislation and we responded -- me in connection with Food Stamp, the beef quota thing, and also P.L. 480. Then he noted that a poll had been taken in Maryland and one of the things that came up constantly favorably was cost reduction, and he said the two words that seemed to elicit a favorable response were the words "prudence" and "progress". He stated then that Bob McNamara's efforts had been very successful, very well received, and he wanted us to have the benefit of a presentation that McNamara had made. McNamara was uncomfortable and whispered to me that this was not his idea and the President made it clear that McNamara was there under orders. In any event, McNamara proceeded to give his pitch as to how he had reduced expenditures. One of the impressive things was that he pointed out we had spent \$30 billion more than would have been spent at the Eisenhower level, but that this country was in terribly weak position when the Democrats took over, so weak in fact that at the time of the Berlin crisis there was a shortage of batteries for torpedoes for submarines and destroyers and even a shortage of torpedoes -- and at the time of the Bay of Pigs there was a real question whether we would have been strong enough to go into Cuba even then and carry it. He went on and listed how infinitely much we had strengthened our power since that time. His figures of cost reduction with a \$4 billion goal were based on what would have been spent at that level if these measures had not been undertaken and concentrated on first eliminating the unnecessary by way of inventory, procurement and that kind of thing. Second, purchasing directed toward competitive bidding and also incentive bidding, paying for high quality kinds of performance for certain objects. And finally, consolidation of bases and facilities -- many of these changes having come from the recommendations made by people within the Defense Department.

The President then gave us a very strong mandate that we should keep our personnel down, that we should for each month now keep it below the previous month through the balance of the year. He then went on to make a rather impassioned plea that if we were here next January with a 4-year mandate we would do things to make the Great Society. He related the young men that needed education, that one out of three couldn't get in the Service. He related the great need for medical advance and progress and for education. He related the education needs which ought to be set down as in the full Employment Act as a charter, a right, by Congress of every child in this country, but these things he said had to be paid for and they would be paid for out of savings which would be made in our various administrative programs. It was all rather mumbo jumbo, with no consideration given to the fact that perhaps we are cutting back and seriously hurting ongoing programs now, which incidentally today I asked Les Condon, the Inspector General, to check here for we are 4,000 employees less than we were last June 30 and I am curious as to whether our costs are higher because of contracting out and also whether we might have seriously hurt programs that we need. He didn't mention this but it was quite crystal clear that this is an issue and that this is a political problem and that we are mandated to spend nothing that we don't have to spend. He even related riding in a small airplane himself and compared it to Bob McNamara driving up in a red Ford instead of a big limousine -- that we had to save pennies. This revolved around the political quite clearly and with it with passion and feeling, and I think sincerity, went the promise too of the things we could do if we won this election. He then got into the politics a bit and pointed out the Maryland poll which showed strength. He did not go into the various kinds of favorable responses that poll showed to different things. He was conscious of the drop in his position

in the South and related the very bad reports from his good friends in the South as to the status of matters then. As the meeting drew to a close, he asked if anybody had anything to say and I said I wanted a little guidance on how we ought to handle Goldwater. I stated that I felt that we were perhaps a little over-emotional about this, that we ought not to build this fellow up, that he hadn't done a great deal, that he had mobilized some fanatics and captured a political party which isn't too difficult, that he only won one election and that over no opposition, and that we ought not to build him up too high. His response to this was that Goldwater had more things going for him than we realized, that he had come out of that Convention in very good shape at the end of the wire, that Goldwater was coming in to see him about Civil Rights and keeping it out of the campaign and he was going to have to see him, that this would be a tough, hard campaign, that he was running scared, and he related the problems of Billie Sol Estes and how that was lodged on him. He related to Bobby Baker, and how that had been lodged on him. He related how they were investigating the holdings that they have in the television and radio station in Texas and have ballooned them. He alleged that there were people at \$1,000 a month and unlimited expenses now down in Texas checking through everybody and everything trying to get something on him and that this would be a tough, nasty, dirty campaign. He really sounded quite concerned, quite apprehensive, and quite tense at this point. He then went on to say that he wanted us to travel the high road and to wait for him to make a mistake -- that he had reviewed Roosevelt's campaigns, that how in 1940 in that critical campaign Roosevelt had only been out of the White House five days campaigning and that he had only acknowledged the opponent on a couple of occasions and then on a basis of ridicule. He stated that we did have

an excellent record and the strongest thing going for us was the economy and that we ought to emphasize that at every opportunity for bread and butter in the pocketbook was after all the greatest stimulant to a positive and favorable vote.

Bill Wirtz then asked the question about relating accomplishments and a negative Goldwater vote on each one, and the President said well we would have to do some of that all right and that that seemed to sound o.k. I referred to the peace issue and he indicated that was a good one, too, and then made a speech that we are not to be apprehensive that things are going well for us, that we shouldn't give any impression of being tense, or worried or concerned, but rather be calm and positive and relaxed and give Mr. Goldwater a chance to talk his way into trouble, that we should push Goldwater to have to spell out what his foreign policy was and what kind of weapons he would want. That we would have plenty of chance to answer Goldwater when he attacks us and that some of this would need to be done, but indicated clearly that we should follow the high road, that we should be careful not to make a mistake. One of the examples of a possible mistake that came out was the statement of Goldwater's two nervous breakdowns which someone apparently had read to him from a magazine today and he said he didn't want to hear about it and he didn't want it to slip out, that would be the kind of thing that could constitute a major mistake and be used against him.

All in all I had the feeling that he was definitely feeling his way along, that he was deeply worried about Goldwater and I think giving more credence to Goldwater than the situation really properly commands, that he wanted to follow the high road but wasn't quite sure what that was outside of our sticking to the record and emphasizing accomplishments, responding to attacks, being careful

not to attack Goldwater too much. Generally it was not a very clear and consistent line. He also came back again and again to the passage of our legislative program and to the fact that we should be on the job and living up there on the Hill and not out of town, which gives me some problems immediately for I'm due to leave tomorrow night for California and a big trade speech which I think I should carry forward, but I'd sure hate to be gone again when problems come up in the Congress.

All in all it was not a satisfying session although an interesting one and it leaves me somewhat disturbed for he is more uncertain, has less clearly in mind what he wants to do, and gave us much less guidance than I would hope we might get at this point. He also didn't give us much chance to be heard as to what we thought or as to our recommendations as to how a campaign should be conducted and how Goldwater should be handled.

Another thing that the President said in the course of this discussion was that the South looked tough, we might get a few of the border States, that literally none of the Governors or good friends there were ready to even work or to solicit the cooperation of the team of Collins-Ellington-Hodges that had been sent into the South, that the East look good and apparently would stay there, that the West looked fairly good, that the swing area might very well be the Midwest. He was quite impassioned about the beef quota bill and said it would be the height of embarrassment to have to veto a bill sponsored and passed by his own Majority Leader but that there was nothing he could do with Mike Mansfield. I reported that Carl Albert was being difficult on this one and that we were now proposing that it be sent to Conference and that Wilbur Mills had said he thought he could hold it in Conference and we let the matter lay there.

Thursday, July 23, 1964, San Francisco -- 10:30 San Francisco time, 1:30 Washington time. I flew in here today for a speech to the Commonwealth Club and a conference at the Bank of America on Trade. This is a part of our long term program to try and emphasize some aspects of Department progress highlighting this time trade. I think I've got a pretty good speech. I'm going to announce the striking increase in exports and if it works out it will be timed with a Presidential Press Conference with one of the leads on it being the announcement of this progress by way of exports which fits very comfortably into the President's emphasis of the Nation's economic well being. It was kind of a hectic day today, trying to get ready to leave, polish off the speech for tomorrow, and more importantly get one ready for Saturday night in Wichita, Kansas, which will be a political speech. As I've said, we haven't quite got the feel yet as to how far the President wants to go. I guess that's understandable. Jack Valenti said today at The White House that he thought the Cabinet meeting was wonderful and that this was the best indication that the staff had had on the President's ideas on how to handle the campaign. I didn't think it was very clear at all. I bumped into Horace Busby, one of his advisors who is trying to do political planning, and he described it by saying the President is a late starter, and he himself was not talking much with anybody about what he was really going to do politically.

The main event today was quite a show at the White House. The President had sent out a wire a week ago and brought in several hundred businessmen who came from all over the country. He met and greeted all of them. We of the Cabinet were hosts at various tables. He introduced us there. We then adjourned into the main banquet room, having lunched in the East Room, and the show was on. He introduced very briefly Bob McNamara, who gave the pitch on savings in the Defense Department, with emphasis at the end on increased military strength

as its product. Dean Rusk did an exceptionally fine job of touching the highlights of our foreign policy and the need for consistency and vigor, pointing out that we had problems but that the other side had equally bad ones, and we weren't going to solve this easy or shortly. Stevenson said a few words too -- apparently he had little advanced notice. The President probably wanted to give him some recognition and actually I thought he was not very effective. The famous Stevenson wit came out -- his comment that he lunched with Americans of this stature infrequently went over well; but when he said as a Democrat seldom with those as affluent it didn't take quite as well. Then the President himself took over and went through the charts showing how we had cut expenditures, building it up in terms of the effort and the pressure on the Cabinet, et al. How we had fewer employees and how the projected increase in the debt had dropped from 11.9 billion down to 8.3 with a few political asides and witticisms in connection with it done rather cleverly. There was a question and answer period which really didn't amount to very much but kinda toned it up so they felt they were brought in to be listened to as well as to be talked to. The only question that had any nasty overtones was one that the Justice Department and the Federal Trade Commission were extending the laws and carrying them further than Congress had intended and therefore were antibusiness, creating apprehensions. There was applause to this question and the President handled it very cleverly, smiling in a kind of off-hand way, saying that he gathered there were others there who agreed with that view point, he did as well, that this was always a difficult question, that they and their Counsel might have one opinion and those in the Government another as to exactly what the law meant and then he grinned and said that some people even thought the Supreme Court was doing some legislating. It was well handled. The response

of the business people was enthusiastic in terms of the management, savings, economy, cut in budget, cut in debt, and that kind of thing. The same old story, but he's hammering at it and as he said at the Cabinet meeting yesterday he had gotten on top and identified in that respect and that there were very favorable readings on that in the polls and he intended to maintain that image and posture. I must admit it's good politics even though I'm afraid we're paying a price in program. From a political standpoint, of course, that's been papered over by the emphasis on poverty and Appalachia and some of the others, but these again do not involve very significant sums of money really and we'll have to wait to see what happens.

At my own staff meeting this morning I said as strongly as I ever have that the President made the point that we need to establish firmly and with confidence in the mind of the public that this Government was spending its money carefully, we were getting a return for the dollar, and when we did that, we would have money both by improved efficiencies and by increased availabilities, to use for the programs that need to be carried forward to build the Great Society. He did say that with strong enough meaning yesterday so that I felt that I could in all consciousness say it with real meaning today and I think I probably laid it in as strongly to the staff and to the Department as I ever have. He closed the meeting today I thought rather cleverly with the same story from Sam Rayburn, allegedly back in the thirties when he was sponsoring legislation to establish the Securities and Exchange Commission and review and control some of the financing institutions, was invited to speak to the Bond Club in New York and did so and was introduced abruptly and curtly by someone who said that here's the young man who has sponsored the killer legislation, I don't know what he came here for but he's here and wants to say

something to you. Somewhat nonplussed by this introduction, Rayburn picked it up by saying he himself had never had any money, that he had had trouble holding on to a little farm in Texas, and that he had wanted to come, this in response to part of the introduction re I don't know why he came here, said he had wanted to come to see if some of this would rub off because everyone there was reputed to be a millionaire. He then went on to say that he also came for another reason and that was to let them know that he wasn't afraid of them. The President did this with a nice touch and I thought that he made some friends and their general response and reaction was very good. Now I'll have to see what the press is.

I had called him earlier in the day to report on the Food Stamp Bill and our plans and the possibility of unanimous consent which we might have gotten if Paul Jones had kept his mouth shut, but he fouled it up so we're going to have to take it into the Rules Committee and I had a real flurry trying to get out and catch the plane in time between talking to Larry O'Brien, trying to reach Cooley, trying to get strategy prepared, and we finally concluded that it would be better, and I think I've everybody lined up, that Cooley get a rule to carry the Senate Bill back to the House and to protect us on the meat additions so that I can interpret so we can live with it and not get sidetracked into a fight about beef imports which would kill the whole Food Stamp Bill. Apparently the Conservation Fund Bill passed on a voice vote after the amendment to prevent us from using any of that money to acquire land in forests East of the Mississippi was defeated by a tie vote. Cooley was for that so it was a bit touchy, but when I called him from the airport, he didn't seem too disturbed so maybe we've gotten over that one, and I'm glad that bill is passed. It will be a useful and helpful one.

I also talked this morning with Mills. We were able finally to maneuver around and get that FHA loan he's been so red hot on. He also wanted some help on an REA loan that I think we can handle and I in turn talked to him about the beef import thing. He's prepared to try and handle it by having it referred first to Rules and then from Rules to Conference where he thinks he can keep it pegged in. I called the President early this morning to report on these things and then to tell him about the trip out here because in light of his conversation and directions of yesterday I hesitated to even leave town.

Wash Post 8-3-64

A Soviet Agent Reports on Purge

By S. Rosenfeld and K. Meyer

TO: Nikita Sergeyevich

FROM: A Comrade in Washington

The mass purge of aspirants for the so-called vice-presidency has commanded attention in recent days. Though outwardly the event may seem another meaningless charade of capitalist politics, by skillful use of Johnsonology it is possible to unmask a shifting power reality behind the purge.

Our Chinese comrades, in their simplicity, may believe the transparent fancy that L. Johnson purged R. Kennedy and others simply as part of a struggle between magnates of imperialism, all of whom are essentially alike.

It is possible to advance beyond this primitive approach. By borrowing the more advanced theoretical techniques of V. Zorza, E. Crankshaw and H. Schwartz, it is possible to make this interpretation — that the purge signals the rising power of the "old" party cadres, and the downgrading of the "new" functionaries grouped in the army, the bureaucracy, and the technician class.

OBVIOUSLY, the most important victim of the purge is R. Kennedy, Minister of Internal Security and chief of the secret police. Students of the capitalist press have noticed an incipient personality cult developing around R. Kennedy. This cult was assuming proportions that made L. Johnson apprehensive of his own cult (called "image" here). L. Johnson, it should be recalled, has suffered a disorder of the circulatory apparatus and has no male heirs!

The downgrading of R. Kennedy, you may recall, was predicted in an earlier report by this analyst. The vital clue came in April, when L. Johnson was photographed at a baseball game opening what is known here as the "season." A study of this picture showed that R. Kennedy was not in L. Johnson's box. Photographs taken on this ceremonial occasion are a reliable index of the hierarchy of power in the U.S.

It is no coincidence that the head of the secret police apparatus has been downgraded at the same time as R. McNamara, Minister of Defense. R. McNamara is obviously the candidate of the military cadres, and his rise has caused ideological disaffection among orthodox party cadres. Inspired items have appeared in the columns by D. Lawrence, J. Reston and C. Roberts pointing out that L. Johnson was trying to appease counter-revolutionary elements by favoring R. McNamara, who makes no secret of his old affiliation with Republicans.

The fall of O. Freeman, Minister of Agriculture, is easy to explain. He has not been able to solve the crisis in agriculture, arising from inner contradictions in the capitalist economy which continue to produce what are known as "surpluses" (there is no precise equivalent for this word in Russian).

THE POSITIONS of Foreign Secretary D. Rusk and Ambassador A. Stevenson are more difficult to assess, because in recent photographs L. Johnson has been near both men, and has appeared to favor them with his glance (although it is hard to tell exactly where L. Johnson may be looking).

Yet the clue to their decline may be suggested by a generally unnoticed editorial in the Johnson City, Texas, *Gazette and Bugler*, which is known to reflect the views of the Johnson apparatus. This provincial paper expressed pointed dissatisfaction with the conduct of foreign affairs and singled out D. Rusk and A. Stevenson for failing to defend high tariffs for Texas beef.

In summary, we may say that the purge evidences the rise of the "old" party cadres from the period of F. Roosevelt, and the decline of the "new" cadres and secret police (who supported R. Kennedy), the armed forces and technicians (who backed R. McNamara) and the intelligentsia (who favor A. Stevenson).

Nevertheless the Johnson inner circle faces a continuing problem of dissatisfaction among these groups, especially among the young intelligentsia, who have been rioting recently in behalf of the Beatles, singers who symbolize the mood of youthful protest against the rigidities of a capitalist society.

In light of this L. Johnson may well be forced to take account of these pressures by an unusual choice for Vice President. His young daughter Lynda Bird, could well be his choice as successor, since he is concerned with his regime's popularity among women as well as among youthful intelligentsia. It is no accident that this young girl has appeared so prominently in so many White House photographs.

August 1, 1964 -- 11:55. I'm in my little office down the hall after a visit with National Committeewoman from Minnesota Geri Joseph. More of that later. Things have really been happening.

Yesterday at 6:00 o'clock I went over to play squash with Bob McNamara and as we were dressing he said something and I can't recall exactly how it came up to the effect that there would be an announcement about Vice Presidents and the implication was that it would take him out of the running. I think I might have said something about the contest continues, or such, to bring the matter up. In any event, while we were playing squash he was called to the 'phone. He returned and the game continued, and I was called to the 'phone. It was Walter Jenkins who said the President had been trying to reach me for an hour and that he had been unable to do so and would I consider this as a personal call, that the President was going to announce that he would not recommend to the Democratic Convention as Vice President any Member of the Cabinet or those who serve with the Cabinet, and then it named in a strict protocol fashion Rusk, McNamara, Bobby Kennedy, myself, Stevenson and Shriver. Jenkins then asked whether this gave me any trouble. I tried to think of something appropriate to say to indicate my disappointment and finally not knowing exactly what tone to set just indicated by the sharpness of my voice my displeasure and let it go at that. We went back and finished the squash game and then later in conversation with McNamara I found out that this was under consideration several days, so he had been consulted with about it. Also the decision apparently had been made, according to him, at 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon. I talked to the President yesterday at around 3:30, reporting back on some problems on the meat quota bill with Carl Albert. He said nothing at that time.

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We went on to the Wilson House for an open house, calling attention to that landmark, and then to a party at the Goldmans who is the President's kind of intellectual adviser allegedly probing the intellectual leadership of the Nation for creative ideas, et cetera. It was an interesting combination of people including Manrine Neuberger, newly married; Morgan, the radio announcer; George Reedy was there; Dick Nelson, the young fellow in the White House; and young Butterworth just returned from Ghana. It was interesting to listen to these young fellows talk about the state of affairs and the attitude of young people today who find their liberal position, or at least their activist position, in the Goldwater Camp rather than in the Left Wing camp as was the case until recently. I found the same apprehension running deep and also concern that the so-called Civil Rights backlash and the general underlying discontent and dissatisfaction of millions of people in such a complex and collectivized society all coalesced together to produce an undertone that resulted in Goldwater and his appeal. I think this is phony basically and said so, that it's mostly the rationalization of people who were wrong in their political estimates and now these famous columnists trying to justify their mistakes. I also drew the same comparison to the McCarthy period and said that Washington goes crazy while the rest of the country goes about its business. Be that as it may, it was an interesting party, although I was still somewhat numb from the Presidential statement.

Jane and I went home and sat and talked well into the night about it and I felt then, and do now, somewhat bruised although she did not quite share my resentment at not being consulted about this. I wish I had said to Jenkins to tell the President I appreciated being consulted about this kind of a decision, but it's probably just as well I didn't. I do have the feeling

of being left out in that regard although Jane said that he had so much exposure to Rusk and McNamara and others in the very nature of the business that this did not mean that he was not in strong support or did not hold me in high regard. This is not just a matter of personal vanity. We're going to have a tough enough time next year before the Congress and in Agriculture that anything short of complete Presidential standing and support based on real confidence would be kinda committing suicide. Actually if this guy isn't prepared to give that kind of support I'd better be prepared to get out of here and let him muddle his own way through instead of being forced out of here in a struggle which he won't back me up on and ending up 4 years of blood sweat and tears with nothing but a failure label. That happened in the gubernatorial setting and the accomplishments as Governor are long since forgotten by most people. That was brought into focus by Geri Joseph today when we considered the Minnesota situation and the Senatorship for it now looks quite likely that Humphrey might be the Vice Presidential man. In that event, the question is who will Karl appoint? I told her to indicate to him I was interested, but I did not want to be embarrassed and did not want to be a possibility if he was not prepared to make the appointment. It'll be interesting to get the feedback. She's concerned about Fritz Mondale and as we discussed I asked her frankly who would be the best candidate and the most popular appointment and she said "Mondale" and then went on to add as Fritz had told her again and again himself everywhere he went around the State why he saw things that I had done as Governor and that I had been such an outstanding Governor and that this was one of the reasons for their frustrations with Karl Rolvaag currently. Be that as it may -- I lost that election. The fights we won and the things we did are long since forgotten. I've been gone for 4 years and she felt quite frankly that Mondale would be the best

candidate. However, no one knows and the effect of 4 years in Washington, the prestige that goes with it, and the ability to represent the State would be a not unimportant factor. I would of course have 2 years once appointed to get back to build on and to get an organization established, but Rolvaag would probably be a dead weight. He apparently hasn't gone over 45 percent in the opinion polls and is doing the same kind of bumbling job that he did as State Chairman. It's really kind of pathetic. I'd hoped that he would grow and respond and move into the office, but he hasn't. George Farr, the State Chairman, was down this week and we had lunch and went over the political ground back home; he reflecting the same concern as Geri Joseph and that had also been reflected by Fritz Mondale who went with us on the Sequoia and we had a brief talk coming back from Mount Vernon. Fritz is frustrated and unhappy and he wanted a chance to talk with me. I told George Farr after reflecting on all this that I thought he, Fritz and Geri, ought to get together and make up their minds they are going to run that party and proceed to do it. The Governor then would just have to come along in his own bumbling way. Actually he needs them a lot more than they need him and in this fashion with a constructive program and clear cut action why some of the problems that presently exist in trying to work with him would vanish. Tom Hughes is home now and talking with them about it. It may be that I should take a more active part in party affairs in the coming period. Both Geri, Fritz and George expressed that deep feeling of concern for the DFL Party that we who molded it feel so strongly. Actually it is suffering from over prosperity and too many young men with no place to go, but it's a great institution and one admired all over the country and we ought to keep it and not let it fall apart now from weak leadership and competition for office.

So mostly this has been a political week. Socially we were asked by the State Department to be official hosts for a cruise on the Potomac for the President of Madagascar which we did. What a man. He didn't stop talking for a minute, an egotist -- most political leaders are -- and as Jane said maybe they're successful because they talk about themselves so much that the message is bound to come across. I had rather dreaded the occasion because he only speaks French. It's one of those which is not formal, yet not informal. You have to have some kind of toast or presentation and it's awfully hard to talk with some of these fellows especially when you have to talk through an interpreter. But actually it worked out rather well. It was somewhat embarrassing to be the host and then have Soapy Williams along as second man. He was very gracious about it, wrote us a nice note and all, but it's only a few years ago that he was one of the leading Governors in the United States and a prominent contender for the Presidency. In the meantime he's been at a relatively low level for 4 years here in carrying forward his work in good spirit. He's a great guy. We were kidding about the Vice Presidency and I commented about him, and he laughed jocularly and said he had found two people in Michigan and that's all who supported that idea and they weren't he or his wife. Well, that one is that one.

It was nice to have the Mondales on this. They had gone to the White House the night before and we made the car and driver available to them and they really enjoyed and I was able to give them a bit of a build up on the Sequoia trip which they enjoyed, too. And so that was a plus.

I'm still struggling to catch up with the work that piled up during the week we were gone and I haven't been feeling very well. That stomach has been giving me trouble now for the last month, nothing real serious but just

generally uncomfortable and I usually wake up three or four times during the night.

The only really important thing in the legislative deal was the passage by the Senate of the meat quota import bill. It passed overwhelmingly and now we are trying to do something in the House. Mike came home from his Page job and came down and said to me that all the boys were riding him especially when I was being attacked about this and what was it really all about. I told him that it was an example of how Democracy is not supposed to work and that when we are intolerant of other countries and how they don't work so effectively in their governmental institutions we need to be reminded of some of these examples of our own. In this case very few of the Senators who voted for that bill did so because they thought it was right -- instead they did it because of simple, political pressure engendered by a selfish pressure group these cattlemen. The President of course is jumping up and down about it. George Ball and I went over and talked to Wilbur Mills and the Speaker and they were cooperative and we outlined a strategy to try and block it. Then the next day I had a very angry call from Carl Albert complaining about a speech a Republican had made that I had been over talking to the Leadership and going around his back. He calmed down a bit when I told him that I certainly didn't hide the fact that I'd been over there or that I would talk with Mills and that he knew about it, and that we were seeking to avoid him embarrassment rather than the contrary and that I was certainly going to oppose the bill and he knew that, and he knew it wasn't a good bill. He then pointed out his political problems, threatened to resign as Majority Leader, and generally was most excited. He was mad at the Senate for dumping it over in the House and I can't blame him. He's on the spot because Mansfield, the Majority Leader, could pass it and if that's the case why can't Albert? And so

it goes. In the meantime the President is wild. I talked with him yesterday and he again issued directives about selling meat to Western Europe, that we had to get the price up over what it was a year ago and that was the only answer to the criticisms. He directed me to get together with the State Department and start all over again reviewing each country, contacting each Ambassador, and so we got that machinery under way and we'll report back again in 10 days.

Back a moment to the personal problem -- one thing I've about resolved is that we better get some alternatives of some place to go and seek to get this known and communicated to that President. If we are to do a job here, it's going to take some real support. If we're taken for granted that support won't be forthcoming. I think we're rather taken for granted now. That plus the fact that this is not with all of its importance a job that has the problems that are before him daily. If we weren't doing a good job they would be before him daily. And so I think I'll get back in touch with Kirkpatrick and investigate this College Presidency thing again and tell him I am not adverse to any open invitations or any information in connection with it. In the meantime we will go ahead planning and programming here and I have scheduled tonight a long meeting to review where we go on our commodity programs in the future. In the meantime the best way to prepare to put them through, as well as to protect myself, is to try and have some alternatives. It wouldn't be fair to say that I don't trust this President in terms of his concern for people and his willingness to discard them when it is politically expeditious, but that would be my judgment at this time and I'd better play it accordingly.

Another interesting thing this week was a meeting with John Macy, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and Nick Katzenbach, Bobby Kennedy's

(Assistant, about charges brought against REA personnel here for solicitation and selling of tickets for the Democratic Gala. They do have affidavits in the records alleging that and, therefore, an uncomfortable position. I was pleased and proud of Katzenbach who spoke out quite frankly and said that where the corrupt practices act in the Senate Resolution demanding an investigation was concerned, and it is a violation to receive money from employees for political purposes on Federal property, he would in due course report to the Senate that it existed throughout the Government, it had under a previous Administration, that it had never been enforced or anyone prosecuted and he didn't propose to pick out anybody and prosecute them now, that it would be unfair and really immoral to do so. He stated the same thing in connection with the Hatch Act and the Civil Service Commission and this helped a great deal with John Macy. He also said that people really ought not to be solicited on Government property and Macy pointed out that Kennedy had said that instead mailings should go to their homes and they ought not to be under any kind of pressure. This we all agreed to. Macy agreed to delay their investigation just as long as he possibly could. He then will refer it over here and we'll do some more investigation. By that time Congress will be gone. Then if I have to do anything at all, it'll be something like filing a letter of reprimand so that people won't get hurt here for doing what is customary and has been done by both parties. We also all agreed, and I told Macy that this might be an opportunity to impress on the Democratic National Committee and the President that in the future this ought to be watched and not abused and any coercion eliminated if there is some, and there is no evidence of any now. Macy reported to me there was growing resentment among Federal employees and as such this kind of thing ought to be straightened up.

I attended a CCC Board Meeting yesterday about policies in connection with grain storage and also the bin question and there is quite a struggle about it related with the Coops on one hand and the ASCS people on the other -- those who want to maintain Government bin sites and, of course, the Coops speaking now for the grain trade want to get rid of them. Actually I think the program has operated quite well here and there isn't much basis for most of the complaints.

Another success of the week really was the meeting of the Recreational Advisory Council where an agreement between the Army Engineers and the Forest Service was ratified. This is a leg up for the functioning of this Advisory Council which I have described before, however, Bob Weaver of the Housing and Home Finance Agency took issue with some language in the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation Committee recommendations and made the point he thought that the Council ought not to even make advisory recommendations in the event of conflict. Stu Udall took strong issue with him on this and I sidetracked it feeling that we would be much wiser to accomplish the objective of ratifying the agreement at point, establish the precedent, and then when the Staff have completed their study of the management in such cases we can meet and thresh out the question whether we should issue advisory opinions or not and in the meantime I can do some work behind the scenes. Actually this is an important principle. If such Presidentially appointed groups can conscientiously review and give opinions it will bring about agreements at operating levels which otherwise would be impossible and which often land up in the Congress. This still leaves with the administrative officer the right to refuse to concur and to carry the matter to the Bureau of the Budget and to the President if he feels strongly enough, but it also gives him some muscle to make his people act reasonably, which sometimes is hard to do. It's easy to say all the boss has to do is issue a directive,

but the boss also has to live and work with the people and that means loyalty to the Agency and some of these things go very deep with the operating people. This one is working along and could very well be quite a contribution for the functioning of Government. I'm going to nurse it carefully.

The National Advisory Commission was also in town and met this week and I took them over to the White House. The President was about an hour late coming in. He was somewhat abrupt in asking me what I wanted of him at this meeting, but it worked out and he came in and I told him about the Commission, and he made a little speech, sat down, and visited and kidded a bit. Then the White House put out a statement which got some play. Again, however, the amount of attention, the amount of play, as compared to his meetings with labor and with business was minimum. At least he's protected now so we can't say he's ignored agriculture, but any real deep interest certainly wasn't there.

Another event of the week was the conference held by AID and Agriculture and the Land-Grant Colleges on technical assistance in agriculture. Dave Bell made almost a flatfooted commitment in that he would be delegating out more and more work in this area to the Land-Grant Colleges and to the Department of Agriculture. Actually this really reflected the effort and the direction that I instigated in the memorandum of June 1961. Now we're moving forward to try and get some people over to India who are desperately needed there to help them set up an operator price support program that will mean something. I spoke to them Monday night in the State Department auditorium and had an excellent reception. The gist of my speech was that agricultural technical assistance is essential to economic development and that economic development in these countries means markets for American agriculture. Actually the speech

was directed to Jamie Whitten and to the Congress but there weren't any of them there. The speech is not in the Congressional Record yet. I really think it should be, probably should be circulated, but in light of economic aid bills and P.L. 480 I'm just not sure how to play this one. However, I do have it on the record and I think Jamie will get the idea and it was pleasing that the speech was so well received which it was.

August 1, 1964 -- 10:30 p.m. -- I just finished a 3-hour session with top staff people here and the Assistant Secretaries going over overall programs for the future. We concentrated on the commodity programs trying to figure out what to do and came out with nothing very concise, but with a better feeling and something of an overview.

A number of proposals were reviewed and it ended up pretty much this way:

1. That in budgeting this time we would think in terms of the "Great Society" -- in terms of rural America and building it up -- what it would take to do the job and that we would send over the figures to do the job and fight for them. I related to the group that the President had said on a number of occasions, including at the last Cabinet meeting, that given a mandate for 4 years we would go on to building a "Great Society" and doing the things that needed to be done for a better life for all our people. That I for one was prepared to take him at his word, to plan, to budget accordingly. I did say we might have to make some value judgments along the way on this in terms of what we could get but that that at least ought to be our starting point. This was part of the suggestion that we try and again not emphasize the commodity programs.

Where the commodity programs are concerned it was agreed we would make them cost as little as possible and that we would have to add to the wheat and feed grain programs a kind of general land retirement provision, including whole farms, something similar to what the Farm Bureau as a matter of fact has been advocating, something like the conservation reserve with better administration. This would be combined with the wheat and feed grain programs

targeting in land on a 1-year basis under those programs so that we could keep on top of production and not have runaway production with heavy surpluses.

It was agreed that the farm income picture is not as bleak as farmers complain it to be, that many farmers are close to parity of income and many more are above it if you include the increasing value of land into which earnings are capitalized. This is really a kind of forced earnings that farmers go through and do not realize. The groups that are most militant that are in the commercial farming group, such as NFO today, are those that don't have quite enough resources and those who are buying land at a very heavy cost and paying for it, the same for supplies, and are having a tough time making a go of it at that rate. Our overall income figures when we lump all farmers of course are low, but these commercial \$10,000 income or better farmers are doing pretty well. I suggested to John Schnittker that we do some spot studies on this through the NFO country, I would like to know a good deal more about it. We don't have much alternative but to go forward with these programs, combine the land retirement, get the cost down as much as we can consistent with maintaining our farm income figures, and then just do our best to bull it through. If we don't succeed why we have done our very best and then we will have to go through the wringer for everyone agreed that to have a 50 percent drop in net farm income which most studies show absence of a feed grain and wheat program mean would result in chaos, extreme hardship, the devaluation of this land purchased at a higher price, and would be catastrophic and something that our economy simply could not afford.

This pretty well recaps the discussion. Mr. Murphy will proceed with his work on the numbers with John Schnittker. Some announcements will have

to be made on the feed grain program very soon and on the wheat program and when that's done we will have a pretty good idea of what our program position will be and it looks like we will just have to proceed on this basis and hope for the best.

In the course of this discussion I had some private thoughts. It would constitute failure and in effect repudiation for my administration of this Department and for my policy should this happen. Charley Murphy said well then they will have voted for it themselves and the net result will speak for itself and that's that and they've asked for it. By the same token it will mean that the people involved will suffer, we will not have accomplished our purpose, and the Secretary will have failed. I shouldn't be thinking this personal I guess, but as I get along here a bit in years I feel a bit cynical about this and I do not want to get into a position where once again we make a great sacrifice with nothing to show for it in terms of either recognition or accomplishment. If that's selfishness, I guess I'm just getting selfish. It's a rather challenging thing and a real responsibility and I suppose I'll ride it through and take my lumps and be reassured by the old admonition that he who exalteth himself is exalted very little, but it is a kind of tough trail. However, if we can move ahead in this campaign and organize this Rural Americans for Johnson movement throughout the entire country reaching city as well as rural Congressmen, we could build a tremendous force and have great power with the Congress at the next Session. So maybe this is the route to take. Anyway, enough for this -- it's time to go home -- tomorrow off for Texas and another speech.

I close with this, I talked with Jane tonight because I didn't go home for dinner but stayed here. She remarked the radio was full all day with the

() President saying that the Cabinet was foreclosed from being Vice President not because they were no good, but because they were too good. This is really amusing -- he's pulled a political cutte, he's gotten rid of Bobby Kennedy, and in the process he's said that no one in his Cabinet is worth being Vice President. I'm not so sure this is so smart. This kind of slick political tactic tends to fall too much in the overall image of Johnson which is damaging. He is fundamentally a political operator as distinguished from the brave Goldwater. Indidentally, I've had a half a dozen very nasty letters from my speech in Wichita last Saturday night where the press picked up the language "Can we afford a trigger happy President?" Boy this crowd is really militant and that's for sure. Enough for now -- closing out on August 1.

() Monday, August 3, 1964, 3:10 -- I came in from a trip last week end that I'll relate with a long term plan, had some feel of bounce and enthusiasm, which I had wrung out of me a bit this morning. I just came from the President's office and an unpleasant conference. It revolves around the question of beef again and the long and the short of it was that after a morning on the Hill, for cattlemen are in here now from every state in the Union, the President called George Ball and me to his office and in effect said, "I told you last November this was going to be serious and you weren't able to get the forces together, the vote in the Senate indicated you hadn't done your home work when the vote there was 78 to 12 for the quota allotment bill and that the strategy we had outlined was about all we could do." To back up, this morning or rather last Friday night we had a long conference that I related and I got news the cattlemen were coming in from every State to lobby for the bill in the House. Over the week end I thought about it and discussed it by 'phone

from Texas with Ken Birkhead and others and decided that I should meet with them and tried to meet with them this morning. The earliest we could set the meeting for was 4:00 o'clock.

I had breakfast early with George Ball for he had talked with the President after I called the President from Texas and explained to him about the meeting and asked his advice on it and he concurred that it should be held. He then called Ball. In the meantime last week we were in the process of preparing some kind of alternative, some kind of compromise, which we discussed at breakfast, and then went up to see first Carl Albert who was bitterly unhappy, complained about his position in the House again and how the Senate with that kind of a vote had made it impossible. We then went to Mills -- Mills had not changed his position except he felt less sure of himself because of Albert's position and the general feeling in the House. He still felt that he could raise this matter; that is, the Senate bill, and get unanimous consent to send it to Conference but he would be stronger if he could say he had in mind working something out in Conference. We felt, I feel, and the President agreed, that it would be very dangerous and it might be taken away from him on the Floor of the House and the Senate Bill concurred in. We then called the Speaker because a Resolution had been introduced which would be referred immediately to Rules to call it up before the House. The Rules Committee can now act on this and it's always possible the Chairman might do so precipitously and after some haggling with John McCormack, he agreed to call the Speaker and I'm waiting to hear from him now so nothing happens too quickly. We are one vote short in the Rules Committee, but with Dick Bolling gone and facing a tough primary tomorrow we definitely would not have the votes if he tried to move it immediately. The best strategy seems to be not to take a chance on the Floor of the House, to try and delay as much in the Rules Committee as

possible, to try and get votes to send it to Conference without instruction. We will have a better chance to get that vote if we've been able to work out some kind of a compromise that's acceptable and one we can live with. There is such a compromise I think which would strengthen us politically would protect some of the Congressmen and would generally solve the problem. The President said that was all we could do but he wasn't very complimentary and generally just left us with the feeling it wasn't a very good job on our part. I was going to tell him that we had in effect had orders from the White House not to fight too hard in the Senate because of Mike Mansfield but that looked too much like making excuses so I let it lay. I had to rush to his office from a meeting in the Department here where I had invited all the Cabinet Officers over and we were just starting lunch when I was called to the White House. It was very interesting because all of the talk was last week's maneuver on the Vice Presidency. In this connection, some of it was really quite amusing. Udall particularly felt left out that his name had not been one of those withdrawn and stated repeatedly that he didn't know I had been under such serious consideration. He came back to this several times and so finally I jokingly said that why shouldn't I be under consideration look at the qualifications. When I left the group I said to them that I felt going to the White House now, again jokingly, something like I felt in November 1960 when I had been called to then Senator Kennedy's suite in the Hotel in Los Angeles and didn't know what the results would be. They all laughed but it was somewhat heartening to note that many there acknowledged that I did have some qualifications and had been, or perhaps should have been, a possibility.

In this connection I did find out something about the speech in Kansas where I got the note from Jack Valenti saying this was a little too strong yet. Apparently Dillon talked to the President directly and said what tone

should I set in speaking. The President had apparently talked at great length and then had complained in effect that after that Cabinet meeting that I went out and made that speech attacking Goldwater in Kansas. The fact Hodges had made a strong speech he excused because Hodges wasn't at the Cabinet Meeting. Yet he never did call me about it, but rather sent the Valenti note. This kind of obtuseness makes it so terribly hard to work with this man.

A moment ago Charley Murphy and I were visiting and Charley made the remark that the Cabinet all seemed in good spirits and were kidding back and forth but there wasn't much evidence of confidence, respect or affection for the President. I'm afraid that's right. Dillon agreed with me that the Cabinet Meeting in question certainly didn't set down very clear or concise guidelines. So this leaves me now feeling a bit let down again. Everytime I meet with this Man I have the feeling somehow or other that he doesn't like me, doesn't trust me, and this makes it hard. Ellender has said on occasion don't let him upset you because that's the way he gets people to move. But I think it's a little different in my case for he's never really spoken sharply with the one exception on the airplane but rather in kind of indirection. He also make the kind of crack, going after George Ball this time on oil imports, in stating we were driving the little oil man out of business and a few of our big oil men were getting all the business and that this kind of an ADA philosophy, and then looked at me, led no where. Again this might not have been personal, but making allowances for personal sensitivity it surely does make one uncomfortable.

The week end was rather successful I thought. I flew down to Texas and got some work done on the way down. I read Humphrey's book on poverty which was very loosely written, throwing together a lot of statistics and palliatives

to solve the problem. Out of it jelled a kind of long term program. Such a program would make it worth while staying here and trying to get something done in program even though the uncomfortableness of maneuver and the difficulty of working with this man continues and one does not like it and feels almost degraded in the process. There is always of course the maneuvering around the throne but when you respect the man and enjoy his presence like Kennedy it's one thing -- when you have the feeling like this one it's another. In any event it jelled something like this.

First of all that we would go ahead to organize a Rural Americans for Johnson along the Commodity, Consumer, Community lines seeking to build a real political base for program. Second, that we would take the book or pamphlet or statement of overall problem and policy currently being written in the Department and rework it in terms of a positive program which would be directed toward the long run and a solution of the problem or measurable goals by 1970. This in the form of a book we would try and promote and put out just after the election. It would have the effect of stating, as many people have in this Administration already, what we should do and what the goals are. This together with a political organization that we could build during the campaign would mean some muscle to accomplish these goals. In the meantime we would try and do our internal budgeting accordingly. Even if the figures are large for such things as forestry, conservation, water, education, food use, and a host of others, nonetheless we would send them forward and be prepared to fight for them and I would be prepared to say to the President that you have said that if we get a mandate from the people that the program of the New Deal and the Fair Deal look pale in comparison with what we would do for this country. We can then fight for it, within reason of course, not expecting everything and if it's not forthcoming I could leave here with banners

flying and at least with a clear enunciation of policy and a recognition that refusal to carry that policy forward had resulted in my separation and not just kind of slink away or quit in a temper or generally leave with a bad taste. As Jane said over the week end, we would not be happy doing that and running away from the battle. On the other hand, as I have said, I don't feel like getting chopped up in little pieces again for no good purpose and working for a man when you don't know where he's going, what he is, and where it is to extremely distasteful.

When I got home Sunday I had a call from Walter Jenkins saying the President had read a memorandum from me and that I should most definitely go forward to organize the Rural Americans for Johnson. So at least I have that much of a mandate. Now I'll try and call everybody together and see if we can get going in the right direction.

In a few moments now I will have to go in and meet with these cattlemen who have been up on the Hill all day lobbying for the bill and try and get the feel of that one. I don't look forward to it. The President was right I think in saying there wasn't much sense in trying to negotiate with them because all they would understand is power and they now have the power and know it. He also complained about the failure of consumer support and talked about a few small states being able to run the show on the Hill which would mean highly increased cost of food for the other large states and that we ought to have been able to mobilize some force to stop the bill by consumer attention. I pointed out to him the ads in the paper last week, the legal voters, and the others who are working on this but that the consumers simply weren't organized or very vocal and it took a strong, loud, clear voice like the President's to reach them, they didn't have any organizational structure. Again, no response to that.

I suppose in all fairness, he is worried, frustrated, reaching at straws and is more or less needling us because the end result as we now face it is not a good one. Ball got his share, too, so I perhaps shouldn't be quite as sensitive as I am about it. He knows these things and he himself was not able to do anything with Mike Mansfield or the Senate. He also mentioned that Humphrey and the Leadership had voted for it.

In the discussion with the Cabinet Officers the question of Humphrey or McCarthy came up. Somebody asked what difference it would be in Minnesota and I said that well Minnesota would probably be very grateful to have either but that there seemed from Minnesota standards little reason why it shouldn't be Humphrey, only the fact of Catholicism which I thought would be a bad basis for a choice. There was agreement on that. I further stated that Catholicism and the danger of a religious political party or caucuses within our current party ought to have been put to rest in 1960. That I'd made a speech on it that I thought had cost me the election and I hoped it wouldn't come up again. Everyone agreed.

Last Night I took Mike and Jane and we went to a movie which was delightful but before that to a reception at Chuck Roberts, a Minnesota College friend, and the Bureau Chief for News Week. In the course of this discussion with some of them all of the silly maneuvering of the last week and the Bobby Kennedy withdrawal came to light. It seems that first of all the President talked to Bobby and told him he would not be Vice Presidential candidate and offered him the campaign directorship. Bobby went back to the Department of Justice and apparently said off the record well now we'll just have to organize a country of our own in a laughing kind of way. Then the President set down the requirements for a Presidential candidate which didn't quite fit Bobby and when that didn't go down so well with the press, he made the declaration taking

the Cabinet members out of the running. Then the contention was we weren't qualified so he said we were too important as a team and he had to keep us. That was obviously silly, too. Then he had an off the record conference in which he gave some other reasons, one of which apparently was an example of Cabinet members in politics was again my Wichita speech criticizing Goldwater. As reported to me, he wasn't really critical of me in this but merely related it, but it was immediately reported out as a rebuke to me for attacking Goldwater. This apparently has appeared in a Drew Pearson column which I haven't seen yet. In any event it was not a very good performance. One of the worrisome things about this is that this whole kind of mess and approach to things ends up with the kind of posture that maintains the bad image of the President as a kind of political conniver and maneuver and schemer as distinguished from Goldwater's outspoken courage, et cetera.

In conversation with Carl Albert and people on the Hill I also find a great fear that there is a lot of dissention and undercurrent of discontent, a general feeling among people that something has to be done, and of course this typifies it now in these peoples minds in this meat import bill problem. As I've said before, I think that's Washington fever, and around the country it's not that bad at all. This is why I think the President is probably making a mistake in holding back on the Goldwater attack business, or at least turning a few of us loose. Luther Hodges reception in North Carolina when he attacked was good. That's his business of course and I seek to comply, but it sure is confusing.

Tonight we're going to have a Sequoia boat trip with S. K. Patil, Indian, the former Minister of Agriculture and a strong prime mover in India. He's here to play a little politics and get a little color and enhance his position

as the man with the most influence in the United States. It ought to be a relaxed and I hope and interesting and useful evening. We'll have to play this one by ear. It's but another facet of what goes on in this enormous Department.



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

Aug 11, 1964

Dear Mr President:

I appreciated our conversation this morning. I have my "political regime" straight now.

I thought the Wichita speech was consistent with your instructions. Your reference to a quotation from Bill Wirtz I understood to mean without the word and hit hard on it but not attack him personally. I spoke at Wichita accordingly. The note from Volante and the James Reston column in the New York Times reporting me "rubbish" left me a little confused.

I want you to know that I did



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

not intentionally fail to carry out your
directives and policy.

You can be certain that
I will have this office promptly
before I would knowingly do so.

Sincerely yours,
C. L. Cull

August 12, 1964 -- Again a busy and hectic day and I haven't been feeling very well and have been accordingly a bit depressed and had that feeling of being completely overwhelmed.

In part it was triggered by a sequence of events yesterday that were really ridiculous but I'm afraid somewhat typical of this Administration. I've mentioned before the fact that there was confusion in my mind as to the line to take speaking politically following a Cabinet Meeting some time ago, and that subsequently I discovered that the President himself had told Scottie Reston of the New York Times that I had been "rebuked" for such a hard line on Goldwater.

When I got in here yesterday morning Rod Leonard came in with instructions from the Democratic National Committee that a Cabinet and Sub-cabinet Officer should take a very hard line attacking Goldwater vigorously and the President would travel the high road. This was so contrary to his criticisms of me, which incidentally had not been directly made but rather by way of the Valenti letter and the other general comments around and the newspaper story, and inasmuch as I had a speech before the Association of County Officials and also a farm-labor speech on Saturday I thought I'd call and ask him. When I broached the subject he immediately jumped and said that we ought to travel the high road, that I had been at the Cabinet Meeting hadn't I, and therefore I shouldn't have made that Wichita speech, wasn't it clear at the Cabinet Meeting? I told him it was not clear at the Cabinet Meeting; otherwise I would not have made the Wichita speech, and then told him what the orders were from the National Committee. This brought silence, and he said "from whom?" I told him I did not know but they had come through my press secretary. He said he would look into that and then repeated his instructions to ignore Goldwater, to talk about all the good things we had done and what good shape we were in and the progress

being made and let Goldwater travel the low road. I, of course, indicated I would comply.

The more I thought about this the more disturbed I got. In about 5 minutes I had a call from Ken O'Donnell asking from whom the orders had come in the National Committee. I told him. Ken and I agreed that we didn't agree with the President, but of course would follow the orders. Subsequently I found out through Tom who talked with Cliff Carter that actually Valenti and Bill Moyers had communicated to the National Committee the instructions that the Cabinet was to take a hard line, and apparently they themselves felt that this had been cleared with the President. The orders of course were reversed but reportedly they are going back to try and move the President to a position where the Cabinet would be much more positive and aggressive in attacking Goldwater.

All of this more or less disturbed me and so I finally wrote the President a hand written letter, a copy of which is attached here. I'm not sure it was a good thing to do. If I had waited I probably wouldn't have sent it, but at least it stated my position. On the one hand I didn't want to be in the position of having gone contrary to policy and directions - on the other hand I wanted to make it clear to the President that I would get out of here promptly and quickly when I couldn't carry forward his policies and I wrote it in part with the hope that had some implications that might be more broad than the instant fact situation.

Last night we were home late for we went out to meet the Bulgarian Minister of Agriculture and his plane was delayed until after midnight. I discovered yesterday incidentally after playing squash that I had a nice case of hemorrhoids which adds another problem including hot soakings three times a day and a bunch of other monkey business by way of treatment hopefully to make surgery unnecessary.

This morning the testimony on P.L. 480 went rather well before Ellender -- so well, that I can only believe that he wants to hurry and will come back at us later and merely wanted an appearance for the record. Dave Bell was quite surprised at how easy it went and I indicated to him I thought we had pretty well sold Ellender the House Bill. That remains to be seen. The problem of control will be a difficult one. I had a battle with the Bureau of the Budget yesterday who thought the Committee System Poage has developed was an invasion of Executive Authority and on my part I acknowledged there was some hint of it but that as a practical matter the stakes in passing the bill were so great that we ought not to quibble. Kermit Gordon stubbornly insisted to the contrary and was to send over language for me to insert in the record this morning so that if it did pass with the House-Poage proviso the President at least could take exception to that when he signed it. Well, I didn't get the language in time and when the question came up I think I followed a sounder route in declaring that I was in opposition to any change because I thought the current control was adequate and the Executive legislative relationship good. Ellender didn't press it much farther and Gordon seemed satisfied. We're really moving these days as the Congress comes to a close and legislation goes spilling out of there.

Food Stamp passed unanimously yesterday in the House and that's really a major victory. Now we've got to get an appropriation. We've got some foul ups also on appropriations for Research but we'll have to get to them and work them out one by one.

Now on to a little soaking to try and take care of my new malady. And then a dinner tonight for the Bulgarian Minister of Agriculture which I look forward to and need like six sore heads.

Monday - August 17, 1964 - 9:05 p.m. in my office at home. The last week has sure been a hectic one. I just walked out to tell Thompson, my driver, he can go home. He's been waiting here since about 7:00 o'clock while I talked back and forth with Ken Birkhead, trying to see where we would land on Public Law 480 which Ellender has been giving us a lot of trouble on in the Senate. He wants to substitute the use of food for dollars in the AID program rather than use it as a supplement, and seeks to accomplish that purpose by subjecting P.L. 480 to Appropriations. I've been opposing this vigorously. He succeeded in getting almost a blank check from the Appropriations Committee, and the question was how he would write this. As it now stands according to my latest conversation, it would provide that grants whether they be for economic development or military and grants either made by way of agreements under new contracts with the countries or grants made from funds we paid by them from loans made from initial sales would have to go through the Appropriations Committee and thereby be merged into the AID program in its budgeting problems. This is one I can't fight with him much about because it would not restrict our negotiating agreements with them for agriculture and it becomes an AID not an agricultural problem.

Today we also spent most of the afternoon before the Ways and Means Committee and the Finance Committee in conference once again and finally resolved the meat import question on a half-way reasonable basis. A bad part of the agreement which remains would call for the '57 to '63 base but it wouldn't go into effect unless it was triggered by an announcement by the Secretary of Agriculture that imports would exceed that amount by more than 10 percent. Further, the President would have discretion to prevent it coming into effect or to set aside the quotas in the event of over-riding the national economic

interest, national emergency, or abnormally high consumer prices, or satisfactory international agreement. Also all meats are aggregated and a proportional growth formula written in which is consistent with our international bargaining position. This actually represents very real progress and the boys negotiated it over the week end with the cattle people who turned out much more reasonable than I had suspected. When I had mentioned compromise to them 10 days ago they wouldn't even talk. In the meantime we built up a real head of steam involving importer groups, consumer groups, Lady League of Women voter groups, commodity groups and a lot of others that we should have activated a long time ago in a much more concentrated campaign and it exposed them to the extent that they were worried about both a Presidential veto and looking pretty selfish to the rest of the country.

I talked to the President about this today and he seemed reasonably pleased and then jumped on me about my testimony to come this week before the Platform Committee about agricultural income, saying we hadn't succeeded in getting this through, and also we hadn't gotten across the increased beef prices, that we really weren't reaching the farmers with the message of improvements in agriculture. He's right -- but believe me what a job it is to reach 'em.

Saturday I traveled all day going out to Kansas City for a rally to be sponsored by the packinghouse workers and the NFO. Staley the head of the NFO didn't show up, Ralph Helstein the head of the packinghouse workers didn't show up, there were fewer than 300 people there and it was a kind of miserable performance which gobbled up a day of precious time when we're under heavy pressure and tired as Congress seeks to reach a close. I was

furious, but there's no sense fighting the problem so I spoke for over an hour and did the best I could to put on a show. We had a fair press conference, allegedly some fair advance press, and hopefully some reasonable follow-up press out of Kansas City and on the wires. Mostly it was a wasted day.

We did meet with some of the millers and they're really putting on the pressure. The problem of trying to get across the real story of wheat is at the moment an extraordinarily tough one. What it comes down to is that now when the farmer takes his wheat into the miller he is told because it brings a low price that the so-called Freeman tax, mainly the certificate, is what keeps down his price. He believes this now, particularly in the areas where there isn't much compliance. Then we announced the new wheat program for 1965 which strengthened it for the complier who takes 20 percent acres out but cuts income a bit for the one who does not cut quite that much. The net result has been a scream from the Farmers Union, including a wire to the White House and a number of other places, and more complaints. Somehow it seems we can't win.

In the meantime things have been pretty hectic here in the Freeman household for we've been running virtually a youth hostel. First of all Connie came home as I have dictated somewhat rebellious about a week ago. The first day here we had a German boy who is a close friend of the Brolschs, her German family. He stayed with us for several days. Then we had two boys who were part of Connie's ICYE group who came and also spent a night with us. Then we had one day off and then we now have had over the week end two boys from Australia who are very delightful but still represent guests. Then Jane took on a neighborhood party for Connie which took her most of Saturday and all day yesterday which was delightful, fun, but hard work. Right

now she's upstairs sleeping. She wouldn't let me do the dishes. Connie and the Australian boys are off to the Carter Barren theater, Mike is out with the car on a date with Gail Kelly who is back in town from Boston, his old flame, and here I sit in the study.

Connie has also revised her plans and has now applied to American University, seeking to get into the foreign service school there, with seemingly fair prospects of doing so because of her good grades, her German and her year abroad. If that works out, she won't go to Douglass. This also has taken some family planning, long hours of discussion. I wanted her really to go on to Douglass, feeling that she would enjoy college life that way and that college doesn't mean much if you have to live at home. That was my experience for I never of course enjoyed college. It was just a chore and hard work. But she has grown up a good deal, is very serious minded and actually has been a bit appalled and disgusted with her old Luther League High School group here who she says now returned from college are mostly smartalecs about how much they can drink, neck, and apparently a few other things that she thinks are kinda silly at this point. I'm not what to make of all of this at this point but it combined with Mike's beginning of football practice and his excitement about it have meant that the Freeman family indeed are at sixes and sevens and going in every which direction.

I'm glad the meat thing is settled for that was a tough one. As we went back and forth last week trying to figure out just how tough we could bargain, George Ball and I had a session with the President that was really kind of revealing. He was almost pensive. He complained in an almost bewildered fashion as if he couldn't quite understand about a Joe Rowe letter on ADA stationery with Humphrey and McCarthy's names on it rallying all the forces to resist the seating of the Mississippi Delegation at the National

Convention. He said he had gone to sleep thinking about that and had awakened early and he just couldn't understand it because nothing was to be gained. After all at the Governor's instance Mississippi at least would permit the Presidential Nominees to be on the State Ballot. This was the requirement set down by the so-called Humphrey battle agreement going way back to the '52 Convention in which I fought such a fight. Alabama and Louisiana on the other hand who were not subject to this kind of an attack, apparently will not permit the Democratic Nominee on their ballots at all. He shook and held his head in a bewildered fashion and said he just couldn't understand this kind of carryings on when absolutely nothing was to be established, and then he said and I didn't know quite how to read this one, "Here I find two supposedly Vice Presidential Candidates on a letterhead, to wit, Humphrey and McCarthy." We got into this as he was commenting that the beef situation is about as hopeless and helpless as this one. That these people basically know that imports are not causing their problem. We have moved these prices up over the \$26.00 level now and what they are asking for can only be damaging and yet they, including Mansfield the Majority Leader of the Senate, insist on doing so. Well, he said, we should do our best. That we should try and get discretion, that we should try and get a bill that everyone could live with, and if we couldn't why he guessed he'd veto it, that he had more guts than brains, but again it just didn't make much sense. For the first time in the time I've known him I felt really almost kind of sorry for him and felt a sense of personal loyalty and desire to help which I haven't quite felt where this man's concerned before.

Anyhow, we went out and worked at it again, and after we completed the long session on Friday, why then Mills called in the cattle people and

we sat around with them. They were quite friendly and amiable, quite pleased to be asked in, and a 13-hour session on Saturday resulted in agreements that were verified today. This is a good example, however, of how a power group organized to cut across all lines as they are who get into a fortunate political situation, such as this one is, where they get a good deal of extra political power because they can force a Presidential veto that is politically dangerous and where they have had the kind of vote in the Senate they got because of the unique circumstances involving Mansfield opposing quotas when the wheat-cotton bill first went through, then sponsoring legislation, our not fighting it in a wish not to offend him, and then an overwhelming Senate vote resulting. All adding together into a unique and quite peculiar set of circumstances. But when we went to work and mobilized all the forces and when their own decent instincts came into play and when a piece of skillful parliamentary work by Mills and patient negotiating over a long period of time, we've come out with something not too bad. So the Democratic process, even the legislative process, does work and in the long run get pretty good results. I couldn't help leaning over to George Ball, however, spending all this time with the burning questions of Cyprus and the Congo and Viet Nam hanging over his head, and saying to him, "How in the hell can we expect a travel native 5 years out of the bush in the Congo to operate through Democratic government when we make such hard work out of it after 200 years."

We're going in full speed in trying to the the Rural Americans for Johnson organized with some success but we haven't quite gotten off the ground yet and I'm a bit worried about it. I had a long talk with Herschel Newsom of the Grange today, both about the beef bill and about plans for the future.

He said he had a long talk with President Johnson and he had told the President that I was the best Secretary of Agriculture that he had ever known and certainly that he had ever worked with. All of which is nice to hear but means not a great deal. He expressed his anxiety that I should continue in this job and responded better than it was predicted he would to my plea that the Grange get in and help us organize this Rural America operation. Now we'll see if he's willing to serve himself.

August 20, 1964 -- 5:47 p.m. I must leave for the airport in a few minutes. I'm going down to Georgia to visit some tobacco markets and try to do a little campaigning. The price is good and maybe I can direct the attention of some of those Georgia crackers to their pocketbooks rather than to Civil Rights. Anyway I'll try.

I just checked the press release announcing some changes in the handling of grain and storage policy which the GTA has been pushing hard for and called Humphrey to let him know. I chided him for running to the White House to critically review our recent wheat program announcement, asked him how his campaign was coming along, and then told him with a note of some irony in my voice that history has a strange way of reversing itself. He's never mentioned a word to me about the Vice Presidency and this was no exception. It was a rather cool conversation which I closed by saying, "If I can help, let me know." He acknowledged that he was campaigning on all fronts. This is surely one of Washington's best kept secrets. Last night after a party the President put on for Congress called "Salute to Congress" on the White House lawn, which was incidentally very effective, I asked Richard Harkness if he had heard anything and he said this was the best kept secret in all his time in Washington. Tom just came in and

said that Murray Garth, the Time reporter, assigned to Humphrey and the Vice Presidency, told him he had covered Washington and no one knew anything. No one does. I doubt if the President himself has made up his mind. Gerry Heaney was in town this week. He said he came here thinking it would be Humphrey -- now he doubts it. He thinks it will probably be Bob McNamara. I wouldn't be surprised.

This has been a kind of lousey week. I haven't felt well. We've all been busy and occupied, what with Connie and the youth hostel we are running. Congress has been moving along here and that's always messy and of course where we go from here has been a constant question in mind particularly with the possibility of a Senatorship opening up in Minnesota. All in all it hasn't been one of the snappiest weeks or one with the greatest accomplishment. I still don't know what I want to do, although I guess I'm inclining to the view that if that Senatorship opens perhaps we ought to go for it. I don't know. Karl would likely appoint me. It certainly would be the easiest thing for him to do politically, but he might have other ideas. I don't know whether I'd be happy in the Senate. Last night Jane asked Abe Ribicoff and he said he was and more so than any job he had ever had in public life, but he's an entirely different kind of man than I am. Well enough of this for now -- on to Georgia.

I just came over from the White House -- it's now 2:20 on Saturday afternoon, August 22. The President had the Democratic Governors in for a kind of forum with some Cabinet Officers to give them information and then there will be dinner party tonight. I came in early this morning and actually rehearsed like I used to to go on Television to try and boil my remarks down to seven minutes. Actually, I didn't look at my watch but I'm afraid they

were closer to 15. I thought that they were pointed, useful, information that these Governors otherwise don't get. Actually I felt pretty good about it. But the President apparently didn't listen and when I mentioned to him my trip yesterday through the tobacco auctions of Georgia, he put his arm around me and said too long, you fellows spoke too long and I had to cut off the political analysis. I'm tired today and I can't help but feel let down about this time. It's a bit silly but a compliment or a bit of encouragement now and then helps and there don't seem to be many from this character and of course I've seen him time others out and insist on staying within a given number of minutes again and again and so I'm sure I'm not alone. Anyway Governors and some Administration people and some political people listened to something that otherwise they wouldn't have heard and agriculture gets so little hearing that maybe it's just as well that I went ahead even though he's displeased.

I had a pretty good day yesterday actually going through five tobacco markets in Georgia. I flew down the night before with John Duncan and was met by Phil Campbell. We drove in the rain from Jacksonville, Florida down to Valdosta where I met with a group of people and we visited and had a few drinks. We started early in the morning there with a breakfast, then visited a Pierce tobacco warehouse, then on to Adel, Georgia; then to Tifton, Georgia; then on to Douglas, Georgia; and finally to Waycross, Georgia. I then flew with Doyle Connor, the Commissioner of Agriculture from Florida, into Jacksonville where I had a brief press conference, and then flew on home. I'd gotten the word of today's meeting so I came to the office and tried to get the signals as to what I would say today and then fussed about it for I did want to stay within the time and I did have some things I think needed saying and I've already dictated what happened. Anyway that's another episode.

Right now I'm sitting here loaded with all kinds of stuff. I'm worried about this Southern Situation, although I am somewhat encouraged by the trip yesterday. The farmers seem to be pretty cool initially but when I talked nuts and bolts with them and pointed out that the tobacco program and other commodity programs were at stake and what they mean and reminded them of prices in the Hoover days I really got a good response. Somehow the farmers in the South remember those days better than the people in the Midwest and they, therefore, are much more commodity conscious. Of course they have the training in the mandatory programs now for quite some time.

This morning I came into the office early. Jane was coming, but she had to stay home. We still had the two Australian boys that she had to work out of the house. Ellen is still there. Connie is there. Connie and one of the Australian boys went to the White House to a costume party last night and so the activity continues. In the meantime she is trying to get ready to appear on some programs in Atlantic City herself. Karl Rolvaag was in here and we had a long meeting about drought. He got out a release in Minnesota as to all the things we are going to do for him. I was on the 'phone with a number of people trying to set up a group to come in here after the Convention to talk about organizing a political campaign for the Southeast. I do think some real stump speaking and traveling and campaigning on my part to reach farmers and small towns down there could bring some real dividends. I hope we can set a meeting and bring in about 25 people week after next to get the feel of this. There really is great distress now. Everyone says all the South will vote Goldwater if the election were today. Alec Nunn who headed up the Kennedy-Johnson campaign in 1960 and worked very hard is terribly upset.

I talked to him and couldn't get him off the 'phone for almost an hour this morning and he just went on and on about people coming down to the South who didn't know what it was all about and extreme examples of abuses and States rights and all mixed up with his good sense and decent liberal instincts coming through, but his deep distress and worry and concern coming through too. Actually it disturbed me and made me realize we had to do something.

I tried to reach Jim Rowe this morning and to try and find out what kind of planning for the South by way of campaign perspective is being worked on and who's involved but couldn't. But I'll see him undoubtedly at Atlantic City and see what we can get organized and pinned down.

The boys haven't moved as fast as I'd hoped they would on our Rural Americans for Johnson effort, but it is difficult to get rolling.

Well tonight a party at the White House -- off early in the morning for Atlantic City, and we'll see what happens there.

Thursday, August 27, 1964 -- Dennis Hotel, Atlantic City. The Democratic Convention is about coming to a close. Humphrey was selected by the President last night as Vice Presidential candidate and had a tremendous reception. We went out afterwards but couldn't reach him. I called him this morning and couldn't reach him either. This is most understandable, but I wanted to be sure he knew we were rejoicing in his victory.

All Democratic National Conventions are odd. This has been the oddest one. It's been a sad one. The end of the Convention Hall is decked with five pictures. Three small pictures across the top -- Roosevelt, Kennedy, Truman -- and on the side enormous Johnson pictures dominate the hall. This has been a Johnson show beginning to end with the complete dominance of the man evident at

every hand. One can't help but worry about this all pervading control. We drove up last Sunday. It was a hot day and the air conditioner went out. Connie is still in the process of adjustment, tired and kind of gloomy. Jane and I had been at the White House on Saturday. I went to speak to the Governors and the party that night which was really quite nice. We went from the party and dance to have a quick drink with the Rolvaags and Reynolds and ended up with Carl Sanders, Governor of Georgia, and Terry Sanford. The discussion of course was Civil Rights and about the free Mississippi delegation. Sanders and Sanford made a great impression on Karl and Reynolds and it was a free ranging and frank discussion. These fellows indeed do represent a new South and Sanders particularly is most impressive.

We got to Atlantic City and found good accommodations and then tried to figure out what to do and how. We put on a party on Saturday night for the Minnesota delegation. A number of freeloaders came on in but it was really most successful and everybody was very, very happy with it. Lots of old friends and lots of dear friends and when Humphrey came up I took him around to all the tables. McCarthy did not get there. He was called back to Washington and the contest between the two was quite evident with some tension.

We did a little partying and then the next morning our caucus organized and I was there and said a few words and made about the only contribution I've been able to make at this Convention which was to edit a bit the Platform Plank on Agriculture which was then about reaching its culmination. Actually it was about what we had written and submitted many weeks ago with a few words added here and there.

Fritz Mondale got on the Credentials Committee and was designated the Chairman of the Subcommittee on seating the Mississippi delegation so he had

himself quite a session. I thought they came up with an excellent compromise. I really don't know at this point what happened to it for Alabama and Mississippi with an exception of a few loyal delegates left primarily because of a very modest loyalty oath which required that they support the nominee of the ticket and that was about all. The compromise also included seating two of the delegates from the Freedom group at large, not as part of the Mississippi delegation, but that one was kinda hard for Sanders and some of the Southerners to take. There was a nasty fracas when the Freedom group tried to break in and sit in the Mississippi seats, which apparently dominated television one night.

Our Minnesota caucus Wednesday afternoon was something in which I felt very real pride. Our people many of whom had felt the compromise not adequate for they were emotionally involved in the Mississippi matter nonetheless went along recognizing that this is a new day that called for new measures. At the conclusion of a unanimous vote supporting Mondale and Rolvaag, I said a few words which apparently were timely about my pride in being a Minnesotan and how far we had come since the first days going back to the Civil Rights Amendment in 1948.

Humphrey gradually came to the front during the Convention. He had a public relations firm. He was a favorite with many of the delegates. He was going from caucus to caucus, event to event. There was not much to command attention here except the seating fight which was a nasty one which necessarily we tried to keep down so the VP choice got a lot of play and he got a lot of mileage out of it.

In the meantime we tried to do something about getting our Rural Americans for Johnson thing going. I met a good share of the day Monday with Clyde Ellis who was jumping up and down as to who should be the National Chairman and a

little feuding going on between him and Jim Patton. We got some cards printed and made an effort to get around to as many caucuses getting these cards to people and asking them to have them filled in and sent in. I expect we covered 15 or 20 caucuses. It was difficult to get to them and I'm afraid this was no smashing success.

In the meantime I've talked to quite a few people and we're going to have a meeting next week bringing in Southerners to try and map out a course of conduct. At least we're moving on that.

In the meantime I got a good deal of heat about agricultural programs. It's clear that the wheat program is misunderstood and the low price is attributed to the wheat bill rather than the referendum vote, the same old problem. Also I'm afraid we made a mistake on the wheat program currently under sign-up for there was a lot of complaint about dropping payments on the first 10 percent acres, dropping supports even though we are increasing certificates. The wheat people want more money and they're screaming about it. With the wheat people who have benefitted complaining bitterly and other wheat people totally misunderstanding, one really feels a bit bruised after the battle we made to accomplish the wheat bill in the first place. But we've done our best. I must say honestly that I've had very deep mixed emotions at this Convention. I've almost felt like a Senior Statesman reviewing what takes place and measuring it in terms of events of the past. I hope it's only because I'm tired because if there's anything in politics that I've disliked it's one who participated at one time in one dimension and then remained in that rut super-critical of anyone else and anything else because he's not a prime mover in it. We all want to be prime movers. I've been more of a spectator at this one.

I did have a call on Monday afternoon from the President. He asked about the Goldwater charges on the bread tax which I easily answered. He then asked me the Convention sentiment on Vice President and I told him it was clearly Humphrey. He asked the leading question whether Humphrey knew the most about agriculture and I said he did. He then commented that we had to be very careful that it didn't look like the Negroes completely dominated this Convention or it would give us a bad image and Goldwater would win the election. I agreed on that and told him I was doing all I could on the fringes but that if I understood the signals right he did not want the Cabinet directly involved in controversial things, be it credentials or platform. He didn't say one way or another, but that seemed to be the situation. He then told me emphatically not to tell anyone he had called, that he had not made a decision, that he was just inquiring around, and that was the end of that.

Yesterday noon, Jane and I had Kirkpatrick and his wife up for lunch and we had a talk and Kirk was urging that I move for the Senate thing now that it looked pretty sure that Humphrey would be the Vice Presidential nominee. I've got very mixed emotions about this. Jean, his wife, said that most of the Minnesota delegation she had talked with more or less assumed that Mondale would be the selectee. My earlier conversations with Geri Joseph and Gerry Heaney made it rather clear that he was the popular political figure and that I wasn't the most popular person in the world politically in the State of Minnesota, that many of the old battle scars remained. That's one factor. Personally I don't know what I want to do. Kirk also mentioned that he would put me in as a possibility for the President of George Washington University and that does seem very interesting. As I say, I somehow feel almost exhausted and emotionally drained in this business. We've come a long way and we've

taken on an awful lot of tough jobs. I sometimes think I really don't have the special flair that it takes to really come through. But then as Senator Vance Hartke, of all people, said to me how off it was and how much being the right person at the right place determined what happened to you in politics. How true this is. Anyway I really don't know if I feel up to getting involved as a candidate, whether I am emotionally tuned or have the zest that it would take. However, at this point I am tired and a bit emotionally drained.

However, we resolved to try and protect our position and keep this thing fluid and I merely stated that it's no time yet to talk about Senators, we've got an election to win and I've got our great Department to administer in the process and we will cross those bridges when we come to them. In the meantime I've had Tom try and reach various members of the Minnesota gang to let them know that I am possibly interested. The only group that I think might coalesce in any way would be the Labor Movement and I'm trying to have Tom talk to them and ask them to keep the situation fluid so it would not harden any pressure on Karl. Karl will make his decision in due course. I don't think he will be subject to much by way of direct pressures, but in the same way the President has played the game here and Humphrey has demonstrated very real popular support and thus accomplished his designation is much the same kind of thing I suppose that I'm going to have to do if I want to be appointed Senator from Minnesota. I can do that I suppose, although it will be very difficult for me because on the one hand I am a bit too prideful I suppose to go around performing and trying to organize support in such a fashion as not to be too obvious but at the same time get the word around. Then too I don't have much of a base to operate from. It's quite clear that this job is not one which brings with it much popularity. That I knew from the beginning, although I'd hoped to break out of the circle and do something dramatic and effective which

would command the kind of attention and approval which would give us an opportunity to get more done. However, dozens of people do come up, and many who don't have to, and praise the job that we have been doing. So I guess it's the same old story. As Popeye used to say, "I am what I am" and work at it as I may and be as public relations conscious as I can, yet I'm just not that kind of clay. On the other hand, in terms of effective administration and conscientious programming, accomplishments are recognized by those who really know.

Anyway we left this question open and last night went to the Convention Floor. It was quite a show. Unfortunately I hadn't eaten hardly at all all day and felt tired and depressed and kind of emotionally rung out. The nominations and seconding speeches for Johnson droned on and on and on. They weren't really particularly good. It was another demonstration of just squeezing the last bit of juice out of the orange. In the meantime yesterday afternoon the President quite dramatically called Humphrey to the White House and then went for another one of these strolls that he's been having lately which command a good deal of attention as he walks around the White House grounds. Tom Dodd went down with Humphrey and there was much apprehension that he might be the nominee. No one yet knows what he saw the President about, but he saw him first. Then Humphrey. Apparently before they left, for the President suddenly decided to come himself last night to Atlantic City, he said to the reporters, "Here's the next Vice President." Anyway they came in and after the President's nomination and the usual hollering, demonstrating, and noise, he made his appearance. His remarks I thought were not particularly good, although no one could hear much anyway, and then he proceeded to say he had made the selection and thoughtfully and prayerfully and the best qualified person and the best background and dragged it out and

out and finally said "Humphrey" and of course bedlam broke loose, and we in the Minnesota delegation reacted very positively. I was tired and dragged out and it was rather hard to be wildly enthusiastic. I am proud and pleased and happy for Humphrey. I told a number of the press and key people that my mother claims that many years ago when we were in college we said at dinner at our house one night that one day I would be Governor and Humphrey, Senator. But we never dreamed this. I recalled that I nominated him for Vice President in 1952 and again in 1956, and now it has happened. This after the defeat and the emotional trauma of 1960, you really have to give him credit. He took that defeat and came back fighting. He was terribly confused at Los Angeles. He went on to give yeoman service as Whip, and now with this difficult man has attained this position with Johnson knowing all the time that Humphrey, the exhibitionist, would be hard to keep under the Johnson thumb.

I was a bit revolted at the Meet the Press Show when Humphrey listed and spelled out in what I thought for him was a very degrading way for him personally how the Vice President must be subservient to, anticipate the every desire and wish, carry forward without question, have super loyalty, et al, to the President. All a prime requisite in the Johnson catalogue. I wonder what the President said to him yesterday before he gave him the final blessing. I wouldn't be surprised if he named right out in blood what he would and wouldn't do. I hope I'm wrong. I hope I'm not bitter, but I guess I would be less than human if I didn't recall Los Angeles and what Humphrey did then, and if I didn't recall that I legitimately sought and wanted this designation myself. But I am happy for him and I'm certainly not going to permit the disappointment to affect my attitude at all, but rather close this book and go on to another page in another book and I'm not sure at this point exactly what.

After the Convention closed last night we went to a President's Club Party for Humphrey, but I couldn't reach him, nor could he be reached at a Minnesota Party. We ended up on the Boardwalk with breakfast about 4:00 o'clock in the morning and then to bed. Jane was off to a press breakfast for Mrs. Johnson before 8:00. I was at the Ohio Caucus at 9:30 speaking on our Rural American group and had a pretty good reception. I walked back the Boardwalk, back to the Minnesota delegation, and here in the room where I am now waiting to go to a TIME-LIFE luncheon and I suppose I ought to attend.

Fritz Mondale is coming up at 5:00 o'clock and we'll have a visit then. I really don't know what to say to Fritz, he'd like to be Senator but he's told Tom that I come first which is a very meaningful position on his part because he's been pretty disillusioned and at odd ends, too. It sounds like his basic loyalty will stick. It will be interesting to see.

In the meantime I've been talking to Washington. I brought a lot of work down here and I suppose I should work this afternoon but we'll go into that next week. In the meantime, one carries on.

August 29, 1964 -- 10:45 p.m. at home. Well the Convention is history. Humphrey and Johnson made their acceptance speeches. We partied most of the night and ended up with the Naftalins and then the Rolvaags in our room until 6:00 o'clock in the morning on Friday. When we woke up, Jane asked couldn't we stay the day and drive back on Saturday, and despite what I knew was a load in the office I agreed and we slept until 1:30, strolled the Boardwalk for a brief breakfast, came back, read the newspapers, went out to dinner with the Rolvaags and Mondales, and then had a long walk and talk ourselves until 3:00 o'clock in the morning again, sleeping in on Saturday, today, as well until after 12:00 and then finally got away, getting home about 7:00 o'clock.

I've been at my desk now since about 9:00 and am only beginning to get the piles straightened out.

I've been in one of those moods the past several days. This is really a terribly depressing Convention. First the spirit of JFK hung over it and the contrast was an overwhelming one. Second I guess I am fundamentally disappointed because I had in the heart of heart hoped apparently for the Vice Presidential thing more than I realized even myself. Then, I feel strongly the need for some alternative courses of action. One of which of course now is the possibility of a Senatorship from Minnesota. Jane and I talked long and fully about this and I'm not clear myself what I want to do. So I guess the thing to do is be ready to move on all fronts. I did have a long talk with Fritz Mondale and that loyal decent fellow said that if I wanted to be Senator he would enthusiastically support it. The question of what he should do came into the conversation for he is frustrated in his current job. The Party in Minnesota into which we have poured so much is seriously fractionalized and lacking leadership. I tried to inspire Fritz to pick up the reins, given the resources he has as Attorney General, and try and make things go. This stimulated him. Later I talked to Art Naftalin about doing the same thing. Should I get named Senator, we could work together and try and get the Party back on course and really move ahead. Then I could look forward, assuming a successful reelection, to a long career in the Senate, other things being equal. That is not a bad prospect. Accordingly, I spent a good deal of time with Karl, with Fritz, and let the word out to the Labor people not to permit Blatnik to stampede anything which he would like to do. Karl Rolvaag apparently leaked the story to the Minneapolis papers that he was irritated with Blatnik's pressure tactics and told Tom to do the same thing in the Washington papers. In the meantime I have mentioned nothing to Karl and last night, he,

Fritz and I all had dinner together and there wasn't any tension -- thank Heavens. If Fritz and I hadn't talked, there would have been. I may send Tom home to make some preliminary contacts and see what the reaction is on this and lay the groundwork in the event we decide to move ahead.

Then of course I've got to carry forward vigorously here and see how it goes with the Johnson-Humphrey team. We've got to get this rural area program of Rural Americans for Johnson and Humphrey rolling next week. We've got to get P.L. 480 through that Congress, and I've got to get campaign plans worked out.

As Jane and I talked today, really the job of Secretary of Agriculture is a great one. When I think about it in terms of what we have been able to do and what remains to be done, particularly if I re-organize myself a bit and concentrate in such areas as Food for Peace and foreign assistance which really stimulated me to come here in the first place, and let the commodity programs somehow work themselves out why maybe I ought to carry forward here and not be as jumpy as I now am in connection with the commodity programs. It all depends I guess on what kind of support comes from Pennsylvania avenue. Unfortunately I'm afraid that we are measured successful or the contrary and able to do things in other areas proportionately in terms of the commodity programs. Anyway we'll have to see and play that one close to the vest and make a decision as to what the working relationships really will be and what I can do. Then of course Kirk's proposals about a possible College Presidency somewhere present another third opportunity which would really be striking out in a new career in a completely new area. This is stimulating. Of course that would be a whole new world and ought to be very exciting.

Then, of course, there is a possibility of the Federal Bench -- although there is nothing imminent there and I'm not at all sure I wouldn't be pretty frustrated there. So I guess we'll mull ahead here and see which path to follow. Dealing with someone like Johnson one doesn't feel very confident and although what can be accomplished is the main thing, you don't feel you can completely forget about yourself for the boom might drop anytime and I don't feel like being parenterally ushered out labeled a failure. If I can't get along with this fellow I'd like to make the move myself.

There was a story in a Philadelphia Paper yesterday that I thought was typical. When he decided to come down with Humphrey which he did dragging it out and squeezing every bit of publicity out of the Humphrey designation he apparently was advised to do so by Pierre Salinger and did so against the advice of George Reedy. According to the paper he told Reedy, "Why don't you ever have any ideas like Salinger?" And Reedy promptly resigned. Apparently the President refused to accept the resignation and Reedy subsequently denied it and was with him when he came to Atlantic City. However, this would be absolutely typical and my guess is that the report is accurate. I'm not sure I have it within me to operate effectively under this kind of uncertainty. Actually the whole convention was staged in such a way as to be exclusively a Lyndon Johnson show as to be almost revolting to some of us. Yet apparently it reaches through to the great mass of people. Fritz Mondale in his amusing phrase-making way said, "The second coming of Lyndon" a take-off on the statement that some people feel that their entrance is like the second coming of Christ. It's almost that bad. Yet on the other hand, frequently things aren't very effectively done. For example, Mondale said that the compromise which

finally made it possible to prevent a minority report on seating the Mississippi delegation was only accomplished when Walter Reuther interceded and got the message to the President that this was the only way it could be done. Up till that point Fritz said he'd stalled around for about 12 hours because his top advisers covering the Convention apparently were fearful about making the recommendation to him. This would be typical, too. Well, we'll see now there's a new team and it will be interesting to see how it works. Enough for now.

September 1, 1964 -- 1:30 p.m. in the office just before lunch. I just concluded a rather disillusioning conference with Ken Kendrick, Executive Director of the Wheat Growers Association. We have worked closely with Ken and the Wheat Growers over the past 4 years and had very close relations. They supported the Wheat Referendum election struggle, they supported the voluntary program currently in effect very, very strongly and although they periodically fussed that our program didn't represent enough income and battled for income, we nonetheless have stayed close and they've come down on the right side. Recently we announced the wheat program for 1965. It involved some adjustments including a drop in the number of export certificates available and also the removal of payment for the first 10 percent of land diverted although it jumped to 50 percent on all land diverted if more than 10 percent was diverted. What it comes down to is that the farmer who complies by diverting 20 percent will come out better financially. The one who diverts only 10 percent will not do quite as well. It's really quite disillusioning to find the Board of the Wheat Growers going wild and actually issuing public statements and critical ones about this. Some of our very good friends like Lars Nelson and many

others have reacted with bitterness and negativism. They apparently take the line that they are gradually losing out any way, the Budget Bureau always wins here and therefore why not go all the way and give up the program altogether. I told Kendrick that I was terribly hurt and disillusioned and felt that it would be impossible to continue making the kind of fights we have for farm income when people like this turn on one. I told him I could understand the average farmer who didn't know any better but these are sophisticated knowledgeable people and if we conclude here that certain adjustments are necessary, recognizing that they have possibly small income effects on some farmers but in the overall they strengthen the program, these people ought to have enough confidence and enough loyalty to go along. He agreed. He put up a fight hoping we could make some changes. He stated this had had a very adverse effect. That in his judgment the reaction of the Board of the Wheat Growers was really one of more or less desperation, that they were fighting a difficult struggle with the opposition, to wit, those that say no farm program -- those that now say that wheat at \$1.30 is caused by the voluntary wheat program, forgetting completely that that's what the farmers voted for in the referendum, and that the tide of resentment against programs in general, against changes from year to year, against efforts to adjust, against ASCS administrative routine, all this so overwhelming that these fellows who have been on the front line fighting and now almost in exasperation and desperation revolted and overreacted and that there is really nothing he could do about it. This is a rather adequate description I think of the process that's under way. Here in the Department Charley Murphy and the boys have come up with this modified program which is responsible and sensible looking to the

future and the next Session of Congress, trying to hold a wheat program and protect the wheat producers and farmers and the national economy. On the other hand, the forces running against these programs which do tend to tighten down, farm income does tend to fall, the problem is basically one of technological adjustment, frustration abounds, the net result is that one simply can't win. This current incident is a good example. I don't know what to do. John Schnittker thinks we ought to open it up and perhaps restore the 45 percent export certificates. Murphy and Godfrey feel otherwise, but partially because they normally resist pressure. I'll be lunching with Humphrey tomorrow and it may be that I should enlist him in an effort to sweeten this up to the extent of \$20 or \$30 million and try and make these people feel better and get them back in line. This is another one of those decisions.

Last night I had another interesting LBJ experience. I got home about 8:00 o'clock exhausted for we worked desperately yesterday on the Rural Americans for Johnson and Humphrey and also on a host of other things here which are under way. I no more than walked in the door when the White House 'phone rang. When I went down, it wasn't the White House, it was the signal board, it was Air Force No. 1. The call was to sign the Food Stamp Bill at 10:30 when the President returned. He was then in the air enroute. I got busy of course -- the White House switchboard helped. By the time the President landed we had Four Senators, Six Congressmen and miscellaneous other people for a little signing ceremony which I hope gets some attention. It was interesting that when I checked back with the airplane George Reedy said that the responsibility was mine to determine whether there were enough people to make it worthwhile. Earlier it had been a directive to do so. I met that responsibility and said if we had "X" number, we better

go ahead and we did. The President didn't even give me a by your leave, a smile, or a thank you, for having really moved and I think quite successfully on this one. On the other hand, when I talked to him Monday morning, he returning my call of Sunday, I pointed out that I hoped we could dramatize the Food Stamp Bill and I was sorry we weren't having a ceremony and he should let me know if he got back in time, he had seemed to be warm and friendly. So perhaps I brought this one on myself. Anyhow, the Food Stamp Program is now law. We'll get some kind of an appropriation and I can look to this as an example of a real tangible accomplishment on my part. At this stage of the game as we move into the uncertainties of the campaign, as I am bombarded with the commodity problems here, and as I realize, I just read a memo from Dorothy Jacobson, that we still haven't managed to bring forth any sharp, clear image or focus of agriculture and it's accomplishments, I can use every bit of clear cut solid accomplishment by way of personal encouragement that I can squeeze out. Well, it's been this way always and I guess it always will be. Jane is here now -- it's 1:45 -- guess I'll have a bit of lunch.

September 2, 1964 -- 1:15 p.m. just a few minutes before lunch. This has been a draggy week so far. It's been hard to get either zest or incentive for reasons I've cried about a great deal already in this diary. Last night I went home and after dinner layed down for a moment and got up to go to work without much snap and then finally got around to giving myself a long belated lecture. After all the important thing is if one feels the sense of solid accomplishment and that what is being done is worth doing. As I prepared yesterday for a conference which

was supposed to be this noon and now is postponed until tonight with Humphrey, I realized how much we had been able to do these four years in this Department. I realized, too, what a stimulating and exciting four years it had been, how many satisfactions that come with the accomplishment as well as participating in the great events. These more than offset the frustration which comes from the inability to reach people with the true story. But the compensation is in the doing -- not in being lauded or applauded, which are certainly most transitory. Therefore, I came down today with a bit different attitude and have felt immeasurably better. Whatever the future may bring, that will take care of itself. In the meantime, I'm going to fight hard here for what I believe in regardless of the results, shaping my actions of course now in terms of the political realities of an election year but also taking every opportunity to educate and sharpen up our program.

We had a very interesting budget session yesterday. I've kinda revised budget procedures here so a Budget Committee from my staff, to wit, Robertson, Schnittker, and Sundquist have really been going over the nuts and bolts in the budget. They got ours down to a figure about \$500 million over the Budget Bureau's planning figure. We then resolved to submit in a somewhat different format a Great Society budget. I attach a copy of the memorandum to them along these lines for it may be very important because this budget will be a measuring stick as to how much the President really is going to deliver on the Great Society theme. It may be time to push hard now such things as a capital budget which would really get him off the hook of promising expenditure cutting, budget balancing, and more programs all at the same time. A program such as our loan programs which really do not amount to expenditures, but rather investments, were so set up in the budget

he would be freed up and would at least have a real talking point to carry forward his program without being subject to the charge or at least not so directly subject to the charge of failing to carry forward his economy commitments. It'll be interesting to see their reaction when this budget goes over. It will help me measure what he will do and before the campaign is over what Humphrey will be willing to do and to determine whether I can continue to be useful by staying here. After all I can always get out and go back to law practice and do so happily if there is no other real alternative.

Humphrey made a speech just before the National Convention about agriculture that was a lot of phony baloney. He hauled out again the old draw about a blue ribbon bipartisan committee. We can have those until they run out of our ears but nothing ever happens. The gut problem is government programs in commodities or the free market and as a matter of philosophy one is oriented one or another way. The wheat program, however, costing almost nothing as it now stands -- the feed grain program which may look better after the drought this year -- these may well combine now so that we can present a pretty realistic and sensible program even on a cost basis to the next Congress and get these programs firmly established as voluntary programs and at least buy a few more years before costs go through the ceiling. Who knows? Our studies on the weather cycle indicate that the last 5 years have been abnormally good, that it is highly likely that the years immediately ahead will not match them and that if this is the case we could well get into balance and even need some of the feed grain surpluses we have been wrestling with. It will be interesting to see how Humphrey reacts. I was supposed to lunch with him this noon and he was held on the floor by the medicare debate. He told me with some chagrin in his voice

submitted to him for consideration and advice some policy questions in dairy and he quickly agreed that we ought not to increase dairy price. I further reviewed with him the wheat thing and he wanted to think about the certificates on it and whether we maybe ought to restore them to 45 percent acres. We then discussed ourselves a bit and LBJ.

I told him I was thinking ahead towards the future and that I'd appreciate his letting me know what the President really thought about me and about our programs, that I thought we had done important things here and I would want to carry them forward but that this was a difficult thankless job and it would be impossible to do so with out Presidential confidence and support. He related that he felt Johnson thought highly of me, that he'd never seen anything to the contrary. He told me incidentally that he had recommended to Johnson that I should be campaign manager, for apparently Johnson is not satisfied with Cliff Carter in this capacity. Johnson had apparently mentioned the possibilities of Bill Wirtz or Stewart Udall, both of whom Humphrey felt would not qualify. In any event I told him I had the feeling the President really did not like me. Incidentally, in part substantiated today when the Wilderness bill and the Conservation fund bill were signed with a big ceremony, he said some extremely kind words about Stewart Udall. I can never remember his having said publicly anything like that about me. He could very well have done so at the Food Stamp signing but did not. In any event, Humphrey said this was not true, that as far as he knew that the President respected me. This was a bit of a modification of the earlier term. That the only Cabinet Members he had heard him really refer to with dissatisfaction were Udall on occasion and Celebrezze, and Humphrey suggested that I should think about HEW as a job where I could really do some good. He then went on to say that where the Cabinet is concerned the only ones that he knew the President really felt any real

liking for were McNamara, whom he was extremely high on, and also Bundy and sometimes Rusk.

He predicted that McGeorge Bundy would be Secretary of State, that Celebrezze would be replaced. He also asked me about possible foreign service and an ambassadorial post, and I said "maybe", but as Galbraith had said, one far enough away so that you would have some independence of action, and not just a messenger boy in Western Europe.

I then discussed a bit the Senatorship with him and he said that he had not talked to Karl or to anyone else but had told the press he had no recommendation to make at this time. He agreed with me that Fritz Mondale was extremely popular, that he had been the best of the young fellows that I had brought along, and that he had a great following. We did not go much further. We both agreed that probably no one would influence Karl's judgment. In any event it was a useful conference. We had reestablished some rapport and as I said at the earlier meeting and then to him, this carried me back quite a way because in a sense I was once again a Humphrey campaign manager. Incidentally, I said to him quite frankly that I had some hopes and thoughts about the Vice Presidency but that was now over the dam.

Anyhow I think we've established rapport and I've been busy today getting more information to him and working on scheduling an appearance by him in North Carolina. We got through about 1:30 and I was in the office at 8:00 o'clock in the morning meeting with AID and our fellows about what to do on P.L. 480. After all the haggling and higgling and jiggling, it was agreed that we would approach Poage and see if he would go along with reverting to the law as it now stands with a side agreement privately that we would appoint a Committee to review the question of grants and excess currency. Poage happily

bought that, Albert was relieved, Rooney sponsored such a substitution on the Floor, and it carried a few hours ago. However, P.L. 480 is now hung up with another anti-Communist resolution which apparently would preclude Yugoslavia and Poland from P.L. 480. We'll have to try and change that in Conference.

I just finished a Conference with the AMS fellows and Charley Murphy about purchasing beef, the question being, and this is a typical daily decision here, whether a difference of 50 cents in a purchase price of 61 1/2 or 62 cents should be maintained. That at the higher price we would get heavy offerings of beef and buy \$7 million worth at a half a cent lower would get only a million and one half dollars worth of choice beef. George Mehren strongly urging that we ought to buy because the market was shakey and our prime purpose here is to maintain beef prices. Professionals, to wit, Si Smith and Roy Lennartson, contending that there was a healthy profit margin in this and we ought to drop the price. Last week at the higher price there were no offerings. This week, over 7 million pounds. No one's quite sure what goes on. I finally decided to lay it over till morning and ask Charley Murphy to take the matter up with John Schnittker and we'll decide at Staff tomorrow morning.

In connection with sugar, Humphrey wrote a foolish letter yesterday which got him really out on a limb urging and advocating the beet growers position. Dean Rusk called me and wondered whether Humphrey was writing as a Senator or as a Vice President. When Charley Murphy made that inquiry to Dave Gartner in Humphrey's office he said "as a Senator". When I mentioned it to Humphrey last night he was confused and I referred him to Murphy to really get the feel of what goes on here. Anyway this is a tough one and it was well illustrated as Charley Murphy outlined the statements of Page Belcher, the Republican No. 2 man in the House Agriculture Committee, the meeting was going on between the

refinery and the beet sugar people and Poage was presiding and Belcher came up with this one saying that "This is shot full of politics. Here we have the refiner lobbyist, the Western States coordinator for the Johnson-Humphrey Ticket, then we have Humphrey writing a strong letter advocating a beet position, then we have Freeman stuck right in the middle." I didn't know Belcher had that sense of humor. He went on to say that we ought to hear from Murphy, but Poage didn't call on Charley who said he would have reported that he thought Congress had as much responsibility to pass legislation as the Executive Branch of Government. Anyway the sugar people are still meeting and wrangling.

Finally of note today, we had a luncheon at the State Department sponsored by Dean Rusk for Bobby and Ethel Kennedy. It was really kind of touching. Dean Rusk said some very appropriate words and as we sat around the Thomas Jefferson room all of our minds flashed back to the opening of the Administration. Bobby Kennedy spoke feeling and directly about his brother. He said all of us had been selected because we were the best that could be found, that Cabinet meetings were not held frequently because the President had confidence in what we did, and that if we needed guidance and help we would come to him for it and there was no need to sit around the table and explain to each other what we were doing. He said once when that criticism was rolling he had written one of the few memoranda he had ever sent saying that we were being criticized for infrequent Cabinet meetings that perhaps we ought to follow the recommendation of one of the Cabinet Members to Harrison who succeeded upon Tyler's death as President to the new President along these lines, I think I recall these Presidential identities correctly, to wit, that in the Cabinet previously we have discussed all matters and then decided them by majority vote. He said he never had a response to that memorandum at all.

Each of us stood up and gave a little toast or statement. In mine I tried to make a point that the moat fillers and those that have organized and had to fight and be the targets of abuse and scorn could and did come forward to win on their own merit high public office and that they proved themselves and did come through and reach people's hearts -- and that Bobby Kennedy had, and that he would win his election. Other appropriate statements were read. As I looked around the room and as Jane and I left we both felt a deep sense of appreciation that we'd been a part of that first wonderful Cabinet with, as Dean Rusk said, that most exceptional man perhaps in all of our history since Thomas Jefferson. Coming from Dean Rusk that's really something. It is clear where Dean's devotion lay, although he very carefully brought Johnson's name into every statement. Kennedy shied away from everything but off-hand references to the President. It is a good thing that he's leaving and for that reason and would be impossible for him to stay. When we came out of the State Department there was his car with that great big dog Brutus in the front seat and Ethel remarked that Brutus most of all would miss not having a chauffeur. I checked briefly with Bobby about what we could do to help and he asked me to take on the agricultural thing and to watch it for him via Stev Smith. This we will do.

I quipped to Bobby that now he was gone and I had no help that they would come out with the Billie Sol Estes case. Bill Wirtz said some very appropriate things. Stew Udall toasted Ethel Kennedy. Of those of us who started, Stew, myself, Dean Rusk and Bob McNamara, were the only ones there except Abe Ribicoff who had to leave early to return to the Senate for a roll call vote. It was a kind of exceptional, special occasion. Actually it will be quite an inducement to try and be in the Senate with Bobby there. Tony Celebrezze came up to me and said he was going out to Minnesota and put in some licks for me for

the Senate, that I shouldn't be foolish now but should go on to try and get that seat, that this was the kind of break, the kind of opportunity that came only once in a lifetime and that I should take it. Abe Ribicoff said much the same to Jane. Time will tell. Anyhow it doesn't seem impossible or undesirable today, maybe I'll feel different tomorrow.

September 7, 1964 -- Sheraton Ritz Hotel -- Minneapolis, Minnesota, 8:25 a.m. I've been up since about 7:00 o'clock getting ready for a trip today into Iowa to make Labor Day appearances and then into Chicago for a big press conference on Tuesday.

This has been an interesting week end. Some titled it a "Sentimental Journey". We left Washington, Saturday morning about 11:00 o'clock. I was in the office at 8:00 desperately trying to get my desk cleared away and get organized for this week end and for this Homecoming. The occasion was the kick-off for the Humphrey for Vice President campaign. We flew on the chartered airplane which the Vice President will now have until the end of the campaign. His campaign staff seems to be emerging with Freddie Gates and Bob Short full time in Washington -- Short on scheduling and Gates apparently on fund raising. The trip was a pleasant one by and large. I had a chance to visit with Humphrey a bit and to emphasize how important I thought it was that he go to the South early. His campaign staff had decided otherwise, but they listened to me and then I talked to him and he called Bill Connell and told him he felt that the South ought to be hit early and Bill and I are working on a change of date. He looked at me and grinned, Connell, that is, and said "You win." I hope that doesn't mean antagonistic relationships. Bill has acted a bit antagonistic in recent days, but as Jane said last night when we were visiting before we went to bed anybody better learn that when Humphrey and

Freeman get together for very long why things tend to get straightened out and I guess that's right.

Anyway we flew in to a very gay, very enthusiastic reception of several thousand people. Jane and I had been doing a great deal of talking and thinking last week, particularly when we had a Thursday night at home together, and I have the feeling that she is beginning to think that it would be a pretty good idea to go after that Senate seat. In any event it is a real possibility and one we ought to try and lay the groundwork for. So this week end we more or less campaigned. In a way it was more fun and more satisfying than standing aside observing which I have done for the past four years. This time once the melee of people and disorganization around the plane subsided a bit and Humphrey headed for the fence behind which people crowded going down the line shaking hands, I merely followed along. I was gratified to find as I've found before in coming home, and found yesterday in a tour to Waverly through a couple of towns on the way, the people do still remember Orville Freeman. All I had to do was stick my head out and they hollered my name and I'd say there is 90 percent name recognition yet in this State which really is quite remarkable for I've been gone 4 years. Anyway we had the usual airport festivities and I shook a lot of hands and that was fine. There was a little platform where we were introduced and then on to the St. Paul Hotel. Jane and I rode with the McCarthy's and conversation was fairly relaxed and pleasant. Gene is sulking a bit. When I commented he had never lost an election, he turned around and said wryly, "Well, they got out quick enough in Atlantic City to be sure it didn't happen." However he seemed to warm up as the week end progressed and one of the real dividends of the week end I think was that before the week end was over and everyone got in the act, a lot of

people who had been a bit sensitive and raw got mixed up together again in an event of good feeling and I think it has been a fine thing for party harmony and solidarity.

In any event, at the St. Paul Hotel Humphrey held a press conference. Rather by accident Karl Rolvaag and I ended up sitting together in the front row as he was asked, among other things, questions about the Senatorship and responded that would be up to the Governor who made up his own mind. Karl laughed and so did I and the usual pictures were taken. There was then a reception which ended up more like a rally of DFL people, several thousand of them in the St. Paul ballroom. We were all introduced and then Humphrey spoke with real feeling and I thought with effectiveness. A lot of hand-shaking resulted and we raced to the Sheraton Ritz Hotel in Minneapolis with only an hour to eat and change clothes. We ate with the Rolvaags in the public dining hall and a lot of people were watching. This and the continued close association is rather good in building up the image of relationships which will have its influence on the Senatorial position when the time comes. So I raced to get to that dinner where we were Karl's guest where otherwise I think we'd had a sandwich in our room and dressed more leisurely. So goes the campaign.

Anyway, we got to Northrup Auditorium about 15 minutes late and when I looked at that program I realized I'd be squeezed into about a minute so I suggested, almost directed, that Blatnik and myself be dropped to the end of the program which allowed just about the right time to get Humphrey on and on television. When I said do it this way everybody acquiesced, I guess they're used to taking orders from me around here, and it worked out fine. True I lost the National Press who left after Humphrey's message, but most of the people stayed. There were 4,000 to 5,000 -- most of them party people and it gave me

a chance to make about a 15-minute talk about the Party -- where it climbed from and to, sentimentally recall events and victories, and defeats, and people, and then to seek to give measure and meaning to the Party and to its stature and to its importance. The speech apparently made a real impact. People from the National Press came to tell me they had heard so many comments about it and regretted they had left and all day yesterday people remarked to me about it. Apparently it accomplished it's purpose which was to remind people again how strongly and irreparably the stamp of Orville Freeman is on this political party. Some of the younger ones may have forgotten that. This helps to remind them. Again a part of the campaign. Karl Rolvaag was impressed and came up himself to make a special point about it, so it's good that he could be reminded too.

Yesterday we were on tour, as it were, as the Humphrey caravan left the hotel, traveling to Waverly via several stops along the way where people gathered and brief speeches were made. We had called Frank Griswald and he came down and drove us and so we had a chance to visit with him, killing two birds with one stone. Both Jane and I campaigned along the way, getting out of the car, going up and down the line of people shaking hands which was fine. We saw many old friends and surprisingly many recognized us and by and large were friendly including the farm people and the NFO people. Only one man grabbed me and said "get up those dairy support prices"; otherwise, people were generally friendly and said again and again how much they appreciated what we were trying to do for them. These, of course, basically are friends and not too much can be taken from that. Nonetheless, it was a better reception than I would have expected.

At Waverly a program was held with local mayors, local officials. I was called on and said a few words, as were Gene McCarthy, Alec Olson, and others. Humphrey's performance was not very good. He wasn't prepared. He rambled. He

brought in some personal anecdotes and comments, such as Muriel's popularity being higher than his and she'd been campaigning in the community while he was gone, and such like which are throwbacks to his old characteristics and make him seem almost immature. He also seemed extremely cautious as to what he said and after roaming around and speaking at great length he finally developed some kind of a theme that he said would be a campaign theme of opening the doors of opportunity. That's not bad, but he wasn't prepared to adequately develop it. His almost timidity came through in the press conference on Saturday. He opened it with a big friendly gregarious smile which I could just almost hear LBJ tell him now assume the middle of the road posture and be friendly and outgoing and gracious and generous. While this comes easy to him, this time it just seemed almost a bit too much. He handled the questions skillfully but really ducked and dodged most of them, nailing down the middle of the road, being all things to all people. Typical was the one to students about the Mississippi summer campaign in which he said that if young people weren't militant at that age why they would be dead by 40. He thought they had made a contribution; that not all instances of activities perhaps showed good judgment, but on balance what they did had been useful. Actually this answers better than his, but that was the gist of it. So it went. The same at Waverly. Again I had the feeling he was being held in and that the Johnson influence to not get too far out was ever present. Muriel read a wire from the President which was a very friendly one and in the course of it when Jane and I discussed it she mentioned that Muriel had said on the airplane coming down that Johnson had called that morning and said that Muriel was more popular than Humphrey, and she seemed very proud of that fact and Jane was shocked she would mention it to anyone else. On the elevator when he told her there was a ladies meeting and he was going to a press conference why she almost snapped

his head off telling him that she was going to the press conference and so were the children and she didn't go to the ladies meeting, instead she sat in the press conference. We're a little worried that there may be some kind of competition brewing here. I think in Washington that she is so much left out and has always felt so lonesome since way back in 1950 when they almost broke up that when you get into campaign time and there is a place for her to play and something to really do why she is going to make very certain she plays her part and gets her full just due of credit. I really can't say I blame her, given the nature of people. She'll get only what she demands, but she really ought to be more discreet.

Anyway, the whole thing ended up at the cottage at Waverly and the Humphreys, both of them, really performed. They got these little grand children of theirs and the stage was set for them to run down the driveway. There was much hugging and posing with the baby, with the dogs, and finally with the ponies. All this makes good copy. It's done all the time. But really when it's done with studied effort in order to get publicity, one does feel a bit uncomfortable. However, that's a part of the game and I expect in the same place I'd be doing the same thing, but not I think at quite the extreme level. I've always more or less felt that the standard ought to be what you normally do and to that extent it's perfectly appropriate, that publicity of your family and relationships should be forthcoming because people are entitled to know, that's one of things they use to measure you by. On the other hand, the extreme of it and corning it up leaves me a little appalled. But so be it.

We drove in with the Griswalds. This was useful. It was enjoyable and I had a chance to gently hint to Frank how much I'd appreciated his financial

assistance over the years and with the help I've been able to give him with getting his coffee into Northwest Airlines maybe we can go back again. Lately he's been backing off from political contributions because people have just about run him to death. I also asked him to do some looking around in the Carver County area at the possibility of trying to get some kind of a lake home location. If we get into this Senate thing, we'll need one, and that would be close to both Flying Cloud and Wold Chamberlin for transportation purposes.

So the day ended at mother's with dinner with mother, Fannie, and Hughie. Connie was happy and feeling good and seems to have completed her adjustment and to be enjoying her visit here in Minneapolis. It's really nice that she could get back for a week and see her old friends before they go back to college after being gone so long. Well, so it goes. I suppose this week end could be termed a "sentimental journey" and possibly the beginning of the Freeman campaign for the Senate, at least laying the groundwork so that we will have that option when the time comes. Now, I'd better get Jane up, have a spot of breakfast and get ready to take off for Iowa and a Labor Day Campaign.

September 8, 1964 -- Sheraton Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois. I put in a busy day here today moving in last night from a rather difficult yesterday in Iowa. It was deathly hot. I landed at Des Moines, went from one plane to another speaking to a Congressional Rally at Knoxville, Iowa, to probably 250 or so in a room where the airconditioning went out, you could cut the smoke with a knife. I felt my way along for this was really my first political farm speech of this campaign and from reports later it seemed to go all right, although I was feeling kind of logy and not very inspirational. From there we drove by car to Ottumwa, Iowa, where I spoke to a Labor Day dedication of

their new viaduct and bridge and a whole complex of community improvements a result of a 10-year self-improvement program that was truly impressive. Here I hammered away at the theme of cooperation, emphasizing that there were those who would split the Federal from other segments of Government, but that our Government was truly the instrument of our own will if we sought to make it such and that President Johnson's bid for cooperation at all levels private and public was the key to progress for the future. I hammered away that at this 70th Anniversary, or rather 70th Labor Day, this Nation had had the longest sustained prosperity ever in its history and that general "look what we've done to your pocketbook theme". It seemed to be well received, although I wasn't feeling very inspirational and the entertainment via the ferris wheel and the rest was within stone's throw to compete with the speaker together with a flat mike.

After the program we rode in a parade. I had a series of radio and press interviews and then went by helicopter to catch a plane into Des Moines. The Des Moines press conference was the best of the day and probably made the day worthwhile. I pinpointed the feed grain program, made it clear that it would not be extended unless we had some more Democratic Congressmen and certainly not without a President who strongly supported it and got in some good and I think useful licks. Then I flew into Chicago, discussing with Duke Norberg the Rural American Program going over some letters, some campaign literature and effort to stimulate recruiting and methods to select State Chairmen. I sure hope this moves along properly.

I was pretty tired when we got here. Was met at the plane and came on into the hotel, got in touch with Tom whom I put to work trying to refine plans to get back tomorrow morning for the funeral in Hibbing of Gene Bangs.

Then I sat down dead tired and started to do a little work on briefing papers and ended up working until about 1:00 o'clock in the morning. I cleaned up then, but before I went to bed read the book that is in process in ERS to outline our farm program and chart the way to the future and did some work on it. We're making progress. I just finished reviewing some of it, but I need to do a great deal of work on it, and need to get at that very promptly.

Basically I came into Chicago for the press conference and at 10:00 I went down and really I think had an excellent two hours. I highlighted the announcement of the amount of diversion required to participate in the feed grain program at 20 percent, and this gave the occasion to again dramatize the accomplishments of the feed grain program, its relation, and to answer the questions on the wheat program, and then to respond to a wide range of questions. There was good press coverage. All four National radio and television hookups were present and hopefully it will get a good ride. I then came up and did some work here both before and after lunch and then off to a one-half hour panel show which was quite stimulating I think for it was controversial with the editor of the Chicago Daily News criticizing the wheat program for being allegedly not voluntary and causing an increase in bread. I think I did some good with him. If this proves to be as interesting a program as it seemed, we'll try and get listening parties to hear it when it's played back, and possibly distribute the tapes around to other places to try and clear the record on this difficult wheat question.

I just came back to the hotel, did some work here on the book, and now I'm going to Kirkpatrick's party -- a surprise party for his 20th year with the American Political Science Association. This will give me a chance to

meet some of those people and to do some talking with them about things in general, conceivably looking towards moving one day into the academic world.

At least that's a possibility and a good chance to pay tribute to Kirk.

Then I'll catch a plane, get to Minneapolis, and drive to Hibbing for the Gene Bangs funeral.

During the press conference I got lots of questions on my own plans, particularly the Senatorship, I turned them away with a smiling no comment; when pressed I said that if I said I wasn't interested it would be a reflection and if I said I would, it would make it difficult for me to administer the important responsibilities that are mine now, and so until November 3 my answer to this question will be consistently "no comment". This seemed to satisfy them.

Thursday, September 10 -- 11:20 p.m. At the desk downstairs again. Just finished 2 1/2 hours working through the papers, on the 'phone, outlining speeches for the week to come to Rod, and dictating directives to staff in general.

I got to Gene Bangs' funeral all right, although I ended up driving most of the night with Jim Dougherty and only got a few hours sleep. It was a strange feeling to be in Hibbing in the Androy Hotel and know that Gene Bangs was dead. His funeral was a modest, quiet affair. Marjorie Bangs is a magnificent woman -- six children, deeply in love with her husband, but yet dry eyed. It brought back many memories to be at that funeral. It made me feel just a little bit old and over the hump. I remember so well the first time we went fishing shortly after the war -- going up in Gerry Heaney's old Plymouth. I remember going up on Jackfish Bay into Canada, the time we fished in the rain and caught so many walleyed pike we didn't know what to do with them. Then of course the wonderful times on the Bangs' Island on Rainey Lake. Northern Minnesota and fishing will never be the same without Gene Bangs. I can almost see him now in that kind of sloping walk of his and the efficient way in which he prepared camp, caught fish, and his always cheerful attitude. It's hard to know why someone like him must go.

I left immediately after the funeral. We barely made it in time to catch the plane out of Minneapolis and into Washington where I went to the office at 6:30 for a conference on P.L. 480 preparing for a meeting with Ellender today, and then home where I again spent most of the night at the desk, trying to catch up.

On the plane I had a long visit with Abigail McCarthy. It was quite interesting. We talked about common loyalty to the Party and

that he had been worked over pretty good by the President this morning and must stay on the job. I'm sure that he was. As I reflect I'm not sure I would have wanted to be Vice President and be slave of this man. As Chuck Bailey said to Jane in Atlantic City last week, he's a kind of person who enjoys picking the wings off of flies. That's not a bad statement. And a column by Marquis Childs in the paper the other day would back up Bailey's evaluation, and Childs is really friendly to Johnson. Anyway Humphrey will be attending tonight a meeting of representatives of the Southern States whom I've called together to advise with us on how to proceed on our campaign in those States with particular emphasis on agriculture and to counsel about scheduling and our Rural Americans for Johnson and Humphrey Committee. Then we will go on out to the House and go over materials that I've prepared for him in great detail about our programs, about the particular commodities, so he can be well prepared and up-to-date. His speech which called for the Blue Ribbon Committee touched all the proper bases in terms of semantic catch words. He talked about using the commercial market more than the Government -- that to satisfy the GTA. He talked about costs are too high -- ought we not to budget rigid amounts and have to live with them. That for the economizers. He talked about income to agriculture being inadequate -- that's for all the farmers. He talked about voluntary vs. mandatory and that's according to current thinking. He talked about lots of things that sounded good and said nothing. The question now is, what he'll want to do and of course he will "dance" a good bit because he need not and should not get impaled on some of the political dilemmas which are a product of the great changes taking place which can only be shaped and not stopped. On the other hand he's going to have to stand up and be counted if he wants to get some votes in the South because they are for the mandatory program and this is the

only way he can overcome the anti-Civil Rights attitude toward him generally. I suspect as a matter of pride he will be very anxious to do that as is the President. Whether he will want to move in here and revised the wheat program to provide some more money -- whether he will want to increase supports on dairy, given the consequences of doing so both in terms of costs and future programs, remain to be seen. This will be the first time in a good many years where I will be working in a sense for him, doing staff work for him, and sharing intimately his goals. I wonder how the relationship will work out. It'll be interesting to see and who knows it may lay the groundwork for some important things in the future. Time will tell.

September 10, 1964 -- 4:15 p.m. This was the day I was going to stay home until noon and start writing a book. Instead yesterday afternoon as I was getting ready to go to the Rural Americans for Johnson-Humphrey meeting with the Southern States leaders, the roof caved in here with a call from Ken Birkhead that the Ellender Amendment to divert grants and excess currency matters into the Appropriations Committee had been picked up by Findley, that nasty Republican from Illinois, who combined with Rooney and Whitten from the Appropriations Committee, and that it had passed on a Feller Vote and the question was should we fight it out on a Roll Call vote. To make a long story short as it ended up they adjourned for the day, I went on to the meeting which was reasonably successful. We discussed the campaign in the South. Then Humphrey and I went home and after a brief visit with Jane and Connie visited on into the night, or rather morning, until about 1:30. We discussed agriculture and I gave him some details and I think some extremely useful source material, discussed the philosophy and economics of it. He openly acknowledged that his speech of last week was nonsense and political and semantics for campaign purposes and that we had to have some kind of supply management programs. I

September 3, 1964

MEMORANDUM

Subject: Meeting at Dupont Plaza on organization of Rural Americans
For Johnson and Humphrey, September 2, 1964

Discussion as follows:

Virginia -- William Rawlings

He stated he lived in the Fourth District which today would go Republican. Need respected, aggressive leadership in Virginia. There is evidence that the current party leadership will sit on their hands as they have in the past. The usual Democrats for Goldwater have come to the front. Similar personalities as in the case of Eisenhower. They need to be countered and organization immediately activated. Rawlings as a member of the State Senate was concerned as to what that leadership would be and said that every other politician in Virginia would be as well. He urged that ladies be actively involved and that they would and could be quite effective in such organizations. He stated that there was a heavy new voters registration in Virginia and that this should be kept in mind in planning campaigns. He was assured that contacts would be made immediately to get information as to the current state of organization and he was urged to submit names and recommendations and also to review current people from Virginia involved in the Rural American organizational framework.

North Carolina -- Joe Sugg, Executive Secretary of the Peanut Organization

He referred to Eastern North Carolina where the last election he said was actually won. He said many people were going fishing and didn't want to be for either Goldwater or Johnson. That six towns recently had come forth with Goldwater Headquarters where there had never been a Republican Headquarters before -- that there were no Johnson-Humphrey Headquarters -- that we need to get moving fast in this area. What he said was confirmed in general by J. C. Brown, and REA man, who elaborated. He stated in the North Carolina primary people did not think about their pocketbook, expressing his disappointment on the election there; however, acknowledged that the division^{and}/contrast was not as clear as it could and must be made between Johnson and Goldwater. He urged a sharp anti-Goldwater Campaign, clearly setting forth the Goldwater Record with emphasis on Goldwater's pro-war, trigger happy, bomb Cuba, et al approach. He stated that this was the overwhelming issue that reached into every home and was the chief cause of apprehension toward Goldwater.

Harry Caldwell, former Master of the Grange, Chairman of the National Agricultural Advisory Commission, and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Grange, was a bit more optimistic. He related that Civil Rights was tough and toughest of all in the rural areas, but in his judgment North Carolina could be carried.

Louisiana -- There were two REA men from Louisiana -- Charles Romer and his son, and also Mark Bonner.

They related that Louisiana was very difficult. That Ellender's recent pronouncements and attitude indicated he would give less than vigorous support, that the Governor at the moment was in a strong position and had not indicated which way he would go. That the action of the Governor would be very important. That there was a need to clarify the issues and to give immediate attention to consolidating leadership, that people at the moment don't really know where to turn. Hence, the special importance of the Governor's position. They related that the farm vote had won elections in Louisiana, and could and would if properly handled win this one. They urged a Harry Truman kind of hard hitting campaign and agreed that Goldwater's militarist approach was his primary weakness.

Mark Bonner repeated the need for leadership from the Governor and pointed out that Southern Louisiana had the potential rural Democratic votes to win the election and urged that there should be a Truman type campaign with hard hitting speeches.

South Carolina -- Charles Flowden of Summerton, South Carolina, farmer-banker and a close associate of Senator Olin Johnston, related that South Carolina indeed was very tough. He expressed concern that a former devote Democrat Neville Bennett had stated he would not be active in this campaign, expressing concern about the drop in cotton supports. Several other

people including an upland cotton chairman had begun to organize Goldwater committees. He related that the small farmer who benefitted from the cotton program probably would not vote, the larger farmer at 30 cent supports was not too happy. He stated that textile leaders were actually financing and organizing the State for Goldwater. We need to check this for if anyone has gotten benefits from this Administration it has been the textile leaders and there ought to be immediate pressure to bear. He related there were three leaders in South Carolina -- Olin Johnston, Senator Strom Thurmond, and Governor Russell; Johnston had made his decision, the other two had said nothing. He felt that the current surge of opposition was such that they thought it discreet to take no position, but he felt it very important that one or the other of them stand up and be counted. He urged that Hubert Humphrey come to the State and thought speeches by him there would do good. He stated that the Goldwater organizational effort was extended and strong, that it had been going on for the last 2 years, that it involved women, teenagers, coke parties, and a whole host of activities. Yet he felt South Carolina could be won.

Mississippi -- B. F. Smith

He related that Mississippi was 80 percent Republican today. The issue was entirely Civil Rights -- but that there were lots of people who were basically Democratic, pro-TVA, REA, that farmers were pleased with the farm program, the cotton program, the soybean program, that he felt many people remembered Hoover days and that farmers were strongly pro-farm

program. That based on this a vigorous anti-Goldwater campaign might produce unlooked for results.

Alabama -- Ed Mauldin

He related the peculiar situation in that State where unpledged delegates who had committed themselves only to the extent of not voting for Goldwater were presently on the ballot and had refused to resign at the Governor's request. If they are elected as electors, no one knows for whom they will vote -- perhaps not for Goldwater. The only thing to be done in Alabama would be to try and support these electors running as such. He urged campaigning by the Secretary of Agriculture, Hubert Humphrey and others. That it would affect other States and that the unpledged electors would benefit therefrom and there would be a response to comparative voting records in Alabama.

Texas -- Jack White

Jack White emphasized that the psychology of winning was important and predicted a 60 to 40 victory in Texas. He stated that he had organized all farm groups following his smashingly successful campaign into a farm leaders educational conference and expected to move this organization actively into Rural Americans for Johnson and Humphrey. He urged that we get out films and tapes for local use and assured they would be used in Texas. Further he said in analyzing every State attention ought to be paid to the areas which had some "cush" as he

called it, that is to say a potential strong majority Democratic vote which could overcome the more conservative areas which tended to take up too much of the candidate's time and money.

Tennessee -- Red Moss

Red Moss stated that all leading officials were in support of Johnson-Humphrey and he expected there would be a victory in Tennessee this time although much work needed to be done. Moss is the Commissioner of Agriculture of Tennessee. Also from Tennessee, Paul Tidwell, an REA man, urged that we not emphasize too strongly the \$3,000 break point as a poverty figure for many people live reasonably well in Tennessee at less than that.

Oklahoma -- Czar Langston, an REA man.

He stated that he thought Goldwater had already peaked in Oklahoma. That things are beginning to improve. He urged that we find outlets and activities for the RAD committees that were organized throughout the State and wanted to get moving on their plans. Rural housing, rural water associations, he said were very popular. He urged a Mothers for LBJ approach which would tie into the main Goldwater weakness which is his trigger happy approach to foreign policy.

Kentucky -- Earle Clements

He estimated that Kentucky could be carried. Urged that coordination be accomplished with the National Committee which was not effective yet.

Arkansas -- Harry Oswald

He stated that Civil Rights were really no longer a big issue in Arkansas -- that Faubus will straddle the fence because he has a tough campaign -- that the real issue can and will be rural America and the organization currently under way will be extremely important.

Florida -- Doyle Conner

He stated all elected officials, the Cabinet, and the party in Florida were in support of Johnson-Humphrey, the first time that had been true for a long time. He stated, however, that we were in serious trouble in Northern Florida. He emphasized that Humphrey ought not to be optimistic, that he had missed the earlier part of the meeting with pessimistic reports from all the other Southern States. He related that he thought the election could be won in Florida but currently we were in grave trouble in Northern Florida and effective campaigning was essential. He pledged as Commissioner of Agriculture to do his best to accomplish this.

It was then discussed around the table and concurrence resulted on the following:

1. That the approach of broadening from a farmers to a Rural American Committee was sound.
2. That there should be a hard hitting campaign exposing and contrasting the records of Johnson-Humphrey and Goldwater-Miller.
3. That the trigger happy theme was the most effective.

4. That the Goldwater votes ought to be exposed. That people didn't realize (a) how anti farm and rural America Goldwater had voted on virtually every issue of importance to the country, (b) that Goldwater actually had voted 11 times for crippling Civil Rights (Adam Clayton Powell) Amendments to substantive legislation that meant a good deal to the South, i.e., housing, education, etc., requiring integration while he, Humphrey and others had voted against such amendments. Therefore, Goldwater actually was not anti Civil Rights, but worse had been cynically pro Civil Rights in the votes that he had cast.
5. That the need for quick organization and responsible leadership coming forth was essential.
6. That a real appeal could be made to rural people where basically the farm and rural programs are extremely popular in the South and Goldwater's votes in contrast to Johnson's can be effectively high-lighted.
7. That H.H. should make a trip as soon as possible, preferably to Eastern North Carolina, accompanied by Senator Sam Ervin to test sentiment and technique. I have been in touch with Sanford and such a trip is in planning stages.
8. That the Secretary of Agriculture should spend as much time as possible in the South.

The meeting closed with an inspirational presentation by Humphrey who then talked personally with everyone there and they returned, I think, to their homes and areas with a clear idea of what we're doing in Rural Americans for Johnson and Humphrey, and also with an inspiration to get to work themselves. The meeting lasted 4 hours. It was, I think, worth the time.

Tuesday, September 15, 5:40 p.m. -- Another day is about over and I'm going to pick up the pile of papers and head for home in a few minutes. This has been a relatively uneventful week although a visit by Bill Kubicek, who was out to the house to dinner last night, was a kind of highlight in a way.

First, it was good to see Bill feeling so well. He finally has left Birdie which he should have done 10 years ago and has a separate apartment. He says he feels like he's out of prison. He is the old Bill and the uncertainty and doubt of his earlier period is apparently overcome. He is interested once more in politics and wants to do something. His analysis of Karl Rolvaag is quite devastating. Karl's unwillingness to take advice, that he's surrounded himself with bad staff, that he has been drinking too much in public and got an alcoholic label on him, that he's been gone too much and Bill says he's been worse than I said he would be, and that's pretty bad. I gently tried to talk to him about this, and urged him to make contact for Karl, that Karl needs help, that he's our friend, that he's been loyal to us over the years, that I would never have been Governor without his loyalty and support and that he was an outstanding Lieutenant Governor and that Karl didn't get the help he should have when he needed it and turned to other people who helped him in the recount period. If he's in trouble now, instead of turning on him we ought to help him. I urged Bill to try and go on a trip with him and to establish rapport and told Bill that Karl had told me that he was glad to see the old Bill back rather than the negative antiRolvaag Bill Kubicek of the election and recount period when Bill was sick. Bill admitted then that he had called Karl about doing this and said he would go and do so and try and develop some more rapport. Bill minimizes the Mondale-Keith problem. He

says both of these fellow are just ambitious young guys on the make and that all Fritz Mondale has to do is work as hard as Sandy Keith and he has nothing to worry about for he has all the machinery to do it, but that Sandy has outworked him so far and Sandy has certain appeal and as such in the party today if a vote was made it'd be pretty hard to tell who would win.

He belittles Fritz' complaint that after he helped Sandy, Sandy served notice that he, not Mondale, was to be the next Governor. I put out a number of feelers to Bill on the question of the Senate out there and he didn't respond very enthusiastically to any of them. He apparently made a comment to Tom that he in a way hoped I would not get involved because campaigns have been so hard on me physically and emotionally. I asked Tom what he meant by that and he said, well it was a kind comment, that Bill recalled the campaigns when the pressure was heavy, when my stomach gave me serious trouble and the tensions that went with it. Bill also told Tom that he and Gerry Heaney had agreed that should I go back why they certainly hoped I wouldn't be vindictive and go back to justify things from the past. This was a good warning of what not to do. I guess I have had some tendency to do that especially when Heaney wanted me to make a television show supporting the taconite amendment and I insisted on stating that what they were doing now is what would have been done 8 years ago if U.S. Steel hadn't been so stubborn. Heaney won't use that which is what I figured. If they want me to talk about taconite they can set the stage and I can do it on my own terms on a basis that will be dignified and effective, not just as another stooge that has jumped into line. There are some that

value my judgment in this area and who might not be reached any other way. I won't reach them either if it is not done properly.

I think I got Bill Kubicek interested in the Rural Americans for Johnson-Humphrey movement and he left here to go home and talk to Mondale and Rolvaag about it and proceed to try and get it organized in Minnesota.

This could be the beginning of a campaign organization if we need it in 1966. Bill said that he would watch for any organized efforts in Minnesota on this, but he didn't see how there could be any because Rolvaag would not be pushed, and I think he's probably right that with the number of contenders in the field, myself, Mondale, Blatnik and possibly Rolvaag himself, no one is apt to try and bull up much outside pressure and Karl won't be very acceptable to it anyway.

I told Bill when he left the office a few minutes ago that if Rolvaag called me today and asked, I would say "yes", but like in 1958 when I stayed as Governor instead of running for the Senate, I felt a deep responsibility to the program that we have here. I told him, too, and I think it's true, that the \$3 billion net income which farmers have had over 1960 since I've been here has been the results of my efforts. Not myself alone, but that in this difficult task I've been effective enough in carrying forward the programs to get them through the Congress, of at least in comparison with other members of this Administration and their legislation that I think we have been all things considered the most effective and that none of the rest of them could have done what I have done. I hope that isn't a statement of self-esteem and self-congratulation, I really think it's true or almost true. That being the case, I feel a real responsibility to carry this program forward, but it will be tough.

This morning in Staff, Horace Godfrey told me that we were taking on almost 50 percent of the tobacco in the Carolinas, that the good Georgia price had broken sharply, that there was a lot more production in Rhodesia, they had preference to the British market, and that they sold at about half the price that we had, with their quality improving and ours slightly diminishing. We may have to go to Congress with a poundage program for tobacco and that will be another headache. Ellender made a speech in Louisiana, and Aiken put it in the Record, violently criticizing the cotton program and not too commendatory to the wheat and feed grain programs. So at best our work will be cut out for us.

If we can get this Rural Americans thing going we could have contacts, we could approach all candidates for Congress and get some direction on polite commitments looking to future legislation. Yesterday over 200 people attended an afternoon meeting and then went with me to the White House to see the President. It was an impressive turnout and really the first step of this organization effort has now been accomplished. We have a National organization with National Committee and officers. We have had an announcement on it and we have a National Committee of over 200 people with at least three or four in every State in the Nation including some key and important names in the Southern States. Now we go forward to organization within the States and down to the counties coordinating with the ASCS and it could be a big thing. Time will tell. I couldn't help feeling let down on the whole thing with the President, however.

Last Saturday I spent most of the day in the office, hoping to see him about a number of things. We've got a terrific briefing book that I wanted him to have and to give to him personally. In addition, the question

of dairy supports with a recommendation of raising them nominally which has been battling around here for quite some time needed to be discussed. Valenti wasn't able to work it into Saturday's schedule so I sent over some material which allegedly he took up with Walter Jenkins, although he did not call me. Anyway we went on over yesterday after this meeting. I took the officers, together with Patton and Ellis, into the President's office and through his office out into the Rose Garden where Scott, the Chairman from North Carolina, made a brief statement to the President and presented him to the group. He talked briefly and really there wasn't much life or verve in it, but then he did go down and shake hands with all of them which was very important.

I followed him back into the office and Nick Gildoff came in with a release and said, "Mr. President, do you want these remarks released?" The remarks were rather flat and the President read them, and said he didn't think they said very much, and shrugged his shoulders -- "Ask the Secretary!" he said, and looked down at his papers. I read it and said, "Well, Mr. President, I think they ought to be released, it gives some interesting information and credence to the organization of this group." He didn't look up and perhaps 2 minutes went by, and finally looked up and said half impatiently, "All right, all right, it doesn't make any difference. Go ahead." Whereupon I said, "Mr. President, I'd like to see you for just a few minutes, there are a couple of pressing things." He hesitated for just a minute, looked just a little impatient, really I couldn't say he was unpleasant, and said, "All right, but just a few minutes. I've got six Senators waiting." I sat down in a chair and he did lean forward and give me his undivided attention. I told him about the NFO thing, that I had kept the Governors from Wisconsin and Minnesota, or it would have been more

accurate to say I had urged them and somewhat influenced them not to call out the National Guard, but that there had been widespread violence and intimidation, some destruction of property and two deaths, that this was a sensitive situation, that I didn't want us to get into it, that they were urging we do something to give Staley an out. I told him I had talked that day for several hours with Rolvaag, Reynolds of Wisconsin, and Staley.

Staley was overwrought. I'm not sure whether he really is sincerely trying to hold down violence. Karl doubts it, but Reynolds and Tom Hughes think he is. The Farm Bureau came out with a statement that Staley should call off withholding action, that he was responsible for the deaths. I think this is bothering him, but Tom makes the point that if he really wanted to he could control the widespread threats and intimidations that are taking place in Minnesota. Karl is more worried and upset about this than I've ever seen him upset about anything. He said he's got more nasty mail than he's ever had while he's been Governor and said if he had to run now he'd be defeated 2 to 1. I wonder if in part he isn't now rationalizing, as Bill Kubicek says, his other mistakes and looking for a reason for his low in popularity and trying to get someone else involved in it to take the monkey off his back. At least that's Kubicek's analysis and he's urged us to stay out of it and my instincts are to stay out of it, too. Yet, I would like to help Karl and he is extremely upset about it.

Anyway, I told the President about it and told him that one of the things and the only thing I'd been able to think of would be to get the National Marketing Commission rolling and let them have their first hearing in the Midwest and to give some kind of credence to the NFO and some kind of an out if they want to call off withholding action. I doubt whether this

would satisfy them. They talk about arbitration but there's really nothing to arbitrate. He did not respond to this. That appointment has not been made yet and everybody's frustrated about it. Ralph Dungan is really upset. He has submitted any number of names and they have gotten short shrift. Apparently to make matters worse, he is dealing through someone for he said to me, "Maybe I'd better pick up the 'phone and call the President myself." He said that this had been a bad week end. That this morning the President got up about 8:00 o'clock and changed the speech that was to be made at the Machinists' Convention in Miami today after it already had been prepared, released, and was already on the Press Plane and distributed, because of some references to Cuba which he said were completely innocuous. Apparently he feels some of the same frustration that I do. Anyway the President did not respond about this, and I merely urged that appointment be made.

I then called the dairy problem to his attention and he said to me, "you recommended 15 cents", so apparently he had read that memorandum. I said, "Yes," that I didn't feel too strongly about it, but gave the reasons why we did. He said well he wanted to think about that and he'd get in touch with me when he got back from his trip this week. I pointed out to him that we had drought around the country, that we had been sitting on this, and that we needed some fairly quick action. I told him I was getting a lot of pressure from the Congressional people like Mills and he told me to tell Mills to vote right on Medicare. That was about that, and I excused myself. Then I had a 45-minute call waiting from Karl Rolvaag going over the same ground on NFO and getting no where.

I felt rather depressed. As a matter of fact, I did all day yesterday. For one thing being told only a few minutes when you've been hanging around, and I think quite thoughtful in terms of the President's time, irritates the daylights out of me. I was tempted to say, "Why, if that's all you've got, -- why jam it." Then the NFO thing is frustrating because I don't know what to do and it is worrisome. Finally, I wasn't too well satisfied with the meeting. It didn't seem to get the kind of organizational thrust I think necessary. On the other hand, today the reports have been good and perhaps we've got something stirred up.

I got Ken Birkhead early this morning, he had a staff meeting, got this thing organized, himself named as Director, responsibilities assigned out to people we borrowed from REA and Farmers Union, and it is apparently rolling. I talked with Jim Patton who said he was now getting the people in line in the wheat country and trying to beat down the grumbling and discontent because of our wheat decision increasing the amount of diversion required to comply. It's all or nothing now, he said, and we've got to get that across. He also made the point that he was on my side and didn't agree with those who were saying there ought to be a change of Secretary. I asked him who that was and he said he really couldn't name anyone, he wasn't ducking the question, but there was just a kind of a sullen undercurrent along that line. I think that's probably true and will be increasingly true as we go along now for frustrations do build up, nobody's satisfied and there's gotta be a fall guy. This is one of the reasons why this Senatorship thing is beginning to look better day by day, although I do have a deep dedication to this program and if the President would support it and we would get a clear line on that, I think I'd carry it forward. But increasingly, it looks like we won't get much of a line.

Another activity under way this week is that of the budget. I met yesterday for several hours. We now have a budget ready to recommend which includes about \$500 million increase in the controllable items and then a budget set at the Bureau of the Budget which would represent a very, very harsh budget. In the course of the discussion I was reminded again that everything that we cut back or cut out in the last budget, including such minor things as five small laboratories with one or two people in them were restored and in most cases were not only restored, but increased. That Congress is not about to let many on going services lapse. I pushed the fellows, however, very hard saying, "Do you mean to tell me that there isn't a thing that goes on in this Department that ought not to be cut back?" "Well," they said, "They thought perhaps not." Later, however, in talking with Bill Kubicek whom I had reviewed some of our science problems with Dr. Brady, he made the point that in some of the utilization laboratories a lot of money was being spent on what was essentially engineering instead of basic research and we ought to move away from that.

I felt kinda punk and a little bit blue and down this morning, too. But at 11:30 Bob McNamara and I played squash. We had a good game. I had 2 to 2 and after having gotten some good exercise I felt much better and managed to turn out some work. It is now almost 6:00 and I promised I'd be home for dinner by 7:00. Ted Shields is coming to spend the night with us so we'll have people around tonight again so I'd better get on the way so we can have dinner and I can get to work before he comes.

That's it for now.

Sunday, September 20, 1964, in Minneapolis at Mother's. Just completed a week end of campaigning here in Minnesota -- none too successful and I feel a bit depressed about it. It's pretty hard to be popular as Secretary of Agriculture.

I left St. Cloud about 2 hours ago and an old friend of mine on the faculty of the State College, who was a former Vo-Ag teacher, said "You're not very popular with these farmers down here any more. I know many of them and they're very unhappy and disgruntled. They blame the Secretary of Agriculture for their plight."

Last night I spoke to the Minnesota Conservation Federation in Alexandria and had some time with Ben Wichterman, running for Congress in the Seventh District, and there's a question as to how I can really help him. He wants no reference made to increased income or to things that we've accomplished or done. The wheat program he said for example doesn't help the small farmer who is in desperate circumstances because he doesn't have any wheat base. In Minnesota the NFO agitation and the drought there is also hardship and discontent again among the same group of farmers.

Actually if I look at it at all philosophically and somewhat ironically I guess it constitutes an accomplishment that agriculture really is no great issue in this campaign. Yesterday at Plowville in North Dakota, Goldwater attacked me as Boss Freeman, referred to the index as being down, but then went on mostly to talk about defense. Humphrey gave a farm speech. It hinted at progress made, but mostly said we had to do things better and again called for a Blue Ribbon Commission, whatever that is, to figure it all out. He surely didn't stand for it boldly and bravely and say -- these are the things he's done, and we are moving toward parity of income. Actually his speech wasn't bad probably and under all circumstances was politically the best

thing to do. Nonetheless, one can't help feeling a little disillusioned and even a little down after the long and hard battle that we do not get any recognition or real support for what has been accomplished which is quite significant.

It also makes me wonder about the year to come and how much support we really can muster. The farmer may be in for a rough go, indeed, and the wheat referendum may in retrospect be the critical straw that broke the camel's back. Anyway, be that as it may I've had another week end at home. I spoke to the Conservation Federation about conservation, outlining the remarkable record of the Congress and the Administration in that field and it seemed to be well accepted.

I flew in yesterday from Washington, changed planes at the airport, coming in by chance in the same plane with Luci Bayne Johnson on the way to a barbeque at Minnetonka. She got the attention and I trailed along. I then had an airport press conference -- no press; but the TV stations were there and apparently used it.

We flew to Alexandria and back last night. Drove down to St. Cloud. I had planned to have a press conference for the weekly paper in both Alexandria and St. Cloud but no one showed up. Actually Rod should have written a letter in my name to all those weekly editors and I think they would have come in. Instead he had John Obert in Alexandria and Ed O'Brien, Congressman Alec Olson's man in St. Cloud, send out the invitations and there wasn't any response. I wanted to announce the West Central Minnesota Research Conservation and Development Project which was quite thrilling. This whole research development and conservation multi-county resource development program was my idea and I launched it initially back in the Land and People Conference

() in December of 1961 and went on to incorporate it in the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 and it's most gratifying that the first one to prepare project proposals, some 80 of them, covering 5 counties and send it in after planning assistance for approval which I announced should be here in my home State. Really these are splendid programs and have great promise for thoughtful, sensible, long-term resource development, better land use, new conservation and recreation planning, and overall community development. It was my thought that these things should be announced in the weekly press and it would give a leg up for all the participants in the program, recognition to them, and a bit incidentally to myself. I had my eye on the Senatorial possibility doing it this way.

Saw Karl in St. Cloud and we visited. In many ways, Karl is kind of arrogant these days, although that's probably a little bit unkind. He's sure conscious of being Governor and conscious of the Senatorship appointment to come. In a way it's like a cat and mouse game. Blatnik was there today and I expressed surprise at him being there, and Karl said he wasn't surprised that he was there one bit, the cooler inference being that Blatnik was there to do some campaigning to try and get that Senatorship appointment. John Obert the Editor of the Park Region Echo last night asked me in Alexandria whether I was interested, said he wanted to write a pro-Freeman editorial. I told him that I thought I was. That I certainly didn't have any objection to his going ahead. This may well trigger something. I do hope that it doesn't in any way upset Fritz Mondale. I think we've got this thing between us fairly orderly. I praised Fritz quite highly and honestly today on the platform and he reciprocated. I didn't do much of a speech because it was a little hard to get my heart in it because this general attitude is disappointing, but as I say logically it's probably the best.

The only real line to take, the one I took yesterday that Ben Wichterman basically approved and Alec Olson the same today, was that we did inherit a mess, which is true; farm income had been steadily falling, and it had; we stopped that, we'd increased income, we've worked down surpluses, that national farm income has increased significantly and that in Minnesota the same, and that this State this year would have \$100 million less income if it hadn't been for the wheat and feed grain programs. I gave this to Rolvaag to read because he has been pretty well inoculated by the NFO with the virus that everything is going to the dogs. Of course it isn't, and basically large chunks of agriculture are reasonably successful and prospering, but the adjustment goes on. As I've outlined before it's a painful process and inevitably the Secretary of Agriculture is going to be a punching bag as a part of it. I'm used to it -- immuned to it -- but when you'd like to get out and really lay it on the line and fight back in an election campaign, it's a bit frustrating, depressing, disillusioning to recognize that you can't make the fight for although you might be right, it simply wouldn't be understood and wouldn't constitute good politics.

I'm a bit worried these days about the Billie Sol Estes report finally coming out of the Senate Committee to be followed in the House. This has been buried this long while the Committee members haggled about the report and now for it to come out a month before election couldn't be worse -- especially when the real thrust and effort of the whole Goldwater campaign is to undermine Johnson's standing by contending that he is a little less than moral. Charley Murphy is working on it. The judgment at the moment is, the Committee apparently all having agreed on a report that is much better

than the initial staff draft, but each having reserved the right to issue a statement supplementing it, it being certain that Mundt and Curtis will issue a very nasty one, and that Goldwater will pick it up as a part of his general attack, should we encourage Ervin and Muskie to put out a favorable report and whether we should do that or not will depend in part on what McClellan will do for if that should be done and the Republicans and Democrats both put out conflicting reports, McClellan's will be the one that will be widely accepted. Tom feels that it doesn't make much difference for this is a dead issue and no one will pay much attention anyway and they've been hollering Billie Sol Estes already. However, I do think it will give it more credence and it's just an unpleasant situation and one in which we can't gain and will only hurt. Charley is working on that in Washington now.

Mother seems fine here, much better than the last time I was home. She's been selling off Frida's belongings which has been a difficult experience, but seems to be coming out of it in good shape now. This is a relief for I was worried about her.

Well up early in the morning and into Detroit for a consumer's speech, a couple of days in the office, and then the balance of the week in Florida. Actually, it seems now except in the Corn Belt States where farmers are pretty well off and the feed grain program is popular and we can alert them to the danger of losing it, it would appear that there is little constructive and useful campaigning I can do. I will try and hit the Congressional Districts of that kind where I can be helpful and then see about taking some runs in the South where I might be able to be more effective. With the cotton program going badly this year -- the possibilities of that have become somewhat lessened, too.

Such is the life of the Secretary of Agriculture.

October 6, 1964 - 10:25 p.m.

I'm sitting in the office, just returned from a flying trip to Wisconsin where I spoke at Beaver Dam in Dodge County, in the home district of Congressman Bob Kastenmeier. I really layed it on the line in somewhat difficult circumstances, for there was no podium, sharp wind that was very cold, and a reasonable crowd, but across the race track at a County Fairgrounds. They did listen, and I'm told I spoke almost an hour.

The gist of it was Goldwater means "No Farm Program". That means a national net loss of \$5 billion in farm income, close to \$200 million in Wisconsin; second, that Goldwater's finger on the button in light of his ridiculous statements, and I particularly quoted his "Der Spiegel" interview where he said that he would go to the brink of war if President, just as Germany had successfully done.

These I hammered home, together with information about the feed grain program; told them that legally I couldn't increase dairy price supports, but outlined how much we had done to purchase dairy products. Then, because of some ridiculous scheduling, I had time for only some quick TV and Radio interviews and then drove 65 miles to Milwaukee, missed one plane, caught another in to Chicago, flew in here, and now I am in the office for a few minutes before I go pick up Jane and Connie who are at a movie.

Yesterday I spent a hectic day in New York City. Flew up early in the morning and spoke to the Conference of Food Editors, about 200, mostly women around the United States, got some good copy on it, and a speech that was very well accepted.

I then met for lunch with some food executives who have a Democratic orientation, then went out to Columbia to speak to some students. In the meantime I have been trying to get the feel of the situation where Bobby Kennedy v. Keating was concerned and couldn't do so. The meeting I went to was strictly a Johnson-Humphrey meeting, so I juggled my speech around to bring Kennedy in, at the end of it, with a very strong plea, pointing out the humanitarian, human side of the man, and how I had moved from the position of feeling somewhat critical in 1960, to respect and affection today. I also tried to go after Keating. I am worried with the situation there. A very intelligent, knowledgeable fellow by the name of Irving Chess took me around and indicated that there was strong support for Keating, the Jewish Community seemed to be moving in his direction, that the carpetbagger Kennedys have enough, he's riding on his brother's reputation, business is hurting Bobby Kennedy. Also, that the organization up there, including the Johnson-Humphrey offices aren't really helping him. So I called Steve Smith this morning, made this report to him, and suggested that he talk with Chess, which he agreed to do.

Early this morning I had breakfast at the Blair House with President Macapagal of the Philippines, and his finance minister. I was mighty impressed with the Philippine President. He was, of course, doing a sales job for representatives from the International Monetary Fund and World Bank were there, but he spoke with real feeling when he said he was a dreamer and a fighter, that he had taken two quick actions before he actually was faced with his first Congressional session.

He submitted an immediate plan for land reform and he removed restraints on exchange and provided for free trade. He spoke very distinctly and sharply in terms of the private sector of the economy, was critical of India and Nehru for having been so socialistically oriented, described efforts taken to train technicians sending many thousands to Formosa so small tenant farmers could learn how to farm efficiently.

I was invited because we agreed to go along with Title I, P.L. 480 rice deal, and I was being buttered up. Actually, it was interesting and I was impressed. I am going to take a closer look at what they're doing by way of agricultural development there, see if we can't help. He made the point very persuasively that the Philippines were our friends, they were following our example, and if they could make freedom and free enterprise succeed in the Philippines it would be an outstanding example for the rest of the world. He seemed to be a very determined fellow; he stated he had stamped out corruption. He stated that he called seven successive special sessions of the Congress before he finally wore them down enough to pass the land reform bill.

Bill Wood of the World Bank expressed some skepticism as to his possibilities of reelection, which rather amazed me. Here was a banker giving a political judgment and discounting the position which economically and philosophically as presented was completely in line with his own and yet feeling that it would be politically untenable in the Philippines. It's an odd world. I have no idea as to his political standing, but he's got a lot of drive and imagination and I would suspect he's keeping a lot of political fences built. It will be interesting to go out there and take a look.

I hope to be in this week and do some work around here now. The sugar situation is in a first class mess and we've got to make some tough

() decisions about it, which I reviewed quickly this morning with Charlie Murphy. I also opened the Coop. Exhibit this morning, and it seemed to go off really very well. A lot of people were there, and Doug Dillon came over from Treasury which was really very thoughtful. I made a very short statement and introduced everyone and then we had a line, big rope with a square knot in it from the Navy Department, and that rope was pulled to tighten the knot as a symbol of cooperativism, which was a pretty good gadget and got a lot of pictures. I then went around and looked at all the exhibits and had pictures taken.

Before we went down, the Coop. Advisory Committee and the Board of the REA came on into the office, and I gave them a little lecture about getting on the battle line now that I was being so attacked because of our support here for cooperatives. Since the Johnny Harms Kepplinger Letter I have, of course, had a good bit of antagonistic mail. I've purposely turned it around to try and stimulate some of these groups and get them to do some fighting back. I told them today I didn't mind being called a son of a bitch, but I wanted some company, even if it meant that some cooperative organizations might lose some customers in the private trade. They grinned a bit wryly; and I'm not sure they liked the statement, but I think they agreed. Anyway, that worked out fairly well. It has been abusy period.

Saturday I was in Delaware. There was lousy advance work done. I had a brief press conference that amounted to only a few weekly editors in Georgetown, Delaware, spoke in a village square to a handful of people, ate some barbecued chicken, drove with Governor Carvell across the State to a place called Petersburg, where I spoke briefly at a non-partisan dedication of the Sportsmen meeting at a game preserve and on to a political

dinner at Wilmington that night.

Here I did my best to get some licks in at John Williams who is a skunk. He is one of the most slippery, dishonest people in the Congress. He certainly was totally irresponsible during the Billie Sol Estes deal, but he has managed to get an image of being a fearless investigator and apparently is quite strong.

I thought Carvell was kind of a clown at first, but really he's done quite a job apparently as Governor, and I was more impressed with him as we went along. He is a folksy, friendly, outgoing, honest and direct kind of person and am sure has stimulated a great deal of confidence and may be stronger than a lot of people think.

I suppose I'll pay a price for hitting at Williams, but this is a part of the process and it's one thing someone can do when it is a faker like this when he comes in from the outside.

I didn't go after Proxmire today in Wisconsin, although perhaps I should have said something nice. Instead I pointedly ignored him, praising Gaylord Nelson, John Reynolds, Kastenmeier and everyone else. Afterwards a fellow came up to me and said it was quite noticeable I hadn't mentioned Proxmire, and was that intentional, and I caught him up short with a curt "no comment".

Maybe I am biting off my nose to spite my face here, for Proxmire can seek out and make problems for us here in the Department, so perhaps I should let bygones be bygones, but I can't forget how he went out of his way to hurt me when we had to drop dairy supports, and of course again the fact that he is a complete self-seeker who today is demagoguing economic assistance and generally playing to every emotion, trying to insure his own reelection. He has few friends in the Democratic Party and, of course, he is bitterly hated by the President. So, maybe I can

indulge in this luxury.

From all indications the campaign is going ahead very well indeed, for the President and Humphrey both continue strong. There is the uncertainty, of course, just because Goldwater is such a screwball, but there seems to be a general acceptance by the commentators that it would take a miracle to change things and some evidence of defeatism in the Goldwater camp.

Eugenie Anderson has been here. We had dinner with her Sunday night at a party the India Edwards gave, and we picked her up ahead of time and had a few minutes visit. She brought up the Senatorship thing and in effect urged that I should seek it and was delighted that I would be willing to accept it, or at least I so told her.

She said she had been mentioned and she hadn't done any grandstand withdrawal statement, but she felt of all people that I'm the one who ought to be in the Senate and it would be to the betterment of the Senate and the country if I would be willing to serve. A nice way to put it indeed. She'll be on out to Minnesota and I think will talk to Karl Rolvaag. Tom's out today and we'll continue our little campaign there to be in a position if the occasion calls for it, and we want to move in that direction.

I must say that as we go forward here and so many things are in the mill, and there's so much yet to be done and we've done so much, I hate the thought of not driving it forward. But maybe someone else can do it better, for I'm getting perhaps to be a more controversial figure right along. Although I find some places I might be even halfway popular.

Monday, September 28, 1964 - 10:05 p.m.

I'm in my study trying to get organized for another hectic week. Last week was something of a campaign week. I left town Wednesday noon, flying down to Jacksonville where I spoke to a Young Democratic Rally. The Senior Democratic Chairman had declared for Goldwater and the Young Democrats promoted this dinner which was well attended and actually ended up quite enthusiastic.

There were a good many local officials from city and county and the President's recent trip down there because of hurricane Dora damage had done a lot of good. Nonetheless they were rather perfunctory until following the meeting when it seemed at least that I had fired them up quite a bit.

I made my "Great Society" speech, outlining the possibilities of the future and emphasizing the difference between the Democratic and Republican approach. The response really was excellent. I was in fair form, and got a good response.

I was tired, however, and unable to get to bed very soon for I had the usual after-a-banquet caller and we were up at 5:00 in the morning. The next day was a very interesting one. Doyle Conner, the most attractive and shrewd young Commissioner of Agriculture, accompanied me along with a number of Florida political leaders, including our ASCS Committee member, Simpson; the Democratic State Chairman, Mr. English, and a number of other leaders.

() The Rural Americans for Johnson-Humphrey seemed to have taken hold, and there were quite a number of people who had found their spot in that group.

Our first stop was at Lake City, at 7:30 in the morning at the airport. To my surprise several hundred people were present. Quite a number were Department employees, who can always be turned out anywhere in the country for the Secretary, where there are also a lot of local officials playing farmers, and others. Some of them had driven as far as 80 miles.

They had been hit by the hurricane with 16 inches of rain in 24 hours, and I was able to talk with them about it and extend emergency measures on the spot.

I then talked about farm programs and their importance and ended up reading some statements from Goldwater. They tightened up a little bit on that, but on balance were extremely friendly, and Doyle Conner who was worried was pleased.

We then flew for an hour to a town called Marianna, which was right in the heart of the "Cracker" country, and violently anti-Civil Rights, although traditionally strongly Democratic. It was the usual country town and as we drove around the square I counted a full dozen Goldwater stickers on the cars, but no Johnson stickers. We had a kind of coffee hour in the town. The local cow bells were out and people drifted in until there must have been several hundred present. Doyle Conner gave me a nice introduction; this was his wife's home town and then I repeated pretty much the same presentation, only this time went a little easier on specifically attacking Goldwater. Again the response was respectful, not quite as friendly, but seemed to be reasonably good.

The Press, following my remarks, queried me strongly about how we would implement the Civil Rights Bill, and what about the Extension

Service and 4-H, but I parried that by saying the Administrative procedures have not yet been worked out, so I couldn't answer the question. When they persisted I asked them smilingly whether they were more interested in Civil Rights than in Agriculture, and let it go at that.

As we flew away Doyle Conner was quite enthusiastic. He said he thought we had laid the groundwork for making real progress. The first job now that they have been partially reassured and the dangers of Republican agricultural programs emphasized was he said to sow some suspicion. Given Goldwater some 15 pro- Civil Rights votes of the Adam Clayton Powell-Jacob Javits Rider type, the job to do was to inform people of this. With a gleam in his eye, he told me how he had plans so that some of those folks with Goldwater stickers would cover them in part with Johnson stickers and when queried what had happened to change their mind, they would then point out how they had been deceived by this man Goldwater and they might as well stay with the Democrats and the Farm Program instead of a double talker like him. Conner felt we had really made some progress.

I next spoke at Lakeland, Florida, which was most enjoyable. We landed by plane, transferred to helicopter and flew out to the home of the Executive Director of the Florida Citrus Mutual, Bob Rutledge, where I sampled a new tangerine, the product of Department research, some 20 years of it, This new fruit will mature in September and October instead of December and January as was previously the case making it available to market much earlier.

The luncheon held at the Yacht Club there was really quite a success.

October 4, 1964 - At Home, in my Study.

Obviously, there has been a gap. When I quit dictating a week or so ago, I was describing the Florida trip. Since then I have been mostly campaigning.

I accompanied Humphrey to Georgia. I have been in Missouri. I spent yesterday in Delaware. I have just finished working several hours at my desk on the proposed book, which I hope to set down a program for agriculture as well as review how we got to where we are, so we think we can set down a definitive program for agriculture.

I rather enjoyed the campaigning although it's a bit hard to get any real muscle into it. There hasn't been any clear-cut leadership from the White House, and little personal inspiration. It surely would have been different if John F. Kennedy had been running.

On the other hand, that may not be quite fair. President Johnson has, I think, been playing it very smart. He has kept the campaign on a high level. Some of his public pronouncements have been outstanding. He has got Goldwater talking more and more shrilly and condemning and dealing in vindictiveness. From all indications Goldwater is gaining not at all, although he is apparently getting big and fanatic crowds. It's troublesome because ^{most of} the newspaper articles and the people one talks with say not that they like Johnson but they are more than fearful of Goldwater, and there's good reason for that for his statements are certainly intemperate, radical and thoughtless.

I wonder if the institutions of this country and the stability of our people would be strong enough to withstand this kind of leadership. He's voted against virtually every piece of constructive legislation which has served to help people and to further the cooperation of citizen and government at all levels.

In any event, this is the point that Johnson has been making.

But, happily, its been a bit more than the old Eisenhower Republican line that you never had it so good. There has been an additional element that that is, we've had this great prosperity, greatest employment, greatest earnings, strengthened farm income, all of these, but instead of saying, "We've never had it so good," we're saying we never had such a great opportunity to build a "Great Society" as the President has called it.

The President launched the International Cooperation Year Proclamation signing with a lot of prominent people of international bent there. He came in very late, apologized, and then deviated from his script to say that peace is the overwhelming problem; we must ceaselessly work for it with all ingenuity and flexibility. He then went on to say what a world this could be by the year 2000 with all we know, and in an aside said that he was going to have to stimulate his committees on heart and cancer, etc., so perhaps everyone there could live to be a hundred to see what kind of a world it could be by the year 2000.

This came from the heart and it was one of those evidences when one feels that this man is a humanitarian.

Goldwater is trying hard to put the conniver, political dealer label on him. I was worried about the Billie Sol Estes reports which came out this last week, but they have fallen flat so far. First there was a report they all signed, then a report that Curtis signed, then a report that Ervin and Muskie signed, and finally a separate McClellan report. My response to all of this has been to say, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. Estes did not get one thin dime from the Federal Government or the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

He was unable to defraud us, although he did defraud and had been convicted of defrauding private commercial finance companies. I then go on to say, we may not run the best operation in the world but in this instance at least we were apparently doing better than the private finance companies. At that point I refuse to answer further questions, turning them to the report ridiculing the fact that it has five sections and suggesting to the reporters they read it.

Actually there has been little furor about it and I am more than a little relieved on that account.

I have also been moving out now and hitting pretty hard on the war and peace thing, which seems to be the toughest issue on Goldwater and certainly war and peace is the greatest issue. I have been quoting from a statement Goldwater made in an interview for the magazine Der Spiegel when he said he would go to the brink of war as American President, just as Germany had successfully gone to the brink of war, and then asking people if they want the finger of the man who would make a statement like that on the button.

I then go on to talk about what has been accomplished and about agricultural improvements and, of course, to hit hard on the fact of the Goldwater "No Program Farm Program".

October 10, 1964 - 12:10 a.m.

We just finished about as interesting and useful an evening as I can remember. Mike Feldman came over for dinner. I had a kinda distressing, one of those low days in the office today, for we were scheduling ahead on the rest of the period before election and I was fussing and fretting about the places I was assigned by the National Committee. Many of them didn't seem to me to make much sense, and the amount of planning and preparation is so often inadequate, but it all seems to be gung ho.

The rest of the Cabinet members all seem to be out all the time, and even though I am trying to write a book, to prepare the budget, to get ready for the next struggle, thinking about what we might do about the Senatorship back home, in addition to some domestic things, yet I am going to be running around the country for the next three weeks.

Just like yesterday when I flew out of here early in the morning as already recounted and wasted a lot of time. In any event, today, as we went over it, it was clear that some of the areas I wanted to go into that I thought we ought to be able to capitalize on the most, mainly the wheat areas, I wasn't being invited to or urged to come, mainly Kansas, the Dakotas, Colorado, the big wheat areas. This irks me no end.

Because we made the minor adjustments in the Wheat Program to drop support price and increase their certificates and to insist on greater participation for any land retirement payments, the Farmers Union, the wheat people, those who ought to know better have been raising hell and still are. Actually this is not the real reason. Basically, I think, and after discussing it in the office today, believe this is the best appraisal, the wheat program is a new program, the low market price has everyone disturbed. The complier is fairly happy but still a little bit uncomfortable, and the change upset him, and, of course, the noncomplier is furious. And then, our sales program, where we have sold a great deal of wheat and the market price has been fairly low, has got everyone disturbed, so I guess it's all more or less understandable.

But for a while today it almost had me down. I went over scheduling, and as I say pretty much agreed to go all over hell the next two weeks, although I don't know how much good I am doing.

Then I spoke to the group of cooperative and Department people who gathered in the Department Auditorium as a part of our Cooperative Month observances. The Coop. movement is really happy with me now, and they ought to be. The Department is gung ho coops as never before. I have some reservation about some of these big coops that are primarily business-oriented and we've got to do something about that. I needled some of them today, although not as much as I should have, for my main pitch was the "Great Society" and what coops can do in it to banish poverty and generally build a Great Society. It went well, and much of the day was otherwise spent on what do we do about sugar now with no national legislation, how about cotton and the cotton grading below support price standards, especially now with the hurricanes and heavy rains that have affected so much of it.

How about the wheat sales program, because Humphrey called in today screaming about our selling wheat and keeping the market price down, and what can we do about dairy to keep the price up for a while.

I shook Dave Bell up quite a bit, the Director of AID, when I called him and said he ought to make a political contribution of about \$10 million, and he said what am I talking about, and I said, well, buy \$10 million worth of cheese. We can't, but about 20,000 pounds of cheese purchased by Friday will hold the cheese price up and will hold the current price for manufactured milk at the 20¢ above the current support level, which has everybody reasonably satisfied, while a drop now could cause a lot of discontent. He shook his head and said, we just don't move that fast in the Aid Agency, but promised to take a look. So we'll have to see

what we can do about that.

But the main thing tonight was the conversation with Mike Feldman, who I picked up at the White House after a vigorous game of squash with Bob McNamara. I finally won 3 out of 4 games, but I really did some hard running.

We then went to the dedication of the Newsweek new office which was quite a beautiful layout. A lot of people there whom I know by sight, again not as many as I should know by name, and then we came out to dinner and had a most revealing conversation.

Back at the time of the Democratic National Convention, early one morning as we headed for our hotel room, we ran into Mike and he said he wanted to talk to me, that now that Humphrey had the nomination for Vice President, he wanted to help and he thought he could help if I wanted to be Senator. I didn't know what he meant. He repeated this a number of times since. So as a part of our current decision making effort Jane and I have been trying to get a chance to talk to him and so tonight he came over.

We had a long talk which revolved around the Kennedy and Johnson techniques and the Senator proposal and proposition. When we explained to him the Minnesota political situation, how Humphrey fit into it, Rolvaag's relative independence and intransigence and resistance to any kind of advice, it was clear that there really wasn't much he could do about that.

The most significant thing was his general evaluation of Johnson which was basically as Connie put it, very impartial and fair one. In the first place he did concur in the over-all observation we have had from other parts that few people talk up to Johnson and give him much advice.

He, Mike, apparently does. He, Mike, is one of the few in the White House who hasn't been shouted at and screamed at, as are the others.

He went on to say that he might stay because he felt that someone who would talk up to the President was needed because he needed to hear more ideas other than his own. As a matter of fact, he said one of the reasons that the President is high on Carl Rowan is they had a bitter fight during their trip around the world and subsequently Johnson concluded that Rowan was all right after all if he would stand up to him. Few of the current staff do, and according to Mike, all of them intend to leave him after the election. Moyer even has a letter to that effect, apparently, that he can go. Dungan is already designated as Ambassador to Chile. Valenti plans to get out because his wife won't stand for much more of it. Mike verified what I already know that most of the Cabinet is not very happy, and that's true of the administrative family as well because of the generally messy operation.

Mike didn't defend this. He did contrast it with Kennedy where he said that Kennedy delegated responsibility, expected results, was alert, learned quickly and it worked well.

For Johnson, he said, as I know everybody's in the act, and he assigns the same job out to three people. He gave an example. A few days ago with the Gulf Oil Company, where apparently Johnson has some interest, political or economic, he didn't say, and that he, Mike, had had in one evening and one morning calls from Moyer, Valenti, and Jenkins about the same thing. This was typical.

He did say the President was generally beloved by his staff because he went out of his way in all kinds of small ways to be very kind and

very considerate. This called to mind some earlier comments he had made about apparently some efforts that the President had made to give some attention to him, and apparently to Jackie, and particularly to his wife, Jackie, which has gone a long way.

He said in some ways that he thought Johnson could do more with foreign powers than even Kennedy, or in a different way. He gave an example of being in a swimming pool with Johnson when he called Pierson in Canada and asked for 7500 troops in Cyprus. Pierson said he would have to go to Parliament in order to get the authority, and Johnson said you don't you've got the authority to do it now. Please go do it, and Pierson did.

Mike says he doubts very much if even Kennedy could have accomplished that with Pierson.

Mike repeated a number of times, quite firmly and strongly, that the President has a great deal of regard for me. He said he has confidence in my judgment and integrity and that he thought if I wanted to go to the Senate and if I wanted Johnson to help in it, it would take a good deal of persuasion because he would not want me to leave and he would most certainly want me to stay on as Secretary of Agriculture.

That's reassuring. I told Mike that I had little feeling of rapport with him, but Mike said that really few people did. That he talked to many people and that he hesitated to make any decisions until he did.

I told Mike that my budget on controllable items setting aside the commodities for the moment would be about \$500 million more, and I was very disturbed about this talk of \$100 billion budget. Mike says that he knew the President would be pushing strongly to keep the budget down. I said that I would be pushing strongly to perform the services and I

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would propose to talk very plainly to the President that there were a number of fallacies and it was time to start talking some horse sense, to wit, that we were 8,000 employees under a year ago in June, that 2,000 of these were the product of Administrative improvements, 2,000 of them were the product of postponements, functions that ought to be performed, 2000 of them were the failure to carry forward Congressional programs for which money was voted and action mandated, and 2,000 of them were purely a numbers game.

This means then that although we can continue the numbers game, we've got to get back to 2,000, or we've got to cut back services. Further, we went on to say that it was time that we had a capital budget; it was also time that we quit fooling around with year-end figures and started talking about an annual man-year figures if we are to make any sense out of all this.

Mike agreed, so when I asked him specifically what the President would do if I put it to him this way, he said, "well, the President probably would say he'd take it under advisement. He then would talk to a number of people and the answer would come back, it's hard to tell how."

He did indicate on this kind of thing on programs tried to the Great Society concept that the President would tend to be responsive, although he agreed with me that I had the impression that the President was very sincere when you talked about anti-poverty and talked about it in Roosevelt terms of cutting down the ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed, but that when you talked about the Great Society and what we could make of it, he was less certain. But then in all fairness, who is more certain.

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It all ended up with Mike saying really that he wasn't sure that we would enjoy the Senate, although it gave a good deal of independence. We need be responsive to no one except the people at large, and although frustrating when seniority came, the sense of accomplishment grew, and that my position and prestige would help in getting a larger sense of participation. On the other hand, the absence of the Executive function and the process of decision making would be something to be missed.

On balance, so far as staying and carrying the fight forward, I'd say that I am really encouraged. Fundamentally, Mike has painted a better picture about Johnson than I really felt so far myself. The fact that the technique and system is a purposeful one, that is a product of his experience, and that Mike thinks that it is not necessarily inferior to that, for example, followed by Kennedy, is encouraging. The fact that Mike himself, basically it seems, plans to stay is encouraging.

His very confident repeated assertion of the President's regard for me, which he said he had heard innumerable times privately, is encouraging.

His expression that the President consulted frequently with Clinton Anderson about the commodity programs, and what we should do about them, is disturbing, but seemingly we have the President on the line this week making very strong statements about agriculture and the results which would flow from the "No Farm Program" Goldwater program. It is encouraging and basically here, as Charley Murphy has often said, I doubt if the inexorable forces of economics and politics are going to bring about much by way of changes. That course may be pretty well set. To do anything but carry forward our program would be pretty much disastrous.

Anyway, it was an enlightening and useful evening and when I took Mike out to the car he said to me, "Whatever you decide to do, I'm in your corner."

As I dictated earlier, I don't know what that is. I talked to Tom a bit about his trip home over the weekend. He said that people at home are generally apathetic. Fritz Mondale is pretty much considered the favorite for the Senatorship because the poll showed him as the strongest political figure.

On the other hand, apparently those people involved in the recount with Karl were urging him to go on to the Senate, even though it meant Sandy Keith would be Governor. There doesn't seem to be anyone who has talked to, or who has any particular influence, on Karl.

When the AFL-CIO met, the Steel Workers wanted to endorse Blatnik and the Machinists came up with the thought of endorsing me, so they decided to set it aside and do nothing.

Tom said he had a call from Bill Dodd of the UAW. There may be more going on in Minnesota than we know about and he was going to check that out tonight.

The question of the moment is, what should we do by way of a campaign. Should we try and talk to Karl. Should we wait until after the election and try and arrange for a vacation together. Should we leave it completely up to him. Should I try and get some people to talk to him. Tom picked up some indication, not any very specific, that Mondale was more or less campaigning, which is his right. I can't be irritated about that. I just don't know, except I think I ought to do everything I can do in order to get in a position to take it if it's offered.

Although, talking with Mike tonight really made me feel that we ought to carry on what we're doing if the kind of Presidential support and the kind of loyalty to staff and associates that he attributed to the President is really true. It might be that a discussion with the President about this would be in order. I've got to give this some thought. Both the possibility of talking with the President and with Rolvaag.

I must go now. I'm anxious to check the newspapers and see what the President really said about agriculture today in Iowa. Bill Wirtz has been more or less tapped for a speech writing assignment and working with him and Moyer and others we hope to get the President to come out very firmly, taking the line I take in my speeches that the "No Farm Program" Goldwater Program would mean a 50 percent loss of farm income. The process of doing this and trying to get into those speeches is like trying to find one's way through a Chinese maze. From earlier radio reports it sounds like we've made it, but I've got to check now to be sure.

One thing I am disturbed about, Mike Feldman was, and also Averell Harriman, with whom I talked, is the Bobby Kennedy campaign. I was in New York Monday, spoke to the Women's Food Editors on Monday morning, at noon met with some Democrats there, at Columbia in the afternoon and in the evening to the World Trade Club. But I found a lack of organization and of general bad image where Bobby's concerned and this was confirmed by Harriman and by Mike Feldman.

Apparently Bobby's been trying to get Mike to come up with him for the balance of the campaign, pointing out that the President had it made and didn't need him and he, Bobby, did. Well, as Mike said, that put

him in a heck of a spot because Bobby thought he didn't want to come when he really did, but that he was working for the President and must act accordingly. That's what he will do. I did seem to detect just a little lack of complete enthusiasm on Mike's part where Bobby's concerned.

October 11, 1964 - 11:30 p.m. CST (1:30 a.m. Washington Time)
Sioux City, Iowa

I'm on the campaign trail again. I just landed a couple of hours ago here at Sioux City, was met by a very enthusiastic crew of young, active Democrats campaigning for the Mayor here, the Dean of Men at Morningside College, a young fellow by the name of Stan Gregg, most attractive, and tomorrow I have a seven-stop itinerary beginning with a breakfast at 7:00, a press conference and speech at the Stockyards, and then flying all over the large district.

I'm going to strike out in the four states which border this area by way of comment directing attention to anti-farm votes on feed grains and wheat and what they mean tomorrow, for Sioux City is in the corner of Iowa, South Dakota, and Nebraska and Minnesota.

I spent the day today in Chicago. John Schnittker came out from Washington and we worked on "the book". In the process we further planned strategy in terms of legislation, relations with the Farm Bureau, seeking to maneuver Charlie Shuman into a meeting with some of his State Chairmen who are indicating in some of the Midwest States the willingness to combine a general acreage retirement program along with our wheat and feed grain programs. If I could possibly do that, and get them to sit still so they didn't resolute at their early November Conventions, we might have a little flexibility in trying to even get the Farm Bureau in line.

I am also thinking ahead in terms of the wheat growers, the Grange, the Farmers Union on their Conventions, so they won't take far out positions on the level of price supports and payments and income, so

we will end up with unattainable goals when the time comes to try and develop a program that we can pass through the Congress, let alone get by the Bureau of the Budget, the Council of Economic Advisers, and the President.

Everyone is wildly enthusiastic here about the President's tremendous reception in Des Moines this week. He apparently was overwhelmed with a turnout that was tremendous. Goldwater's coming back in and apparently rearranging his plans because he knows he can't match it and is going to have some kind of an airport meeting with farm advisers and among them, apparently the leaders, the Governor from Wyoming. I'll try and play with that tomorrow for there's no Governor from the Midwest.

I spoke Saturday night in Ottawa, Ohio. Actually it was a nice meeting. The driving force was the Secretary of that County Committee, a fellow by the name of George Schroeder, a very attractive man. A retired insurance man by the name of Landers was candidate for Congress. He has an outside possibility in Latta's District, but only outside, and I called Tom and told him to tell the National Committee that it didn't really make much sense to send a Cabinet officer into a county meeting with about 250 to 300 people.

We flew out from Washington on Saturday, an hour layover in Chicago, by plane from Fort Wayne, by car to Ottawa, a wild drive, and then by car back to Toledo, 70 more miles. Then early in the morning into Chicago, where John Schnittker came in.

I'm not sure what we will be doing with "the book" as it were. I didn't get a chance to work on the opening, autobiographical, chronological chapter, setting down what happened to carry us where we are. We did make some progress though thinking it through.

The opening chapter is a good one in setting down what American agriculture has done and what it has contributed to the Nation and what its challenges are.

The Commodity Section we can shape up in positive terms in relation to the next legislative program. This, of course, overlaps the work going forward constantly on the Budget and also on manpower ceilings.

In discussion today we both reached a conclusion which has been obvious, but unspoken, that although we had lost the mandatory programs, that the voluntary programs, even though dollar-wise more expensive, we ought to emphasize this as a worthwhile investment in relation to what America gets from its agriculture and in the voluntary programs with wheat and feed grains related on a price basis one to another in terms of feed value and both in step with international prices, so we need not subsidize exports strengthening our position, political and economic-wise. In trade around the world, we are in a stronger position. Also, in effect, we are freeing up the forces of adjustment in the market place to permit the maximum by way of the operation of the private economy in bringing about the adjustments we know are taking place and giving the market its maximum function and private activity the maximum area in which to operate in bringing out the final result. This is a pretty crucial question, and I think we can shape it around in a positive way.

I am a little nervous because the President apparently in Des Moines and in Ohio talked about producing for use, greater markets, rather than restricting production. I am sure this is Humphrey's influence; it goes back to the desire of the farmer to produce rather

than to cut back and control production. But it is worrisome because he may also be responding to what I understand are communications from Clint Anderson, with whom he consults.

I think I've dictated before the meeting of last week, or rather social evening, when Mike Feldman came out to the house for dinner and Jane and I had a long talk with him. In case I forgot, it was interesting to get his appraisal of the difference between the Kennedy-Johnson methods, but yet to sense his loyalty to President Johnson and also his very rational detached evaluation of the two methods of operating. In any event, he indicated strong confidence and support on the part of President Johnson which is reassuring. He also indicated that Humphrey might have a very prominent part in the agricultural field, that the President might turn this over to him. That'll be interesting, if it happens, for Humphrey has come strongly under the influence of the free market boys as a part of building his political base, but he is intelligent and fair-minded and I think when he had to face Executive decisions would be responsible as a Vice President could be and I really feel quite confident that he would be a source of real strength.

I took assurance from the overwhelming conclusion and support that we must have commodity programs and the studies stating what would happen if we didn't have them in terms of a break in farm income. This is a theme I'm hammering now in the campaign and in effect we're doing what has already been done where Goldwater's concerned by putting, and quite properly, the shoot from the hip label of irresponsibility in foreign affairs. By the same token this shoot from the hip label of irresponsibility in domestic and agricultural affairs.

I'll pound away tomorrow on the wheat program, bring in exports and his vote against the Trade Expansion Act and generally mold this around in terms of Government, local and private, cooperation to the mutual benefit of all concerned.

In the meantime I stump and it will be Iowa, six meetings tomorrow, two the following and into Washington late that night, then on to the South and Carolinas with half a day in the office. I'm trying to stay on top of budget, personnel ceilings, programs, study task forces, the book as either a working paper to try and shape our internal program development or hopefully a real book that can do both, influence internal program development and set a norm or standard for agricultural discussions.

The area in the book that is disturbing and far from what it ought to be is that dealing with rural development with recreation, with the interaction between communities that are growing to become urban, smaller communities that are feeding them with people, and from whom they are getting sustenance by way of interaction in terms of recreation, such as hunting, and water sports, and picnicing and camping and all the rest.

This is going on and our theoretical economists don't really pay much attention to it. It surely hasn't come through yet in this section of the book on Rural Area Development the way I think it should. Actually the centralization of industry, development of recreation, resulting commercial activities combined with the expansion of the community base by way of education, community facilities of water and other hospital, medical and other kinds of facilities all interact one upon the other and there is a realignment taking place here which we ought to try and shape so that instead of having concentrated urban areas the real positive benefits, in terms of living as well as economics, about having

developing rural areas with more and more people actually developing around such more rural rather than megalopolis urban concentrations. All of this involving conservation and natural resource use. Education is an essential. Also, multi-county and even multi-state resource and economic planning, each interacting on the other. This is taking place. The professionals really aren't expressing it. We haven't really captured it in terms of Rural Renaissance or Rural Recapitalization the way we should and I find this very worrisome. Anyway, it all goes on and at every front.

At home, Mike plays football and I don't get quite enough time to work and even talk with him about it. I must do that on a very concentrated basis even though I am only home a day next week.

With Connie doing well, and apparently enjoying American University, and at the moment no problems.

Jane's off to California. She was down in Georgia last week. A bit tired, has a bad cold, but basically enjoying it.

I think we are all doing all right.

Friday night we took the Rolvaags out to dinner. He was in town on a Leif Ericson promotion. On the way out to the airport we got into the Senatorial question and I asked him, after he opened it by saying kiddingly to Florence did she want to live in Washington, by saying was he getting great pressure from Blatnik. He said no, that Blatnik was having people call him, but most of them said they were just saying it because Blatnik had asked. They are really for Mondale. He went on to say that it was going to be a very tough decision; that in Washington some people had said that Blatnik had pretty well given up, but would like to have it offered but he'd hate to take the chance of offering it. I agreed with

that saying I thought Blatnik would definitely like it and recalling that he had said to me in 1958, how disappointed he was that it wasn't even offered to him, and was somewhat taken aback when my response was, "well, I'm Governor, no one offered it to me". Karl then said to me, "are you interested." I told him very quietly and calmly that I was. That I felt that one couldn't be Secretary of Agriculture forever and I had about come to a branch of the road and I had to decide whether I was going to stay in public life or not.

Actually this is a bit of an overstatement. As I look at what needs to be done, to try and measure the good and the influence that I might have, take satisfaction from what we have accomplished and stimulate what could be done with the know-how I have now, and assuming Presidential support, think through the programs in process, the tremendous Rural Development which we can influence, the question of trade, the question of technical assistance and the brewing fight with Jamie Whitten who is taking his Subcommittee on Appropriations down to Latin America looking, I am sure, for every possible example of where our technical assistance has created competition for our own agricultural production so that he can try and stop it. I am not sure whether he believes this or he is building a political issue, but it is going to be touchy and I don't think he will try and force me to a show-down but I am prepared if he should, but I wonder how a new Secretary would make out on that one.

Then, there's food and food use and the realization that we've got to shape our food program more effectively in the international sphere and then there's the whole question of recognition by the American people of what agriculture has done for them and what they should do to

protect and continue it, vis-a-vis, a realistic appraisal of commodity programs, and the breakdown between the realistic programs of commercial agriculture and one for those smaller marginal operations which cannot hope to continue at least in terms of a decent standard of living and which lead us again into the poverty program and even more than that into the whole concept of building Rural America as a part of the Great Society. All of these things interlace, one to another, and I feel that as Secretary of Agriculture I can have possibly a decisive influence on many of them in the years ahead. On the other hand It could be that a new face, a new personality without some of the antagonisms and with some of the leeway that a new personality always gets, could do it even better. I suppose that depends on who it is.

Anuway, I would say from the conversation with Karl that he knows that I want it, or at least he thinks I do, that he, therefore, will make this decision with this in mind. At least I have commanded a central position on it in his thinking.

That same day that we had him to dinner we lunched with Eugenie Anderson and discussed it with her and she will review it with him, too.

I talked with Tom and I think we both agree that the best approach is to say that Rolvaag being in political trouble himself in terms of reelection ought to have the strongest ticket, and the strongest ticket to accomplish unity in the party, to bring the current conflicting forces together and present the strongest possible team would be if I should be a Candidate for Senate with Mondale on the ticket for Attorney General. I expect it could be argued that Mondale as a Candidate for Senator, clearly the most popular figure as the Minnesota polls showed which found 21 percent for Mondale and 13 percent for me, would be a strong assist to the Governor. Well, he'll hve to decide that.

If he does, we'll carry on with our program assuming always Presidential support. In this connection in the discussion on manpower ceilings, budget, in the preparation of the book, in staying on top of the task forces, both the Presidentially established Task Force on future agricultural policy and that set up by the National Agricultural Advisory Commission, we need to be sure that they are thorough, thoughtful, meaningful studies which will explore all possibilities but which will not get off on blind alleys which then create insuperable problems in this extremely touchy and difficult area.

Anyway that's the prospectus - campaigning, trying to prevent the National Committee from wasting my time, trying to write a book that will educate the public, the Congress and the Administration, trying to shape the programs, budget, personnel for the next year, and trying to get into a position where some alternatives where we are concerned will be open so we can make decisions in terms of what we want to and should do and take advantage of opportunities that may not come again.

All in all, it's sure enough a hectic fall.

Well, I better turn in now, it's 12:00 midnight. 6:30 comes quick. Tomorrow will be a challenging, exciting and, I hope, useful day, and I can help bring some liberal, intelligent fellows to Congress to shape agricultural policy in the days ahead.

I must say as an afterthought, before I roll in, that in going over that Chapter two with Schnittker today, I was quite amazed at how the professional economists and the professionals within this Department hold back. This is an obvious field of great movement and attention. Changes are taking place. Very real forces of interaction between city and country and resource use are multiplying and spawning and moving

out in every direction and yet the professionals adhere to the established, are fearful about anything which hasn't been done, and here someone like me, as unprofessional as he can be, really a politician with some sense of forces and perhaps a little intellectual curiosity sees, senses and feels, and pulls together forces in a way that people who are professional seem somehow to miss. Maybe that's the reason the system works. Maybe that's why politicians and the process that produces them are what makes the country great. Who knows.

Anyway, I am disturbed because this hasn't gone along the way it should have, and all the forces which are in process, including the new relationship between units of Government somehow aren't being articulated, understood, reviewed and the possibilities from them reacted to quickly and adequately enough to discard those that fail and use those that show promise. I've just got to dig into this section more and get it really moving.

October 16, 1964 - 12:15 a.m. at home

I just flew in tonight about 10:00, left the airport promptly, came home. Connie and Mike were here. Jane's in California on a campaign tour. I brought a load of paper along that had accumulated at the office, worked as usual on the way from the airport but took a couple of hours out to visit with Mike and Connie.

Mike is frustrated and concerned. He's worried about his chemistry. He tells me he has a very difficult time getting good examination grades even when he knows the subject. We discussed it somewhat and he was a bit argumentative when I pointed out I couldn't understand how you could have trouble getting a good exam grade if he really knew his topic, unless he had some kind of emotional block. I think he does have a bit of a psychological problem of tensing up, but he seems fairly confident in his other studies.

He is working hard on football, taking somewhat of a beating, not doing too well, but at least getting some action and I think really enjoying it. He really seems to be trying hard, although he is at kind of an irascible period and around home at least is not very responsible in carrying forward some of his chores.

I do need to spend more time with him now, and some how or other I simply am going to do that. He's about grown up and gone the way it is.

Connie's adjustment to American University seems splendid. She says she is enjoying her classes for the first time in her school life and is really stimulated by it all. That is most encouraging.

The campaign trip was an interesting and a really kinda fun one. I started out in Sioux City, flying out from Chicago. The morning speech was a bit drab at the Stockyards. A cold, dreary day, and not a very stimulating atmosphere. The crowd was only fair, the physical circumstances of the mike and podium were difficult, but I roared and the part I saw later on television really looked pretty good. We then jumped around to six different places in Northwestern Iowa ending up at Spencer, Iowa, with a cocktail fund-raising reception, a dinner for the faithful and a rally later on. All three were really quite successful.

Mayor Stanley Gregg a young mayor of Sioux City is very attractive, speaks well, personable, hard-working, has attracted quite a group of seemingly effective young fellows and I think he's got a good campaign going. It was like being back on the stump again working over material, getting the feel of crowds and I really felt that I made an impact.

Where Gregg is concerned, I laid it on the line that we needed from Iowa some help in the Congress. We couldn't depend on city Congressmen forever. I really let Goldwater have it and the Republicans on their anti-farm, particularly feed grain, votes, and then on the war and peace issue, speaking about whose finger is on the button and quoting from Goldwater's Der Spiegel article when he responded to the question if he would go to the brink of war as President, that he would for that had been successful in Germany.

I would then state that the mere fact that a man a candidate for President could make such a statement disqualified him, with proper embellishments. This never failed to bring rapt attention and obviously to leave real concern.

Both Gregg and I spoke at great length on Monday night and it was a lot of fun. It was one of those times when there was a good crowd; they are friendly and responsive, you're getting good audience response, the stories are clicking, and things generally seem to roll.

After the meeting we gathered in my room for a little while and they were all really quite appreciative and it was interesting to visit with them and I felt quite satisfied if I helped, for I think this young fellow is the kind of man we need in Congress.

I could say the same for today. I spent the first part of the day with Gregg again and we got up in the air and then weren't able to get down, so we missed one meeting, made a television broadcast at Fort Dodge, did get to the second meeting after having to land and wait until fog burned off, then we flew half way across the State and spoke to a Corn Picking Contest as a part of the Democratic team including Governor Hughes and John Culver, again a most attractive young candidate who I spoke for earlier at Cedar Rapids. He also is most attractive, driving hard, has attracted a lot of good young people.

Iowa actually looks very good. There is a lot of enthusiasm. The President's visit there was apparently a smashing success. They were certainly excited about it and Goldwater was coming back in and then he was going into Ames and then not going into Ames, and it was on again and off again until he sounded perfectly ridiculous.

Apparently, today, also, a group of Republicans worried about farm prices and his position on the farm program gathered to meet him in the airport at Des Moines and implore him to take a more constructive posture and he apparently refused, telling them that he had already said what they wanted him to say, so it wasn't necessary to say it again. Whereupon I got on the phone to our little radio system, called back to the Rural Americans for Johnson-Humphrey, recorded a statement stating that a group of more reasonable Republicans had tried to bring Goldwater back from the 18th Century and up-date him to the world of today, but he was still against support programs, against REA, against Social Security, against the tax cut, that their vaunted summit conference had produced exactly nothing.

They had a tremendous crowd at the corn-picking contest; the first real crowd of farmers I've spoken to for a long time. There must have been 5 to 6,000. They were almost as far as the eye could see. They stood quietly and were most attentive and responsive to my speaking, while the three of us spoke for an entire hour. Culver himself spoke for a half hour just pouring it on. I am sure ten years ago or perhaps fifteen that was my style. I do enough of that now but I have learned a bit. He didn't really have audience contact because he was so eager and he was trying so hard and he was pouring it on so heavy that there wasn't anytime and he almost overwhelmed them with his vehemence. Yet his sincerity came through loud and clear and he was most attractive.

Hughes makes a fair speech but really nothing very dramatic, but he's a most popular Governor and a very impressive person.

I've done better on this trip, but it was a reasonable performance, and Hughes, who doesn't say much, seemed quite impressed and said he thought I had done a real service and made a real impact.

Anyhow we raced from there after a quick press conference to a chartered plane and got to the O'Hare Airport having a dickens of a time finding our airplane and as we finally reached the terminal The engines were already going on the electra headed for Washington, but they stopped them, let down the gangway, and we ran from our plane to get onto the plane that brought us back to Washington.

Then here to the desk and now I've just plowed through the mail, got things into piles, quickly reviewed the speeches for tomorrow and the next day in North Carolina, checked them and the schedule with Rod, set up an 8:15 a.m. meeting in the office and now at 12:30 a.m., I think I'll roll in for tomorrow will be another long day of campaigning and I feel just a bit tired and just a bit frustrated. Hope Janes having a good day. I'll try and call her tomorrow.

I've really been pouring it on in connection with the Farm Program. Goldwater fired back attacking me today, so we must have stung him.

I'm a little worried that the President is holding back a little bit on his farm statements although he seems to have said about what I recommended.

Humphrey, of course, has. The GTA Letter and Digest picked up all this bunk he has about a blue ribbon committee and a new day in agriculture and new programs or else we'll end up with nothing but big corporation farms. A totally unrealistic and ridiculous position, but it's good politics.

Humphrey continues to successfully cultivate Thatcher, but I guess he pays a price for it. He has been running to the White House complaining about certain things which is perhaps understandable, for he figures I'm gone and that is the place he'll get the best action and where he ought to work through now anyhow instead of directly with the Department. We'll have to see how it will be should the President, as Thatcher and others indicate, delegate to him responsibilities for agriculture. I'm not quite sure how that would work.

October 18, 1964, Kansas City, Missouri, Holiday Inn -- 12:00 midnight.

We've just completed another day of hard campaigning, this time in Missouri. I came in from North Carolina by way of Washington into Joplin, Missouri, and the Seventh Congressional District with an attractive Congressional Candidate a very sincere and likeable man, a bit younger than myself, by the name of Jim Thomas. He's in a tough Congressional District. Some dissention, has run once before, but is a deeply religious man of high conviction, obviously hard worker, with an attractive wife, and seemingly something of a head esteem.

It was kind of a tough day because I was really very tired. Yesterday in North Carolina and the day before proved to be quite exhausting. I went to the office on Wednesday after staying up until about 1:30 trying to catch up on office work. I had a long talk with Mike earlier in the evening about his school work and then worried, I think I ought to spend more time with him. I wish I could be available next Tuesday to go to parents' night, but I'll have to talk with him about it tomorrow. Anyway when I got to the office it was a matter of one decision after another. I talked with Charlie about sugar. That hasn't crystallized yet. Then there was the question of wheat and International pricing, and then there was the matter of what we should do about selling hard red spring wheat in light of protests at the volume selling and its effect on price in the marketplace. Then there was the question of what kind of operating relationships we should have with the new poverty agency and the degree of delegation and how the regulations would read. Here I took a very hard position for I think it very important that we operate these programs on a broad delegation for I clearly testified and I think it was understood in the Executive Branch in Congress that at least where Title III is concerned Shriver's operation would be primarily a staff one and we would be operating.

I think this is important particularly in light of the mess that affairs got into when the ICA and then AID became an operating agency rather than a planning, coordinating and in effect staffing operation. After 4 years I have in effect reversed that. I suppose I shouldn't say I have, but I really think I played an important part in the current trend of contracting and using operating agencies instead of the AID agency. Anyway I called Mike Feldman about this so he would be alerted that I felt strongly, and also about the fact that apparently Luther Hodges is in effect dismantling ARA because the appropriation was not extended. Mike said there was no decision by the President on this, that this ought not to be done, and promised to look into it. We're involved because some 70 or so people working in Rural America are financed through that program and there are still funds for that even though some of the community facility and particularly the loan funds for industry are no longer available.

Anyway, it was that kind of a day with one decision after another. I did manage to work in a squash game. Got a quick hair cut and then flew down to Greenville, North Carolina, ^{by} way of Raleigh, changing to a private plane there. I flew over a flood area at Goldsboro and at Kinston and then we drove by car to Windsor, North Carolina, where they had one of the Congressional Rallies which I held each election year in every Congressional District with all the State Candidates there as well as the Congressional man who sponsors it. In this case it was Herbert Bonner who himself is very strong, but wanted me there to try and help out the National ticket. There was a good deal of speech making and then I poured it on, really going after Goldwater quite sharply particularly on agriculture and I think got a good response although I was tired and not as sharp as I would have liked to have been. There were some 2,000 people there, following the speech a barbecue was had, all paid

by Herbert Bonner, and after the usual handshaking and maneuvering around we returned to Greenville where I appeared on a 15-minute television show which was taped and replayed in the morning, and got in some pretty good licks once again on agriculture, and what income effects the Goldwater no farm program farm program as I call it would have.

Cooley's staff fellow picked us up there and we drove for an hour to his home in Nashville, North Carolina. He's got a lovely home and was waiting for us, his wife just back from the hospital and as goofy as ever. We visited there and tried to get the schedule organized. Cooley had more to drink than he should have and there was quite a hassle about how we would get to the State Fair the next day, and it dragged on until it was close to 2:00 o'clock before I got in bed. I slept pretty well. We were up the next morning by a few minutes after 7:00 and I went down. The television was on and the announcement was made that Walter Jenkins had resigned -- that he had been picked up and had forfeited bail for disorderly conduct, to wit a perversion charge. Apparently he had done the same back in 1959 -- what a bombshell this was. He was in the hospital, committed there by his doctor due to emotional and physical exhaustion. No wonder. The poor fellow has been driven, and driven, and driven. His wife had told Jane that she cooked and brought his dinner down to him and sat while he ate it so at least he would be spared that much during the day.

Today in Springfield, Missouri, I was interviewed by the FBI and I didn't realize why they went into so much detail about October 7 until I noted the date tonight reading the paper after we returned to Kansas City. It was on October 7 that Mike Feldman had dinner with us and previous to that when I went to the White House to pick him up he asked if Walter Jenkins could have a ride with me over to the reception at the Newsweek office. I told them, and

I remember quite distinctly Walter saying his wife would pick him up there so we need not worry about his further transportation. He seemed perfectly o.k., relaxed and there didn't seem to be any tension or special problem. She must not have been there, the paper tonight said he had had a good deal to drink there which is possible and if he has any inclinations of perversion and was completely exhausted he might well have gotten a few drinks and apparently went back to the YMCA men's room which is a hangout for that kind of thing and repeated the offense of some years ago. The report from Tom was that the President initially refused to believe it. The matter is now in the hands of the FBI, and of course it has created a tremendous furor. I was just heartsick all day in North Carolina.

We moved out and went to three tobacco warehouses where Cooley presented me and I talked about tobacco and what the program had meant and the threat of no program. We then flew to Kinston with L. H. Fountain which was a very Civil Rights conscious pro-Goldwater area. Fountain had cautioned me to not mention Goldwater and to be pretty gentle but to concentrate on the farm program and what it's absence would mean. We landed and drove into town and people were gathered around the Courthouse which had a broad approach with steps and a lawn. There was a podium and a mike set up at the Courthouse entrance. I went around and shook hands with people and they were quite reserved and not very cordial. Fountain gave me a nice introduction and I proceeded to move into the whole subject rather gently and then to move a little harder and a little harder and I ended up quoting Goldwater and going after him directly for his no farm program approach and pointing out what it meant. They took it extremely well and were very friendly at the conclusion. Fountain and Cooley seemed

very pleased and the local people said this was a real contribution, that I had changed minds and smoked a number of people out of the bushes. I hope they're right.

We then flew to the Fair at Raleigh which was a waste of time. We prowled around there for about half an hour. Cooley had been insistent about this, and so we did it. It's an example of the things that one used to do, which were the things to do, and I'm a bit concerned that he hasn't adjusted to modern campaigning, hasn't really had to campaign. He has a bright and alert well-financed young businessman who may head him into some trouble. Anyway after half an hour at the Fair we flew back to Rocky Mount, drove to Nashville, his home town. He had had a lot of folks in for lunch but we were too late for that. I got on the 'phone talking to Tom because they were trying to route me into New York for three Saturday appearances at Buffalo and Rochester substituting for Celebrezze who was ill. I protested strongly, saying to Tom I was pretty tired and really couldn't take on too much more, but that if it was essential we'd do our best and that he should prepare materials to try and help Bobby Kennedy in every way possible emphasizing my change of heart where Bob's concerned after working with him on the Cabinet and trying to get after Keating in any way possible but certainly to go after him on the farm issue. I was worried about it because we'd be in dairy area without dealing with the dairy audience which could create problems and do more harm than good.

I then crammed my mouth full and ran to a waiting car and we rode down the tiny main street to a reviewing stand and then watched what by Minnesota standards would be a very mediocre parade and then I gave a speech. Cooley's friends listened and everybody else left and I doubt it did accomplish very much. We then drove to Raleigh where I had a press conference and had dinner alone in the room and lay down for just a few minutes, then we were off to the

auditorium which did have 2,000 people at the Cooley appreciation dinner and I was able to conscientiously again lay it on the line on agriculture and point out Cooley's importance to tobacco and to agriculture which is true. I don't know if that Committee could function with Bob Poage as Chairman. Cooley with all his faults, his lateness, his seemingly irresponsibility, his subjection to special interest pressures, nonetheless has a strong hand on that Committee and when he wants to move he can move it, so I could in good conscience call him an Agricultural Statesman. Actually, he does have the right policies and is quite vigorous on most of them. As I said to the boys, I said all day that he was effective and important, I didn't say that he was honorable. I guess I really don't know how dishonorable he is, but by any kind of strict ethical standards of special interest influence I'm afraid he isn't any paragon at virtue. Anyway I made my speech and quickly left in a rain storm, driving rapidly to the airport where we almost got caught but managed to get out an hour late.

We got into Washington about an hour late and caught a cab to the office. Jane came in a few minutes later, Thompson having gone over to pick her up. She returning from a speaking trip to California.

I called Tom. It was then about 1:00 o'clock and he had me pretty well booked for New York although he had been trying to hold it off. I'm afraid I gave him a bad time. I was terribly tired. I felt I shouldn't have gotten into the position of their knowing of my availability. I didn't want to say no and to be unwilling to substitute. I didn't want to go and I knew I was tired. He said he couldn't make that judgment and he had made it flexible and he really pleaded with me not to hold him responsible because he couldn't really know how important it was. He said he'd tell them that I couldn't do it if I said so, but I told him I'd think about it and then I called him back a

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little later and told him I'd go. I then tried to find some speech material, called Rod Leonard's house and he was at Tom's, and I found out today they were having a party at Tom's. This really irritated me for here they were, and here I was up in the air as to what to do in connection with material and the rest, and neither of them even met me at the airport so we could sit down and figure exactly what decision we ought to make. Anyway, that's where it ended and I finally left the Department at 1:30.

Connie was up when we got home and we visited with her a while and Jane and I didn't get to bed until 3:00. I was up at 6:30, drank a cup of coffee and we raced for the Baltimore airport, barely making the plane. I was a bit embarrassed when the Passenger Agent described me as "Delay the Plane Secretary Freeman". We flew into Kansas City, transferred to a private plane and landed at Joplin, Missouri. The man who accompanied us in the plane pointed out that we were going into basically a mining and industrial area and the Congressional candidate didn't have a chance anyway. Well he proved not to be completely accurate on that. The Congressional candidate was attractive, the day was rather well organized, I was cranky and tired, but we carried it through I think fairly well. It opened with a press conference, with mostly local press at the motel. We then went to the Junior College where I spoke to about 500 students. I really didn't know what to say. It was my first student appearance in this campaign and until I got on my feet I wasn't sure how I'd approach it. I gave them kind of a background lecture about Government and Government participation and then stated that they were fortunate to participate in a campaign which drew the line so clearly between two different philosophies and then I contrasted the votes of Goldwater and Johnson and the issues of using Government or minimizing Government. I then welcomed some questions and most of them were about Walter Jenkins. I answered here as I did later in a press conference at Springfield that I felt certain that the American people

would feel sympathy for Walter Jenkins and his family. That he was over-worked and ill and if anyone tried to make a political issue out of this it would fly back at them for the American people were more fair. A number of people asked me about it today and I don't know what to think. Goldwater is on a high plane saying that he will not discuss it, but he is talking about big scandals in the White House and then saying he really means Bobby Baker. He's using every innuendo. Dean Burch, the Republican Chairman, is demanding more details and accusing the President of covering up or of being lax and the reason for this allegedly is the National Security implications because of Jenkins' access to security information and his possibility of blackmail through the route of his having participated in perverted acts. Goodness only knows what effect it will ~~be~~ mean -- the whole Republican campaign has been basically one of trying to attack morality in Government, contending there is none in the White House, attacking Johnson for gaining a fortune through his radio and television holdings which are Government regulated, and of course hammering again and again and again at the Bobby Baker case. They haul Billie Sol Estes in by the heels but that's pretty dead and doesn't seem to be much of an issue. This of course sets the aura even more in question. Nixon said today that Johnson's two closest associates in Government to wit Bobby Baker and Walter Jenkins both turned out to be bad apples and this could be the conclusion many people will reach. On the other hand if the Republicans push it too hard it could certainly kick back on them. Anyway, after the college speech we had a luncheon and I spoke there and not very well. Then we went to the stockyards and this was kind of a tough one. An auction was under way. I climbed into the auctioneer's booth, they handed me a microphone, there were a lot of farmers and their wives sitting with their usual reserve and imperturbability and I took off. I was not very spontaneous, too tired to really

be very clever and did not I thought reach them very well although everyone seemed to be delighted and I must say afterward they seemed quite friendly. I shook hands around, went to a television station for a brief news show and a couple of spots and then to the airport, and then we flew to Springfield for a dinner meeting that night.

At Springfield I was interviewed by the FBI. Held a press conference that went off reasonably well and then actually did have a bit to eat, a drink, and slept for about half an hour. This did enormous things for me and I felt refreshed and I felt much better. Went to a reception and shook hands with everyone and made, I think, about as good a speech tonight as I've made during the campaign. My timing was good, I worked Goldwater over on a basis that was humorous but cutting, built up our accomplishments and set down the challenge from now until election day. I spoke for almost an hour and I think it was about as good a job as I've done for quite a while. The material was the same, but I had rearranged and reworked the approach which made a great deal of difference. Somehow or other after I've used material two or three times, I've got to freshen it up at least in terms of the approach or it goes dead on me.

We went right from that speech to the airplane and in here to the motel where Jim and I visited a bit, Jim Thornton who is traveling with me and doing very well in looking after things, and after briefly paging through the newspapers, I'm bringing this diary up to date, feeling very tired indeed.

The New York trip was canceled out today because they wanted someone else up there earlier and the Assistant Secretary of Labor was available so now I'll get a fairly good night's sleep and be in in time tomorrow to get things ready for a long campaign trail next week. For now then I hope it's sweet dreams.

Florence, South Carolina, October 19, 1964 -- 11:15 p.m. Spent mostly a relaxing day at home yesterday. Flew in from Missouri on Saturday. I worked all afternoon in the office getting speeches ready for this week. Got in a hard game of squash with McNamara. We probably played harder than we should have. I was exhausted at the end of 4 games and still feel it, but I won 3 to 1, as I have the last few games which is good for morale when he was clobbering me for quite a while.

We had a very relaxing Saturday dinner and then napped a bit, doing some recreational reading before the fire, and then when Mike was late coming home why I got the rundown of his recent failures from his mother, not doing his chores, not studying when he should, staying out too late, and generally being rebellious. He was three-quarters of an hour late and I read him the riot act, although fairly gently for if I'm going to give him the act here on his studying and all I think I ought to do it with some care and lay the groundwork for he is at the stage now where he rebels at ~~at~~ anyone telling him to do anything. I did too -- Connie did -- and so it goes. Anyway, I had a long talk with him after Church on Sunday and he agreed to keep track of his study hours. I'll go over them with him to see how he's doing. His intelligence tests are excellent. He says he has a block and can't pass his exams. I suspect that he really doesn't put in very good study time. Anyway we went over it all very carefully and his having opened the subject last week, I've got a leg up and I'm going to try and watch it.

We watched a little football on the T-V and then went out on a beautiful day down in the park and threw the ball around ourselves. It was good to do.

We haven't done anything like that for quite a while and I'm reminded again that I should spend more time with that boy this year and somehow or other I'm going to.

We had sponsored a rally for ^{Royce} Bryce Hanson, the Democratic Candidate for Congress, so Jane and I went over to some neighbors, the Josephs who have a beautiful home, and more or less performed for a couple of hours, then back to the house and watched the President's speech on T-V about the change-over in the Soviet Union and the Chinese bomb explosion -- nothing new -- everything he said was in the paper, but he said it with firmness and direction and a feeling of strength which I think was good for the Nation and certainly good politically.

To bed later than I should have gone, trying to go through the accumulated weekly mail and get the speeches lined up for this week, and then up early and off to New York today where the Only Nineteen Campaign was launched by the Food Industry. Four years ago I went into Supermarkets with Food is a Bargain -- It only costs 19 percent Brochures -- and almost got run out of them. Now the entire Food Industry has jumped on a comparable campaign, actually nudged into doing so by public pressure and the launching of the Food Marketing Commission. Anyhow it's a wonderful effort and already it's estimated the story of how cheap food is to the American consumer has reached something like 50,000,000 homes and 150,000,000 of the game certificates are being circulated in every grocery store. If when the certificate is soaked in water, the number 19 comes out the holder gets a year supply of food. There is lots of T-V, Radio, and Press attention on this today. Something as big as the food industry with all its resources can sure mobilize the public attention and publicity. It's all very good for once people realize

that food is a bargain, they'll be much more sympathetic to agricultural programs, and so in a real sense although it came in part indirectly through the Marketing Commission this is a culmination of 4-years of public relations effort and I hope will pay out. Anyway, the big food people were there -- grocery manufacturers, retailers, chain stores, and all the rest and we were certainly buddy-buddy. Many of them said, and I think probably sincerely, that this was the first time that the Secretary of Agriculture had really shown appreciation for and an interest in the distributing end of the food industry. Well I have that all right. I'm not sure that they're not exploiting the farmer. I do think that the consumer is doing darned well. Constructive sympathetic interest to them is something they learned for they do do a top notch efficient job. George Mehren has helped a lot in this. He has worked out extremely well. His contacts with the Food Industry have been useful. His devotion to our policies and programs has been unquestioned. He has responded politically extraordinarily well. As a matter of fact he said today that he enjoyed his political speeches tremendously and wished he'd gotten involved in the political front long ago, that it was lots of fun. He's got a lot of know-how, a lot of drive, a lot of ability, a lot of energy, and he's worked into the Department excellently which had been one of my prime worries.

I raced away early, hardly having time to do more than gulp a bite of chicken -- incidentally on T-V and radio got in some real good plugs for Bobbie Kennedy and I was amazed how much both the ABC and CBS interviewers, one a girl and the other a man, wanted me to speak positively in favor of Johnson and in one case in favor of Kennedy vs. Keating and really solicited and virtually told me what to say. This kind of media commitment to candidates I had not ever observed before. I caught the plane in time, flew to

Charlotte, North Carolina, then by private plane here to Florence, S.C. I was met by Senator Olin Johnston and Congressman McMillan. They reviewed the situation here with me briefly. I had an extended press conference which I strongly attacked Goldwater pointing out that he was a chameleon changing his spots according to his environment, rather than a fearless candidate, and pounded home the same anti-agricultural positions as before. I then spoke out at a fairgrounds grandstand at what turned out to be a very cold and windy night. The local committee said the crowd was 1,200 to 1,500 -- I think it looked more like 300 to 500. Be that as it may, there seems to have been good radio and press and television coverage and apparently we brought out a good many local leaders, local public officials, members of the Legislature, and others who have been under cover. If I read the situation here right, it isn't too good. Johnston and McMillan say it's coming -- party officials say that it's coming -- but what seemed to be knowledgeable private people are pretty pessimistic. The Goldwater fever has been strong. Apparently there is a good deal of intimidation and people are hesitant to say much. On the other hand, there are some excellent people -- liberals, people with humanitarian instinct, people who have accepted the Civil Rights law and the changes that are taking place and faced up to them. I am impressed frequently with the amount of liberal leadership in the South. These folks have been boxed in on the Civil Rights issue and South Carolina is a good example. It's amazing how a man like Olin Johnston, being a clever politician, taking care of his people, but yet adhering to liberal principles, fighting for the little man, being opposed by the big interests, has managed to keep the farmer and the laboring man with him and get elected again and again and again. He is really an operator. What a contrast to Strom Thurmond, a complete demagogue, and also apparently a powerful political force in the State. This is one of the ironies of American politics, but I must say this

whole period of speaking and traveling, looking and listening, has been good. It has given me again a feeling of confidence in our process, in our system and in our people, in local leadership, and in how this process decentralized, sometimes wilily disorganized, yet brings forth local leadership and responsibility and with all its weaknesses in the main moves steadily forward with effective people at the helm. After Washington's artificialities, the local processes seem frank, above board, clear, clean and reassuring. Actually, of course, the same forces are here. It's just that there is less power, not as much shrewdness or subtlety, in both places there is great dedication and ability, but somehow the local folks are more refreshing.

I'm still mulling over in my mind what I really want to do in the future. Jane and I about decided yesterday to try and go up to Ripley for a week after the election, mostly to be in Minnesota, on the scene and available where the Senatorship is concerned. On the other hand, there is so much to be done and we can do so much that I dislike and have a twinge of conscience at the thought of leaving this Secretary's Post. If there were only some way to know what this President would do and the kind of backing we would get, it would make quite a difference. I'd be tempted to stay put and fight it through then. On the other hand, once in the Senate if we could survive an election, and I think we could, although I must say that I have mixed feelings on the business of launching another campaign, on the one hand it would be good, stimulating and lively, and on balance I expect we would enjoy the whole process. On the other, it seems like going once again through the same motions we learned so long ago, and I could put my energies and interests so much more constructively into other channels. Well I guess the thing to do is to play it hard, try and get the Senator commitment, carry it to the President,

see what he says, and make the decision then. In the meantime, it certainly is not much fun.

Current reading in the Walter Jenkins thing would seem that it is not too vital. The Russian and Chinese international development have over shadowed it. As mentioned tonight visiting with these folks, there'll be a lot of snide, taunting, ridiculing and talking in the athletic clubs and golf clubs in the country, but I doubt if the bite will go very deep.

Mr. Average Citizen probably hasn't quite caught up with it yet. In the meantime it has been showed off the front pages and likely will stay off. Jim Thornton said tonight, although I didn't see it in the paper, that Mrs. Johnson had gone to see the Jenkins family, which is a very thoughtful and considerate thing to do.

I tried to reach the President by 'phone yesterday to get the date of the Cabinet meeting which I now will fly in to early in the morning. He hadn't set it yet. He wasn't available. Jack Valenti didn't know, and apparently no one knew until today. That's a lousy way to run an operation, particularly when they are chasing us all over the country, with the problems of scheduling. But it's clear that he's God and everyone else conforms accordingly. Hardly an example which would encourage one to continue on this ball club. On the other hand, maybe that's too harsh a judgment. The man has been under terrific pressure and could hardly be expected to consider his Cabinet associates in setting the time for a meeting; but the very thoughtlessness of putting everything off until the last minute is somewhat symptomatic of why this guy will surely be tough to work with.

October 21, 1964, Nashville, Tennessee -- Just finished a speech here at a county Democratic Rally including Mrs. Gore, Congressman-Senatorial Candidate Ross Bass and his wife, Congressman Joe Evans, Congressman Richard Fulton. It was not a very spirited crowd although they responded dutifully. They were Democrats and the Armory was so large it was difficult to pick the crowd up. I was flat and tired and didn't have much zip.

I woke up this morning in Florence, South Carolina, after a very poor night's sleep, my stomach bothering me, and then had severe diarrhea, with the result that no sleep plus getting dehydrated and I felt pretty flat today. I had a meeting this morning with the delegation on tobacco some of whom I was told were Goldwaterites, but who might be swayed. I think South Carolina is tough. Most of the people I talked to with their guard down felt that the chances of winning it were pretty slim. On the other hand Senator Olin Johnston and Cong. McMillan felt that it was improving. Anyway after the tobacco meeting which went on for better than an hour and where they seemed to be quite responsive, I got in a Jet Star which came down to get me and returned to Washington. I had an hour before Cabinet meeting and I conferred with Charley Murphy about sugar, wheat and Joe Robertson about budgets, manpower ceilings and such, and then went to what proved to be an interesting Cabinet meeting. It went on for almost 2 hours.

The President first read a statement which was positive and an affirmative one, obviously geared for release and press purposes, speaking in terms of changes going on in the world and how fortunate we were to be in a good position with military strength and strong economy and stronger around the

the world than we'd ever been before together with a Congressional Record of getting critical programs through and that now we had to think and plan ahead regardless of what the political winds of the day were for the future continued growth and strength of the Nation. He then called on Dean Rusk and after Rusk started made a comment that all of us ought to get out the epsom salts, massage the brain and the people in our Departments, because it was a shame that Dean Børch, the Republican Chairman, was getting all the publicity, and that^{if}/a political quack like that could get more attention than we could in our Departments with all the resources we had why maybe the Republicans ought to run the Government. Then he kinda backed off and acknowledged that the sensational was easier to get coverage for, but he did urge that we try and have a press conference, that we send particularly newsworthy stuff over to the White House. He was obviously vexed with the attention Børch was getting, and looking over the paper tonight I couldn't blame him for they continue the same mud slinging, going back to Bobby Baker, Billie Sol Estes, moral tone, and now Walter Jenkins, and they'll keep it up. When the Republicans did not get equal time to answer the President's report on foreign policy, they made a fuss and Børch got 15 minutes allegedly to comment on world affairs as National Republican Chairman. He made no mention of National affairs but rather tore into the President on the same moral issue charge directing his questions this time to John Bailey who had requested equal time because in the 15 minutes Børch had not directed his attention to foreign affairs. Børch's response got all kinds of publicity -- Bailey would have done a lot better to have kept his mouth shut in the first place. Obviously this disturbs the President and the White House. Whether it came from the President, from Valenti, or Feldman, a plan was kicking around that some of us from the Cabinet should follow Goldwater and Miller and answer them

and set the record straight and attack what they have and have not done.

I was one selected to do this and sought to dissuade them on it. I told them I thought we ought not to dignify this kind of charge and there was no way of answering it any way. Then in the process of trying to charge Goldwater we would inevitably get caught in the backwash of the fanatics that travel with him and would be fair game having solicited attention and we would then as administrative Cabinet members get every "Who shot John" question in the book. I told them I didn't see how we could possibly expect to make any progress or to gain anything in this process and that I felt that it was not a good idea. I convinced them where Miller is concerned, but they are still apparently debating whether we ought to follow Goldwater. I don't think it would be good judgment and it would not be the kind of thing that I would do particularly well myself.

As the President then went around the Cabinet table asking people for what they might want to say, Hodges made some mention of reactions to the Walter Jenkins thing as he had received them. The President then said, "Well I want to tell you about that", and then went into detail about Walter Jenkins, that he had never hurt anyone, that he didn't smoke, that he didn't swear, that he had a lovely family, and that there was evidence that his previous arrest back in 1959 did not have the word "pervert" in it, but rather disturbed the peace and that word had been written in later. He also contended that Jenkins did not remember anything about the evening until he was called by Liz Carpenter who thought it was a crank call reporting his arrest and then having some recollection he went to see Abe Fortas. The President said the possibility that he had been drugged at the Newsweek Party and then framed at the YMCA was being carefully investigated. The fact that there were apparently four moral squad people in the YMCA at the time he was apprehended

looks mighty strange. The viciousness of this Republican crowd -- the books they are putting out -- the effort to tie Yarborough into Billie Sol Estes -- the effort to tie the President into Billie Sol Estes -- apparently a story on the wires alleging some kind of perversion for Bill Moyers which had been stopped because there was no credence in it originating in Texas -- all of these things he outlined to us, and then pointed out a couple of other areas that we could expect to get hit on that didn't sound too serious to me, all in all it's a pretty miserable business and most difficult to counteract. He said that Walter Jenkins had taken it terribly hard. Had initially refused to see anyone and would put his head under the covers when anyone came into his room, but that the outpouring of letters and expressions of support and help had strengthened him. He said he had talked to Walter and that Walter could have anything he had or Lady Bird, that they were with him 100 percent right down the line, Walter's response being that he had disgraced the President, the Nation, his family and everyone else. He said the Doctor had said that the chances were initially 10 to 1 that Walter would commit suicide but that he was now improving and they were 50-50 that he might possibly come out of it. What a frightful, destructive awful thing. Obviously, the President was terribly upset about it and I'm sure that every effort will be made to find there was a frame and if so boy what an explosion that one will be.

The only other thing of much real interest was that Glenn Seaborg of the Atomic Energy Commission said that the analysis of the fallout and the waste from the recent Chinese bomb explosion had raised some questions. Apparently a bomb is made up of either plutonium or U-235. It takes quite a sophisticated plant to produce U-235 and they did not think, or at least had not thought, that the Chinese had these kind of facilities. Therefore, they assumed the bomb would be plutonium, but the waste was not and therefore must be U-235

which would mean they either got it from the Russians or they had a plant which we did not know about or the ones we did know about were more sophisticated than we realized. Should the latter be the case, the projection of a 10-year period before they could produce a hydrogen bomb would be significantly shortened, so it would appear this question is somewhat up in the air.

The President also got back to the question of how much less the budget was and how much less was spent as compared to a year ago and also the number of employees less than a year ago. When I interrupted to say that I had two press conferences a day and had never gotten a question on this and felt that he had spiked that one very early in the game, he responded that that was not true that they had some 40 polls and it was clear that the spender issue and the big Government issue was one that people held against him and he was obviously very concerned about it. Otherwise, he seemed quite calm, in fairly good spirits, a bit tense, but considering the events of the past week I would say in remarkably good form.

After the Cabinet meeting I discussed the truth squad business with Valenti and Feldman and then to the office where I did some recording, tried to get my notes, and go through my proposed speeches for the next couple of days, made a few 'phone calls, checked out a few more things in the office and then Jim Thornton and I caught a plane into Nashville to their Bean Feed tonight, and now up in the hotel room. I'm tired tonight, flat, a bit despondent, but a hot shower, a good night's sleep, and maybe I'll be better on the hustings tomorrow. Enough for now.

Sunday, October 25, 1964 at home -- 12:05. I just returned from Minnesota and the annual Bean Feed. I finished last week out in Georgia, starting in Tennessee on Tuesday night following the Cabinet Meeting which I dictated about that night.

The next day was a pleasant, and I think useful, one. It opened with a breakfast, followed by a press conference that I thought went rather well. I then traveled through the Sixth Tennessee District, stopping to speak at several places along the way. Captain William Anderson, the Skipper of the Nautilus, the candidate for Congress there, was a very attractive fellow and I think almost assured of election. He apparently won a tough primary by a few hundred votes, but it's a strong Democratic district. I hammered away at the usual themes on agriculture, and seemed to have a good reception everywhere. In the afternoon I spoke at Waverly in Humphrey County which is the only place along the campaign trail that I've made any mention of Humphrey. Following this occasion which people said was appropriate and timely, several mentioned that they thought references to Humphrey really didn't do much good. This is generally true in the South. I spoke that night in Southeastern Tennessee close to Memphis, the town escapes me now, and there with both Albert Gore and Ross Bass present, gave a very strong and I think powerful speech in which I took the hide off of Goldwater as a radical and as an irresponsible extremists, erratic and unreliable. The audience response was good.

I had an interesting conversation with Ross Bass. I asked him why he left a safe seat and 10-years Seniority in the House to run in a Primary for a 2-year term against an incumbent Governor who had all the machinery of the State at his disposal and was known to be a skillful politician, to wit,

Frank Clement. He told me that it was a challenge, that with Estes Kefauver gone Albert Gore had no balance wheel, that Tennessee was going conservative and reactionary and he wasn't going to let it happen and he and his wife made up their mind that they would do something about it. Well he did. He ran a tough hard hitting campaign and overwhelmingly defeated Governor Frank Clement. As late as the Appalachian Tour where I traveled with the President and talked to Albert Gore, Gore had predicted without any equivocation that Clement would win easily. Ross Bass went further in our conversation to say to me that he would lead the ticket and would top Albert Gore. It will be interesting to see. Bass is personable, aggressive, hard hitting, intelligent and has a beautiful, charming and effective wife who is a real lady and also a glamour girl and they make a tough team for he is a very attractive fellow himself.

We drove frantically from that meeting to get into our chartered airplane and fly to Macon, Georgia, getting in about 2:00 o'clock in the morning where I was met by John Duncan, Travis Stewart, and the Local Committee. We hurried to the hotel and had a few drinks while we prepared material and got organized for the next day. I'd issued specific instructions there should be no breakfast meeting but I had told Jim Thornton I'd bet one would pop up and sure enough it was planned. They apologetically said they would cancel it but I of course said no I'd be happy to come, and getting to bed about 3:30 I was up about 8:00 and down to the breakfast at about a quarter to nine. It lasted until 9:15 and then I had a few minutes to get prepared for the speech at Mercer, a Baptist College, which went extremely well. I was fairly sharp in my anti-Goldwater comments, using again the radical theme of deviating from the accepted norm and not carrying forward working programs and really got a very warm and enthusiastic response. They'd told me the school was half Goldwater -- well half the school was there, and they certainly were pro-Johnson.

We then went down to the Democratic Headquarters where John Duncan and I made a 15 minute radio presentation in a question and answer format and I made a statement to get on the News show out of Atlanta of 2 1/2 minutes by telephone. Then we went out to the Fair and ambled around, really not accomplishing very much, although we might have gotten some news attention. Then the Exchange Club Meeting in the Fair grounds in the ball park for a barbecue at its annual meeting. Here I was presented but the rules were no speeches and particularly no partisan speeches so I said a few kind words about agriculture and we took off for Lavonia which is in the Northeast corner of Georgia and the home of former Governor Ernie Vandiver. There was a nice crowd there. This is a beautiful part of Georgia. The leaves were turning and it was a lovely day as we flew in and they had 600 or 700 people in the streets. He gave me a very nice introduction, concluding it with a comment that after traveling together where one gets to know people the three weeks in South America, he and Betty had concluded that Jane and I were the nicer folks among all those very fine Governors. Ernie doesn't say much so that was rather high praise. It was a difficult speaking situation with a small podium, a mike along side the podium, and a curious and not particularly responsive crowd. It was one of those situations where you don't even have room enough to put your notes, but I managed to get it rolling even though the mike was so bad I practically had to swallow it, and did a passable job. Timing was fair on the stories and we got them coming in pretty good shape. Charley Jenks the Reporter for the Atlanta Constitution later at Vandiver's home said he thought it was very skillfully done which I noted for I had kinda thought so myself for it was a tough physical situation.

We then proceeded to have a very delightful afternoon and evening. First some neighbors and folks dropped in for coffee and cookies, and then when they left one of their friends said, "Well, it's now 5:00 o'clock, when do we start drinking?" We all laughed and adjourned to a little house beyond their large old but remodeled and lovely home on some 17 acres of lot. This little place had initially been the Delco power plant building, subsequently refuilt as a kind of amusement building with a pool table, a bar, fireplace, and a nice circle of chairs that a dozen people can sit around and visit on. We just sat -- people came in and out -- had a few drinks -- talked about racial problems, politics, this campaign, and pretty well covered the water front. Ernie is going to run again for Governor, that's fairly clear. He apparently has a lucrative law practice, as nearly as I could find out doing almost nothing. Apparently big firms take in Governors and public figures in Atlanta, pay them excellent salaries, apparently for not doing much for he told John Duncan that he goes down to Atlanta on Monday and Tuesday, has an apartment there, usually comes back on Wednesday, and spends the balance of the week in Lavonia. For this he is very handsomely rewarded. They are probably paying for the name. He said he had enjoyed the time with his family and the chance to relax, but that he had been a bit bored, particularly the first year, and so it looks pretty clearly like he will run again.

The next day in Georgia was quite an active one. First we went to a town by the name of Madison where I spoke on the village square. We had a very good reception I thought. Then at noon time to another town by the name of Eastman and then on to Americus which is in the deep tobacco belt anti-Civil Rights. I'd been warned about this one and some questions and some heckling did take place but it really wasn't bad. I appeased them a bit by saying in the middle

of my talk that I was glad so many people were there even the Goldwaterites and even though I supposed I wouldn't convince them, maybe the other folks there would before election day and then urged them to smile not scowl. This brought a smile from the audience in general, relaxed attention, and then I poured it on giving Goldwater a pretty good working over, working into it gently however in relation to agriculture and agricultural problems. I really think it was one of my better speeches and everyone was most complimentary. From here I raced to the airport where I had a meeting with the tobacco people from Georgia who wanted some kind of a commitment in connection with future cuts in acreage which I couldn't give them, but urged them to point out to the tobacco grower that he could expect little real consideration from Goldwater who didn't believe in the program. John Duncan said, however, that he doubted if the tobacco people were with us. The cuts, the agitation about the difference between their tobacco little of which goes into stabilization and the Carolina tobacco which makes up most of the stabilization, and their demands for special allotments for their type 14 tobacco which actually is impossible to administer as a practical matter and would turn right around and result in different treatment for peanuts this time favoring Virginia and North Carolina; nonetheless the feeling is bitter, the thing's gotten away, and John says he thinks we won't get those votes. John Duncan, however, was most optimistic about Georgia now and felt that it had excellent prospects.

We flew then to Atlanta, making a quick plane change at which time I had an opportunity for a brief press conference with a little T/V, two Radio stations, and the Atlanta Constitution. We flew on into Washington and I

was home about 9:30 p.m. The first thing I did while Jane finished some of her work was to spend a full hour visiting with Mike. He was in a much better frame of mind. Had scrimmaged a good bit in football the last week, also he had kept track of his studying and his study hours, and seemed rather pleased and conscious of time and good use of his own time more than he had been before. His grades were not bad. He had a D in chemistry which he had expected and we talked a great deal about that and the problems of that particular teacher. He did have an A and three Bs -- so it could have been a lot worse. Jane said his attitude was much better and so the time I spent with him the week before was apparently very useful. Today we just finished eating something before television and watched the Olympic Games on television and everything really seems in pretty good order.

In any event, Jane and I sat up and discussed our mutual schedules. She having been in Florida, and then off to bed, and I was able to doze a bit in the morning while she went up to have her hair fixed. I left for Minneapolis - she for Johnson City, Texas, where she now is.

The flight to Minneapolis was uneventful. I spent the afternoon with Mother. Then visited with Ben Wichterman about my trip into the Ninth District this coming week to try and help him in his campaign up there. Then went to the Bean Feed. This time we had some Hollywood talent. Humphrey, McCarthy, and Rolvaag were the only ones on the program. Rolvaag is really commanding his share of attention and getting it. He is much more demanding than I was as Governor, and maybe I ought to learn from this. In any event he opened the program and presented McCarthy. McCarthy then spoke for 10 or 15 minutes. Rolvaag came back on and made a speech about Republican instructions to poll watchers which looked like they were trying to prevent

anyone from but Republicans from voting and presented Humphrey who spoke for about 40 minutes, and at the very close of his speech quickly presented for the T-V cameras the candidates for Congress who sat in the front row where they could be in the T-V camera. No one else spoke. No one else was recognized, although he did pay tribute to me but in a rather strained way in connection with agricultural progress as a part of setting down the great accomplishments of the Democratic Administration. It was a good speech. He looked fine. I went on the plane to greet him and he was in extremely good spirits. I did not go up to see him afterwards. I got to thinking today I really should have, but I just hesitate going to his room or to his suite with a whole bunch of camp followers that hang around now more or less waiting for a chance to see God. There may be an element of some bitterness and jealousy in this, but mostly I just find this distasteful and hesitate to place myself in the position of being almost a supplicant to some of the people that cluster around him. On the other hand, this probably is not a very sensible thing to do and I really should have gone to see him and from here on out I'm going to make it a point to do so. It is a rather strange feeling -- one I knew would come, one I can't understand, and therefore one I must be philosophical about. To sit on the fringes rather than to sit in the center of the stage in Minnesota politics is concerned is strange. Be that as it may, I did get a splendid reception there. Everyone was friendly. I went down to a party for the President of the Club, stayed a half-hour, still didn't get to bed until after 1:00 and was up at 6:00 and on the way to Washington.

As it happens on occasion, I got involved with a passenger on the plane and couldn't work, this time Clark Mollenhoff. But I guess it was

worth while. We talked for 3 solid hours and he told me that he was convinced that in the TFX case where McNamara is concerned, that McNamara made a decision on the representation of Gilpatrick without having really studied the facts himself to take the General Dynamic bid which was some \$400 million higher than the Boeing bid and according to Clark in a far less advanced state of development with a much heavier aircraft which actually was deficient but once having made that decision and taken that position from then on out he had rigidly adhered to it and had been saved basically only because the matter lightened up with President Kennedy's assassination. He seemed to know what he was talking about and set down some surprising figures and made some quite startling statements apparently all of them had been a part of the news but lost to me as to most people, to wit, that McNamara did not have any kind of documentation or cost study to back up his judgment that General Dynamics would do a better management job and would end up with a product superior and less costly than that of Boeing; that Ros Gilpatrick, Under Secretary of Defense, was drawing \$21,000 a year from his law firm which was a counsel for General Dynamics and subsequently became the counsel for General Dynamics after this award; that Lyndon Johnson had his hand in this as well with quite a number of people placed in the Defense Department who had a bearing in shaping and moving these papers in such a way as to bring about the recommendations which reached and were accepted by McNamara; that Kennedy himself was pulled both ways and feeling that it could go either way probably took the easy course which in this case with the Vice President and many others pushing let nature take it's course. All in all, according to Mollenhoff, this is a classic case of how a decision is made without anybody really being deceitful or crooked or corrupt except in the Gilpatrick case he would say that the

special influence and the special interests comes through rather clearly, but mainly the process being as large and cumbersome as it is that big companies vie in such a fashion to get in a posture with appropriate kind of political support on a question which may be possible of determining either way and in the last analysis a decision is made for varying reasons. Once made, it is then if an investigation follows as in this case defended vigorously as McNamara has done. Mollenhoff has little respect for McNamara. He intimates on many things he makes judgments and then refuses to see anything else except his own, that he is clever and effusive at the marshalling of figures and the making of a case, but that once you look behind these figures and begin to check and double check their relationship and meaning you find that they do not always substantiate the points made but rather constitute something of a snow job. In light of McNamara's tremendous reputation the facility I've seen to come to a sharp clear answer and to literally spout out the statistics, this is a matter of some surprise. But Mollenhoff stayed with his position stating that people like Russell and others who initially had been tremendously impressed with him had come to recognize that he was not always factual in the massive amount of information that he brought to bear.

I discussed the Billie Sol Estes case with Clark at some length and he half-way acknowledged that it had been blown out of proportion although he continued to say that Billie Sol Estes was getting his foot within the Department, did have some good friends there, was developing some political contacts, and could have been very dangerous in the future. He did acknowledge, however, although with some reservation and mostly because the courts

are now litigating in favor of those who made the acreage allotment transfers, that the whole thing really had been mostly heat and not much light.

Well, it's 8:30 here, a bit more work to do. I think I'll call Jane down in Johnson City where she is with Mrs. Johnson, and then go up and see a bit of television with Mike and try and get to bed tonight in time to plow through the papers and try and get some rest for my stomach has been kinda upset. Connie came in and talked to me a bit tonight about where do we go from here and I told her I really didn't know, there were no more leads of any kind as to what Rolvaag is thinking about, little indication from home of any organized movements at all, the general feeling seems to be that he will name either Fritz or myself, although a lot of people are urging him to take the Senatorship. It's not very comfortable not knowing exactly where one goes, but I guess that will resolve itself in due course and the thing to do now is to finish out another week of campaigning, and now with the blessing of a couple of days in the office to drive real hard to bring together the various things underway by way of budget, program, manpower, the book I'm writing, and all, so that they will be moving full speed ahead if we succeed in getting a few days off following the election which we better or we won't get any, and we both need it. Enough for now.

Wednesday, October 28, 1964 -- I'm dictating at 11:30 at Watertown, South Dakota. Yesterday I spent a busy day in the office going over budgets, manpower allowances, trying to get ready for what will come, then flew up to New York, spoke last night to one of the Precinct Clubs in Manhattan and then went out and did a little nightclubbing at the Copacabana with an Attorney by the name of Milt Alpin and his wife, ^{and some} very attractive young people, who have taken over as the reform element in New York in the Democratic organization there. It was the first time I've been in a night

club for quite a while. Slept in a bit this morning and then tried to work on the book and then went to speak to a Jewish Women's Auxiliary for a hospital there and told them, as I had the night before, a bit about the human side of Bob Kennedy. The situation seemed much better in New York than the last time I was there where Bobby's concerned. He had quite a show because Keating put on a bit act contending that he would not debate with him, he had a chair with a Kennedy label on it, and then Kennedy showed up and they wouldn't let him in. It seemed to make a laughing stock out of Keating. Keating has paraded, of course, as a great liberal and Jake Javits has been working with him, but some careful research work disclosed that Keating's voting record was a pretty tricky one and that he really hadn't voted for a liberal program on housing, medical care, education and a few other things and it began to come through and Keating began to claim he was being smeared and that attracted more attention to it and it seemed that the tide is turning. The prediction in New York by the polls was a 3,000,000 vote Johnson margin which is almost incredible and people felt that Bobby Kennedy was in much better shape.

I went back to the hotel room after that speech and did a little work on the book. Going through the diary I'm really amazed at what we've been able to accomplish and how we've managed to each Session of Congress pass constructive farm legislation. Sometimes I wonder whether it's worth it. And yet the accomplishment is there in terms of programs that have strengthened farm income and at least has alleviated the hardship on the small farmer who is inexorably forced to strengthen and broaden his operation or to do something else. I am increasingly convinced of course that the only real answer is in our Rural Area Development Program effort and here again we have made

so much progress. I was reading today on the plane coming from New York into Minneapolis, and we switched from there to a chartered plane to fly in here getting in about 8:00 o'clock, an article in the New Republic pointing out how literally Lyndon Johnson was getting elected without having to make commitments on anything. It's kinda worrisome in a way because no one really knows yet what he will do when the mandate is forthcoming which seems assured. He's been cagey in taking specific position on almost everything. In the office yesterday I saw his speech on cotton down in Memphis, Tennessee, strongly advocating a 1-price system, but no mention of the current cotton program. He did the same thing on agriculture, stating we would have support programs but carefully avoiding saying what kind, or even being very explicit about the current programs. Our Task Force of course will come through with an affirmative recommendation basically supporting the on-going programs. Kermit Gordon is very friendly to them but he did say at a lunch yesterday that I had with him and Dave Bell to discuss how we proceed under P.L. 480 now that the bill calls for an Advisory Committee of the Congress to consult about grants and the use of excess currencies, it also provides that we will need to submit such to the respective Committees of Agriculture in both House and Senate and when the President signed the bill he reserved the right of the Congress to veto his determinations contending it was an invasion of executive prerogative. I made the point to Bell and to Gordon that I didn't think we would have to face that, that if we approached the matter carefully, did our work in laying the groundwork we would be able to get pretty much what we wanted and actually would be able to do more than we could otherwise. Kermit Gordon was reasonably receptive to this. Dave Bell, too. Before that meeting I had met with Eskildsen and

some of our folks in FAS and they were concerned that the AID Agency and Dave Bell might want to take the lead and deal independently with the Agriculture Committees. There was no evidence of this for Dave himself made it very clear that he thought I should, but he did want us to meet on a kind of neutral grounds in Dick Reuter's office. I pointed out to him that this might result in some suspicions because Reuter was way out advocating production for use in terms of Food for Peace. I've advocated it, too. I think we ought to do it, but I also recognize that I've got to operate pretty cautiously here because the powers that be in Congress would not support any such position and we need to move towards that by setting support rates, acreage allotments and other things to get what we need. However, it may be that the time has come to launch a strong program to do this and to get a bill introduced to amend P.L. 480 now that we have 2 years to go accordingly. George McGovern has been talking this way. The Freedom from Hunger Foundation and the Food for Peace Councils could sponsor such a move and we could sit in the wings.

At a press conference yesterday, which really went off quite well, at which I released the latest World Food Budget study, when I worked through it the night before at home I noted that there was a world food gap of \$6.8 billion, but when we deducted the gap in the Communist Countries it was \$2.5 billion. This is well within the ability of this country to produce. We need I think to take a hard look at this and see if we ought not to try and amend the law and gear our food production machinery to produce enough to meet this need for these countries will need that food if they make progress. Even Kermit Gordon agreed that this was a possibility although speaking again on a theoretical basis as he said it would be more desirable to give them money and then let them buy their food in

the international commodity market. I agreed from the standpoint of theory, but from a political viewpoint, which even Gordon seemed to understand, the likelihood of getting money to do it is about zero. The possibility of getting food to do it is a very real one. This is the kind of direction which we now ought to take and one of the things I could do. The same can be said for the whole Rural Area Development program as it begins to come into sharp focus. These programs are important. I think I could have a strong influence in carrying them forward. Hence the doubt in my mind that I should leave, even though the Senatorship is made available, but there is no reason to believe that it will. Although as I said to Tom on the plane coming in, I can't help but feel in the last analysis old loyalties as well as ^{the} political reality of my so-called senior statesman position once named to the Senate would make it possible to bring the ~~dissent~~^{dissident} factions of Minnesota together and mount an effective campaign. Time will tell on this. If it's offered I really don't know what to do. If I knew what the President would do it would make a difference. On the other hand he is going to get a tremendous mandate and the question is what will he do. As the New Republic Article said, he probably doesn't know. Thus it seems all the more important that some of us who know what needs to be done be in positions of authority where we can exercise strong influence to desired end. Where this is concerned I think I do have significant standing and influence and could play an important role. It's surely an unusual incredible kind of situation.

I made a rather flat speech tonight. It was one of those situations when you come in, have no change to really get the feel of the group,

physically have difficult arrangements in terms of handling any papers or notes and clearly can't be on manuscript, I concentrated and pinpointed it on agriculture and dramatized what a no farm program would mean. Everyone seemed delighted so I guess it was all right, although I surely feel flat. Actually I think I need a night's sleep. I should probably do a little work here tonight, but I guess I'll be better off to get a little shut eye, and so I'll turn it off and the next two days campaign in Minnesota. I hope I can do some good up there, and then back to Washington and another campaign becomes history.

Ralph Humphrey was here tonight. Apparently he had a call about a private kind of party that they were going to have on election night. We haven't had any such call. I feel in a way like I should be with Humphrey on this his great night, but if I haven't been invited that perhaps makes a difference. However, it was apparently Pat O'Conner who called Ralph Humphrey, and it's the same old story of the hanger-ons, and so you hang on too and I hate to go through that. Actually we'd like to be with the kids on this election day and we'd have much more freedom and feel closer to them and what we're really doing to be in Washington so I think that's what we'll do and I'll probably call Humphrey by 'phone and explain we can't all afford to come and wish him well. It's been a long trail. Being here in South Dakota tonight and with Ralph I remembered so vividly the time I drove out many years ago for Humphrey's father's funeral. I was thinking about it today. We used to be so very, very close. When I'm with him I feel pretty much that way now, but as always the hanger-ons are around like barnacles and you can't scrape them away. I was noting going through the earlier diary, comments from Lyndon Johnson on the Sequoia several years ago when he talked with Jack Kennedy at Los Angeles and

apparently Kennedy told him that if Lyndon didn't take the Vice Presidency that he was going to designate me to join with him. I doubt that, but he must have told Johnson that, and maybe that's what he meant to do. Well, if that had been done, as it turned out we wouldn't have won the election, so it wouldn't have meant much, but I wouldn't have lost one either. As I said to Tom, if Humphrey had done what he said he would do the course of history might have been much different. Be that as it may, being here in South Dakota, a bit tired in a campaign where you are just a step or two away from the heart throb doing your best on the fringes is not too satisfying. On the other hand, perhaps I'm spoiled being too often the chief and it's good to have a bit of the discipline of being just an indian.

November 1, 1964 - Sunday night - 9:45. Home again. I've completed my last campaign junket of this campaign, arriving home about noon on Saturday. We've had a really delightful week end and tomorrow I'm going to plow into the office and try and get some of the staff work under way so we can be thoroughly prepared following the election to start the battle of the budget and the law legislative program.

My last swing took me through Minnesota and I enjoyed it very much. From Watertown where I last dictated we drove the next morning to Moorhead for it was too foggy to fly. At Moorhead I had a conference, then went to the sugar mills where we had some pictures taken which Ben Wichterman thought would be useful. From there I returned to a luncheon which was really an overflow crowd. After the luncheon I made a 5-minute tape at Fargo for use in the North Dakota campaign refuting the low parity charge which was bothering Fred Burdick and also the wheat dumping charge. We then flew to Bemidji where I spoke in the middle of the afternoon and then to

Thief River Falls for a Bean Feed that night. Along the line I really gave Mr. Langen a working over and I think did so quite effectively.

I cut the ground out from under him on the beef thing by pointing out that the Red River Valley had been fortunate to get one of only six and that despite his claims of credit he had had nothing to do with it for I made the decision and he had never even talked to me. I went after him hard on his voting record which is very bad indeed and refuted the beef argument by strongly emphasizing as Ben Wichterman had been doing the importance of foreign exports. I think I made about as good a political speech at Thief River Falls as I have ever made. I spoke for 45 minutes and the crowd was most responsive. I thoroughly enjoyed it and really gave Langen a working over which I think will do some good. The next morning we flew to Crookston where I met at the Northwest Experiment Station and the Winter Show Schools Committee. They are trying to borrow money from FHA. Without being obnoxious I made it clear to them that the only possibility of borrowing money would be under the Food and Agricultural Act of 1962 which Langen had proposed. When the Press wanted to take a picture of myself and the Chairman of the Committee I invited Ben in and the photographer said no that he did not want him, and I said either Wichterman is in or there won't be any pictures. I then crossed my arms and we were all in the picture. I kidded the photographer that this was the Harry Truman technique so you couldn't cut these on the outside out of the picture. I don't know whether they'll use it or not. I don't think I was obnoxious, but I did want to make it clear that if these people expect some help from programs made possible by Democrats they better keep Democrats in office.

From Crookston we flew to Minneapolis where I had a press conference and was asked for the first time the question on taconite. I said I had already voted for the taconite amendment and then added that I would have voted for it back in 1958, relating my conversation with President Hood of U. S. Steel and pointing out that the key was the commitment to build a plant by U. S. Steel plus the 25-year limit on the tax amendment. The story on this came out in the paper the next morning in good shape with the proper tone and so I'm glad to be on the right side with that one clarified. Apparently they did have some kind of a State-wide program or at least had certain people whom they got to tape television appearance which was used State-wide for Langen was on one I discovered. I was not. This either means that they did not want me, or they didn't think I would be very important. I'm not sure which. In any event the play I did get and the way it worked out was fine.

My last speech and appearance was in Mankato, Friday evening, and not too satisfactory. Here again there was a Bean Feed. It was proceeded by a press conference, then a reception at the country club to raise money, and finally the bean feed. Charley Simpson is not an effective candidate. He's a poor speaker with a poor voice and the whole thing was poorly organized. They had an auction to raise money which took the first hour up. Joe Donovan then spoke at great length and by the time I got that crowd they were pretty tired and so was I. I guess it was all right, but it wasn't a top performance and I kind of regretted ending the campaign on something of a low note in terms of my own personal participation. I went after Ancher Nelsen hard but I didn't get the same kind of response there that I had in going after Langen. There just wasn't the spirit because I think no one really believes they can win. We raced from the Armory where the Bean Feed was held to the T-V studio

and a half hour program. It could have been well done, but no one had made any advance plans and so I actually put it together myself, getting five legislators together with Charley Simpson together in a circle, suggested certain things they should ask me and my response to them. It went over the air. I hit Nelsen pretty hard, probably too hard in this instance, but he is an old antagonist and they I fear have let him off far too easily. So I did my best to sharpen up the issues, and as I say I may have overstepped a bit and been less effective than I would have been if I had stopped just short of some of the statements I made. In other words, I could have gotten the record out sharp and clear with the proper intonation and not gone quite as far in speculating about his motives and saying such things that he jumped when Charley Halleck cracked the whip and followed the Republican Party's line rather than the interests of his own farmers. Anyway, I guess it won't make much difference. I could be wrong but my guess is that Ancher will win rather handily down there.

We then drove back and I spent the night with mother. We had a nice visit. She seemed in good spirits, although she had a little whiplash injury when a car plowed into the rear of her car a few weeks ago that is still bothering. We sat up and talked until well after 3:00 and I was up and away at 6:00 in the morning. Tom and I flew back, getting into Washington about 11:15. I was tired but I did get a good deal of work done on the plane and riding to and fro to the airport, and then down to the Pentagon where I played squash with McNamara. Jane and I then went and watched one-half of the High School football game, although Mike didn't get in. I took a little nap here at home. We had a nice dinner. Spent some time next door at the Goldman's looking at their pictures of the European trip. This morning to church, back home -- I layed down on the couch to

read the paper and went to sleep for almost 2 hours. Then Mike and I watched a bit of football together, raked leaves on the lawn, threw the ball around ourselves a bit, dinner, down to the desk and soon off to bed.

I meant to work on the book tonight but I got started scratching a letter to Karl Rolvaag which I don't know whether I'll send or not. The letter in effect sets down why I think he should appoint me to the Humphrey Senate seat. This is an odd situation. In many ways I don't want to go. I'm proud of what we've been able to do within the Department of Agriculture and the possibilities of carrying these programs forward thrill me. I think I will enjoy being a Secretary of Agriculture even under Lyndon Johnson more than Senator, but I can't stay here forever and this kind of opportunity doesn't come around too often. Even if I should get the offer, I'll talk to the President and it could be I wouldn't take it. Now I'll have to do all I can to get it and I don't know exactly how to move. Jane and I are going to go out to Minneapolis and spend a week at Camp Ripley. This will give us a chance to see the Rolvaags and to in a sense keep our foot in. I have not really discussed it with Karl. I hesitate to push him, knowing his nature, but I do feel that he ought to know how I feel about it. So I sat down and wrote this in a letter and I'll think about it for a while and maybe carry it myself and if we go to the football game next Saturday give it to him then. I'll see.

In the meantime, as the campaign draws to a close things look very favorable. The general editorial position of most commentators is that it has been a miserable campaign without a very clear line up on issues and a lot of character assassination and mud slinging. That it has been.

Most people will I think be voting against Goldwater. Not many I think will be voting because they like Johnson. On the other hand, he certainly does have a certain attraction and the combination of solemnity and corn that he dishes out really seems to go pretty well. I think he has handled himself effectively. He certainly didn't adhere to his early expressed intention to run a quiet campaign and mostly be President. Instead the last 3 weeks he has been all over the country at an almost frenetic pace. Yet he has tried to constantly emphasize that he is on the job and has returned to Washington periodically. He's a strange man, a recap of what he will do now in the New York Times today was I thought quite fair when it said no one knew except everyone agreed he was a man of great power and ability, he would undoubtedly be unorthodox, no one could tell how he would do it but that he wanted to make a name in history, he did have a feel for people, he came from poor stock and wanted to help people who need help, he was a great compromiser and his technique was that of getting as many different schools of thought and as many people as possible under the tent, which he has certainly done in this campaign. Indeed he has. He really has made commitments on almost nothing. He has talked in generalities. But he has staked out a definite goal which he calls the "Great Society" in which although not definitely not outlined includes such things as urban renewal, the war on poverty, increased education, conservation and others. To do this within the budget limitations is going to take a lot of doing, but I really think he means to do it and I feel sometimes a real obligation to try and stay and help. Anyway, there is no harm in trying to get the designation for the Senate and then see what he has to say. If he should urge strongly that I remain, I might just do it. And if that were the case

I would certainly be in a vastly superior position to get a fair and full hearing for our programs and for the action I would propose to take. We shall see.

November 9, 1964, Camp Ripley, 3:45 p.m. Well a good deal has happened in the last week. As related, at the last minute Jane and I decided to go home for election. Basically, I felt it wasn't right not to be present at Humphrey's great triumph. There are some feelings of envy I guess. It's an odd thing that I should have been at one time a potential Vice President aspirant at the time that Lyndon Johnson was selected -- today he's President -- and also an aspirant and possibility when Hubert Humphrey was selected -- today he's vice president. In light of what Humphrey did where my interest lie, I suppose I could sulk and be unhappy and I suppose in part perhaps I have although I've tried not to. However, that's done. Humphrey is a remarkable man. He has fought his way up the ladder here and overcome great disappointments. He has been ruthless when necessary but never really mean. He's had his eye on the target and has moved toward it regardless of anything else which I suppose is necessary. He's made it. He's a happy man and I'm happy for him and I would feel less than decent or reasonable if I were not there. So on short notice we went. We flew in commercial -- didn't even know there were 2 airplanes went out that we could have been on -- arrived in Minneapolis, went immediately to the Sheraton-Ritz Hotel and felt quite uncomfortable for we had a feeling of being on the fringes without any real preparation and without knowing exactly what to do, what went on, how hard to push, or where we fitted in. Actually it worked out splendidly. Jane later said she was so glad that I insisted that we should go. We quickly got oriented

talked to a few people. Everyone was cordial and ended up going to a little election eve dinner put on by Art Naftalin and Jay Phillips. From there we went back to the hotel where I received a call from the President which was very kind of him, merely saying thank you for the hard work you've done. Again he never rests and always thinks ahead. From there we went back to the Radisson Hotel where I spoke to the assembled group, apparently was on T-V and Radio. I wasn't prepared for I thought I was going to be interviewed on television rather than make a statement to the group. I'm afraid I talked too much about what has been and how we got here than about new programs in the future, but apparently it was all right.

Then Art Naftalin and I went over to the Central Labor Union for a few minutes. Dropped in at Gene McCarthy's headquarters. He scored a smashing triumph without any trouble. He was really lucky in having weak opposition, skillful in exploiting his weakness of course. He has lost contact with the State and if he had had a tough opponent, if McGregor had run against him, he might have had trouble even with the Presidential sweep. Anyway he made it easily.

Then back to the Humphrey Headquarters where we drank, ate, and roamed around. There was no question about the results from the early inception of the returns. It coincided about with the polls. Everybody was happy. Along about midnight the call for Humphrey to go over and address the group came in but he hesitated and waited and waited for President Johnson to make his statement which was held up. I would guess that he was preparing one for when we did finally see it at the Radisson about 2:00 o'clock Minneapolis time it was the sober Statesman, not the folksy or the political Johnson that called on the Nation to bind up its wounds and to go forward

to a better day. Actually I think it was a good tone to hit, although I'm sure the people assembled there who were enjoying the blood of victory were disappointed. There was a tremendous mob at the Radisson Hotel and as we shouldered our way through Humphrey made a special point of asking Jane and me to go with him from the Sheraton-Ritz to the Radisson and we rode in the car with him and Muriel. This was I think quite genuine. It made me feel good and I had some feeling that this is where we started and that he had that feeling too. In any event we had to fight our way in through the crowd which was wildly enthusiastic and then wait until the President finished his statement and then Rolvaag introduced Humphrey. I was right there with him, standing behind him and very prominent in the National television which followed. Subsequently mother and a few others told me that I looked very bored, that I clapped perfunctorily and grinned perfunctorily and didn't seem a bit enthusiastic. Well I was darned tired and I guess the edge of the enthusiasm I really did feel was met by some of the nostalgia from the situation and an occasional fleeting thought of what might have been. In any event, I was there and he made quite a little talk but most of it went so far overboard in being differential to the President that I thought it was a bit extreme, but Humphrey is a master at knowing about this. Clearly he is more than conscious of the President's ego and that he will demand clearly that he be recognized at it and wants that he doesn't go too far in assuming any perogatives. This is as it should be and Humphrey recognizing it is good, although I thought he went a little further than necessary. Anyway he made his statement. It was a warm and friendly one. Everyone was wildly enthusiastic and then we fought our way out and back to the hotel. There was a 3:00 a.m. supper for campaign workers and we saw a number of people

and enjoyed it although by now we were pretty tired. I did have occasion to wish Humphrey again good luck and to whisper to him that I was going after the Senate seat. Then he said to me with what seemed to be genuineness "Go to it, you better stay around here and do some work." At least he is zeroed in. Jane and I then went up and to bed at 4:00 o'clock. We had seen the Rolvaag's at the Phillips' party but they had left without saying anything. We hadn't seen them again until up in Humphrey's quarters when Karl said something about getting together in the morning and I said how about breakfast, and he said all right. I had some feeling that he was avoiding me. Eugenie Anderson had said that he definitely avoided her and I didn't really expect him to call but he did at about 9:00 o'clock. When our 'phone rang we had had about 5 hours of sleep and we fought our way out of it and they said they would be down in a half-hour for breakfast which they were.

We had a very leisurely breakfast, talking about things in general. Gene McCarthy called, or rather Wally did, saying McCarthy was looking for Rolvaag. I asked Karl if we should invite him up and he said no. We went on conversing in general and as the breakfast came to a close I told Karl I'd like to show him something and took him into the bedroom where I gave him the letter that I had written the night in Minneapolis setting down my desire to get the Senate appointment and why. He looked at it and said somewhat glumly, "I guess I know what this is about." And I said, "Yes, I think you do." He said well this was a tough one and he didn't really know what to do and I told him that I thought he ought to do what was best for himself. That 66 would be tough -- that he ought to put on the ticket who would help him the most. He then said that he had had a resolution from the Iron Range People for Blatnik who was pushing hard. A delegation

had called on him from the St. Paul Trade and Labor Assembly, but they weren't pushy and merely said they were for Mondale, and that he had received a number of recommendations but hadn't made up his mind. He did say he would take it himself if it weren't that Andy Keith was such a irresponsible, unstable person. I didn't pursue it any further. This was the first indication of his own personal interest in it. Gene McCarthy then did call and Karl and Florence left with warm goodbyes and made a statement they had arranged all at Ripley and they were going to go and get a little rest themselves only they were going South.

After they left, Jane and I made some 'phone calls to the Frasers and to a few other people around and then I got to thinking that I maybe ought to at least alert some of my own friends so I put in a call to Jerry Heaney who told me that I really was walking into a lion's den and shouldn't be interested. I told him I had decided I was and where do we go from here. He said he expected to see Karl soon and would take it up although he didn't say how. I told him to do what he thought was best, that I felt the best thing for the party would be both myself and Mondale on the ticket, that I was increasingly appalled with the dissention, with the adverse feeling toward Rolvaag and that the Party was in real trouble and I recognized it, but I thought I could bring the various parts together, I could get everybody pulling in the harness. I'm not sure what Jerry will do but he closed the conversation by saying well he guessed he had one more in his system. He was quite bitter about the loss of the Senatorial race in Duluth where Frenchy Laboss beat Willard Munger and also with some of John Blatnik's maneuvering. So we're back where we came in in 1946 on that one.

I then tried to reach Bill Kubicek, but was unable to do so. Jane and I had a bit of lunch, then into the car, and a very nice drive up here to Ripley where it was like coming home. We had a couple of delightful days here prior to Saturday. The next day Thursday, we slept in the morning quite a bit and then I put calls in around the country to farm leaders -- Staley of the NFO; Patton of the Farmers Union; Ken Naden of the Council of Cooperatives; Jerry Voorhis of the Coop League; Fred Hinckel of the Missouri Farmers -- just generally to say thanks and that I looked forward to our working together now with a strengthened Congress.

Ken Birkhead called with an analysis of the vote which showed that some 21 of the 31 Congressional seats that changed were in rural areas; that we'd made a clean sweep in Iowa, and picked up some key seats in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio and North Dakota. He prepared with Rod an excellent memorandum and analysis for release to the press. I haven't seen anything about it out here and they sent a brief copy and the parts to the President so he would be apprised of it. This took most of Thursday. We had an early morning bike ride. The folks here were so wonderful. They had some brand new bikes and the weather was glorious. We went out to the lake late that afternoon for a deer hunt and drove around the reservation seeing seven deer. We came back, read a while and to bed. Friday the same, only I got down to a little more serious reading and we went out in the afternoon for a long hike again on a lovely day.

In the meantime I had been doing some thinking, had a long talk with Bill Kubicek, about the Senator thing. He set up a meeting on Sunday morning with Kingsley Holeman, Jack Jorgenson and Steve Nehoddy in his apartment and I told him we would make it. Saturday morning we got up and drove into Anoka where we lunched with Bob and Charlotte Johnson and on to the football game.

Karl Rolvaag had called the night before to say that he had had the most hectic political day in his life. Apparently newspapers and television had stories that Humphrey in effect had selected Mondale to succeed him and that Rolvaag would make the appointment soon. One went so far as to say that Mondale had hired a photographer, was looking for a house in Washington, and had been alerted for a press conference announcement on Saturday. This made Karl furious. He over-reacted stating somewhat pompously that he made the decisions, they weren't made in Washington, and that he hadn't made up his mind. Then rather than asking the people we had recommended on his invitation to sit at the game, he called on Friday night saying that he wanted to set the record straight so he had invited Mondale, Keith, Blatnik and myself all to be with him at the game. I kinda chuckled about this. It wasn't a bad idea. It was sure to get some publicity and might help his stature. So I told him goodnaturedly that it was a good idea and we'd be there. Driving down we heard an announcement on the radio that he was going to do this and that was taking it too far and made us look a bit silly, but we brushed it off, after all who are we to be proud at this point, particularly as we seek the Senator thing. Lunch with the Johnsons was delightful. Charlotte and Jane rode in their car and Bob and I drove together and had a chance to just ramble and discuss. Bob told me that Karl was in very bad shape politically in his judgement, that he just didn't come through.

He looks terrible on television, doesn't communicate and has a very weak office staff, Bob said, where you can hardly get to him at all. This from a man who felt a certain warmth to Karl because they had had good working relations on the Youth and Juvenile Committee. I asked Bob frankly what he thought about my general image this day and he said he thought it was very good and that he had been talking around to independents and that there was a very positive response to the possibility of my being named. I think he was being very direct and sincere, although Charlotte in her conversations indicated that she had not even considered the possibility that I could leave a Cabinet position to become a Senator. Actually, it's kinda ironic -- few people in Minnesota have, and if I really wanted this I should have moved more aggressively a good while ago. On the other hand, most people in Washington assumed that I will and should, and have an entirely different perspective in connection with it.

Anyway, we got to the game and it was a beautiful day; a tremendous crowd, and one of the most exciting football games I have ever seen. I felt a little bit silly. The photographers came down for pictures and that clown Miles Lord had a sign "U.S. Senate - Who?", but Jane jumped on him and told him to put it down and keep it down, talking to him like a little child, which he is, that the Republicans would like nothing more than to make us all look ridiculous, and he was going too far. She succeeded and he did shut up and didn't use it any more.

After the game, which Minnesota squeezed by, we went out to the Naftalins where Keith, Mondale and Lord all came. It was a bit strained particularly where Fritz is concerned. I did feel almost a little sorry

for him, and yet I couldn't help but think that his antagonism toward Sandy was based on Sandy's expression that he should be the next Governor and was more qualified for it than Fritz. Here I named Fritz in the first place and am certainly more qualified for the Senate than he is, but Fritz doesn't look at that one this way. I expect I could put a terrible squeeze on him and tell him that I was entitled to this and that he ought to move out of it, but I wouldn't do that, and I really think I should make clear what I want and then do it on the merits in terms of the good of the whole and if it isn't forthcoming why that's that.

Jane and I had some long talks about it. It was surely timely that we have this time together now before this decision is made. On the way up she felt pretty much that we ought to take it and that we could and that we could really do a job and in 2 years bring this thing back and be in a strong position. On the way back down from Minneapolis up here again last night she was thinking a bit differently. This was basically the product of the exposure. Things are in a heck of a mess here. Keith and Mondale are on talking terms but at an arm's length. Karl Rolvaag, even making allowances for Bill Kubicek's bitter criticism and antipathy, has done a miserable job. He really hasn't been here very much. Seemingly you can't even get a letter answered in his office. His closest friends can't get to see him. He has people like Jim Rice and Bill Shovell in his office who without strong direction apparently are just creating all kinds of problems. He has put on this kind of pompous air of "I am Governor and a big shot and I demand my prerogatives" without the follow through to command the respect in terms of the program that it would call for. Bill always comes back to the drinking, but he apparently has cut

that out. He has lost a lot of weight and looks good. Wally Olson told Tom that the office was a fright, that even legislators couldn't get an answer to a letter and Karl's scheduling was hopeless. He did say that Karl was not drinking now and I'm sure is both loyal and devoted to Karl and Florence, and they to him, but he did express that things weren't like they used to be. Anyhow it is a bad rough situation and as we went over it, it sounds easy for me to take over and get the party moving and pull everyone together, but I rather suspect that Karl would be highly resentful if I became the dominant figure. He's been No. 2 to me for a long time -- he revels in being No. 1, and my being a supplicant. Along that line, it was interesting at the Naftalins following the football game, when Miles Lord who was still bitter because I didn't appoint him Supreme Court Justice pointed out how the story in the paper about Fritz Mondale was undoubtedly planted he implied that it was someone within the DFL without saying who, said that Larry Fitzmorris had written it who was the one they called in for such hatchet jobs and then indicated that was what was done to him and he was on the Supreme Court and off again when that story appeared. I remember that so well. Miles was bucking for it, he knew that I didn't think he belonged on the Bench. I was going through the Mental Hospital at Faribault when the black headlines in the afternoon paper said "Lord to get Judgeship". I then appointed Loevinger. Jane and I had him and Maxine over to the house for dinner and an evening before the fire to try and work it all out, but it didn't work. He subsequently resigned as Attorney General and the rest is history. In any event he mentioned this and then said in almost as many words that now I was a supplicant. I smiled at him and said, "Well, Miles, it's good for all of us to be a supplicant from

time to time", and then said, "What made you think you were ever on the Court so that you had to come off it?" which I'm sure was not lost on him. He is a funny fellow, but old John Noble was right years ago when he told me when I started working with Miles that I would regret the day, that this man did not have a bit of loyalty in his make-up.

In any event, we went on Saturday night over to the Larsons where we had a party with the Law firm group and it was most enjoyable. Jerry Magnuson has grown a great deal. He really runs the law firm today and both he and Leonard were very strong in their statements of how they would like me to come back. Jerry said he thought I ought to go into business law, not try lawsuits again, that I would have more to do than I would know what to do with in short order should I come back. He always prefaced it with I should do what I would be most happy in doing. He's really a wonderful fellow. The party dragged on at the Larsons -- it was great fun. Heaney came over with a friend of his from Iowa. We ended up at the Lindquists for a sauna and then into the lake which was colder than Billy Blue Blazes. We drove home in a dense fog at 3:00 o'clock in the morning. I had been drinking off and on since 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon so believe me I drove very, very slowly. We made it all right, and then to bed. Before I knew it, it was 9:30 in the morning and I didn't feel so good on Sunday. I seldom drink that much any more, but it dragged on and the result was I felt lousy on Sunday. I got up and drove out to Bill Kubicek's apartment where I talked with Jack, Steve, and Kingsley

Holman. They were friendly, but the Teamsters and Jack in particular who is the prime mover had already been contacted by Blatnik going way back to the Convention and indicated that they would support him, although I think my contact will tend to blunt the edge of that support. They seemed to think my argument about the political realities made sense. After Jack and Steve left, Kingaley Holman wanted to know what he could do and we went over the list of Party people who might be called and asked to interceded with Karl making the political argument. Frankly there weren't many. I had felt, but in this instance felt sharply, what 4 years absence can mean, to be perfectly fair I have done little to try and keep up contacts with the Party. In the bitterness of the defeat, in the overwhelming demands of the new job, I've stayed put rather than back here. In retrospect, I think that was wise, but in retrospect also I should realize that especially after one has been defeated in this cruel business it doesn't take very long for your stature and your contacts and your position to melt away. I guess really I should be amazed that I have as many devoted friends and as strong a following as I do. For when you get down to the real issues, other people are calling the shots.

Kubicek and Hemingway are working around the fringes. George Farr doesn't give much leadership and doesn't have much real follow through. There is no direction from the Governor's office. All in all things are in a pretty sad state of affairs. Karl has a tough legislative session to look forward to with a Republican House and Senate that will be out to get him, and the Republicans already getting ready for 1966. Magretta will certainly run for the Senate. Jack Jorgensen told me that Judge Ringer said they already had a \$25,000 campaign kitty for him. There will be a number ready to go after the Governorship and the Republican Party will

be stimulated rather than seriously hurt by the Goldwater vs. liberal Republican battle. It won't cut too deeply here, I think. Therefore, 1966 is not very promising. We are wagering an awfully lot to come in here under questionable circumstances and take the chance of a bad beating in light of what will certainly be an effective Senatorial Candidate, an ineffective Governor candidate, and a very miserable political situation. Jane almost said last night that we'd be a lot wiser to sit this one out and to carry forward our work in the next couple of years which will be interesting and stimulating. She may very well be right. She concluded it, however, by saying whatever I wanted she was for it and I know she will be. At least we've had plenty of chance to discuss it out and now we have soaked in it enough the alternatives become more clear.

The uncertain dimension of course is actually what the President will do and how he will react to our program efforts, how much ice we can cut there, as I've related a dozen times.

Saturday, special delivery, there came in a Memorandum to the President prepared by Jim Sundquist as a product of our preelection policy review in the Department. It called on the President to ask that the Department be renamed "Food, Agriculture and Rural Affairs" and be given a specific assignment of trying to bring to rural America programs which can shape the economic changes that are taking place and make an effective attack on poverty there. I got up this morning and worked on that a while and then called Charlie Murphy and told to him and Jim for almost an hour and it will be reshaped and sent on to the President in the pouch this week. In a week or so I will have a pretty good idea as to how we're going to move

on the Washington front. In the meantime, I do have a call in for Bob Hess of the State AFL-CIO. I'll tell him what I intend to do. Karl knows. He's gone now for a week. He'll have to make the decision and I think I won't do much else. We'll see what happens. In the meantime it's good to be here. I'll do a little work now on my book -- a little reading, browsing and thinking. It so helps to get back perspective. Enough for now.

The 'phone just rang and I went up to take a call from Bob Hess. I related to him my interest in the Senatorship thing and then moved it around into the channels of Minnesota's domestic political problems and what I might be able to do by way of bringing forces together and being a part of the strongest possible ticket. He was not at all responsive. First of all he challenged some of my statements, to wit, the contest between Mondale and Keith and felt it wasn't really too serious and that at the right time they would pull together. He went further than I did in expressing the frustrations about Karl, and said Karl couldn't have gotten elected if he had run this time even with 400,000 vote majority of LBJ. He referred to the people in the plants and when I asked him why they didn't like Karl, he said he was mostly the people in the Party. I told him some of the same people who said Karl was doing so poorly now had said he could never get elected, and he responded to the contrary on that pointing out people like Steve Quigley who had said he couldn't get elected before and were with him now. He didn't elaborate much about Karl's weakness, but showed his frustrations, indicated Karl might build back. He finally said that Blatnik or myself could probably get elected

on a State-wide race, but he doubted if Karl could, and felt that Mondale would be the best candidate. He half-way apologized for not being for me by saying that he had told Tom that he was really for Mondale and that Tom had said that I really hadn't made up my mind. I told him that was right but now I had. He was half-way apologizing but not really. He went so far as to say that I would have problems as a carpetbagger because I had been gone in Washington for 4 years. This seems a bit incredible to me, but it was rather typical of his general attitude which was not warm, friendly or responsive at all. Clearly he is not in my corner on this one. I doubt if he would have been in any event. He is interested in holding the seat as he said and not in any individual's personal ambition, which was not said in any way negative where I am concerned. All in all it was not a very enthusiastic reception and I think it rather typifies what I found generally, that no one at this point is standing up and saying won't you please come and be a candidate. This will be the way and what I want I'm going to have to ask for, maneuver for, and fight for unless circumstances shape themselves so there is no one else who could possibly do it and that will not come about until and unless a disaster hits this DFL Party. For the time being there's lot of talent and lots of problems but no one is going to come seeking me out to solve the problems or to provide the talent. It's good to know this. In any event I've done what I could. I might have moved sooner, but it probably wouldn't have made any difference. A defeated candidate gone 4 years is an old shoe. This conversation reaffirmed that fact rather dramatically.

November 21, 1964 -- 11:00 p.m. I'm home in my little office. A great deal has happened since I've last dictated. I just got in about two hours ago from the LBJ Ranch and a very hectic week end. I flew from there by helicopter into Austin for a quick press conference and then back by Jet Star with Sylvia Porter the financial columnist. It was quite an experience. I came home flustrated, kinda heartsick, exhausted, and just had time to see Mike out the door for his evening date -- Jane is in California making some Freedom from Hunger speeches and Connie is at American University for the night. I rushed down to my office and I've been hard at it for 2 hours, organizing and shuffling papers.

I spent a good part of last week after our return from our week in Minnesota getting up to date on budget and program in preparation for a session with the President. He has been calling various Cabinet officers down to the ranch to confer with him, beginning right after the election with McNamara, Rusk, et al. I don't know how much conferring they got in but I got in almost none. Actuagly he plays a little game for he wants the press to always think that he is working very hard and to set the stage accordingly, and then he does a good share of playing. This is certainly all right but the farce of "tell em how hard I'm working" is a part of the hyprocacy of this man.

It's been kind of a disheartening week end. I flew out with Humphrey, following a Cabinet meeting which was held on Thursday, November 19. It was Humphrey's first. He looked at me and we smiled at each other. It was like the first time we sat in the Governor's box at a Minnesota football game. He, of course, was very quiet. He came in with the President. He told me that the President had climbed all over him already on two counts.

First, that Humphrey apparently had announced even before Rolvaag the appointment of Mondale. Apparently Humphrey had known this was to come and had told his office to release a statement. They gave it to one of the press fellows who released it prematurely, and the President told him to slow down that super kinetic public relations operation of his. Also, that he had asked Humphrey to talk to Walter Heller who left the Government now about some kind of consulting arrangement and that leaked, too, and apparently upset Gardner Ackley. Here Humphrey was innocent. I'm sure Walter Heller who has a good measure of ego probably told someone in the press that. Anyway, it makes it clear that the President is aware of Humphrey's tension to jump for the headlines and is moving to stamp it out but quick. I certainly can't blame him for that.

Anyway, we had a nice ride out in the Jet Star following the Cabinet meeting which really didn't amount to much. He urged that we strengthen our Legislative Liaison. We had a little general pitch about the budget and that was about it. It was mostly, I think, a meeting for show before he went down to Texas. I did have a chance to talk to Humphrey a bit about agriculture and he was very responsive. I went over the material for his speech with him, checked a bit with him on budget. I in the meantime was loaded to the gills for I had been going over the budget, getting from various agencies of the Department summaries, going through the manpower ceilings and our performance, working out the numbers on the various commodity programs, preparing brief memoranda on all three of the 3-dimensional commodity programs. I really had a load of material and worked very hard, going back to the office on Wednesday night and staying very late trying to catch up, despite the fact I haven't felt too good this week for as usual upon our return on the 12th of November that night I dove right in to accumulated work and worked very hard on the

13th and also on the 14th trying to catch up. We had then some speeches to make, and Jane went with me, going to Atlantic City for the Grange on the 16th and then into Philadelphia where I met with the Board of Governors of the new Food Academy at St. Joseph's college, some of the top people in the food world and spent several hours over lunch reviewing the whole gamut of trade, agriculture, marketing, et al with them. This was sponsored by a young man by the name of Jim O'Connor who is quite delightful and sharp as they come. I think it was a feather in his cap to have the Secretary of Agriculture there and it did give me some exposure to some very influential thought leaders in particularly the retail field. I enjoyed it and apparently it went extremely well, and the reports were that they were quite impressed and had a somewhat different idea now about the Secretary of Agriculture, and even about Democrats. In the meantime, Jane layed a cornerstone for the new building. This is a concept of an academy to concentrate on food marketing which has not been done anywhere else and this Jim O'Conner apparently conceived the idea. He called on me several years ago about it and we gave him encouragement but not much else, but he went ahead, raised money, put it together and now it's quite a thing. I then spoke that night at a Freedom from Hunger banquet commemorating the week and was informed that in Kennedy City in Bogota, Columbia, the Board of Governors is going to build a cafeteria which is desperately needed in that suburban area and name it the "Jane and Orville Freeman Cafeteria" in honor of our work in the Food for Peace field. This is most touching. I didn't make a very good speech. The text was good but somehow I was flat. I guess I was just tired. It's odd -- the night before in a crowd that was much less important and frankly not very stimulating, I took a text which again was good, although not nearly as exciting, and did a very sharp and effective job. One never knows.

Anyway, we flew back Tuesday night and got in quite late and then I drove hard all day Wednesday and back to the office until after midnight and then on Thursday flew to St. Paul. Once again the GTA banquet was a miserable mess. I've been to the last three or four of those now and every time I'm embarrassed and I end up frustrated and angry. This time Thatcher had been made all kind of speeches about producing more, producing for the world, feeding the world, following the Canadian wheat program and a lot of other nonsense that made absolutely no kind of sense. I think more or less inadvertently Humphrey drifted into the same general area. He was trying to be very careful because he didn't want to say much and get in trouble with LBJ. He couldn't resist, however, and took off into the whole question of food and food use and what a wonderful instrument it was and before he got through inadvertently corroborated what Thatcher had said. It all made me so angry that I got out of there fairly quickly before I said some things I shouldn't, although I did say to the young man beginning to write agriculture for the Minneapolis paper that this was preposterous and that Thatcher's attack on the Commodity Credit Corporation and the demand of 120 percent resale was purely so that they could get their warehouses filled full again with surplus grain so they could make a killing and in this case Thatcher was stooging for the grain industry in general. I probably shouldn't have gone that far, but he promised me he wouldn't cite me and that it would be off the record. Dwayne Andreas and some others say not to pay much attention that that isn't going far and there really isn't any real campaign, that it's just Thatcher, but it still irks me for it's irresponsible; Humphrey panders to it. It's the wrong dialectic and all it does is confuse people. Anyway I was frustrated and a bit unhappy when Jimmie Dougherty took me out to Mother's where we visited a while and I got a reasonable night's

sleep, leaving by the Jet plane to fly directly to the LBJ Ranch. I arrived there about 1:00 o'clock, working feverishly all the way on the plane, to go over the material and I was about as well prepared as I can ever remember to answer every conceivable question or inquiry that might come to the President's mind. He and Mrs. Johnson weren't back yet. They were inaugurating a President of a college, so they showed me to my room and I immediately continued my work and preparation until they returned. We then had our lunch and it was fairly pleasant -- my sitting to the right of Mrs. Johnson who is as sweet as she can be -- the President with Sylvia Porter on the other end, talking as Jane says with his mouth full as he gulped down his food and layed all over the table. The rest of us were still eating when he got up and yawned and said he was going to have a nap and just walked out. Lady Bird then took Stew Udall, who was still there having come in the day before, and myself and Homer Thornberry, former Congressman and now judge, for a ride around the ranch, looking at some land across the river which is in the process of being set aside for a park. I was surely impressed with how much she knew about the land and the nature of the grass, the animals, the way the land had been cared for. She told me of the fine work that the Soil Conservation people had done in advising them so they could have the proper kind of terracing and hold and direct water. There were quite a number of water retention places both for cattle and apparently some large enough for fishing which in years past the children had done. All in all it was a delightful ride. When we returned the President was up, but working a bit at his desk, and my efforts at that time to elicit any kind of a discussion with him proved unsuccessful.

Stew Udall then left and we fiddled around doing not much of anything until finally we left by helicopter to this Judge Mordant, I think his name is, where he met us and Sylvia Porter, Lady Bird, myself and he got in a car with Secret Service people in cars behind and went for a drive through his ranch looking for deer.

Again the same shortness, the same crudeness and thoughtlessness this man has for the people around him came out. He bellered several times into the communications system to one of the Secret Service guys, "Did he have that package?" Then we stopped on top of the hill to get a drink and he was quite irked because the drink wasn't forthcoming rapidly enough. By the same token when he was backing a little cart out from their breezeway, which we all rode in as he drove us to the helicopter, and Lady Bird spoke up that he was going to bump the house, why he just told her to sit quiet and keep her mouth shut, and she did just that. She's an angel. A lovely lady, indeed.

In any event, this was fun. We saw deer running through the woods mingling sometimes with the cattle and sheep and there seemed to be really quite a few of them. We came up one hill and we saw them outlined on the horizon, the President took the scope, rifle, and fired at what must have been close to 600 yard and I think he hit the animal. We drove up and looked for it but didn't find it.

We then went to the Judge's home where we had a couple of more drinks and some conversation. This was really the highlight of the whole trip for it was about the only time I really had a chance to talk with him. We talked a bit about the budget and agricultural programming and I told him quite frankly that the Bureau and the Council were anti-agricultural, didn't understand it and he seemed to agree. I told him our problem with the budget with the fluctuation of yields and also the tendency to also take the lowest possible yields in order to get the budget down as low as possible when its submitted to Congress and then each time we come along to a mid-year review and we look terrible because we're up a billion dollars and he seemed to understand that. The conversation then spread and got to the overall question

of the economy and Sylvia Porter got a bit involved in it. It became clear that the President was deeply apprehensive, and he had mentioned this at Cabinet, with the situation in the United Kingdom. The new Wilson Government had come in. Even before they took office there had been a run on the pound and apparently they took some actions which they had been committed to in the campaign, such as nationalizing steel, also making good on a commitment to increase social security and this allegedly contributed to the run on the pound. The President adamantly said he wasn't going to allow that to happen, that this was no time to go too far, too fast. He then proceeded to say that he didn't think that Goldwater had lost the election, nor did he think he had won it in the campaign proper, but rather in the first few months when he had taken over firmly, acted moderately and brought all people together and demonstrated that he was trying hard and that there was a middle ground and that all of this added up to a good, general, response of the public; that they were willing to give him a chance to go further. He was very emphatic that it would be a mistake to go too fast. He said he had seen a President try and do that, I think he said that at a Cabinet meeting, and he apparently meant Roosevelt and the Court Plan, and after doing so had alienated Congress so badly he never could pass anything else. He also did say at the Cabinet meeting to Bill Wirtz that we must keep in touch with George Meany for the campaign to repeal the "right to work" proviso in the Taft Hartley Act, making it legal for the States to have it is the No. 1 on Labor's list and he is urging that they wait a while and get around to that after some other things are done before Congress gets alienated and antagonized. I think he's right on this, and that was the same time that he told us that our most important

person was our legislative representative, that we ought to get a good one, take good care of him, and really do a job in keeping these Congressmen lined up. Anyway, he went on to emphasize that point very strongly and to make references again and again to the U.K. I pointed out to him that the United Kingdom and the United States are two different things and I didn't think the analogy was too solid a one, but I don't think I made any impression at all. Sylvia Porter said to me the next day she thought he was warning me then, and she used the word "warning", that he was going to get that budget down, that I needed to get mine down, and he wasn't going over any one hundred billion dollars. She told me coming in that she was appalled and kinda shocked, more than kinda shocked really shocked, kinda insulted too because he never really did sit down and talk to her seriously about these matters but rather kinda shoot a question and then listen a bit and then get off onto something else without ever going at it systematically. In any event in this particular conversation he had said something to the effect, speaking to the Judge, that he knew how it was that after all when you wanted to get a girl you didn't grab hold of her and say let's jump in bed that you at least started out at her knee and moved your hand up her leg slowly. Apparently he had used this figure of speech a few other times and Sylvia was quite appalled with it. Actually, she is something of a "bird". She writes an awfully good column, is a good economist, is apparently smarter than a whip but in many ways quite odd and in others quite nice. I had dreaded the thought of the airplane ride back with her but actually we had a nice conversation and it was interesting to get her appraisal of the President. She thought that he was a crude, cruel man, but that he would be a great President and as nearly as I could see it was because he had his eye on the ball and that nothing was going to get in his way, and because people really didn't

matter, it was really only reaching his objective -- but she also said she felt he really was quite sincere about poverty and the Great Society and to make his place in history and that he would. At the same time she was appalled by his uncouthness, his bad manners, and all the rest, and particularly infuriated at his disorderliness, failure to really systematically review matters with her.

For my part coming home I was pretty frustrated, too. For after we returned from the Judge's place with some little conversation on the helicopter about the Templesman barter matter together with Jack Valenti, when I did feel for the first time some kind of rapport with this man and a little warmth, why he sat down for a few minutes, discussed a little bit more with Sylvia Porter and then left the room. Apparently, to go to bed. He never said, aye, yes, or no, to me whatsoever. Lady Bird came up and said that she was going to turn in that she was tired, and that we should go to bed when we felt like it, and that we should just call the kitchen in the morning and they would bring us something to eat on a tray in our room. She was as always as sweet and gracious as she could be. I sat and talked with Sylvia for a little while about the EEC and International Trade, but she was getting a bit loaded and I thought for once maybe I'll get a night's sleep. So I drifted into the President's office, went over our Foreign Agriculture memorandum a bit with Dick Goodwin and with Jack Valenti and finally did go up to bed about 11:00 o'clock. I read a bit and went to sleep, only to awaken at 3:00 with a real bad stomach. I haven't had that bad spasms for quite a while. I didn't go back to sleep. I lay there for an hour, got up and took a hot shower, some pills, went back to bed again, finally drifted off. When I awakened about 6:50 for I had set my wrist alarm for I thought it's possible the President might be up

early cause he is often an early riser and Tony Celebrezze had told me that he had gotten up at 6:30 and gone for a long walk with him the week before and had a chance to have a real talk. After all, that's what I was down there for and I already had seen a day slip away so I wanted to take advantage of every opportunity for I did want this chance to talk with him. Anyway, I was the only one up. I drifted around the house a while, there wasn't even any kitchen help, and finally walked down the road. It was a magnificent morning -- cold, it had dropped to almost freezing, but the place is lovely with the ranch house very comfortable. They've got a sound system throughout with soft music, air conditioning, generally lovely facilities, very beautifully set up -- not extravagant, but comfortable, and just plain nice.

The night before when we had been riding on the Mordoc Ranch, there was a purely magnificent sunset with the oddest cloud formation and the brightest color I've seen in a long time. In any event, I took a quick one, came back in and went back again to going over, reviewing, and organizing the papers and briefs, budgets and figures, because I figured any time that the President would come down and we'd get into this conference. He didn't come and he didn't come. Other people finally began to come down about 10:30. Sylvia Porter came in and I had a little breakfast with her and we visited a bit. Then about 11:30 a Hog arrived. It seems that the President said something in Iowa about a hog and so they had a contest about who should give him one and the Iowa people who won that contest had driven to make the presentation and all the reporters came out from Austin. George Reedy told the President that it should only take a moment and then he could get on with his business that he had arranged for the place, although the people stood around and froze for almost an hour before he came down. Supposedly he had been on the telephone all morning in his office, hard to tell. In the meantime, no word of any kind to me, and when he came down

and I said, "Good Morning", and tried to pass the time of day, why he was rather abrupt, or at least certainly not responsive. Jack Valenti got us to walk out in front of the ranch and lean over a fence for a picture to be taken of our allegedly conferring and it was at that point that I mentioned Ball's desire to issue a public statement urging Erhard and the Germans to accept a common grain price and how I thought this was a serious mistake and ought not to be followed. He didn't respond aye, yes, or no to that whatsoever. We then walked back to the pig ceremony, but rather than closing it out at that with some nice words to the people and showing them around a little bit, we then started on an excursion that took two solid hours. We went out to his own pigs, chased them all over the pen until we could get a picture taken, went to every pasture I think he has, had a picture taken with practically every animal he owns, there were at least a half dozen of them, went to the rebuilt ranch house where he was born, and all in all dragged the matter out driving all over the place for two solid hours. By this time it was almost 1:30. I was supposed to be in Austin at 1:00, and if I didn't get there before 3:00, we'd miss all deadlines.

In the meantime, as we rode along we had some conversation. He started out by saying, and the Iowa people were in the car at the same time, "Now, Orville, you ought to get this organized and get a half a dozen of these Congressmen and make up your mind you're going to have them out to your house at least once a week until you get them all lined up and be sure the other Cabinet Members do too. We got on the budget just a bit. I told him that ours was down a billion dollars in fiscal '65 than the year before, but that we were roughly requesting a billion more for this year. He didn't actually fuss at this, he didn't even speak back to me very sharply, but he indicated that we really had to get this down, although he didn't mention anything in

particular. I had a memorandum in his hand about Rural America calling for a change in the Department's name and for some statements on his part designating specifically the Department's responsibility in the whole rural America area. He said well he thought that might be all right but he didn't know about the name change and let that one go at that. He then mentioned a possible tour and authorized me to say something about it. He referred several times to the fact that Udall had said he was the first rancher-President since Teddy Roosevelt and he seemed to like that very much. All of this as we piled in and out of the car. I told him that Gordon and the Council people didn't understand agriculture or care, and he agreed with that, but we had to do something to get this down, wasn't there some new kind of a farm program that we would work out that would do it. He also urged me to try and get everyone together -- said he would be willing to have them over to the White House -- and I should try and bring the Farm Bureau into the fold, and he inquired as to whether Humphrey might not see them and I said well maybe but certainly not publicly, and he hastened to say, "Oh, no." I've dictated a memo to him already tonight, motivated in part by that. If Humphrey gets to fooling around with the Farm Bureau why my stock in trade around will drop to zero and my position will be seriously eroded. In any event, by the time we got through this fantastic tour during the course of which he had called on the car intercom and told Lady Bird that there would be 15 more people for lunch, to get some hamburgers, it was getting on towards 2:00 o'clock. All I could do was race up to my room and begin changing clothes and packing. So he came in and stood there talking to me while I shaved and back into the room, and while I changed clothes and dressed. Jack Valenti came up and said he should be doing such and such and he said no he had to talk to me. He seemed a little bit disturbed at this point and

at least was doing me the courtesy of coming to where I was and talking a little bit as I packed to leave. So perhaps it was just his way of not planning and doing what came naturally, in this case what he wanted to do in touring the farm, although it was Sylvia's judgment, and we discussed it in the plane, that he just simply didn't want to talk to me about this and so avoided doing so -- that would be a kind of Humphrey technique.

He did in this discussion say what could we do about cotton and that it was terrible that a certain few cotton growers got such big subsidies and I pointed out to him very quickly a little of the philosophy of the program, but he persisted and said after all those people didn't do much for us in the election and there are going to be some of them from Georgia talking to him and he was going to put the needle into them, that maybe we could cut something out there. He could be right, and I'll take a look at the cotton program.

He also talked about REA and the fact that the REA in his area had a big balance that they were loaning out at high interest rates and paying low interest rates for it and still trying to get more loan money. Interestingly enough he didn't want me to look into this, he didn't want me to stir it up, he just made it a statement of fact and I told him it wasn't true that if any REA was holding back money and investing anything beyond their necessary operating reserves which we quite strictly limited they are acting improperly and I'd like to know about it. He backed off at that.

Well, then I raced down the stairs and tried to get my papers collected and then out I went, taking just a few of the 1-page specific points and giving it to him and asking him to please read it which of course he said he would do, but which I doubt very much he'll get to, although I must say on occasion he comes forth with something which shows he has read some of the things I've sent along.

In any event, off we went -- George Reedy, Sylvia Porter and myself into a helicopter and I feverishly tried to work something around so I could get some benefit from a meeting with all the National Press, the kind of exposure that I seldom have a chance to get, but it wasn't possible. I hadn't cleared the new RAD approach adequately to say much about it. We hadn't gotten into the foreign question whatsoever. We hadn't had a chance to discuss exports and so all I could do was to relate a kind of progress report together with the information about the trip that he planned to make some time in the future. They got into budget a bit, and I merely said that we would try and hold and not go over despite the fact that Congress had enacted a good deal more legislation, that the President was pressing hard on the budget. My speeches on farm and farm accomplishments fell on dead ears as they usually do and I left the press conference feeling pretty dragged out and pretty frustrated and disgusted. Here I'd gone down to Johnson City, I'd worked like a slave to get ready, and this man had not even paid me the courtesy of sitting down literally and giving me his undivided attention for even 10 minutes during the whole week end.

I feel a little better now, but as I said to Sylvia I almost felt like resigning and she said I certainly must not do that and all the nice little things and apparently meant it. And as I reflect on it further the real purpose of this is to put on a show -- actually to help each of us, because it does enhance our prestige as we are called down for conferences, if the conferences aren't forthcoming, and I gather from some of the others there wasn't much of a conference either, why so be it. He really didn't push me too hard. Whether he intentionally avoided me it is hard to tell. He operates in a funny way as one of his very good friends who apparently lives most of the time at

the ranch said to me this morning, yes his mind and his methods are very strange sometimes, and they are. It was interesting that Sylvia who also felt quite insulted because on an organized basis she didn't feel that she had had an opportunity to talk or to express herself in the area where she feels, and I think properly so, she has real expertise, but by the same token she felt great respect for the man. Frankly, I guess I do too, although I certainly don't feel any liking, and now as we get into this budget question, the manner of legislation, the things that I know need to be done, why I'm going to play the game in terms of getting done what I think ought to be done properly and appropriately and I'm not going to hesitate and shape some political forces including some that might make him a bit uncomfortable. I don't feel like I did with Kennedy. I would have felt dishonest and acting improperly to go very far along that direction with him. But it seems to me that Johnson is playing a game with me -- I don't really know what he is thinking -- I don't feel that he levels with me at all. He listens and then doesn't comment, doesn't give any real direction, and therefore I certainly don't have the feeling that I'm acting improperly if I do a little maneuvering and politicking like he's doing on the side.

Jane and I returned from our vacation in the woods, feeling really awfully good. It was a fine period. We slept, and read, and drove, and really thoroughly enjoyed it and each other and talked out a bit about the future. I've been over this pretty much already, but I think by the time we got home when I went back to work in the Department feeling good and also again feeling so impressed with the people in the Department, their leadership and their loyalty and their ability and the opportunity to do things, it raised a real doubt as to whether I should leave. I said the first morning back in staff that I expected to be Secretary of Agriculture for a long time

to come and they applauded with real enthusiasm. As I had expected, this got into the newspapers. The next morning it was in the New York Times and then out in Minneapolis and I moved then into a position where whether I did or didn't get the offer of the appointment it would not be too embarrassing. Well on Tuesday when we were in Philadelphia the decision was made. After I finished speaking we were over in the Motel picking things up, why I had a call from the T/V Station who wanted to take some voice tape and I gave it to them and then they asked if I had any comment about the appointment of Mondale for the Senate. I said the usual words, and then said when did the word come in and had them read me the wire. By the time we came home I talked to Tom Hughes and Tom had already called to congratulate Fritz and talked to Rolvaag. For my part I did feel disappointed, not bitter, but really rather disappointed and really furious that Rolvaag had not even given me the courtesy of calling me about it himself. I did call Fritz and congratulated him and he seemed very pleased and relieved and said there was no one whose regard and respect he treasured more than mine. Then Karl came on and I just mentioned to him that I would have appreciated hearing it ahead of time and he said oh he was so pressed he really wasn't able to do it, and then said this was a hard thing to do and he knew it would make a difference between us and he was sorry; and I said no that he had made the decision and I could understand, and I really didn't feel unhappy about it except I was unhappy about his thoughtlessness, and he said well Freeman I love you and seemed to be greatly relieved and that was about it. I felt kinda depressed the next day. I guess it's best this way, but it would have been nice to be able to take that and carry it to the President and have him ask me to stay. Apparently Karl did call the President and talk to him about it. Apparently there was some conversation with the President. He said, I guess, that if Karl was concerned about my having a job, he shouldn't

because he intended that I should stay. But I am staying now, as I guess the others are, at his instance rather than at his request or selection which makes it a bit different. But in any event, the Senator thing is settled and maybe it's all for the best. It would have been quite a chore to go back and campaign. It would have been quite a challenge, too, after the last week end,^{and} seeing once again how it's going to be to work with this man why I can't help but feeling maybe that's what we should have tried to do. But that's how it was done and it doesn't look like we're ever going to be United States Senator.

Well, I've been home here now about 3 1/2 hours and I've been down in this office the whole time. It's getting on towards 12. Guess I'll go up and have a little ice cream, take a hot shower, get in bed and read awhile and see if I can get relaxed and get a night's sleep before tomorrow. Sobeit.

One more point in going over my notes, it seems to be quite clear that a \$100 billion budget amount is sacrosanct. He did say to me that he was going to do a few things that would be dramatic but would not cost too much, naming the Saline water thing that Udall announced, and some highway beautification things which, as he said, didn't cost much. It seemed quite clear that he is going to hold down to those things that didn't cost very much and stay within that \$100 billion level.

Sunday, November 22, 1964 -- 9:45. Again in the office. It's been a nice Sunday. Mike and I got up fairly early and went to the Memorial Services for President Kennedy -- then to the grave side where we joined with others in paying tribute. We stood there in the bright, cold breezes, looking at the flowers at the simple grave site and over the expanse of Washington, and up at the Lee House, thinking of this wonderful, gay, charming, delightful, gifted young man that meant so much to all of us and how different things were now. I still can't bear the thought of a bullet smashing through his head -- gone so quickly. I wonder what the election would have been like had he lived. We wouldn't have won by as much perhaps, but how much more fun it would have been. Well a year has gone by. His spirit is with us even more I think, and who knows how or why. I was glad to have Mike with me and really just the two of us. We went from Arlington cemetery to the Hot Shoppe where we had breakfast together and a nice talk. Mike was so grateful. He tends to feel I don't like to eat out and said he wished we had time to go home before the football game so he could cook me breakfast. He's really an awfully good guy and it's such a joy to know that he really does think a lot of his dad. We talked about his future and he told me that he wanted to go back and get involved in the political campaign in Minnesota, that he was thinking about politics. His period as a Page in the Senate made quite an impact on him. He has ideas about this and so I talked to him about maybe he ought to be a lawyer then and he agreed. And he said he wanted to learn more about many things and be a good generalist rather than too much of a specialist, which is something he has also heard me say. Anyway, it was really quite delightful.

Then we went up to the office and I worked a bit and he studied a bit and he got on his warm clothes and headed off for the game with Thompson while I did some more work and then Thompson came back to get me and I went to the game with the Juncans. It was a real good football game and Washington won.

Then we came on home and Jane came home a few minutes after. Since about 6:00 o'clock we've been talking, she relating her experiences in California and I went over with her page and verse of the whole sequence of the last week end from the trip to Minnesota to all the details at the Ranch together with the conclusions which I had reached in terms of how we operate from here on out.

As I related them -- we discussed them. She agreed almost 100 percent with my conclusions which are something like this:

1. That you're never going to know really what this man wants you to do for in terms of anything controversial or uncertain he's going to want someone else out in front testing it, taking the raps, determining whether it's good or not, and then when he has felt the water why he'll take hold of it and run with it and if it's bad someone else will be the fall guy. Only on exceptional circumstances is he going to do other than stay in the water and work in the lukewarm water, very seldom putting even his big toe in the hot water or in the cold.

In the process of this tactic he is very seldom going to say "yes" or "no" particularly when there is an issue involved which pricks his conscience, that he knows ought to be done but that he thinks shouldn't be done for reasons of his political position. This is probably the reason he seems to systematically avoid having any real discussions with me or getting down to cases. I think he knows that I'm right, or at least he knows I think I am and he doesn't want to argue with me about it, and therefore he will either avoid talking at all or else say nothing. If I look for clear answers and present to him sharp alternatives, I'm never going to get them, and I'm going to flounder in frustration and confusion. Therefore, the only course of action is to move ahead aggressively and do what I think needs to be done and should be done notifying him perhaps by memorandum and then acting if he fails to contact me accordingly. Actually

as I think about the week end it is really quite reassuring in the sense that it clarifies the air and gives me a sense of direction and working technique. In the overall I must say that it may very well be easier if less satisfying than working with President Kennedy. I felt such a sense of keen loyalty and identification with President Kennedy that I wanted to be sure that I was doing exactly what he wanted and that he corroborated it and I wanted to protect him on all things and to be sure to justify and carry forward the policy even though I might not agree because it was one arrived at as a part of a team and because of the deep sense of loyalty and the fact that it was a shared in decision and one that ought to be carried forward with that spirit. Now it's different. This man will I think play games and use me to the ultimate. Probably he will not be cruel, and will not destroy you if he can help it, but we're all expendable, we're all tools, he makes the decisions and he moves people around as he sees fit. He does it. Everyone else is an instrument and often an unknowing one. That being the case, I'm going to feel perfectly free to in a sense use him to shape events to reach the goals that I think are important and the purposes for which I'm dedicating my life. I will not hesitate to use the powers, the instruments and the forces as the occasion demands, and the sense of defending him as such and feeling a fierce sense of loyalty to him and taking on myself responsibilities for the judgments that's no longer the case except as it may be a part of protecting him as an instrument rather than as a person as a part of the Administration and a movement towards a goal rather than as an organization and a man to whom you feel both devotion and loyalty. Actually it's almost a sense of relief to feel that you can be kind of a free operator.

I think tomorrow I'll call the Assistant Secretaries and top people in the Department together and tell them about the Texas trip. Tell them about our budget problems but not get too exercised about it. Tell them that we should feel free to move full speed ahead in various areas where we feel we're called upon to act and to push hard to implement our policies and to maneuver within the administrative branch of Government to carry forward our programs. This will include fighting for the farm income and the commodity program section, taking over leadership in the Rural Area Development field and really joining the issue where International food assistance and agriculture technical assistance are concerned. Actually the course is now clear and we can get on with the business.

November 25, 1964, 12:35 p.m. -- I just returned from the White House and about as unpleasant a session as I've had for some time. I had a belly ache today and had a bad week with a real flare up and I was asked to come to this meeting by Dean Rusk and then Tom Mann of the Latin America desk got involved. The question was what we could do to schedule sugar coming in within the foreign quota for the first two quarters of this year so it would depress price as little as possible for we have been trying to get prices strengthened. Mann was insistent and adamant that we ought to cut back marketings of domestic sugar, and beet sugar as well, and how selfish the beet people were and how we shouldn't have such big quotas for domestic beet and all the rest. He was really quite ornery about it and said that politically why if the case was presented we could take care of the beet people and get the allotments from the foreign sources. I spoke fairly sharply early and then moderated my general comments, then as the conversation drew to a close after Dean Rusk had asked that we prepare a kind of position statement on it for the President's attention, Mann returned to it again. I tried to say that I was not adverse to his position, nor was I unaware of the fact that this represented an important import element and that these countries merited consideration but that we had some real political problems at home, we had urged the domestic people to produce more sugar and that they had more now than they could market and that this created lots of pressures and lots of political problems, and that we ought not to create a situation which would make it more difficult to extend the sugar act on a fair basis. He was ornery in connection with it, again attacking the domestic sugar people until I just finally flared up pretty strongly and said that he and his foreign countries had their merits all right but they also operated the biggest political cesspool in Washington with all

the lobbyists that were continually running up on the Hill being paid off. He responded that the domestic people did their share too, and I said but not on that basis and closed the conversation by saying that he certainly wasn't Jesus Christ Almighty, nor was I the Devil -- and he said well the converse wasn't the case either and I turned my back on him and walked out of the room. I did this a little bit in pique, but mostly with intent. He is an ornery fellow. He does have a direct contact apparently to the President, or at least people think he does, how strong and effective that channel is I really don't know but I thought in terms of giving Staats from the Bureau of the Budget and Charley Schultze, as well, together with Jacobson and Griff Johnson from the State Department a little idea that on occasion I could be a bit rough and nasty and wasn't about to be pushed around by Mann who apparently promoted this meeting and got the Secretary of State to call it, even though he is in the midst of a serious Congo crisis that all of this called for a little bit of sparks to more or less cut Mann down a bit to size. It could well be that Mann is so close to the President that it would react adversely at the appropriate time in dealing with him, but be that as it may, the combination of the strategy plus the belly ache, plus being a bit ornery, seemed to me timely to talk a bit sharp, and so I did and we'll see what comes of it.

November 30, 1964 -- The 'phone just rang from Johnson City. It was Jack Valenti conveying a very friendly message, to wit, that the President thought that my ideas were constructive, meaningful, didn't have too big a price tag and that he was impressed with them and giving them careful consideration. Second, that our budget increase was much too much and somehow we

had to cut it back. Third, this was allegedly now confidential and just Jack Valenti on his own saying to me that the President had said the other day that I was his favorite Cabinet Officer, that I had a lot of courage and a lot of imagination and a lot of ability, but there was something about these people from Minnesota that they always had to run to the press and keep the mimeograph machine running and that the President was furious with a story in the New York Times which of course was a story emanating from a background press luncheon of last week which talked about a whole new face on rural America and an outreach of programs to the people in the countryside. It was an excellent story. In all fairness, I guess it does anticipate possible Presidential action based on the memorandum I submitted to him. This was his way of slapping me on the wrist and saying, not so fast and not so far, and not so much publicity. I told Valenti of my plans for a speech at West Point to outline what I had in mind in connection with international agriculture and Valenti suggested I incorporate the substance of it on one page and send it down so the President would have it before I made it. I told Jack that I had understood the President's signals on this whole matter to be that I should run up a trial balloon to see what the reaction was so he would be able to measure whether it was a good thing to proceed with or not and he told me he would convey that message to the President. In light of the fact that we didn't really have any time to talk, I'm probably on fairly firm grounds here.

I expect this is the way things are going to work from here on out -- in, out, around, up and down, never knowing quite what to do or say. In this instance we did get some good stories on Rural Area Development -- not only a

front page story in the New York Times but an excellent editorial in the Washington Post this morning, and today I had an interview with a possible addition to our staff here, Bill Welch from Senator Hart's staff, to head up this proposed clearinghouse outreach operation of ours into rural America. Anyway, when it moves some people will know where it came from, and if he's unwilling to sit down and really talk about it when I'm down there, why maybe a little license in talking about it on this end is in order. Anyway, apparently I'm a great guy -- but.

Night before last we had a delightful evening at the Australian Embassy, the first time we've been to one of these black tie affairs for some time. Dean Rusk was there and it was mighty pleasant.

Monday, November 30, 1964 -- 12:00 o'clock. I just finished two very interesting sessions this morning. One with Chester Bowles about international agriculture, how we look down the road and how we ought to consider productive capacity and use it. I told Chet quite frankly that this story needed to be imparted to the President, that I thought he might be receptive to it, that Walt Rostow and the Planning boys in State had come to the conclusion that agricultural development was the critical element in the development of the economies of the less developed countries and urged him to impress that on the President. We're going to have dinner with him Thursday night together with Bill Moyers, Dave Bell and others, and hopefully he can reach the President with this. I'm considering very carefully moving ahead to try and amend P.L. 480 although I don't see politically how we can actually do it. Then I met with the cattle people, Brooks Keogh, President of the American National Cattlemen; Bill McMillan their executive Secretary, and Jay Taylor a former President of the Cattlemen and a close friend of the President to just generally visit. We discussed grading mostly, and also overall cattle problems, and

I do have a good working relationship with them now where in the past it's been a very antagonistic one and that represents some real important progress. I also talked this morning on the telephone with Charley Shuman and told him that when I invited him to bring the Resolutions Committee in here it was sincere, that we were looking for an area of common agreement, that we were trying to stay flexible here, that I didn't want to fight for the sake of a fight, that I was sending John Schnittker up to meet with the Resolutions Committee and that I hoped they would hear him out and I asked that he not get into a completely inflexible position himself but leave some maneuver room pointing out we had, or at least the National Agricultural Advisory Commission had in their report, recommended movements towards massive land retirement which was along the lines of the Farm Bureau program. He sounded friendly and assured me of his desire to cooperate. I doubt if much will come from it, but at least a communication is taking place and is underway.

Yesterday was a very interesting and useful day. We had a brunch with the McNamara's and their kids, the Dave Bells and theirs, the Humphreys and Skipper and his wife and our family and then went on to a very good Giant-Redskin Football game. Last night Jane and I went to a Eleanor Roosevelt Humanitarian Award Dinner where Jack Benny was the recipient, one of those Bonds for Israel pitch affairs, but it was kind of interesting. I had a kind of tough week last week with my stomach chewing me up and I was up most of the night Saturday but seemed to feel a bit better today and maybe I'm on track.

I'm going to have lunch with Humphrey in a few minutes and he is going to sit with Kermit Gordon and me tomorrow hopefully to work over our budget. It's going to be interesting to see how things developed in the LBJ vs. HHH

in the days ahead. The President in his press conference Saturday was really cruel I thought where Humphrey is concerned for when references were made to Humphrey's speeches as indicating program directions by the Administration, the President said sharply no decisions were made on that.

Humphrey has indicated that he himself is going to exercise what limited prerogatives he has as Vice President with the Senate, really study operating departments and what goes on and to move ahead quietly, learning and seeking to quietly influence, using what patronage he has in the Senate to get things in the Record and to build support for various programs. I think he can do this quite effectively and certainly be most helpful to us. We'll see how it works and how we can develop our relationships here. Hopefully, as he put it, we can level with each other as we use to. In the meantime, of course the town watches and the game goes on of who know who, and who has influence, as it revolves around the throne.

I just finished a most interesting 2 1/2 hour lunch this day with Humphrey (November 30) who came over to discuss agriculture and the budget with me. I threw an awfully lot of things at him in connection with it, but I think it was useful and helped background him. I think we will have a good working alliance. His observation corroborates mine of 3 years that there's no future in the commodity programs, that I ought to continue pushing hard in the Rural Area Development area pursuant to the recent story in The New York Times. I think he'll be helpful, although I might have thrown too much at him. He was most sympathetic to the Farm Income figures. He advised that I fight hard for the Rural Area Development Program which I must be prepared to do. We'll be getting the budget allowances today and the issue will be

joined. We had a nice visit about families, but the really interesting thing was his comment about LBJ. He illustrated it by saying that you ought to go at him with little bits at strategic times and be incredibly patient. This he said he had learned as the Whip in working with stubborn, cantankerous, sensitive, ornery, but smart men in the Senate. That he had learned to have the patience of Job. That where the President is concerned, you had to catch his attention and you did it with something specific, something simple, something clear and easy, and then he would react or he would file it away and it would suddenly become his idea and then your relation would be wonderfully cordial, but it all revolved around him. He told a wonderful story that Bill Connell his assistant was hard at work to get rooms and facilities and get the new Vice President set up. So he went to the White House and got an assignment of 11 rooms in the Executive Office Building. Humphrey warned him that he was going to get into trouble, that this would not be satisfactory, that there would be problems, but Connell insisted on doing it and Humphrey said all right you wait and see what happens. Sure enough he said twenty-four hours later, Connell came in downcast and said he had had a call from Moyers, Moyers had talked to the President and the President said that he had only had four rooms why did Humphrey need eleven, and that took care of that. Humphrey told Connell, "See I told you so, you needed a lesson. Now one thing for you to remember is that from now on out there are no Humphrey rooms, there is no Humphrey Staff, there is no Humphrey program, there are no Humphrey ideas. From now on there just simply isn't any Humphrey. And that's the way we're going to play it and that's the way we're going to have to play it to get anything done." He used the illustration of Bob McNamara coming in and saying when the beef thing was hot, "Mr. President, I just bought one hundred million pounds of beef today." Putting a one sentence piece of paper on the

President's desk and the President saying, "Isn't that wonderful, I wish I had more men like this." Humphrey used the phrase, "Your friend, Bob McNamara" and he used it with the apology that he didn't mean to be critical of McNamara who is a fine fellow but the implication from this was McNamara and I indeed are very, very close and it probably substantiates that Humphrey had heard the rumor that I was bucking for McNamara for Vice President. It's hard to tell but we'll get into that one one day. In any event it's clear that Humphrey understands thoroughly this man and is going to play the game just like a doting wife plays the game with a domineering husband to make him think it's his idea when it's really hers. He's prepared to play it, and he will play it. As he said, we'll have to connive in order to get access but that's the way it's done and I guess it is. For my part I'm not quite sure I'm willing to play it that way, but somehow or other I've got to do a little better job of conniving. Anyway, we're off with Humphrey and I think it was worth the time.

Thursday, December 3, 1964 -- Rochester, Minnesota, at the Kahler Hotel. This is kind of a low point. I came out here yesterday to have my yearly check-up, to speak last night to the NFO. I didn't expect much serious trouble although my stomach had been bothering me the last week, and then the roof kinda fell in. Jim Cain wasn't here, he was called to Washington by the President. Dr. Butt was here and I had the usual examination and then he looked at the pictures and found what he thought was an active ulcer with a crater, with a swelling of my stomach and some evidence of slowness of emptying from the stomach into the duodenal. This he was concerned about and said we needed new tests and that I should go on a strict ulcer diet. Over the years now some almost 10 years, I've been pretty well nursing myself along eating what I wanted and figuring what I really had was a spastic stomach and that the ulcer

was no longer a serious problem and that it has healed in 1952 when I first had it. Now it apparently has flared up again and is a serious matter. I didn't sleep much the night after I came in here getting ready for the tests. I of course felt depressed going in yesterday and then had to speak to the NFO. I spoke to them for 1-hour with the purpose of saying nothing. That sounds odd but it's true. On the one hand I couldn't say that I believed in their program because I don't. On the other, I couldn't come to their Convention and say I didn't believe in it because it would be both bad manners and bad politics in terms of maintaining contact with them, giving them encouragement which is my responsibility as Secretary of Agriculture, getting help from that Organization and passing legislation important to them and all of agriculture in the country and maintaining contact with them as an important organization. So I talked about agriculture and its accomplishments and the progress we had made and the importance of the commodity program. In the overall I think it was well received. There was a huge crowd -- 7,000 to 10,000 people. There was some evidence here and there in the audience, a bit of unhappiness with some of my reservations even though I didn't express them, but in the overall they seemed quite enthusiastic and the leadership seemed grateful that I was there and of course knew what the problem was. I told them frankly that I didn't pick between farm organizations, that we developed a program working with them and I sought to get along with all of them, that my door was open to all of them, and when someone tried to ask me which was better than another I told them the Secretary had enough troubles without choosing up sides between farm organizations. They laughed at that and I think it was a kind of frank appraisal that helped to clear the air.

Then I went out to see Mother for a few minutes and to wish her a Happy Birthday, and then Jimmie Dougherty drove me down here. I slept fairly well, although I awakened early and went over and had that frightful test when you have to swallow a tube and they pump out your stomach. Then I had a bit of breakfast with Sandy Keith and talked with him about Minnesota politics. He seemed very frank, honest and above board and I was encouraged about it. I think he's sincerely worried about the Party. Then I went and talked with Dr. Butt, got my report from him, which I have just described with a directive to go back on a very bland diet, no drinking, almost nothing to eat for a week and then go back on the moderate very careful diet and then come back in about a month and take these tests again before a final decision is made but he thinks the likelihood is that there will be the need for surgery.

When I came in yesterday there was an editorial from the Minneapolis Paper criticising the RAD program and charging me in effect with being an empire builder. There also was some criticism of my suggestions about producing for use which was repeated in the story about the NFO speech. The generally negative reaction to some of our proposals in agriculture is a bit discouraging. I'll be going up to West Point this week and will see what kind of play this speech on amending P.L. 480 and production for use and better use of food in foreign policy gets.

Just talked to the office and apparently the Bureau of the Budget is going to recommend a drop in the price support on corn down to \$1.00 with a 15 cent payment which would of course create serious problems politically and mean a grave drop in farm income. I've got to resist that strongly and it will give the first indication of how the President will react on these matters.

Supposedly we will be seeing him some time Friday morning. Anyway this is a bit of a low point.

My trial balloons haven't been too successful on Rural Area Development or no Food for Peace. I have to look forward to surgery here within the next month or so when I would hope to feel good and enjoy the holiday season and the inaugural and all the rest. Prospects in terms of relations with the White House are not very clear -- so what next. Well, the only answer as always is keep smiling, keep fighting, tomorrow it'll look a bit brighter -- today it's a little gray.

Wednesday, December 9, 1964. -- What a day, what a week. I returned from Rochester a bit despondent and I have been more or less that way ever since. The very strict diet I have been placed on has really not given me enough nourishment to really function and with the pressures and uncertainties here I've simply felt low and that's about the only way to describe it.

I just came a moment ago from the President's office where we had an hour session with him, Feldman, Ellender, Kermit Gordon, myself and Charley Murphy. I heard earlier this week that Ellender was coming through and when he called about a sugar matter I asked to see him. Actually he spoke to the Farm Bureau in Philadelphia, came back here, I saw him for over an hour this morning and again mostly listened. He was in a tirade about farm program costs, about the feed grain program, and of course about foreign affairs and foreign assistance. We went over to see the President and out of a clear blue sky the feed grain meeting was scheduled. I came back from a session with the folks from Shriver's Poverty Office and a session preparing materials to see Udall tomorrow and discovered this call and immediately plunged in

with only the interruption of Sig Olson who came in to urge that we bar all of the canoe country area in Minnesota from any kind of cutting and make it exclusively recreation, claiming that all the conversationists and recreationists in the country were excercised and that the Forestry Service could strike a blow for their standing in the future if they would ban all cutting in the total area. I listened to him and he made quite a persuasive case while I began trying to marshal ideas in my own mind to present to the President under such hostile circumstances. It doesn't help much when Mike Feldman called me to say that he had met with the President on something else and despite the fact that some Doctors were there the President had barged right in saying that we had to cut costs, we had to save money, and the Bureau of the Budget's recommendation for support level of \$1.15 would save a couple of hundred million dollars made sense to him and on and on he went. Mike said he tried to relay our position on this for he knew thoroughly for earlier in the week Humphrey had been over here and met with the Bureau people and we had about a 2-hour session when Humphrey really worked them over good in the typical Humphrey manner, talking about agriculture, the farmer, the banker, et cetera and then siding solidly with me in the recommendation of \$1.25 support. In any event, Mike told me the President brushed him off and he warned me that I was in for rough sledding. Well we prepared as best we could, getting materials organized here, emphasizing where I was concerned that we needed to inform the President that our budget was not going to be more actually than last year and then somehow to reach him with the importance of continuing the support level. As usual he was delayed and we were late getting in, but then we did spend an hour and for once he

listened. I doubt if we got through. We sat down and he told me to lead off while he reviewed the memoranda. I did -- and he listened. I related very strongly the importance of feed grains to the total agricultural economy, that our goal was agricultural income and we were short of it even for the adequate farm, that if we believed in parity of income we had to spend some money to accomplish it, that the transition in Rural America was difficult enough anyway, and that we needed to give at least the encouragement of maintaining our present support levels as we work to accomplish the minimum of payment necessary to economic adjustment. Incidentally, before we went in Charley and I discussed whether if he dropped it to \$1.15 we should leave, whether our position would be so eroded that we couldn't possibly continue. Having spent an hour with him, I feel a little better having been heard out. But as I told Charley I think this would be about that serious and he agreed we'd have to think and talk about it.

In any event, the President listened to me, then Ellender butted in, and he and Ellender had quite a colloquy. He teased the daylights out of Ellender about foreign aid, about listening to him, about Ellender attacking him before the Farm Bureau, and then very effectively had Ellender off balance throughout the exchange. Ellender said he had delivered on the program last year before the Congress and the President acknowledge it vis-a-vis the Food Stamp Plan which apparently he still had in mind.

The President accused me of selling him the cotton program which Ellender doesn't like, and turned to Mike Feldman and said he had some stock in textile companies as well and he was a cotton advocate, but none of this was unkind. He was in a good mood and really effectively teased Mike. While we sat there girls came in twice with the latest information off the ticker and there was once a statement apparently that he had kept

a Committee waiting for an hour and he quickly called George Reedy, despite the fact that Ellender was already late for his plane, and told him the reason why he had kept this group waiting and that he should get that straightened out so far as the press and the television were concerned. He watches that tape every moment and reacts to almost everything that is put on it.

He then called on Kermit Gordon who presented the Bureau of the Budget's case. Ellender was in and out all the time, he was opposed to the feed grain program, he thought it was ridiculous to consider extending it to 196 . He huffed and puffed and certainly wasn't helpful although he wasn't as harmful as I thought he might be. Actually the President had him pretty much on the defensive throughout.

The meeting was closed when the President got up and said , "Well how soon do we have to make this?" and Gordon said "Almost immediately". And Charley then said, Well we don't need to make it now so badly that we would be willing to take a wrong answer, and the President said well if I had to decide it now I'd decide for \$1.15. He then said, Why can't you fellows get together. He asked Kermit Gordon why he had to bring things in before him that were unresolved, why couldn't they be decided somewhere else, and he told us to get together with Mike Feldman and resolve it. We left it at that, going to Mike's office for a few minutes before he went to catch a plane when Kermit Gordon indicated he was willing to take the compromise position of \$1.20 support. I did not. I said that I felt so strongly about this in terms of income and the fact it was a symbol of hope for people in agriculture that also we had commitments on it in terms of politics in the campaign, it had implications where other commodity programs were concerned and legislation,

that I simply couldn't concur in dropping price supports at all. It ended at that. Charley said later that he thought we had made a very persuasive case but he wasn't at all sure that we had gotten through to the President, and I think that's about right.

It's now about 5:10 and I've got a delegation to see me that I must get with. I'm going to have a little something to eat in the middle of the afternoon here before I go over at 6:00 o'clock to a reception at the White House for the new elected Congressmen. Last night we had them here in the Department, some 28 of them from farm districts. First, we had a little reception in my office, then a dinner downstairs, and then a little meeting in room 218-A when we distributed some material, I talked and answered questions and our top staff was there. Actually, it was very well done. A meeting that we all enjoyed, and I think did a lot of good. I made some reference to it in the meeting with the President today.

I've felt a little better stomach-wise today. I was pretty disappointed when Monday and Tuesday of this week I had some pain. Actually the Doctor instructed me to be on where I would take in something every half hour. I haven't quite been able to do that but I have stayed with the strict diet, having little but eggs and milk and a cooked vegetable on occasion the last week now. It is not enough to give me enough energy to operate, but there's not much I can do about it.

I returned last Thursday night from Rochester and by a strange quirk met Dr. Jim Cain at the airport where I quickly told him about the negative diagnosis and he promised to write me, which incidentally he hasn't done yet. The next day we were on again, off again, about going to West Point. I had a very hectic morning. The weather was bad. We had planned to fly up and then were unable to go by MATS because of the rainy, freezing weather. We

finally ended up at the last moment going by Eastern shuttle to Newark where we were picked up and drove 1 1/2 hours to West Point. By that time I was about fit to be tied, but when we got there and were so graciously received by General and Mrs. Lampert and my speech was well received by the students at the conference held to discuss developing nations I felt much better and actually we had a delightful evening. I met with the students and then we had a meeting with some of the faculty people there and the next day the General took us through the museum at West Point and told us a bit about the institution. We flew back and I came to the office and worked until late in the day. Jane and I then went to a little party that was Tom Hughes and Rod Leonard birthdays.

On Sunday I went to the football game with John Duncan. The Redskins lost to the Pittsburgh team and it was a rather dull game. I worked well on into the night Sunday trying to catch up my absence of the week before.

This has been a usual kind of hectic week. I've been working on budget materials, working on legislation in preparation, hanging over all of it has been the decision on the feed grains and also the overall budget questions and the overall policy questions which the President hasn't gotten to for he's had the British Prime Minister here a week. I've also had some recommendations preliminary in nature by way of reorganizing our own regulatory agencies here in the Department which has things stirred up around here. A question as to whether we ought to schedule the foreign imports of sugar in order to get better prices currently before the first of the year for the sugar cane producers with strong pressure from Louisiana on the one hand for it, bitter pressure from the State Department against it. In that connection, in a meeting at

The White House last week that I may not have related here, the bitterest exchange I've had since I've been in Washington with the Head of the Alliance for Progress, Tom Mann, who I finally snorted at in disgust when I said that it seemed to me that he considered himself Jesus Christ and all the rest of us as bad people, and then I stormed and stamped out of the room. I did have breakfast with Aiken one day this week and a limited discussion with him. He in effect said he was going to sit back and wait until he saw what the President was going to do about an agricultural program.

I have had Bill Kubicek in here on a consultant basis on our science stuff, met this week with the Science Advisory Committee people with Bill Meyers, also with Al Moseman together with Kubicek and Brady. I do think we are beginning to see some daylight and at least get some direction on our science program. I'm afraid I might be moving to a collusion course with Udall on the matter of the Land and Water Conservation fees. He has recommended a delegation of power under the law which would authorize him to set fees for all the Government as well as Interior, and this of course is intolerable to us. I'm going over and see him tomorrow and I hope that we can get something worked out. I've been over it with our people here and I think both the law and the legislative history indicates that the power to make decisions on these things must rest in the last analysis with the operating agency. This is a touchy one. We've gotten along so well together. I'm rather astounded that he would send such a recommendation to the Bureau without talking with me about it for it does represent a usurpation. It's odd that in this case he doesn't want this matter to go to the Recreation Advisory Council where I think it should go, both to enhance that Council which is going to have to do some things if it's ever going to amount to anything, but

he hadn't seen fit in this instance because he didn't want to rock the boat where he was roaring to go in the Allegheny Reservoir matter. Now I think the best thing to do is go to see him and tell him we ought not to act in this fashion and get him to back off from this effort to extend so broadly his prerogative. These are a few of the things then in what essentially has been a kind of frustrating, hectic, busy week, full of uncertainty because basically we don't know what the President is going to do. But at least having had the conference of today, I do feel a little better about it. Well I've kept a group waiting now for 20 minutes, on with the show.

December 10, 1964, 8:33 a.m. in my office on my way to the daily 8:45 staff meeting in a moment, but I wanted to set down some observations about last night. I left the office about 6:15 going to a reception at the White House for the new Congressmen scheduled for 6:00, but the President didn't arrive as usual until 6:45, 45 minutes late. I circulated early and was pleased at the warmth of the response from these freshmen Congressmen. The President then came in and the meeting began. He introduced a number of people -- Kermit Gordon, for a strong economy, what is our philosophy of administration and the efficiency approach; Humphrey for a brief comment about how to get along and get reelected; Dean Rusk for his usual quick brush over international problems which he does so extremely effectively. Then on to the President's formal remarks. Where I'm personally concerned a couple of things were worthy of note and they do in part give some insight into this complex man's modus operandi. He started off by apologizing for being late because of a meeting with Gromyko and then got on to the fact that this was an economy Government at which point he said that I had ruined his day by taking up the

whole afternoon discussing his effort to cut \$400 million off the budget vis-a-vis the farm program and that I had told him, I think that was the word it could have been threatened, that there were 30 freshmen Congressmen from farm areas ready to jump down his throat if he did other than save this money. I've forgotten the exact wordage but it was said in a tone of good humor and everybody kinda laughed. I actually wasn't irritated because it wasn't nastily done. Then when he came around to introducing the Cabinet he made a very explicit reference to the fact that every member of the Cabinet was a Kennedy appointee. He almost seemed to roll that fact solemnly over his tongue. He then said he had been in Washington 30 years and served under six Presidents and that this was the best Cabinet by far of any he had seen. He introduced Katzenbach as Attorney General, rather than acting, and generally demonstrated a real strong feeling of support for his Cabinet. This together with the combination of President Kennedy and the fact that his remarks made special reference to Sam Rayburn as well as President Kennedy and the fact that he then asked us all to stand in a moment of silent prayer in memorial to these two men set I thought a very high and effective tone to this meeting. It was somewhat in contrast to Dean Rusk's momentary discomfort when he referred to October 1962 and the two coolest heads in Washington, as I've heard him put it before, were President Kennedy and then Vice President Johnson. I just sensed, I may be super-sensitive, his hesitation there and almost an electric transmittal within the Cabinet and those that know the President best as something like this -- what now - this is the new Administration - how much reference to Kennedy will he actually tolerate or should be made - what will it do to operating relationship? Anyway, it was an interesting meeting and when he introduced me he said, "The farmer's friend"

with a chuckle and good humor and everybody laughed. Later we went through a receiving line and when I came to old John McCormack, who seems sometimes to be almost in his dotage now, he said to me and fairly outspokenly too, Mike Mansfield could hear it and kinda chuckled, that Kermit Gordon's pitch about economy was fine but as far as he was concerned he was also interested in some humanity in Government and he thought that was it's purpose. I am often and will be irritated with old John, but this was an expression that kinda warmed the cockles of my heart.

Fritz Mondale was here. I took him over to the White House and then asked him out to dinner. He came. Our conversation on the way out was a little bit distant. I had the feeling that Fritz was a bit sensitive and felt a bit concerned as to how we really felt in light of the Senatorial decision. I wasn't particularly bouncy and probably not as warm and friendly as I might have been. He commented and we discussed the 1960 campaign a bit and he reminded me that he had said why didn't I leave him where he was to continue to run my campaign and pick an older more widely accepted man at that time. I told him I didn't recall that, but that was all water over the dam now and I had never certainly regretted and increasingly was happy for having been privileged to make that appointment. This seemed almost like anyway to get out from under an obligation which would be a very human and understandable thing to do at this stage of the game. Anyway, we had a very enjoyable evening. Jane chattered about everything here and in Minnesota in a way that dissolved any tension and by the time he left I think we were almost on old terms. I'm glad. He's really a great fellow, and I do want to be helpful and it would be very silly to have any resentments for he was certainly very decent about this. However, in talking with him I think Jerry Heaney's observation is correct, that he has many of Humphrey's

characteristics and that it's Mondale and let's get Mondale elected first and real devotion, service, and dedication ideal second. I hope I'm wrong. When we discussed Tennessee and Ross Bass' determination to go back and run against the Governor for Senator because Tennessee was losing its orientation with Kefauver gone, that he had enough courage to do it and sacrifice a career to do it and a sure seat, Fritz kinda lit up and said, "Boy, that's sure something, isn't it", and I had more of the feeling that he wished he had the guts to do that kind of thing than the feeling that he would do it. This is kinda too bad, but I guess perhaps it's characteristic and we shouldn't expect too much. Anyhow he's here. It was interesting, too, that the President apparently recalled him clearly and acknowledge him as General when he went through the receiving line which impressed him mightily. I'm a little afraid that Jane and I were a bit cynical about the President last night in talking about Washington events. For example, we more or less downgraded the significance in meaning of his reference to the Cabinet by saying in effect what game is he playing now, and Fritz might have been a bit disillusioned. In reflecting on it, I am impressed again with yesterday's meeting. I don't know what is going to happen but the way the President moved Ellender around, cajolling, laughing, teasing, accusing, pushing, thanking, until poor Ellender was so off base he didn't know whether he was coming or going. We couldn't help laughing. One of the most amusing was Ellender who is 74 responding when the President called George Reedy about the hour when he allegedly kept a Committee waiting and asked who among the press had made inquiry about this it was Sara McClendon, and then he said off the side of the 'phone, "Oh, that's Allen Ellender's friend." Whereupon, Ellender snorted and he said "Humph, Brother I'm sure not that hungry." We all couldn't help laughing

and Ellender too in quite good spirits. I was a little worried that Ellender's feelings might be hurt and tried not to laugh, but one couldn't help it.

I did see Humphrey last night at the reception, urged him to see and to press on the President the importance of this and he promised me he would and that he would stick hard. I guess now the matter just dances around for a little while.

Last night as I went through my mail I found a half a dozen letters from NFO people complaining about my speech to them because I did not endorse the withholding principle and generally bitter about low farm income and the fact that very little had been done for them. So, here I am with the President on the one hand publicly presenting me to new Legislators as a friend of the farmer, fighting to prevent him from cutting the budget, having had a real knockdown in the President's office fighting for farm income and on the other hand the people I'm fighting for are accusing me of doing nothing for them. Well, it has never been said that this job is easy and I guess I did ask for it. On to other things now.

December 10, 1964 -- 11:30 p.m. at home. I've just finished two and a half hours at the desk and am about to go up and have a Conference with Jane. This has been a restless and uncomfortable day. When I got to the office this morning, Charley Murphy and I had a chat and Charley said he felt the President was entitled to know how deeply we held the question of price supports on feed grains and that we might well resign if he found adversely to us. I thought about it a bit and agreed. So I got on the 'phone and called Mike Feldman who had gone, but received a call from Humphrey who said he had talked to the President and that he thought things were moving our way. He further said he was lobbying and called a number of Governors, George McGovern

and others urging them to try and reach the President. I was a bit shocked. This kind of direct lobbying and pressure effort seems like going outside the rules of the game and I haven't wanted to do it, but maybe he's right and we'll have to play that way with this man. In any event, I told him I had a letter in the mill that would go over to Valenti. He said he had talked with Valenti and hinted strongly to him this matter was so grave that it might involve my leaving the Government. Valenti was to wait for the paper from the Department.

I then went over to Interior to do some negotiating with Udall which ostensibly was successful about the manner of administering the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, making sure that the delegation of authority from the President should run to all operating Departments and not give Interior power to designate areas and fees over the Forest Service. The regulations submitted by Udall provided otherwise. After some discussion he seemed to agree and concurred in my calling a meeting of the Recreation Advisory Council which I hope we can gradually build into a meaningful, active and effective organization. My year is running along and almost out on that now so I better move if we're going to get it done. I'm a bit distressed at this move by Ed Crafts for he is going around the rest of us and as such is wearing his Interior Hat and not his hat wherein he represents all agencies in the Recreation Advisory Council.

Anyway, I stopped off on the way back to the office to get Jane a Christmas gift bracelet, jotting down notes on an envelope, and returning to the office quickly dictated something to Audrey, when Charlie came in with a letter he had prepared. We looked over what I had written and I agreed his was better concentrating on the single subject of farm income and the President's

willingness to support which is a question that needs to be resolved. I had to race down then to speak to a REA Leadership Conference downtown, and then back to the office to make some calls in connection with a question of scheduling sugar imports where we have a head-on collision with the State Department who don't want us to protect producer prices because it might upset the Latin American countries, then up on the Hill for some conferences, and finally back to the office.

In the meantime, I've talked to John Baker and Ken Birkhead and Duke Norberg who agree that it would be very grave for me to concur in a cut in feed grain supports. Strangely enough the only one that hesitated in that appraisal was John Baker who actually is the closest to the farm organizations. I've been thinking a lot about it today. On the one hand it seems so foolish that the difference of 5 cents, for Kermit Gordon and the Bureau have agreed that they would go to \$1.05 support with a 15-cent payment, or \$1.20 support price, while I have insisted on the \$1.25. It seems silly and from the standpoint of income and economics it is that I should stubbornly insist on holding the line. On the other hand, right after this election with an overwhelming mandate, given the fact we all have campaigned so hard for the feed grain bill, it appears to me that the President would be seriously compromised if he dropped support price now. Further the farm organizations would feel this to be a mortal blow. The Farm Bureau would chortle and feel that they had been vindicated, the NFO would scream bloody murder and recruit more avidly declaring Government programs were no good. All those who had supported farm programs would in effect say, why support them when the Administration policy is to move supports down any way,

the Farm Bureau is winning after all. The net result would be the kind of bitterness and disillusion we saw among the wheat growers last fall and this would mean that my position would be intolerable. I couldn't say that the President insisted on this and run out on him. I couldn't justify this in terms of budget for they certainly wouldn't listen. I would have the rug pulled from under me, and as such I think it's time to quit. I'm going up now and talk with Jane about it. I put this off for I didn't want to disturb her. We do like it here. I love this house and the kids their school. The family is happy. To wrench them away now and go somewhere else seems like a great hardship and a cruel thing to do. On the other hand, I just have a feeling that if I don't have some kind of support in what will certainly be very hazardous difficult years ahead, why this job will be completely impossible and I will just progressively be eroded and torn away by the man in the White House. I think it's time for a show down, but on the other hand it seems that I might be overestimating and it's a bit silly to get this worked up over what is only a nickel a bushel. I'm not sure, but I'm sure disturbed.

December 12, 1964 -- 3:55 p.m. I just came from the White House from a session with the President. It started with a meeting of the Poverty Council at 11:00. He came in almost an hour late, he then asked me to wait that he wanted to see me. I got in to see him about 3:15 in the afternoon.

A good deal has happened since I last dictated in connection with the crucial question and yet nothing really happened. By that I mean I've done a lot of sweating and thinking about it. I talked to Jane as I said I was going to do and she felt that I ought not to send a letter. It would be premature, and then last night I talked to her again, and she felt that even if we had to come down a few steps I ought to be ready to do it that there were

more important things than this and the farmer and all would be better off if I stayed. In the meantime, I have been kinda sweating it out. I talked with a number of people. Charlie Murphy prepared a letter. I prepared one. The question is whether I should send it to the President. I haven't done it yet. The meeting today was encouraging in light of the results that I want to obtain, but this is certainly an amazing and in some ways a kind of sadistic man I'm afraid.

We waited after the poverty meeting and finally I got in to see him and then in came Humphrey. He immediately turned on Humphrey and started teasing him about a report he was having some clothes made for the Inaugural and that he was having trouble getting an office in the Capitol. This was not too bad really, it was a kind of teasing but with a sharp edge to it. He then accused Humphrey of having quite a publicity machine to always get his name in the papers, knowing that neither types of publicity in this case were at all desirable. Finally, as we left he said to Humphrey, here's something that you'll enjoy seeing and then he said to me as I started out of the room and he called me back, "Orville, do you think Humphrey would like this?" and then he showed Humphrey a letter sent to him by George Reedy, his press secretary, confidential, to the effect that he had a fatal liver malady and would be dead within 6 months; and then he said, "You'd like that, wouldn't you Humphrey?" "What are you going to do about it? but if it happens sooner than January 20, it won't do you any good will it?" It seemed to me the cruelest kind of playing on Humphrey's obvious ambitions and desire and all that Humphrey could do and he did it well was to laugh and kid back, and not be taken too much back. The same kind of silly business goes on now when he told George Reedy not to tell the press what the salaries were in the White House for his staff people and as a result launched a torrent of

attention and comment about it. The same kind of business where today we waited and waited a girl came into the office and said that Bill Moyers had said to tell all of us and we should tell other people that the reason the President was delaying was because Humphrey was delayed by weather and wasn't here yet. Therefore, it was not the President that occasioned the delay. When he came in himself, he explained what he had been doing and it was clear it wasn't Humphrey but rather his own earlier commitments. But Moyers was doing what the President would usually want done, and that would be that someone else should get blamed for this.

As we waited, Bill Wirtz said to me, "Do you think the President knows how screwed up the White House is and how you don't know which way to turn." I had to acknowledge that I did think he knew and that he wanted it that way, and Bill laughed and said he had come to the same conclusion. So he has the same problems.

Our conference today on feed grains was not too bad from my standpoint. The President indicated that although he had made no commitments to anyone in his campaign, and then in an aside that he had guts enough to cut anything, this I think for Kermit's benefit and Kermit has probably been building him up to have enough guts to cut things, but that he felt that farmers had come to rely and have some confidence in him and that they did expect that there would be certainly no decrease in price supports and this would be a bad time to do it, that he had two or three farms and he never could make money on them and the farmers really weren't doing very well -- but, and then he added, we've certainly got to do something about the fact that 80 percent of the money goes to 20 percent of the farmers and wouldn't we get it settled by next Tuesday between the three of us -- Humphrey, Gordon and myself -- or if we couldn't, to bring it

in to him and he would have to rule it up or rule it down. He then teased Kermit for being foolish in yielding ground and going for \$1.15 to \$1.20 when he, the President, had allegedly at Mike Feldman's recommendation, and I don't think Mike ever made such a recommendation, had ruled that it should be \$1.15 and Kermit had to respond jokingly, "Well then I was a poor bargainer and sold you out, Mr. President."

At this point I stopped and asked if I might say a word and made it very clear to the President that if we were going to accomplish parity of income for American adequate size farmers, pointing out that that was only a million or so and the balance we would have to find other things to do in the rural Community and hence our Rural Development and our Poverty Program, we were going to have to spend between \$2 1/2 billion and \$3 billion a year from now until



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

December 11, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: The President
The White House

From: Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture

Subject: Feed Grain Price Supports

Thank you for the time and close attention you gave to the matter of feed grain supports Wednesday. I might say your handling of Senator Ellender was masterful.

We have continued our serious consideration of this problem since we left your office. I am afraid I may not have been able to articulate as well as I should have how important I believe this decision will be psychologically, politically and economically. I would like to try again.

I. Psychological

Some farmers and farm groups will be disappointed if there is not an increase in price supports on feed grains. When we talked parity of income in the campaign that meant to them an increase not a decrease of price supports.

Most feed grain farmers and interested farm groups will be disappointed if we decrease these supports. This disappointment will occur even if we decrease the supports as I have recommended in our Alternative No. 2. However, this alternative limits the cut to non-cooperators, as we do in our wheat program, and with an effective presentation that this will hold income for the cooperators, and the facts about budget needs and costs, I believe we can hold the line with most farmers and farm organizations. Although the Grange, MFA, Farmers Union, Wheat Growers and others will not be happy, they will probably be able to hold the majority of their membership for this alternative. We might even be able to hold the loyalty, if not the affection, of the NFO.

If, however, we actually drop supports to the cooperators as well as the non-cooperators, there will be bitter opposition on the part of farmers and farm organizations and much of the confidence they

2--The President

have in this Administration, which was reflected in their November 3 vote for you, will be lost. There would probably be attacks on the Administration from the farm organizations mentioned above.

Moreover, the resentment built up over this action would weaken the support of these groups for other farm bills. It would make it extremely difficult to extend other commodity programs with the result that farm income would begin to fall to the 50 percent point it will drop to without support programs. This resentment could even go to the point of dimming these organizations' support for important nonagricultural legislation.

II. Political

The 30 or so new Congressmen from Congressional Districts with strong farm constituencies, none of whom got more than 55 percent, and most of whom won in traditionally Republican Districts, will suffer politically. They tied their campaigns to your candidacy and to the programs of this Administration. If confidence is lost by their constituencies in this Administration and its leaders this can be reflected in support in 1966.

III. Poverty

Kermit Gordon asked whether the difference between the budget proposal and that of the Department in costs, namely \$230 million to produce \$485 million of farm income was a better expenditure than a comparable amount for the various parts of the poverty program. My answer was: "Yes, it is at this time." Until the poverty program begins to show results, the income loss which would be brought about by reducing feed grain supports is critical to the well-being of millions of people. If this action led to an eventual drop of all supports and an income loss of 50 percent, or nearly \$6 billion at present net income levels, this would have a grave depressionary effect. As you said during the campaign -- depressions can be farm-led and farm-fed.

The progress toward parity of income we have made under your leadership for cooperators has contributed its share to the national economic advance. To take away the \$900 million a year and possibly \$5 billion more of net farm income would be catastrophic.

Constantly increasing productivity which outruns cost will we think make it possible to hold costs for the next 4 or 5 years to a constant level between \$2.5 and \$3 billion and also gradually lower support rates. This situation would bring about lower supports consistent with our goal of parity of income without eroding confidence and creating political hazards, both legislative now and election-wise in 1966.

3--The President

But now, so soon after the confidence expressed in you in rural America and with the present economics of the feed grain program, is not the time.

May I again respectfully but strongly urge your favorable consideration of Alternative No. 2.



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

December 11, 1964

The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

I feel an inescapable obligation to stress again, very respectfully but with all the earnestness at my command, the critical importance of your decision on feed grain price support levels for 1965.

This will be widely recognized as the key decision indicating whether or not this Administration does in fact intend to maintain farm income and give efficient family farmers an opportunity to achieve income parity. I have understood that to be your policy, but in my judgment the recommendation of the Bureau of the Budget cannot possibly be reconciled with a policy of maintaining farm income.

To maintain farm income even at present levels, which are still below parity for the great majority of efficient farmers, it will be necessary to maintain support prices and payments at near present levels. Increased yields will permit some decrease in support rates from time to time without reducing aggregate net farm income, and such decreases are necessary to counteract the upward trend in program costs resulting from increased yields. These decreases in support rates will not be popular with farmers, but I think we can ask them to accept the decreases in rates so long as we maintain aggregate net farm income. Decreases beyond that cannot be reconciled with a policy to maintain farm income.

Even under the recommendation I have made, and even with a 71 bushel yield for corn, we expect farm income to be \$200 million lower in 1965 than this year. To reduce farm returns \$450 million more as the Budget Bureau would do would be a severe shock to the farm community and to the rural economy and to the national economy.

2--The President

Again I feel I must say, and I do it very respectfully, this would be such a drastic departure from the policy of maintaining farm income that we in the Department of Agriculture have said publicly so many times is the policy of the Administration, that Charlie Murphy and I would feel our usefulness here was ended. I know you must make this decision, and all the tough ones, in the light of the over-all national interest; and I do not wish to add to your burdens. But the maintenance of farm income is such a basic policy issue, I feel I owe it to you to get these thoughts before you.

Respectfully yours,



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

12-11-64

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2-The President-

Mr. President, I repeat very respectfully that to do this would be such a drastic departure from the policy of this Administration which we dramatized repeatedly during the campaign as we talked parity of income that the confidence of Rural America in the President would be seriously undermined. I know you must make this decision, and all the tough ones, in the light of the overall national interest; and I do not wish to add to your burdens. But the maintenance of farm income is such a basic policy issue, I feel I owe it to you to get these thoughts before you.

Respectfully yours,

P.S. U.S.D.A. Budget

Our budget as it now stands for fiscal 1966, will be no more and probably less than the current fiscal year. If we abandon advance payments on the Feed Grain Program it will be \$400 to \$500 million under the current year.

Continuation from the other tape.

We would have to continue these programs until 1970 when we would have things rationalized. He listened carefully and made no comment, and said we should get it resolved. We have a meeting set for sometime Monday and will go over all of these things.

In the course of this the President had o.k.'d the cuts that I said would be difficult politically but would have relatively top priority if something had to be eliminated. This was the list that would be politically very rough, including such things as the abolishment of Federal funds for Extension and for Cooperative-State Research. Also, school milk.

Every single one, including some that would be politically impossible, he had o.k.'d. Kermit, however, apparently does not plan to put all of them into effect, for the fact Bill Moyers mentioned the President's o.k. didn't seem to shake him up very much. I am sure he has a pretty good idea what the President has in mind, and with constant exposure can move things around so that he can keep his rapport. Pretty tough for some of us who don't have that much access.

The poverty meeting, I thought, went along fairly well. Shriver chaired it. The President stated how much this program meant to him. He told a story about a family of 7, where two had been a great success, the second and the sixth, and in talking with the 85 year old dying mother and asking about the first and the seventh; he dragged out the story, but the effect was that when the seventh, a little boy, got a wagon, the seventh, who was raising rabbits got him to go and get lettuce and bones out of garbage cans to feed to the rabbits and that they in effect had been going in garbage cans and sorting out bones ever since, and the moral of the story was that there would be lots of bones around and lots of ideas and we'd have to sort out the good ones and try and get a workable program.

He went on then to tell his familiar story of how in the Roosevelt Cabinet, everyone of the Cabinet officers fought each other and after Cabinet meetings had private press conferences attacking one another, and that poor Roosevelt had to stand this, and he begged us not to do the same, saying he was not as strong as Roosevelt and he would be unable to stand it. The moral and object apparently being that we must get along, and that he knew that this would be difficult and there would be frictions, but he was urging that we should not put him under the gun as they had put Roosevelt under the gun.

His concern about the poverty program, and about passing legislation, came through also in connection with our conference on feed grains when he said to Kermit that we had to keep this budget down, that after all the budget going into high could very well imperil all of our other programs. That he really had his back in the poverty program was clear. I thought it was quite apt to describe this committee as comparable domestically to the National Security Council and to call it the Domestic National Security Council. As a part of this same presentation he said he had never yet heard one of the members of the Cabinet criticize another one, and he thought this was remarkable, and he wanted it continued.

All in all it was another exhibition of the complex nature of this man. He's for some of these programs; he feels his way along, he wants to keep people happy, wants to be decisive. He's crude, cruel; he's secretive and vain. He's all kinds of things. He's sure different from Kennedy, but he does get the job done.

Anyway I feel a little better now. I think we can meet next week, and I think he really more or less gave Kermit Gordon signals and now we ought to be able to work something out.

It'll be a relief to get this off my back.

I do feel I should try and carry on here. I did feel today that he wanted me to. I think this is going to come out, and we'll just have to keep pitching.

The rest of the week was really not too significant. I spent some time up on the Hill, saw Senators McGovern, Milt Young, had lunch with Jamie Whitten, talking mostly about pesticides, but I did tell him the budget was going to be tough and that the President was really squeezing us and that it wouldn't be the budget that I would consider ideal.

Last night Jane and I went to see a movie on Churchill which set down the magnificent accomplishments of this man and the span of history in his lifetime which may touch little sideshows as I have just been living through now seem rather small. Jane reminded me there were, I guess, some occasions when I wondered if there would be understanding and support under the Kennedy Administration and only in the later years some more feeling of stability and assurance as a product of coming to know him and his staff people better. She said the same thing would happen here and suggested in her gentle way that I was a bit too impatient and a bit too abrupt, and perhaps she's right. In any event, at 4:10 on this Saturday afternoon, things look a bit better and now I must make some phone calls and get some things lined up for a heavy week to come.

December 14, 1964 - 11:45 p.m.

I've just finished about three hours at this desk and it's about time to turn in. I've had a busy day and a somewhat satisfying one. The Feed Grain matter is settled. The President, in effect, told Kermit Gordon to get off the hook on Saturday and I worked a good share of the day yesterday on my budget and got some tables prepared, one of which by cutting back the estimated yield in feed grains picked up about 75 million dollars in terms of budget estimates.

I wrote this into the budget figures which came out less than the current fiscal

year's budget, and Kermit bought it without saying very much.

Actually Humphrey came over again and we met for almost three hours. At the conclusion of that meeting, where we discussed many things and went over a number of the items that I had submitted to the President for possible cuts if we had to follow a radical course, Humphrey said to Kermit, "What about Feed Grains, can we go ahead now," and Kermit said somewhat jocularly, "Well, it's not that you have a good case but you've simply worn me out," and on that basis why we plan to go ahead.

I also agreed to a 29¢ support level on cotton which worries me. It's another cut to the producers and the mills continue to benefit from the one-price cotton thing, which is a bonanza for them. I would have real soul-searching if it weren't that under the current cotton bill the small 15 acre producer gets a special support rate and also by increasing the payment provision we believe that the cooperating cotton farmer will do just about as well as he would at 30¢. There'll be a squawk about this, as there will about rice which we plan to drop quite a bit, because this is a program where they are having quite a bonanza, 50 percent of it going out either under P.L. 480 or under a very heavy export subsidy.

All in all we had a good meeting. Humphrey contributed mightily to it. His wit, his dramatic way of putting things, and the uninhibited free range of his mind, really are quite stimulating. He jacked up the Bureau of the Budget fellows considerably in terms of go, go, instead of a no, no approach. Actually, without the inhibitions or rather the problems of having to administer and carry programs forward, it is easier to have the mind range free. Certainly in the legislative bodies the inhibitions which we necessarily have when we have to administer the programs are not present and a creative thinker, a doer and a humanitarian like Humphrey can really stimulate and excite things which he has done all these years.

Anyway we got a good many things settled out in this session and now at last I can see daylight in terms of closing out our budget by the end of this week and having most of the big tough commodity, i.e., allotment price support questions resolved. We will now look forward to sometime over the holidays reviewing our over-all program with the President and then stepping up the pace in terms of getting legislative acceptance from the key people in the Congress and getting people involved in that tricky business. I hope by the time Congress comes in we'll have our position thoroughly consolidated in relation to program policy and direction.

Yesterday, Jane and I went up to New York to the Kennedy Library Trustees meeting. We thought we wouldn't get out of here because of the bad weather and no landing in New York, but it worked out fairly well, for we flew up with Bob McNamara. He had the British Ambassador, Lord Harlech and his wife, and we had a nice visit with them going up and coming back.

Again, this was an affair which had distinction and class. The Kennedy's do know how to do things. The architect was announced. Dick Neustedt was announced as the head of a Kennedy Institute to be affiliated with the Library to work towards cross-fertilization between the academic and the political and Governmental communities. An important and stimulating idea.

Jackie looked well and relaxed, which we were all happy to see.

We didn't get back until almost 2:00 in the morning, so last night was a short night, but I felt surprisingly well today, being on the treadmill most of the day. We had long conferences this morning about P.L. 480, Food for Peace, and what might be done to amend that law.

I went over to the White House to go over with Mike Feldman what he would give to the President briefing our program. It was well-done as usual. Mike indicated to me that he might resign, and I urged him not to do so. He said that some days he felt fine and others like he ought to move on, that four

years was enough in any job. He hastened to add that that didn't mean lack of respect for the President, but. Well, I had the feeling that the but was a big one and it did mean that and he's pretty thoroughly frustrated and kinda feels left out, as many do these days.

I told him that I felt the next year would be a crucial one, that we owed it to the country, to the program, to do our best, using what we've learned in four years to get some things done. Maybe I helped him and his spirit. I hope I might have influenced him to stay. He's an excellent staff man. The kind of staffing which the White House ought to have is crucial to make this Government work.

Spent a little time on the Hill again today, too. I had about an hour's visit with Gene McCarthy. Earlier I had gotten Ed. Christianson to approach him and to ask him to give real leadership in the Senate Committee. Ed wrote me that Gene had agreed to do this. Gene McCarthy said nothing to me about it. I thought he was reasonably interested and receptive. Ken Birkhead thought he was not too responsive in terms of saying what he would do, but I think that's Gene's way. I'll need to go back at him again, but if we can really get him to take leadership, it'll mean a great deal.

I also talked to Senator Bayh from Indiana who is a young fellow very interested in agriculture, and a farmer himself, who has been somewhat influenced by the Farm Bureau cropland retirement program, but seems to be moving our way, at least influenced by the National Agricultural Advisory Council's recommendations re. general cropland retirement program combined with cropland conversion and our wheat and feed grain programs. On the other hand the Farmers Union is violently opposed to the general cropland thing. This is really politics for the NFO is up and down their back, and general cropland retirement even as carefully circumscribed in the Commission report can be demagogically equated with the old soil bank which was so hated as it wrecked many communities and that's what Jim Patton is doing now. But we'll just have to get him talked out of that one.

December 16, 1964 - 11:45 p.m. - at home

This evening we had Jack and Pat McCarty for dinner. Jack quit his job with NAPCO, basically because Max Rappaport tends to chisel rather than to live up to the full faith of contracts and agreements and Jack couldn't take any more of it. The falling out was really about a deal to India where a NAPCO subsidiary was sold, the loan being negotiated through AID for several million dollars. It took a long time and in the process NAPCO absorbed a good many of the tools and Max was chiseling on living up to the full faith of the contract. At first Jack planned to go to India himself to make it work; finally he quit all together. He was a little nervous. He needs a job. He wasn't as highly paid or as rich as I thought he was, and I think he lived fairly high. He is a bright, able, honest, dedicated fellow, and I am going to talk to Dave Bell and McNamara about him.

For the last hour I have been working over my notes and briefing book for a conference opening tomorrow with Canada, Argentina, and Australia on wheat. Gradually for sometime we have been disturbed that we have been losing wheat markets and we have had a feeling that the Canadians have been taking advantage of us. Actually we have a kind of cartel with them and we work out arrangements, grade by grade, market by market, where we compete fundamentally on quality, shade one another now and then on price, but stay pretty well within the rules of a given price which it is estimated as 15 or 20¢ higher than it would be if it was on restrained competition in the world market as once was the case. However, I've had the feeling for sometime, particularly since the Canadians sold to China, dropped their world price without notice to us, held it there while they took care of their principal buyers, then moved it back up, all down rather peremptorily, that the Canadians more or less chisel on us and that we are taken advantage of.

This year our wheat exports have been very light, and we estimate them to be under 100 million bushels. This in a year when we must extend the wheat bill with increasing pressure from all segments of the wheat trade, including

the wheat producers groups has resulted in our looking closely and taking a stronger position.

A couple of weeks ago I o.k.'d an export subsidy of about 20¢ a bushel more than otherwise would be the case on durum and we made a sale in France taking it away from Argentina. Canada protested vigorously and dropped their price accordingly.

We are going to take a strong position tomorrow declaring that we insist on 150 million bushels in the market, that we will try to work out with them amicably how we will get this much, pricing to get it, and stop there, or if we can't work something out, we will just price accordingly.

I am sure that their response will be a sharp rejoinder that we are using the great power of the United States and the taxpayer to take away so much market and that this is unfair, that after all we have a favorable balance of trade with Canada, also with Australia, and we certainly ought to not act in this fashion.

That's all well and good, but I still think we're getting taken advantage of, and I will merely say that the pressure has built up here with the new wheat program, where we can't tolerate this and I've got to move one way or another.

There'll be some contention about whether we should include sales to China which they will want to exclude in determining the base on which to apply the percentage to which we are entitled. They will claim that our P.L. 480 doesn't benefit the recipient but is primarily a benefit to ourselves, and I'll try and shame them into taking on some of this burden.

The question as to whether the less developed countries would be better off and in the long run our markets would be better off if we sold on world markets at a lower price, particularly with a great and growing demand for wheat among the LDC's will also be reviewed. I'm frankly a little uncomfortable about all of this. I was reading a paper by Bob Lewis who, alone in the Department, feels that we ought to adhere to the international cooperation line. I am more comfortable philosophically with that, but I have the feeling supported by most in the Department that it is time for us to be a little rugged and a little demanding. A good example of this is the Ceylanese deal that I've already described, and how if we don't hit a bit harder advantage will be taken of us. We'll have to see how it goes. I feel much more comfortable being Santa Claus than Scrooge.

The last couple of days have really been hectic ones, but I've got a lot done. I had the Assistant Secretaries in to discuss the reorganization that is in the mill and it looks pretty good, and I have scheduled a meeting for next Monday and have directed the necessary staff work to get it rolling.

We had a long discussion about EEC which was quite timely for they finally agreed on a common grain price, mid-point between the German and the French as I predicted a long time ago. The question now is whether they will be more flexible in negotiating agricultural agreements. We'll have to wait and see. The signs aren't good.

McGeorge Bundy called me about this today and said he would advise the President that he thought this ought to be scheduled and carefully reviewed by him shortly after the first of the year. I heartily concurred and was encouraged that he did call about it.

I met a good part of the morning with some people from California, from their Legislature and their Commissioner of Agriculture, talking about trade.

I had a big delegation of sugar people in. We had a session on the budget. I had a session with Ed Crafts from Interior about the relations between ourselves and Interior on new land and water conservation fund bill

which I succeeded in working around so the administrative regulations now call for non-coersion but real coordination with reference to the Recreation Advisory Council in cases where there is not concurrence in the leadership of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.

All in all, things are really moving along. I'm also trying to get ready for a visit to the Ranch, which I am informed will be first part of next week. I'll be glad when that's over.

Budget and legislation is pretty well settled down.

We announced the feed grain price support yesterday and had a good bit of discussion and I am pretty well resolved on 29¢ for cotton. I'm not very happy about it; I'd like to hold to 30¢. However, the little cotton fellow will get an increase payment and he is pretty well taken care of regardless. Most of the large producers recognize a need for a bit lower price support level. It's the producer of 75 to 200 acres who has a diversified operation and probably can't make any money on 29¢ cotton I worry about. However, yields have skyrocketed, the carry-over is enormous, and fundamentally I think most people will support the drop.

I'm beginning to get calls however. One from Congressman Mills; another from Senator Symington, and the pressure will pile up.

We were going to announce cotton today, but decided against it because we got the results of yesterday's referendum on cotton -- 96% approval -- flu-cured tobacco about the same, and it seemed just too cruel and heartless to reward this fine showing with an immediate drop in price supports. So we held it off until Friday and will announce it on Friday.

We agreed on soybeans as well and so we will almost be through. I'm going to have a meeting next week on rice, bring in the State and AID people so that they can see what the alternatives are in relation to supply and cost and get them to understand how we set acreage and price supports. In the process we

can maybe review the question of liberalizing P.L. 480 and find out whether we can really get their enthusiastic support or not. Without them, we won't go far. These, then, are some of the things in the mill on this a very busy week indeed. And now off to bed. I must breakfast in the morning with Sharp, the Trade and Commerce Minister from Canada, whom I am sure is not going to be very happy with what we're doing. Sobeit.

Sunday, December 20, 1964 -- 11:05 p.m. In the office at home.

Well another week is over, or should I say, the first day of another week is completed. To catch up -- the meeting with the Canadians, Australians and Argentinians was not as bad as I thought. I was a bit uncomfortable, but they got the pitch quick and we covered a lot of ground, reviewing past, present and future wheat relations. I opened the meeting with some brief welcoming remarks and then read a prepared statement which said in effect that we were tired of providing the umbrella with no cooperation from the rest of the world and we were short 50,000,000 bushels of wheat we needed, would they help. For a day and a half the discussion rolled around that question and it ended up without any thing resolved. I think I shook them up when I told them that we could well fail to extend wheat legislation this year and with unlimited production we could really flood the world market and gravely depress prices on wheat. The Argentines and Austrailians really didn't say very much. Argentina repeated again and again how P.L. 480 affected their commercial markets in Latin America and how they had to sell because they had no storage and then pretty much listened. I sturdily contended that they really didn't destination price but rather priced according to zones and had to because of their location far from many markets. They also had real concern about P.L. 480. Canada carried the brunt of the discussion and made a strong case for avoiding a price conflict, not driving down prices, and how we would all lose if we did.

I went to a lunch that Charley Murphy had for the Argentinians. He made a trip down there, discussed wheat and other things with them, and seemingly thoroughly enjoyed it. I was the host at a dinner on Thursday night for all of them. It really worked out quite well. There were a lot of side discussions. We had dinner and rather than a formal proceeding, I told a few stories, other people responded and it was a rather gay and enjoyable affair. The next day we were at it again early in the morning. We asked them to cooperate in setting up a working committee to see where we might expand our sales without their objecting to our getting them through lower prices. They did not cooperate in that endeavor. The meeting pretty well ended on a note which was typified by Sharp's closing remarks that they were sensitive to our problem, they would help in every way they could, but they were not willing to sit down and mark out any areas where we might dig in a little extra latitude to sell. Their strong argument was that if we tried to sell anywhere, such as Egypt, lowering price to get a market that would otherwise go to France, that wheat would tend to leak around the world and disrupt world markets. It was left about there.

On Friday afternoon I went over to the State Department to talk with Ball and Herter about a letter to the EEC. This one is running hot again on trade negotiations for they did settle and reached a common price on grain. It's mid-way between the German and French price just where I said it would. There is some doubt about how much increased production will come into being in France at this price, but probably a good deal. It's a miserable situation. EEC funds are right now subsidizing French wheat which is being exported and going to China. EEC funds collected from fees from us will go to pay a subsidy to the German farmers and also will go to pay a subsidy for export to the French farmers. In the meantime they will maintain their fee and we will all be residual suppliers.

The fee on poultry went up last week about 3 cents and hundreds of thousands of pounds of poultry enroute was stopped. Also there is some reason to believe commitments were made to Italy looking to fees being extended to fruit and vegetables, also possibly to tobacco and to vegetables as well. If this is the case it would represent a real erosion of our market. Ray Ioanes has now almost turned around and is of a mind, Charley Murphy pretty well agrees, that rather than our demanding that agriculture and industry go forward together that instead we pull agriculture out of the Kennedy-round altogether. This reflects a lack of confidence in our negotiations and the fear that rather than get any concessions we actually may very well lose ground. McGeorge Bundy called me about all this and suggested that shortly after the first of the year we ought to have a full dress review of this whole problem and what lies before us with the President. I heartily agreed. I was pleased he called and that he is thinking about it and it is timely and important that this should be done.

I'm going down to the Ranch on Wednesday and I hope to have a chance to discuss this briefly with the President and to see what his reaction will be to my taking a reconnaissance trip to Western Europe before such a meeting so I can get a little better feel as to what is actually going on.

Actually when I was at the State Department I had a call from Horace Busby in the President's office, telling me to be prepared to emphasize economies accomplished and also contributions made to the Great Society for the President and for the Press when I was in Texas. I was also urged to get on the radio and T-V and tell the story of Agriculture, how much better we do than the Russians and in this way to blunt the edge of the criticism of agriculture. I don't know what brought this on but I couldn't help chuckling and I summarized the instructions to Busby laughingly and he responded in kind to the effect

that I am to economize and to carry the Great Society forward without spending any money. I am also to be liberal and progressive, but also to be conservative and prudent in my appearances.

The press is a bit critical these days about the President's secrecy which is kind of ridiculous. For example, his unwillingness to give the salary of the people in The White House; also, his withholding of information and his failure to give any definitive statements at this time as to what his program will be, and this probably has gotten him upset.

Anyway, after getting these instructions I went on over with Connie and her Sorority big sister, Sue Olson, and Jane and we saw the Christmas tree lighting ceremony which is always so impressive. It was bitter cold and we rushed to the car to get warmed up. I went by the Bureau of the Budget to drop off the last budget analysis which shows us in pretty good shape. Actually several hundred million dollars below last year's budget which is \$1 billion, \$200 million below the year before. There are a half a dozen contested items which I will have to resolve with Kermit Gordon, but it looks fairly good at this point. A number of them are painful. For one thing, I had some trouble with Nyle Brady last week complaining that he was not being consulted when we reached some decisions and directed him to eliminate certain kinds of research. This he said was very damaging and offered to find other things that could be eliminated that were not so important and he proceeded to do that including the closing of a dozen or more research laboratories. Congress will scream bloody murder about this. Some are on the list that I did not ask for appropriations for last time and they appropriated for every one of them. Certain lines of research will also be eliminated and this will bring a big holder also.

Then there is Soil Conservation where we propose to cut back about \$20 million for the application of soil conservation practices on the farm. This will create a serious problem with the Soil Conservation Association for they complain bitterly when they do not get as much or more money for the "on the farm" soil conservation work opposing our effort to direct funds and energies into the land readjustment recreation and new land uses program. They of course want them both -- more money for the old, new money for the new.

It's really kind of interesting how this one, the research and a number of others got into this business. With the President talking so strong and hard about eliminating unnecessary services I got together a list partly in peak of a dozen or so things that we could eliminate which would be politically costly. With hardly a yes or a no he accepted the list one day in the office and I was hung on a dilemma of my own making. Actually, Kermit Gordon got me off in part for he seemingly is ignoring what the President said about this and such things as the Extension Service and the Federal-State Cooperative Research Program he left in the budget despite the fact they were on my list and allegedly accepted by the President. This is a brutal, difficult process. You have to be pretty tough and hard boiled at it and I must say he is or we wouldn't be moving as we are and getting some bad ones out of the way. The response of Brady at long last in coming up with projects to be canceled out is an example of the kind of pressure it takes to get something of this kind. He came up with it only when he was able to prevent cutting something else out that he wanted more.

December 23, 1964 -- 6:30 a.m. Yes, a.m. Off to the Ranch. The last few days have revolved around today and what may come today -- to wit, a review of the budget and hopefully the program for the coming year at the IBJ Ranch. We've been really scratching to prepare materials to be up to date

on all aspects of the budget and hopefully to review policy questions and get direction, policy orientation, marching orders, if you will. It's quite a process somewhat reminiscent of preparing for a broad comprehensive examination. I'm not always up to date on the numbers because Charley Murphy is so good at this and I like to have him with me but on this occasion I have really been digging and I hope we're in pretty good shape. There are a number of items which still have to be resolved on the budget but we are below last year, a good deal below 2 years ago.

Yesterday I had a number of meetings in the office and a very, very busy day and have had both days this week. One of the meetings involved State, AID, the Bureau of the Budget and the Council of Economic Advisers on the question of rice price supports and then the question of whether we should amend Public Law 480. Throughout this discussion, as well as at a lunch with Bob Weaver from the House and Home Finance Agency with whom we are trying to coordinate, one thing stood out as the issue, the prominent thing, that is cut, cut, cut, save, save, save. Last night at dinner I made a little speech about it which bubbled up from somewhere inside with a feeling of deep resentment. It is true this President has put on so much pressure the Bureau of the Budget has been so determined and has become so dominant that the basic attitude in this Administration is not what can you do, but what can't you do. I hope this isn't too negative a prognosis.

Yesterday morning in talking to Rowland Evans, the Commentator and Columnist, I indicated that we were disallowing some programs in order to finance others, that we had gotten additional funds in the poverty program which is true for loans to poverty farmers and to small cooperatives in poverty areas. The job corps will also help some young people and help our forests in part. This is a plus, but there are so many other things up and down the line it's a minus.

I must say honestly if you're going to eliminate some programs, you've gotta be pretty rough and tough because they're hard to move. Most programs are useful, serve a useful purpose and people fight terribly hard to retain them. I've done a good deal of work the past 2 days on some changes in the Research Service eliminating some 22 small stations, limiting lines of research in another 30 or so, and generally shaking up the Agricultural Research Service. Most of these are things that need to be done but they sure will get Congress excited. Well, it's a hard tough process, but it is basically disturbing to see the attitude as a whole and of course to feel the uncertainty in connection with this whole business as it permeates the Government. This will be really the first chance in over a year now to have a real policy review and get some idea of what kind of support will be forthcoming from the man in the White House. I'll be back in about 12 hours.

December 23, 1964, 9:35 p.m. -- back in the office. I just returned from the LBJ Ranch trip, landing a few moments ago at Andrews on a Jet Star. It was an interesting but relatively uninformative day, although the undertones are not too pleasant. I was up early this morning about 6:00 o'clock, took my usual exercise, dressed and rushed out of the door and to Andrews, arriving there about 7:15. We were airborne soon, arriving in Texas at the Ranch about 11:00 a.m. Washington, 10:00 a.m. Texas time. The President met us personally in his little cart and took us to the ranch house where in a few moments we were draped around tables in the front yard with the river flowing by in front of us and down to work. He first reviewed matters with the Postmaster General, John A. Gronouski, excusing Dave Bell and myself to go into the house for some coffee. We did so, visiting there while he conferred for about 45 minutes with Gronouski, and then with Bell. I came to bat about 11:30 and we conferred about 45 minutes. We didn't waste much time on the

smaller budget items, deferring them for consideration by Kermit Gordon and myself which we will probably do Saturday. We did discuss some basic policy questions and I must say without very good results.

I left the ranch and particularly the press conference, for we went from the ranch to Austin for a press conference at 4:00 o'clock, feeling somewhat depressed. First of all the press conference was typical in that I got only one question and that was the total amount of my budget request and how it compared to last year. Dave Bell, Gronouski, and Kermit Gordon got repeated questions. The press wasn't even interested enough in what agriculture was doing to ask, or perhaps they didn't know enough. Of more gravity even was the general attitude expressed about agriculture during my discussions with the President. First, I had hoped and this matter had been before him for some time that we would get his consent to a name change in the Department. I presented this very strongly with prepared data, arguing that we needed to have a name change to adequately describe the Department and its charge to bring The Great Society to Rural America to stamp out poverty there, to describe what we are doing, to take the surplus subsidy label off of us. Earlier I discussed this with Horace Busby, one of the President's staff men, who concurred in this and thought it would be very useful and important. The President was generally negative. He listened as I did my best to present the case strongly. Kermit Gordon disagreed, saying the use of the words Rural Affairs would have the effect of separating country and city when they ought to be growing closer together rather than apart. I vigorously disagreed, pointing out that we now had that with the name of agriculture and the commodity label and we needed to have a new day, and in effect an underwriting of our new assignment. The President concluded by saying let's hold it and see what happens, we wouldn't get it changed anyway,

I'll discuss this matter further with Humphrey and Orville, and so that was put on the shelf, but I'm not very optimistic.

When we got to the commodity programs he was really not irritable, but certainly negative. In part he was just teasing when he accused Kermit Gordon of backing down on the \$1.15 support level. When he remarked that Ellender and Gordon took that position, Kermit came back and said that he had capitulated because of the company he was keeping. The President then said we would bring that down or change the program, he wasn't quite clear, but he was definitely of a mind that the support level wasn't a one shot thing. I then pointed out to him that we needed to keep these programs if we were going to have farm income for at least the period from now until 1970. Kermit Gordon came back and said that I had agreed to dropping price supports, and the President said I had agreed to terminating the programs. I think I cleared it up by pointing out that I had said that if productivity permitted it we would support dropping supports, but I reemphasized program continuation and the fact that the programs ought to be extended for 3 to 5 years. Bill Moyers came in then and said that Charley Murphy meeting with them in the White House had agreed on a 1-year extension, but then he backed off and said he wasn't sure that Murphy had actually so agreed. What it comes down to is that they are certainly not for an extension of the programs more than 1 year. Further I found that Humphrey had apparently recently sent in a memorandum calling for some kind of a committee or commission to review farm programs, said commission to be composed of people who were not allied to producers or dominated by producer groups. Kermit Gordon said he was for this, so was Moyers, the President was noncommittal saying he would discuss the whole matter further with Humphrey and myself. It's a pretty grim prospect. No one on the White House staff, in the Bureau, and that will go for the Council of Economic Advisers,

is apparently prepared to go for more than a 1-year extension of these programs. I seriously wonder whether that is worth the struggle. I must get in touch with Humphrey and try and clear the air on this and also on the matter of the name change. Both of these were major items and in both cases I was in effect rebuffed. This isn't personal, my relations with the people, the President and the others seems to be excellent but they are simply more than lukewarm on the program.

After I finished my session, we went to the table for lunch. I had earlier been greeted by Mrs. Johnson most cordially and she inquired about the kind of plant and I must get more information on it for I was a bit embarrassed that I didn't know more about the Holly Plant she had received out there and which obviously had thrilled her. We had a nice lunch with the President coming late and then criticising the pheasant as being tough, all of which was taken merrily and in good graces by Mrs. LBJ.

Dave Bell apparently was very gravely cut and was quite depressed before and at lunch, but then went back into session for almost 2 hours on the front lawn and the President apparently increased his allowance up to the current level for the AID program. Apparently following the morning conference he called George Mahon, the Appropriations Committee Chairman, and discussed this matter and got Mahon's agreement to support a program at that level and then went ahead and let Dave increase it. On the way back on the plane Dave asked the question of whether this was all a charade of Kermit Gordon, and Kermit said he thought not, but he wasn't sure either. It's interesting that Bill Moyers, Horace Busby and Kermit Gordon, all staff people very close to the President really don't know what he is thinking or always what he's doing. They talk quite freely about his personality, system and method, pointing out for example that he will start taking a very prejudice position, that he will then after he has vent his spleen, so to speak, will permit an expression of

a logical case which he will then consider and act within reason. He is particularly violent and reacts negatively, they pointed out, when something that has been discussed or reviewed shows up in the newspapers. This will cost \$300 or \$400 million out of any program they related. Relationships again are odd. His kidding has a kind of a mean cut to it. He hollers at his staff and people who run break neck to his every personal need. He joked with Dave Bell, turning it on me pointing out what would I say to the Iowa farmers when we cut the feed grain and loan level and maintained payments to foreign countries. I responded that we would tell them it would increase their agriculture export markets which Dave Bell appreciated, but which he turned aside. Actually he was in fairly good humor today and he can be quite personable, but this edge of cruel humor, these personal demands and then an arbitrariness in terms of decision making set off on occasions by thoughtlessness and the unwillingness to make a decision upon which there is conflict make it indeed a complex process to do anything with him.

One thing accomplished today was an agreement by Dave Bell and myself to get a quick task force to review the Food for Peace thing, projecting needs in developing countries for the next decade, amounts of food that we should have available, and changes that ought to be made in our own domestic agricultural program so we will be set up to meet those needs when they come. With this kind of a frame of reference it is felt we will have more definite ground on which to stand in developing and in selling necessary changes in P.L. 480.

The trip back in the Jet Star was relatively uneventful. We had a few drinks and visited. I had a long talk with Kermit Gordon about agriculture, but it wasn't very productive. He went back to the ground conservative economists always go to in agriculture and that is that the increase in land values results in a kind of cycle because that means that the cost of operations goes up because the value of land is the base to which interest is applied

and therefore all of our parity income figures are not very meaningful. He has no program. He does attack the sugar program and uses it as an example of how certain producers have a bonanza. He harkens back to the Brannan plan of payments which limits thinking in terms of payments to the small and relatively inefficient producer, ignoring the fact that we need price support and production control programs for the commercial producer if American Agriculture is to continue to do its job. This we seemingly can't break through on. Anyway, he merely restated again but emphasized the fact that it's not only him but the people around the President that it's a pretty grim, tough business. I felt for a while today again that I'd just about had it and as I look ahead it's a rather grim prospect. To break out back fighting for a 1-year extension on a farm program, to start all over and do it again next year, simply doesn't make sense. We may not make it at all and as a result will be kind of grim if we don't. I don't know where we go then. It may well be that I should take a stand and fight it out now. We'll see. Anyway, that's the day before the day before Christmas at the LBJ Ranch. And now a bit more paper work and then on home. It's been another one of those days.

December 27, 1964, 9:40 a.m. I'm down in the office while the rest of the family sleep a bit this morning because we were to bed late last night. Jane and I drove out to Dorothy and George Jacobson's. Mike was up when we got back at 1:30 and Connie wasn't in yet. We're going out to Blackwater Falls Park for a couple of days. We hope to ski, although the weather has been so warm it seems doubtful. We're just going to get away as a family. We'd hoped to get away early because Mike and I want to see the National League play off football game today, but we got to bed so late Jane didn't want to get up very early and Mike who wanted to watch the football game is still sleeping, too.

I awakened about 7:00 o'clock and lay in bed thinking. Not much has happened since I last dictated. The situation is even gloomier than it seemed when I had just left the Ranch. In retrospect we now not only have the problem of a President who is cutting and slashing and is not very responsive to agriculture when everyone thought he would be and when in his campaign there was every expectation that we could look for a pathetic ear where agriculture is concerned, but we also have a Director of the Bureau of the Budget who is sharply anti. And with the President who is determined to cut, he becomes very dependent upon the Director of the Bureau of the Budget and is going to do what he says provided it means cut. I've been through this myself as Governor.

Yesterday was the Saturday after Christmas. I went into the Office to meet with Kermit Gordon at 11:00 o'clock and worked until almost 7:30 at night hardly leaving my desk. It was a rough day. On item by item, Kermit said "No". On the items I thought he would react most positively toward, he said "No". To-wit, the increased funding of the Rural Area Development Program, increased funding for the Resource, Conservation and Development Program, Forests, Watersheds, Credit, almost anything you named and he went against it. In all fairness we got a few nickels and dimes here and there and on balance when the accounting is taken we will probably show some pretty fair increases Department-wide. The key however is his general attitude. He finally said to me when I asked him why he was like this and why he had opposed me on the name change down at the LBJ Ranch, he said that basically we had a big, able and dedicated bureaucracy here in Agriculture, that with the changes in Agriculture there was increasingly less for them to do and that basically we were expansionists in seeking a place in the sun. He felt that

we were trying to take over the functions of other Departments to justify our existence and to that extent we needed to be watched. Further he was concerned and certainly properly so with the multiplicity of on going functions with the overlapping and duplication where he felt there was costly programming and less accomplished than should be the case. There is merit in this, but where rural America is concerned this is not taking place. I tried to point out that we're trying to shape our programs, that we stand ready to help in the outreach of other programs, that the job isn't being done in rural America that can be done, that it is essential that it should be done. I also should have put it on a political basis that having had to go very slow in increasing farm income, facing basic discontent and unhappiness and frustration by millions of farmers, the rural area development program in part has been a political product to give hope, to mobilize constructive action, to give an outlet and a purpose and a direction to farm organizations and farm leaders who fundamentally know that great transitions are taking place and that they'll be painful but who rather than merely venting their frustrations and spleen in an anti-position can join with us in a positive position which is sound and right and meaningful of building up the income of Rural America to provide alternatives for those people who no longer find a place in farming. Even this is beginning to catch up with me now as the mail increasingly is critical because of my emphasis on rural area development and the fact that we acknowledge that there will be fewer farmers in the future is getting out. This equates my position with that of the CED and the Chamber of Commerce, in part even with the Farm Bureau as distinguished from the NFO and the Farmers Union and the Dairy Farmers Association and even the Grange who are ruggedly, consistently and long time agriculturalists with their roots running to the little farm and although their leaders recognize there is no place for ~~that~~ little

farm as an economic unit, yet they can't and won't say so. Emotion plus the carryover of the pastoral concept remains very strong. Thus, it's terribly disturbing when we find no sensitivity of this on the part of the President but rather an abruptness where it's concerned and when we find a Director of the Bureau of the Budget with no understanding about it, it really means that I am in effect in the middle. We have a farm program which we are moving down hill in terms of supports and income and that we meet strong resistance and are considered special interest pleaders within the family in the Administration while at the same time from the farmers themselves we are considered either unsuccessful or mislead -- or worse, not representative of their interests. So on the commodity programs we can't win. Even though as a real practical matter we have won if we only could get Administration support and ride this thing out.

One of the Christmas cards we got was one from Ken Galbraith and he had penned a note on it that he had read the National Advisory Commission Report, that it sounded very good to him, and then he added, "and long last the farm problem has been solved, all you need is a good press agent so the American people understand it." There is more truth than fiction in that. But we need more than that, someone who can sell it to the President so we can carry it through. If we could get him to go on rural area development, to change the name, to give us and the farmer and rural America some real hope, it would cut the edge of the anti-farm feeling, provide hope and purpose and direction. The question is how to do it. Most of last night I was very depressed after yesterday's 8 hours. We went over it with the Jacobsons and I talked with Jane about it at considerable length. I'm going to try to forget it now for a couple of days and get away from it. There is one ray of hope in connection with it. Kermit Gordon did agree to assign one of his top men after the pressure of budget is over to work with Jim Sundquist, to go out

and really make some judgments as to who ought to do what in rural America. If he does this as a practical matter I think he will land solidly in our camp and for the implementation of our programs and for the coordinating function that we're trying to perform. Should he do that we could go in for supplemental appropriations. We could do a number of things, including accomplishing the name change which Humphrey will also be working on. I guess the thing to do is to just hold fast, to move in every direction we can and to fight hard. It is, however, discouraging and disconcerting. Another problem on the budget thing is what posture ~~do~~ I take. I don't feel at all the compulsion to follow the decisions made by the President like I did with Kennedy. In the first place, you don't have a part in those decisions. They are arbitrarily made without any ration or reason given. In the second place, they are wrong and what he is doing is not in the best interest of the Administration, or the party, or the nation. Therefore, it seems to me that I ought to do some fudging in a sense and that is to let some groups know that although the budget has been made and sent to Congress that in a number of areas we would not be adverse to some increases and to quietly go about accomplishing those increases. This will mean where the commodity programs are concerned telling the farm groups frankly that they better get busy and telling the Congress, too, that they better not depend exclusively on the Secretary of Agriculture because there is a limit to what he can do and the position of the President is not going to be as vigorous a one as has previously been the case, so if they want farm programs they better stir their stumps and get out to do the job themselves. In effect what I probably ought to do is what I think the President himself would do under similar circumstances and that is to organize the political pressures involved because basically that is all he's going to understand.

Monday, December 28, 11:30 p.m. -- Again at the desk trying to get ready for tomorrow's big press conference when I'm going to announce the combining of poultry and meat inspection, the closing of some 22 research stations, small ones, discontinue some 36 lines of research in present stations together with discontinuing certain research here. This has been the product of the Bureau of the Budget's initial emphasis on discontinuing some research as a means of savings, my discussing this matter with Nyle Brady and his saying let him work out somethings to an equal amount; his doing so, my juggling them back and forth. I really think it's a good thing. It wouldn't be done if it weren't for pressure top side, but once you squeeze it out I think we for the main have gotten projects which should be discontinued. It's a painful process, but you can't cut back without some pain and it's only when alternatives are presented that you really find out what they can get along without. Today we went over the list and made some final decisions on it and then I called the Congressmen and Senators, Agricultural Committee, Appropriations Committee and Dick Russell. I merely told them that we were working hard to save money, that certain research would be discontinued, that I was sending them a list. Ellender called back in a panic a couple of hours later, protesting strongly that we would be closing down the whole research center in Houma, his home town, and that would destroy him. It was kind of ironic. He is always pushing me on the matters of economy, but this was one close to home. I had Brady call him back. Actually we are only closing out one kind of research involving 4 or 5 man years in a large research establishment so I'm sure he will be relieved. He was a bit petulant because he alleged I hadn't told him we were closing out one in his own home town. I told him I was sorry if I had misled him. I thought I had made it clear that we were closing out establishments.

The others were not as bad as I thought and I hope it goes well for tomorrow. I'll have the big press conference setting out these economies together with a summary of actions taken netting out a savings of close to \$1 billion \$100 million over the past 4 years. I hope we can get some good play on this. This dominated the day today and I'll be glad to have it over tomorrow. It seems I have some kind of reorganization proposal each year over the holiday season just before New Year's. Tomorrow I'm going to have a little reception and lunch for my Assistant Secretaries and Directors to more or less say Thank You to them and also to wish them well for 1965. I wonder what 1965 will bring.

The day today brought quite a shock. I had resolved over the week end, Jane, Connie, Mike and I going out to West Virginia to ski, we couldn't because it was raining and foggy, but we holed up in a cabin there, played bridge, read by the fire, had a tramp, Mike and I went out grouse hunting, and generally had a good time together and got away from things. I had a chance to think and it pretty well resolved that the thing to do now was to fight for programs that are important and that we are best qualified to fight for and not to be quite as brittle or antagonistic for after all we do have a President to educate and that takes some doing. He is under heavy pressure and unfortunately doesn't know much about agriculture and for the moment as I recall my own experience as Governor he is quite dependent upon the Director of the Bureau of the Budget for he's in a desperate budget cutting mood and this is the man he must rely on for his signals in doing it. So I had reached some kind of equanimity after last Saturday's miserable sessions with Kermit Gordon and the general overall feeling of disillusion and almost disgust.

Then this morning right after staff meeting Charley Murphy said to me that he had decided to resign and that he meant it. It seems that the request

from the White House that all Presidential appointees submit resignations had been about enough to trigger him and he said that he wanted out, that Kate was anxious that he should leave. He said a good deal of the incentive and snap and desire of coming to work no longer existed. It's bad enough, he said ironically, to have to fight the Maritime Unions, the Maritime Service, the State Department, the Bureau of the Budget, the Council of Economic Advisers, people in the White House, as well as the commodity groups and the special interest seekers, but when you have to fight the President, too, that's a little too much. He didn't mind all the world against the Department, but it was the last straw when the President was against it too. This really said it pretty much as I have been thinking it really. It is almost too much. It does gang up on you, you do lose a little of the incentive and the drive that you had when this started, and of course you have less maneuver room than you originally had; on the other hand, you know so much more and if you can maintain a little zip you ought to be able to do that much more even though the maneuver room is less. Anyway I talked with Charley. Later today when Tom Hughes and I went over to see John Macy and gave him the resignations Charley's was on top. He saw it and commented, "That looks serious". I took it back and said, let me look into it and in the meantime let's not say anything, to which he agreed.

I then talked to Charley and asked him if he is in any great hurry and he said, "No." He did say that there were some good points on being in the Department, but most of them were within the Department, and we both agreed that our relationships and that with others within the Department were good and in and of themselves really a joy. I then told him that I had some possible surgery coming up and asked him if he would stay until that was completed and he indicated that he would do so. That helps a bit, and in the meantime why

maybe I can nudge him along a bit and keep him. I'm sure if he should go that it will mean the President will send someone in and that will mean a whole new dimension in the Department which prospect I really dread. I hope I can keep him.

Last night when we got home I had a call from the President. He asked me if I had read a column by Evans and Novak -- I told him no. He told me to read it and call him back tomorrow. I looked up the column. It commented on the feed grain battle and how Humphrey and I had lost, but that the call from Governor Hughes and Governor Morrison had turned the tide, and then went on to point out how our budgeting in REA was really a farce. I delayed in calling him today until I had my calls to the Congressmen and Senators about the reorganization proposal so I could report to him and then I was unable to reach him. It'll be interesting to see what he has to say about it tomorrow. I would guess that it has probably died down by now, but he sure watches those newspapers. Jane told me that he's got everyone on the whole Inaugural Committee jumping because every story about the inaugural, about his inviting everyone, every reference to what he does he picks up and immediately expresses concern and starts calling people about it. What an operation.