

because of rumors about P.L. 480 and all, that I was going to make some big and exciting and new announcement that would suddenly rescue the current low price situation wherewith wet green corn selling for 75 cents a bushel a lot of people in Illinois were thoroughly disillusioned. That bothered me. On my return home, checking around a bit, it seems the feed grain program was generally well received.

From Nashville I flew to El Paso, Texas. I was most uncomfortable for time didn't permit me to eat at Nashville. I had a few drinks and on an empty stomach they made me sleepy. I slept most of the way and was dead as a door nail by the time we hit El Paso. The following day the conference was interesting and a pretty good demonstration of American Democracy at work. But let me relate that for tomorrow. I'm still kind of tired and punchy and I'd better get up there in the sack. Tomorrow will be a very busy day, trying to get the balance of my paper work which I've struggled with all day to day out of the way because tomorrow night at 8:00 o'clock we're off to Rome and the FAO.

Well it is morning (Sunday) October 29. It's hard to believe that we're as deeply into Fall as we are. When we left Hughes' last night there was frost on the car. This morning it is bright and clear. I've been up for about an hour. It's now 8:45 -- dictating and moving the paper out so we can get away.

Just a few comments about the Mexican-American Hearings. This was quite a demonstration in Democracy. Here we were -- 5 cabinet officers -- in El Paso on the Mexican Border. After appropriate opening ceremonies with a very spirited speech by Humphrey, who as usual caught the empathy of his audience and brought a rather dull manuscript to life. He used the names and the programs that were symbolic very skillfully, made a fine appeal to patriotism

and got a rousing response. It was a good job. Then he went on to Saigon. Incidentally, he had Dave Rowe with him, the Minneapolis labor leader now president of the State AFL-CIO. I was glad to see that. It will help us perhaps in some of our political problems at home with McCarthy down the road.

Anyway the format out there was a working one certainly. The panel session in the afternoon lasted from a little after 1:00 until almost 7:00 o'clock. I sat at the table at the head of the room. Six written formal papers were presented. Some of them were really quite good. Then I responded with a paper, called on various USDA people that were there and they statements were made and questions were asked from the audience. The program moved rather well I thought. The audience was not nearly as unruly as I had expected. The most difficult point for me personally was when a young man who was a migrant worker asked me in broken English how I would like to work for \$1.40 an hour, totalling less than \$2,000 a year, as his family did as migratory sugar workers and then went on to point out how they are exploited by the employer who takes advantage of the option to follow either piece work rates or take the \$1.40 minimum, by the labor contractors, by bad housing, and by everyone generally. I could only sit and be very uncomfortable for I set those wage rates. I acknowledged that they are disgracefully low and could only say lamely, "They are a lot better than they were when I became Secretary of Agriculture." It wasn't very pleasant, but perhaps it was useful.

There were some of the militants around -- those who have been dealing in violence in the Southwest, but everything seemed peaceful when I left on Saturday night which was around 8:00 o'clock, arriving here about 3:00 in the morning yesterday. I'm anxious to get a full report on how the closing day exercises went.

I've just finished dictating almost an hour, sending the various papers to people in the USDA calling to their attention information I acquired in this process and asking for reports and actions on the same. I happen to know that this whole program was set up because of the President's interest in the Mexican American matter, but more than that it's political again. They were definitely getting off the reservation. Traditionally they have been Democratic voters. They were feeling left out -- the result was this major effort with the development of the Mexican-American Committee to reach them. Certainly the show in El Paso was a big one and they should be happy at the participation that was involved in it.

Well, we're about ready to get off to Rome and I believe I'll finish this tape and send it on in to be processed while I'm gone. Today's been mostly packing although I did slip away to the football game. The Redskins lost to the Baltimore Colts 17 to 14, but it was a good game and they were heavily hit by injuries and soidd remarkably well. John Duncan over the years since he's been with the Southern Railway has taken me to football games rather frequently, a courtesy which I thoroughly enjoy.

We got up early this morning and worked on paper, then to Church with a fine Reformation Sermon. I drove out to American University to get Connie. It was a bit of a rushed lunch. We drifted into Vietnam. She was in a kind of cross mood and we had some words low key, but there's no doubt about where she stands. She is against the Vietnam position of the Administration and I guess would support complete withdrawal. She said to me quite indignantly that the press had very wrongly portrayed the nature of the demonstration last weekend, that most of the participants were middle aged, middle income college kids that paid their own way, that it was conducted on a very high level and that it was too bad that the press had played up the handful of

far out participants and given a wrong twist to the entire thing. I suggested to her that these big demonstrations, a lot of this activity around the country hardly came spontaneously and I wish I knew where the money came from. She immediately responded something along the line that here we go again Communist infiltration. I stated I didn't know about that, but there was some money floating around and the likelihood was that the Communists had something to do with it, all of this making no impression on her.

November 12, 1967, 6:15 pm at my desk at home. Back again. Jane and I just completed a 2-week trip to Italy and Rome. We got in last evening about 5:30 after a 14-hour trip from Rome and unpacked. I did a little work on the pile of papers. Actually I had about 8 hours at them on the airplane and made pretty good progress. We were in bed by 10:30. I awakened very early because of course 5:30 here is 12:30 in Rome and was at the desk here from 5:30 until 9:30. We went to a YWCA brotherhood church service at the Cathedral this morning which was really lovely. Then to a lunch at the Mayflower. Jane was honorary Chairman. And, finally home. I've loafed away most of the afternoon -- watched the Green Bay Packers go wild and rip the Cleveland Browns apart the first quarter -- a short walk, and now back at the desk trying to catch up on paper.

A lot of things happened, but nothing too overwhelming while we were gone. I'll get to some of those problems a little later as I develop them for the coming week. The pressure today has been to finish my speech for OUTLOOK tomorrow morning which I have now sent over to Stan Weston. I hope it's a good one. I worked on it in Southern Italy at Punta del Rossa and again in Sorrento and then in Rome and we worked out a pretty good approach tying Food for Freedom and the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 together, using the Food Budget approach, pointing out how this works and how it's threatened with more politics and fingering Republicans than is normal at an Outlook Conference. I've also been doing some work on the speech for the President who is scheduled to go to Syracuse to ^{speech} ~~speech~~ to the Grange tomorrow night. That's been postponed now. I just had a call. Apparently security reasons led to changing the fixed date and the President will go at a time unspecified. DeVier Pierson called a moment ago. Apparently the President hasn't actually seen the speech yet. It is a hard hitting, commodity, farm income presentation too.

I'll set out the Rome trip and the travelogue in a different series of comments. For this section of the diary I want to review the FAO side.

About 2 years ago, Dorothy Jacobson began talking to me about the Director Generalship of the FAO as I think I have related before. Everyone had felt it was time for an American to hold that job and both Dean Rusk and Arthur Goldberg went to the President who said "no", that I couldn't leave. Then Sen got back into the act seeking a 2-year term and it seemed logical that we should support him if we couldn't find another candidate. We looked for another candidate and none came to the front. People with international experience, administrative experience, political know-how, plus agriculture just don't grow on trees. As long as 6 months ago, Dorothy was urging that we take a position in support of Sen for her working relations with him in the FAO have been excellent and she's given a great deal of time to working with the organization and Sen stated to me very clearly, her work has made a tremendous difference. In any event, State wouldn't move on it. I talked to Rusk several times -- sent him a letter and asked for a decision. Finally the week before I left for Rome at one of Rusk's informal evenings for the Cabinet where we discussed issues, I said to him on leaving that we the biggest more powerful country in the world ought to be able to make a decision on this instead of sitting around indecisively. My language was actually a bit more colorful of the Marine Corps type. He only grunted and I thought little of it. When I was in El Paso the following day, Dorothy called me and asked had I reached an agreement with Rusk. I said, no. She said, well he thinks you have and the people in the International section indicated that we are about ready to move on Sen. There was no clear decision however and we took off for Rome. Dorothy met me at the airport. In the meantime I had had a chance to study the administrative analysis and recommendation of a Task Force studying the organizational pattern of FAO. It made an excellent analysis and what I considered to be strong recommendations clarifying staff and line relationships that are horribly overlapping and

confused in FAO. Sen didn't buy it -- rather he recommended certain changes that mostly constituted coordinating committees between professional and scientific people, horribly mixed up in program relationships and also in their field and Rome channels. I was somewhat irritated with Dorothy for not having briefed that and given me a better insight into it, but because we were delayed in London for several hours I read it carefully myself and probably turned out better than a briefing paper would have. Anyway Dorothy met me at the airport and we had almost an hour before we saw Sen. We went to him and he seemed relaxed although he was under heavy pressure. He stated that the decision of the United States would be decisive in the election in his judgment and hoped we would support him. He was very clear in stating ~~in stating~~ that he would support the recommendations of this Task Force which would have to be extended to include his work, that he would be in favor of continuing with the same Task Force with the same Chairmanship by an American. This was a clear firm commitment and I'm sure he will do so. Based on that and Dorothy's evaluation, and Bob Rosseiot the State Department political man we prepared a cable to the President which recommended sharply and firmly that Sen be supported. This we drafted at a very delightful party that Bob Tetro and his wife had at their grand apartment where we stayed while in Rome. It was a strong cable. It got results. The next day while we were having dinner at the Punta del Rossa where we had just arrived, I had a call from John Schnittker. He was apologizing for the delay. Actually it was then only 2:00 o'clock in Washington so the response to my recommendation was almost immediate. It stated clearly that they were instructing us pursuant to my recommendation.

When we returned to Rome a week later, coming in late on Sunday night after a long drive from Naples to Rome I was deeply distressed at what I found. Dorothy and Bob Rosseiot didn't even have a hard head count. When I tried to

get to the crux of the matter, they were fuzzy. On Monday I roamed around a bit and discovered that the situation was worse than I had imagined and on Monday night with the United Kingdom apparently having broken its commitment as to the admissibility issue, the situation looked very grim indeed.

Actually what had taken place was, Sen's statement or commitment, and no one was sure which, 4 years ago when he entered into a contract with FAO to the effect it was a non-renewable 4-year term had been translated into a great moral issue. Given the frustration, particularly of the Africans who for 4 years had sought a candidate, who had then tried to make a deal with Santa Cruz, the Latino, when he got into the act with Latin countries support, the Africans particularly, but Santa Cruz and more specifically Boerma, the Dutchman, were contending that Sen had broken a serious moral obligation. They had parlayed this into a Constitution issue whereby Sen could not run. The African candidate, who wasn't very serious, a fellow allegedly kicked out of the United Nations by U Thant by the name of Gabriel d'Arboussier from the Government of Senegal, even told me that as a lawyer he felt that a solemn international agreement between India and the Africans had been broken by Sen when he entered the race again.

I'd been worried about this from the beginning. Dorothy poohed poohed it on constitutional grounds that any country is entitled to put up its candidate, but the concept had taken hold, there was a moral issue and it was made more difficult by the fact that we have tried to train the Africans to respect rules and relations, commitments, constitutionality, etc., and now this made it look as if we ourselves were being completely expedient regardless of the rules and commitments.

By Tuesday morning, after a long session with Dorothy and Bob Rosseiot on Monday night, I was fairly beside myself. I got up early. We were to bed late.

And went down to the headquarters by about 8:00 o'clock meeting with Bob Rosseiot and Dorothy and convincing them we should meet with our whole Advisory delegation. When they came in, Dorothy threw the ball to me immediately and I tried to get it on the track as to why we were supporting Sen and what was involved in this context. No one was very enthusiastic -- No one had very much information -- and the best Bob Rosseiot said by way of support was we had Pakistan. Actually there was reason for his reticence as Paul Jones was there and proceeded to launch into one of his typical tirades, this is the Congressman from Missouri on the Agriculture Committee, condemning FAO, how much we spend, the fact they are ungrateful and the one Nation - one world rule. It was quite a tirade. I eased him around, spent a little time with him, and before the week was up when we went back to plane with him, he had at least moderated. In any event it looked right grim. So I went back to the FAO building, sent a note to Sen and talked with him and told him he needed a campaign manager and he needed an African country to take the lead, that we the United States shouldn't get so far out in front. He told me that the Campaign Manager was the Indian Maharaja who was the former Ambassador to Italy, a tall, turbaned, ^{slick}~~sick~~, very sophisticated and very attractive. I talked to him the day before and he seemed a bit fuzzy, too. This time after talking with Sen I called him in and low and behold but he came with a complete checklist. It seemed he knew what he was doing. To Make a long story short, things then began to move. Bob Rosseiot and the Maharaja began to combine their lists and information. Our people began to work around more. A series of luncheons which we had scheduled mostly with less developed countries went well and gave us some contacts, although we didn't use them to campaign. I met with some of the Africans, actually at one of these luncheons, and told them there was a very dangerous issue here, that if they misused their power the whole principle of one vote - one nation would be in peril, that it

was not fair that they should exclude Sen from running by making him run against all three of the other candidates on the question as to whether he could run at all. They came back with the moral argument. I stated that it was basically a political question, there was a difference of opinion on that, and the best thing for them to do, and I urged them to do it, would be to call all African countries into caucus and invite Sen to come in and make his own case, that you should hear a man before you hang him.

In the meantime a story had been printed in LaMonda, the French newspaper, charging the United States with trying to influence the less developed countries through the medium of food, that we were supporting Sen for 2 years because we wanted to have the Director Generalship and the man who wanted it, and the U.S. wanted to have it, was Freeman. Actually as events worked out I doubt if anybody paid much attention to this. The same had been said 4 years ago and I passed it off by merely stating it was preposterous and that there was no deal. And there wasn't. This had not even been mentioned by Sen, although he had told Dorothy privately that he would be prepared to support an American for the next D.G. That he volunteered. The Indian Maharaja stated to me on one occasion too that it was expected that the next D.G. would be an American. He used the personal pronoun "you" and I'm not sure whether he knew I had given it serious thought or merely the United States. In any event by the time I left it looked a bit brighter. I was particularly intrigued when on the last Friday going up the steps in the morning to the Conference Hall a Negro called to me. It turned out to be he was a man named Melton from Liberia. We went for coffee and he told me quite clearly that he was pledged to Sen and went on to say that the English speaking African countries were also, but that they had been quiet at the African caucus because of the meeting of the African States a month or two ago that pledged to d'Arboussier. He offered to call a caucus of the

A.K.
Put in my
private files

July 14, 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

TO: Hon. Carr, Director of Commission
on White House Fellows

FROM: Bill Abbott

The following is in response to your memorandum of June 27:

Summary of experiences: The description of my actual work assignments is fairly well covered in my earlier memos of November 1, 1966, February 27, 1967, and June 5, 1967 (a copy of the June memo is attached). I will reserve this present memo for more thoughtful observations on the year.

Increased insight into government: To state that this year's experience served to enlighten me in the processes of high government would be a gross understatement. I'm afraid that it is impossible to describe the extent of the impact on my awareness and appreciation of the problems and issues facing the Federal Government. I can only say that I am dismayed at my former state of ignorance and bias, but I do suspect that this is a common occurrence among otherwise educated "outsiders". In this respect, John Gardner's thesis of the educational role of the year was proved and underscored.

Educational program: The ongoing series of meetings held throughout the year was immensely successful in my opinion. I believe in the wisdom of viewing these meetings as noncompulsory and as a valuable adjunct to one's agency experience, "if his work assignments at his agency so permit". In this way, the balance between the educational program and the agency assignment is a good one, since it is really a matter of personal preference. In our case this year, we must conclude that the balance was appropriate -- the interest factor in the meetings remained high throughout, as the high attendance attests.

I do feel, however, that we should have had more and better insight into the Judicial Branch. Surely a meeting with a Supreme Court Justice is not all that difficult to arrange -- individual justices regularly lunch with the current crop of law clerks and discuss the issues before the Court in general terms.

Also, it might be profitable to plan meetings with Representatives and Senators at critical points during the passage of legislation which they are controlling. This would give us a better view of the politics and intricacies of enacting key legislation.

The field trips were, by and large, quite worthwhile and informative, and a good balance to our relatively cloistered existence here in Washington. However, I don't believe that the North Carolina trip was worth the time expended. The site of the trip apparently was such as to render more likely the cancellation of key speakers. And the lessons considered, although certainly interesting, did not seem to have the scope and breadth that warranted our journey out into the field, particularly when many of the problems and personalities could be met here in Washington (unlike the New York City and Chicago trips; and, quite probably, the upcoming NASA trip).

Agency Assignments: The Secretary of Agriculture is certainly one of the best friends and promoters that the White House Fellows program could ever hope to have. He has given it his personal interest, and the Fellow is his Special Assistant, doing his work at his direction. The Fellow is not shunted to the Executive Assistant, the Under Secretary, etc. By treating as a lawyer stood me in particularly good stead with Secretary Freeman since he had no other lawyer on his personal staff (the General Counsel being generally tied up with ongoing Departmental "mechanical" legal work). Of course, I would recommend to my successor that he try to continue this work relationship, and not seek or even accept work assignments from others in the hierarchy (this has to be done frequently if one is to avoid the dilution of the role as Special Assistant).

Naturally, this relationship potentially creates problems with the already existing staff structure around the Secretary. Great care must be exercised in weaving through the power structure -- the greatest danger, I think, is that a Fellow, given "his head" by the Secretary, could run too far and too swiftly for his own good, with the inevitable consequence being his ultimate stumble, and the existing staff picking up the pieces. Also, it is not sufficient that one has the confidence of the Secretary -- it will be impossible to accomplish anything of significance unless one also has cooperation at other levels of the hierarchy. Therefore, a slow start and a thorough foundation are essential if one is to gain the necessary Departmental confidence and maintain the very important working level of morale around the Secretary. With such a foundation laid, it becomes increasingly possible to get a genuine "place of the action", and to be able to work through the Department to accomplish the requested result.

I would also suggest to my successor what might appear to be the obvious: even with Secretary Freeman, one must still create and grasp opportunity if one is to gain a portion of the Secretary's portfolio. The overwhelming complexity, urgency and breadth of the Secretary's duties are such that he would undoubtedly forget about the Fellow unless it is systematically brought to his attention that such a person is on board. In that regard, a carefully considered regular input of memoranda to the Secretary, covering such matters as the reporting of progress on current projects, new program thrusts and ideas, etc., and frequent conversations and assistance from others (such as Joe Robertson) who have the regular ear of the Secretary, are essential.

Here I should mention a further point. I have this year planned nearly all of the Secretary's out-of-town trips (about one per week), compiling the briefing materials and assembling a folder for each trip; performing the necessary advance work, making the travel arrangements, etc. This work is akin to drudgery in my opinion, and I frequently think that my time could be better spent formulating exciting new program directions, etc.

However, the reward for such activity is that I then accompany the Secretary on each of these trips -- this opportunity is invaluable, for here I can discuss (far better than I could in the ubiquitous memoranda) my efforts in various areas, matters of philosophy, politics, etc. These periods "out on the road" are consequently without doubt the most stimulating and revealing of all in the subject of the Cabinet Member's role. Thus, on balance, I think that the trip-planning activity, however distasteful, is more than justified by the trip itself.

One will experience a twinge of disappointment from time to time that he is not always regarded as a close assistant to the Secretary, but rather as something "special". There is a certain "kid-glove" approach, a sense that the Fellow is spared the "draining-down" or criticism that inevitably befalls each of the other assistants from time to time. Yet, this is no doubt a natural effect of the Fellow's Program and is a small price to pay for the otherwise beneficial access to the Secretary. Moreover, the special status will probably fade as the Fellow becomes increasingly institutionalized as a regular Special Assistant.

Future career enhancement: When I arrived in the Department of Agriculture, I certainly felt a measure of puzzlement as to how this would fit into my otherwise legal career -- apart from the general insight into Government, and the several instances where I rendered actual legal advice to the Secretary in matters of actual cases, programs and legislation.

Now, I can state that the assignment here has become quite relevant -- perhaps for the primary reason that I no longer intend to be solely a "Lawyer's Lawyer", dealing with such niceties as taxation (although I wrote two articles in the Boston University Law Review and the Journal of Taxation, the latter to be published this week, this was as a kind of self-discipline and test that I was still capable of dealing with "Lawyer's Law"). Rather, I am now more interested in matters of broad policy.

Indeed, if the appropriate mechanical arrangements can be worked out, I may well spend another year here in a broad substantive area of Departmental concern -- as Regional Director and Coordinator of the USDA programs in Asia (primarily matters of agricultural production, working with our teams in each country, although we do have a team of 109 in Vietnam whose mission is far broader than just food production). I would continue to report directly to the Secretary on one or a few of the projects which I created this year (this has been a real problem, accepting out of these necessarily unfinished projects after carrying them through the year); namely, the former bargaining power standpoint, the information management task force, probably some matters (actual controversies) in the RFA area.

However, I would not be otherwise an assistant to the Secretary, and I would hope that my efforts and responsibilities in the international area would exercise an increasing portion of my time and that I could withdraw from these Secretarial projects after a couple of months. The next Fellow will, in any event, fully assume my institutionalized role (my office, etc.) and will clearly have a fresh and unfettered crack at the Secretary (again, as the only lawyer on the Secretary's staff).

In conclusion, Tom, I have thought long about specifics on how to improve the program. Some such thoughts for improvement are implicit in what I have already said. But, in short, I have found the year immensely stimulating and altogether successful -- you and Mike certainly deserve a "well done".

cc:
Mike Kirst
Commission on White
House Fellows

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Africans, selected French members to join the English speaking Africans, with the United States participating, he hoped they could beat . . . (end of tape).

By the time I had left Rome we hadn't had a chance to confirm that but we should know soon. Anyway tomorrow the Council meeting will be held to supposedly reach a decision on the admissibility issue, I'm sure wondering where it will land. In any event I think the fight has been worth it. I believe the Latin American countries have learned something. A vigorous contest has taken place and perhaps the recommendation made by Senator Jack Miller that the Council itself take on the duty of securing several candidates prior to FAO elections might prove to be the salvation of the Organization. Everyone seemed to feel that if a real conflict hit the floor that there would be charges and countercharges and great bitterness and it would be tremendously damaging. What these Nations will do and how the one vote, one nation will really stand up through stress and strain remains to be seen. For my part I'm a bit ambivalent about it. If we hadn't looked for a candidate prior to Sen I would have felt that perhaps I have been over motivated for personal reasons. However, we did in good faith and couldn't find one. I'm really not positive that I would like that job. It would be a very difficult and complicated one playing politics with all these countries. Joe Greene, the Canadian, said in speaking, there isn't a country here that hasn't made a demand on Sen at one time or another, including ours, and we have loaded him with some we otherwise might not have taken and might not be the best in the world. That's true. There is real bitterness and bad feeling and disloyalty all over FAO. Sen is a bit too much of a and there are conflicts in professional and technical relations. Yet the cause is great. The Organization has a lot of resources now and it could be a

tremendous challenge. On balance, I really would like to take a crack at it. Also, I believe Jane and I would enjoy very much living in Rome. I am fascinated with the history. Italy is a lovely country and it would be a fresh, new experience. We'll see.

For a while last week I thought the contest itself and the charges and countercharges might very well destroy any possibility of my being a candidate. However, I think that worked itself out fairly well. Now if Sen wins, he ought to help us. He told me at the reception on Friday night just before we left that he would never forget the work we did for him. So if we win the election and if I can drive through the new Farm Bill in 1968, by November of 1968 with the President's help we could be in a very good position, by a strong campaign, and to move to a new job. I think the percentages are strongly against us, but the possibility is there, and we'll just have to wait and see how the ball bounces here.

I also had a pretty hectic time with the Indians in Rome. Ram, their new Minister of Agriculture was there. I was to see him about the proposed P.L. 480, 3 1/2 million ton grain sale. Unfortunately he had been ill. We were unable to get together until Thursday afternoon. When we did I was tired and had come from a long luncheon and he apparently wasn't well either and sparks were struck. Actually, he was better informed and more positive than I would have expected from his reputation. The big issue was the question of food zones in India -- we demanding they be removed, witness the Rose Garden argument before the President with Ambassador Nehru of several weeks ago. Dias the Food Minister had come from India especially for the meeting. Ram dominated the conversation. Dias backed him up. What it came down to was that they felt that the procurement prices to which they were inexorably pledged would maintain adequate farm prices and therefore incentive which was our main concern.

Where food zones were concerned, that was domestic and as long as it didn't affect prices and incentive we should properly leave that to them. That was a pretty good argument. I wiggled and wagged all over with not too much success. I might have been a little too outspoken when I told the Minister that his comments about the States in this picture weren't very convincing. He flashed back and said he didn't have to convince me of anything. At that point the conversation feàlly froze up. As a matter of fact, he was not very friendly and pretty short, but I froze up myself and left on a rather cold note. I thought the Indians would come back, and they did. The next morning they called at Tetro's. I had left. Dias came over to see me at my desk at the FAO conference hall. We talked a while. I relented and said I would come and see Ram which I did, following a luncheon at the American Embassy with the Italian Cabinet folks and the Ambassador. This went a bit better, altho we got no more results. Ram took the same line. He went out of his way to be friendly. I did not push them nearly as hard.

Senator Jack Miller was over and I sicked him on them and he had a meeting Saturday morning which I only had reported to me vaguely so far, but it appears they were tough with him, too. He interjected the question of 50 percent matching a carryover from last year's negotiating Congress contending that it applied to fiscal year 1968, not calendar year 1967. If that's right we may have a further problem on that one. I must move immediately to get the Congressmen involved in that together so we don't stub our toe.

In any event, it wasn't too satisfactory a meeting and now I'm not sure how I can move the President around when we have failed about completely on getting any real commitment on zones from the Indians. I expect I better have a meeting on that tomorrow, or at least have Martin Abel call some people

together to discuss it with them and see what kind of a formula we can work out, fire back to India, see if we can get a commitment, and then go to Congress. I would like to move that wheat. Prices lag here and that would be a healthy stimulant to a firmer price. Time will tell.

Monday, November 20, 10:00 pm at my desk at home. Well we've been home a week. Much has happened. It's been a rather strange week.

Anyway it is a bit foolish of me to be upset on return. In 2 weeks not much happens in Washington and this is no exception but it's taken about a week to get back in focus. Let me begin with today the 20th of November which is a full week plus a day since our return from Italy. Yesterday we received the news that the British had devalued the pound. This obviously has an impact on our domestic economic situation, vis-a-vis, the inflation threat from our own red hot economy and the failure to get Congress to move on a tax bill. During the last month we've been maneuvering back and forth with the Bureau of the Budget in connection with our own expenditures in fiscal '68 and the budgeting for fiscal '69. Today on very short notice the President called a Cabinet meeting. The gist of it was that with the pound devalued and Britain in effect removed as a prime mover on International monetary affairs that the whole world was looking at the dollar. The President had Joe Fowler make an analysis of the situation which in brief said that confidence in the dollar was shaky, that the international financial people were watching not only a possible tax increase but our own self discipline in connection with expenditures and it's critical that we should take action to cut back. The President made it clear that he was calling the Congress in tonight and that he was going to make them a cold turkey proposition that we would cut \$4 billion, that that would include \$2 billion non-military and \$2 billion non Vietnam military and that he sought to get them to go

forward now with the tax increase. Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, corroborated the emergency and pointed out that this was the first time in any of his 16 years that everyone in the Federal Reserve System agreed that action must be taken. The Federal Reserve Board had increased the discount rate as of today. Gardner Ackley concurred. Charley Schultze spoke in terms of the budget. He reemphasized what the President and Fowler had said that in the first 6 months of 1967 increased taxes because of increased earnings had made it possible for us to decrease the pressure on money \$11 billion; however, in fiscal '68 the prospect was that we would, rather than putting that much into the money stream, we would take \$5 billion out and that this could cause grievous internal economic difficulties as well as international reaction and so they really were putting the wood to us in terms of a 2 percent cut in personnel and a 10 percent cut in program on all control items. One of the big elements that had run crazy was medical where the budgeted 8 percent increase in hospital and 4 percent increase for Doctors had jumped to 16 percent hospital and 8 percent Doctors, making it rather clear that under medicare that the medical profession in general was taking advantage of the situation. So we face a grim prospect. I've been looking over our figures and this afternoon spent several hours with Assistant Secretaries and Agency heads. First I pointed out the grim picture national and international -- then we went over the numbers, not clear yet exactly what we were expected to do, but very worried because on the one hand we are willing to make our contribution to an emergency domestic and international fiscal situation, but we certainly don't want to lose the momentum of all the new program efforts in rural development, community development, poverty, Technical Action Panels, the whole new approach that has moved the Department around, by contradicting all our brave talk, by failing to have any substance to back it up. Somehow we've got to work out the priorities in such a way that we can maintain some momentum on these programs even though it

means that some of the traditional ones must be minimized and cut back, but that's a lot easier said than done. For one thing, to get our own people to agree to it, and for another, of course, the Congress and the country at large. So it's kind of a grim prospect. These things are really not as bad when you get through working them out as they are when you begin, but for the moment it doesn't look very promising.

However, to turn to the personal -- when the Cabinet meeting ended I walked around the Cabinet table to talk to Charley Schultze. John Gardner and I were both trying to get more specific information when the President strolled by and said, "Orville, can I talk to you for a minute." And walked into his office, and I followed him. We stood there looking out at the rose garden together all alone and he looked at me and said, "What plans do you have when you leave the Government?" I was of course more than a little taken back. I responded that I had no particular plans, that I'd thought about it but really hadn't settled on what I really wanted to do. Well, he said, if you don't want to go back to that cold North country which you came from and if you're not interested in getting rich, there is something that you might be interested in. Then he commented on the proposed new Social Services School at the University of Texas in Austin. This, as nearly as I could make out, was to be a kind of counterpart for the Institute for Public Administration set up at Harvard as a part of a John Kennedy arrangement related with a library. In this instance the Lyndon Johnson Library was going forward. It would be administered by the Federal Government, and the University of Texas, with a lot of oil money available, was building an enormous and more than adequate facility for a new Social Service or Public Administration or Government Administration or some such name which would be under the University which would be a kind of Social Service, Politics, Public Administration center involving visiting lectures. The President

emphasized that he hoped to teach there, and planned to, and there would be others and he mentioned Price Daniels, John Connelly, et cetera. Well, he said, we need someone to be a Dean of that -- that it wouldn't pay really very much, although it ought to pay more than I'm making now and he extolled at great length the virtues of Austin as a place to live and said that Jane would within a year be the leader of the women's community in that town. I could get along with the Chancellor he thought, just as I had gotten along with farmers, with politicians

that would be acceptable as contrasted to people like, he mentioned John Gardner or Gene Rostow who he said in effect would be a bit too intellectual, a bit too Eastern, for the Texas blood. What it came down to was he was strongly urging me . . . (end of tape) on this Deanship, organizing this school which would be directed towards Government. He said he didn't know precisely when this would take place, that he didn't know whether or not he would run for reelection himself and if he did and were reelected he didn't know whether he could spare me, but that this was something that he had been thinking about and that he and Lady Bird had talked about it and ^{of} all the people that they knew in the Congress, or around the country, in the Administration and in the Cabinet, including the Vice President, that they felt that I might have the particular qualities to do this kind of a job. Needless to say I was taken back, said very little, indicated a possible interest. He emphasized that I should talk to Jane about it and repeatedly insisted that there should be no leaks in connection with it, that he was not deputized to be a recruiter, that he had no idea what the Chancellor and the Trustees would do in a last analysis but implicit in the approach was that he was not uninfluential in this little movement which of course is obvious. Well I left there somewhat up in the air, raced back to the office, a quick lunch, then on to the Cabinet

Session and then back to the White House for earlier in the day Mrs. Johnson had called and asked if I would come over and talk to her. I waited a while on the far end of the second floor of the White House before she came and we talked a moment and then she was called out, apparently to see the President who then told her he had talked to me and she came back a little flustered and a little embarrassed, but mostly amused, pointing out that she never would have presumed to talk with me about this Deanship, but rather she wanted to talk to me about my papers and whether I might make them available to the Library for which she seemed to have a kind of primary responsibility. This was a good illustration of Lady Bird. She would not presume to talk with me about such a vital matter. She, the very humble, very retiring, and very dear lady. So we discussed the Library and the papers and I assured her I would get in touch with the Archivist and make those of mine available even though I had thought somewhat of sending them to Minnesota. I discussed the School of Social Service with her a bit. She didn't know too much about it, but apparently construction is already under way and it will work very closely with the Lyndon Johnson Library. Jane and I discussed the whole thing tonight. She thought it was certainly worth investigating and I think so too. The question of course would be how much freedom of operation you would really have and whether it would be kind of an adjunct of the long arm of Lyndon Johnson. This, I'll have to get the feel of. I think I'll just play it quiet for a week or so and then call and say I would like to know more about it and feel our way along to see what the proposals are, what the conditions would be, what the timing is and all the rest of it. However, on balance I must say that I can't but be flattered that the President would think about me for this is indeed very close to his heart and it would seem to indicate considerable confidence in both my abilities and my loyalty which is gratifying and complimentary. Now the question is -- What do we do?

Several things of interest last week that I'll only summarize a bit now and then get on to the pile of paper that rests before me. As I said earlier the readjustment to the week's work has been a little bit difficult. The first three days of the week were really fairly quiet. The question of rice was on the front burner but it still indecisive. The President seemed to be playing games with this with the Congress. Ellender called me begging not to remove marketing quotas. A letter from Mills, and oddly enough late in the week a comment through DeVier Pierson that the President was accusing us of being monopolistic because we had pretty well dropped the idea of removing marketing quotas. That's kind of amusing because we moved in that direction to placate political forces, also because I'm worried there might be so much rice that we get in trouble with them as we are now with wheat and feed grains. As a result we have had to move the export estimates around a little bit so we could avoid a legal formula that would require removing marketing quotas when supply and demand gets in a pretty tight relationship. We can do this without any serious problem because no one really knows and the estimates are such that they are adjustable. I've got to see Ellender tomorrow. He wants to go to India and he wants the rice thing settled, but it would appear the President isn't ready to move and so there's another big question mark. The same is true on India. I had a breakfast meeting last week with Dole, Miller and Poage. Poage and Dole are fine -- Miller is still pettifogging. The question is the 50 - 50 balance and his latest suggestion that we go to a year agreement, still contending that we must insist on 50 - 50 and putting up our 3 1/2 million tons as our 50 percent. State and AID don't like that. I'm worried about it. The Indians might not buy it and we do need to move that wheat. So I've got Martin Abel working and hopefully tomorrow he will have some kind of a formula that I can carry to Miller and hope to shut that

guy up and get this to the President and moving. We need that wheat and grain sale for market purposes.

There was an interesting situation last week on the meat inspection bill that's kind of ironic. We tried 2 years ago to get through a tough meat inspection bill providing for Federal inspection where the States weren't moving. It was killed by the Meat Institute and by the State Commissioners of Agriculture so this year we put in a mild one providing for matching funds from the Federal to the State if they would move into the field of meat inspection. This became known as the Purcell Bill. It passed the House, overcoming an amendment by Foley and Neal Smith of Iowa which would have reinstated the '65 Federal proposal. This was defeated on the Floor. It then moved to the Senate. Hearings opened and Ralph Nader got into the act. He's a wild man with not too much regard for the truth and started charging the Department with failing to make available information about unsanitary meat and not really pushing for effective legislation and being a patsy for the big meat packers and the State Commissioners of Agriculture. Mondale kind of joined up with him, as did a good bit of the Labor movement, and this whole thing got rather red hot. Then while I was gone apparently with only cursory checking with John Schnittker, the President sent Betty Furness up before the Committee and she made a statement strongly supporting a tougher piece of legislation that even the Foley Smith recommendations and proposals in the House. This got the State Commissioners of Agriculture very

This got the State Commissioners of Agriculture quite upset and, of course, the Meat Institute jumping around. They charged the Administration with being confused and indecisive because on the one hand Betty Furness, speaking for the President, was urging the strongest bill, and the Secretary of Agriculture seemed to be advocating something less. Whereupon they charged us with indecision.

The President then erupted and demanded that I answer them, which I did quite strongly, pointing out we would have had a bill long ago if they hadn't obstructed it, and that we were for the strongest bill possible. Well, that wasn't enough. The papers played that in such a way as to state that Freeman wouldn't say whether he was for the Mondale stronger bill or for the Montoya weaker bill, although both were far stronger than what passed the House.

So, I had to come out saying that I was for the Mondale bill. Thankfully it was so confused by then that the State Commissioners of Agriculture who felt they had a commitment from me were not incensed and really seemed to understand.

Anyway, yesterday, Sunday, Mondale and Montoya got together on a bill which is really a pretty good one, providing that there will be a three year period for States to gear up their inspection before the Federal takes over, that the Federal will match, but that the Federal should have in the meantime the power to inspect and the power to apply Federal standards if the State fails to apply adequate standards in a case where we found unsanitary meat. That's a big delegation of power and the question now is whether we can get that out of the Committee in the morning and then schedule it and pass it next Monday and get it out of Conference. At this point the American Meat Institute seems to be on the run and prepared to report it and the only bitter group remaining is the State Commissioners of Agriculture and really they don't amount to much in this context anyway.

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The interesting thing about this is how a piece of legislation is born. Early this year we didn't think we had a prayer to get anything strong and that we would be lucky if we could get a provision for matching funds and try and nudge and urge the States to act. Then out of a clear blue sky, because of the sequence of events, first Nader, who is loud, irresponsible, but a newsgetter, the labor movement, a few members of Congress, and then Betty Furness getting into the act, and a chance to make it look like the Administration was confused and indecisive, it all added up into a tremendous public interest which I think now is strong enough that few in Congress are going to want to stand in the way of a stronger meat control bill than we have dreamed of was even possible at the beginning of the year.

Ironically most of this is just kinda happen chance, rather than careful calculated planning to get a pre-determined prior result.

So, that's the way business sometimes is done. Now if we can only pass the darn thing, it'll represent a positive plus.

Did some speaking over the week. Friday I went to Omaha and spoke to a conference of the Lutheran Church of America -- Mid-Central USA. There were about 450 preachers from about eight states. I talked to them about rural-urban balance and our plans to build up town and country and they were really most responsive. Actually in the question and answer period we had a rather spirited exchange and despite the fact that we were in the Chancery of the church and they did not applaud when I finished my formal remarks, they stood up and applauded quite enthusiastically after the question session. I was pleased.

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Later that night we met with some Nebraska Democrats, and I wasn't pleased. They were negative, kinda down in the dumps and where farmers were concerned, certainly anything but optimistic.

I had hoped to move aggressively and get them moving to set up a list of town and country for Johnson and Humphrey, but they weren't ready for that. They needed a bit of talk and a bit of outlet.

I slept poorly on Friday, up early, flew into Washington and got ready to go to Syracuse for the Grange Centennial. In the meantime the President had cancelled his appearance. He had planned to go on Monday, but there was a threatened 3,000 picketers. He was indecisive all week and decided not to go at all on Saturday -- spoke to them by direct wire, and a good bit of the substance out of his message and generally speaking the Grange people were unhappy.

So, I rushed out of the office, on the plane and into Syracuse. Allegedly Herschel Newsom had criticized the President strongly, but it didn't seem that way in my press conference, for he was friendly and cooperative and no one bugged me about it. I did the usual touring the exhibits and being a good fellow, sat through three hours of banquet before I was called on to speak, threw away my manuscript and spoke for about 15 minutes, mostly about bargaining power. It was apparently extremely well received. At least Barney Allen so reported today. He especially liked my opening in which I said that I came disappointed, but not discouraged, disillusioned but not by any means giving up, and then I related why we had the turn down this year, the consequence of the big crops around the world, and the fact that we must fight hard for our programs and not lose confidence in them, or we would suffer catastrophic losses.

After that strong supporting statement for the so-called "new era" programs, I went on to a strong pitch on bargaining power. All of this extemporaneous, with bright lights on me and late at night, so I really don't know if it was really worth doing, but apparently it was.

Up again early in the morning, home by about 11:30 and yesterday was a relaxed and delightful day. We stayed away from the desk. I'm going to try and do this more on Sundays. Read the newspaper, read magazines, went for a walk, watched the football game, and generally lived it up. Up early and at this desk in the morning working on budget papers. I think I'm pretty well cued in now, and back in the stream of things. But goodness, how much there is to do -- budget, India, heavy speaking schedule next week, politics, internal administration -- this same old pressing grind. Paper to read, decisions to make, meetings to be held, Congress to placate, never a dull moment.

A few more reflections about the President's general demeanor at Cabinet meeting. He was calm, forceful, not the least harrassed, nor did he give any impression of being under exceptional pressure. Later in his office he said to me in an off-hand way, rather wryly without any evidence of desperation or deep concern, that we have outreached ourself a bit in some of the spending programs and now it's necessary that we retrench a bit. Again he referred to the fact that in previous times Administrations that had gone too fast and spent too much money were forced to retrench and often didn't pass any further legislation.

November 22, 1967 - in the office - 2:20

The last two days have been fairly uneventful. I've begun personally immersing myself deeply in the budget. We don't yet have the final figures from the Bureau. The President is negotiating with Congress about the tax bill. It seems clear, however, that we will be cutting back at least the \$4 billion that he is, in effect, bargaining with now and we will see if it's more. Even if we don't get a tax bill he probably will require that much and so we are staffing out the alternatives, determining what items we would like to appeal from the Bureau of the Budget's last action and going back to take a hard-headed look at what we can continue by way of our new policy programs, even at the expense of diverting resources and manpower away from some of the other more standard activities.

John Baker is digging into this one hard. He's done exceptionally fine work the last six months since he got over deep concern about his heart attack. He's put on weight, started smoking again, and is really giving strong leadership.

I think some of our programs, what with the technical action panel and the new small farm approach, and others, are far enough along with enough involvement throughout the Department now that it may be possible to really divert some resources to new directions. I'm going to ride this hard. These new programs -- Community Development and Poverty -- have top priority, but really the standard programs, such as watershed, soil conservation, forest roads and trails, etc., none of these are over-staffed, or over-appropriated. There is some fat around here and there, of course in an operation this big, but as we continue to hammer away at our administrative improvement programs, I find very little really that could be avoided, human nature and the unevenness of people's efforts being what they are.

We've got an interesting rice situation now which is typical of the kind of decision making that takes place. We need more rice. Vietnam demands continue to climb. Indonesia is desperate for rice and also a number of Afghan countries. Accordingly we will expand rice production next year, but the question is how. If we increase acreage allotments we'll get the rice from the established growers. However, we're very close on a formula which balances supply and demand to a legal position where we must abandon marketing quotas. That will mean that anyone can produce rice without any penalty, although new growers would not get any allotment rights. The history of this kind of situation is that the new growers then come in and play politics hard to get 'em. Initially I had gone along with Ed Jaenke's recommendation which he had cleared with many in Congress that we ought to eliminate the marketing quotas and let some new growers come in. However, just before we left for Spain I sent John Schnittker a memo and said I'm a little concerned about this, take a hard look to be sure that production won't run so great that it gets us into trouble, such as we're in now on feedgrains and wheat. In the meantime a build-up started among the current rice producers with resulting tremendous pressure. So, John, at the instance of Congress and the growers around the country, reversed our earlier recommendation and recommended that we abolish marketing quotas. The President has been sitting on this. Everyone is agitated about it. He made a remark to DeVier Pierson apparently, at least reported to me, that what are we all a bunch of monopolists, and that's a fair question. In this instance we could let in some new growers and it probably would be a good thing to have a few more. It would be like Ford Motor Co. opening up a number of franchises because they are selling a lot more cars, but they wouldn't think of throwing it wide open.

However, in this instance we can get enough rice without doing that and of course the established growers would prefer that. The result is you've got

about 20,000 people concerned, and potentially angry. A negative political force if you open it up. You will have a hand-full who will be pleased but not too effective or articulate, and then you will have a problem down the road a year or two from now when you cut out those new growers or else have to incorporate them in reducing proportionately the allotment of historic growers. In this situation I can go either way, but people on the political front and Congress just want to be spared. I would guess the President is using this to play some games with Ellender, Fulbright, Mills and others giving the current session of Congress. In any event, we'll be watching this with some amusement and interest. The ball's in his court now.

I hope we have the India thing hammered out. A recommendation goes back to the President this time, abandoning our demands on food zone abolition incorporating the other self-help measures and recommending 3 1/2 million tons. I've checked this with our Congressional Indian spokesmen, mainly the group the President sent to India last December. They've all gone along recognizing our own domestic need in this instance to move some wheat, except Jack Miller, who's the biggest bore and pettifogger that I have ever dealt with. He drives everyone crazy with his penchant for going into painstaking, time-wasting detail. In this instance he refers constantly to the President's statements about 50-50 matching, when he "pounded the table in the Cabinet Room" and simply doesn't want to let go. He talks about all kinds of various combinations and is most insistent that we do something more than get oral commitments from the Indians that they will move to get other countries involved. We don't want to do this because India might be sticky about that at this point. Their need is not so great, and frankly we need to move the wheat this time, for we have it on our back.

I have set out these alternatives to the President, recommended that we go ahead, and told him that I on my own judgment stopped short of visiting with more members of Congress rather than take the chance of stirring them up and creating trouble where none exists. I didn't talk to Ellender about it any more. I mentioned it several weeks ago to him, but we are preparing a letter to send so he will get it as soon as he reaches India and thereby be thoroughly informed, but not feel that he's been misled, but not get it too soon so he might make trouble.

November 24, 1967, 11:20 pm at the office -- just finished a lengthy budget session. The boys have left -- I'm going home soon. We're really under a crushing bind. The President is being pushed severely by Congress who have made it a condition of tax cut that there be a spending cut. He has talked with them and is prepared to blow \$4 billion NOA including \$2 billion from Civilian Agencies which comes down to \$373 million from the Department of Agriculture. This is controllable items outside our Commodity Credit Corporation accounts and gets down to the hard nut of our operating programs. I really didn't get into it until several days ago. John Schnittker has done an excellent job of working out our budget. Howard Hjort and the Program Planning and Budgeting Exercise has brought together under my Task Force Agriculture/2000 six headings the groupings of Department activities contributing to each of those goals throughout the entire Department. This has tended to build morale. It has made it possible for people to look across the complete swathe of the Department activities and identify with it. However, up until now we haven't really been in a position to use it in terms of cancelling out low priority programs, maybe sometimes useless ones and making administrative adjustments and changes and taking actions to integrate and coordinate and do an improved management and program job. Now we have that opportunity and I have moved in here very sharply to take advantage

of it. Three days ago the Program Budgeting group came to me with the proposal that we should take this amount out of our Food for Freedom, P.L. 480 Program where the level of about \$1,800,000,000 was not going to be reached, but rather we estimate it now about \$1,400,000,000. Thus we would not need to make any real cuts. Allegedly Charlie Schultze had said he would go along with that if we would protect him. Protect him means that when he went up on the Hill now or with the fiscal '68 spending pattern, when he sent up the fiscal '69 budget, he would have to explain cuts with detailed numbers. When that happened you can be sure that the Republicans in the Congress and economy Democrats as well will be looking hard for the spending cuts that are illusory, those that are done with mirrors and those that don't mean anything, and they will then slam away at the credibility gap thesis. In other words these cuts they are demanding must be cuts that are caused by real cut backs and not by simply natural forces.

I called Charlie and told him we couldn't back him up on that, that we couldn't lie about it and that he couldn't get away with it, and I wanted to be sure exactly what it was he was going to say and what he expected us to do. His response was a bit different from what I had gotten from the fellows here, namely that we could take some P.L. 480 all right, but we would have to show hard nut, tough cuts in other areas. Actually I agreed. I'm surprised he was as vague about it as seemingly he was and was not squeezing us much harder. So we went to work.

I've now spent a good many hours going over a list of recommended cuts totalling \$373,000,000 prepared by Howard Hjort and the PPB people along with Charlie Grant. We have gone over them item by item and I have queried them as to the items they felt should be cut. The total adds up to around \$375 million. It reaches virtually every agency in the Department and it represents as it now

stands cuts on what the PFB people consider to be the lowest priority items. Tomorrow morning early I will meet with the Budget Policy Staff which is the Assistant Secretaries and Godfrey from ASCS and go over each of these item by item. Then if necessary we will meet Sunday night before I leave next week on a three day trip and repeat the exercise after they've gone back to their budget people. What will come out of this ought to be their agreement to go along with our conclusions or their recommendations for changes which we will then take under advisement but I propose to hold the decision making in our hands. Otherwise what they will do is kind of wash it out by continuing all programs and cutting them all proportionately -- instead we expect some programs to be eliminated entirely. We'll see what happens. This is a good exercise and ought to sharpen our programs, ought to accomplish some economy. I can do it now. If I tried to do this in a normal budget procedure I would be considered a first class bastard and the likelihood is that my ability to run this Department would be seriously imperiled. There would be deep resentment and it would be extremely difficult to maintain morale. Now, however, with pressure from Congress, pressure from the President, and the clear impressing need with inflation threatening the economy and the overall overriding Vietnam, I can move vigorously and do some things that need to be done. I do hope that the staff work has been well done and that we do not make too many serious mistakes. Thank goodness for the PFB thing and people like Howard Hjort whom I do have confidence in so that we can move with about as much assurance of the merit of our position as could be had.

I just finished instructing Howard to carry this further, that he should following this budget exercise for fiscal '68 carry it over into fiscal '69 and as a part of this when we were all involved and relatively well informed he should prepare some specific recommendations for me that will constitute

canceling programs, moving programs from one agency to another, to group them in more sensible patterns, or developing coordination methods which will accomplish the same purpose. In other words, the whole PPB exercise which has served the useful purpose of bringing about greater understanding, cooperation and coordination should now be carried one step forward on an action basis to bring about the proper grouping and the proper priority establishment within the Department.

Tuesday, November 28, 1967 -- 12:00 pm -- San Francisco. I'm on the second day of another Town and Country Tour. I'm looking out now over San Francisco Bay from the Fairmont Hotel, incidentally with a stomach ache, those ulcers are kicking up. I really don't know why except I haven't been sleeping well lately and I've felt kind of frustrated. Oddly enough ever since we returned from Italy, which should have been a vacation and instead seemingly stimulated frustrations. In any event it's been a busy two days. I left Washington early Monday morning, kicked off the Small Farmer Package in Denver, Colorado at the Farmers Union Building with a luncheon with the Farmers Union Board and assorted politicians from Colorado, a press conference that was quite active -- then on to Yuma, Arizona where I spoke to a City-Farm Week Banquet, great fol-da-rol, much excitement. I enjoyed the attention. I spoke on commercial agriculture, family farm, et al. Up very early this morning, by private charter to Phoenix which for the first time in many a year was literally fogged over. We finally got into a plane and into San Francisco. Here I had a 2-hour session with the Technical Action Panel in California which proved to be very weak indeed, then a press conference and a speech to the National Industrial Research Council, a group of industry location people. It was a pretty good speech, setting out the dimensions of the Rural Urban problem, well written by Wally Lindell, but kind of hard to deliver strangely enough. It read well,

but delivered poorly which is some times the case. However the speech seemed to be rather well received. On then to a DC 3 Forest Service plane, down to Merced, my ulcers kicking up on the way. At Merced we met in the County Courthouse in the County Supervisor's Chambers and had a presentation of the success of Merced in attracting new industry. A rather smug presentation by the Chamber mostly, but they had been successful in the last 5 years, had brought to Merced about 5 small industries, totalling up to about 1000 new employees. They had no special formula, they merely convinced the community that they should bring in industry, got an appropriation from the City Council of \$25,000, formed a boosters club and went about their business. They've had rather amazing success. From there we got on buses and toured the countryside. It was gratifying again to see some solid progress. It was evidenced in a water project in a small community, 18 years without water, at last running water. We met in a town hall. They were mostly Negroes -- fine people, and very grateful and very proud of what they have done. Then we visited some self-help housing that I found quite exciting. Mexican and Negro people -- they were organized by OEO into teams of 8 to 12. They had about a 5-month indoctrination and education period, getting them to agree on what they wanted to do, and informing them as to what it would require, teaching them elemental skills in construction, then under the supervision of a construction foreman as sorts they went forward as teams working jointly on the respective houses. The one we visited after dark, with lights ablazing, involved women on the job with hammers in hand actually putting up the studding and the walling in homes soon to be. Then we visited some completed on the same basis, people very proud of their new homes - three and four bedrooms - about \$8,000 homes, really very pleasant, simple but with payments running only \$40 to \$50 a month. It was exciting to see and I'm going to dig in around the Department and determine if we can't

do a better job on this housing. Here with self-help and in Georgia with a system developed by the FHA county director there involving scheduled housing with private builders and private clients these have the potential components of a meaningful housing program. This is a kind of forward planning that we need to do.

As a part of the presentation at Merced, Jim Lorenz of the California Rural Legal Assistance Group financed by OEO, which is a group of about 20 young lawyers on a salary basis providing legal aid; they have had considerable controversy with Reagan and various authorities because they've been representing poor people sometimes against Government, including a collision with the Labor Department as to whether the rules and regulations for bracero labor were being appropriately carried forward, and the result of their action was to negotiate a settlement which apparently meant several thousand fewer braceros came in than otherwise would have been the case. Lorenz is young, attractive, dedicated. In a way I envy him, his work, he's pioneering and giving great service. I was a little disappointed with his presentation today. I called on him following the presentation of the Merced powers that be. He was quite critical, although in a friendly way, of the Department. What he had to say was basically that there isn't really a program for building rural America, that he was pessimistic about getting industry in the countryside to counteract the piling up in the big cities. He said there weren't many Merceds around and that frankly there wasn't any Federal program to do anything about bringing industry to the countryside. Using FHA as an example, he pointed out that it took far too long to process applications and there was too less imagination in developing programs, that a systematic planned approach which would make possible bringing together a combination of resources and forces was what was required and that wasn't being done. I think he's right. And he

made his points rather well. Then he called on one of the Mexican Americans who was involved in a nasty housing struggle where renters had been on strike in Merced. We had done everything we could about it, there was no answer to it that I could give. The presentation wasn't nasty but it put us in a rather bad light. We'll have to see what the press is from it.

After all of this, we climbed into the airplane late and back to San Francisco where I had a little airport press conference and reception with Archibald the Congressional candidate here who made me furious, for after I had given him strong support to the Press and had made a very firm statement about the President he backed off and fuzzed up a question "Did he support Lyndon Johnson?" From now on out I'm not going anywhere with any Congressional candidates unless I'm clear that they are prepared to go 100 percent down the line with the President on domestic issues. Perhaps they are entitled to some turn around room on the Vietnam thing as matters now stand, but certainly not so on domestic issues.

Then we raced back to the hotel. It was now 9:00 o'clock and we were due at Bob Coate's house, the Democratic Chairman for Northern California. We got there about an hour late, gobbled up a sandwich here, shaved, changed clothes and then coffee brandy and a 2-hour discussion with some Northern California Democrats including Joe Alioto, the newly elected Mayor, a very successful lawyer and quite a dynamic and able man. We reviewed the overall political situation in Northern California and it was a very interesting discussion. I started out posing the possibility of Town and Country for Johnson-Humphrey and that got shot down rather quickly. The organizational politicos weren't about to sit still for a collateral organization, particularly one originating in Washington. So the conversation moved into the question of What are the real issues? Alioto made it rather well that the real issue was how do you

reach the New Deal Democrats, particularly organized labor, that we have lost. Apparently he got them in a very hectic Mayoralty campaign where he prevailed moving into the campaign on short notice late in the contest after the incumbent major, Jack Shelly, withdrew for medical reasons. As a part of how do you reach them, there seemed to be two prominent issues -- one was law enforcement, and after a bit of consensus that law enforcement should be handled by firm strong statements that the law will be enforced but that that does not mean racism, arbitrarism, or the misuse of power. The second big issue was the welfare issue with almost a consensus

OFFICE OF
THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

A.W.
Hold with my personal files
December 6, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Secretary

FROM: Tom Hughes

TRH

I am obviously torn on whether you should send a letter to Kennedy re his television performance.

The letter is good and I agree with it, but I am wondering if this is something you should take on.

In any event, I thought you would be interested in the letter in yesterday's "New York Times" from Roger Hilsman re the "Times" critical editorial and Ken awford's article in this week's "Newsweek" on Kennedy.

Attachments

*I have attached the Kennedy
etc. aw*

Kennedy's Role in Debate on War

The writer was formerly Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs.

To the Editor:

It strikes me that your Nov. 28 editorial entitled "Kennedy vs. Kennedy" might better have been entitled "The Times vs. The Times."

In commenting on Senator Robert F. Kennedy's television interview concerning the apparent change in the basis of United States involvement in Vietnam, you state that the questions of the validity of escalation were "hopelessly blurred by Senator Kennedy's distorted charge that the basic aims of American involvement have been changed from those that prevailed when John F. Kennedy was President."

But only last month, in your lead editorial of Oct. 15, commenting on Secretary Rusk's explanation of President Johnson's policy, you said, "the change of policy from Kennedy's 'their' war to Johnson's 'our' war—again no matter of detail—lies at the heart of the issue between the Administration and its critics."

Objectives in Vietnam

When I look at this and at similar comment and analysis by Reston, Wicker, Finney and Brown, I wonder. I refuse to believe that the editors of The Times would change their position merely to attack Senator Kennedy. Could it be that they have failed to read their own editorials?

My own feeling is that this recent editorial blurs the debate just as badly as you allege that Senator Kennedy's statement did—and yours was presumably composed on a typewriter and reflected upon, while his statement was made under the pressure of questioning on TV.

You say that it always was one of the objectives of the United States in Vietnam to contain Communist expansionism in Asia. That is so. But it is one thing to contain the subtle expansionism of Communist-inspired revolutionary warfare by aiding native nationalism and quite another to attempt to contain it by making the struggle an American war. This is what The Times presumably meant when it spoke of the change from "their" war to "our" war.

And I also think this is what underlay what Senator Kennedy was saying. For when you make it "our" war, Amer-

ican prestige becomes involved in a new and fundamental way, and the aims themselves then begin to undergo a change.

ROGER HILSMAN

New York, Nov. 29, 1967

[The Times has consistently criticized an escalation of the Vietnam war under the Johnson Administration that has transferred the principal responsibility for fighting it from South Vietnamese to American troops—from "their" war to "our" war. This is quite different from suggesting, as Senator Kennedy did, that the basic purposes of the war as envisioned by President Kennedy—protection of the independence of South Vietnam and containment of Chinese expansionism—have been materially altered by President Johnson.—Editor The Times.]

THE NEW YORK TIMES

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1967

KENNEDY ON TV

BY KENNETH CRAWFORD



Television has become the most effective medium for political persuasion, and Sen. Robert Kennedy has become one of its most effective users. He projects almost as well as Gov. Ronald Reagan, the acknowledged professional master. Kennedy's recent half hour on the CBS program, "Face the Nation," revealed a studied virtuosity that should be discouraging to potential and actual rivals. Under questioning, but never cross-examination, by a group of pleasant reporters, he came over like Frank Merriwell grown to maturity.

Of a Sunday noon, in the lull between the newspapers and the football games, when the TV watcher is in an uncritical sprawl, the young man with the blue eyes, the mop head and the Boston accent is charming. He is neither too glib nor too halting. His command of facts and figures seems impressive. His manner is just about right. He invites, and gets, sympathy for his political plight, caught as he is between President Johnson, whose domestic policies he approves, and Sen. Eugene McCarthy, whose opposition to the war he shares.

No wonder the Harris poll finds Kennedy leading Mr. Johnson by a 52-to-32 margin for next year's Democratic Presidential nomination.

POLITICAL DISTORTION

To detect and identify the cant, the mischievousness and the outrages to logic and fact, which somehow sounded plausible during the Sunday doldrums, it is necessary to read a transcript of the Kennedy broadcast in the cold, gray light of Monday morning. To do so is to wonder whether the electronic medium may not turn out to be a curse rather than a blessing to the democratic process, an instrument not so much of political communication as of political distortion, more useful to the skilled demagogue than to the sober statesman.

Even The New York Times, which tends to agree with Kennedy about the war, was moved to rebuke him editorially for his performance.

What bothered the Times was a fallacy that any reasonably well-informed Sunday auditor could have caught, though perhaps overlooked.

It was Kennedy's insistence that the war has become an immoral cause now

stop Communist encroachment in Asia at the Vietnamese line. What Kennedy has always thought, he said, is that the purpose of the American intervention was solely to help the South Vietnamese retain their independence from their northern neighbors.

Kennedy's thesis that it is morally reprehensible for a nation to wage war to help itself as well as somebody else is too naive to be accepted by anybody who knows anything about international affairs, much less by a presumably sophisticated politician, even less by the custodian of the Kennedy tradition. John F. Kennedy made it clear on many occasions, first as senator and later as President, that he considered the Vietnam venture necessary to preserve freedom in Southeast Asia for the future welfare of Americans as well as Asians. Apparently his brother wasn't listening.

THE FACTS

But it was in his denunciation of the Vietnamese that Robert was most viciously irresponsible. Some of the quotes from his broadcast are almost beyond crediting. "The South Vietnamese Army has almost pulled out" of the war. "There are 150,000 civilian casualties every year, thousands of children are killed because of our efforts." The fact is that the South Vietnam Army's killed-in-action casualties exceeded those of the U.S. forces by 232 in the first 25 days of November, while the fight in the highlands raged. As for civilian casualties in the south, official sources confess that there are no truly reliable statistics but consider Kennedy's estimate a fantastic exaggeration. The North Vietnamese claimed only 378 civilian deaths from bombing through the first half of 1967 in their area. In the same period, Viet Cong terrorists killed or kidnaped 2,752 civilians in the south.

To imply, as Kennedy does, that all civilian casualties in Vietnam are inflicted "because of our efforts" is unconscionable. To accuse the South Vietnamese Army of quitting the fight when in fact it is intensifying its effort is to treat an ally as though he were the enemy. To do all this in a tone of superior humanitarianism is to overreach the limits of decent taste in public debate. And to do all this on TV is to abuse and discredit the nation's potentially most valuable agency.



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

November 27, 1967

Honorable Robert F. Kennedy
United States Senate

Dear Bob:

Thank you very much for sending me a personally inscribed copy of your latest book To Seek A Newer World. I am reading it, enjoying it, and perhaps may presume to comment on it when I have finished. I appreciate very much your thinking of me and will treasure the book as I do others you have written and, of course, particularly those written by President Kennedy.

Jane and I just hours ago watched you on Face the Nation. I feel constrained to comment on your presentation for it disturbed me very much. If I speak critically I know you will understand I do so as a friend and as one who shares your deep and abiding concern for this Nation and for the principles of decency and freedom on which it rests. Honestly, the extreme of emotionalism and what I can only describe as a heavy use of horror word pictures in your presentation on Vietnam is not consistent with your reasoned and logical presentations in other years. Your effort to distinguish the decisions that were made initially in Vietnam from the later decisions the President had to make seemed to me illogical. Making full allowance for the fact that your responsibilities to your State and to your Country are somewhat different as a member of the United States Senate than as a member of the Cabinet, I must honestly say that your Face the Nation presentation was not up to the standard that the American people have come to expect from Robert Kennedy.

I regret, Bob, that we have never had an opportunity to discuss Vietnam in any depth. You are well aware that the Secretary of Agriculture is not one of the prime decision makers where American foreign policy is concerned; nonetheless I have been exposed, at least collaterally, to the decision making process for almost 7 years now and therefore feel a substantial measure of responsibility for what is taking place. So far I have heard no real alternative to what we are doing militarily except get out altogether. Few of the so-called "dovish" opposition advocate that. In the meantime we are making a major effort at "pacification". I have over 100 professional agriculturalists in Vietnam right now. Progress comes very slowly, but it is moving.

I am personally persuaded that it would be a grave mistake to abandon South Vietnam. I for one don't want peace in Vietnam in 1967 at the cost of World War III in 1977.

I am also deeply concerned that this issue will so fractionalize the liberal forces in this country as to defeat the liberal leadership we so desperately need in the Congress, bringing into power Republican or Dixiecrat reaction. There is more than a measure of truth in Gus Tyler's article in the New Leader that you may have seen.

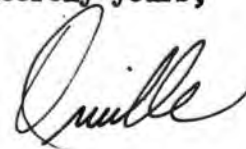
2--Honorable Robert F. Kennedy

I know as the important decisions of next year are made this threat will weigh heavily on your heart and mind as it does mine. All the more reason, I believe, that hard headed logic and courageous follow through shall dominate our national decision making process rather than emotionalism.

Again, thanks for thinking of us and for the copy of the book.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Quill". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "Quill".

The Liberal Crisis

By Gus Tyler

AS THE nation moves toward the 1968 elections, American liberalism faces the most serious crisis of this century. The peril to liberals arises from dark and destructive forces at work in the country, and from deep divisions within the progressive-minded community. Unless liberalism can close political ranks to check the onrush of reaction, America can be swept into a dismal abyss of prolonged reaction.

The drama of the 1968 elections will be played against a double backdrop: violence and Vietnam. Both will profoundly affect the outcome in the voting no matter what the Johnson Administration does either in urban America or in Southeast Asia.

The racial riots of 1967, like other riotous moments in America, are part of a continuing and developing movement with its own momentum and inner dynamic. What started many years ago as spontaneous and sporadic outbursts has, in recent years, taken on form and direction.

It and threat of riot are used as conscious instruments to win demands—specific and vague. Out of the cauldron is emerging a political coalition of black revolutionaries,

Muslims and the Negro underworld which seeks to use violence as a tool of purpose. The most irreconcilable elements in this loose combine are the extremists who do not believe that America is a viable civilization, who feel the only hope lies in a nihilistic and uninhibited destruction of the society.

The riots of 1967 are a prelude and rehearsal to those of 1968. While a massive program for the ghettos would undoubtedly do much to dampen the explosive materials of riot, even the most generous effort is unlikely to have meaningful impact by 1968. And it is far less likely that the present Congress will enact any program—massive or midget. The fuel for the fire will be on hand next summer. The leadership for the systematic use of violence will, by 1968, have established its authority—in no small part as a result of operations run in 1967. If one is to trust knowledgeable rumor, the next move will be to carry the flames outside the ghetto to adjacent neighborhoods.

But whether or not riots, inside or outside the ghetto, are on the drawing boards of the "revolutionaries," there are enough combustibles around for the most accidental spark

in 1968 to set off the explosion. The response to such an explosion can be predicted from several centuries of American experience with social conflict. Riot makes counter-riot; violence makes vigilantism. In 1968, the ever dormant spirit of vigilantism is likely to arise brutally—both on the streets and at the polls.

If the spirit of violence should flag either in the ghetto or in the surrounding white community, there are racist and reactionary forces to whip up the fury. Legislators can do it by callous disregard; Right extremists can do it by financing the sparks to set the fire; parochial politicians will do it as a cheap and easy way to fame and fortune.

In 1968, there will be a vigilante vote—as well as vigilante violence. It may prove the pivotal power for putting a like-minded man in the White House.

Peace in Vietnam is not apt to reverse or check racial conflict. Indeed, quite the opposite is probable. If peace were made in Southeast Asia before the first of the year, the most immediate impact on the American economy would be a dip in employment. Demobilization of Negro soldiers, fewer job openings, a higher

rate of Negro joblessness—especially among the young—could only add fuel to the flame. While it is entirely possible and desirable for America to work out "peacetime" plans to take up the slack, such plans would get little backing in the present Congress—and in no event could they have an effect in time to provide needed employment before the fall of 1968.

For the militant Negro ideologue or demagogue, American withdrawal from Vietnam would provide conclusive proof that this civilization is on the way out, about to be pushed into oblivion. This conviction would be incendiary propaganda in the mouths of the militants.

Thus whatever the merits may be for hastening a settlement in Asia, it is a vast misjudgment to assume that the fate of the ghettos will be settled in Vietnam. The notion that peace over there means peace over here is a self-delusion induced by incantations in a dovecote.

Regardless of Johnson's actions in Vietnam between now and Election Day, moreover, the issue will be with the country on that fateful Tuesday. If he makes a settlement it will, of necessity, be frayed with loose ends: boundaries, role of the Vietcong, presence of guarantors, etc. The Republicans will grab each loose thread to unravel the Administration, wrapping their yarn around the accusative query: "Is this what our boys died for?" If Johnson continues on present course, he will be hit from both sides: either "get out" or "go all out" or both.

Johnson would overcome both these obstacles—violence and Vietnam—with a united liberal front. But this unity is lacking . . . at the moment. Within the progressive community in 1967 there is a group whose basic strategy is negative: "beat Johnson." Its logic runs in three steps:

1. Any Republican, including Richard Nixon or Ronald Reagan, is more likely to settle Vietnam than Johnson, in the same way that Eisen-

hower settled Korea after Truman.

2. Even if this does not happen, in 1972 the Democrats could oust the Republicans.

3. At that time, the Democratic party will be in the hands of its liberal wing.

For a brief moment, this faction in the liberal community toyed with a third-party movement: the Spock-King ticket. The Negro nihilists knocked that notion out of their heads at last month's National Conference for New Politics in Chicago. So the "beat Johnson" faction now turns to the Democratic party a) to name convention delegates to nominate someone or anyone other than LBJ; b) to undermine Johnson in the election of 1968; c) and then in 1972 to use this movement to name a true liberal to take the White House.

The strategy is simple and suicidal.

THE FIRST victims of this "beat Johnson" movement will be the Representatives and Senators in the "peace wing" of Congress. A battle over convention delegates will deeply divide the Democratic party ranks. Congressmen and Senators will not escape the conflict unscathed. In the case of a George McGovern (D.-S.D.), or others like him, who are already in deep trouble because of their "dove" posture, a further division within their party is a guarantee of defeat. Put otherwise, in a divided and splintered liberal coalition, the first to suffer will be the men who are liberals on domestic issues and who are foreign policy doves. But they will not be alone. The resolve of the peace-at-all-cost people to defeat the Johnson crowd will also hit the liberals who back the Administration on Vietnam. In short, the "beat Johnson" movement inevitably, if not intentionally, becomes a beat-the-liberals-for-Congress movement: both liberal doves and liberal hawks.

A conservative Congress—much more conservative than the present—will not only affect legislation but

may very well turn topsy turvy all calculations on the presidency in 1968. In this regard, 1968 could be unlike any other election in American history.

A George Wallace candidacy would have a peculiar effect on the *electoral*, as distinguished from the *popular* vote. In terms of *popular* vote, Wallace would help LBJ win a plurality. Johnson's liberalism—especially on civil rights—has lost him many voters who in 1968 would go Republican. If Wallace runs, however, many of the same voters would vote Dixiecrat instead of GOP, thereby cutting into Republican strength.

But in terms of the *electoral* vote, the Wallace candidacy could have an altogether different impact on 1968—and on the future of American politics. If he carries as much of the South as predicted, he will garner some 100 electoral votes. In that event, it would be necessary for either the Democratic or Republican candidate for President to win at least 270 electoral votes out of the remaining 438—to be elected. Had this happened in 1948, or 1960, neither Truman nor Kennedy would have had enough electoral votes to win.

If neither Democrat nor Republican get a majority of the votes in 1968, then the contest goes to the House of Representatives—at which point the political complexion of the House becomes decisive because it is the body that will now pick the President out of the top three runners.

In the House, the balance of power would be in the hands of the South. Indeed, its power is heavily exaggerated since each state including the thinly populated states of the South, casts only one vote: Louisiana equals Illinois; Mississippi equals New York; and Alabama equals California.

Southern strategy in this situation must be envisioned against the background of riots in the summer of 1968. The first impact of such disturbances would be to swell the

Wallace vote—both North and South. The second impact would be on the Southern Congressional delegations that would normally vote for the Democratic candidate for President if the contest went to the House. In 1968, they might do otherwise.

The South may now lead America down the path to reaction—by playing an independent role. Discussing 1968 at a political action meeting of the AFL-CIO, Bayard Rustin recently said: "The nation moves toward 1968, a year of historic importance, in a mood of confusion, unrest, uncertainty. Exploiting Vietnam and the Negro's agony, the Right wing prepares to launch a comeback. If successful, it will profoundly alter the direction of American politics and most grievously set back the Negro." In setting this altered direction, the South would be in the driver's seat.

Given the choice between a Johnson and a Reagan, the Southern delegations could decide to go for Reagan or—if wooed by LBJ—to succumb at a devilish price: my body for your soul. Given the alternate choice between a Johnson and a Rockefeller, the South could say, "a plague on both your houses," and cast its vote for Wallace to elect NO President. (This is constitutionally possible, since the top three names for President go before the House and a majority is needed for election.)

The latter course, a stalemate in the House, is unlikely because as matters stand right now the GOP candidate will not be Rockefeller but someone more congenial to the Southern spirit. But if Rockefeller (or someone like him) is the candidate and the South should decide to stalemate the election, the political potential becomes bizarre: The Senate chooses the Vice President on a one-man-one-vote basis, and if the House cannot agree on a President, then the Veep becomes Prexy.

This improbable, but possible, freak could put a Reagan directly in the White House, although he runs

for Vice President rather than President. At present, the strongest ticket the Republicans can field against Johnson is Rockefeller-Reagan. Should it turn out that the Senate—and not the House—chooses the President, Reagan becomes a real possibility for the Presidency, riding into the White House on Rocky's coattails.

THE SOUTHERN Democrats in House and Senate would normally not bolt their Presidential candidates. But 1968 will not be normal. The election is apt to be



run against a background of flaming cities, with a reactionary South discovering new allies in the North and a last best hope to run America. The year 1968 may be as abnormal as 1860, when a new party on a newly realigned base came to power. In terms of issues, 1968 could be 1860 played backwards.

Ordinarily, if Southern Democrats bolted their party they would be jeopardizing the prized seniority and chairmanships that the Dixie solons enjoy. But in a "realignment" the South could easily make a deal with GOP leadership—and the President-to-be—to "organize" both houses in an overt conservative coalition thus

preserving Southern superiority in the Senate and House committees. (In the New York State Legislature just a couple of years ago, it was the Republicans—together with "Wagner" Democrats—who gave Anthony Travia and Joseph Zaretski the necessary votes to head the Legislature. There is no constitutional provision to prevent the same from happening in the U.S. Congress.)

Such an eventuality would be a bit of historic irony for liberals who have long urged party realignment. So far, the liberals have failed to convert the New Deal coalition into a "party." In Congress, the conservatives have long had such an informal "party" on Capitol Hill, voting in consistent concert. In 1968, this Congressional coalition of conservatism may have its first chance to elect its President by its own acts—with the South holding the power and mapping the strategy.

In discussions about the forthcoming elections, 1968 has been analogized with other recent contests, particularly 1948 and 1952, with pro-Johnson people pointing to the former and liberal anti-Johnson people the latter. In fact, both analogies are right—and wrong.

In 1948, Harry Truman—like Lyndon Johnson today—appeared to be in trouble. His "left" wing was being torn away by Henry Wallace and the Progressive party; his "right" wing by Strom Thurmond and the Dixiecrats. The "left" Democrats were hitting Truman because of his cold war policy, the "right" Democrats were hitting him for his pro-civil rights policy. Americans for Democratic Action started a "dump-Truman" movement and turned to Dwight Eisenhower as an alternative, just as some individual liberals (though not ADA this time) are now involved in a "dump-Johnson" movement that seeks another General as a possible candidate. James Gavin. In the election itself, Truman came galloping up to win—with liberal backing, as may happen with LBJ.

This far the analogy holds, but not much farther. The support for George Wallace is much greater than that for Thurnmond. If Truman had lost the whole South, he would have lost the Presidency. A Reagan is not an Eisenhower—especially if a Republican President is elected in the House with Southern aid. But above all else, the mood of the country is different: Black "revolution" is stirring white "counter-revolution," an atavistic return to a dark dead past.

The "dump-Johnson" people, such as James Wechsler, prefer to parallel 1968 with 1952. That was the year Truman decided not to run, allegedly because he was scared off by the New Hampshire primary. Anti-Johnson liberals hope to scare LBJ off from running in 1968.

If this is carried one step further, though, it becomes most unappetizing. Upon Truman's withdrawal, the Democrats named Adlai Stevenson, the liberal's dream boat, for the Presidency. He ran a bright, brittle campaign in which he restored the English language to its proper place in Western civilization. But it was not he—it was Ike and Dick—who ended up in the White House. And four years later there was more of the same, only more so.

Should the history of 1952 repeat itself, liberals would have a chance to relive the agony of the Ike age in a time of trouble and turmoil. Ike put the New Deal on ice; a Republocrat President in 1968 and beyond would put the nation on fire.

The liberal community has not, until recently, been even dimly aware of the dangerous potential. The great preoccupation has been with Vietnam—both pro and con—almost exclusively. The far greater danger arising from the political crisis within the country has gone almost unnoticed.

Until recently, some of the loudest voices in liberal circles spoke out for a third party. The big moment was to be the meeting of the National

Conference for New Politics in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend. Whatever evils issued from that confab, it was an ill wind that blew some good. It killed a national third-party, for this year. The formal burial took place at the ADA national board meeting in September, when the organization formally went on record as opposed to a third party. Nobody spoke for the corpse, including those who—in the recent past—were for it.

With the collapse of third-partyism, some of its sponsors together with other anti-Johnson elements began to beef up a "dump-Johnson" campaign. The plan is to run anti-Johnson delegates to the Democratic national convention.

AT THE September meeting of ADA—the commonly alleged establishment of the liberal community—the question of a "dump-Johnson" movement was at the core of the agenda. Although the press reported this as a gathering to formulate policy on Vietnam, the ADA board was actually without any authority to act on that subject because the Spring convention of the organization had already mapped policy. The board meeting dealt with *political*—rather than *foreign*—policy, concentrating on matters such as third-party, "dump-Johnson," convention and endorsement strategy.

The heaviest blow against the "dump-Johnson" movement was struck by Joe Rauh—Mr. ADA—in a memorandum he had circulated on July 28, 1967. He opposed the movement on practical grounds; it would fail, and it would discredit the movement for peace: "Just as the Kennedy-Fulbright draft will fail to produce delegates because Kennedy will repudiate it in most dramatic form, so any other similar effort in behalf of anti-Johnson delegates will fail because no responsible people inside the Democratic party will allow their names to be connected with a drive against a Democratic President, and especially so

hopeless a drive. Here, too, the net result is bound to be few, if any, delegates and a minimization of the peace strength in America to a fraction of its true proportions."

The positive alternative proposal in the Rauh document was a drive to write a peace plank into the Democratic party platform. There were several attempts to reverse the Rauh approach at the ADA board, probably the best attended in its history. The first proposal—to have ADA back the "dump-Johnson" movement—was defeated 73 to 12. Two other moves were defeated: one to allow chapters and individuals to join the dumpers in the name of ADA; the second to instruct ADA to seek an alternative candidate to LBJ.

The board decision, however, has not inhibited a handful of individuals in ADA (though without ADA authority) from going ahead with their "dump-Johnson" effort. From their view, they cannot lose: If LBJ is beaten at the convention, they will have won; if LBJ is defeated in 1968, they will also have won. They talk about 1968 but they mean 1972. They are thinking like Louis XV standing on his head: *Après le déluge, moi.*

If one must look for historical analogies for 1968, it is less in the America of the 1940s and 1950s than in the Germany of the 1930s. Then the great danger was Hitler. But to a sector of the Left—the Communists—the real enemy was social democracy. The coalition that might have halted Hitler was torn with fratricide. The Communists termed the Social Democrats "social-fascists"; they turned the "main fire" against those closest to them; they welcomed Hitler to power with the proclamation: *Nach Hitler, Kommen wir.*

No doubt this analogy—like most historical parallels—is faulty. But in terms of long-range historic impact, what happened in Germany in the '30s may be closer to the danger we face in 1968 than what happened in America in either 1948 or 1952.

December 8, 1967 - 8:10 at my desk at home. I've been shuffling papers for a couple of hours now. For some reason I woke up about 5:00, couldn't go back to sleep and so I've been hard at it. I've just about caught up now from the pile of mail, reading, Congressional Records, etc., from the last two weeks which have been largely on the road. I had a useful trip week before last through the West. In Denver, Colorado I kicked off the small farmer package which has been well received. There had been some unrest about it within the Administration because of the dollar sign and of course those who are interested in moving people off of farms rather than keeping them on. Nonetheless the rationale is so obvious that we ought to help those who have the ability to grow to adequate size and try and improve the livelihood of the boxed in who are certainly better off on the farm, rather than dumped into the cities, that it is hard to resist this approach. Further, it's obvious good politics answering the criticism that this Administration is trying to drive people out of the farms. So far the President has steered apart from it, but there hasn't been a real occasion for him to be heard. The press has been pretty good. We're having a hundred hearings around the country now and then we'll come up with a program. There hasn't been the criticism from the other side of the fence contending that we need fewer farms to solve our problems that I had expected. I wish there would be more. It would attract a bit more attention which would help dramatize what we're going.

From Denver where I announced the program, lunched at the Farmers Union Building, I went on to Yuma, Arizona for a Farm-City week. They were so delighted to see me with my name in lights and the marquee with everyone excited about my presence and delighted that I was there that I couldn't help but enjoy it myself. The speech was well received, considering it was fairly technical commodity kind of speech following the Agway and Grange theme that we must choose next year

a President who will support our farm programs or we won't have any. Up and away early from Yuma. We flew by charter to Phoenix and they had their once in five year fog, so it took us a while to get down which was amusing. Then by quick jet to San Francisco where in quick succession I held a Technical Action Panel meeting, which was very poor, spoke to the Industrial Research Council, an industry locating group, and then by Forest Service DC-3 went to Merced, California where I met with the local Chamber and county supervisors who told me how successful they had been in bringing ⁱⁿ industry. I toured the County observing self-help housing and a community water facility. In the meantime the county supervisor, who is a farmer, and Blanco the dairy leader were grumbling because I was paying attention to anything except agriculture and farming as such.

The self-help was most impressive. We visited a house in construction. It was after dark with flood lights on, and there were seven women hammer in hand busily framing up the house. I then visited some of the completed project and learned that they were working in groups of eight to ten, that the women worked and the men whenever they weren't in the fields, that it took about a year including a 3 to 4 months education and indoctrination period. They had great pride in the finished product which was really very nice. I returned to Washington and directed John Baker to bring together our experience on housing, to review it and to evaluate where we go next year in connection with it.

I then flew to Chicago where I spoke to the National 4-H in what was really a very effective, ringing speech setting out challenges to them in international agriculture and in community development, also touching the theme of what's good in our country, as well as what is bad. It seemed to be very well received. Finally back to Washington late that week with the next couple of days desperately devoted to trying to catch up.

Then Jane and I went up to Canada. A couple of months ago I had Bob Winters, the Minister of Commerce from Canada, in to discuss grain problems and over lunch we got to talking about football. He invited me up then to see the Gray Cup Game between the East and West Canadian professional champions. I didn't hear from him for a while and almost forgot about it when I got a call inviting me to come even though he would be gone out of the country. We ended up the guests of some delightful people, the Leonard Lumbers of Toronto. They sent a plane for us. We went to a dance on Friday night, then up early in the morning to fly to Ottawa where we had lunch, watched the parade, saw the football game which was a little one-sided, somewhat different a little more open perhaps but not nearly as skillfully played as American football, back to Toronto where we took in a hockey game, had a late dinner and early next morning flew back to Washington. They were perfectly delightful people. Our every wish was catered to and it was a quite active, but also thoroughly enjoyable weekend with no politics or no US-Canadian problems, rather just good fellowship. Lumbers is a prominent Canadian businessman. He told me he is in the process of making a judgment to locate an aluminum plant at an estimated \$150 million investment in Kentucky. He showed the typical naiveness of the average businessman who has had little contact with Government, but also a high level of motivation and humanness. Anyway it was a delightful interlude.

I only spent a couple of hours in Washington shuffling papers and then raced off to Miami where Laurence Rockefeller met me and I participated in a day of the National Congress of the Park and Recreation Association. I agreed to serve on the Board of Trustees and so participated in a reception, Trustees' dinner, went down town in Miami for a television program which was one of the kind of general interview series that one bumps into around the country. Then participated in an awards ceremony and sat through a Board of Trustees' meeting.

This is quite an organization. It's bringing together various park and recreation groups all over the country. The new Executive Vice President, Dr. Sal J. Prezioso, appears to be doing an exceptionally fine job of organizing, defining goals, bringing different groups together, and generally developing a solid foundation. I'm not sure that he will have the scope or understanding where major policy formation is concerned, but he's obviously a trained and competent executive using modern management techniques.

I had to leave before the Trustees' meeting ended. Unfortunately I had to cast a lone negative vote against a Redwood Park proposal where I stood in opposition to a Resolution which would have involved a negative position on the exchange unit of National Forest land as a part of the Redwood package as the bill passed the Senate. Laurance Rockefeller agreed that this was a bad concept and we should resolute against it but he wanted to have the resolution read in such a fashion that we were so for the park that we would be willing to tolerate the exchange if essential. My point was, ~~resoluting~~ this would weaken our hand in trying to work out something that would not involve the exchange in the House when the Senate bill goes over for their action. So I was a lone negative vote. It was conducted on a high plane, no bad feeling but it's ironic that Laurance Rockefeller, who has been so nice and who urged me to attend this meeting and who has talked to me about this organization and how we might do to make it a constructive force in the country, would end up on the other side from me at my first Trustees' meeting. However, I don't think any harm was done. I rode to the airport with Endicott Davison, a New York lawyer, currently the President who regretted this whole matter came up and was very friendly and agreed with me that we ought to be careful that this organization doesn't get so involved in controversial issues before it hardly gets organized that it might tear itself apart. Anyway the door there is still a bit open in connection with the proposal that Rockefeller made to me a year ago that I turned ~~down~~. I doubt

very much that there is any future in this, but time will tell. I suspect this will become Prezioso's organization 100 percent the way he is going at it now. Anyway, it will be useful and educational to serve on the Board and observe this Organization come into being. It may very well be a great force in recreation and conservation in the years ahead.

I flew from Miami to Knoxville, Tennessee arriving by way of Atlanta, George and a long stop there, about 10:00 o'clock at night where Barrett Shelton, Ed Mauldin, and a group of other Tennessee Valley people met me. They all converged in my hotel room for a little brawling and drinking, but I was in bed by midnight, up early the next day and visited the Oak Ridge Atomic Energy installation, inspecting the research projects on radiation and its effect both constructively as it causes that could improve animals and crops and also the dangers from it and its effect on living things. It was extremely interesting, a lovely crisp morning and a nice drive there from Knoxville.

I returned then for the main purpose of my trip, mainly to speak and kick-off the new Tennessee Valley Development Association promoted by Barrett Shelton of Decatur, Alabama. This encompasses all the Tennessee Valley areas and is an economic development group. I gave them a strong speech about rural urban balance, outlining our programs and actions, the need for planning, etc. I felt it was very well received. While there I noted a recent newspaper story that it appears the movement of people out of rural Tennessee counties into the cities has been checked and reversed and there is modest population growth in those counties. That's encouraging and I've made it a point to spread that information other places since.

Anyway from Knoxville I was picked up in a Jet Star and went on to Minneapolis. I hesitated to use Government transportation which is costly, but I felt it necessary that I try and get out to Ed Christianson's Farmers Union meeting.

I'm glad that I did. He had over 1,000 people there. I gave a strong, long farm speech tracing the history of what had taken place, pointing out how Farmers Union philosophy of supply management had been carried forward successfully, accepted the blame for the mistakes of last year in setting acreages too high, but explained it in terms of a threatened World Food Shortage and the fact that production estimates proved far too low in light of unusually beneficial weather. I then concentrated on the Republicans and their bad voting record on agriculture, pinpointing the recent Purcell strategic reserve bill. As a recent example of bad Republican votes I pointed out John Zwach's bad vote on it. I then answered questions for quite a while, until we ran out of time. It seemed to be very, very well received. I'm glad I did go. Ed Christianson was pleased. Tony Dechant was there and pleased. Incidentally the Farmers Union is saying nice things about me at last. The small farmer package and the advent of the election year probably help explain it. Dozens of old friends came up. It did my heart good. These people were disappointed but had not lost faith and were certainly friendly.

I also had a press conference in which I passed off the Gene McCarthy candidacy lightly, commenting I didn't consider it very important and that it would be at best a very, very small footnote in history. I'm sure this will make Gene furious, but so be it. I can't figure out what that foolish man is doing. He's never talked with me. He certainly never has been emotionally in tune with leftist groups or with wild-eyed liberals, yet here he goes as a Presidential candidate. It is embarrassing to Humphrey with whom he didn't even talk. It is embarrassing to me and it may create problems as he polarizes the anti-Vietnam extreme liberal thinking.

McCarthy was in Minnesota last night. He attacked the Cabinet Ministers who were around the country, according to him, trying to prevent dissent while they neglected their duties. I was named as seeking to restrain expression while

farm parity went down. Other Cabinet officers got the same treatment. Humphrey is out there today. I talked to him yesterday to let him know that I had sent a copy of an article in The New-Leader by Gus Tyler, which draws the analogy to 1948 and paints a very sharp picture of the danger of splitting up the liberal cause, electing conservatives and stopping the progress that we are making. It's a good article. I sent it to all the executive committee with a brief note saying that "I hope you will read this. I know you share my concern. We have made progress. We won't make more if this happens." I'll be interested in the reaction. Anyway the Minnesota trip was useful. It's always good to get home. I get a real feel for the Twin Cities. There has been a lot of constructive progress -- buildings, through-ways, and all -- and more and more I tend to feel that when the time comes, I want to return. I feel that way particularly when I talk with the fellows in the law firm. I had a delightful time with them. They made me feel very good, as if they were proud of what I'm doing and really would like to have me come back to the firm.

I went up about 5:30 after the Farmers Union speech, drove over from the prom with Jim LaSheen that I used to play football with. He had a client he wanted me to give some business in the Department. When I got up to the firm there weren't many there. Jerry came in after a bit, and then Leonard. We talked a bit with John Finn who came along with Leonard. He's now General Counsel with General Mills. Later in the evening Leonard said John just padded along behind him because he wanted to see me. There may be an element of truth in that but what tickled me was that Leonard was very proud of that fact. Anyway they made me feel very much wanted. We went over to the Minnesota Alumni Room in the new hotel, had a few drinks, a delightful dinner, talked politics in general and then Earl, Jerry, Leonard and I went out to Leonard's house for an hour's confab. I told them frankly that I was thinking seriously about going back but

that I worried whether I would be able to carry my share of the burden and there might be a psychological problem of adjustment after having been in big Government positions for almost 15 years and that I certainly had forgotten all the law I knew. This bothered them not at all. We talked about the kind of representation in Washington on a high level, no suggestion or thought at all of using political influence or trying to represent questionable causes, rather that when basic and vital issues affecting the area and a substantial business need to have their point of view understood and properly represented there would be a great opportunity for good representation which could be lucrative, too. I think they're probably right, but that's such a hard line to draw.

I went over with them in great length the possibility of some kind of international orientation in the firm, that we had a lot of companies with foreign investments now in Minnesota, that I knew people all over the world and had some sense of how we handled our operations and other countries, too, and that we might consider trying to make contacts with such firms with a prospect like that in mind. They agreed, although they didn't have anything too tangible. Jerry Magnuson is doing a lot of business law now and he could very well move into a good bit of that kind of thing and may. Then I sat up and talked with mother in her new apartment. We've been worried about her because she was not as happy in it and seemingly regretted having sold her house. The apartment is bright and clean and new and nice but the location is lousy, fronting on Minnehaha Avenue which is something of an eye sore, very little by way of green grass and open spaces, a lot of traffic noise too. But generally speaking she seemed to be in good spirits and delighted to see me. We talked until well after 1:00 o'clock. I was awake before 7:00 and we took off for Washington in a heavy fog.

I made the Cabinet meeting in good shape. It was a rather dull meeting -- nothing of interest. John Macy made a report on Government services to the public.

The President had delegated him to review Governmental practices in that regard. The USDA got a special accolade for bringing its services under one roof in 16 counties around the country.

I slipped away a little after 1:00 o'clock and went down to make the speech at the Rockefeller Public Service Awards ceremonies. This was a speech that I had given a lot of thought to and talked with Wally Lindell about and he wrote a dandy. It laced into the teenage tiny boppers, etc., that were restricting freedom of thought and went on to point out many great good things that are taking place in this country. Unfortunately by the time I got on a good bit of the audience had left because the presentation dragged and not too many people were there. It got an enthusiastic response. Apparently it is going to be written up in Time Magazine -- and was circulated broadly. I think it will likely get a lot of attention. Wally has been doing some excellent writing. I've got an introductory statement for the Symposium beginning on Monday which is good, too. I've got a pretty good stable of writers now and that's a big help. What with Stan Weston, John Obert, and Wally Lindell, I'm in better shape than I've ever been. John is giving some real attention to our overall public relations too, so that is a plus and I feel better about it than I have at any time since I've been in Washington. With the year we have coming on why that is almost a necessity.

I returned then on Wednesday noon and we've been plowing since. Thursday I had a meeting which we had carefully planned, bringing together the commodity groups in livestock, poultry, turkeys, and eggs, together with the general farm organizations, issuing to and through them an appeal to producers around the country to hold down their production in these products, emphasizing that we have now a bumper crop of grain, relatively low grain prices and the danger of pushing those grain prices through animal products given the favorable feeding ratio. I filmed it ahead of time so it was circulated all around the country.

We invited in a lot of the press who were present. I am sure it will get a considerable play. We now have done about 20 different things that help where the farm price picture is concerned. We've gotten a lot of publicity around the country about them on the natural because he's been careful not to over state it. I have some feeling that things are better. Roger Blobaum of the Farmers Union was in to see DeVier Pierson and Pierson said it's the first time that he was not grumbling but rather singing my praises.

We had a meeting in Chicago of FHA AND ASCS people, political appointees, where we went into great detail about the coming political campaign. They were generally quite optimistic, surprisingly enough. We are in the process now of collecting names from all our people in the Department of those that we have worked with whom we believe to be friendly and we're going to use those names shortly after the first of the year to launch the Town and Country movement for the President. Hopefully the line has been firmly set now and we are on the offensive. I have increasingly been saying frankly that I'm to blame because I made a mistake in setting the acreage allotments a year ago and then explaining why; this seems to go over well. So we perhaps have the makings of a pretty good offense here -- what with the rural urban balance drive and the many programs helpful to small communities and the publicity we have focused on that issue culminating now in the Symposium next week, and the commodity farm income drive as I have already outlined with our efforts of the past year and the Republicans negative vote on the Purcell vote. We at least have a direct appeal to our traditional farm support. The small farmer package will help there too and we are now doing a further investigation on corporate farming which the Farmers Union is making a main point of attack. I've said publicly on that that I'm worried about large diversified corporations moving into agriculture where they may or may not be efficient but in any event will have the financial staying

power so although prices get soft they'll be able to hang on and keep contributing to that softness by producing more and more. We will investigate this and I think I'll hit that one hard. Then the farm bargaining power issue is going forward. Bill Abbott has done a splendid job in shaping the discussion of the President's Task Force that I was very worried about because it might get out of line. It will be making it's report shortly and although they don't come out directly for commodity supply management as such, they don't oppose it, and they do make clear that farmer bargaining power is weak and there is a host of things that can be done to try and correct it. I envisaged some legislation on this and it will provide us some positive initiative there too. At the moment we don't have much initiative on Food for Freedom but this country at the moment is not too emotionally involved in that and most farm interests run to farm prices and farm sales and isn't enough to provide the answer anyway as everyone knows. All the emotionalism of a year ago about this with every politician saying, "Let's feed the world" as a solution to all problems is reminiscent of 5 years ago when the pitch was utilization research and that solves all our problems. Anyway looking around all four corners of this we are shaped up in such a fashion we ought to have some issues and some organization. I said in Minneapolis, and everywhere in the circuit for that matter where I was questioned, because of the furor ^{the notice that} caused by Bob McNamara would go to the World Bank, that I had no intention of leaving, that I wouldn't miss the coming campaign for the world, that with the tremendous record of progress and accomplishment of this Administration it would be a joy to campaign on it. I believe that too very strongly.

When I saw the President last Friday and mentioned this to him, he expressed his pleasure and then grumbled that there are only two members of his Cabinet that were any good or that were getting around speaking politically and helping

him -- Larry O'Brien and myself. Well enough of that.

I'm glad I'm going to be in the office and I've got a whole host of administrative chores and follow-ups to do now. That got kind of kicked off by a meeting Joe Robertson had set up with the Comptroller General Elmer Staats who was over with his staff and we called in all our top people to emphasize the importance of accelerating our progress in improving our accounting and record procedures so we would have quantitative measurements of our current position on various programs rather than merely finding what we had spent after the budget period had run. It was a good meeting. I tied my remarks into the Agriculture/2000 Task Forces which have not been operating as I had hoped they would earlier in the year when I launched them. Only John Baker has done the kind of a job that is needed, so I will get those Task Forces together and try and get that business back on track. I want to take a hard look at our personnel and training practices across the Department. Also, the accounting and record keeping in more detail, agency by agency. I've lost track of that one.

I want, too, to do some reviewing on our Food for Freedom and agricultural technical programs. There is more trouble brewing there. Some nasty memoranda have been popping back and forth between Dorothy Jacobson and Les Brown and I gather Martin Abel has had a little trouble getting his position and duties clarified and apparently some with Les too, which is too bad, so I better plough into that one.

All in all then, this together with the new budget will keep my hands full until about January 15. I hope to have all the inside work reviewed coordinated and directed by then so I can start traveling heavily again. I think for the coming year I will try and block out periods when I will be back for as much as 10 days and systematically set review dates on some of these

projects in this fashion so I will not get too far away from internal operations.

Joe Robertson does such a splendid job of this that we have gained a tremendous reputation around town as a well run Department. Yesterday I was interviewed by a reporter writing a story on the President and management and administration, and in the course of it he told me that I had the reputation among my fellow Cabinet members of being one of the best Administrators in town. I seem to have that kind of a reputation. I really don't think I deserve it. I don't give administration as much attention as I should. But as I reflect on it we do have in the main a pretty harmonious operation and as I compare it to other Departments we seem to have a more clear idea of where we're going and why and better working relationships within the different agencies and a sense of cooperation than most anyone else.

I also won a victory over Brother Udall. The Mineral King project has been at a dead halt because of his refusal to allow that road across park property. I have been furious about it because he is simply politically grandstanding to a few Sierra Club types. I could tolerate this if he had told me about it and was cooperative; instead he's been arrogant and high-handed. Sam Hughes invited both of us to his office yesterday and Udall capitulated immediately under the conditions that I make it clear that he had fought a hard fight and had been defeated at a higher echelon. This to clear his skirts with some of his constituency. He was completely unabashed by this position, hardly contending that there was any merit in his action in the first place. So I'll make an announcement that Mineral King goes forward between Christmas and New Year's alleging that great safeguards have been instituted to protect the area that the road goes through and any pollution from the development in the valley. I have a lot less regard for that man

the more I work with him. I was surprised in Miami at the bitterness that Laurance Rockefeller feels toward him. There was a story in the New York Times about our struggle over Mineral King which was unfortunate because it endangers the good harmony that we have been able to build between the Departments. Rockefeller saw it and made no bones about the fact that I was right and he predicted that Udall would wait a while and then make a political gesture and capitulate which is exactly what happened. It's remarkable over the years that we have gotten along as well as we have I guess and perhaps I shouldn't judge him too harshly, but I really don't have much respect for him. He's been dragging his feet on the Vietnam thing, too. His brother Mo came out against the Administration. I made a strong pro Administration Vietnam statement myself in Arizona with Mo in the audience. He didn't say anything and neither did I. He really is a very good person and I regard him highly. But he like all the other anti-Vietnam people don't come up with any specific proposals. Their criticism is such that they identify themselves as opponents but they never say we should get out, nor do they say anything rational as to what we should do. Somehow or other in the course of this campaign we're going to have to make that point, but it's a hard one for people instinctly dislike a limited war and anyone who criticizes the tactic immediately gets their sympathy on an indiscriminating basis. All this will make it a tough year.

The other big development of course has been the struggle with the Congress over a new tax bill to try and thwart inflation. The English devaluation gave this a new lease on life. I've been traveling so much that I haven't been too close to it but the President moved in right away urging the Congress to act on the tax thing as a means of protecting the dollar. As I have outlined previously we have gone ahead with our cuts, but we haven't been

able to put them into effect. Now the President apparently has gotten the Congress to pass a law concurring in the cuts that the Administration will make. I asked Charlie Schultze how that was accomplished and he said, "Oh he just hired the best lobbyists in town to call up the Congress and line it up." I said disarmingly, "Who's that?" and he said, "Lyndon Johnson." Charlie didn't know exactly how it was done either, but the President apparently got hold of some of the leadership, made a strong pitch and they are going along. The Conference Committee agreed yesterday and it should go through Monday. Then we put the cuts into effect. They're going to hurt and hurt a lot, but the experts like Joe Fowler say we need to show our ability to tighten our belt at a time of boom in our economy, with both Congress and the Executive in the act, in order to reassure those who are watching our economic performance closely, those who control a lot of dollars and could call up a lot of gold. I said to Joe at a luncheon in Dean Rusk's office last week that this bothers me. It appears to me that this great, rich, strong country with a very stable dollar and an inflation rate last year of less than 3 percent, smaller than any place in the world, is reacting awful scared when the international bankers crack the whip. His only real response was, "Well that's the way it is." In any event, that's what we're going to do and it's going to hurt all our programs, but apparently it's necessary. That decision has been made at the highest level and I can only march along. I'm going to keep needling though because as a matter of economics this whole business is worrisome and I wonder if we're not being unnecessarily apprehensive in tightening our belt and setting back our programs without real need. Congress won't do it, why should we have to do it in order to get the tax bill. Mills has not been willing to move on the tax thing anyway.

I was also asking Joe about Mills and why he wouldn't move. Fowler was very hesitant about saying much but it was clear that he felt that Mills was being simply a bastard on this and that he actually had gotten a lot of Members of the Appropriations Committee angry with him, too. The likelihood is that he'll have his day and do his fussing and when he finally goes why we'll get that tax bill next year. What with the tax bill and the cuts, it may stabilize the price picture although labor settlements are high and steel prices have been going up and interest will too; as interest climbs I'll get it in the neck particularly from the farmers. So, however you turn there's problems. I sure feel for that poor President. Internal economic trouble, all the problems of the big cities and the riots, the Civil Rights and law enforcement unrest, international problems everywhere headed by Vietnam and the constant pounding on him where they're concerned, recalcitrant Congress fighting his programs every step of the way have been made to cut back programs that we all believe in -- it's one hell of a job. I hope today he's enjoying it for today is Lynda Bird's wedding. I haven't paid much attention to it but I've been home this morning and Jane is excited and reports the towns and the country are all excited and the shop keepers and the hairdressers wherever she goes are asking about it, and asking to be told about it afterwards. So, I'd better get into the spirit of it. Get back to some of the papers that I'm shuffling here on this desk and in an hour or so get dressed and off we go. Tonight we're going to have dinner with the Wirtz' and then go to a concert. So for now that's a brief recap of the last couple of weeks. I'm going to try and do a better job now being current; these recaps are not as meaningful as a closer day by day recounting.

December 10, 1967 -- 11:00 p.m. A very lazy, relaxing Sunday at home is drawing to a close. Jane's upstairs busily wrapping Christmas packages.

I'm at the desk doing some dictating and shuffling some mail preparatory to the week to come. We slept in until almost 9:30, read the papers, watched television, both McCarthy and Humphrey were on, McCarthy took a couple of digs suggesting that Humphrey and myself were going way out of our way to prove our loyalty to the President. I watched a little football, we went to 5:00 o'clock church, had a relaxing dinner, prowled through a lot of accumulated mail, and all in all didn't do much that was worthwhile. It's been a miserable rainy, cold, nasty day. Hence the fireside looked good, indeed.

Yesterday was Lynda Bird's wedding day. Everyone was much excited about it and I enjoyed it too. We took Connie with us. Jane bought her a new outfit for Christmas and she really looked stunning. We entered the White House through the East Entrance which I have almost never used. There were a lot of people there and we stood in the entry way fronting on the East Rose Garden for almost an hour before we went upstairs. Dr. Jim Cain from Rochester was there, Members of Congress, the Courts, the Military, everyone dressed in their best bib and tucker. Carol Channing appeared in a bright yellow bloomer, yellow stocking jersey kind of sweater outfit that was horrible. She's a bouncy attractive person, but what a get up to wear to a wedding. We gradually worked our way up. There were lots of people. We ended up just inside the hallway which runs from the dining room to the East Room. It was roped off. We managed to get around a corner there and hold our position so Jane and Connie were right on the corner where they could see the bridal party and the President and Lynda come down the steps, turn and come right by them so close they could almost touch them. It was a beautiful and very gay wedding. The couple were obviously very much in love and most attractive. The President seemed to be enjoying it and Mrs. Johnson even more so. The White House was beautifully decorated in flowers with lots of red roses. There was a little altar in the

East Room where the vows were said. Then they had us go into the dining room. They had a tent adjoining it where they served food and drinks. We then went through a receiving line and back into the East Room, the Altar now removed where dancing was had. We danced for several hours before Lynda and the new husband came down and cut the cake. I danced briefly with her and she seemed almost wooden she was so tired, but throughout the day she varied from a rather statuesque haughtiness to a gay and flashing smile. Anyway it was a joyous occasion. There were any number of attractive young people and Marines around and ~~their~~ girls and wives, together with all the older ones, people of note from everywhere, and it was most enjoyable. I had a long, long dancing session with Connie which I thoroughly enjoyed and she seemed to ~~to~~ telling all and sundry that her father was the best dancer in the Cabinet -- would that were true. She seemed to enjoy herself. Bobby Humphrey and his wife were there and what a delightful girl she is. We also ran into now Major Giles and his very lovely wife who were with us in the Border Canoe Country with Lynda several years ago. He was just returned from Vietnam where he had my old Company 3-K-9. He saw very heavy action with 120 percent casualties in his company, yet he didn't have a scratch. He seemed not adversely affected by the experience and it was a real thrill to meet and talk to him. A most attractive young career Marine with a very beautiful and charming young wife. So it was quite a day. We raced out of the White House about 7:30 to the Occidental for a quick meal and then on to see a Christmas program put on by the Military District with beautiful singing of Christmas Carols, telling the Christmas story. The Bill Wirtz' were with us and came home for a night cap. It was a day to remember -- a thoroughly pleasant one indeed.

December 14, 1967, 9:50 am in the office. This has been a hectic busy week. I had hoped to have some turnaround time to take care of management problems -- instead I've been deeply involved in the rural urban balance Symposium and a host of interviews, White House Conferences, etc. On short notice we went to the President's Cabinet room last evening where he called in a lot of Congressmen on the rice question. It took about 2 hours to give everyone a chance to express his viewpoint as to whether we should increase the allotments for the current allottees, or open it up to new producers. Only the Louisiana and Arkansas people where rice is the most important felt strongly about it. I think they're right and I see little reason for rocking the boat and going counter to the established power in this regard at this political time. There really isn't much of an equity question, although the President claims that worries him and maybe it does. Theoretically it can be argued we should open this up, but after all our allotment programs are franchises and those who are currently in business ought to be allowed to expand, particularly when they are not using all the acreage they have now and could use their machinery more efficiently. I will so recommend again. The other argument was somewhat appealing -- that is open it up to California and to Texas. Although again where there was strong rice producers, like in Jack Brooks' District, they preferred the current program expanded. The President seemed to enjoy this hugely. He was laughing and kidding about it a good deal of the time, particularly when I was forced to acknowledge when Jake Pickle kept stating what I had recommended, that I had recommended both positions at one time or another, and apparently I said like the President for he said don't you represent my point of view here I'll make up my own mind but in a good natured, kidding sort of manner. In the meantime it gave him a chance to get Mills and Fulbright and Russell Long prime movers in the Congress in his presence talking about something else

than the highly contentious issues that he must deal with them on. In the midst of all this he moved into a discussion of the pending Social Security Amendments which are alleged to be highly restrictive -- the AFL-CIO and most liberals are violently opposed. Mills and Russell Long argued that they didn't know what they were talking about, that the amendments in question holding the proportion of relief to aid to dependent children was merely an effort to check this and combined with programs to aid that dependent mother to get a job to get the help of nursing care and to be rehabilitated into a useful work instead of staying on relief was a more constructive, humane and sensitive program. This didn't completely jell but the very conversation was useful I'm sure and the President will undoubtedly follow it up. Mills, involved in the bitter struggle now about a new tax bill and credited with blocking it, there's lots of rumor around town that he and the President haven't been talking to each other, which criticism that the President's ^{lost} lots his magic touch with Congress, has been careless in not talking with Mills, etc., came in sat down with a huge smile and said he's sitting in Joe Fowler's chair. They seemed to be on pretty good terms. As I say, it was a pretty good technique. He had a lot of exposure on a topic they were all interested in and spent enough time so I doubt very much if anyone feels he was just playing games with them.

This didn't end until after 8:00 and I rushed over here to dress and Jane and I went to the Federal City Club for the 70th birthday of Drew Pearson. It was a very gay party, carefully planned, with a number of different people saying various things about Drew, dancing and all. I thoroughly enjoyed it. I kind of wished I had had a chance to make a comment about Drew. I had a few thoughts in mind but it didn't quite work out that way. Home by 1:00 a.m. -- up and at the desk by 6:00. I feel better today than I have

any right to, although the amount of sleep I've had in the last month you could put in your eye.

The Symposium was, I think, a success although I am not completely satisfied. The publicity and attention that I had hoped it would get was not forthcoming. We really had excellent press coverage but very little in the paper, almost nothing in the New York Times or in the Post. We may get a lot more around the country. In part this is because the fix that I hope could be maintained on the space people equation drifted off into urban problems and poverty problems. A great many of the speakers got to talking in generalities and tended to focus on either the overall problems of people in poverty, in minorities, etc., where they are, and that led to more discussion of urban than rural; or merely talked poverty.

It's hard to evaluate it all now. Most people were tremendously enthusiastic as of the end of the first day. A Phil Houser from Chicago, a prominent sociologist, made a demagogic emotion dripping kind of speech attacking Congress, Dirksen, which really was not germane to the issue at all the last day and it left the thing on kind of a sour note after Jim Rouse, the developer of Columbia had lifted us all up by showing what can be done when you go out and do it, that when you think and act big sometimes the little problems go away which is what happened to him where the problems of zoning and the problems of integration were seemingly insoluble and proved almost non-existent when they acquired the land and the financing and went forward with this development. I'm going to go out and look at that one of these days.

Then on the final luncheon, because the President couldn't be there, he was in Texas, and Humphrey came early in the morning, we decided to have all the Cabinet officers and to open it up for questions.

December 18, 1967 -- 6:00 am, at the desk at home. Another one of those no sleep nights. Last night we went out to a birthday party for John Duncan -- a protracted, prolonged cocktail 2 hours, and then dinner at his golf club. John and Branch are such delightful people, but it was a kind of draggy affair with the result that I drank a bit too much and ended up with too much birthday cake. Jane's fighting a bad cold and rolled, so I awakened about 4:30 and tried to go back to sleep. My racing mind precluded that so at the desk. We're still sweating out that budget adjustments in this miserable arrangement the President has reached with the Congress. I've never gone through anything quite like this. He has been trying to bang through necessary adjustments to prevent runaway inflation. Mills has held up the tax bill and Congress is screaming economy. So the President offered to make cuts and then went to Congress and got them to make those cuts mandatory by resolution. How he got them to do that, I'm not clear except they would always want to be in the act and to limit or at least try and shape those cuts to take care of their own holy cows. This creates a special problem for me because Whitten naturally was right in the middle of this. He was advocating that in no event should we cut below the fiscal '67 level. This would mean his priorities as determined in the Congress would hold and the fiscal '67 budget was one he rather liked following the nasty fight we had in fiscal '66.

I haven't known whether I should go up and consult with Whitten or not as we got into the process of making our own tentative cuts, seeking to use PPB and to apply our priorities in the process. That question was really pretty well answered for me because we were in effect told to stay away by the Bureau. They had quite a scramble up on the Hill. Whitten did not get his formula accepted, rather it was left pretty well to the Executive Branch how the cuts would be made. But he did get written in the report that fiscal '67 as minimum should be used so far as practicable. So I face the problem then how do I deal

with Whitten because I have my cuts in some things that I know he would not want touched. This whole thing is further complicated because he cut in the fiscal '68 budget Food for Freedom about \$167 million. As matters are now running, even with those cuts we will spend some \$231 million less than we estimated we would spend when the budget went up for fiscal '68. If we do not take advantage of that \$167 million cut he's made, it can be argued we have made unnecessary cuts, and to the extent we cut things sensitive to him I'm asking for really double trouble. On the other hand, when Charlie Schultze goes up if the political opposition know that our rate of spending was lower anyway and therefore the cuts on Food for Freedom were really meaningless, so we actually have not cut back more than we would have been cutting back anyway, why they can holler credibility, phony, and all the rest.

When we started this process I didn't realize of course that Whitten would be fooling around with this fiscal '67 minimum. Nor did I realize that he had actually cut the Food for Freedom program by \$167 million. So we went out and made our cuts bonafideo on new things all across the board on a very painful basis. Actually I wanted to do this because it brings PPB into focus and use. It helps to apply our priorities and although it's painful, it's a healthy exercise internally in terms of our own self discipline priority setting shake up the animals approach. With all the pressure on from the outside, I get the leverage inside to shake it up in a way that I couldn't do without losing support all on my own.

Anyway, to make a long story short we have been working on this together with appeals on the fiscal '69 budget into which we have had to fold the last half of '68 cuts. Yesterday, Sunday, we were at it -- the same on Saturday. So having made the hard, mean fiscal '68 cuts, although they are not announced or in effect yet, and recognizing the problems now that Whitten got his standard at least set into the Conference Committee report, I am moving back

the other way now and think I will take that \$167 million of Food for Freedom cut and use it to minimize some of the mean, hard cuts we had tentatively made before using it. So in an hour or so I'll call Charlie Schultze and if he goes along, I'll make these revisions which will make it possible for me to eliminate the \$30 million proposed cut on school milk which will raise a lot of need politically and also restore some of the ACP cut which was so deep as to be painful and I'm sure would have made him furious and I hated to do it too.

The school milk one is an example of politics over rationality. We fought this fight in '66, pointing out there was no sense in making school milk available on a subsidized basis to school kids whose parents could afford to buy it. We lost that. We were unable to get the public ear. We repeated again and again and again the rationale for what we were doing, but we couldn't catch up with those people like Proxmire who merely went on the attack and charged us with keeping milk out of poor children's mouths. That emotional appeal, plus the whole machinery of school administrators and the school feeding people, plus the National Milk Producers crowd, plus all the dairy industry, were just more than rationality could hope to overcome. So we just got a whipping on this one and the following year came back and forgot it. If this weren't an election year, I'd be tempted to do it now. However it just isn't worth it to turn all of that loose now for \$30 million and also be charged with taking milk out of poor children's mouths in order to finance the war in Vietnam. So if Charley Schultze goes along we'll get this whole matter finally resolved and get our cut for this fiscal year made and then brace for the onslaught of criticism which will come I think primarily from the research establishment and also extension. This reaches deep into the fabric of the States, has an enormous inbuilt lobby. I have never been able to touch it in terms of any cutbacks or much by way of any real adjustments. We went through a miserable period in 1966 when we tried

to cut some of these and Holland held long and protracted hearings. They can't very well do that now because they've triggered the cuts. I hope we don't do too much damage. I do think that our cuts at least have been made on a priority basis consistent with the long-term research study and that on balance we will be eliminating a lot of things that will not be high priority and hopefully strengthening the structure itself. Anyway we'll see. Now budget-wise I will need to appeal to Schultze on allowances we have for fiscal '69 and then to the President. I'm scheduled to see Schultze Wednesday or Thursday and the President on Tuesday after Christmas and hopefully I can wrap that up and get away with the family for our annual ski holiday at Seven Springs.

The meat inspection struggle, sometimes a nightmare, came to a conclusion last week with the signing of a meat inspection bill. When the President signed it he made comments that he had directed me to get the necessary meat inspectors to carry it forward. I felt that referred to the fact that there was a slip up and we didn't get that item in the supplemental appropriation bill which was passed last week. Other arrangements were made so we will be able to begin putting the program into effect. Well, looking at the paper yesterday the last issue of this story was written when in one of the smartaleck columns appeared the story with a little cartoon that the Department of Agriculture dragged its feet on meat inspection, had delayed sending up the appropriation recommendation, and so the President had had to order me to take the necessary steps for carrying the program forward and that his comment "heads will roll in effect if this isn't promptly done," which according to this article he ad-libbed looking at me, which wasn't true. Anyway it was a nasty comment. I think it undoubtedly came from the fact Califano has been so jumpy about meat inspection. He's been working with Ralph Nader and Betty Furness on it and felt very proud of what worked out, as perhaps he can legitimately, for the President did get some out of it and it was an interesting development and example of legislative legerdemain for in effect

I had to make commitments to State Commissioners of Agriculture to get a very modest bill out of the House Ag Committee. When it went over to the Senate Nader turned loose and public attention was gained and the ability to pass a much stronger bill, comparable to the one we had introduced 4 years ago, suddenly arrived. I was already committed and so we necessarily had to drag our feet. Betty Furness got into the act strongly and made statements which were harder than I could make under the circumstances. Nader in the meantime attacking the Department for dragging its feet unjustly, but that doesn't bother Nader. Anyway the end result was a good one, but now with a little slowness on the supplemental appropriation and newspaper men sniffing around about that, they over react in the White House and not only put something in the President's signing statement about it but then leaked the story that we have dragged our feet all along and the President had to sternly direct us and threaten us to get it done, all of which is untrue. Such is the nature of politics, exhibitionism and the leak system as it works in Washington.

December

The Califano checklist on legislation and program will go to the President for approval some time next week. I wanted to be sure that we got some attention so at the collective bargaining meeting I landed on Califano on both feet and told him sternly and strongly that he and his bright young men none of whom knew the working end of a cow were treating Rural America and the farmer badly and that this was politically wrong and equitably unfair and I demanded that they be given fair attention. He took it quite well, flared back somewhat saying that we came in with programs that were too fuzzy, that cost too much, and that under the current budget circumstance were impossible and therefore if we didn't score too highly it was our own fault. There may be some truth in that. John Baker does have a tendency to be fuzzy in general and the President's Poverty Commission Report is a sweeping document indicting the Nation for Rural Poverty and demanding programs that would cost \$10 billion or more. Califano said the President was simply furious about this and that if I wanted to talk programs with him I would be very wise indeed to stay away from mentioning that Commission. He's mad, Califano says, with all the Commissions that are urging big spending at a time when it's impossible. Well I don't plame the President. He's on the spot and we can't do these things all at once and of course the Red Hots scream "do it immediately", and the Doves holler that we are neglecting the home front for Vietnam.

Anyway, I went back, got hold of John Baker and we hammer ed out a very good, specific, solid hard list of items on the poverty front and also on the Town and Country, USA, front and I took them over on Friday before Christmas and gave them to Califano and DeVier Pierson. He seemed impressed. I hope that we will get something.

Earlier in the week we made our appeals to Charley Schultze. Once we finished the fiscal 1968 cutback, which we did, and incidentally I had Whitten in

and he didn't raise his voice, I was surprised. He came in for breakfast on Tuesday, December 19. He was quite cordial. He fussed at me a good bit about cotton, arguing as he always does that we are mandated by Congress to export "x" amount of cotton. The prices are too high now, even though they are in the market, and therefore we must act to get prices right so we can export so much cotton. I told him frankly that I didn't feel we could modify the program as it now stands because there was enough cotton in the country and if we did and prices dropped we would be severely criticized and I wasn't prepared to take that chance. It was reported to me later that he was rather unhappy that I had spoken so firmly to him about it -- so I'm having John Schnittker prepare another long letter on cotton to send him which hopefully will keep him reasonably quieted down. Anyway, I was pleased that he did not fuss about the cuts that we made even though some of them are on programs which to him are holy cow and go more deeply than the '67 minimum level that he fought so hard to get Congress to pass. I must check and see if we sent a letter to Holland on this. I hope that we did, but inasmuch as Congress was in this act he probably won't fuss too much either. Anyway, we then, after making the '68 cutbacks had to apply them for fiscal '69 revising all our budget figures once again. This was again a kind of a nightmare internally to harmonize these figures. The Budget Bureau actually didn't treat us too roughly. They did not spread the '68 cutbacks for a full year, but rather only held us to the half year cutback level that we imposed for '68. This meant some reshuffling of figures for a number of things cut back in '68 would thereby be eliminated. It did make it possible for us then to take some money, particularly in research, and spread it around to higher priority projects. Again in these budget adjustments I'm trying sternly to apply PFB principles to determine priorities and to eliminate some low priority programs. It does provide a kind of opportunity because the holy cows that Congress would put back in every time, witness the misery we suffered in 1966, this time we are able to make because Congress won't have a crack at this,

that is in '68 although they will get back at it come fiscal '69. Anyway I worked out a careful group of appeals, insisting that the fellows write some careful editorial explanation and then on each item bring together hard numbers and get it on one page to make a solid presentation as to why, what, how much more, and for what purpose. I never cease to be amazed how sloppy people are and how fuzzy in preparing this kind of material. Anyway, we got it all ready and went over and spent some 2 hours with Charley Schultze and his staff. They came back within the day and allowed about half of what we had asked. This evening I've been going over those materials and we will appeal most of the ones we did not get from Schultze to the President and I'm scheduled to see him about that sometime tomorrow. My approach will be mainly political with the President, arguing that in the small farmer package area and in Town and Country that very nominal appropriations can go a long way in carrying forward programs to which there is real entitlement and also considerable by way of political dividends. I hope it goes well. He will likely be pretty stern about it. He should be in a pretty good frame of mind for his trip around the world has been enormously well received. He really moved, going to Australia for the Holt funeral, then to Vietnam, to Thailand, he saw the Pope, and then back all in about 48 hours. The guys with him really must have suffered. Two pressmen had heart attacks and were left in Thailand. The President in that big plane probably slept fairly well with a sleeping pill along the way, but everybody else must have really suffered. But it did make an excellent impact, and he should be in a good frame of mind. Actually it seems to me that the political climate where the President is concerned is turning around and that the attitude toward him and the attitude toward Vietnam seems a bit better. There was an excellent report from ten Far Eastern Scholars, including Eddie Reichour, the former Japanese Ambassador which although it did not support the President in all the details made it clear that we ought not to leave Vietnam. I'm going to try to get Connie to read that.

She sure is a negative one these days. When we went to Church last night she wouldn't recite the Creed. She doesn't say the Lord's Prayer. She needled Pastor Shaheen after a nice sermon which talked about the spirit. I don't know what she said, but later he winked at me and said, "Come the revolution -- that daughter of yours." Well I guess I was pretty much the same way, but I doubt if I was quite as sullen, quite as pouty as that one. She was gay today for she got some nice presents, including one from her future mother-in-law, but she's a strange girl and I get so irritated with her that we don't have the empathy that we should. She can be a little ray of sunshine. She's so bright, and I'm very proud of her and occasionally we hit it off first rate; however, it is a difficult time for her and we ought to be a little more understanding and outgoing with her. Anyway, I'm working at it.

Mike is much more sunshine. He seems to have most of Jane's good traits and a few of mine, and not the bad personality traits, while Connie got a number of the bad ones from both of us. But on balance they are both great kids and when we see problems with others and can enjoy the kind of happiness and good relations here I feel very thankful indeed.

It has been a delightful Christmas. We came home after the gathering of the Department and the reception which went nicely. We met in the auditorium this time. The customary carols -- I said a few words that came out quite well. Jane wasn't there. She had been fighting a terrible cold with a bad cough and she stayed home. Connie and Mike, and Fannie who is here with us came down. Then back to the office for a reception which was very friendly. The feeling was good. I polished off a little work, leaving about 6:00. I got home and we went over to the Sandy Trowbridges for a little reception there, then backhome here and to bed at a fairly decent hour. I woke up and was at the desk fairly early on Saturday morning. I worked at it until about 1:00 intermittently, and then

Went over to see the Packers-Rams professional football game which was one of the best I've ever seen. After a shaky start, the Packers clobbered them.

On Saturday night we had a massive reception here, about 130 people. Jane had all the people bring their children and so we had 'em every size. They ranged from Ambassadors to Cabinet Officers, to farm leaders, to Minnesota friends, and neighbors. It really went quite well although I didn't enjoy it much. It was really more work than fun trying to handle such a crowd in and out and somehow I wasn't in a very spontaneous or peppy mood. But we got the place cleaned up and to bed about midnight.

Sunday was a kind of lazy day here. We slept a while -- read a while, cleaned up, watched football in the afternoon and went to Church to 9:00 o'clock candle-light services and then came back and finished wrapping packages and filling the stockings. Everybody to bed, and Jane and I didn't roll in until almost 3:00. I should be tired but I feel pretty good tonight. Jane caught most of the night and we were a little thin on the sleep. The whole living room was piled full of packages. We got Mike new skis, metal skis, and boots and he's thrilled with them. I sure hope we get some snow for the Seven Springs trip next week. I gave Jane a watch to replace the one she lost in Italy and then a lounging set with silver pants with feet in them and a velvet jacket. It cost more than I should have spent, but it's quite an attractive thing and I believe she really enjoyed it. And then as a gag, I had quite a time shopping at Jelleff's with a little guide girl that picked me up when I came in and Miss Crosswhite who usually waits on me took me all over the store, I bought her leopard colored panties, brassiere, and mini-slip. We had a lot of fun kidding about it. Connie got a number of different items that pleased her very much. Fannie, too. We opened packages until almost 1:00 today -- what a mess the living room was before we got it cleaned -- then dinner with Merritt, Patty and Jim here, and

two of Connie's friends, Fred Joseph a Senior Law Student, and a Freshman law student who is an M.D., who is now taking law after completing his Doctor Residency. They are intelligent, likeable boys and we enjoyed having them. All in all, it wrapped up to a relaxed glorious, homey kind of Christmas. I was touched a bit at Connie's comment when she asked Fannie to make a stocking for Gary and asked us if she could bring him to the next Christmas. She said in effect that she expected he would "poo-poo" Christmas, that he was not one to pay much attention to things like that and she would need to educate him, as it were, as to what Christmas could mean and a real family Christmas could mean. So she appreciates it after all, even though sometimes one wonders. It will be an interesting exercise to bring a new person, particularly if he is kind of negative on some of the sentimental things that we enjoy, into this family relationship. However, as I think back many of the things that Jane educated me to we didn't do in our home either -- some of the little things that do make life worth living.

Jane just called down the stairs I must put in a call for Mother. We haven't been able to get through to her yet. And Humphrey, too.

Tomorrow I hope to see the President. Wednesday we take off for Seven Springs, the Good Lord and snow willing, and a family holiday, then a long New Year's Eve holiday which ought to be most enjoyable before we sprint into a New Year.

All in all 1967 has been a pretty good year. I have made a mark I think in getting the rural urban balance thing moving, but we do have a long way to go with it. The small farmer package, the anti-corporation farm measure, the many things we've done to try and demonstrate our concern about farm prices, the beginnings of the Town and Country for Johnson and Humphrey, all of these things I have laid the groundwork for a busy 1968. The big disappointment was the FAO Convention. The more I thought about it, the more I feel that that job is one that I would have liked. It would have represented the kind of real challenge that I could

have poured all my talents and energies into and as I think where we go from here some time in the not too distant future, it's hard to think of what we can find that will do that.

December 25, 1967 -- 9:00 p.m. At my desk at home. Well, a grand Christmas is about over. It's been a wonderful weekend, Saturday, Sunday and Monday.

Friday was something of a short day at the Department. My main work was to carry an appeal to Califano for some attention in his preparation and the various task force deliberations for the President's State of the Union and other messages and his general program for 1968. We had every reason to believe that Agriculture wasn't scoring very well in these Task Forces, they kind of ran over John Baker on one occasion and the big city was pretty much dominating as usual.

John Baker talked with DeVier Pierson about this who indicated his willingness to push and I finally resolved along with my appeals to Charley Schultze on the budget to make a strong statement to Califano. I did that following a session we had over in his office about the collective bargaining thing. The Task Force on Collective Bargaining made it's report. Bill Abbott did a great job with them. They worked around pretty much to supporting some kind of collective bargaining provisions, although they stopped short of production control. I urged strongly we should have production control in any proposed program, arguing with Jim Dusenberry of the Council of Economic Advisers and to a lesser extent Charley Zwick of the Bureau. Bill Abbott then worked up a paper which kind of hits the middle ground, goes along with the Task Force, and states that we will move in to the production control phases of this if the farm organizations wish to do so. The idea is we will call them together some time early after the first of the year and test them out and if as I predict

they would regard a collective bargaining message and bill as very minor and even ridicule it without production control proves to be true we will incorporate it too. This hasn't gone to the President. Joe Califano is making a whole checklist and that will go to the President.

1968

January 6, 1968, at the office -- 2:37 pm. Well, 1968 is one week old. I've just completed a 5-hour session here with Wayne Rasmussen and Ernie Moore on the book on International Agriculture. I'm not sure whether we ought to call it World Without Hunger or The Stork and the Plow. I'm really very excited about it. This book, of course, has been in the mill for a long, long time. I worked at it off and on for two or three years and it has absorbed a good deal of the time at our last two short vacations, one in Hawaii a year ago last December and the other in Italy last November. I really didn't think it would ever come to fruition. The early drafts were I knew inadequate and yet I simply didn't have the time to sit down and go through it thoroughly and methodically word by word. I ran it at Jerry Mason in New York last year and he sent back a devastating criticism and I knew he was right. And so I didn't know exactly what to do. Then Wayne Rasmussen who had been working with me on it, he's a historian here in the Department, asked permission to submit it to a publisher that had approached him and I said go ahead. Lo and behold, the publisher accepted it. He sent me a contract which I signed with an advance of \$2,000. Later it was made clear that a great deal of work remained to be done and Wayne came in with the proposition that we ask Ernie Moore now retired who had just written a book for Praeger to work with us on the consolidation and tightening and the general negotiation with the Publisher. I agreed and since then we have been going at it hard and I think very successfully. A good bit of the last week I've spent reworking and adjusting newly drafted chapters. The whole thing has been reorganized and put together in a tighter format. The material hasn't been changed, but it's better organized and it has a sharper impact. I've written large parts of it. All of it I've carefully edited and the policies, the thoughts, the programs, the direction, the evaluations are all-exclusively mine. The research, the checking, a lot of

that most of it has been done by Wayne Rasmussen who really has been great. I would feel that this is a bit improper on Government time except that this book and what it will contain is consistent with what I'm doing here. It will, I'm confident, be very important in meeting the world food problem. Any earnings from it I will set up probably in a scholarship for the Graduate School here in the Department. I don't plan to run it by the President again. I submitted it a year ago. He sat on it for two or three months and it came back to me via DeVier Pierson without much comment one way or another. At least, it has run the mill. Now I'm just going ahead and publish it. I hope he will sit still. I think I may dedicate it to the President with an appropriate statement which I think would be in order. For all the fussing, hesitations, holding back, he has on AID and agricultural assistance come through in the last analysis and strongly when it's been really needed.

I really think that it reads well, brings together information nowhere else collected and brings some judgments and evaluations to this whole pressing and important topic that aren't found similarly anywhere. Actually there are few people who can speak as authoritatively about this overall subject as I can. Further, it will make some positive action recommendations as it closes for the future that ought to be very helpful as P.L. 480 goes before Congress for an extension this year which may be tough. The Farm Bureau is going to oppose it. They'll oppose it because it has become tied into domestic agriculture as a part of the overall national food budget approach which I have had for the last 7 years and spelled out in my Outlook Speech last November. I think we can beat them but the negative attitude of Congress on expenditures and on Foreign aid may give us some trouble. On the other hand, we do have operating surpluses and low farm prices now and that will help build support for it. It's ironic how things you hope to avoid and create your problems on one front, sometimes give you a lift on the other and I predict that will be the case here.

Anyway, it is about finished and I'm really gratified and very excited about it. I hope nothing gets in the way now.

Most of this week has been a getting ready for the balance of the year. I've got Tom Hughes working on the political front and expect to go over a paper with him next week as to our political actions.

Ken Birkhead has agreed to take a leave and head up our outside operation which we'll call "Town and Country for Johnson and Humphrey". The whole Community Development, Rural Urban Balance picture gets in here. That will include the Small Farmer Package and a concentrated effort to reach Rural Americans on other than a direct farmer basis. We must have a follow-up on the Rural Urban Symposium. We're mulling that over now and having conferences about it. I've gotten the Vice President to call a meeting for January 15, bringing the Cabinet people together to determine where do we go from here. It's better that he does it than I because there are some resistances and resentments because I've been so aggressive about this. My complaint that what we do in the Department of Agriculture is buried because it is often supplemental or collateral to other Departments and Agencies that have a primary responsibility, or at least so considered by the public, doesn't apply in this area. I think I'm as solidly identified with rural development and rural urban balance as one could be and there is a measure of personal satisfaction in that, but I want to be very careful that I don't get in the way of progress simply by reiterating my leadership looking for accolades or getting too far out in front. My guess is that not much will come of it. At the most the Cabinet Officers might agree to joint sponsorship of some regional symposiums as a follow-up. They might also be more receptive to cooperative efforts to extend their programs to rural America and make out Outreach function more efficient, including a better cooperation and participation in the Technical Action Panels. In any event we

will proceed to have some kind of follow-up Symposium under Agricultural leadership and will continue to push our programs and the Outreach system in every way that we can, while at the same time trying to maintain the level of public interest that we have built. This may be hard to do, but in some ways the political year might help us to do it. I'm increasingly convinced as to the merit of this and increasingly amazed as to the obtuseness of most people about it. The old idea that the farm is something alien sitting out there, combined with the resentment to farm programs and the money spent on them, plus the deep concern with the big city problems which command immediate attention results in a blank wall on this subject where most people are concerned never ceases to amaze me. Anyway the course is clear and we need only to fill in some of the tactical details and to keep pressing forward.

John Baker has been a perfect tiger on this and during 1967 has done a simply marvelous job.

This coming week I'm going to turn my attention strongly to the farm income problem. This will, in the nature of things, be foremost in the coming year politically and generally. Income is down. I talked to Senator Birch Bayh yesterday. My mail supports what he says, that farmers are grumbling and more than that are very angry. Grain prices are low -- much lower than they should be. This market is crazy. It certainly doesn't represent supply and demand factors very accurately. Last year it was far too high. This year it's far too low. This year it has been far too high on cotton in terms of supply and that now is beginning to break and it will probably go way down there too. In the meantime I have tried to get farmers to hold and as of now the volume of grain, for example, under loan is higher than it's been for a very long time. I'm going to have an Income and Abundance Task Force meeting tomorrow and try and bring to that group and across the Department once again a realization of

the importance of both acting and talking. We did about 20 different things last year to try and strengthen farm income and got pretty fair publicity. I think it helped but with prices remaining down, not too much. Farmers are interested only in results and unfortunately not very happy even then. Nonetheless, we've got to keep acting in every way we can and talking when we don't act.

Then, too, I'm increasingly convinced that we've got a major selling job to do on the National Food Budget concept. here with me and enunciated almost as soon as I became Secretary of Agriculture. It came into sharp focus in my Outlook Speech this year, most of which I wrote when I was in Rome and Salerno. It merely sets out the relationship between P.L. 480 and the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 whereby we can coordinate our production with world-wide needs making sure we produce enough to meet all needs domestic and foreign, but also using foreign outlets when we have unexpected production in this country because of abnormal weather factors which have plagued us the last couple of years with production exceeding all estimates. It's unfortunate that we suffered this before farmers and the public in general gained confidence in this system. Now we're trying to muddle through and I'm publicly taking blame for the miscalculations. That seems to be good politics for the response to that has been fairly friendly. In any event we must now enunciate this whole system and sell it, looking to the extension of the Food and Agriculture Act probably in the 1968 Congressional Session. They must be extended in the Session which opens in a few days. If we can tie these two together as a workable system and as permanent programs and get them passed as permanent programs and begin to use them intelligently and have them accepted as such, it will represent a very major contribution to this Nation and the world. Speaking personally, I will be able to claim,

although I won't other than personal satisfaction, a real measure of credit for that because this has been my concept from the very beginning. It has changed of course as we have been forced to adjust it to the blowing political winds and the practicalities of a developing situation, but the basic philosophy behind it, even though we've moved from mandatory to voluntary farm programs because of political necessity, is about the same as it was when I came here just 7 years ago now.

Again this ties directly into the political events of the year ahead. I hope to make the question of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 extension, that is, commodity programs, the key issue in agriculture. I don't think any Republican nominee has either the understanding, the desire, or will get the political support from the Republican party to support this legislation. They will try and mush it up. My job is to not allow that. If the extension of this program becomes the issue and the Democratic Party becomes committed to it, including the President, that ought to go a long way to insuring its passage in the 1968 Session of Congress. Time will tell.

I've also spent some time this week working on internal administration particularly the Task Forces. A year ago I set up these Task Forces with the idea that they would provide a coordination and unification within the Department between different Agencies to reach the common goals of the six areas we set out and I delivered an address about in terms of the Year/2000. The Task Forces have met over the year, but they haven't really done the job I wanted. To be sure they've had a very useful effect. Combined with Program Planning and Budgeting they've developed policies, at least some of them have, looking a long way to the future, or at a minimum discussed such. They have developed 5-year program memoranda and financial plans to go with them on a 5-year basis pursuant to the Bureau of the Budget's instruction. They've also

developed program attainment reports which have constituted an effort to break down within various segments within sub-goals measurable criteria whereby I could get reports and see how much progress they've made. I haven't used this very effectively. The volume of reports has been too great. They also have done some work in the Public Relations Information field but far less than they should have. This continues to bug me. For some reason all the Information people we have in this Department, and every agency has a great number, plus the big Information section simply do not get on the ball in terms of creative, meaningful, really far-ranging and imaginative public relations projects and information. I guess they're just too harnessed to the Plebeian issuance of daily releases and information on a program basis, routinely and systematically put out, to look at the big picture. Anyway, all of this as might be guessed has resulted in considerable internal confusion as to who is doing what and not a little resentment by our operating agencies who don't like to have PPB with Howard Hjort's young economists probing into their affairs and demanding program memoranda and projections and evaluations; nor do they like to go before a Task Force, particularly that is chaired by an Assistant Secretary to whom that agency is not responsible and have to account for what they are doing and adjust their plans. This is of course very understandable. I have recognized this confusion but really haven't had the time to probe it deeply and also wanted to wait awhile to see what came out of it for I wasn't sure myself how these Task Forces would work and wanted to allow enough time for innovation and imagination and leadership. Well the only place where there's been any real leadership has been with John Baker in his excellent and imaginative work in the Communities of Tomorrow and the Resources for the Future Task Forces. So the time has come to try and bring all this into focus and yesterday I had Schnittker, Howard Hjort and Bill Carlson, Joe Robertson, Charlie Grant and

myself together with Bill Abbott for a several hours session. Bill Abbott had prepared an outstanding memoranda analyzing the pros and cons of this around which we focused our discussion. We'll resume Monday, but I was pleased with what went forward so far. It's clear that there is no perfect answer ever to Administration. On the one hand, in an operation this big you have to recognize the need for clear division between line and staff, the fixing of operational responsibility, and proper delegation so that people know what they are responsible for and are not unduly harrassed by supervising officials. On the other hand, I for one am not prepared to delegate without any kind of accountability or checks during the course of a year. The program attainment reports involving numerical estimates of performance level may have been too burdensome. Certainly too many have been submitted, but they do give me a measure of what's going on. I gather, too, that in some Agencies, even in the Forest Service, some of this information was not available to the Agency head until the end of the year. That's too long a lead time. Too great an opportunity for people to make mistakes during a long period while they are literally unaccountable. So we must do something to have a better working check without making it burdensome. Then subject to the need for delegation and clear responsibility we need to coordinate between agencies. Most agencies in this Department are involved in each of our six primary target task force Agriculture/2000 goals. It's a very healthy exercise for them to have to sit down and consider where they're going together. This gives an opportunity to look at what the other fellow is doing, to recognize omissions, to jump over the barriers that otherwise compartmentalize so that sometimes the right hand doesn't know what the left hand is doing. This includes policy setting. It includes some day to day decisions. It includes too budget preparation and budget decision and priority setting. But again here, these really operational administrative responsibilities

can't be fully carried out in a Task Force combined of representatives from agencies where the Agencies as such, rather than the Task Force, have the operating responsibility by law and necessarily so in terms of good administrative practice. Nonetheless it is a good and healthy exercise and that came out in our discussion that policy setting, budget priorities, information and public relations all be bounced off these Task Forces, so to speak, so they reach throughout the entire Department.

I'm not sure where all of this will end up precisely, but I am confirmed in what I have done the last year and after we have resolved on this top staff level how to do this, recognizing the two problems of administrative responsibility and delegation and department-wide participation and coordination in priority and goal setting, I'll reduce that to an operating memoranda which I will then run through the Task Force Chairman and the Assistant Secretaries and when they're through with it make a firm judgment on some of the somewhat fuzzy questions and get it down in as clear and concise and operating schedule as possible.

Fundamentally I feel pretty good about it. Actually we had a very useful use of all this material in the miserable budget exercise of the cutback in November and December. We were able to do this and to prepare our budget for fiscal 1969 which is now completed with pain but with reasonable alacrity and efficiency simply because we had been able to set up some priorities which we could then exercise when decision making was required. Howard Hjort has done a good job of this on PPB. Charlie Grant of Budget has been more than a gentleman in the cooperation he's extended. The Agencies have fussed but they're going along and in the overall I think we've made progress. I was a little surprised that John Schnittker initially bucked at the whole Task Force System, contending that they were doing nothing that the Assistant Secretaries

wouldn't do anyway if they were operating properly and the fact that two of the Task Forces were most successful, to wit, Communities of Tomorrow and Resources for the Future, was the result of John Baker's leadership rather than the system. However, as we discussed it I think even he came around to recognize that we did need to have some kind of a system that would function Departmentwide and that the Task Forces had a part to play here. Anyway I plan to go forward with it. It's an interesting exercise and a good example of public administration and management in a big organization and a conflicting needs that must be harmonized to do an effective job.

Dorothy Jacobson just called and wants to see me which reminds me also of the scramble in connection with FAO. I've been very unhappy since the FAO Convention when Sen was precluded from the contest and Boerma was elected Director General. I don't have much regard for Boerma and FAO really hasn't done the job it should. Therefore, I have tended to feel we ought to play kind of hard to get as a country and not go rushing to Boerma proffering all kind of assistance and help, allowing him to take us for granted and to play politics with the less developed countries which he is already doing. We saw an example of what that leads to at Rome when the African Countries joined together most unreasonably I think and certainly gave us the back of their hand. Anyway all of this came into focus just this past week when the question of pledging for the World Food Program had to be resolved. I suggested that we withhold our pledge and Dorothy violently opposed that as did State. Then I insisted that we have a conference with Dean Rusk before the pledge was made and that conference was held last week. Related to all this was the question of the new Director of the World Food Program now that Boerma, previously the head, is Director General. Herb Waters was bucking desperately for that. I did not want to give my concurrence to his appointment because I don't have much

confidence in his ability. I just felt that this would not be the kind of designee that this country would get results from or be proud of. Jane confirmed me in this. She has never had much confidence in the ability or the integrity of Herb Waters. I thought about it a long time, but there wasn't much of an alternative. Dorothy urged me, contending that Herb Waters wouldn't get it anyway because Boerma had made it clear that he would refuse to take another American as long as Oris Wells, an American, is Deputy. Finally, because we had no alternative and I didn't want to be in the position of looking like I opposed Herb Waters simply because of ancient political feuds reaching back to Minnesota days, I told Nick Katzenbach that I would not block it but I warned him that it certainly did not have my enthusiastic concurrence. As it worked out we went over to see Dean Rusk and he felt that the pledging would have to be made. He did agree with me that we ought to set up a monitoring system using the resources of the Federal Government to pass judgment and give us some estimates of what FAO is doing around the world. Then when the others had left he told me that Herb Waters' name would be withdrawn. Apparently someone from AID has been investigated and found to have acted improperly, indulging in wild binges and parties with private contractors. Herb Waters was associated in some of that and they were not prepared to name him under those circumstances. I immediately moved into this picture quite aggressively and proposed Willard Cochrane's name. Willard might be available. He indicated he was seriously interested. I've talked with Rusk and with ~~S~~isco very strongly about this now. They were inclined to forget it, cause that would be an easy way to deal with Boerma. I have insisted that we fight hard and demand that Boerma go along even if it means removing Oris Wells. Whether they will do that or not, this remains to be seen. I hope they will. If Willard Cochrane ended up heading the World Food Program we would have a strong, knowledgeable voice in these

matters which would be very important indeed as we seek to evaluate FAO and strengthen it to the kind of organization it should be and can be and is needed. I'd like to move international food and agricultural matters in that direction. The President is inclined to favor multilateral actions, as is the Congress, increasingly. That makes it all the more important that organizations like the World Food Program be strongly led, but believe me they're hard to work with, especially when it's one country-one vote and you have all the sensitivities and the demands and the inadequacies of some of these newly developed countries. Anyway it'll be interesting to see what happens tomorrow when Dorothy will pledge to the World Food Program in New York for our Government and then will negotiate with Boerma. I hope it works out.

These then are the main hot items as I look to the year ahead. Over the holidays I again had some soul searchings as to whether I was doing what I should be doing here as Secretary. It's been a long time now. Sometimes it's hard to see the results of these years of hard work and effort. I'll soon be 50 and there's still time for another career, whether it be going back to Law Practice or possibly going into Academic Life. Yet when I analyze the whole thing I realize that the job here is not done yet. We must get this President re-elected. Things look a little better than they did six weeks ago, but it will certainly be a mean, tough race. Then if we can get the programs that I have fought for by the Congress and accepted by the people, if rural urban balance can evolve into a National policy and our National food budget take a hold, then it will be time to look for other things.

January 6, 1968 - 4:55 pm at the office. Well it's about time to go home. This has been a long Saturday, but a useful one. As I have noted the book is well under way. I've been running through the mail, dictating assignment memos, and now I plan a day off. I'll need to work a bit tomorrow night, but I look forward to Sunday, and I'm going to try and plan it that way for the future.

Jame and I are going to the Franc Shors, he is the No. 2 man at the National Geographic, Cocktail party and then out to the Bill Wirtz' for dinner tonight. That ought to be pleasant.

The Holidays were perfectly delightful. Both Christmas and New Year's came on Monday this year so they ran from Friday through Monday. The Christmas Party here in the Department went rather nicely. My comments to the employees, this time in the auditorium, seemed well received in that brief ceremony. The spirit and feeling was very good at our annual Christmas reception. Jane stayed home -- she had a touch of flu. Connie came and represented her very well. Fannie was here too, and Mike as well. They left earlier than I. I drove on home after clearing my desk. Jane and I were getting ready to go over to the Trowbridges when there was a tremendous bang outside -- a Volkswagon ran into the rear of a car Connie had borrowed from a girl friend. The little car hit it so hard it drove the big Chevvie up on our lawn. It was raining but Seibee and I went out and took the young man out of the car. He was bloody and unconscious and we laid him down on the grass. As it turned out, when I finally ran it down the next day, he was totally drunk, had been convicted before of drunken driving, and ended up hurt only to the extent of a bitten tongue. I did a lot of phoning around and finally got the car in the garage and it's now well on towards being repaired.

Christmas was exciting. We trimmed the tree on Thursday night with all Mike's friends around -- the usual party. They danced and played and kidded. They are a wonderful group of young people. The same crowd largely were at the house for New Year's eve. This time Jane and I stayed home with them. We didn't want to go to that annual Gil Harrison party that we used to make every New Year's Eve. I couldn't tolerate another one of Gil's toasts. I'm sure he would have attacked the Vietnam position again, It was a lot of fun. The kids had a great time. They had cleaned up the basement and there was much dancing and singing and champagne as the New Year came in. I sat around and watched them and then when I had enough drinks to limber up went down and danced with some of the girls. Everyone seemed to enjoy it.

The next day was a football day of course and Mike was gone because he went to some of the boys' house, but I started watching at 2:00 and we were still watching at 11:00 that night. None of those games were as good as the one on Sunday when the Green Bay Packers beat the Dallas Cowboys in the last 16 seconds of play with a Bob Starr quarterback state touchdown. That was really an exciting game and I'm looking forward to the Packers playing the Oakland team of the American League now.

I was well taken care of at Christmas with the usual, including a very fine robe for some of my early morning junkets downstairs to the Desk when it is cold, some books, shirts, ties, a screen to review my slides and so forth. Mike got skis, boots and ski poles -- Connie had earlier gotten a new dress and coat. I bought Jane a new watch and a lounging outfit that was expensive but pretty. All in all we did have a delightful Christmas.

I came in to work on Tuesday. We had planned to go up to Seven Springs starting Wednesday. Then the problem of reviewing the budget with the President popped up. As usual the scheduling was fuzzy, but when he called me about another

matter it was clear he expected me to come. Schultze didn't know what to say and said he wouldn't push me and would reschedule me. I got to thinking about it and figured duty first and I knew I would be uncomfortable unless I got that resolved any way, so what I did was go down early Wednesday morning with Schultze and Seaborg and Bob Ward from HUD. We arrived at the Ranch about 11:30, late because of head winds, had lunch and then I spent about an hour with the President presenting my appeals. They were pretty well sifted through by the time they reached the President. I won on a few things -- attaches, market development abroad, got a little more money for Farmer Cooperative Service, a little for sewer and water planning, but the larger items were turned down. The President turned to me on the money for sewer and water and also the \$100 million we asked for under FHA for small farmer loans and said he was for this, he would like to do it, but that budget situation being what it was with a \$30 billion amount hanging over his head he simply couldn't grant anything of that consequences to anybody at this time. I didn't argue. The visit included two tours of the ranch by car. Each included the grandchild and Suki, the dog. The President propped the little 6-month old boy between his legs and allowed him to grasp the steering wheel as we drove around looking at all the deer. He's got about a thousand deer there and it's fun to watch them. There are all kinds from all over the world. He really has got quite a spread. Lady Bird was in good form -- as gracious and lovely as ever. Both of them mentioned our Christmas present of almonds and almond trees to grow and seemed genuinely pleased. I was pleased and amused when Joe Califano remarked before I had gone down that I was one person the President wanted to come down and that in a review of people and programs not many people had come out very well but I had. It is amazing that my relations with this man have improved as much as they have over the years. They were pretty thin three or four years ago. Anyway we took

○ off from the Ranch about 4:30 in the afternoon, landed at Andrews a little after 8:00. Thompson was there and picked me up and we drove to Seven Springs. I worked all the way -- about a four hour drive, so by the time we got there I felt reasonably accomplished. The week end was delightful. Mostly we skied. Jane still had the flu and stayed inside, but Mike and Connie and I had two excellent skiing lessons and really worked at it. It had snowed -- it was lovely. We've got a lot to learn yet, but we did enjoy the skiing.

Sunday, January 14, 1968, at my desk at home, 3:00 p.m. I'm going to rush upstairs to take in the Superbowl football game starting in Miami in a few moments. I did want to start this, however, for I just finished reading my last dictation a week ago and I want to pick it up.

The week just passed has been relatively uneventful, but a few of the items I touched on a week ago should be brought up to date. We apparently failed in getting Willard Cochrane as the head of the World Food Program. Boerma was adamant as reported, even somewhat arrogant. He contended that U Thant really was the final decision-maker. The argument was that the U.S. was cutting too big a swath anyway. This makes me angry and disappointed but there's not much we can do about it. We'll have to deal with Boerma at arms length.

The big event of the week was a whole afternoon with the Farm Leaders. Fred Heinkel, Missouri Farmers; Tony Dechant, Oren Staley, Herschel Newsom with a staff man each, spent from three to well after six o'clock in my office on Wednesday, January 10. We had a long involved review of the overall situation. They were agreed, with special emphasis from Staley and Dechant, that we must take dramatic action. That whether it was true or not, whether progress was made or not, whether they knew that the Democrats were better for them than the Republicans, that the mind and attitude of farmers today was such that they would vote against the "ins" no matter who it was. Fred Heinkel and Herschel Newsom qualified that, pointing out that there were some farmers that had done well and that things seemed to be improving, but they were basically in agreement. When this point was made as strongly as it was, the objections we had had in mind to going forward and introducing the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 and asking for hearings pretty well evaporated. The overall conclusion was that we should try and have the President make as great an impact as he possibly could, that he was not identified with farmers and that something

quite unusual must be done if the present handicaps were to be overcome. As a result, a first step was concluded to be a major special message to Congress which would include within it the Food and Agriculture Act extension, farm bargaining power, strategic grain reserves, P.L. 480, small farmer package. Most of the discussion revolved around bargaining power. These organizations look at each other very carefully for they are highly competitive. Missouri Farmers control millions of dollars of cooperative business. They are worried that NFO and its organizational techniques will mess that up. The Farmers Union and NFO are competing for memberships strongly. The Farmers Union has been forced to add to its traditional Government program philosophy self-help bargaining power but they don't know exactly how to do it and Dechant really didn't have it very well thought through. In effect they've gone back to the 1961 recommendations we made providing for farmer elected committeemen to develop programs for individual commodities. Staley is cautious but on the other hand seems to extend the hand of cooperation. He predicts strongly, firmly and undeviatingly that the day of bargaining power must come. He is proud of what they are doing in NFO and makes some very great claims of the extent of the contracts they have with the trade, particularly in hogs, also some in cattle. He has offered that we go down and sit in with them, look at their books, listen to conversations they make with processors and buyers. He really sounded very confident. Newsom didn't say much. It was interesting. I'd hoped he would kick off the meeting. Schnittker and Abbott talked with him personally the Christmas-New Year's week. I called him on the phone. He came in half-hour early. I asked him specifically to be the stalking horse. I gave him a piece of paper setting down what he might say. Rather than refusing or qualifying, he said yes and when the meeting opened he made a 30-minute filibuster which said nothing. It was quite a performance, but I guess he didn't want to be identified and didn't want to say no.

Anyway it all ended up, I think, on a pretty good note, if we are now able to follow up and get down to specifics on bargaining power. As the matter now stands, Bill Abbott will be meeting with these organizations to set down the machinery for the bargaining power approach so that we will have some back-up to the language in the message. We appear to be inclined to go along with amending the Agriculture Marketing Act of 1937 and its procedures rather than trying to set up a bargaining board as such or following the 1961 pattern. I have tended to be for the bargaining board approach as more dramatic. However, it may well be that kind of sneaking in under the old law will protect a bit the violence of criticism from the Farm Bureau and conservative newspapers and commentators who certainly will otherwise scream Freeman and big Government doing it all again, ignoring the very real self-help aspects of the bargaining power approach.

At the same time as Bill works with the general farm organizations, Rod Leonard is calling in the commodity groups and we hope to get them all together before we go forward. A general meeting was held on Friday with Califano. It would appear that the President is willing to do this and that we will put together a big package. Now we must write it -- schedule it -- draft the legislation and lay the groundwork for Congress. They come in tomorrow. The President came back from Texas last night. The pace now will step up very radically indeed. So here goes -- another Congressional Session.

January 15, 1968, 6:30 am -- I'm at the desk trying to get organized for the day ahead which promises to be a busy one. I just dictated a memo to Stan Weston about my Wheat Grower and Fargo, North Dakota speeches. I'm worried about the tone of those appearances. Somehow I've got to identify with farmers and that means sympathizing with them and at the same time tell them that the programs we have are good and it's not inevitable that they will be

extended and that only with a strong Democratic President is that possible. The truth of the matter is that most farmers are doing quite well, even though last year was a bad year, but none will admit it. Unfortunately the public at large I'm afraid feels that we have failed, that farmers are all unhappy and perhaps that we don't know what we're doing, but we do. The Food Budget approach is and can work. Now, I've got to reach the country with that story this year.

I'm going to have a meeting early this morning and bring in the writers and others and get in the mill the development of an analysis of how this works, making the point it is working and can work and should be continued, that it does have the answer for the problems of American agriculture and because we've had a few abnormal crop years with big crops and low prices we shouldn't throw out the plan that has the answer to this tough problem in it. This will be a difficult one to sell but if we can get out a good little pamphlet and get it into the hands of political leaders of the Democratic Party who today are discouraged about agriculture and then conceivably move it to the Extension Service and hammer away at it all year, maybe we can get the basic fact of progress and of workable programs across. I sure hope so.

Another interesting event of last week was Friday night. I brought in the Assistant Secretaries, my staff people, and a few others around the Department and their wives and got Daniel Bell who has been the Director of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences Year/2000 Study. The summer magazine of Daedalus had an entire issue devoted to this and there are some eight Task Forces working now. Also the book Year/2000 by Kahn and Wehner is of great interest on this subject. We had highballs up in my office and a little convivial happy hour and then downstairs to a very nice dinner, a speech by Bell and lots of questions that ran on until after 10:00 o'clock. Everyone

seemed to thoroughly enjoy it. Hopefully it builds morale, raises sights within the Department. Incidentally we've got to do a little more work on predicting within agriculture itself. We do have a 5-year program and financial plan which is a part of PFB, but it is a bit perfunctory. Real deep study and review on an organized basis over a longer lead time ought to be going on. On the other hand this is a tremendously time-consuming business and I'm not sure how much resources we really can afford to pour into it. I must look into that this week.

Jane and I had Connie with us for the evening and she really fit in beautifully. I gave her something of a lecture about the fact she has become so self-centered and almost selfish. About a week ago for she was a pretty sullen one over most of the Holidays, even making allowances for her lonesomeness with Gary gone. Maybe it helped. She was cheery, vivacious, fit in and was quite a different girl on this occasion.

After the gathering at the Department we went over to Tom Hughes for a drink which was fun and something of a philosophical discussion about is the world really coming to an end with old man Freeman saying "no". Connie was bemoaning the problem of young people with atomic bombs and I couldn't help asking her if she woke up in the middle of the night in a cold sweat because of it. She admitted she did not and I made the point, well it's a pretty grim prospect indeed but the other side of that picture is that maybe with the very threat of nuclear war we today have a better chance for real world peace than we've had for centuries. I guess I'm just an incurable optimist but all these crepe hangers running around these days at a time when we are making real and measurable progress and have great prospects for more, I think there's reason to be optimistic. There ought to be more optimists. People will give up if they don't think we can go anywhere and well maybe it's just more fun to live brightly than gloomily. Anyway I feel that way and I try.

I've got a little worried about Mike. If he gets by at Rutgers this year, he'll pretty well have it made. We didn't hear from him last Sunday after he returned and all during the week I kept wondering how he was making out for it was exam week. He's had trouble when exams come. Somehow under pressure he seems to tighten up a bit. But he called last night feeling very happy, said he thought the exams went well with the possible exception of physics. He'd spent the week end with his new girl friend Carol whom we haven't met, going in to Philadelphia, spending the week end at her home, and seemed in good concert with the world. So for the moment at least all seems well with the kids.

January 17, 1968 -- 4:30 pm at the office. Another week is half over. I've been jumping around all afternoon here trying to keep my schedule straight. In a few hours now the President will be making his State of the Union Message. I have not in the past seen him take all the steps to prepare for it as this time. We had a Cabinet Meeting today in which he not only gave us the outline in great length but actually read it and timed it and then went around the table asking us for comments and suggestions. Quite a few were given but none of great significance. Yesterday I was called over to read an earlier draft. It does have good reference to agriculture. It sets parity goals as a hope in the list of items yet to be accomplished. It specifically recommends the strategic grain reserve bill and farmer bargaining power. I have now called Newsom, Heinkel, Staley and Dechant and asked them to issue a statement of approval which they said they would do. We are now scheduled to go over there for a preparatory meeting at 5:00 o'clock.

January 25, 1968 - 12:00 noon at the office. Just returned from a session with the President at the White House to set strategy for the Congressional Session where our farm programs are concerned. The President seemed in rare good humor. I suspect that he feels better and is better when he's under pressure, witness the current crisis over what to do about the North Korean commandeering of the American Intelligence Vessel. While we were in the Cabinet room meeting with him some papers were brought in and he asked wryly if any of us were in the Reserve and said in effect he was calling the Reserve up. After our conference, he closed the meeting by saying to Bill Abbott, Tom Hughes and John Schnittker, in the presence of Barefoot Sanders, Joe Califano and DeVier Pierson, that Agriculture was a great Department, that we were doing a great job and that the Secretary was one of the greatest guys he knew. I blinked my eyes and smiled weakly. This evaluation corroborates what Humphrey reported to me the other night at Hale Boggs' 30th Wedding Anniversary when he said that he and Jim Rowe had had a long session with the President in his bedroom going over the Cabinet officers and others in the Administration evaluating their strengths and weaknesses and that the President had been extremely high on me. Humphrey said specifically that if there is anything I wanted I ought to go to the President with it for he was almost certain to go along if it was within reason. I told Humphrey somewhat wryly that I regretted very much that I hadn't been more specific and pushy at the time there was a possibility of going for the Director General of FAO. I feel that now more than ever because it would be really wonderful to be working with Bob McNamara who goes to the World Bank.

In any event, all of this is reassuring, especially as you go into a tough Presidential election year. I had some wondering thoughts over last week end that the President might very well be looking for a new Secretary of Agriculture for farmers are unhappy; a new face could signify new initiative

and could be reassuring to farmers and build support. But from all indications there is no reason to believe that is in the mill in any way. As a matter of fact the President told Humphrey that the only problem with farmers and agriculture was himself, rather than the Secretary. The problems we have, he said, he had created, not me. By the same token today he said that I had worked miracles with Congress -- that I had both the toughest legislation in the world to pass, and also the toughest people on the Committees to work with, and he just didn't know how we ever managed to get the big farm bill through at all. Years back he told me frankly that I had done that and he had done little, and his willingness to acknowledge that, his remembrance of the problems and his remembrance of his own mistakes, even though privately, are reassuring and a measure of the man. Actually, I've come to be very fond of him in many ways and to have very great respect for his dedication, for his knowhow, for his ability and for the positions he takes and for the policies he carries forward. Some of the idiosyncrasies of shortness with people and of his own ego, as witnessed the other night at Hale Boggs' when of course he was flattered up a storm, a letter was read which he had written years ago as a boy in college trying to make a loan which dramatized very effectively the physical straits which he was in then, all of this resulted in a degree of posturing and dominance of the overall situation which was somewhat overdone, but on the other hand was thoroughly human and after all what do you do when you're President and everyone is paying tribute to the office and also to you, you can't help but dominate the scene even though you wanted to do otherwise. Anyway, I'm glad that I do feel some rapport, if not security, that I do feel a fondness and loyalty that is genuine, even though I still have difficulty being relaxed and feeling a real kinship or closeness with the President. But in comparison

with four years ago, the changes in terms of my regard and respect and feeling of loyalty and being a part of it is surely an enormous improvement.

To get on to business -- We went there to determine what to determine what to do about submitting specific legislation with the Farm Message, which will be a strong one. I recommended that we submit strong supporting language in general terms for the Food and Agricultural Act of 1965 and for bargaining power, and then declare we will make specific recommendations shortly.

DeVier Pierson felt that would tend to weaken our position and we should instead send up specific detailed recommendations as is normally the case. Joe Califano expressed his reservation about my recommendation on the grounds that the press would tear us apart if we didn't have more exact recommendations at the time of the press backgrounder, and therefore we must have more specifics and details. The President didn't listen long, he sided with me and cited some other examples of recommendations that he had sent to Mills and others on their request where they preferred to have general statements and then leave it to them to see what they could work out and get support for. So he said, let's proceed that way and made some strong comments about the importance of living now with Members of Congress to get this done and to get up to him a good Message. He doesn't miss much. Last night in the newspaper Buckley, the far Right Columnist, who's witty and clever, had a column criticizing the President's State of the Union Message pointing out that it wasn't very irradiate, that the language choice was poor, etc., and saying maybe he wrote this one himself. The President was teasing Harry McPherson and some of the other people who did some writing about that. He used it to underscore the point that we should get to him a well shaped and literary message and so we'll really have to give this one some attention, as to form and style.

We've got the Message drafted now in rough form. It includes the Commodity programs, farm bargaining powers, strategic reserves, P.L. 480, small farm package and rural urban balance provisions. That's a big package, it'll be a strong message and I hope we can get it up there real soon. Then I'll try and get Poage to open hearings on P.L. 480 and go to the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 and try and get Ellender to take on strategic reserves where he is already having hearings and go into the bargaining power. If I can get him to hold hearings and to let Mondale be the chief sponsor and then have Mondale carry this before the Committee with both Committees opening hearings soon, I can then come in in a month or so and set out the Administration recommendations, why that will put us in a strong position and give us two runs at getting publicity and attention focused on what we're doing.

I guess I'll have to wait until next week until Mondale gets back from Eastern Europe before I can really approach Ellender in connection with this but I should try and have breakfast with Aiken, perhaps on Monday and begin to lay some of the groundwork with him on the bargaining power issue. I spent a lot of time in airplanes yesterday going to and from Wichita, Kansas where I spoke to the National Wheat Growers Association.

I was somewhat apprehensive about making this appearance, both Kleppe and Bob Dole preceded me on their program. However, I was happily surprised at a very warm reception. I followed the usual format and answered questions for an hour and a half. The response was good. I hammered at them very hard in my speech, pointing out that you couldn't pass farm programs without strong Presidential support and that the Act of 1965 was passed with city Democrats at the President's instance. I then made it very strong that they should demand from the Republic candidates where they stand and insist as a minimum that there

be sharp and clear support for the current commodity legislation -- that if they can't get that they ought to recognize that their farm programs will be lost if a Republican should be elected and act accordingly. I spoke pretty strongly, but they seemed receptive and the questions that I got were not nearly as nasty as those I was getting last fall.

Generally speaking, the whole picture seems to be improving where the President is concerned. The polls have moved up. The people's attitude seems improved. The overall gloom and pessimism of the Holiday period seems considerably dissipated.

The President's State of the Union message, initially at least, was very well received. I thought it was an excellent message, but many of the columnists are now criticizing it, both on form and substance. As I say, I thought it was pretty good on both. Now that this North Korean problem has arisen we'll have to see what comes of that development. If the President can handle this in a comparable way as Jack Kennedy handled the Cuban Missile Crisis, his stature will be immeasurably enhanced. Here's hoping.

Otherwise, things have been quiet since I dictated a week ago. We've been working here on the Presidential Message and on legislation.

There were two events last week around town that I participated in that were enjoyable and reasonably successful. The first was a dinner honoring Clyde Ellis retiring as the head of NRECA. It was a big affair with many of the REA folks around the countryside in Washington. I met with the statewide managers for several hours in the morning and discussed Rural Development with them and finally got into politics. They had been quite ornery last fall when Jim Thornton met with them. They were much better this time and it finally ended up that what they wanted was something they could sink their teeth into that would permit them to demonstrate the President's support of and understanding of REA. They fussed about the fact that the supplemental credit bill

didn't pass, suggested that the President could have passed it if he had wished, and we went over all that kind of thing and got it pretty well straightened out. Hopefully they will be as active as they were four years ago. In any event, they seem to be coming along now.

The banquet was a fun affair, although mechanically speaking it wasn't too well arranged. I had worked hard on the speech and in addition to the proper comments to Clyde Ellis, I developed at considerable length the theme of the importance of credit to the building of rural America. I emphasized how foolish it is that we consider direct Government loans as an expenditure rather than an investment and that if we could change our bookkeeping in that respect it could make an enormous difference in financing a whole host of things which could then be made possible. It was a rather long program and my speech, although only about 10 pages, seemed to take longer than usual. Jane felt that I had overspoken myself. However, I've had an amazing reaction to that speech and I'm pleased about that. Had a letter last night that the Grange is going to send it out to all of their Chapters. So maybe it was all right anyway.

The other affair and one that had me in something of a tizzy was the appearance of all the members of the Cabinet before the Women's National Press Club. They have a banquet each year and at that banquet they have various people around town make presentations. They are designed to be humorous, witty, and cutting. The speaker responds to a goofy question that comes to him from the President of the Women's Press Club. This time they lined up all the Members of the Cabinet. Obviously this was a problem. I'm certainly no funny boy and I don't perform on that basis very well, nor am I very clever in developing copy. However, we went to work around here and between John, Wally and Stan with some help from Ken Birkhead and Kate Alfrend, running copy at Jane periodically, we came up with something that really seemed to be rather well accepted. The overall response to the collectively appearance of the members of the Cabinet was very good indeed. Jim Symington said to me that he only wished that all of the

country could have seen it, that everyone had done extremely well and that he knew the Republicans couldn't possibly match it. I was mighty relieved when it was over.

The next day, which was last Friday, Jane and I took off for Split Rock up in Pennsylvania. We drove to Philadelphia, picked Mike up, then drove on up to that Resort and spent the weekend staying in the Kirkpatrick-Max Kampelman home. It's a lovely place, ideally arranged for lake and country living with a bank of bedrooms on both sides of a large living and dining room. There was a lot of snow. The weather was a little too warm for ideal skiing, but the skiing really was excellent. We skied morning and afternoon on Saturday and Sunday. Jane got back into it and did extremely well. She ended up using a T bar and a J bar to get up the hill without any great fear, although she was scared stiff when she started. Mike and I both did really quite well. I am by no means an expert skier, but we can get down those steep hills now and can stop in the middle of them and can really enjoy the runs. There were too many people and we had to waste more time than we liked standing in line for the lifts and all, but the skiing was pretty good and we thoroughly enjoyed it. We drove back Monday morning. Mike drove the whole way while I worked in the back seat getting ready for my Wheat Grower appearance which had me worried, going over questions and answers. We got home about 2:00 pm. I was in the office by 3:00 and hard at work at speeches and other pressing matters. My briefcase is still loaded despite the fact it's 10:45.

January 29, 1968, 10:45 pm at home. Well, it got me. The flu I mean. I thought I might be spared. Jane had it bad over the holidays. Washington has been full of it. I've been feeling very good indeed. Occasional early morning sneezing spells but it goes away in a few hours. Last week end proved otherwise.

Thursday night we went to the White House for the President's annual dinner for the Vice President, Speaker and the Chief Justice. I never felt better in my life. I had played squash in the afternoon -- that weight is beginning to come down a bit and now at 182.

A turndown of last year triggered that dormant feeling which we had begun to dissipate because of the good year in 1966. I don't delude myself, rank and file farmer reaction is still pessimistic, antagonistic, and unhealthy, but perhaps it's changing. In any event we do need to drive home to the leadership the feeling of confidence that we know what we're doing and we're on the right track. I'm trying to get a pamphlet produced around here that will make that case, make it effectively, so we can reach leaders in agricultural organizations and in the democratic party and give them some confidence and assurance so we can join this issue on a fair basis in the campaign year ahead and not start so far behind in terms of people's assumptions and attitudes. It'll be a real struggle to do that, but somehow we must do it. With that objective in mind I took off on Friday noon for Des Moines and the Midwest Democratic Conference. I prepared a rather careful speech, documenting the progress made in a number of fields with charts, and then an excellent chart showing how for the last 60 years farm income is always up with Democrats and down with Republicans. I didn't sleep so well Thursday night. Actually we got home late. I'd eaten lightly and drank a little champagne. I was up and away early. Had the early morning sniffles, but they didn't go away. My throat began to bother me and my head began to run on the way into Des Moines and I spent a rather miserable weekend. I had a 30-minute television show with 3 reporters when I arrived to be replayed on Sunday. Then a press conference -- and then an hour and a half speech and question period followed by a dinner and a meeting bringing people together to discuss our Town and Country for Johnson and Humphrey organization. The response to this meeting was heartening. We have a long way to go but

everyone there seemed to agree that the Town and Country approach was a good one. They came forth with some pretty good ideas. Ken Birkhead, Tom Hughes and John Havelock were all there to follow up. I got to bed about midnight -- up at 6:00 for a 7:00 o'clock breakfast. The same people generally were there only this time we talked about farm programs and farm income. They were friendly, but they reflected the same deep concern and antagonism of farmers as the NFD member who stopped me after my speech and told me what I said was a lot of malarkey and as matters now stood farmers would definitely vote Republican, that they were mad about price. I was struck at the breakfast in talking to a man near me about the wheat program. He was a Democrat and friendly. Yet he focused exclusively, so far as the payments were concerned, on the domestic share. He realized he was getting 100 percent of parity there and he just concluded that's what he's entitled too, pushed that off to the side and concentrated on the market price for the balance, contending that he was terribly put upon. When I pointed out to him that his blend price was close to \$1.90 and that was a reasonable price why he seemed very disturbed and implied that that was most unreasonable, that you shouldn't look at it that way at all, that that payment ran only to the domestic share. This kind of mental block, the attitude you're put on, that things are so terrible, etc., is just characteristic and how we beat it down I just don't know. However there was some basis for encouragement. The approach that farm programs are threatened by Republicans does at least reach the leadership. I think they're coming around. Whether that will be enough to reach the rank and file remains to be seen. If we can get prices moving up this coming year, that of course will be the most crucial of all. In the meantime all we can do is bang away. I've got a pretty good story in the Des Moines paper on Saturday. It related that I had accepted the blame for making the wrong decision in extending acreage allotments. The boys in the office have all been

nervous about my doing this but they've pretty well come around to thinking it's a pretty good idea for it has gotten a good response on the leadership level at least. The worst that can happen is that farmers will grumble at the Secretary and claim he's stupid. Well they do that anyway. If the programs can be in part rehabilitated by describing what has taken place as a mistake of judgment, that is probably worth doing. I can rescue my position part way by pointing out that the decision as made was sensible based on the information available. We might be able to reach several different viewpoints in that fashion. Anyway on balance it wasn't a bad weekend.

Governor Harold Hughes is sure a nut. He's running for the Senate now. He complained to John Criswell about my coming out to Iowa at all, contending I was so unpopular. This is the same thing he did in 1964 when I went out with the President before we went to Japan. Then he turned around on Saturday when he made his speech and said I was the greatest Secretary of Agriculture in history. How do you figure a guy like that?

Anyway I returned home on Saturday, stopped in the office to do some dictating and then came home and I've been here ever since. I went into the office yesterday for a while in the morning, primarily to bring some details together about the legislative program and to meet with the Members of the Grain Trade who came in, that is the presidents of the big companies, Bunge, Dreyfus, Cargill, and Continental. We discussed P.L. 480, commodity legislation, exports with them. Mostly they wanted to talk about the International Grain Arrangement. They're all worried about the minimums and whether the provision for breaking the minimum if necessary to compete is adequate. They have been vigorously opposing the International Grain Arrangement and presumably will oppose it before the Senate. I think we can pass it without their support, but John Schnittker thought it was well to have them in. So we did. Following the discussion I had them in my little office for sherry, and then I came on home and to bed. I slept very

well yesterday afternoon, worked over the day's mail most of last night, slept fair last night, up early this morning working again. I've been doing a little recreational reading this morning but again going over mail and particularly studying the bargaining power bill that Bill Abbott had drafted.

At the moment I feel fairly good about our Congressional position. Following the conference with the President last week where he agreed that the idea of sending up a strong message but holding back specific recommendations on the commodity programs and bargaining power made good sense. We've succeeded in moving the Farm Message forward so Joe Califano told me yesterday that he plans to try and send it up early next week. Matters in it that are controversial he will try and resolve this week. John Schnittker has been meeting with the Bureau of the Budget and most differences are being hammered out, although at this moment it looks like a very sharp difference about the bargaining power question. That may very well have to go to the President and also part of the small farm package. But if we can get that done this week, and the Message which is now over there properly edited and up next week, we ought to be able to begin hearings in both houses with the Senate hearing the bargaining power issue and the House P.L. 480 to be followed with the Commodity programs.

We think that all the general farm organizations are lined up behind the proposals that Bill Abbott has worked out on bargaining power. We're having some trouble with the Farmers Union because of Charley Brannan, but if we can work that out presumably they will go up as a parade and support a proposal which I will try and get introduced by Ellender or by Mondale, then after hearings have been held and the Farm Bureau and others have tried to shoot it down and destroy it, I'll come in speaking for the Administration and recommend what we started out with. This ought to place the bargaining power thing in a very good context and prevent the Farm Bureau from chewing it up and making the issue "big government" rather than the real merits. The same thing is true on

commodity programs. Poage can introduce the current bill and then have hearings as to how it might be improved. In the meantime, working with commodity groups and the general farm organizations we will have them prepared to testify consistent with Administration improvements and I can wrap it all up again confirming what all organizations except the Farm Bureau have done. It sounds too good to be true, but it's possible it can be worked out. I'm waiting now for a call from Mondale who has been out of the country to see if he'll get aboard on this, then I'll have to get Ellender to agree to the hearings and to schedule as we have suggested. I think he'll go along for he indicated to me a week or two ago he thought it preferable to have hearings before we send up specific recommendations. If he will let Mondale introduce the bargaining power thing and he will preside in a friendly manner, I can then go around with our draft and try and get Talmadge and Aiken and perhaps even Young lined up behind it. We then can very well get favorable action out of the Senate and that would really put us a leg up before we have to take it on in that tough House Committee. The handlers and processors, et al., together with the Farm Bureau will of course oppose this violently. They will be particularly opposed to the provision which will make it possible if bargaining succeeds between the given commodity and the handlers and processors to work out a minimum price that there would be marketing quotas or acreage allotments to be imposed then by the Secretary of Agriculture. That one will really hid the fan, but their opposition ought to be muted in part because the negotiation for price will precede the marketing quotas and acreage allotments which will be used to make possible the maintenance and holding of the agreed upon price through the medium of supply control. This could be a very significant piece of legislation. In any event, it will be a very exciting one and ought to put us in a very favorable position before the country this election year.

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We also have a very big package put together on rural area development. This includes specifically provisions to help those displaced farmers by technology, provisions for small farmers, provisions for community development, a package of some 40 specific proposals most of which require legislation.

John Baker and John Schnittker have done a top job in clearing these with other Departments of the Government. They include a number of things that will be done by other Departments. If we can hold such package why we ought to have a powerful impact in that area as well and this will give us some good ammunition for our Town and Country committees to use. So for the moment, for the instant that is, looking at the overall picture things seem to be in pretty good state of affairs, perhaps instead of fussing here I ought to enjoy a relaxed day at home.

I do hope that we get some action in the poverty area. I am deeply disturbed at the hardship and difficulty that increasing technological displacement causes. A crash program including housing and vocational training and food for these people which our recommendations would call for would help a great deal and certainly would give some attention where it's desperately needed. So often our farm programs are just commercial in nature. Certainly this is important but it's not enough. Increasingly the fact that agriculture doesn't concern itself enough with the poor people is getting attention. Even if we didn't want to do it, we're going to have to do it. Otherwise, the commercial programs themselves are going to be shot down. However, it's terribly difficult to get this across to the conservative members of both the Agricultural Committees. Also, I need to be vigilant and concerned at all times that I don't lapse into satisfying pressure points and not really serving those in need. Our food programs make a case in point. Nick Kotz from the Minneapolis Star is on a kind of crusade. He's a muck raker, aggressive, irresponsible, but smart

and a good writer and his paperbacks do very well. He along with Ralph Nader got off on the meat inspection thing and together probably deserve the credit for accelerating it into a major issue with the result being a major program accomplishment where otherwise we would have limped through with a very modest kind of bill which we had finally gotten the State Commissioners of Agriculture and the Meat Industry to support. That's history now but it created so much attention that at the moment the Members of Congress, to wit, Graham Purcell who opposed the meat thing and Mondale and Montoya and others are all begging to introduce the poultry inspection bill. Anyway, Nick Kotz is determined that he is going to do something about poverty in the South. He also has concluded, and there is some truth in this, that I'm handcuffed because of the conservative Southern domination of the Agricultural Committees, particularly Whitten in Appropriations. He's been interested in the Food picture and recently has attacked what we're doing rather strongly in some stories in his paper. The essence of the attack is that I've been turning back Section 32 money rather than spending it at the same time as there are hungry people. The implication of the stories is that we would reach a lot more people with food if we spent that money, but that we weren't spending it because it was used as a reserve in the case we needed it to prop up the prices of various commodities that might fall. He's right in part. We do use it for that purpose, however, it would not mean reaching more people with food, but it might mean having a little better more diversified diet than has been the case because we would buy more meat and let's say more cheese and a few other things that are a bit more nutritious. The problem has not been as much the \$300 million carryover as it has been the budget pressures and the need to balance out and get under the spending limits. I have now sent a memoranda asking for a recap as to what we could buy for the law requires it to be in surplus which generally we define as selling in the market at 90 percent of parity or less. If we could have bought some nutritional

items I want to know it. Further I want to know whether what we are distributing if properly used will meet nutritional standards. That is, it may not be the most desirable or the most edible, but that it's adequate. My guess is it's somewhat short of adequate we should have bought more heavily, but that we kind of drifted along here in the absence of specific pressure and rather than cut back some other programs which are also important we held back a bit on the food distribution. It's good to be reminded of this and in a sense threatened which a great newspaper and a crusading somewhat irresponsible reporter can do. Actually our problem on the food front is not so much the programs for we are extending them very rapidly, but rather getting poor people to come into the programs. This is particularly true in the Food Stamp Program. The need for nutrition education is also high on the list of getting things done. These more complicated, fuzzy, less dramatic problems Kotz and his kind conveniently ignore. I was supposed to be in Cleveland this morning opening up a school breakfast program. I plan now to go on Thursday.

I think I may well call Nick Kotz and ask him if he is so interested in food and how these programs work, why doesn't he come along with me and see for himself. I'm quite sure he wouldn't come, but it's probably not a bad idea.

Connie has been home this week and a much happier girl. Perhaps our little confrontation over the Holiday Season helped a bit. She has been much more outgoing and less sullen and kind of selfish in her attitude and relations with others. I missed Mike on Sunday night because I was sleeping but his grades turned out very good indeed. Actually he got a B plus and got the higher possibility in each of his grades. I'm so pleased. This will give him some renewed confidence and he needs it. I must write him a note and congratulate him.

I must go in tomorrow. I'm anxious to go to Cabinet Meeting. We'll undoubtedly get a rundown on the North Korean Pueblo incident. The Security People of course are deeply involved in it. As usual, I know nothing except what I read

in the newspapers. It appears though that the President, as usual, is playing it very cool and methodical, strong representations are being made at the United Nations, in private diplomacy, the National Reserve has been called up and troop strength is being built up around North Korea.

The Republicans are making everything they can of the North Korean episode, but so far they haven't struck much gold. Mundt is demanding an investigation contending that the Pueblo should not have been in a threatened area unprotected and relatively unarmed. That one's foundered so far. ^{are} There/demands that we go in and take it by force but most people, while they insist that our integrity must be preserved and something must be done, aren't quite willing to go that far. If this matter works out, it can very well be a definite political plus for the President.

Politically speaking the editorials and columnists have been interesting the last month or so. It is clear that the President's political position has turned up sharply. There was an interesting story this morning how every time anyone starts talking he gets himself shot down. There is a lot of truth in that. The issues we face are complex and difficult. It's pretty hard to come up with answers that the President hasn't used. The more the opposition talks, the more they isolate themselves and make the President look better. That's been true of Gene McCarthy, too, whose campaign seems to be most abortive. As one writer said, it looks like he's running for President of Plato's Republic. He certainly hasn't struck any sparks or brought forth any enthusiasm. He's put Bobby Kennedy very much on the spot. At the same time he has steamed up the regular Democratic organization which now has something to be against and to that extent made the President's position stronger.

January 31, 1968 -- at home, 6:00 pm. Well I'm a bit better today. I went in to the office this morning, made a speech at 2:30, came on home, napped from 4:00 to 5:00 and I've been running through the day's mail since. I didn't

feel too well today - kind of fuzzy and lightheaded, without much pep and I still have a kind of head full, but I'm improving.

Went up to see Mondale today to try and get him to agree to introduce our Marketing Bill. He's got a commitment to the Farmers Union on a bill Charlee Brannan drafted which isn't very practical. I've got a call in for Tony Dechant in Hawaii tonight and I'll have to see if I can get the Farmers Union in line. The bigger problem is within the Administration whereas as usual the Bureau and the Council will be opposing this bill. They had a meeting about it yesterday in John Schnittker's office and they were largely negative. Even DeVier Pierson seems to be dragging his feet somewhat. I called Califano and urged that this matter be moved to the highest possible level and will have to wrestle it out soon. If we can't get an agreement quickly, I'm going to have Ellender open hearings anyway and get the bill before the Committee with someone introducing it so hearings can begin on it. It would be so much better if the Message could go up first. With the President applying the pressure to move the Messages up to the Hill fast, we ought to be able to get some internal action.

I spoke to the National Rural Telephone Cooperative Association. Humphrey had preceded me this morning and talked about rural urban balance so I pretty much had to repeat in effect what he had said, at least as far as the theme went. As a result I deviated a long way from my manuscript, ad libbed a bit, told stories and had a very good reception. I was surprised I could respond in a light vein feeling very heavy and uncomfortable myself, but it worked out all right. The rural urban balance vein is beginning to roll increasingly and we are hammering away at it on every front all the time.

Inquiry from Udall Monday -- he wanted some help in some land transfers which will assist him in the Arizona water project. He's got a lot of guts calling and asking me for personal favors and special assistance after the way

he acted on the Mineral King matter. It made me burn when I read a New York Times editorial last night scorching me as stubborn and anti-conservation. He's played this one to the hilt and has been absolutely selfish in connection with it. Yet, I don't feel that I can refuse to cooperate with him out of spite. Sometimes I wish I were a lot meaner. John Baker did some negotiating and we left the question open as to what could be done by way of a land swap which is what he wants.

The big event today was a Cabinet meeting. We ran from 12:00 o'clock until after 1:30, although actually the President was about 20 minutes late getting started. I was particularly interested in the report on Korea and Vietnam and particularly in observing the general demeanor of the Rusk - McNamara - The President on it. I must say they certainly gave every evidence of keeping their cool, as the kids would say. So far as the Pueblo incident is concerned, Rusk made it perfectly clear, and so did the President, that the boat was on a mission which was specifically assigned, that other nations have similar assignments. We, for example, have on 38 different instances given special assistance to Russian ships doing the same that have gotten into some kind of trouble. That harrassment was not unusual at all and that the Captain of that ship had no reason to believe that he would be boarded, merely because there were vessels around him. The President made the point that they had a superiority in aircraft in the nearby airfields and that any real resistance or effort to send in aircraft ourselves would have resulted in an overwhelming loss. In effect, the President said that he was most thankful that the Admiral, ^{over} ~~our~~ there and the Skipper of the ship had not perpetrated a major incident. The danger of such came into rather clear focus when they told us that for some time they did not know who had attacked our ship in the Mediterranean at the time of the Israeli attack. If American forces had assumed that it was Russian, inasmuch as they identified early that it was not Egyptian, they might very well have launched an attack on Russia. That

would have meant war. Further, they said, one of the reasons Russia stays out of the Israeli-Egyptian war is that they had one of these so-called communications by ship so they knew very well that when the Egyptians accused the United States of bombing Egypt that that was not the case. Hence, as the President said, the hot line went into effect.

Rusk went on to describe the various things that we were doing in the diplomatic route to try and get the men and ship. So far with no success. They did not elaborate exactly what is being done to build up our forces except to say that we would shortly have air superiority in that region and that without in any way drawing forces away from the Vietnam area. There was surely no evidence of weakening in the Vietnam situation -- quite the contrary. Rusk spoke very strongly and with considerable emotion. The President and McNamara did not specifically verify the intensity of his words. He said that we were in contact with North Korea. That the change in words recently from "shall" to "will" and so forth in connection with negotiations had been very carefully followed up. Certain kinds of bombing had not been indulged in. All of this he said most emphatically the North Koreans knew. Yet they choose to respond by the series of terrorists attacks of the past few days. This being the case, we ought to quite worrying about all these little words and qualifications on words and let them know that if that's the way they want to play, why we'll just play their game only play it harder and tougher than they are playing it. In other words, he really felt more or less double crossed and all this business about negotiating was futile. The President evidenced some of this feeling. He said that at the instance of the Pope who begged him for an additional day of deterred bombing that he and Bob McNamara had carefully reviewed this, apparently gone back to the military to try and work out with them bombing that could be held back with a minimum of advantage to the enemy and after having gone to every possible means to do this why the North Vietnamese continue to take

advantage of every opportunity to pile through more supplies. In other words they did not adhere to the standard that normal supply replenishment would be expected but a massive supply replenishment would result in a resumption of the bombing. No cooperation again from the North Vietnamese.

The President was very strong in his statement that cutting off the bombing meant killing more American boys. He even went as far as saying that in cutting off one day's bombing at the Pope's instance American boys had paid with their lives. This means of course that more supplies come down, more shells are fired, more casualties result. The President then declared at considerable length and with some heat that he was going to do what he had to do and what was right regardless of politics. He then said somewhat whimsically that if there was anything that would make him not be a candidate for office and tempt him along that line, it would be that he could have a year ahead of him when he couldn't be accused for every act he makes of acting politically but rather doing what he thought was right for the country and for the world.

He was bleeding a bit today in the sense that criticism was rankling him. It wasn't that he had become discouraged or confused as much as his dander was up and he was striking out in some ways kind of petty as he sometimes does. He was furious at the Republicans reciting that Ford had been in and pounded the table, apparently at a meeting, for he is now calling in all the Congressional people for a series of reviews and evaluation. Ford had apparently laid down the law and indicated that there would not be cooperation but that politics was the order of the day. He was disgusted about the receptions of the budget and the accusations of spending and had Charlie Zwick, the new Director of the Bureau of the Budget, point out how the percentage of spending for non-military purposes as compared to the gross national product is less now than it was the last year of the Eisenhower Administration. He also pointed out how much the expenditures had increased for welfare programs. For example,

he pointed out how under the old budget standards Health, Education and Welfare spending had climbed from \$3.9 billion in 1961 to \$5.7 billion in 1964 and \$15.4 billion in 1969. He went on to say he knew that was not enough but there was a limit to what could be done. Obviously he was rankling at the criticism of the liberals and the doves at this point for he said somewhat vehemently "There are a lot of these people who ^{would rather} talk about it and argue about it than do anything about it." He then went on to say that even if we stopped the Vietnam War that it would only mean \$16 to \$18 billion saving and there was a big question whether that money would be used for these programs or not. It could be argued, he said, that we're getting more for those programs now than we would have gotten without the Vietnam war. The poverty numbers he used were \$9.5 billion 1960, \$12.5 billion 1963, and \$21.8 billion 1969. He's right on this. There just isn't any doubt about the fact that these programs have expanded. As he said to me once some months back privately, we have probably expanded them a bit faster than the country can absorb them and I'm rather inclined to think he may be right, despite great and obvious need.

He then went on to urge us to help the tax bill because it was the only way we could hold to our current budget for we couldn't borrow any more, interest rates were too high. We already combed out about \$3 billion worth of programs and had replaced them with \$3 billion worth of higher priority programs so now everything turned on the tax bill. Finally, he laid down the law about getting our Messages up to the Hill, laying a proper groundwork on them in terms of phone calls and statements to be made the day they go up, a printing of them by the organizations, statements in support of them in the Record, et al. He went as far as saying he was going to make Bill Driver of the Veterans Administration a Member of the Cabinet because there were some 70 favorable statements on the GI legislation in the Congressional Record. He really follows these things and reacts strongly to criticism and a lack

commendation on his actions. Well, I don't blame him. I'd do the same thing and it does rankle when you work so hard and you feel the programs are right to have that press needle buried deeply in your hide. On balance, it was a typical performance, the man is a fighter. He'll be in there. He wastes some energy, some of the statements are on occasion petulant and the demands a bit unreasonable but on balance it was an impressive performance.

February 3, 1968, 12:15 noon at the office. Up early this morning and at the desk here at the office all morning. I've been bothered much less than usual on a Saturday morning and I've managed to roll through the accumulated paper work of the last several days so I've got a reasonably clean desk. Now I must plow into questions and answers and my preparation for a speech and press conference at Elizabeth City, North Carolina this evening. I'm going down to a Junior Chamber of Commerce Farmer of the Year award. I need that like a sore head but Walter Jones, Congressman from that District on the Ag Committee in the House, put the arm on me hard and because we can fly down and back in an evening in the King Air, I'm going to do it.

The balance of last week was relatively uneventful following the Cabinet session on Wednesday. I still haven't been able to move the Farm Message. Our draft is over there. The Bureau of the Budget is resisting the bargaining power very strongly. There are some questions in the Rural America. I just talked to Joe Califano and he sounds in a supporting frame of mind. Apparently the Bureau has been so negative on a number of programs that he's kind of disgusted. I'm rather sure we're going to have to bring these questions directly to the President for final decision and so I'm anxious to move them along. I'm having trouble with the Farmers Union a bit on the bargaining power thing. They're rather frozen in, or so claim, or so Dechant so claims, by having presented to their Board Members a bill drafted by Charlie Brannan last year. This would call for a separate Board to certify bargaining agents. It would involve a complete new set of machinery,

Rather than following the marketing order route to accomplish the same thing as our draft would do. Bill Abbott tells me that the Grange, NFO, and Missouri Farmers are well in line. The Farmers Union, of course, is competing with the NFO and that's the problem. It may all work out pretty well because when I called on Ellender this week to try and get him aboard, he recommended that he would like to get out a memoranda outlining the program and recommendations to improve it, including bargaining power, and then call Hearings and have everyone come it for a broad, total, all encompassing farm program. That would include the Act of 1965, the commodity programs, and bargaining power as well. The more I think about it, the more I feel that's a pretty good idea. He could go ahead with that even though the Farm message hadn't gone up yet, but by the time he got out his memo and waited to set the hearings which probably wouldn't be until some time in March, it would give plenty of time to get the message up and to hammer out any controversies we will have internally. That's a little later than I hoped to wait to submit specific recommendations but we can live with it. In the meantime we'll get Poage going on P.L. 480 and also on the commodity programs in the House and that ought to make a pretty good combination.

I seem to have finally shaken my cold and flu. I went back to bed on Wednesday, but felt better Wednesday night and got up at 5:00 o'clock Thursday morning to catch a 6:00 o'clock plane to Cleveland. There I participated in a program at one of their primary schools for school breakfasts. The new Mayor of Cleveland, the Negro Carl Stokes was there. Also, the Superintendent of Schools. It was really quite thrilling. This is a program I fought to get through the Congress, to see it in effect and the little tots enjoying it so much was more than gratifying. It actually worked very simply and easily. We had made orange juice available. They had it packaged in little plastic triangular shaped holders. The usual half-pints of milk in cartons were there and little individual packages of cold breakfast food. The little boys and

girls came in. They selected the breakfast food they wanted. The orange juice and milk and a straw and went to their desk. They were well behaved, were most enthusiastic about it and the teacher said it was no trouble at all. One little fellow told me that he ran to school now when he didn't use to want to come. The Superintendent told me that it had cut down absenteeism by 10 percent, something he couldn't have done with all the truant officers in the world. We went around to the classrooms, talked with the mothers, had radio and television and then I had a press conference, and came back to Washington. It was really a shot in the arm. It also alerted me that we need to continue improving our overall food programs, both because I want them to really do the job and because the so-called citizens crusade is going to be all over us and Nick Kotz as well with his much-raking, painting pathetic pictures, and implying that it's our fault and that it could be corrected if we would do something, but they don't know exactly what. Well, maybe it's good to keep the whip on. We must strengthen these programs. It surely is gratifying to see them moving. This area is something, I think, I can legitimately feel that I've done more than a little to accomplish.

February 7, 1968 - 7:40 pm. In about 10 minutes Jane will pick me up here at the office and we go to Nick Katzenbach's where Jean Rey, the President of the Common Market, will be hosted. Not a great deal has happened the last week. Saturday night, Jane and I traveled to Elizabeth City, N.C., along with the Horace Godfreys and Congressman Walter Jones and his wife, I spoke to the Young Farmer Award banquet. It was like a Jaycee affair at home. Same old thing. School gymnasium, cold food, same kind of people, same kind of flurry of the leaders trying to organize it. I rather enjoyed it and my presentation seemed well received.

My presentation at Elizabeth City seemed quite well received and it was on agriculture in general and its importance, but more specifically on the "What's right with the United States theme" pointing out all of our accomplishments and taking to task the press and those who always emphasize the negative.

We flew back to Washington the same night and it wasn't therefore too burdensome. The King Air plane which cruises about 330 miles an hour and is comfortable makes it pretty nice for this kind of thing.

Last night we were in Durham, North Carolina. I spoke to the North Carolina Cooperative Council and answered questions -- got pretty good reception. I threw away the manuscript and spoke extemporaneously. Harry Caldwell is the Executive Secretary of this group and had strongly urged that I come. After the evening we went to the home of Watts Carrs of the Marine Corps days and had a very good time swapping stories. I was in the office at the usual time this morning.

We still haven't jelled the President's message. Two meetings have been held in Califano's office. The Bureau of the Budget and the Council are adamantly resisting, particularly the Council, the farmer bargaining theme. They simply don't want stronger farm prices -- nor do they want farmers to have the control over their product which would make possible the kind of bargaining which could increase farm prices. This matter will have to go to the President. I'm a little worried about it because according to Califano he has expressed some reservations about how far he can go and how workable this really is on a number of occasions. Otherwise, we've gotten things fairly well threshed out. There will be strong language in favor of the commodity programs and most of our small farm, rural development and poverty measures have been cleared. We may, however, have to do battle before the President on one of those on the

provision of credit for water and sewer. DeVier Pierson is now trying to boil down the issues so they will be in sharp focus for such a Presidential review. In the meantime the Farmers Union is creating problems for us. They refuse to join in backing the bill we have developed which would strengthen the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1937. I had Tony Dechant in here the other day and tried to prevail on him to come with the other farm organizations and present a common front. He is pretty adamant that they want to take an independent trail to advocate a separate Board and all the rest. I'm sure this is knee-jerk anti-NFO business, but he is pretty well set. If it works out that way Mondale will likely introduce a bill including two titles, one the independent Board route and the other the strengthened marketing order route. That'll make it touchy for me as to which I should recommend and will probably have to straddle it and be that much weaker throughout the balance of the election year, but that's one of those problems that one sometimes has to ride with and simply can't solve. Secretly I'm afraid Mondale kind of likes this idea. It puts him out in front on both horses and he says he's committed to the Farmers Union to introduce their bill and to that extent weakens our case. I talked to him today and he said he would try and prevail on them to follow the one route, but I don't think he'll bring much muscle to bear. He did tell me that he had talked to the President about Lee Loevinger and a Judgeship here and in the course of it purely on his own without any particular reason the President went on at great length, extolling the virtues of the Secretary of Agriculture who apparently he described as the most under rated man in Washington. Well, that's a day brightener on a day when I haven't felt too bright or too peppy. Maybe not enough sleep last night and nothing very stimulating today.

We had a wrestling match today with the peanut people that were in here from all the States demanding an increase in their price support. I told them

bluntly that we couldn't do it as long as costs continue to climb and there was no way to cut back their soaring production. We ended up in agreement that we should work out a new program that would cut costs and thereby make it possible to improve farm income. I set March 1 as a deadline to come up with a program. So we postponed that problem for a moment. Well, it's almost 8:00 o'clock. I better go shave and get ready for the party tonight, then off tomorrow for I must be in Kansas City at 10:00 in the morning and on to Fargo at noon for speeches and more question and answer sessions. This year is sure going to be one big rat race.

February 11, 1968 -- 6:50 pm. Jane and I just returned home from a delightful weekend in the Forest in South Carolina as the guests of John Duncan. The Forest is the Southern Railway's 30,000 acre Wilderness Area with a lovely lodge, cabins, and the kind of facilities that one dreams about. We had a perfectly delightful, relaxed weekend. More about that in a moment.

When I last closed dictating in this diary it was Wednesday, February 7, and I went from the office to the home of the Nick Katzenbach's where they had a dinner party for Jean Rey, the President of the EEC. It was enjoyable. The usual kind of cocktail half-hour of conviviality, then the dinner in the diningroom at separate round tables, followed by some visiting. We left about 10:30. I'm afraid I wasn't very pleasant. I said to Rey, who likes to be the optimist, that this reminded me of being somewhere before, that we had started our discussions on the Common Market and its restrictive policies 7 years ago and hadn't made any progress since then. That really shook him up and he chided me to be more optimistic and then made the usual response that our agricultural exports to the EEC had increased through this entire period. I pointed out to him they would have increased more and that they had taken action highly destructive of trade in a number of areas, to wit,

poultry, now they had acted to increase the internal price on feed grains, that they were disrupting dairy world markets and that their export subsidy on wheat was more than the American farmer got paid, that I was going out to speak to farmers in the Midwest the next day and that they are very bitter about that. It was clear that ~~he~~ didn't like it very much. Jane chided me when I told her about it but it was a private conversation and I think it was useful to stack it up to them a bit for we're going nowhere on this and I'm afraid it will get worse before it gets better. His new colleague, a young Frenchman, who took Rey's place as the Minister for Trade and External Affairs whose name slips my mind, was more relaxed about it. He said to me quite bluntly that he recognized some of these problems, but that they had to have something to trade with too and made reference to the duties on cars and certain cognacs that were the result of our response in the chicken war. We let it go at that.

Don Turner, the Assistant Attorney General for Anti-Trust, was there. I had a brief conversation with him going out the door, asking for some consideration for farmers in the bargaining power question. His response was the expected one -- an expression of sympathy, but deep concern that this was the wrong thing to do to provide special powers to a given economic group in our society and it would lead to all kinds of problems. This will be a tough battle.

Neither Jane nor I felt very good so we rushed home and proceeded to get packed for the weekend. I was off before 7:00 on Thursday morning, flying in to Kansas City by Jet Star to kick off the feed grain signup. Fred Heinkel and the Missouri Farmer group sponsored it for the eighth time. There was an excellent turnout from about a dozen or more States. I flew out in the Jet Star, Quent Burdick was with me and went on to Fargo. Dick Bolling and his wife went along and it gave me a chance to talk with them. I've got to spend some

time with Dick. We may very well be able to make of him a spokesman for the farmer among the city people. Fred Heinkel and the Missouri Farmers have helped him in the past. Dick is able and articulate -- I'm not sure if he carries a great deal of weight in the Congress for he's been a kind of renegade and gadfly, but I think he has considerable influence with the liberal group. I did a rather miserable job of speaking, although it seemed to be rather well received because I worked at it. I had a pretty good manuscript. I was familiar with it, but it was in a folder that Wally Lindell had and didn't reach me until I had already been introduced. I tried to respond to the introduction but had little time to get adjusted for I walked in and was speaking a moment later. The crowd hadn't been warmed up much and I tried to do that and then the most obnoxious television cameraman I can almost ever remember began moving around the podium with a bright light, shooting it in my eyes and taking pictures all over the place and then doing the same for the crowd. He attracted their attention, attracted mine, diverted me and it meant a kind of messy, rambling ribose presentation. I managed to end it in a kind of fighting stance, challenging farmers to hold their grain to prevail over the trade in the contest to see whether prices would go up or down so it ended on a pretty high note. We had a 15 to 20 minute coffee session following my speech and I had a chance to talk to lots of them and at least the farmers there were cordial.

Following the press conference I took off in the Jet Star for Fargo, arriving a hour and a half later in a cold wind storm. Governor Bill Guy met me and we went directly to the Municipal Auditorium where I spoke for about 20 minutes and answered questions then for over two hours. This was strictly a farm crowd -- the Fargo Forum annual farm event. They had an estimated 2,500 people in the Municipal Auditorium. The balconies and the downstairs were solidly packed. The crowd was quite, but not really unfriendly.

The questions were searching. Some were downright ornery. But on balance they weren't too bad. Much of the usual. There was, however, a constant repetition of the theme "When are you going to stop representing the consumer and show some interest in the farmer?" I answered that strongly, asking people to query the person stating that and ask him "What way?" I had ever favored the consumer over the farmer and then listed some of the allegations and answered them. I also commented and got a cheer that the Farm Bureau was against all farm legislation, that we had defeated them in the Congress every single year over the last seven and I proposed to do it again this time. This they cheered.

Following the long, long meeting I had a brief press conference, got a crack in at the North Dakota Congressman who voted "no" on the strategic reserve bill Kleppe, pointing out that he reminded me of the man who came home with a changed position and was congratulated by the supporters of that position on seeing the light. Whereupon he responded, he had seen no light but he had felt heat. This on television.

Then I went to a Democratic reception -- must have been 2 - 3 - 400 people there, shook hands and visited around and finally back to the airplane around 6:00 o'clock. We took off for Charleston, South Carolina. I ate on the plane, did some paper work, arrived at Charleston about 10:00 and arrived at The Forest about 10:30. The weekend was really delightful. They have a lot of shooting there. Jane and I however slept in the first morning, walked around the lake, lunched leisurely with a cocktail hour, and then visited with people who have come from all over the country. There were seven State Commissioners of Agriculture there which provided a useful chance for me to mend some fences after the meat inspection contest of the last Congressional Session. I learned something. Barney Allen apparently has been so disturbed about the action of the Department that he has been writing to these people

claiming they have been whip-lashed in such a fashion that it has reflected on me. Several of them suggested that he be relieved altogether. He has always been their great favorite and I'm sure he thinks he's protecting me but it's amazing how soon a man gets cut down when he gets emotional and deviates from the people he works with. I've got to do something about that and I hope I can do it without hurting Barney.

In the afternoon Jane and I went quail hunting on horseback. I had four or five shots but didn't hit any. I really didn't work too hard at it and I'm neither quick nor very accurate. We had a good ride though and she saw how it's done. It really is fun and interesting to see the dogs work as they locate the covey of quail.

Again a delightful cocktail hour, dinner, a short program and we were back to our cabin for a relaxed evening of reading by the fireplace. The following morning I did some duck shooting. They raise and release in the course of the year some 25,000 ducks. The shooters stand in a kind of flyway in blinds and the ducks fly over them for ponds beyond. Particularly when the wind blows it's rather sporty shooting although there were so many firing that you really couldn't tell who hit what. We did that twice on Saturday morning, once to show Jane who slept in a while, then we read and napped and had a long horseback ride late ~~Saturday~~ afternoon, and again a delightful evening. Sunday we did a little fishing in the channels they've cut but we didn't do very well getting any of the rainbow trout and ended up going back to the cabin to do a little paper work. I worked on the last chapter of my book which is about done. I'd like to end it on a little harder hitting note, but I'm not sure how far I can go so I think I'll have the last chapter typed up tomorrow and circulated to people in the Department to see if there are any ideas by way of definitive proposals for the future that

might end it on a sharper note. I have kind of mixed feelings about the book. On the one hand I'm thrilled that there will be one. As I have worked on it, read and re-read and reworked the chapters, I've come to feel that it's really pretty good. However, there really isn't much sensational about it. It is primarily a narrative of what has been done with an evaluation of the timing in doing it and what we've learned in the process and who has done what combined with a call to action so there can be a world without hunger. There's nothing in it to disturb the President nor the Administration, nor for that matter to bring them .

February 16, 1968, 5:20 p.m. in the office. Well I just returned from another swing. I left Wednesday and flew to Des Moines for the Farm Institute. It was quite a show. They had about 4,000 people in the hotel but I suspect that at least half of them were NFO people. NFO has quite an organization now. Staley can push a button and pop very enthusiastic people up all over the country. He's mellowed and moderated himself, too. He said as we gathered before the banquet began that he first spoke at this Institute in 1952 when he was starting out and that he was pretty wild and pretty young and he got the crowd all right, but they have never asked him back since. The subject was bargaining power -- that helped to get the people there. They had had a panel in the morning with Graham, Dechant, Newsom and then also with George Brandow from Pennsylvania who headed up the President's private Task Force on Bargaining Power. I thought my speech was well received. There wasn't enough raw meat in it for the NFO, but they broke in a number of times to applaud. I stayed to general statements on bargaining power and devoted about two-thirds of my speech to a very strong statement of the importance of exports and the danger of protectionism to the American farmer.

In the meantime, Fritz Mondale had introduced a bargaining power bill here with two titles -- one the Farmers Union approach of an independent board;

the other, Marketing Orders. That meant, of course, that I gave in for I had called him the day before and told him to go ahead because it was impossible to dissuade Tony Dechant. He was perfectly delighted and that's good. He commented when I told him to ride it hard now that he would and that I'd certainly taught him how to do that. That's been the first reference from him that he had any recall at all on our relationships previously over the years. This has been a bit of a disappointment to me. Fritz really used to be one of my boys. I appointed him Attorney General, then when he came to the Senate he has seemingly resented that and has been somewhat aloof. Maybe that's understandable and only human nature, but nonetheless I have felt a bit hurt about it. It'll be good if we can hold a firmer relationship now. Anyway, the whole thing is now before Congress. I made it clear in Des Moines that I would not get into specifics myself until I appeared before the Committees of Congress, both because I hadn't made up my mind yet and also because I did not want to be center stage; that farmers and farm groups ought to review the merits before I spoke, otherwise the issue would tend to become political rather than one on the program itself.

When I first arrived at Des Moines, I got a phone call from Marv Watson who said the President wanted to see me. I told him I had another day's schedule. He asked if I could return right away and I said of course I would. He then said he would send a plane for me which he did. I changed my schedule and went directly from my press conference following my speech to the airport and into a small 2-engine jet they had sent up from Omaha. We had been in the air about 30 minutes when Watson called me again. This time to report that the news of my being called in to see the President had become known and widely circulated on press and wire services and therefore it would be better that I shouldn't come in. He inquired if I could resume my schedule and I said I could and did. So we turned around and went to Rochester, Minnesota. I rented a car and drove

to the farm where I reviewed the whole question of what do we do with the farm now that Erwin Gill has passed on. Arnold and Nellie have aged fearfully. She can hardly get around. Arnold is increasingly feeble. Al can hardly move for his arthritis. Lewis is there for a while but he's not in good health either. They want to stay and yet they know they should leave. I had a long talk with Paul Rockne, I'm trying to figure out some way that I could afford to buy the farm myself and let them stay. However, I'm afraid I can't do it for it would take about \$60,000 and the interest rate would probably be 7 percent and I simply can't rent that farm for enough to make any kind of payments and still pay that interest. It's just too much interest chewing you up. So I guess I'll have to suggest selling it, unless Joyce is willing to go with me in buying it and having an insurance policy on each of us so if anything happened the farm would go to one and the insurance to the other, taking the policy costs out of the farm. I don't know whether we can swing it that way or not, but that seems to be the only possibility. I drove from Rochester to the farm and then to Minneapolis. I got in rather late and Mother and I talked until almost 1:00 o'clock.

February 19, 1968 -- 11:45 pm. Another weekend passed. This was a busy work one with just a little relaxation. I spent four hours at the desk in the office on Saturday. Then came home for a spot of lunch and then back to the desk for 3 1/2 hours. Connie was home for dinner with her friend Myra Dempsey. These girls are such a joy -- intelligent, alert, attractive. We enjoyed them. We had to rush to get ready for the evening which was the Mardi Gras Ball with yours truly designated to escort the queen. I had a devil of a time getting into my tails for the buttonholes on the jacket were too narrow to come through. We finally with the help of a finger nail file wedged them in and then off to the ball. It was fun. A colorful, gay rather wild affair. I got kind of a kick of prancing down the aisle with the lovely young queen. Not many people looked at the Secretary of Agriculture, but it was fun anyway. It was too

crowded to dance. We were at Hale Boggs' table. Mrs. Johnson joined us and she sat next to me during the course of the evening but people piled in so heavily there wasn't a chance to visit with her. On one occasion a group of young Marines, one of whom had a little bit too much to drink, came over. The one was quite pushy and finally I moved in and talked Marine talk with them and gently moved them up the way to another table. When I returned the Secret Service guy who had been wondering how to handle this one said, "Thank you, Mr. Secretary, that was very smoothly done." We got out of there about 1:00 o'clock, home and to bed -- slept in the next morning and then got up and read the newspaper until well afternoon. Then we went for a walk on a cold, clear day. Back to the desk -- 5:00 o'clock church -- then three hours more at the desk and a couple of hours going through papers before the fireplace. Not much of a relaxing Sunday.

Today was a very busy one. I was scheduled heavily with appointments, none of which was too important but all of which had to be attended to during the course of the day. The big accomplishment today was getting Fred Harris the young Senator from Oklahoma to agree to take the Chairmanship of the Town and Country for Johnson and Humphrey. Jim Rowe was in to see me and in effect they are drafting Ken Birkhead to head up the liaison work with the States where primaries will be held. The President has ruled that he doesn't want the National Committee involved in that and that's probably good reasoning for it will give the opponents ammunition. So the Citizen's Committee is taking it on and Ken is getting drafted for the assignment.

I spent a good part of the day talking with people in the Department, designating in ASCS, FHA, FCS, and REA, people to work with Ken in developing the lists and contacts to set up our State and local Committees. Harris not only indicated his willingness to serve, he expressed positive enthusiasm for serving and said he wanted to be more than just a figurehead. That's most

encouraging. I hope he does. Now we've got to get this thing moving.

The danger of problems with the Hatch Act complicates the matter but where Schedule C employees are concerned, they are not on a time clock, they can adjust their time and hours and if they do put in their required hours working in the Department, that ought to be enough. I don't need to give them a blood test. Technically we may be in violation, but not enough for danger and where C employees are concerned they are not under the Civil Service Commission but rather responsible to the Secretary of Agriculture so that gives us a little more leeway. Anyway I hope this organization booms ahead now.

I played squash tonight -- went to a reception -- again 3 hours to the desk. It's about time for bed -- two speeches tomorrow -- early in the morning Atlantic City to the National School Administrators and then a World Food Crisis speech at noon, a busytime in the office and then off for 3 days in New England.

Oddly enough, I haven't heard a word from the White House about that appointment that I was almost hurried back on last week, nor have we seen the proposed Farm Message they have been working on over there. Well, our testimony is scheduled late enough so it doesn't make too much difference and things being as hectic as they are with Vietnam and all, I think I'll just ride along and not push too hard. Enough for now.

February 27, 1968 -- 10:50 am -- We finally made it. I've just been sitting here scrawling some notes for an ABC TV Show on it. A moment ago I listened to a tape that the President and I made down at the Ranch yesterday. At 10:00 o'clock this morning I brief members of Congress in the Cabinet room at the White House. I think it's a good strong meaningful Message. I've been describing it as No. 8 and by all odds the most significant, far reaching, and substantive of any of them. I think it is. It goes for permanent extension of basic programs, stating that fundamentally they are working satisfactorily. It calls for strategic reserves. The President liked the word "food bank" and it is liberally used. We come out

in effect for bargaining power and state specifically that we will give direct testimony in detail when appropriate. There was a fight about that. The President apparently wanted to delete this specific language and back from the Ranch a day ago came some mushy language of the President recommending after the Secretary and Congress agreed on something which was of course ridiculous. There is a powerful Rural Area Development section. The words "Rural Urban Balance" are used and the new credit techniques of interest cost supplements running to sewer and water, housing, farm loans, etc. are specified. New programs for cooperatives, for small farmers to diversify their operations, wide ranging new initiatives in housing -- all in all it is a comprehensive and powerful message and much good will come from the additional resources it makes available by tapping the credit so desperately needed. For a while I didn't know whether we would make it or not. Last Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, Jane and I toured the New England States. More of that in a moment. We came in Friday night late and really bushed. The Presidential Message as revised was waiting for me. I worked it over that night, re-doing some language and met with Levinson and DeVier Pierson in the White House from 9:00 till noon on Saturday. Language revisions resulted -- that went to the Ranch. Then it started bouncing back and forth. I must have had them on the phone a dozen times as to whether the President would go for the authority to finance Food Stamp Programs where counties were too poor to do so -- whether he wanted to leave in the provisions to take away the tax deduction preference for large farmers and whether he would make a solid commitment to submit detailed recommendations on bargaining power. I won on the last one, lost on the first two, he insisted on leaving those out, and won a struggle with Charlie Swick at the Bureau of the Budget on our water and sewer intrasupplement program. Charlie argued that they had made a commitment on the Hill and to counties and municipalities when they got them to go along with a program for intrasupplements instead

of tax preference bonds for water pollution public works. I insisted that what we were doing in water and sewer would not conflict and now we've got to follow through on that.

Then as we flew down on the plane yesterday and just about approached Austin, the phone rang and it was Larry Levinson relaying the bitter complaint of Bob Weaver that the Section which directed him to delegate his authority under his new Housing Act to me for rural purposes made it look like he was jostled out of the Act and he insisted on a change or else an appeal to the President. We didn't want that, because the President doesn't like these kind of conflicts to reach him and might very well have ordered hold back the message. So the language was softened, but apparently Weaver was told quite firmly that this program would be administered in Agriculture. Such is the process painstaking between various Departments where there are different needs, desires and jurisdictional lines. Sometimes its foolish, but I've learned the hard way that the wording of a President's Message can be extremely important one eschelon down where people feel that they are bound to certain loyalties and operational restrictions where their own department is concerned and won't deviate from it.

2:50 pm - February 27. Just finished lunch with Bob Wood, Under Secretary of HUD and two of his associates (William Ross and Peter Lewis), John Baker, Schnittker and myself reviewed with them the new machinery in the big HUD bill and the Farm Message. It was I think a fruitful conference in which we made clear that the way to make these programs operate will be a clear delegation from HUD to Agriculture. We will then operate them through our county offices of FHA. This is a rather striking example of Outreach. We have people in place that are trained and able to carry forward this program. HUD does not. Therefore we will operate it in the countryside. As a practical matter the people

operating the programs will undoubtedly pragmatically work out the system so HUD may act in certain areas where they have relationships with lenders and we will do the same in others. We may set area guidelines as we have in the water and sewer program but they will yield to the necessities of the local situation. The same thing will be largely true in the planning program in the HUD Bill which will also be delegated to us for the multi-county planning purposes. It's exciting to see these programs develop in this fashion. It's physically impossible to take all programs that revolve in a certain area, such as water, and put them in one Department. There are too many overlaps and related programs. Therefore, it becomes necessary to develop the machinery to accomplish delegations and close coordination. This isn't easy. There is tremendous complaint as to its complexity and occasionally overlap and confusion, but there's no other way to do it and I think striking progress has been made along these lines in straightening it out. The increased emphasis on Governors and their participation in this is, I believe, a positive plus in this respect.

Last week's trip to the New England area was a repeat of my other "Look, Listen and Learn" tours. It was a hectic one. We got an exposure to the New England Regional Commission in Boston. They seemed to be going about the overall regional planning methodically and realistically. John Linnehan, the Federal Chairman who coordinates with the Governors who seem aggressive and knowledgeable and are preparing plans in their own States. I set up a TAP operation to correspond with those dividing lines, to wit, the region.

From Boston we flew to Bangor, Maine where the great Dow Air Force Base is closing down. This is an exciting area with prospects for outstanding community growth and development. Bangor could and should become a great growth center, almost a new town. They have in place a town of 15 to 20,000 people

quite old, based historically on lumbering. However, they have an excellent educational infrastructure with the University of Maine there and a number of technical and professional schools. They have excellent transportation, interstate highways, a river that runs to the sea and now this great air base which is adjacent to the International Airlines. They have some industry. The base has a lot of useable buildings and some 1200 units of good housing. They are planning quite methodically and recognize the need to integrate all of their programs and services into one whole. They've recently got a good spread in U.S. News and World Report. I was encouraged by what they were doing as I was by the report of the EDA District Development Organization which is the product of EDA guidance but of five counties coming together. Their presentation was made by local county commissioners and they, having just finished their overall economic development plan, seemed very knowledgeable again on the move. While there we had a session with the potato people who are giving us a great deal of difficulty this time. Maine is Boom and Bust in potatoes. They are ruggedly independent. They want all kinds of help in bad years and want to get rich in good. I more or less lectured them that they must bring up their quality for much marketing is below their own state's standards with dirty potatoes. I then urged them to diversify and balance their farm economy for there are about 30,000 acres that could potentially produce sugar for almost a guaranteed price. We helped finance a sugar plant up there which is now functioning at less than one-third capacity. The Governor, a delightful young fellow, by the name of Ken Curtis reported that this recommendation was well received. They asked for help in disposing of the heavy over-production currently gravely depressing prices and informed me about the possibility of major P.L. 480 shipments. That's in the mill now. When it's conceivable we could bail them out. From Bangor we made a poverty section tour in some of the worst poverty areas I've seen anywhere in the country. The focus was some self-help

housing that had been developed through FHA and Extension with a local self improvement association. The people were much more widely spread than the self-help housing that I've seen in other places, but they were building pretty good four-bedroom house on a \$6,500 mortgage with an end value of about \$15,000. However, the housekeeping, particularly in one house, was simply atrocious and I was reminded again of the vital necessity that we extend our homemaking programs in Extension down to these real sub-poor people.

From Maine then we flew to Vermont where Governor Hoff met us, reviewed the ski developments, particularly at Sugar Bush on the National Forest, a large operation. The weather was bitterly cold but nonetheless I skied a little and succeeded in twisting and hurting a knee. We had a delightful dinner there and spent the night in renovated New England Inns that were really most enjoyable. The next day I met with the three Governors -- King, Curtis, and Hoff, at the College of Vermont in Montpelier. Again I was struck with the broad risks being made and the changes around the country. The night before we had had a TAP meeting involving Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine, Vermont added in, during my visit there. I could summarize this by saying that Massachusetts was frantic, pushing the panic button because the outflow of industry and people from Metropolitan to countryside was overwhelming them and they were begging for help to plan and to handle it. New Hampshire seemed on top of the situation with major movement, but enough lead time to schedule it. Vermont was busy planning and a regional planned concept seemed well accepted. Recreation, particularly skiing, has dominated the picture there and has substantially changed the State so there is relatively little farming left. Their problem now is without farming they are getting too much cover and not enough open spaces. Maine is still a rural state with a good deal of poverty in the countryside and movement from country to city instead of vice versa. It would make an interesting study to take a look at developments and trends

there rather intensively and to begin to shape the large picture in terms of the total area. I'm going to try and write Chairman Linnehan of the Regional Commission about it.

We returned to Washington, as I noted earlier, late and tired and I plunged into the Presidential Message process now pretty well completed, with the Message on the Hill and the Committees fairly well scheduled. Tomorrow I go up for the Appropriation Hearing and I must move into that preparation very promptly here.

Sunday, I drove to New Brunswick and spent a couple of hours with Mike including the Father and Son Banquet at his Fraternity. He is getting along fine. Excited about his first political campaign, running for the Presidency of his Class.

I got in some 7 hours of paper work in the back of the car, but ended up with such a stiff neck that I was miserable all day yesterday. That, plus a full day Saturday here in the office where I worked on testimony for tomorrow, the Presidential Message, and then at the last moment on Saturday a call about an REA speech from the Ranch which we met about at 8:00 o'clock on Sunday morning made it a very busy weekend. It was almost 3:00 o'clock when I rolled in this morning. I felt much better today than I have any right to feel, but Jane warned me on the way out "home and to bed tonight" that I'm showing some of the signs that usually predict that stomach will start giving me trouble.

Otherwise, things are pretty much par for the course. The President and Mrs. Johnson were most cordial at the Ranch yesterday and from general comments from the staff, it would appear that our standing there is firm and good. The President looked good. He's lost some weight. He did lash out as we drove around the ranch enjoying the sunset and watching the deer scamper hither and yon at the accusations currently made. He said of Galbraith by name, that

progress and liberalism ended with the Kennedy Administration. He was highly indignant about this and stated strongly that this simply was not true and spelled out why in terms of progress made. When he put us on the plane, he asked me to get the figures of progress in the various fields like education, welfare, etc., from Marv Watson and use them in speeches. This, he said, and it was the closest to a really humble kind of "people ought to be fair to me" statement that I ever heard from him, "that considering the burden of Vietnam we really had done an awful lot". And, of course, he is absolutely right. The Vietnam thing is swirling wildly now. The Communist offensive of the TET period which so brutally attacked and sacked cities has had a real repercussion. The reports from Vietnam are that the pacification program has been irreparably set back. Actually no one seems to know. Cooler heads indicate that no one can make a real evaluation. Many of the most informed document the fact that Hanoi may well have suffered a severe setback for there was no uprising to support them. They did not hold the cities. They did extend a lot of people and a lot of their underground. On the other hand, they did destroy an enormous amount of infrastructure and shake up the cities that hitherto had felt reasonably secure. Reports from our people out there are that one is missing and that many were involved in fire fights with the Viet Cong as they hold up with others in homes that could be defended throughout the country. I'm mulling over in my own mind now whether I should keep my tentative date to go to Vietnam the 8th of March to review what's taking place in agriculture and food. I'm not sure. The President indicated when I talked to him that perhaps I could tie it on to our Japanese Trade Promotion Trip. He seems to be holding on that one which involves Governors and their wives despite the criticism directed at us by Sen. Williams in a speech in Congress last week, and also by the Chicago Tribune that had a front page cartoon this morning. I'm going to call a press conference on this

fairly soon now and announce it with supporting data so the information will be out before the criticism mounts further. Bob Komer is reported to be coming back tomorrow and I'll reserve judgment on my going to Vietnam in March until I talk with him. Nonetheless, Vietnam does hang over everything like a big dark cloud. It popped up in my visit with Mike when he asked me to talk with one of the activists on the Campus whom he rather admired about the change in the draft status and the general picture. This I did for half an hour, pointing out to him the equity of the draft changes, outlining the progress we have made for he expressed complete disillusion with Washington and also discussed Vietnam. He listened and seemed reasonably receptive.

However, the intellectuals in the East have, it seems, pretty well poisoned the well where the President is concerned. Things that would be considered humorous and down-to-earth from Kennedy are wildly ridiculed when they're from Johnson. It's somewhat reminiscent of the Truman days. This I know hurts the President deeply. He's a sensitive man, but he continues resolutely and doesn't change.

February 28, 1968 -- 9:00 pm at the desk at home. Another busy day. I opened my formal testimony today with an appearance before the Senate Appropriations Committee. Actually it was quite mild. Holland had his usual holy cows, mainly replenishment of the Commodity Credit Corporation, fire ants, this time he didn't launch into his usual Section 32 tirade. Only Young and Aiken were there on the Republican side. Yarborough wandered in and out but didn't say much. Young pressed me a bit on my prepared testimony showing progress. Aiken made a few stabs at dairy, both of them were quite mild. I was out by 12:00. The testimony was really very good, if I say so myself. It was long and I read it, but Holland was impressed with it which makes it worth doing. Actually it was an excellent statement and set down our progress on all fronts and was

optimistic looking down the road. I raced from there to a Cabinet Meeting. The President was late. He had been apparently running behind because of a meeting with Wheeler who just came back from Vietnam.

The Cabinet Meeting was cut to half an hour. Wheeler gave us a bit of a briefing, but nothing I hadn't seen in the paper. It was clear that he wasn't too optimistic. He stated we had the initiative in certain places - the Viet Cong in others, and the situation was uncertain. He acknowledged that the pacification program had been set back - that the North Vietnamese had considerable uncommitted forces, and they were clearly nervous about it. Speaking of Wheeler before the Cabinet Meeting, he reiterated that the TET attacks had not accomplished their objective which captured documents had indicated clearly was to stimulate an uprising and to totally demoralize the Vietnam forces. This they hadn't done, and that they had fought bravely in most places. He claimed that our intelligence had appraised us that something strong was coming, but implicitly acknowledged the surprise that it came at TET, especially when the North Vietnamese had agreed to the usual pause at that time. He emphasized that they had planned this for at least 6 months and therefore had been most deceptive. The President spoke strongly to the effect that all our efforts to bring about negotiations had gotten the response of this major assault. We have some communication with our people in Vietnam and it appears that they were literally engaged in the active fighting. In one report the agriculturalists stated they had killed half a dozen Viet Cong in their premises. So the picture is fuzzy. Bob Komer is back. I'm trying to reach him to get a reading as to whether I should go out in March or not. The President was a bit ambivalent about it when I asked him in Texas. He more or less suggested that I add this on to the Tokyo trip, but did say that perhaps I should go because they did have food problems. Apparently Komer

is here mostly on leave and is protected from much of a schedule, allegedly his wife is ill. I hope she's not too emotionally distraught. I tried to reach him today unsuccessfully. I should make a decision on this fairly soon.

From Cabinet we went over to the East Room and a very touching ceremony took place where the President presented the highest Civilian Award to Bob McNamara. He did it very effectively, bringing into it the new Secretary of Defense but praising Bob in the most effective and glowing terms. It was handled with great dignity. When Bob McNamara was called on he came to the mike, kinda leaned over it, cleared his throat several times and finally said he couldn't say what was in his heart, he'd better save it for another occasion. It was quite sincere and quite effective. The McNamara's then stood in a receiving line with Lady Bird and the President. We went through, and back to the office where Jane and I had a 10 minute lunch. She went on to meet with Department people on planning for the Tokyo trip and I met with three of the Governors -- Hearn from Missouri, Guy from North Dakota and Hughes from Iowa. They were quite complimentary both Hughes and Guy stated that my recent trips there had had a positive effect. Harold Hughes who has often been most negative about my appearance, said that agriculture in Iowa was in the best shape he could remember politically and that the Secretary of Agriculture was a political asset. I said somewhat ironically, "Well, that's a change in any event." and he laughed and agreed. I ground away at paper work for the rest of the day, including a memorandum to the President who had been jumping up and down because Ellender had made a statement that unfortunately got considerable press play that he was not for permanent extension of the commodity programs and didn't think we could pass them in this session in any event. This must have disturbed the President a great deal. He fussed at Pierson and also at Califano. Told them he wouldn't have sent it up if he had known Ellender would comment in that

March 12, 1968 -- 11:45 pm at home -- Well I didn't go to Vietnam.

Up through Saturday I thought it was quite likely that I would. Finally on Monday a cable came in saying that security conditions were such that it was probably better that I come 60 days from now. That's that. The result has been a fairly loose schedule for the last two days which I have rather enjoyed. I finally got the work done on my income tax and Ray Pugh will complete it. The sale of some stock and repurchase of others, stock I acquire 15 years ago practicing law, will run up my taxes pretty high this year. However, it means that I will at least be on a more current basis. Those very small purchases have mounted up some and it gives a little feeling of security to have a few assets tucked away.

Last night Jane and I went out to dinner and then home and to bed. No work -- for the first time in a long time I managed to get it done during the day. I've been at the desk some tonight but I'm pretty well caught up although I've got a lot of big projects ahead.

Had an interesting Conference in the White House today which might make a subject for a lecture or an article some time on the question of Separation of Powers. Some time back Congress passed a law declaring that Small Watershed P.L. 566 Projects should go forward only after being cleared by the Committee on Agriculture. A number of Administrations permitted this and then about a year ago President Johnson cracked down. A separation of powers question was involved. Everyone agrees that if Congress passes a law saying the Executive may do such and such, but only after they come into agreement with a particular Committee's do it a certain way, that is an unconstitutional/^{invasion} of the Executive. The instant case, however, is a marginal one with Congress arguing that in effect all they do is delegate the power of the entire Congress to a Committee when they follow the procedure requiring a committee to in effect pass authorizing legislation prior to the appropriating process. The counter argument is

first that it is very bad public policy for the main body of Congress to make such a delegation to a Committee -- far too great power than will lodge in a Committee Chairman. This becomes particularly true if appropriating is done prior to this kind of authorizing. However, it's difficult to see how this is unconstitutional for in effect it is Congress doing its own business and if an appropriation is made and there is no point of order made because it has not come before the authorizing committee, the Executive Branch can go ahead. Anyway the matter is stuck now with a pile up of P.L. 566 and a dangerous political situation with resentful people around the country criticizing the Administration for being hang-dog on this. Yet it's clear that if appropriating is done prior to authorizing which has been delegated to a particular Committee which does not then have to go back to Congress as a whole, a very bad system indeed will develop. Congress has its back up on this, and we're trying to figure out some way out. The Attorney General and the Bureau are determined that we should not back down. For my part I think it all is a little silly at this point for the system has been working satisfactorily for a long time and in any event the appropriation committees always get into details and further they get into them all year along, and that's something we have to live with. I propose that we recommend to the President that he try and get the Congress agree not to make any such delegations to Committees in the future or to postpone the collision by taking the some 40 projects which have been authorized by the Committee, we haven't sent any forward now for quite a while, and once an appropriation is made to proceed to implement them, postponing the question of the basic issue. Justice and Budget consider that a serious back-down. So long as Congress refuses to require that the authorization from the Committee go back to the whole Congress and so long as Congress is determined that they will not change the law delegating to the Committee and so long as the Executive says that under these circumstances

we will not send forward any more Watersheds, there is an impasse. Anyway we spent two hours today wrangling about that over at the White House and came up with no solution.

March 13, 1968 -- 2:15 p.m. in the office. I just returned from a Cabinet meeting. It was the bluest, most discouraging one I can remember in all the time I've been here. I came in a little late. I had been having a treatment on my neck and expected the President to be late as usual, but they were already under way. General Wheeler was describing the overall situation in South Vietnam. Following Wheeler, the President called on the new Secretary of Defense and he made a rather somber report outlining the review and depth of the whole problem. There was certainly no positiveness in terms of assurance about our present position. The most serious comment was that the South Vietnamese have not rallied to the extent that we had hoped and that there was still conflict between Ky and Thieu and that instead of joining in a common front against the enemy, the Government has been imprisoning some of their previous critics. The need to get out in the country and regain the initiative was mentioned without any positive statements of progress along that line. It was certainly no "gung ho" report, but rather a somber sketching of what some of the alternatives may be and a rather general evaluation of events since the TET offensive and where they left us. In the overall it was highly negative. Bob Weaver leaned over to me and said "That's pretty dreary." The President then almost as an after thought complimented Dean Rusk on the fine appearance he had made the last two long and difficult days that he spent before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He commented that it wasn't unusual to have most of them against the President, that with the exception of the period during and immediately following World War II it had always been that way, and then asked Dean for comments. Dean's comments were strong and affirmative, although a little subdued. He merely pointed out that the Communist world was in disarray, it was a shame that the free world was in such disarray, too, and he fingered De Gaulle as a very responsible party for that.

He declared that if we did not live up to our commitments and carry forward this struggle in South Vietnam which we were strong enough to do, that he feared very much that the disillusionment would be great and there would be a retreat into isolationism in this country and that wouldn't be only South Vietnam, it would be in Europe and around the world as well. The President then asked if any of us wanted to say anything and actually went all around the table, as he put it "If things go well, why you share in the credit, but when they go badly in the Administration you share in the blame, too, and I want to hear from you about it." Not a person in the Cabinet had a word to say. I almost spoke out to stand behind Dean Rusk's statement, adding that there were favorable factors and that we needed to keep our cool and stay put and not be discouraged but I guess I was too timid to do it. The re-evaluation is under way. I'm not a part of the process and so it's pretty hard to give a vague evaluation from the sidelines.

The meeting then moved on with a presentation on the whole employment effort being made by the private sector of industry. Beebe, the Vice President of Ford, is the Chairman of this effort. They seem to be moving along very aggressively, will have a big meeting this Saturday in Washington, and have a target of 100,000 jobs of the hard corps unemployed within the year. They are going about it very systematically, having a job man and a Government in every big metropolitan area signing up all the industries, getting commitments from them as to the jobs they will provide and then of course the Government helps meet the extraordinary expenses. It appeared to be a program well under way and certainly an important one.

The President then talked with us a bit about problems with the Congress. He pointed out that Martin had returned from Europe and he had spent much of the last evening with him and that Martin had said that our balance of payment situation was such that we must take some very strong actions to include budget

cuts, tax increase, release the cover on gold, and raise the discount rate. The President went on to talk about the fact that Congress had made it clear that they would be cutting our budget substantially and that we better start thinking about where we would want those cuts to be made instead of having a percentage shoved at us by the Congress. He talked in terms of a \$5 to \$10 billion dollar cut on the current budget and that we better be prepared for it. He urged also that we aggressively follow our programs on the Hill. This would be a very difficult legislative year. He then called on Ramsey Clark to make a report which was the most optimistic of the morning. Ramsey stated that the police and army were well prepared to handle riots and disturbances but cautioned that one ought not to talk about it. He related, too, that he thought police attitudes were substantially improved and that the Riot Commission Report had a great deal to do with that. However, he warned that the likelihood is since Romney made his demands of last summer that when disturbances come, even though Federal help is not really needed, it will be politically desirable in many cases to call for Federal help and that will present us with some very real problems. He stated that they had good intelligence and knew as much as the planners but that there really weren't very specific plans yet so far as the proposed March on Washington is concerned. As a matter of fact he said that he didn't know that it would even come off, particularly if the Civil Rights Housing Act passed. The President then made a plea to us that if we have any money in the bank with Republican Members of the House, we should try and get them to vote right on the Civil Rights Bill which could be so important in prevent further disturbances around the country this year. He related that we had 49 fewer of the votes that passed the Civil Rights Act in 1966 and therefore we simply had to get some Republicans. He then said with a wry grin, "Two weeks ago everybody thought that the Civil Rights Housing Bill was dead in the Senate, now it's passed. I hope I never have to tell you here how it was done." At this point he asked other

people to excuse themselves for an Executive Session by the Cabinet and called on Humphrey to explain Minnesota and Larry O'Brien, New Hampshire. Humphrey was brief. He merely said that the anti-Vietnam people had turned out en masse, the colleges, also the women and the ministers, that there is a committee of fanatics about 100 strong in Minnesota and that the colleges and the professors were actually recruiting for the caucuses out there, but that the balance of the State was all right, that the Central Committee was and a majority of the delegates would be all right when the Convention rolls around. I hope Humphrey knows what he's talking about and the kind of systematic follow through is being done on this that is necessary. He still has never talked to me about it and until he does I guess I'll just stand aside lest we do more harm than good out there. Larry O'Brien shrugged his shoulders about New Hampshire. He related that the people in charge had done a good job and he didn't want a Monday morning quarterback -- obviously he was critical about the events of the last week. He related that the President was not a candidate, did not allow his name to be entered, but did permit the write in. At the time the decision was made, McCarthy was hardly known in New Hampshire and the entire New Hampshire Democratic Organization was in favor of the write in effort. Generally speaking, Larry said, a good job was done but it was clear that the emotional connotation of the war was underestimated and also the effectiveness of the young people. And as he said these thousands of young people in the colleges are a force now that we are going to have to contend with politically, that the old loyalties of the Democratic Party that were racial in nature ran back to the programs and the assistance of the depression, the new deal days, these are a thing of the past and a new kind of attraction is going to have to be developed in these instances. He also related that the decision to attack McCarthy in the last week may well have been a sound decision but he hinted that once having done so they shouldn't have backed off and almost apologized in the last 48 hours. What happened was some very strong

ads and statements were made that a vote for McCarthy was a vote for Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh. McCarthy screamed "McCarthyism" and a number of soft-headed Democrats half-way apologized and disassociated themselves with such a statement. Obviously it was the wrong thing to do and the statement was true. It need not constitute an attack on McCarthy's patriotism if done right, but could point out that he felt it important enough to get out of Vietnam to take the chance on encouraging Hanoi and that was exactly what he was doing and there are no ifs, ands, or buts about it; but they did not do that. There was some discussion about the Wisconsin Primary to come and the fact that might be even worse because there wasn't even a unified party there and historically the Wisconsin Democrats are not

March 16, 1968 -- 4:00 pm -- Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. Just arrived at the Gene Rerat summer home here in Florida. I wanted to see the Rerats ever since their terrible automobile accident several years ago and when the Vietnam trip was canceled out and I had a week end and Jane wanted to go up to Long Island for a shower for Connie, I decided to come down and see Gene and Vi and just enjoy a little time with old friends and a little discussion of home events as well. I've been wanting for a long time to inspect the plant and animal facilities at the International Airport at Miami, so I flew in there this morning and went through the operation including the new, very extensive and seemingly excellent animal quarantine facilities. When I got off the plane there was a barrage of television cameras and reporters. They were, of course, asking me about the Bobby Kennedy announcement and the political situation. Bobby has apparently announced today. He announced last week that he was reconsidering his "no" position and that of course completely took the play away from Gene McCarthy's alleged victory in New Hampshire. Leaks followed, intentionally or not I don't know, and at this time he probably has announced this morning in a press

conference in Washington which incidentally rated NBC live television. That's the product of long cultivation by the Kennedys with the powers that be in the media world. They do this to a perfection. My comment on TV and radio was to say that this Administration had the greatest record in the history of the country and that record merited support and I was disappointed that McCarthy and Kennedy were running, but of course it was their privilege and in the long run I thought it would prove an assist to a Democratic victory in November because it would call attention to and dramatize the excellent record.

While I was going through the animal quarantine facilities, a telephone call urgent from Jim Thornton came in. I thought it would be the President calling. I've been worried about him -- thinking about him. We've got a dairy price support announcement coming up and I'm scheduled to make a half a dozen appearances in Wisconsin next week kicking off the primary struggle there. But it wasn't. Ironically, Bobby Kennedy had been trying to reach me. They had given him the phone number here and Jim was alerting me. The call hasn't come in and I really hope it doesn't. I'd just as soon not talk with him. If it does I'll have to tell him that I'm disappointed and that I will be strongly on the other side.

Anyway the fat is apparently in the fire and what it means is anybody's guess. I've thought a lot about it the last few days. This is a dangerous situation with Bobby in now. Gene McCarthy got a good vote in New Hampshire, but it was an emotional anti-Vietnam vote and some mistakes were made in the campaign there so it doesn't have overwhelming significance for he has no real organizational support. No one knows how much Bobby has but the reports from around the country from places like California and even Governor Hughes of New Jersey who said he was for Johnson but that this would mean problems. Because Bobby has organizational support, these things mean trouble. It's very depressing. The reaction to Bobby's coming in is questionable. The strong

McCarthy supporters and young people are quite vocal and his image of a man of principle and courage is tarnished a bit, but I doubt if that will last too long. He and McCarthy of course have no time for each other and whether they'll get together or not remains to be seen. They might end up cutting each other up, splitting primary votes and that would make the President look better. The Wisconsin one now will be important and the campaign planners apparently are not sure exactly how to play it. It's been off and on again where I'm concerned next week. I'm scheduled to speak at the Chicago Executive Club on Wednesday, then into Minneapolis to the Farmers Union on Wednesday night. First they wanted me in Wisconsin on Thursday, then they said no, now they say yes. Ken Birkhead is out there, wants Jim Thornton to come out. Apparently they're going to string together a half a dozen appearances for me in Wisconsin, have some other Cabinet officials come in, and maybe the Vice President. This would make me the kick-off person in Wisconsin. I'm perfectly prepared to do this and to try and draw the issue particularly on the Vietnam matter where neither McCarthy nor Kennedy has come out with anything definitive but merely the fuzzy thought that we had to negotiate an honorable peace and that's about as far as it goes. Neither of them recommend pulling up stakes and leaving Vietnam, although I think most people don't realize that. They just contend they could do it better. It's going to be hard in the primaries to keep them on a plane that will avoid personal bitterness and recriminations. This is worrisome.

As I said to some of my staff yesterday, it is ironic 8 years ago I campaigned in Wisconsin against another Kennedy, actually of course for Hubert Humphrey. Now I go in for Johnson, again against a Kennedy. Eight years ago that would have seemed absolutely impossible. Time does strange things. But I do feel that the President's record is extraordinary. His leadership is strong and determined for the right things. He has some idiosyncrasies that are sometimes

difficult to live with, but I've come to feel real affection for him and admiration and in any event that record calls for support. I was more than pleased to see in the morning paper that Bob Nathan has come out for Johnson in the District of Columbia. I saw George Weaver, the Negro Assistant Secretary of Labor, the other day and he said that McCarthy was having a very difficult time getting any Negro delegates on his slate in all of the District. It's hard to tell what will happen but what worries me more than anything else is the seeming lack of a firm hand at the throttle. I've got to talk to Ken about this. He's over there now. He mentioned to me casually in a hurry that the President was jumping up and down, calling once and canceling calls, and all the rest that we find when he is on a topic. But the trouble is there is no real political General. So far the National Committee is to be isolated from the primaries. That may change now. I have not seen or been consulted with in terms of an analysis of the overall National situation and where we fit in and what we can do. They must have counted the votes and have a good idea what organization leaders they can depend on, and what they can deliver. After all the primary votes only total up to about 400 out of 2,000 so that's a long way to go. In the mean time as a matter of strategy personal bitterness ought to be minimize so that people will not be chased out of the Party and the very contest can give us a chance to recount on the issues and the accomplishments. Also what happens in Vietnam will have an enormous impact. Yesterday an offensive was launched, allegedly the greatest of the war, to clear up Saigon area and maybe we can regain the initiative. I must say though that the newspaper reports are rather uniformly discouraging as to the resilience, response and bounce back of the South Vietnam forces. This is discouraging. In the meantime we've got a balance of payments crisis, international monetary crisis on our hands and Joe Fowler is meeting in Washington today with representatives of the major nations in the world to figure out what to do about the run on gold.

Of course good could come of this. There's a hint that Wilbur Mills might let our tax bill through the Congress, and undoubtedly clap on a terrific cut in spending and I'm not sure what we'll be able to do about that. The President is trying to avoid it. Again an evidence of his courage and determination. He's probably gone a little too far on our spending programs and that's one of the reasons why we're in trouble now. Yet ironically enough the liberals holler more, more, more. This came to focus in a sense last night when Jane and I went to a little affair, a movie premiere that Jack Valenti was putting on. Max Frankel from the New York Times was sitting in front of me. I mentioned to him that I appreciated his article about the Riot Commission Report which pointed out that the President had recommended expenditures for the various things they recommended far in excess of what Congress had allowed already. He was pleased, but then related that he thought the President had played this issue badly because he had rather ignored the Report and not received it personally and had indicated his displeasure while he had given token appreciation to the Commission members. Thus he is in a kind of anti position. On the other hand, as I pointed out to him with the big boxcar budget figures already that he can't get out of Congress, with the label of big spender, with the problems of getting a tax bill through, if he associated himself very closely with recommendations that call for billions in expenditures, he's got another set of political problems and so he's trying to play it cool. Frankel more or less concurred in that, but the whole situation is a good illustration of the kind of problems that the President faces. One thing that I've been proud of is the fact that his public appearances since the Kennedy announcement and the international crisis, intensification of monetary matters, has been excellent. He has exhibited publicly no signs of strain or concern, instead he has joked about it, both at a reception for Sandy Trowbridge where he made a brief

appearance and some very clever remarks about being delayed by seeing Fulbright who just wanted to ask him a question, and then Fulbright went home with tonsillitis, and here he was. And other comparable remarks about everybody running for President. The same thing as he has entertained the President of African Somalia here. So he seems to keep his dander up. I was a bit worried about him at the Cabinet meeting earlier in the week. I think I'll try to call him a little bit later this afternoon and just tell him that we're more determined than ever to carry the day and just tell him we're proud of the way he's keeping up his spirit and determination, and then relate that I would hope if he has a minute to consider this dairy announcement which would help us when we go into Wisconsin.

In the meantime, I'm trying to gear up every way I can in the Department. I finished testimony on P.L. 480 Friday before Ellender and it was relatively uneventful. Friday's Congressional Record had two attacks on farm programs. A typical vicious Mundt attack and then one from Abe Ribicoff introducing the Farm Bureau bill and advocating abolition of our grain programs. The Eve and Charlie show concentrated on me, too. I counterattacked by getting press and radio following my testimony which pointed out that for 60 years every time we have a Democratic Administration farm income has gone up and with a Republican Administration, down. However, that's political talk and doesn't get too much attention. However, they didn't get much either. We're now trying to get prepared to make a very solid, careful, factual presentation at the Chicago Business Executive Club to set a foundation for the argument about farm programs, and then I plan to try and scare the pants off the Farmers Union about the attack on farm programs evident with the events of last week and which we've seen shaping up. Then we have called and tried to alert and work with the Farm Organizations who will open testimony on the commodity programs in the House on Monday. I'll have to check out the Members of that Committee and hope that

they will be alert and vigorous to try and make points for our programs.

While this testimony goes forward so much depends on them. I'm worried about it because Bob Poage is engaging in a loving contest with the Republicans members, recognizing that he can't otherwise get anything out of Committee but that's dangerous and worrisome as we try to draw the issue clearly.

In the meantime I'm, of course, trying to promote some letters to shake up Mundt a bit. He's a nasty, clever, diabolical devil. He concentrates on the low parity price index situation which, of course, is tailor made for criticism and ignores the net income figures.

Hruska, however, was so anxious to point out that 1967 was worse than 1966 that he did lead him into some consideration of net income figures which may well open the door to focusing attention on that.

I'm trying to get the farm organizations now to have some sense and to themselves avoid, if not actually rejecting parity prices. If they can get on income rather than parity price, we can tell a solid story, but if they keep yowling and howling and criticising and feeling sorry for themselves, each one trying to outshout and outply the other in the competition for membership, why we don't have any effective spokesmen. It's just plain, the psychology to always feel sorry for farmers and never to suggest that some are doing well. Every time you try and do otherwise you get cracked on the grounds you are saying you never had it so good and then with a host of complaints and statements about how many poor people are going out of farming; there's just enough truth in all this that it's awfully hard to meet.

As of now, about the only really sound technique I've been able to work out is to cry with them about the 1967 turndown, take the blame for it myself because I increased acreage and try to explain why without making it sound like I'm making excuses and then to point out how fine we did in 1966 and how 1967 turndown demonstrates how necessary our farm programs are.

That's going to take a lot of doing, but my question and answer sessions seem to score on that. I've had three very successful ones the past few weeks. The one at Fargo, the one at Minneapolis for the Minnesota Farmers Union, again at Minneapolis for the Farmers Union Central Exchange, and then

one with the wheat growers in Kansas and another with the Federation of Cooperatives in North Carolina.

I hope to get the questions from the Business Executives Club too and if nothing else, this demonstrates that I am prepared to stand up and that makes a good impression and helps to open doors.

March 18, 1968 - 12:00 midnight at home

It's about time to turn in. I've spent a long evening here at the desk. Several hours moving today's paper, several hours pondering and reading the transcripts of the Humphrey, McCarthy and Kennedy appearances on television yesterday.

I missed them in Florida with the Rerats, but it was better to read the transcripts as I prepare myself to go into Wisconsin Thursday with six scheduled meetings.

I came home tonight feeling rather depressed. I guess in part I'm tired and then I haven't quite gotten my teeth into the new dimension of the primary campaign to come. It's hard to figure out how to grapple with the emotional issue of Vietnam effectively. McCarthy has approached it with some detachment, as a kind of moral issue. Kennedy, however, after his announcement has moved in with flaming passion calling for peace now, negotiate with the National Liberation Front, and generally a lot of emotional phrases. Then he's in a name calling contest already with the President about an alleged misuse of conversations mostly running to Clark Clifford to the effect that if a Commission to review policies in Vietnam were established, he, Kennedy, would not be a candidate. This apparently kicked around for a few days, and then the President rejected it out of hand. He then attacked the President charging credibility gap and getting very personal about it.

It's hard to tell what the impact of this will be. It's hard to talk about the Vietnam thing, not in terms of its necessity or the efforts made

to negotiate by the President, but rather in terms of really being effective in meeting what is clear in so many quarters a real revulsion and questioning of the whole business. Actually the war movie, Jane and I saw last Friday, remains with me. It brings back some memories.

However, setting down some notes, reviewing what has been said and beginning to mobilize some information puts a better face on it, and I'm beginning to look forward to the struggle.

My presentation will, I think, be a very simple and brief one. That I have worked for social progress all my life -- that I did, too, as the Governor of my State -- that I have done so as the Secretary of Agriculture and that there has been more social progress under President Johnson than under any other comparable period of our history. That this record merits the support of everyone in our Party, and I regret that two of my good friends with whom I've served in many steads have seen fit to seek the Presidency. But I feel the record clearly merits the support of the Democratic Party.

I plan to use some charts to substantiate progress in a number of areas, and then to launch into the Vietnam War. I really haven't quite decided yet whether I should try and make a complete rationale of the war and why we're in and why it's important, or merely say that all Presidential candidates agree in that none suggest we pull out unilaterally. All ask for an honorable peace. It comes down then to how do you best accomplish it, and that's a matter of degree in connection with stopping the bombing and the enclave theory, both of which I think are wrong, and the President's position eminently reasonable, so the differences are really very small.

Actually, I guess I should put both of these together and state that our position there is supported by all concerned and the only question is how do

we accomplish our objectives and on that the President's position is the more sound thereby not upstaging the opposition nor opening the door wide for any emotional response from the wild eyed anti-Vietnamers.

Friday, March 22, 1968 - 1:30 a.m. - Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The last few days have been about as hectic as I can remember. I returned from Florida and a reasonably relaxing weekend with the Rerats to get launched on a malestrom on Monday. Jim Thornton had gone into Milwaukee and the Wisconsin Presidential Primary was in a shambles. Ken Birkhead was there. They were trying to put together a campaign. McCarthy was running strong; Bobby Kennedy had announced and there was a need for action and some kind of affirmative movement on the side of the Administration. Nothing would go except that I should go into Wisconsin and being booked to go to Chicago on Wednesday, into Minneapolis that night, Thursday was an obvious day and they were champing at the bit for me to go into Wisconsin.

This I was willing to do, but I was torn as to how and what. What are the issues and how do I approach them. So most of Monday I was in a tizzy trying to prepare material and figure out what to do. I had in Dorothy, back in the act when you get down to basic policy, particularly on international affairs, John Obert, Jim Thornton wasn't back yet, Horace Godfrey and Ed Jaenke and others to try and think my way through the maze.

It was clear that I should make a hard and effective speech for the Chicago Executive Club on Wednesday noon, but the early drafts of that speech simply didn't measure up. Wally Lindell has been pretty well in tune always, but this time we didn't quite have it. So that presented me a frustrating problem, and I sent it back Monday afternoon for more work with some notes on it.

I was not able to make up my own mind what I should do. The speech prepared by John Obert was far away from the mark and conversations were kinda general and it seemed impossible to really jell something. In the meantime I was fussing and my stomach was churning and so Monday was simply a frustrating, unproductive day.

I tried to play squash with Jim Reynolds. My shoulder was hurting me because I was nervous and that problem hasn't gone away yet and so it was a most unsatisfactory squash game.

Home for dinner with Jane and Connie who were both excited -- reported to me on their weekend trip and the shower held by Mrs. Walker, Connie's mother-in-law to be. Reasonably successful but awfully hard work for the two of them. Long discussions about clothes and the rest. I brought back two dresses from the Rerat dress shop in Florida. Jane's didn't fit which disappointed me because I liked it much, but happily Connie's did, which made it special for her because usually Jane steps into a dress and walks off and that fits, and Connie has such a terrible time. So on balance this was a plus.

But I didn't get to my desk until 10:00 or so, and I struggled away until after 1:00 in the morning, went through the transcripts of Kennedy, McCarthy, and Humphrey appearances on television over the weekend. No closer to a solution.

Monday was pretty much the same story. Almost complete frustration with a number of requirements during the day. We had Charlie Sonneborn from Hud at staff in the morning and he did a lousy job. I had to make an appearance before the wheat growers who were in and I did poorly pounding

them too hard about the need for legislative support. I was supposed to go over to a Water Resources Council meeting with a very ticklish question about the interest rate which should be charged in the cause-benefit ration on water projects. I managed to duck that by calling Udall and having the question postponed.

I spent almost three hours working with Wally Lindell on the speech for the Chicago Executive Club. In the meantime, fussing and conjuring as to what I should say in Wisconsin -- working with John Obert and with Dorothy, with Dorothy called to the Hill for testimony for a good deal of the time.

It was a kinda nightmare day, but as things went forward, things began to clarify a bit. I finally decided to make a very personal and kinda subjective approach in my statement tieing 1968 back to 1960 and Wisconsin primaries and why we go in there in terms of social welfare and progressive causes, outlining how the record showed Johnson had supported those causes and had earned our support.

John Obert and I fussed with it, but it finally ended up a pretty good statement.

In the meantime I had asked Dorothy for a statement which really was fairly good but long and academic, a bit pedantic as she tends to do, and so I fired that one back and said to get it down to two pages. It came back five double spaced, but in retrospect a pretty sharp statement.

In the meantime, one of the great questions had been whether I should go into the University of Wisconsin or not. The people calling us from Wisconsin were eager that I should. I had some reservations because I was worried that I would be booed, perhaps prevented from speaking, and

that there would be, as a result, a picture painted by press and television media that the trend for McCarthy was so strong and so emotional they wouldn't even let a Johnson spokesman, even a Cabinet officer, speak.

Most of the people in the Department of Agriculture agreed with me that it didn't make sense to move to the strength of the opponent immediately. I checked with Jim Rowe. He wanted to think about it and he talked with Niel Staebler from Michigan now working with him and Niel agreed. But in the meantime the pressure continued from Wisconsin. Cong. Zablocki called me. Ken Birkhead and Jim Thornton both thought I should go. I realized after a bit that I couldn't possibly duck it, if nothing more as a matter of personal pride. So I told them to go ahead so that was clearly laid on.

Anyway, in all these things added together during that very hectic day, plus the question of dairy supports for I had a call from DeVier Pierson saying that the President wanted to meet with us first in the afternoon, then set forward to 7:30. So it was more than hectic. But gradually it began to move into form. I got the speech for the Chicago Executive Club pretty well shaped up with Wally. John Obert came in with his statement.

Late in the day I got to thinking that we might take the "What's Right with America" speech as adjusted for my North Carolina appearance at Elizabeth City and try and use that for the Madison appearance, which as it jelled was to be at the Farm Campus and sponsored by Dean Pound, the Dean of the Agricultural School.

This would be bland and yet it would have some bite and in a sense I would be lecturing some of these students about what was good with America and that would be favorably responded to presumably by the rest of the country.

So I decided that we would adjust that speech and called Stan Weston accordingly, very late at night. He came in early in the morning and got a draft that we carried with us on into Minneapolis later the following day. Anyway, things began to shape up.

I went over to the White House at 7:30 for the appointment with the President. As usual he was a half hour late. We collected in the Cabinet Room -- general discussion about the dairy support question and also the potential supplemental for the Food Stamp Program. Finally, about 8:00 he drifted in in exceptionally good humor. It was really quite impressive. Actually I don't think he could have put it on. In his stead I am sure I would not have been as relaxed and fully in command of the situation as he was. He sat down and started cracking wise and telling stories. He commented that someone asked him about his official family and he reflected that Freeman had nominated John Kennedy. McCarthy was for him, but he had nominated Stevenson, and, of course, Humphrey was always for Humphrey. This was in a kidding way with a bit of a bite. He related Texas colloquial stories, went around the table and Zwick and Art Okun violently opposed the dairy increase. He listened. I made the case in terms of dropping production and the need for it and the need for dairy farmer income.

The President made quite a speech about how dairy farmers don't get rich; how he had to subsidize his farm at \$2-3,000 a month, and that he was for the dairy farmer and the farmer.

He said in effect, Orville, you go ahead and smiled at Okun and Zwick and said, I'll decide for you some other time. And that was that.

Really, it was quick, pointed. He pretty well made up his mind and he had time to compliment DeVier Pierson on a memo on some subject that he had prepared recently. He could only be described as cool and collected and not the least bit harried or frustrated, very much in command of the situation.

In light of all the pressure; in light of the gold crisis, all the noises from McCarthy and Kennedy; all the predictions of doom, politically and generally, I couldn't but admire the way he was keeping his cool so to speak.

As the meeting broke up, he indicated that Humphrey and I should go into his office, which we did.

I commented going in on a lovely picture of Chuck Robb and Lynda, and he said, yes, that Chuck is going to Vietnam soon, that he doesn't have to, that he has seven years of service in, but he thinks he should. And he says that Pat Nugent is too. They are wonderful boys. He said the girls are taking it well, but he said there are people who talk about this and put a stamp on it as if it doesn't mean anything. It's a waste of effort and a waste of lives. And there was a hint of a tear in his eyes, and I felt very touched.

We stood around and soon Marv Watson and Jim Jones came in. They had been making phone calls around the country, and I was kinda appalled when the President said with a big grin, well, what's your bad news for today, and they began to recount who was going to do what.

That Terry Sanford, North Carolina, would be with the President. That McNair, the Governor of South Carolina, would be with the President. That Cong. Henry Reuss from Wisconsin had gone with McCarthy. And so they called it. But I was shocked, on a kinda relaxed unsystematic way, really, to have Marv Watson and Jim Jones of the White House making these kinds of calls, and the President seemingly having as little liaison and contact with Jim Rowe and the voluntary effort, let alone the National Committee, rather shocked me. The stakes are just too high.

He kidded me about going into Wisconsin and said he now had in effect given me \$100 million to play with - be sure that I used it well. This was just by way of banter. He teased Humphrey going down the line with people like McGovern and Proxmire who were taking a neutral position and in effect said, "now, Humphrey," with some bite, "you've done more for more people in this town who have turned on you and been unwilling to do anything for you than almost anyone I know."

He turned to me and said, somewhat strongly, anybody in your Department that isn't for this Administration, fire 'em. That people admire loyalty and we can fire 'em and get away with it. He didn't really mean it. He didn't use exactly those words, but he was very pointed about the element of loyalty. I must say that I agree.

So we stood around and he signed mail and bantered back and forth and finally we worked our way out the door. Again I do wish they could bring some order, some real leadership, some direction into this campaign, for I for one really don't have any central direction and felt pretty much at odds ends at that point.

Anyway I was home for dinner about 10:00. Jane and I ate and visited till about 11:00, and back to the desk till 1:00, trying to straighten up the speeches and decide what I was going to say, when and where. More than a little nervous and upset.

In bed, and a very restless sleep. About now my ulcers are beginning to kick up. By 6:30 I was awake, rolled a while, up and off. Raced for the plane, my ulcers jumping and Jane warning me out the door if I didn't calm it, I would have a serious outbreak.

We got there in plenty of time. On to Chicago where I had an interview for the KUP late night television show that really I think went very well, and I had a chance to put in a strong plug for the President. On to a press conference which was really very spirited, with such questions as "Do you feel a loyalty to the Kennedys, or why don't you as you move into this campaign," which gave me a chance to say very pointedly, which I said repeatedly today, quite the contrary, that the record of this Administration of Johnson is consistent with the principles of the New Frontier Kennedy days and that I really can't understand how Senator Kennedy or McCarthy could do other than support this record.

It was a spirited and exciting press conference and I thought went very well. Then on to this address to the Business Executive Club, some of the biggest businessmen in Chicago, at which I gave this careful and measured speech, seeking to set out exactly why we needed and must have our commodity programs.

A question period followed and I thought it was really very well received. That was followed by a couple of special television interviews. I managed to sneak in a half hour of time and I went up to the Hotel room that Larry Beckerman had and laid down and really went sound asleep which was a salvation for we raced for the plane, on into Minneapolis where I had again another press conference.

It went fairly well. Then went over to the Leamington Hotel to the Curtis and met with some delegates from around the State, mostly from the 6th District, and talked to them for over an hour about Vietnam, about the domestic record, about all their problems and hopefully did a little good in keeping them in line. Then back to speak to the Farmers Union.

I hadn't made any real preparation on this one and I wasn't sure what would come of it.

Anyway it ended up a completely extemporaneous speech at the Farmers Union Convention on a high note of challenge for the future. It was really exceptionally well received.

I then raced to the airport and caught a plane -- Leonard Lindquist surprisingly was on it and we visited. Reached Duluth about 11:00 p.m. Marjorie Bangs and Gerry Heaney met me in the Duluth Hotel. There we had a few drinks and visited. It proved to be a very important session. I've been wondering really what I could and should do about the Vietnam question. It was then just a matter of degree. Therefore, trying to take away from McCarthy and Kennedy the peace position which they had pretty well staked down, or, of course, to go whole hog on the principle that we must not appease and we must carry forth our commitments.

I reviewed these two alternatives, plus the one of emphasis on the domestic record with Marjorie and Jerry at some length and it was their feeling that the total issue was Vietnam and that what we had to do was to fundamentally justify and build confidence in the position we are taking in Vietnam.

The more I reflected on that, the more I concluded that they were absolutely right, and that in effect what Kennedy and McCarthy were doing was capturing the peace position which everybody hopes, mainly there would be peace, but in doing so to set out the conditions, to wit, negotiations, stopping bombing without any conditions on the North Vietnamese so they could flood men and supplies into South Vietnam. For the Enclave Theory is totally unrealistic as it is and could only end in circumstances that would force us out of Vietnam altogether. We simply must call their hand where this is concerned.

I reflected on that, went to bed, woke up early, thought about it and concluded it was the right thing to do and at 7:30 was downstairs with some of these District Delegates. A very clumsy meeting. Tony Radosovich (sp?) didn't even introduce me. I thought it was breakfast, but it was just rolls. I started out cold without any kind of setup.

Mainly I charged this group as to how they could conceivably be against a sitting President with the kind of record Johnson had, especially when their friend, and our friend, Humphrey, had meant so much to Minnesota, had a stake in this and was humiliated by this attack going on. I then went in quite strongly to the total Vietnam picture. Seemingly it was well received and I felt well rewarded when Cathy Waters came to me and said, "This was really great; all of my doubts and all of my apprehensions are washed away." That really meant something.

Then Gene Halverson came up to me and said that he wondered if Johnson really had any spiritual feeling or spiritual guidance in this thing. It was more than man alone could do to reach such decisions, and I assured him that the President did.

It was a kinda tough energy draining session. I hope it was worthwhile. Marjorie came up and said she thought it was a great presentation, which was gratifying. She's quite a gal. Anyway, Neal Palmerville, God bless him, that wonderful old friend drove me over to Superior. The meeting over there was kinda screwed up, but we stumbled through. The plane hadn't yet come up from Minneapolis. The chairwoman there was not very well organized. She tried to get me to hold a press conference first. A lot of people were sitting stiffly around on chairs around a large room. Most of them looked like farmers. The Mayor was there, but he wasn't very voluble either, so I gently moved away from the Press Conference to the meeting, opened it up, felt my way along with general remarks. Gradually focused into agriculture and a bit of Vietnam and finally the crowd from Minneapolis arrived.

We ended up with a pretty good press conference and an opportunity to make some points and I began to jell. This whole business that the position basically McCarthy and Bobby Kennedy was but a position of appeasement. I went back to Neville Chamberlain and his umbrella at Munich, what that had meant and made the point we had beaten the Communists and they had given up when they knew that we meant business in Greece, in Turkey, in Berlin, in Korea and in Cuba, and that we musn't give up now, that it was too much to pay the price for peace in 1968 to have war in 1978. I pointed out, too, that all the North Vietnamese had to do to end the war was to go home. That there were no Americans or South Vietnamese in North Vietnam.

I ridiculed a proposal of McCarthy and Kennedy that we stop bombing when the North Vietnamese wouldn't even agree not to take advantage of such a cessation to flood more men and supplies into South Vietnam. That that condition was a reasonable one and it made it clear that if they were unwilling to agree to that, that they weren't really willing to negotiate and that we musn't get into a position where we would permit them to do that and our boys in South Vietnam to be plastered.

I told them the story of the President's comments about his sons-in-law going to Vietnam. I told them the story about the dialogue that resulted in this decision on the dairy supports and that was pretty much the story of the day. I repeated that in a speech that I think was really pretty good at Eau Claire where we had a magnificent turnout, and a good bit of enthusiasm. I repeated it again at Green Bay at a press conference late in the day and then in a kinda miserable meeting at Manitowoc.

Saturday, March 23, 1968 - 2:20 p.m. at the office

Well, I survived and got back to Washington. The turmoil occasioned by my reception at Madison continues. That was quite a day. I opened early the morning as I related, at Duluth, laying it on the line to the delegates to the DFL Convention. The report from Gerry Heaney has been favorable from that meeting. It was a poorly organized one and showed the weak leadership in the DFL, but I hope I stimulated a bit.

Dale Polmerville drove me over to Superior. I got there before the plane bringing the press got up from the Twin Cities and so it was kinda confused. There were 75 people sitting around the room, in effect sucking their thumbs.

The county chairwoman was all flustered, particularly because the press and television had already set up and were clammering for my appearance. She was ready to leave the people wait while I dealt with the press. I managed to move that around, to get them to agree to wait till the traveling press and TV arrived, and then went in and talked for about 45 minutes to the assemblage about the Johnson record and about the Vietnam war. They seemed receptive but they were not by any means outgoing. However, there were enough there to be respectable.

The following press conference went quite well. I hit the line that I couldn't understand how McCarthy and Kennedy could do other as loyal Democrats and support the record of their President and that this had me confused and somewhat bewildered. Luckily they didn't pick that up. They could have worked me over as a confused and bewildered Cabinet officer. But fundamentally they don't want to fight with me. I'm not a candidate.

We had to drive way back to the Duluth airport, then flew to Eau Claire where we had a special meeting. They had planned for 100 - about 350 showed up. I had a fine press conference, excellent radio and television exposure.

The announcement on increasing dairy supports at each place came in for some questioning as to whether the timing wasn't related to the election, which I stoutly denied. It didn't take too deeply. McCarthy claimed this action was the first dividend to his campaign in Wisconsin, and my response to that was he was suffering from delusions of grandeur, that he hadn't influenced the decision at all.

From Eau Claire we went to Madison. There were some McCarthy supporters students at the airport while I went upstairs to make a television presentation. I stopped to shake hands with them and they were friendly enough, although two of them refused to shake hands.

We then got in the car and drove to the University of Wisconsin to the School of Agriculture where the meeting was to be held. This was to be a non-partisan meeting, rather than political. I was to talk about agriculture and to answer questions. The meeting had been arranged at the instance of Congressman Zablocki, talking to the President of the University, and he in turn to Dean Pound.

When we drove up to the building a very harrassed student stopped us and said they're all over the place; this is going to be awful. There was nothing we could do, of course, but to continue on, which we did and went up to the Dean's office, where five very attractive representatives of fraternities and different groups on the campus waited on me. Then we walked down into the auditorium that will seat bout 5 to 600 people.

There were McCarthy signs everywhere - Black Power signs - Hate signs and Kill signs, and people started to holler and to boo and to scream murderer. There were a lot of weirdies there, beards, people most unkempt and shoddy looking. We got to the platform and Dean Pound tried to set down the ground rules and they just hollered and screamed and hooted. He introduced me. They screamed and hollered when he mentioned that I had been in the Marine Corps.

I went up to the podium and said, "now look, I haven't had such a fine reception in a long time. Let's see if we all can't have some good clean fun in the next hour or so. If you'll give me a chance to talk, I'll be glad to listen to you and to try and answer your questions."

I stated I had a speech that I hoped would be worthwhile, that I recognized the problems of our country and came as a progressive liberal to try and say something about them and that I also felt that we should take note of the good things in our country and I wanted to talk to them about that today. And they booed and hollered and shouted again and I proceeded to try and read the manuscript. They literally refused to allow me to proceed except over their loud hollering. So I plodded away the best I could trying to get across a message which proved to be impossible. Periodically when they would stand and hoot and holler at something, the other students would holler back at them to be quiet.

On several occasions students approached the protesters in a very aggressive manner, tore the signs away from them and ripped them up and the protesting group never did fight back. One of the nastiest was a little negro girl who sat down in front of me and she looked at me with expressions of bitterness and hate in her eyes that are indescribable. It wasn't a very pleasant experience, and as I read the manuscript I couldn't help wondering exactly what do I do next.

At one point when they interrupted me with particularly loud and raucous hollering I stood up and said, I note that most of you who are disrupting this meeting are sitting behind Senator McCarthy signs. I take it that all of you are McCarthy supporters. A bedlem of noise in every direction was a result of that statement. Finally I stopped when I was two-thirds through and said, it's clear to me that you will not let me speak. I've done my best. I have prepared a message that I thought was worth giving. I worked on it hard. If there are some of you here who wish me to mail it to you, please give me your names. Otherwise I'll stop now and try and answer questions.

At this point Dean Pound took me aside right on the platform and said he thought the meeting ought to be adjourned, that this was almost beyond control. I insisted we should have questions. He insisted the questions would then be confined to agriculture, and I regretfully went along.

I think he was right on that. If there had been too much Viet Nam there might well have been a riot. In any event questions were asked. They tried to talk about the use of leaf deolliants as being murderous and that we were starving people around the world and they talked about the food for peace program no longer any good because we weren't shipping anything and allowing people in India to starve, asked about how horrible the food program was in Mississippi. Everything was bad; everything was negative, but I tried to answer the questions.

In the midst of it a very sweet little girl got up and said that she wanted to apologize to me that this happened and there was nothing they could do about it except feel ashamed for their school.

She got the most sustained and loudest expression of approval and applause of anyone during the whole afternoon.

At this point a student leaned over from the balcony and accused me of stopping my delivery as a political tactic just to embarrass McCarthy, which, of course, I vigorously denied.

Finally after hooting and hollering the protesters left. My time was out by then and I said somewhat wryly to the audience with resulting sustained applause, well, now, if time would only permit, we could have a constructive and useful meeting. Many of the students came up and crowded around me afterwards expressing their appreciation, apologizing for the demonstrators and generally expressing their friendship.

Johnson supporters, students who drove me to the airport, following this incident felt that it would be a constructive assist to them in the campaign and I told them if they didn't like this kind of thing, the best way possible to prevent its occurrence would be to demonstrate at the ballot box. That this kind of conduct just doesn't get good results.

I went on for the balance of a very busy day going from Madison to Green Bay where I had an airport press conference, well attended, and useful. Then on to a meeting near Manitowoc, which was very hard work because out of 600 farmers there was a corps of maybe 50 NFO and unfortunately we allowed questions from the floor. The result was that in a little different way they were about as bad as the students at Madison. They wouldn't believe what I said, they talked about, in extreme terms, parity income.

They complained bitterly as to their being picked on and they challenged virtually everything that I said. They referred back to the injunction, back to the President's statement about buying food. It was a kind of a miserable time and all I could do was to merely outlast them until no one else had any more questions, which I proceeded to do. I was reminded again by this experience never to take questions from the floor because a few loudmouths dominate the whole thing when you do.

From there we flew to Milwaukee. I saw on television the Madison story repeated several times and it was clear that this was the big news. Today now, two days afterwards, in talking with Ken Birkhead in Milwaukee, this apparently is the only good thing that has happened in the campaign there. The reaction has been very strong. This has been played again and again and McCarthy and Kennedy are trying to disassociate themselves from it.

Yesterday I got a wire from Kennedy stating that he protested this and what a great American patriot I am. He not only sent it, he had his press secretary call Tom to be sure that I knew about it.

McCarthy has been wiggling and wagging. First he had his campaign manager in Wisconsin state that it was unfortunate, that I should have been permitted to speak. Then he issued a statement that's in the paper today to the effect that the only thing the Johnson Administration had going for them was demonstrations and that if we went to any more colleges it would look like this was a political technique, that we shouldn't go to college campuses because we would get this kind of reaction, that we could conduct our business in rose gardens.

Even before I read this, Marv Watson had called me about going back to Wisconsin and really barnstorming the State, relating the possibilities out there to the same experience President Johnson had in Texas in 1960 when he and Lady Bird were almost physically assaulted in the lobby of a hotel in Dallas. They then made 18 or 20 more appearances and related again and again how horrible it was to be treated in such a fashion and how unamerican and so forth. He attributed Kennedy's carrying Texas to that incident.

I came on here into the office with a pile of work, so high I couldn't see over it, and I've been on the phone here most of the time since. It now is settled down that I will be going to Wisconsin again on Friday and Saturday. They will set up a big program for me there with a lot of stops and the fact that I'm coming back will, they feel, be very newsworthy, and that I've become something of a public figure now because of this and I will get a following and I will get attention.

That does put me on the spot, but there's not much else I can do about it and I really look forward to going.

It's hard to tell how this whole business is churning along now, but I am worried about it. Clearly Bobby Kennedy is really operating, as he is seemingly capable of doing, with the Kennedy family resources. Frank Newman was in last night, stating that Jesse Unruh and the California crowd would be tough opponents and he really didn't see how Johnson could do very well in California. He gave very little consideration to McCarthy.

I talked with Bob Dwyer in Oregon this morning and apparently most of the Oregon organization is for Kennedy and it looks at this point pretty grim for Johnson. He wanted me to try and make our log export announcement in a timely way to help out politically.

I had calls from Dave Parr and Harold Nelson who are working in Iowa on their precinct caucuses asking for George Mehren to go out and talk with Oren Staley. When I talked to Marv Watson he didn't know anything about that. It apparently was a Cliff Carter operation. The truth of the whole matter is there really doesn't seem to be a focus as to who is doing what and where and certainly no clearly acknowledged campaign manager. The President has said that the Democratic National Committee should not be involved. He has said he must take care of his own affairs of state and be above a primary contest. Yet it's disgraceful that there doesn't seem to be any hard focus of leadership or direction. Marv Watson as near as I can tell seems to be running things from a telephone in the White House and Jim Rowe doesn't know what goes forth.

In the meantime Ken Birkhead told me the President had personally chewed him out because there was a weak turnout for Humphrey last night. It is obviously hard to get into gear when this threat came so quickly, but it's difficult for me to believe that there isn't a more sustained and planned and effective over-all organization and program here to meet this very major threat.

I came in yesterday about 2:00 in the afternoon; had to go up and work out a deal with Bob Poage on P.L. 480 that had them in a tizzy around here and then had to rewrite and rework an answer to the pleading of the group trying to get an injunction against me on the food program. This time a bunch of extremists from Alabama. I worked on that very carefully for here again language is so important and how it is said as important as what is said. This case will be heard in court on Monday and the far out group will use whatever I say in this affidavit to get the publicity that they are trying to get as a

part of encouraging these programs.

I can't feel other than sympathetic to them, while it sure gives me a headache to have these groups bombarding me from all angles giving absolutely no recognition to what we've tried to do.

Anyway, by the time evening came on Friday, March 22, I was more tired than I can almost ever remember. I went over to have a treatment at the White House on my shoulder which has been very annoying and bothersome, and then came over here to meet Jane and Frank Newman before we went to dinner at the John Sandors. I hadn't had anything to eat since morning on the plane, and I had about as much pep as a piece of jelly. However, after I had gotten something to eat at the Sandors, I pepped up a bit.

We had an interesting visit there, but mostly we were interested and stimulated by Frank Newman who came out with us, staying until well after 12:00. He told us of the experience in Berkley with the young people. He is, of course, pro student and quite a liberalitarian. It was his fundamental analysis that these young people were responding to things that were wrong and that needed correction and that when they were given responsibility, why they reacted pretty well.

He stated that the disaffection went far too deeply to do what I had suggested to some people - expel those who acted as they did toward me at Madison. Rather he said you have to just learn to live with it, that they are extremely adroit and skillful on getting right up to the edge of breaking the rules, that they will picket and protest and sit in and riot if they are pushed too far, but that fundamentally, it's a matter of their feeling a sense of participation and identification.

That the difficulty is to arrange the machinery to give them that sense of identification and participation.

This is particularly true because they aren't really organized. They don't basically have consistent leadership, that they break away from their own leaders from time to time and that it's a kind of a surging, amorphous kind of thing, extraordinarily difficult to deal with, but that the use of discipline or force or sanctions is extremely touchy.

It was interesting to talk with him about this. It certainly is disturbing and I would think, as he agreed, that the fact that kids today don't have to worry very much about eating, or about money, or about transportation, that the old pressures that made discipline possible no longer exist, and therefore it's a kind of another ball game and a more affluent society. I've been saying that these kids are no different than we were, recalling my very real puzzles as Counsel President at the University of Minnesota, but we would never go as far as these. We couldn't. We had no where to go and no resources to use, and they do.

John Obert just walked out of here. The decision has been made to go to Wisconsin next week -- Friday and Saturday. Now we're trying to figure out how to respond to a Gene McCarthy statement in the paper this morning which in effect said that the Administration was trying to make a political tactic out of the violence on the campus and that we shouldn't go to college campuses because this would result, and that rather we had other forums such as the rose garden at the White House to make our statements.

Gene is clever. This is a good example. He shoots his darts a bit obliquely, but they are effective. In this instance He's got his campaign manager in Wisconsin apologizing at the same time that he is trying to downgrade what happened by saying we stimulated it by coming in the first place, and also trying to imply that all the students are so against Johnson that we better stay away from the campuses altogether.

Now we're trying to develop a statement which can respond to this which could be issued on Sunday for Monday a.m. in Milwaukee which might also hint that I'm thinking of coming back. Then we've got to seriously appraise the question as to what will be forthcoming if I go to colleges. Will there be riots, will there be resistance, and if so, will Johnson or McCarthy profit from it in light of the fact that McCarthy has in a sense warned us about it already. This will get into the question of what kind of scheduling do we undertake.

It surely isn't an easy time. Yet I do find a response to the President. Martha Smith said last night that she really didn't like him as a person or his style and she hated him on television, but she admired his courage and his toughness. He was doing what he thought was right regardless of the circumstances and that's what we needed. She also expressed the same need for firmness, for direction, for someone to be aggressive enough to provide some leadership. So I guess we can only pound it out which is not easy.

The tides of emotionalism are running the other way; at least for the moment, but the more I think about it the more I feel resolved to give this everything I have. The President is right. We can't turn tail and run out of South Vietnam.

That would imperil all we have done and our position of leadership and stability worldwide. It's a shame that that TET offensive was so successful. That is what really has shaken up the Nation. As Frank Newman said, he hadn't had any doubts until then, but, since, he has wondered a bit whether we really were doing the right thing or basically whether we could do what we should do, and I think his response is rather typical of many around the country who were pretty firmly in support until that.

Well, that's just another one we will have to overcome.

One sidelight that delighted me. There was a picture in the paper showing me looking around the room with a kind of a grin on my face down at Madison scratching the back of my head. I didn't look mad. I thought it was a kinda silly picture, but it seems to touch some people favorably.

Anyway, yesterday afternoon Connie called me and said that she was so pleased to see that I didn't get angry and that I didn't stomp out and I didn't shout back and that I took this in good spirits and turned the whole situation to my own benefit, and that when students were commenting on this to her, she was saying how I had benefited from the whole incident by my own effective turning of the situation.

Saturday, March 23 - 6:45 p.m. at home

The plot thickens. I left the office just a couple hours ago and went to the White House for a heat therapy treatment on my neck. When I finished and was walking along the Rose Garden, the President came out of his office, saw me and told me to go along with him. He was going over to say goodbye to Mary Lasker. We walked over into the main White House and went up and sat down while he had lunch and I had mine. In the course of it he took a half a dozen telephone calls and we conversed in between about the campaign situation. My heart really went out to the man. He said to me and it wasn't in a complaining way, nor in a panicky way, that his days from morning to night were filled with decision making and he just didn't have time to get involved in the politics at this point.

He recited that he awakened this morning with a message that another one of our intelligence ships was in trouble, apparently adrift with engine trouble, drifting toward the Cuban coast, six miles off shore. He directed that the men be removed by helicopter, if necessary, so at least they wouldn't be in Communist hands. He then called for a report and the report was that they had apparently gotten help to the ship which was now being towed and it looked like it would make it back all right.

He then recited the problem in the United Nations where the move is to censor Israel for their attack on Jordan. Even Goldberg apparently is in favor of the censoring because they had moved on to the offensive contrary to their commitment.

The President shrugged and said that's what the Israeli do all the time; that Eban had given him a solemn commitment that they would not move and then they had attacked before. But he said, you know what good will it do and that all the time nations were ready to censor Israel and the only help they got was from the United States. We were the only ones who would supply them and in their attacking they were just giving the Russians the chances that they wanted and playing in their hands, and that he was trying to maneuver to prevent the censor.

He then said wryly that in all his political life when people had been against him, looking to Texas now, that always the Mexicans, the Negroes, the Jews had been his friends and he didn't forget it. He also recited the meeting that Krim had called to raise some money in New York with 30 wealthy jews and that pressure was put on all of them by the Kennedy forces and they were so indignant that they came in and increased their pledges for the campaign two and three times each.

It gave me an opportunity to say to him, Mr. President, what we really need now is someone that's calling the signals on this, so that we have some one through whom we can work to make judgments, to decide who to call, and to give the answers on strategy. He indicated that Terry Sanford from North Carolina was apparently going to come in to do that, but then he said to me that I should get all the members of the Cabinet except Treasury and Defense and State and get them together out at my house to talk about Wisconsin and all the things that we should do.

Then he got off on another phone call and talked to Mary Lasker and we drifted out and back to his office. She was putting the bite on him for someone to head the NIH. She left and I said to him, Mr. President, I don't think that I should call such a meeting because it might be resented; they might not come. Who ever you have to boss this show ought to call such a meeting. Why doesn't Larry O'Brien do it. And he looked at me kinda almost pathetically and said, well, Larry O'Brien is not firmed up. He's not sure what he's going to do.

Then he put in a call for Henry Wilson and also a call for Larry O'Brien. Both calls came back in at the same time. He talked with Henry Wilson and it ended up that Henry Wilson would call Larry O'Brien and he was not returning O'Brien's call. Henry Wilson was then to call me as to whether I should proceed, apparently pursuant to whatever arrangement he worked out with Larry O'Brien -- that the meeting could be here in our home, it could be in the Cabinet room, it could be anywhere.

All in all, however, what comes through loud and clear is that at this point, this is almost like a big ship without a rudder. There simply isn't anyone really calling the signals, but at least I'm happy to find that the President is aware of that fact and of the need for getting this whole business snapped into one organized effort.

I talked to Bill Wirtz a little bit ago and he had been with the President today and said that the President was just as pleased as could be at my speaking, at Wirtz speaking out the other day, and Udall also apparently making a strong speech last night.

Wirtz, however, was as frustrated as I am at the lack of leadership. He agreed with me that it would be better if I didn't initiate this meeting myself for reasons I've given, but he expressed his impatience that the President didn't call Larry O'Brien directly himself rather than using Henry Wilson.

He may be right, but on the other hand the President may be right for Henry Wilson and Larry worked very closely throughout the last eight years, starting during President Kennedy's days and maybe the President didn't want it to ever be known that he had in any way pressured Larry to act, particularly not if Larry finally ends up in the other camp.

All of this puts the President in a terrible bind. This with all the other things and yet, although he seemed a bit dejected, there wasn't any evidence of panic or despondency and he seemed perfectly cool and collected if not firmly organized at this point.

He did have time despite the pressure while I was there to take a call from a little girl who is a family friend whose father just died and to wish her well and extend his sympathy and regrets.

When I left, I told him, Mr. President, you're doing great and we're going to win this thing. Walking out the door I said, the real key is this tax business. If that Congress would tax, we'd have no problems and he turned to me with his eyes snapping and said that's absolutely right. And then I said, Mr. President, I'm going out there and slug. I may make some mistakes or say some things that shouldn't be said, and if I do, why I know you'll call me down and he smiled and said, you won't make any mistakes. You go out and do

what you know needs to be done.

And so at this juncture I'm sitting here waiting for the call from Henry Wilson and decide where we go from here.

We've somehow or other got to get the rudder on this ship pinned down. There's the White House phone now. That must be Henry.

Sunday, March 24, 1968 - 9:30 p.m. at home

This has been one of the most frustrating difficult days in my life. Last night Jane and I went to Max Kampelmans for a very relaxed dinner with some folks about town. Pat Harris, a negro law teacher at Howard University, and her husband. She's the former Ambassador to Luxembourg. Several other people, strictly intellectual types. We mostly discussed the generation gap, also the election -- Kennedy, McCarthy, Johnson, et al.

We got home about midnight and talked till one, slept really quite well awaking about eight, planning to go to 9:30 church.

I had the President's direction of yesterday in mind about getting the Cabinet officers together to discuss the campaign, and I had been waiting for a call from Henry Wilson which didn't come. So I dressed, but thought I had better call him before going to Church, which I did, about 8:30. At 9:30 I was still on the telephone. He was surprised I hadn't heard from Henry Wilson, but then told me to bring the Cabinet together, perhaps here at home, and then began to recite what we should do and why, and what went on. In part it was, I think, his need to talk and to just hash over his problems. In part I think he was stimulating and gearing me up. In part it was just, what do we do now. We had been on the phone only a moment when Lady Bird burst in and said, keep it up, you're great. You're so sweet; we love you. I've forgotten exactly the words, but it was just a genuine outpouring of appreciation and frustration. I said to her, not knowing what to say, I think you're mighty sweet too, and the President chuckled and burst in and said, look out now, I'm listening.

But her interjection was so genuine. She used the word miasma and I think self-flagellation as to what was happening to this country, as we, in effect, pound ourself to pulverize ourself with all our problems and doubts and seekings, at the same time as we have so many resources and could do all the things that we need to do if we would only just tax ourselves and do them. She didn't say that; that's my words now, but in effect that was what she really meant.

In the course of the conversation I mentioned Mills to the President and what we would do about this tax thing when he recited to me the very great pressure we were under on the economic front, carefully excluded Joe Fowler from involvement in any of our discussions about politics because he was completely involved and beside himself on the tax and gold and foreign exchange front. He said that Bill Martin had warned him that we had bought some time with the other international powers on the international monetary front last weekend, but that we must act or they would not stay with us. And that Martin had predicted an interest rate of not 6 or 7 percent, but rather 15 percent.

I asked him about Mills and said point blank, could we pass the tax bill, and he said, I don't know but we could try. At least it would be a fighting chance, but that Mills wouldn't move and I said I'd like to talk to Mills and he said to go to it and tell him that he's taking on his shoulders this great responsibility and that you, mainly me, just want to charge it up to him that it's his responsibility in failing to try to move that tax bill out.

I'm going to do that this week.

Then the President went back and just started reciting the nature of the problems we have and the history of how we got here. He went back to talk about Bobby Kennedy and what he said was the impossible period of the first two weeks of his Presidential period when Bobby wouldn't allow him in the White House and that he had to meet with DeGaulle over in the Executive Office Building. He recited that Bobby had demanded that he should get rid of Dean Rusk and when he asked who he should appoint, Bobby had said, Bill Moyers, who at this point the President described as that disloyal little snip. Those weren't his words exactly, but it was clear that he felt that Moyers was not a loyal person. My best recollection was that he said a chippy, disloyal little kid.

Then he recited the lexicon of his choice on the Vice President. Pointed out how McCarthy who came through in his discussion as being not such an ogre. He seemingly attributed McCarthy's deviation because he had wanted so much to be Vice President, had campaigned so hard for it, had even got the oil people to try and pressure him, and then reacted so violently since because of his disappointment.

He went on to say that McCarthy had always been somewhat off-beat, that he was against everyone, that he would talk about Freeman as being wrong-way Corrigan because milk prices are going down instead of up, and that Humphrey is entertaining for about a half hour. He stated that he had selected Humphrey when he could have selected others, perhaps me, but I couldn't be spared from the toughest job in Washington in the Agriculture Department, and then deviated to say how Bob Poage had been so complimentary about me and how much I knew about agriculture, and that anyone who could get along with Poage and Ellender really had it.

But I wasn't available. Then he chose Humphrey because he had to have the best man at the number two spot and besides Humphrey was such a gay and delightful and bouncy person and how wonderfully well he had done in the job of Vice President, which, and he said this with considerable passion, was the worst job in the world and how well he knew after all he had gone through and had almost lost his mind in that job.

That this had really been a mistake because since Humphrey was gone, he had no one in the Senate that he could rely on. That previously he could talk with Humphrey, he could get answers, he could get someone to carry forth his program, but not now.

That was the phone ringing. It was Henry Wilson calling from Chicago about Larry O'Brien. It seems that Larry, which is most understandable, is going through the tortures of the damned because as to what he should do. The President has pushed him to take over the voluntary committee and the primary and Larry has refused. Larry is not willing to be used in a primary because he fears that his Kennedyism will be used and he feels improperly. Yet, as a professional, worried about Nixon and proud of the record of this Administration, he is up to now prepared to take over the Chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee after the Convention to hold his present position and to work in the current campaign, but he has mixed emotions and according to Henry needs to pour out his heart and get some of these inner conflicts resolved. Henry thinks he just took a powder today and went with his boy who is about to go into the army. Henry urges me to try and play a part here to keep him in the camp because that's so important.

It sure is a tangled mixed up situation. Henry says that with Terry Sanford coming in to see the President and hopefully Larry, that they can work out an accommodation. That the President is pretty well disgusted with the Texas operators and maybe we can get the show on the road. So I'll try and call Larry either later tonight or in the morning, try and provide the catharsis that's needed and hopefully get the group together which I've been trying to do all day in this most frustrating of all days.

To go back to this long conversation with the President, he decried moving Humphrey out of the Senate because he wasn't replaced and stated that that was a mistake but one that was necessary because he needed Humphrey, that is if the country was entitled to the best Vice President possible.

The nature of the enormous conflicts he faces came to me rather clearly when he said Dean Rusk Rusk had asked whether he might tell the Congress that we had not bombed Hanoi for 6 1/2 months last year and he had to say, no, because Russell and others in the Congress would be violently opposed and wouldn't vote another dime if they knew we were following such a soft policy. He then went on to say that our basic problem in Vietnam is that Ho Chi Minh wants South Vietnam and then in his own inimical style he drew the analogy to Dick Russell when Carl Sanders, the former Governor of Georgia, wanted to be Senator and tried to open negotiations with Russell. There was nothing to negotiate because Russell wanted to be Senator too, and therefore you could go nowhere.

He then related to me all the enormous efforts he's taking to try and find some answer. A suggestion had been made that we mark out certain areas in North Vietnam and say they will not be bombed under any circumstances and see what happens. When that was communicated to the Ambassador (Bunker), Bunker said if you do that this Government will topple. He then pointed out how Dean Acheson spent a week to come in and talk with him and his only final recommendation was continue what you're doing, don't put any more men in there and hope for a break-through that sometimes these matters are resolved when you least expect them.

He had a comparable experience with Ridgeway and all Ridgeway had to offer was that we needed more men and more resources, that we were already spread too thin.

Eisenhower's contribution after a whole day with him in Arizona was to follow the advice of your commanders in the field.

Eddy Rischeur came in with some of the China scholars who thought that we had to get along better with China, have better relations, admit them to the United Nations, and all the rest, but they said, you're unable to do that until you resolve the Vietnam situation. They had no way to do that, then they went out from the President's office and talked about all the things they had told the President.

He said ironically, it reminded him of the time when Roosevelt was President, that Congressmen that Roosevelt had talked to were saying all the things they had told the President and Rayburn interrupted and said, I don't give a damn what you told the President, the important thing is what did the President tell you.

So it went on between the tax thing and Mills, between the balance of payments and the threat to a booming interest rate, between the problems within the Cabinet when he hoped that we could get together to really go out to defend our mutual record, between the Vietnam thing where he searches and searches and now is bringing in nine wise men -- Acheson, Cy Vance, Doug Dillon, and others -- for a 9 day run through in the CIA, Defense Dept., and State, to look at everything up and down.

Between all these things he just faces an insurmountable barrier on every front. My heart sure went out to him and I only wish that there was something that I could do. He then related with strong feeling, how could we be in such a mess. That back in World War II days, under Franklin Roosevelt, when he was in the Pacific and we only had 25 planes and lost 14 on the first mission, when we were under-supplied and fighting a war on both fronts, that somehow we carried through. Now with these men with \$1 million and a half airplanes and modern armaments and weapons and food and hospital care, when we've got everything out there they could possibly want, still we have all these complaints and lack of faith. That he just couldn't understand it.

Then he talked about the press and about the fact that every single columnist and every press story was pro-Bobby. They were all cutting him up and as he related at Cabinet a few weeks ago, the only television guy left who is fair and reasonably sympathetic, at least tells the facts, is Ray Scherer, NBC, and they won't allow him to even get on the programs. They'll spend money for him to travel around the country with the President, but they'll never put him on the program.

He then set out a list of columnists -- Pearson, Wicker, Kraft, Rowan, Dave Lawrence -- and asked me to call them, to bring them in and talk with them about what we're doing to point out that we make our mistakes; we're not perfect but we're trying hard and we've made more progress than anyone else.

He then urged that I return to Wisconsin, take advantage of the situation that took place at Madison. He related, and they were both tactics and issue feeling in this, that when he was mobbed and Lady Bird in 1960 in Dallas and then Adlai Stevenson, that they stayed with it, that he walked a block under that kind of pressure and screaming with labels of communists, and new dealer and socialists insisting that they were going to go where they intended to go regardless. At one point, Lady Bird, that mild gentle lady, threatened to take off her shoe and hit them in the head. He restrained her. That he then took that message of what that meant out to people throughout Texas and that carried the State and that it worried him now that we see this same kind of thing from the liberals who always trot out the first amendment or the 5th amendment and now they are denying those same freedoms and opportunities themselves, and what a threat this is to the country and that I should carry that story effectively to the people of Wisconsin, so that we can stamp out this kind of intolerance that really threatens our own freedoms.

Well, that was quite a conversation. At one point he said that after he had told me all this, he didn't know whether I'd have any bounce left to go out and fight, but he did want me to know what the dimensions of the problem were and to get a real feel of what goes on.

Jane and I went to church thereafter, returned and I went to work. I reached Henry Wilson who related as I've said that Larry O'Brien was going to call this meeting today and therefore probably ought to work through him. I couldn't reach Larry O'Brien. Henry Wilson couldn't either. Then I thought the Vice President might call it. I reached Muriel before going to church. He was to call me back at 12:00; he didn't. I tried to call him. He didn't take the call. He called me back from a car at 4:30 in the afternoon, and so I fussed and fretted all day and no meeting has resulted. Now I'll try and call Larry O'Brien in the morning and see if I can get one going.

In the meantime I've been fussing around here all day on a day that I'd hoped to have some rest. Shortly after noon I started having shooting pains at the back of my head. I've had this a few times in the past but only for a few moments. I've had it now for the last twelve hours and I'm beginning to get a bit worried about it. I was saying to Jane yesterday I'm sure lucky that I have such a powerful system and body that I can go out and abuse the daylights out of it and with one night's sleep snap back.

Well I haven't quite apparently snapped back, or maybe it's just total frustration.

Anyway we carry on from here. Tomorrow the Second Annual President's Farm Policy Meeting. I must get Larry and get the other officers together. I must get prepared for this trip into Wisconsin. I must see this columnist the President has laid down. I must review the plans for the Tokyo Far East trip; April 3's just around the corner.

I must look into Town and Country for Johnson and Humphrey and be sure that keeps its momentum. I must do a million other things. In the meantime I've got shooting pains up the back of my head and my neck and back hurt and I guess I'm just getting old as you move towards that 50th birthday, or maybe stale. Mostly frustrated.

This is such a hell of a mess at this point and this President, a wonderful, resourceful, able, dedicated guy, but in some ways as he maneuvers and deals and works around, in, through and over people, he just is his own worst enemy, but yet he does the right things, he believes the right things, he's the President and maybe that kind of deviousness, that kind of maneuver, and that kind of resourceful and indomitable will is what it takes.

To think that at one point it might well have worked out that I would be there today. I must say that as I grow older, I am more and more thankful that it didn't work out that way. Although I guess I've got enough pride to feel that if it had, I might have made it, things might have been different, and even my more open and frank style might have had something to say for it. Who knows. But anyway, as Jane says, March and primaries are awfully low times, and this sure meets that standard.

Enough for now. I'm going to shuffle paper and get ready for bed.

March 26, 1968 - 9:45 pm at home

There goes the White House phone - just a moment. That was Ed Muskie asking me about potatoes in Maine. I told him to call the Budget Bureau and raise hell. I was up in Maine on our Northeast trip a couple of weeks ago. We can sell some potatoes to Uruguay under P.L. 480 to take care of their potato problem. He was calling to try and urge me to spend a little more money to divert some more. I told him to call the Bureau of the Budget and raise hell, that they were unwilling to spend some CCC funds that are uncontrollable funds anyway; that if the Uruguayans want potatoes, and we've got potatoes, for Christ' sake move 'em. Then I launched in a tirade about Gene McCarthy and about Bob Kennedy and told him that I thought the President had done the right thing according to the principles that we believed in from the very beginning and that he had earned and merited our support even though we might not like the way he eats soup or some of his personal mannerisms, and that I thought we ought to help him, and I told him that I could understand some of the things Kennedy was doing because of his feeling of the "Kennedy Dynasty" but there was no reason for Gene McCarthy, and he hadn't even paid Humphrey or myself the courtesy of a phone call and Ed Muskie, who's the Chairman of the Senate Committee, agreed that he hadn't even called him and said that he was glad to hear there was someone who was willing to fight.

In part I was reflecting my own anguish at the murder of Linda Marshall and the emotional upset. I had a few drinks before dinner too, but this wasn't just an idle popping off. Ed Muskie could be a crucial force in this and as he said to me, I'm glad to see there's someone that's willing to fight. So we'll see what'll happen.

The last couple of days have been kinda agonizing. This morning Jane and I were sitting at breakfast. Suddenly the phone rang and she went and there was a long silence and "oh, no" comment. Finally I got up and went in and there were tears streaming down her face and she handed me the phone and, of course, my immediate thought was something's happened to Connie or Mike. But it wasn't Connie or Mike. It was Linda Marshall, that delightful, gay, sweet troubled girl across the street who had been murdered. Apparently she had gone into her apartment, returning from a visit to other people in the building. Someone was there, apparently a burgler. He was frightened, attacked her with a knife, stabbed her. She staggered out to the steps. She was dead shortly thereafter.

John Marshall is in Boston. Jane took Bitsy, the little girl, with her to Baltimore today where she made a speech. We were having dinner tonight and apparently Cornelia and Bitsy are coming over here for the night. And, of course, Jane and I philosophized a bit about life and what happens. Connie called and I talked to her and then Mike heard it on the radio and he called. What can you say.

There goes the White House phone again. Just a minute.

It was Ken Birkhead. I told him that my schedule for Wisconsin on Friday would have to be altered, that I could be in for a night meeting, but that I really felt that I should go to the Linda Marshall funeral. He agreed. Also I asked him to call Clyde Ellis in Green Bay.

I'd hoped for Larry O'Brien to go to speak to the REA there, but his schedule won't permit it. This is about the story the past few days. The meeting I fussed about, got in such a tizzy about on Sunday ended up yesterday afternoon about 5:30 in Larry's office. At least Larry called it. It wasn't a very satisfactory meeting. I was probably too outspoken on Vietnam and on going after the opposition. Udall sat there like a bump on the log. He's still dovish. The new Secretary of Commerce, Smith, wants to move, but he's an old man and at this point new. Bill Wirtz is very good but kinda a bit intellectually aloof. Bob Weaver doesn't know what the hell to do. Ramsey Clark is hardly an object of great enthusiasm and so this Cabinet, where politics is concerned, is kinda sad sack. But at least we did get together and we will again and Larry seems for the moment to be in the act.

Yesterday was a more satisfying day. I had a fairly good night's sleep although I awakened several times with shooting pains in the head. On the way into the office I stopped by the White House and asked them to take my blood pressure. I had visions of a possible high blood pressure with a potential cerebral hemorrhage, not that I'm a hypochondriac, but one wonders sometimes the way we run. As usual it was 170 over 140 -- couldn't be better. So I kinda relaxed and the headache went away.

I got a few pain spasms but not much the last few days.

The Second Presidential Farm Policy Conference was surprisingly successful. Everyone's wondering how come, that the bitterness and combativeness and the antagonism of a year ago wasn't there at all. In part it might have been the designing of the conference which was my doing. We had affirmative speeches and question periods by Schnittker on Commodities, Dorothy Jacobson on international agriculture, and John Baker on Rural Area Development, followed by two panels in the afternoon and then a plenary session.

Last night a reception on the 8th floor of the State Department. Incidentally they paid \$10.00 a person for it. The President came. Spoke mostly off the cuff. Very eloquently and was accepted beautifully. It was a good day.

At 5:30 I went over for the meeting with the Cabinet people which I've already described. Not much came of it, but it didn't do any harm. It was agreed to schedule more such meetings and to get things into focus and to get everybody in the Act.

Jim Thornton's in Wisconsin -- called today. I'm trying to settle down now the fact that Larry O'Brien might have gone to an REA at Green Bay, but his schedule wouldn't permit. I just told Ken Birkhead that I felt I must go to the Linda Marshall funeral and they'd have to adjust the schedule accordingly. They can put out some information on why I'm not coming and this will tie in to the Wisconsin University incident and probably do more good than I could do by going there as it represents the wildness of the world we live in today.

Actually I don't feel that things are necessarily at the bow wows, but there are some wild elements. Kennedy and McCarthy seem at the moment to be backing off to their extreme emotional positions now, and saying they realize we must stay in Vietnam. Goodness only knows where that leads them, but if the President holds tight and tough, and he will, he's got a lot of guts, it may settle down.

I spent the day in the office today. The most important thing was a meeting with our own Press people. Eric Wentworth of the Post is going to France, so I had a little luncheon for him. A lot of the working press were there from the Wall Street Journal, Journal of Commerce, Post, Time, U.S. News and World Report. We had a two and one-half hour lunch and I spelled out for them what I believed on this whole business, that the President had come down right on every single progressive issue, that I hadn't been a Lyndon Johnson partisan but I had learned to respect him highly, that he had done the right things and I, for one, was going to help him every way I could.

I also made the point that one big solution of our problems would be a decent tax bill. That voice in the background was my wife telling me that Mrs. Marshall and Bitsy had arrived. They are here for the night and I just went out to visit with them for a while. They are in pretty good spirits, but still numb.

I just talked to Jim Thornton a moment ago, told him I couldn't get out until Friday night because of this funeral. I'm simply going to go to the Linda Marshall funeral. That's more important than being in Wisconsin and they can say why I'm not coming.

Ken's scheduling a heavy day ending with a big sausage NFO Fry, and as I told him, be careful now, we can run into a hot bed of NFO antagonists that could be about as bad as the students at Wisconsin. Jim said half laughing that I've become a national personality in Wisconsin because of the University incident. If so, let's keep it so and let's watch our billing, the format of programs, if questions, on a written basis. Let's not get suckered.

Anyway, that's where it stands.

I was supposed to see the President today at noon. They called yesterday. He's still carrying on the routine consultations with Cabinet officers, calling to ask if we would like to see him, did we have anything to review with him, that I said yes. At the time I didn't know what, but a number of things were on the burner that I got organized. I went over there. He was running far behind schedule so I gladly deferred for further scheduling and got back in time to meet with the Press as I've outlined. I've had John Obert checking with columnists pursuant to the President's request on Sunday. I'll have them in the next two days and sit down and talk to them as to what this is all about.

I also called Soapy Williams today and reminded him that eight years ago he called me and talked about John Kennedy and was very persuasive in convincing me that I should support Kennedy. I told him that I would like to be equally convincing today on him where Johnson's concerned and related to him my reasons by way of record of performance. He was cagey, claimed he wanted to stand aside a bit so he could put the pieces together after the primary; informed me that Rusk has called him into Washington to take on an assignment

for State, that he expected to see the President and that he was worried about being charged with being bought off. He really wasn't very responsive.

I'm afraid I wasn't too effective, for I moved in rather aggressively. More and more I get disgusted with McCarthy and Kennedy and I'm afraid speak much too bluntly and plainly about both of them. The more I reflect on it, I can understand Kennedy. He's carrying a dynasty forward. He bitterly dislikes Johnson and I can understand that given the background, but where McCarthy's concerned, I can find no justification and it's hard not to be personal and say that I really think he's running because he can sell more books and get better lecture fees and he was plain bored at being a Senator and that he failed to even discuss it with Humphrey and myself and others who had helped him to get where he is.

I must be careful that I don't speak too bitterly or my own effectiveness will be affected, but it really is a sad and interesting comment that this guy whom we all helped send to the Senate, in 20 years in the Congress, doesn't have a single bill to his name.

Further, when I took the Strategic Reserve Bill to him about 6 months ago and he promised to get a number of signers on it, that there wasn't a one that joined with him. The only reason -- he was too lazy to ask. Subsequently when Mike Monroney got on it, we ended up with a dozen or more Senate signatories. So out of a clear blue sky he moves into this situation, and then gets the big break with the Tet offensive, which has shaken the confidence of the country, and now he is running strong in a situation almost tailor made for his supercilious intellectual, arrogant, ascetic, smart alec comments and style.

I hope this guy gets shot down but good and believe me there'll be little sympathy for him. As a matter of fact, as I said to Jane last night, one good reason for going back home and planting a few rumors would be to begin threatening him with a potential candidacy against him in 1970. I wouldn't care to be in the Senate. When I said this to Jane, why she was frightened and said, don't get any ideas. That place would kill you. That it destroys anyone that goes there, and really there is great merit in that comment. It does. It makes selfish, calculating, back scratching, horse trading, I don't know any other adjectives, but it makes them. There is something about this supposedly greatest parliamentary body in the world that fundamentally brings out the worst, rather than the best, in people.

And how it is done is an odd commentary. Last night I was talking to Carter, the General Manager of the Arkansas Rice and Soybean Association and Bob Smith the President. Here they are, prepared to vote for Fulbright, no real opposition to him after what he is doing here, also enthusiastic about the President, strong for Orval Faubus who isn't running. This is the pattern. How in the hell do you explain it.

Then there's Mills. Goodness knows what kind of a game he's playing. After talking with the President on Sunday I tried to call him today on the phone. He wasn't available, so I talked to Gene Goss, his man Friday. I told Gene my wife was out of town, that I was going to have breakfast alone at the Department tomorrow morning and if he could join me I'd be delighted, that there was a number of things I'd like to talk over with him.

Goss apologized profusely late tonight that the Chairman couldn't reach me. They'd had a terribly busy day, that he was unable to join me for breakfast but he'd be delighted to see me between 9 and 10, before the Committee met. My response was that I'm sorry, I've got commitments myself, and I'm really terribly disappointed that the Chairman was unable to get moving any earlier in the morning.

Not much accomplished by this interchange and the fact he's unwilling to come probably indicates that I couldn't do any good anyway. I'd hoped to bug him on the tax thing. I'm not sure but what I should have bowed to his status and gone running over there. On the other hand there's a number of things he wants from me. He's been bombing me on rice and milk. I'll wait a while and maybe go over a while later and try to bomb him on taxes. I'm sure he's getting enough treatment so I wouldn't do much good. The sad thing, however, is that there's this guy who, as I told the press fellows today, probably is reflecting his own reservations on what he can put through the Congress, but who could be the key and as the President said on Sunday, "Maybe we can't pass it, but let's try."

Mills won't do it. The truth of the matter is that the real genesis of our problems is enough money to carry them forward and to prove that we can have guns and butter too. But Mills won't try and I suppose the real reason is we lost the election of '66, and there are too many conservatives and Republicans in the Congress to vote the taxes we need.

All it would take is to restore the earlier tax cut. If we could do that, we'd have it made. Our international problems on finance and balance of payments would disappear. We'd have enough money to carry forward our great Society programs. We'd cut the edge of the sharp criticism of those who say that Vietnam destroys everything, and we'd stabilize our internal economy.

In talking with the Press guys today, I ducked the question about why the President doesn't get after the Congress. I told them that I'm not President and I don't vouch safe a guess but there's a tough decision to be made and that is whether you're prepared to get in an all-out nasty fight with Congress which likely will alienate them personally. That's what Roosevelt did in the Court Packing Bill and he never passed any real domestic social legislation after that. Truman did the same thing when he coined the slogan "80 worst Congress" and went after them hammer and tongs. They all got together and resisted him on all meaningful fronts thereafter.

So far Johnson hasn't been willing to do that. It's really kinda contrary to his nature. He may have to politically somewhere down the road, and I think I will probably bug him about it one of these days, but it really makes a kinda eunuch out of him because he hasn't really dramatized this yet to the American people. His every inclination, given his background and long Congressional experience, is to try and work something out with them.

It's just like he said that when Rusk asked whether he could report to them on 60 percent of the time no bombing and he said no, you can't because Stennis and Russell wouldn't vote any money for military appropriations if they felt we weren't bombing aggressively.

There you have the conflict.

But he keeps his cool. He's going steadily forward. I really think there are more and more people that are responding to this firm courageous definite strength of leadership. His reception at the AFL-CIO meeting yesterday was very strong. The farmers last night liked him. People like Martha Smith say they respect his courage, even though they don't like him personally and I have a feeling that this will come through.

Perhaps a measure of that is the fact that both McCarthy and Kennedy the last day have backed off and stated quite clearly that they would not pull out of Vietnam. That sure narrows the range of options under which they can operate. If nothing else, it's sure an interesting time to be a participant.

March 29, 1968 - 4:30 p.m.

Another week is history. It's been a sad one. Monday morning at breakfast the phone rang. Jane went -- she gasped -- there was a long silence. I sensed something was wrong and went and she handed me the phone with tears streaming down her cheeks. I was almost in shock myself jumping to the conclusion that something serious had happened to Connie and Mike. Instead it was the news that Linda Marshall, from across the street, had been murdered the night before. Apparently a burgler in her apartment had been surprised. She had been knifed twice fatally and died almost immediately.

This was a terrible shock. We, of course, tried to help in any way we could. That night Cornelia and Bitsey stayed with us. Thompson picked John Marshall up at the airport when he returned from Boston. We went to the funeral this afternoon. It's hard to realize that that lovely, gay, laughing friendly girl who was almost a daughter is gone. It makes one realize how transitory this life is.

Politics continues to boil. I'm off for Wisconsin now in less than an hour. I would have been there all day today if it hadn't been for the funeral. I go into LaCrosse tonight for a Johnson-Humphrey Rally and make about 10 stops tomorrow including one at Madison. Gene McCarthy made an open attack on me and the farm program this week, and I'm going to respond by chiding him that his creditability mini-slip is showing. I'm going to take this question of free speech head on and release a letter I've sent to the Chancellor of the University and strong statements myself.

It seems that that question continues to boil. Mike's home today and says that all kinds of students, including some well on the left who acknowledge that they disagree with my viewpoints, expressed their sympathy and protest at the refusal to allow me to speak. The Chancellor at the University said it was having a good effect there. It apparently got wide news value all over Wisconsin and I'll try and keep it alive.

The cause is good; the political fallout may be helpful too.

The Cabinet meeting that I was fussing about on Sunday came about Monday afternoon. It wasn't very satisfactory. This Cabinet is pretty dead and sure needs pepping up at this point.

The week's gone by and no one yet has been designated as the campaign manager. I was to have seen the President on Wednesday, but when I got over there he was running behind and inasmuch as my appearance was in response to his request on routine things, I didn't object but rather sent him a memo, detailing what I've done, following up our weekend conversations and also some other matters of interest.

I haven't heard back.

The Farm Policy Conference was excellent. The press asked me afterwards how come everyone was so amicable. They described it as a loving contest. I don't really know myself. People were more friendly and responsive than a year ago. It really went off well climaxed by a reception which everyone thoroughly enjoyed on the 8th floor of the State Department Monday night.

The President made an appearance, deviated from his text in a very good speech and got a warm and enthusiastic response. He's good at that. We've got to spring him from Washington and get him out there reaching for the people as he does effectively.

In the meantime, Bobby's jumping all over the country and has been getting enthusiastic response according to the papers. He's pulled in his neck a bit from his earlier wild emotional statements and has said that drafted people ought to go serve rather than tear up their draft cards. He's also said that he would not advocate withdrawal from Vietnam. So he's moving back towards the middle. It may be that he got emotional, or this might be planned to identify with all the protest to the war and then move back on to safer grounds even though some of your converts may be a bit miffed.

McCarthy's having staff trouble in Wisconsin but it doesn't appear to be anything too serious. I'm afraid he'll win strongly with the Republican cross-over vote.

I spoke to the Young Democrats at a conference here in Washington this morning and attendance was poor and enthusiasm almost absent. Perhaps a party too much the night before. I sensed a sullenness.

A number of people have come in to me today, including George Mehren, quoting Oren Staley and a few others that the real problem is that people just don't like the President. These organizational leaders don't like him, that the story on Vietnam has been so garbled, that statements have been proven so repeatedly untrue, that nobody really trusts him or believes what he says. This came from Staley and also Dan Magdanz, who is a rightist, the Director of the Livestock Feeders Association.

I'm afraid that does represent the President's primary weakness. After all the news changed in South Vietnam and no one could control that but this creditability gap thing is a tough one to shed.

I've been having the press people in here pursuant to the President's suggestion. A press luncheon which turned out quite successful. They were most interested as I started back at the Convention in 1960 when Jack Kennedy called me to his room and told me Johnson would be the Vice Presidential candidate, up through the reasons why I support him so strongly today.

Bernie Brenner, the UPI man, has written a story on it, and I hope it gets good play. It might have some effect as it detailed my conversation.

I also had Marquis Childs, Joe Kraft and Drew Pearson in here for private talks. I covered pretty much the same ground and might have done some good. It did me some good because none of these men, all of whom are sharp critics on Vietnam can come up with a solution of any kind as to what we can do there. Hopefully the word will get out around the country that this is the case and people will conclude, well at least Johnson's been there, he knows what's going on, we'll stick with him. They offer nothing better.

On the other hand people might say, we better get something new. It can't be any worse.

At this point It's hard to say with the emotional trend running strong and the Nation in what seems to be a fit of self-flagellation, it's a good thing the election isn't held today, or even that the Convention isn't today. This is March and August and November are still a long way away. Lots of things can happen, but in some ways it is

kinda discouraging.

Well, off to Wisconsin.



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1968

To: Secretary Freeman
From: Joseph M. Robertson
Assistant Secretary for Administration

Mr. Secretary, here is a very good paper on PPBS in USDA
that Bill Carlson did for a Forest Service training session.

I think you might want to thumb through it.

Attachment

cc: Howard Hjort
Bill Carlson

AW
Please place
a copy of this with
my personal papers
for future
use
[Signature]



**THE
PLANNING —
PROGRAMMING —
BUDGETING SYSTEM

IN THE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE**

This paper is based on a presentation made on February 1, 1968, by William A. Carlson, Deputy Director of the USDA Planning, Evaluation, and Programming Staff, during the seminar on "Executive Orientation in PPBS" conducted for Forest Service Region 9 personnel by the Civil Service Commission's Bureau of Training, January 30-February 1, 1968, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

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Introduction

The initials "PPBS" first gained notoriety in 1961 when Secretary McNamara launched the system in the Defense Department. I have been told that to this day, in some of the more obscure corners of the Pentagon, one can occasionally hear a disgruntled -- or disdainful -- or perhaps merely a harried and desperate General or Admiral refer to 1961 as "The Year the World Began."

The concept and practice of long range program planning and budgeting may well have been such a radical innovation in the Defense Department that it seemed to signal the start of a new era.

But the President's decision to extend certain features of PPBS to civilian agencies in August of 1965 was not as radical an innovation for civilian agencies as it might have seemed to those familiar only with military management practices.

At least no one in the Department of Agriculture is referring to 1965 as "The Year the World Began."

Program budgeting, and long range program planning, were familiar management tools in USDA in 1965 -- and had been for many years. An article in the journal Public Administration Review, in 1960, reported that by 1935 the Department had developed a program classification system to the point that it was used "in printed budget schedules and other budgetary materials furnished to the Bureau of the Budget and congressional committees." 1/

Long range program planning was also a well established practice in some of the constituent agencies of the Department -- notably the Forest Service -- though it was not carried out on a comprehensive basis at the Department level.

But the advent of PPBS did signal a new stage in the development of program planning and program budgeting in USDA -- a new evolutionary stage, but not a revolutionary one.

The major changes have occurred in four areas:

1. The development of a comprehensive program planning framework, covering all USDA activities.
2. The introduction of Program Planning Committees -- sometimes referred to as Program Task Forces -- at the Department level.

1/ "USDA's Pioneering Performance Budget," by Ralph S. Roberts; Public Administration Review, Spring 1960, page 75.

3. The expanded and intensified use of systematic program analysis.
4. The preparation of a documented five-year program and financial plan.

The Program Structure

The program budget classification system developed by the Department, and in use by 1965, was based on the concept that each constituent agency of the Department has unique goals and objectives and therefore should have a distinctive set of budgetary program projects.

There was no attempt to establish an overall Department-wide set of systematically related goals and objectives applicable to all activities.

It was, of course, recognized that many agencies carried out activities which were somehow interrelated -- which aimed at similar objectives. And there were occasional statements in Secretarial speeches, yearbooks, and other documents which expressed certain common unifying themes and missions. But no sustained attempt was made to systematically relate the detailed operations of each agency with all the others in a common planning framework.

As the first step in establishing the PPB System in USDA, Secretary Freeman and his top policy staff had to identify these broader missions and goals which characterize the Department as a whole, identify the activities carried out by the Department's agencies which contribute to these missions and goals, and set up a logical structure -- the Program Structure -- which relates these activities to the goals, which relates the means to the ends.

The definition of the public goals and objectives of the Department is expressed in what is sometimes referred to as an "output-oriented" or "mission-oriented" Program Structure. This means that inputs (money, manpower, administrative systems, etc.) are structured and evaluated in terms of common outputs rather than the conventional procedure of structuring and evaluating inputs in relation to organizational components. The current USDA mission-oriented Program Structure ^{1/} consists of 20 program planning packages (called program subcategories in the PPBS terminology) grouped under four major program categories and one "general support" category. Each program planning package is in turn subdivided into program elements. There are 166 program elements in the USDA system (from 2 to 21 per subcategory).

^{1/} See Appendix B.

An activity, let's say research and development, is treated as a means to an end in the Program Structure, not an end in itself. For each of the 20 program planning packages, all USDA agencies and activities contributing to the goals and objectives of the package are brought together and evaluated in terms of their contributions to the common goals and objectives -- regardless of organizational boundaries or relationships. For instance, the following types of activities might comprise a program mix for a typical program planning package:

- Research and development
- Technical assistance and education
- Credit
- Cost-sharing
- Transfer payments
- Insurance
- Land management

One or more agencies may carry out one or more activities in a single program element.

The four major Program Categories are:

- INCOME AND ABUNDANCE
- GROWING NATIONS—NEW MARKETS
- DIMENSIONS FOR LIVING
- COMMUNITIES OF TOMORROW

Category I - "Income and Abundance" expresses the Department's mission to improve the performance of the American agricultural industry to assure that consumers have adequate supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices, while farmers receive a fair return on their capital and labor.

It includes three program planning packages:

- Farm Income, which includes programs designed to maintain or increase farmers' income, such as the price support activities, cropland diversion programs, farm ownership loans and farm operating loans, crop insurance, and related research and extension.
- Agricultural Production Capacity, which includes activities aimed at improving the productivity of agriculture and the conservation and maintenance of the resource base, such as

the plant and animal disease and pest control programs, soil and water conservation programs, production efficiency research, cost-sharing for land development, the Federal rangeland management activities of the Forest Service, and related research and technical assistance.

- Agricultural Marketing and Distribution System, which includes activities aimed at improving the efficiency and performance of all phases of marketing and distributing agricultural products such as market regulation, agricultural statistics, market news, product grading, marketing research, and technical assistance.

Category II - "Growing Nations—New Markets" expresses the Department's missions related to international affairs -- to assist lesser developed countries and expand markets for U.S. agricultural products. This includes five program planning packages:

- Food for Freedom
- Export Market Development
- Agricultural Development
- International Agricultural Services
- Imports

In these program planning packages we find the "P.L. 480" activities -- sales and donations of American agricultural products to lesser developed countries; the technical assistance work we do in cooperation with the Agency for International Development; the agricultural attaché service; the foreign trade fairs and other market promotion activities we carry out to expand foreign markets for U.S. agricultural products; and the inspection services we operate at ports-of-entry to assure that imports of foreign animals and agricultural products are not introducing diseases or pests detrimental to domestic varieties.

Category III - "Dimensions for Living" expresses the Department's mission to improve the well-being of all Americans. It includes programs to improve:

- Diets and Nutrition
- Health
- Education and Training
- Services for Living

In the "Diets and Nutrition" planning package we find the major feeding programs -- the Food Stamp Program, the School Lunch Program, and the direct distribution of commodities through local welfare agencies.

"Health" programs include meat and poultry inspection, pesticide research and regulation work, and defense mobilization and civil defense.

"Education and Training" programs include the Job Corps Centers operated by the Forest Service and the 4-H Club work with youth operated by the Extension Service.

"Services for Living" programs include extension, and research on:

- clothing and textiles
- improved food products.

Category IV - "Communities of Tomorrow" expresses the Department's mission to develop and improve rural areas -- to achieve a better rural-urban balance. This includes programs for:

- Community Development Services
- Housing
- Public Facility and Business Expansion
- Resource Protection and Environmental Improvement
- Recreation, Wildlife, and Natural Beauty
- Timber

Here we find loan and grant programs to aid local communities plan and install water and sewer systems, loans for electric and telephone systems, loans and grants for housing, and other resource development projects. Much of the multi-purpose land management and natural resource conservation and development activities of the Forest Service and Soil Conservation Service are in this Category, including the Forest Service recreation and wildlife programs.

The final Category -- General Support -- includes the Office of the Secretary, Department Staff Offices, the General Counsel's Office, the Inspector General's Office, the National Agricultural Library, and some central service operations. This is a very small Category -- less than one-half of one percent of the total. It includes those expenses which cannot be easily or realistically allocated to other programs.

While these five Program Categories encompass all of the Department's activities, many of the activities have significant characteristics which make it desirable -- for certain analytical and presentation purposes -- to regroup and display them in another classification system.

So we have included in the Program Structure two additional "non-add" Categories:

- RESOURCES IN ACTION
- SCIENCE IN THE SERVICE OF MAN

These titles cover: (a) all activities for the conservation and development of natural resources, and (b) all research and extension activities. Since some research and extension are for natural resource conservation and development, they appear in both "non-add" Categories.

The major advantage of looking at these activities separately, in addition to evaluating them as components of other program planning packages, is that there are significant issues of internal balance within resource programs and research programs that might be overlooked if these activities were viewed exclusively as components of other systems. But the primary criteria for program planning and budgeting are the relative efficiency and effectiveness of these activities as parts of larger output-oriented systems. In the final analysis, they are programmed in the Subcategories of the first four Program Categories.

Relationship of the Program Structure to the Organization Structure

You can compare the outline of the Program Structure with the Organization Chart 1/ and appreciate the extent to which they are structured on different principles.

USDA is organized primarily along functional and subject matter specialty lines. Forestry, research, soil conservation, credit, insurance -- these are the organizational modes. Organizing in terms of function or subject matter specialty has significant management advantages. You can group common skills and processes together, which facilitates recruiting, training, manpower utilization, supervision, and control.

1/ See Appendix C

Individual agencies are grouped under the general direction of 4 Assistant Secretaries and 2 "Directors" who are equivalent in authority to Assistant Secretaries but do not have the title. There are 20 program agencies and 4 Department-level staff groups, which together comprise the 24 "agencies" for program planning and budgeting purposes.

The conventional budget presents annual estimates in terms of these organizational entities -- each agency has its own separate budget, broken down by appropriation accounts and budget "projects" within appropriation accounts. There is no common "output" oriented classification system relating the activities of one agency to another, even when those activities contribute to the same goals and objectives.

The PPBS Program Structure attempts to overcome this deficiency by relating each agency's components to the common goals and objectives it shares with other agencies.

This is illustrated in Figures 1, 2, and 3.

Figure 1 displays a hypothetical budget for five hypothetical agencies in USDA -- in the conventional budget format. Note that it covers only one future year.

Figure 2 displays the same budget, for the same agencies, but in terms of the PPBS Program Structure. For the sake of a simplified illustration, it is assumed that the five agencies participate in only the first three Subcategories in the PPBS Program Structure. Note that the forward time horizon is extended for five more years.

Figure 3 shows the "Crosswalk" -- the matrix which cross-classifies the agencies by subcategories. This enables conversion of program planning decisions made in the PPBS Program Structure to the conventional agency budget structure for implementation of the plans.

Figure 4 shows how extensive this cross-classification actually is in the USDA system -- with 20 subcategories and 24 agencies, and an average of about 6 agencies per subcategory.

This fragmentation of agencies, and regrouping of the pieces according to program goals and objectives, necessarily requires more flexible (and costly) accounting and other management information systems in order to provide information in the formats of both the conventional budget and the new PPBS Program Structure.

Eventually it is hoped that the Congress will revise the conventional budget structure and make it the same as the new Program Structure, thus simplifying the accounting and information systems.

Figure 1

Conventional Budget Structure
(Dollars in Millions)

	Budget Year
<u>Research Agency:</u>	\$
Crops research	140
Animal research	120
Economic research	30
Total, Research Agency	290
<u>Credit Agency:</u>	
Farm operating loans	200
Commodity loans	2,400
Total, Credit Agency	2,600
<u>Technical Assistance Agency:</u>	
Grants to States	50
Administrative expenses	5
Total, Technical Assistance Agency	55
<u>Statistical Agency:</u>	
Crop estimates	15
Livestock estimates	12
Total, Statistical Agency	27
<u>Land Management Agency:</u>	
Management of Federal rangeland	11
Total, all agencies	2,983

Figure 2

PPBS Program Structure
(Dollars in Millions)

Programs	Budget Year	BY +1	BY +2	BY +3	BY +4	BY +5
Farm income	\$ 2,530	\$ 2,400	\$ 2,100	\$ 2,000	\$ 2,000	\$ 2,000
Agricultural production capacity ..	382	368	357	350	325	300
Agricultural marketing and distribution system	71	75	80	80	80	80
Total	2,983	2,843	2,537	2,430	2,405	2,380

Crosswalk -- Budget Year
(Dollars in Millions)

Programs	Research Agency	Credit Agency	Technical Assistance Agency	Statistical Agency	Land Mgt. Agency	Total
Farm income.	\$ 10	\$ 2,500	\$ 20	\$ --	\$ --	\$ 2,530
Agricultural production capacity . . .	230	100	26	15	11	382
Agricultural marketing and distribution system	50	--	9	12	--	71
Total	290	2,600	55	27	11	2,983

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Agency Locations in the PPBS Program Structure

PROGRAM CATEGORY Program Subcategory	Agencies																							
	ARS	CSRS	FES	FCS	SCS	ERS	SRS	C&MS	FAS	IADS	CEA	ASCS	FCIC	REA	FHA	RCDS	OIG	OGC	Inf	NAL	OMS	FS	GA	P&SA
INCOME AND ABUNDANCE:																								
Farm Income.....		X	X	X		X						X	X		X									
Agricultural Production Capacity.....	X	X	X		X	X						X										X		
Agricultural Marketing and Distribution System.....	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X	X												X
GROWING NATIONS—NEW MARKETS:																								
Food for Freedom.....						X			X			X												
Export Market Development.....	X	X				X		X	X			X												
Agricultural Development.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X		X		X	X		X	X	
International Agricultural Services.....									X															
Imports.....	X							X	X															
DIMENSIONS FOR LIVING:																								
Diets and Nutrition.....	X	X	X					X				X												
Health.....	X	X	X					X														X	X	
Education and Training.....			X																			X		
Services for Living.....	X	X	X			X						X												
COMMUNITIES OF TOMORROW:																								
Community Development Services.....	X	X	X	X	X	X									X	X						X		
Housing.....	X	X		X		X									X									
Public Facility and Business Expansion.....														X	X							X		
Resource Protection and Environmental Improvement...	X	X			X	X									X							X		
Recreation, Wildlife, and Natural Beauty.....	X	X	X			X						X			X							X		
Timber.....	X	X	X												X							X		
GENERAL SUPPORT:																								
General Administration.....																								X
Program Support.....	X																X	X	X	X	X			

The Program Planning Mechanism at the Department Level

The planning process at the Department level includes the following generalized steps:

1. The definition of public goals and objectives.
2. The identification or design of alternative programs (methods, means, or systems) to achieve the specified goals and objectives.
3. Evaluation of the relative cost and effectiveness of the alternatives, or combinations of the alternatives -- over time.
4. Selection of the preferred alternative or combination.

In USDA the planning process covers three overlapping time-frames:

1. The year 2000,
2. The five-year PPBS program planning period, and
3. The annual budget.

The mechanism for program planning at the Department level (defining goals and objectives for each of the three time-frames, identifying and evaluating the cost and effectiveness of alternatives, and developing a proposed plan of action) consists of three major components:

1. Program Planning Committees (sometimes referred to as Program Task Forces), each chaired by an Assistant Secretary, with agency heads or their representatives as members.
2. The Program and Budget Review Committee, chaired by the Under Secretary, with Assistant Secretaries and Directors as members.
3. The Secretary.

Program Planning Committees receive, review, and evaluate agency program proposals and special evaluation studies; develop a proposed multi-year plan of action (including outputs and inputs) for the program planning period, and a draft Program Memorandum for each program planning package setting forth the program recommendations and supporting analysis; and transmit these materials with recommendations through the chairman to the Program and Budget Review Committee.

Because its activities may be included in several program areas, one agency may be represented on several task forces.

The Program and Budget Review Committee reviews Program Planning Committee recommendations, modifies them as needed, and makes its recommendations to the Secretary.

The Secretary makes the final Department decision on goals, objectives, programs, and program levels for subsequent review and approval by the President and the Congress.

This set of arrangements is represented schematically in Figure 5. This process is similar to the one used in the years prior to 1965 -- except for the introduction of the program planning committees. Because the new planning framework cuts across agency lines, and across the agency jurisdictions of the Assistant Secretaries, some device is needed to bring the program and policy issues into focus across these traditional bureaucratic lines.

In previous years, when specific problems compelled attention to interagency planning coordination -- usually on a crisis basis -- we did use ad hoc interagency groups to do this job. The only real difference under the PPB System is that we have recognized the permanent nature of these coordination problems and have established a permanent mechanism to cope with them.

Systematic Program Analysis

The third major change introduced by PPBS is the much greater emphasis being placed upon the application of systematic analysis to programs.

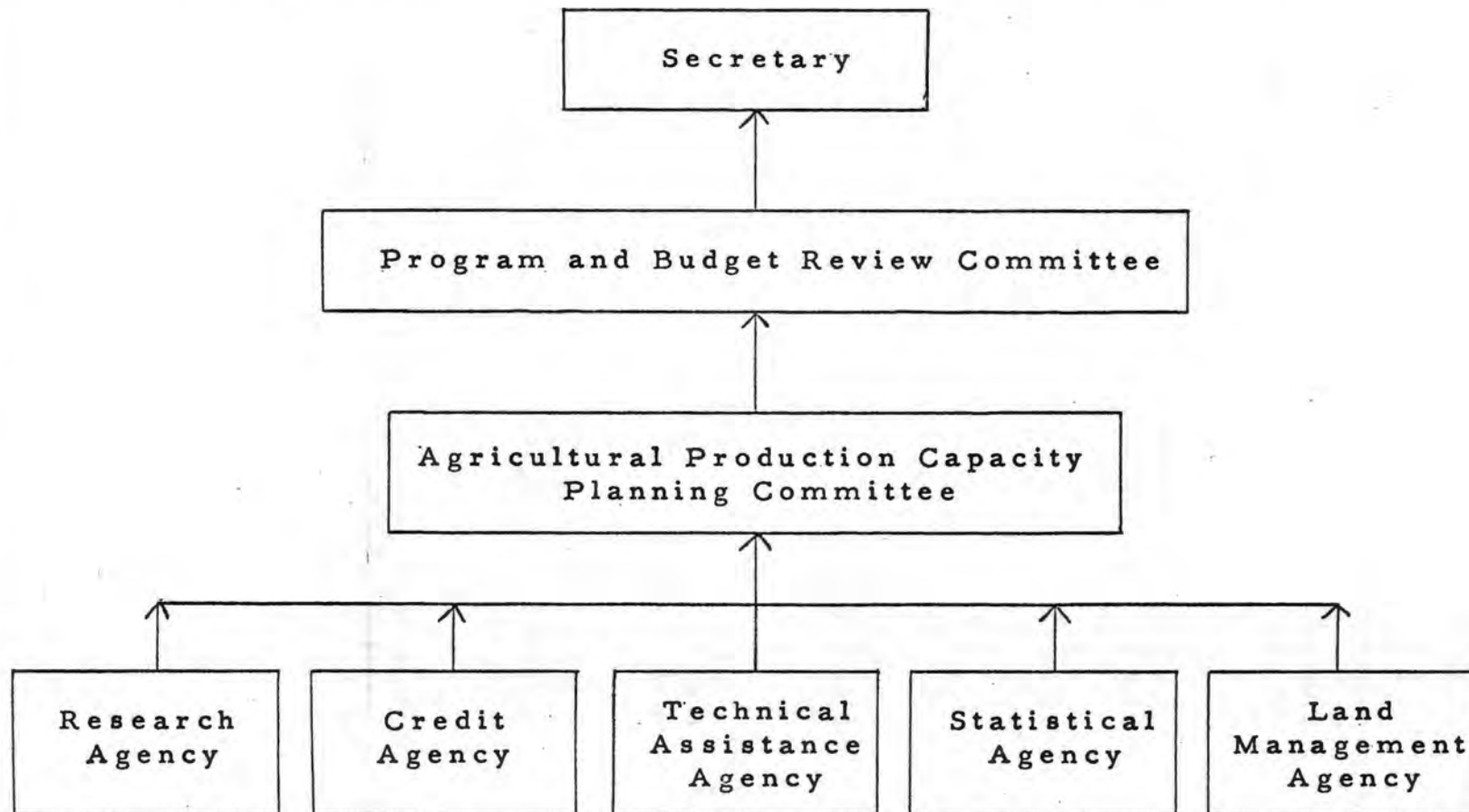
The use of systematic analysis was not new to the Department either. For a long time we had been applying quantitative techniques to selected program issues -- including economic and statistical analysis.

But PPBS forced us to extend these methods to program areas where they hadn't been tried before and to apply them at organizational levels new to their use.

A lot of us have had to go back to school for a while to find out what's been happening during the past 10-20 years in these fields, since major developments and improvements in techniques and methods have occurred.

The recasting of activities into new sets of programs has opened up many new types of analytical questions which lend themselves to the use of more systematic quantitative techniques.

The Department of Agriculture Program Planning System



For instance, the program planning strategy involves selecting for each program planning package a set of activities and program levels which: (a) will yield the maximum output of specified benefits to selected target groups within a given budget level, or (b) will yield a given output of specified benefits to selected target groups at minimum cost; in either case, within applicable constraints.

To evaluate the relative contributions that an activity, such as research or credit, can make as a component of a program planning package, policy makers need to have information answering the following questions:

1. What are the expected outputs of the activity (goods, services, products, processes, or significant technological developments or events)?
2. What are the nature and extent of the anticipated net benefits of these outputs?
3. How are these net benefits likely to be distributed (who receives them, how much, and when)?
4. In what manner do these net benefits contribute to the goals and objectives of the program planning package?
5. What is the probability of successful attainment of the output, and when is it likely to occur?
6. What are the expected costs, over time, of the activity -- at different activity rates?
7. Who pays how much of the costs (Federal, State, industry, private)?
8. What are the relative costs and effectiveness of alternative methods of performing the activity (contract, grant, in-house, etc.)?

To establish the degree of confidence that can be placed in estimates and predictions concerning the above, we are developing documented systematic analyses of historical results of activities covering the same type of information -- on a quantitative basis wherever possible.

I don't intend to suggest -- or predict -- that everything will be done "by the numbers" from now on. Far from it. We understand -- I hope -- the difference between those factors that are unmeasurable, and those which have simply been unmeasured up to now.

But we do believe that more sophisticated systematic analysis -- including quantitative analysis where numbers are available and relevant -- will help decision-makers apply experienced judgment more effectively.

And while we don't believe that all problems can be solved entirely on a quantitative basis -- we do believe that in many areas we have not made as much use of quantitative analysis as we could, and should.

When Secretary Freeman formally launched the Planning-Programming-Budgeting System in the Department, he directed each of the eight largest agencies to establish full-time analytic staffs reporting directly to top agency management. ^{1/} At the same time, he set up a central staff in the Immediate Office of the Secretary -- now called the Planning, Evaluation, and Programming Staff.

In many cases this merely resulted in program analysts already in business being designated as staff members in the new units. But in many cases, it also resulted in a substantial increase in the number of analysts working on program evaluation.

Last year we reported to the House and Senate Appropriations Committees that the staff effort directly attributable to PPBS for the entire Department was about 70 man-years, costing \$1 million annually.

This group of analysts, in addition to their organizational roles, also serve as technical staff aides to the Program Planning Committees. At least one analyst from Secretary Freeman's staff plus analysts from agency staffs are assigned to each of the program task forces.

The Program and Financial Plan

The fourth significant change made by PPBS is the requirement that we develop and document, for the Department as a whole, a comprehensive, balanced, internally consistent multi-year Program and Financial Plan (PFP).

This Plan must relate quantitative output targets to goals and objectives -- by years -- and specify the resources required (the inputs needed) to achieve those targets.

This had never been done before for USDA -- although a few (a very few) individual agencies had done this on their own initiative.

^{1/} See Secretary's Memorandum No. 1589, Appendix A.

A draft PFP covering fiscal years 1968-1972 was prepared in calendar year 1966, but because the effort was experimental and the results unsatisfactory, Secretary Freeman did not give that draft plan his approval. Last year agency and Department level staff and policy officials intensified their efforts, and succeeded in developing a five-year plan covering fiscal years 1969-1973 that met the Secretary's standards. He gave his formal approval to it last Fall. It was sent to the Budget Bureau, and the first year of the Plan -- FY 1969 -- became the Department's official budget request for that year.

When President Johnson's budget decisions were made for 1969, we updated the plan to conform to his Budget, and are now beginning to develop revisions to cover fiscal years 1970-1974.

The new Program Structure, and the planning mechanism itself, have thus developed to the point where they are "operational" that is, they are in fact being used to make decisions at the Departmental level. They are also operational in the sense that these decisions, I am personally convinced, are in some key areas different from the decisions that were made, or would have been made, under the previous system. I also believe that they are -- on the whole -- better decisions, though you might find some disagreement about that in certain circles in Washington.

Implementation of the Plan

Our concern in PPBS is not exclusively with the development of program plans and budgets, of course. We are also vitally interested in the follow through -- the carrying out of the plan. Implementation of the approved plan of action (that is -- the approved annual budget) in the Department of Agriculture is primarily the responsibility of the heads of constituent agencies by specific delegation of authority from the Secretary.

In contrast with the Department-level mechanism for program planning, Secretary Freeman exercises direction and control over program implementation through cognizant Assistant Secretaries and Directors, each responsible for a set of constituent agencies.

While the Secretary does not directly implement programs, he is responsible for seeing that administrative systems for implementing programs are well designed and operating effectively. To discharge this responsibility he needs assurance that information is available to Assistant Secretaries, Directors, and staff offices on the extent and quality of constituent agency capability and performance. This includes performance in producing the outputs the agency "contracted" to produce when the input resources were approved.

The existing program reporting and financial management systems were, of course, geared to the conventional agency and budget structure. While some of the program reporting -- and much of the financial reporting -- fit very nicely into the new PPB Program Structure, we found that we could not rely on existing systems entirely to permit monitoring program accomplishments in terms of the new structure. Since the resource allocation decisions of the Secretary and the President are being made in terms of the new program categories, we must have some means of ascertaining whether the resources are being used to produce the outputs agreed upon when the decision was initially made -- and, if not, what steps can and should be taken.

On the output side we found that agencies had been using quantitative measures of accomplishment in the old system -- but many of them had never established reliable reporting systems to determine performance against these same measures. So we have established what is called a Program Attainment Reporting System -- to obtain periodic reports of the status of achieving the outputs targeted for the year. At present, this is exclusively an output reporting system -- not linked to inputs. We did this deliberately in order to focus attention and energies on the output problem -- and not let people be tempted to concentrate all their energy and time on input reporting. We already had fairly good input reporting under the previous system -- much of it directly relatable to the new program structure.

Now that we have made a fair start on improving output reporting, we are beginning to turn our attention to improving the input side. Efforts are underway in all agencies to redesign accounting systems in accordance with new principles and standards issued by the General Accounting Office -- which, incidentally, require accounting support for the PPB Program Structure as well as for the conventional budget structure.

In Conclusion

I don't want to leave the impression that I feel we have reached the point where the PPB System is operating at peak efficiency or effectiveness in the Department.

We have made considerable progress in the past two years -- but we have a long way to go.

There are still a lot of problems:

- Lack of adequate data for many programs
- Insufficient numbers of trained and experienced personnel

- Lack of agreement on the specifications for some of our program goals and objectives.
- Continuing resistance and foot-dragging by some people who don't like change, or who are not convinced that this particular change will help them.

But we have come far enough along to be able to say with some assurance that the outstanding question is whether we can improve the system -- not whether we will have the system.

Our success in improving the system depends in large part on engaging the widespread participation of the many skilled people who work day in and day out on the various contributing management systems throughout the agencies.

Their willingness to participate effectively depends in large part on their understanding of what it is for, and why. And perhaps, to some extent on their understanding of what it is not.

I feel that the subject of PPBS can particularly benefit from some discussion of what it is not -- because there seems to be more than the usual amount of misunderstanding and misinformation surrounding it.

So let me conclude by making a few comments on what PPB is not -- at least as we view it in the Department of Agriculture.

PPB is not -- an attempt to centralize decision-making. PPB is just a somewhat more systematic and rigorous way of looking at how the resources available can be used most effectively to help reach the goals of the Nation.

It does involve the use of a set of special techniques -- but they are techniques that are as applicable and helpful to decentralized decision-making as to centralized decision-making. The techniques are essentially neutral with respect to the centralization-decentralization question.

PPB is not -- a scheme to turn decision-making over to electronic computers. A lot of people today are arguing that computers can't do this job -- can't "make these decisions." The fact is -- no responsible person I know has ever claimed that computers could make the types of decisions involved here. Perhaps it will be enough at this point to quote something President Johnson said in his statement to the Cabinet on August 25, 1965, when he launched PPBS throughout the Government:

"It is important to remember one thing: no system, no matter how refined, can make decisions for you. You and I have that responsibility in the Executive Branch. But our judgment is

no better than our information. This system will present us with the alternatives and information on the basis of which we can, together, make better decisions. The people will be the beneficiary." 1/

PPB is not -- merely a "numbers game"; it is not just a more elaborate, complicated, and expensive way to get the same results as the old way. The expectation is that the "numbers will count" -- that through these techniques decision-making will be improved.

That means that some decisions will turn out to be different from what they otherwise would have been. This in turn means, or could mean, that some activities receive less favorable consideration. But it also means that many activities receive more favorable consideration.

I suspect that much of the apprehension about PPB felt by many program managers is due to the fact they are not quite certain in which category they will fit.

Finally, PPB is not -- a way to get maximum effectiveness for minimum cost. This statement always startles my budget friends -- and others -- who assume that this is the only worthwhile objective of the whole system.

But if you listen carefully to the theorists, and read carefully the growing body of literature, you will discover that the position is that maximum effectiveness at minimum cost is an impossible goal.

One of the key documents in PPB history is the book written by Hitch and McKean, published in 1960 under the title Economics of Defense in the Nuclear Age. Here's how they put it:

"Actually, of course, it is impossible to choose that policy which simultaneously maximizes gain and minimizes cost, because there is no such policy. To be sure, in a comparison of policies A and B, it may turn out occasionally that A yields greater gain, yet costs less, than B. But A will not also yield more and cost less than all other policies, C through Z; and A will therefore not maximize yield while minimizing cost. Maximum gain is infinitely large, and minimum cost is zero. Seek the policy which has that outcome, and you will not find it." 2/

1/ White House Press Release, August 25, 1965.

2/ The Economics of Defense in the Nuclear Age, by Charles J. Hitch and Roland N. McKean; originally published by Harvard University Press; page 165 of the First Atheneum Edition, 1965 (paperback).

The same point is illustrated by an anecdote they tell in the Defense Department about a new bomber developed as a result of PPB systems analysis -- you may have heard about it -- it was designed to fly at the speed of light, which it did, but its range was zero.

* * * * *

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250

October 27, 1965

SECRETARY'S MEMORANDUM NO. 1589

Planning - Programming - Budgeting System

The President has directed that we install an integrated Planning - Programming - Budgeting System.

The new system will improve the program and budget decision-making process by providing more effective information for all of us to use in allocating resources to accomplish our predetermined objectives.

Specialized staff assistance is essential to the successful operation of this system. Permanent Department and agency planning and programming staffs, operating within the framework of overall policy guidance, will --

- * Conduct comprehensive reviews to define program objectives in specific terms capable of being analyzed, with definite time periods in which the objectives are to be accomplished. In order to make intelligent budget choices, we must be able to analyze the output of a program and compare what we get with what we have to pay. To do this we must be specific about program objectives.
- * Identify concrete measures of program effectiveness. To improve the decision-making process we will have to go beyond formulating our objectives more clearly and analytically. The second major task will be to develop "indicators" that tell us how well -- or poorly -- we are doing. It will not be easy to get simple measures that can tell us how we are doing but I believe we can develop measures of effectiveness that are not only useful but essential if we are to understand how our programs contribute to our objectives.
- * Develop and compare alternative ways of accomplishing objectives. The third crucial step in this process

is the development and comparison of alternative ways of doing the job. We need to examine and reexamine existing programs as well as new ones in our search for better alternatives.

These tasks cannot be carried out on a short-term, ad hoc basis. Instead, it calls for a continuing effort to study our existing and proposed programs in the needed depth. We need to deepen our understanding about objectives and measures of effectiveness and to develop increasingly better alternatives over time. To do this requires that we establish a planning - programming - budgeting staff of highly competent people throughout the Department. They will prepare a comprehensive multiyear Program and Financial Plan for approval by the Secretary. Annual budget decisions will be based upon the Program and Financial Plan and Special Studies.

In initiating the system, programs will be grouped according to their major objectives or missions.

In many cases, these groupings will cut across agency lines.

In regrouping programs into a structure that will facilitate meaningful analysis, the staffs will be asking the following questions:

What do we do (program)?
Why do we do it (objective)?
How are we doing (output in relation to our objectives -- i. e., RESULTS)?

Although the Under Secretary has primary responsibility for establishing the system and for coordinating its operation, the Program and Budget Review Committee will continue to provide a means for coordinated policy review of program and budget issues, and I will personally participate in the evaluation and approval of the Department's Program and Financial Plan.

A staff is being established in the Office of the Secretary to coordinate and conduct special studies; review and help prepare the Program and Financial Plan; and analyze the effectiveness of programs designed to achieve major Department objectives. This staff will be directed by Howard W. Hjort who is hereby designated Special Assistant to the Under Secretary. The Director and his staff will work in close cooperation with the agencies and staff offices of the Department. Their work will be carefully coordinated with the work of the Office of Budget and Finance.

Each agency head will take action to assure that he has adequate staff resources available to analyze the effectiveness of agency programs and participate in special studies. At a minimum, the head of each of the following agencies should take immediate steps to select or designate a staff or highly competent persons who will be available to assist him on a full-time basis in this effort:

Agricultural Research Service	Foreign Agricultural Service
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service	Forest Service
Consumer and Marketing Service	Rural Electrification Administration
Farmers Home Administration	Soil Conservation Service

Agency staffs will report directly to the agency head. Guidance and assistance in determining personnel requirements and functions of the agency staffs may be obtained from the Director of the Department's staff. The names of persons selected should be furnished to the Director as soon as possible -- but not later than November 30.

More detailed procedural instructions and guidelines will be issued from time to time. It is vital that we proceed promptly and vigorously to get this system into operation. The President intends to use it for the development of his fiscal year 1968 budget -- a process which will begin within the next three months.

This is a big job -- and a tough one.

The President believes it can be done -- and so do I.

Your effort, ingenuity, and cooperation are needed -- and expected.



USDA Program Structure
(Dollars in Millions)

PROGRAM CATEGORY Program Subcategory	FY 1967 Actual
<u>INCOME AND ABUNDANCE:</u>	\$
Farm income.....	3,783
Agricultural Production Capacity.....	591
Agricultural Marketing and Distribution System.....	79
Total, Income and Abundance.....	4,453
<u>GROWING NATIONS—NEW MARKETS:</u>	
Food for Freedom.....	1,618
Export Market Development.....	20
Agricultural Development.....	3
International Agricultural Services.....	7
Imports.....	13
Total, Growing Nations—New Markets.....	1,662
<u>DIMENSIONS FOR LIVING:</u>	
Diets and Nutrition.....	823
Health.....	73
Education and Training.....	24
Services for Living.....	49
Total, Dimensions for Living.....	970
<u>COMMUNITIES OF TOMORROW:</u>	
Community Development Services.....	22
Housing.....	131
Public Facility and Business Expansion.....	561
Resource Protection and Environmental Improvement.....	220
Recreation, Wildlife, and Natural Beauty.....	53
Timber.....	302
Total, Communities of Tomorrow.....	1,290
<u>RESOURCES IN ACTION: 1/</u>	
Resources for Agricultural Production.....	(416)
Resources for Timber.....	(302)
Resources for Recreation, Wildlife, and Natural Beauty.....	(53)
Resources for Community Development.....	(58)
Resource Protection and Environmental Improvement.....	(220)
Total, Resources in Action.....	(1,049)
<u>SCIENCE IN THE SERVICE OF MAN: 1/</u>	
Income and Abundance.....	(178)
Growing Nations—New Markets.....	(7)
Dimensions for Living.....	(90)
Communities of Tomorrow.....	(24)
Resources in Action.....	(61)
Total, Science in the Service of Man.....	(361)
<u>GENERAL SUPPORT:</u>	
General Administration.....	4
Program Support.....	23
Total, General Support.....	27
<u>TOTAL, USDA.....</u>	<u>8,401</u>

1/ The figures in these Categories are included for display purposes only, and are not included in Department totals. They represent a reclassification of certain programs included in the other Categories.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

