

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

Mr. Johnson:

Bill Steven has information that under depletion allowance coming up this afternoon, oil men would take between a 5% and 7% cut. He doesn't want to quote anybody, just seeking verification. Needs answer within hour, he says.

CKB/mf  
1-23  
12:15 pm



The President called Mr. Johnson  
at 2:30 p.m., Feb. 9, 1963 (Sat)  
re: Finance Committee and  
related ---

Will talk again on Mon., Feb. 11

TELEPHONE: \_\_\_\_\_

☐ IF REFERRED TO YOU BY:

☐ REFERRING AGENCY NAME:

☐ AGENT NAME:

☐ AGENCY NAME:

☐ ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE:

☐ ADDRESS AND PHONE:

TELEPHONE:	Address of agent	Address
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☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY:

☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY:

TO:

NEWSPAPER OF CITY

ST-100

1001 E. 10th St.  
St. Paul, Minn. 55101

DATE

TIME



Standard Form 63  
Nov. 1961 Edition  
63-104

# MEMORANDUM OF CALL

Date	Time
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TO—

☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY— ☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY—

TELEPHONE:	Number or code	Extension
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- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> PLEASE CALL            | <input type="checkbox"/> WAITING TO SEE YOU    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> WILL CALL AGAIN        | <input type="checkbox"/> WISHES AN APPOINTMENT |
| <input type="checkbox"/> RETURNING YOUR CALL    |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> IS REFERRED TO YOU BY: |  |

LEFT THIS MESSAGE: \_\_\_\_\_

WILL CALL AGAIN ON MON. 3 SEP. 11	
10:30 AM ---	
cc: AIRMAIL COURIER 304	
31 3:30 P.M. 3 SEP. 3 1962 (254)	
100 Pleasant	Received By— MR. Tolson



Telephone Conversation between the Vice President and Dr. Robert Weaver (Housing  
and Home Finance Administrator - Feb. 11, 1963 - 4:10 PM

VPres: Hello, Bob just a minute, my girl is going to get on the line and give me the dates on my Texas itinerary. She's in the other office but she will be on in just a minute.

Juanita: Mr. Vice President?

VPres: What dates am I in Texas? This is Dr. Weaver on the phone.

Juanita: You leave on the 20th and there through Sunday the 24th.

VPres: Sunday the 24th and I'm not sure I'll be back the 25th...I told them this morning I would if I could so I believe I'd say the 25th or 26th.

Dr.

Weaver: All right sir. I'll get in touch with him and then I'll clear back with your office to make sure on a given date.

VPres: I spent some time with Governor Lawrence and told him what we've done and how we were doing with the various plans and we're having a tentative meeting this afternoon...we want to talk to you about it a little later on our next community conference.

Dr.

Weaver: Fine

VPres: We're going to try to suggest that they go out and get the local employers and the local civic leaders and kind of have a plan for progress in the community as well as the nation. We've shown what we can do with the labor leaders now and with the business leaders...now we can see if we can do it on a community basis. Might try to have the leaders of all the communities come in sometime this Spring.

Dr.

Weaver: Well, what I wanted you to do with Collins would be to tell him that this is part of his job and that you expect him and I expect him (I'll tell him too) but I wanted you to tell him you expect him to do it.

VPres: I'll sure do it. You can count on that.

Dr. All right, sir. Bye.

Weaver



Telephone conversation between Vice President Johnson and  
Ralph Dungan - February 12, 1963 - 2:50 PM - The Capitol, Washington DC

VPres: Hello.

Mr. Dungan: Hi, Mr. Vice President?

VPres: Hi, Ralph, how are you?

Mr. Dungan: Fine, sir. I talked to the President this morning and after having done a recheck on the security situation in the Dominican Republic...and he would very much like you to go down there if you could find it free to doing so... on the 27th of February.

VPres: 27th? All right, I'll look into that. Who have you got in mind going?

Mr. Dungan: Well now, sir, I wanted to check that one out with you before I moved forward on that. There have been a number of people that...as I explained to you the other day...whom the Dominicans, (Mr. Bosch, the new President) have invited directly among them being...

VPres: Who does the President want, though? Who do you want?

Mr. Dungan: Well, what we thought we'd do is to send about four or five guys down as part of an official delegation and then ask some of these other guys that have been invited to come along on the plane, if that is all right with you. Like Morse, if he goes. and Justice Douglas. The fellows that we would like to put on and these are all political types, a guy by the name of Lemon Wilcox who is a lawyer from Iowa, George Backer...do you know him..New York, he's a monied fellow, needs to be coddled..

VPres: I'm for doing that.

Mr. Dungan: George Meany.

VPres: I'm for that.

Mr. Dungan: He was invited by them but I think we can include him on the delegation. A guy by the name of Martin Jenkins who is President of a college up in Baltimore, negro college...pretty good fellow I gather...good politically, too. Another one...



fellow by the name of Charles Hall who's been doing some money raising. He's from Florida...Miami. All of these with the exception of Backer, Wilcox and Meany are unknown to me...that is Jenkins and Hall I don't know personally.

VPres: That doesn't make any difference...if there's a good reason for it. I guess this is Maguire or somebody who knows what he's doing.

Mr. Dungan: Yes.

VPres: That's good. O.K. I like this...if they'll give me a little background on them and I'll get back to you within ...well by in the morning.

Mr. Dungan: All right, sir.

VPres: And, uh, get me a little background on them so I can give them whatever treatment I can...

Mr. Dungan: Right. If you have any, you let me know. ....

VPres: Sure will.

Mr. Dungan: Then we'll decide ...I think it's optional as to whether wives go...I imagine your wife would probably like to go.

VPres: Well, she doesn't, but I take her nearly all the time ...I have ever since I had my heart attack...I don't want to get off somewhere and have something happen to me...and be by myself, it's kind of a psychological thing with me, but....

Mr. Dungan: Well, I understand that heart is better than mine.

VPres: It is. It is...

Mr. Dungan: Well, what are you worried about?

VPres: Well you just don't lose consciousness of it...I've been paying \$7500 a year for \$100,000.00 policy and they reduced it to \$6421...and now they've reduced it to \$4931...so, I'm doing better....but, I've always done it and then I think she leaves a better impression than I do.

Mr. Dungan: I think the ladies always do.



VPres: She goes out and speaks to them, you know, and goes to the orphans homes...

Mr. Dungan: Now, look, there is...I want to be very clear that this is an uncertain situation. We're doing readings on the security side. Now it looks find. But if it turns out somewhere along the line...and we're taking readings every couple of days....why, we're going to blow the whistle.

VPres: I understand that. And I don't want to.....pause....

Mr. Dungan: Well, I'm thinking of you.

VPres: Now, this is the 27th.

Mr. Dungan: You see Betancourt is going to be up there and he's the Target No. 1 for the Cubans and they just might unleash something directed at him and we'd get caught in the middle of it. We're going to have some Marine's around so I don't think there's any problem but I just wanted to tell you that and all the possibilities.

VPres: That's all right. Just as long as you'all are satisfied, why it would be all right with me.

Mr. Dungan: O.K., sir.

VPres: And, I'll get back in touch with you by in the morning, Ralph. Appreciate the pleasure of doing business with you. Mighty grateful to have a fellow like you.

Mr. Dungan: Thank you, sir.

VPres: Bye.



4.

insistance

In March 1962 March 21st we reached agreement with Secret Service /at our that (1) <sup>(2)</sup> no secret service agent be assigned to me ~~except~~ on a full time basis ~~except when I was out of the city~~ (2) except when traveling abroad or on important national missions (a) <sup>(b)</sup> When you went overseas you would request the assignment of such agents on a temporary basis only.

(3) When you made trips within the continental US that required agents you would notify Mr. Rowley's office and agents would be provided by field offices in the towns where you visited.

5 Tentatively requested \$221 -- we got the letter referred it back to them made them cut it to \$100 .

- ✓ 1. Agents were first assigned to us, not up the request of the Vice President but upon the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury to accompany the Vice President upon foreign missions.
2. When the VP was first approached by/ about the bill which had been set up during the Eisenhower administration and recommended by the previous Secy of the Treasury/ <sup>and present Secy of Treasury</sup> and the Chief of Secret Service, The Vice President immediately stated his opposition <sup>and told</sup> Senate leaders not to schedule it.
3. The bill was therefore helped <sup>hip</sup> up from July '61 to October '62 and in the Vice President's absence <sup>was</sup> and passed unanimously. <sup>Since</sup> Sen. Dirksen had first introduced it during the Eisenhower administration and there was no objection <sup>to</sup> the Senate and reason given was not only did it fill a gap the Secret Service, Secy of Treasury and President felt was necessary to close but it ~~covered~~ <sup>covered</sup> other persons other than affected the Vice President.



COPY

David?

B.-How are you?

LBJ-Fine, I am going to come eat some of your vittles some of these days before long, I understand.

B-We were delighted to hear that and we will be looking forward to having you.

LBJ-Say, I've got problems. This story of Mr. John Mc\_\_\_\_\_, Fort Worth Star Telegram, reports Mr. Brinkley as saying that Eisenhower turned in what he called a tight budget and that Congress tacked more than two billion on it before it passed. What's your \_\_\_\_\_?

B-Uhhh, let's see.

LBJ-The reason I say so is because I've been challenged and I took the position that we reduced every Eisenhower bill that ever came to Congress.

B-Uhhh.

LBJ-Got a record of the appropriations here in the Senate.

B-Well, I can't give you the year off-hand I'll have to look it up. It was the year when he sent up his budget and he said I have cut this all I can and lets see what you can do with it. Remember that?

LBJ-Yeah, but we cut every one of them.

B-Well, when the year was over and the money was spent, the total was ~~more~~ two billion more than his budget, as I recall it. You do not remember that?

LBJ-Uh - uhh. That's not \_\_\_\_\_. January 3, 1953, September 1, 1960, every Eisenhower budget was cut from twelve billion to 211 million. The first session it was cut ~~from~~ twelve billion - of course that was a combination of Eisenhower and Truman. The second session it was cut \$2,609,870,123. At the first session of the 84th it was cut \$2,075,807,874, the second session it was cut 257,495,212. The first session of the 85th it was cut 5,043,485,784. The second session it was cut 617,242,723. The first session of the 86th it was cut \$1,880,329,527.

B-Is there an allowance for a Deficiency Appropriation?

LBJ-Yessir.

B-Uh, huh.

LBJ-All of his budget estimates, all of his appropriations, \_\_\_\_\_, every one of them. The reason, we had a policy, David, to cut every budget estimate.

B-Oh, I remember that.

LBJ-And we made them call the roll on it so everybody could be recorded. And we said that and this fellow said, Oh, no, \_\_\_\_\_ it was more than Eisenhower asked. I asked the Appropriations Committee to get this article to them. In this fellow's letter, here's what



they say. The Committee records do not support this reckless payment. President Eisenhower's budget was increased for more than two billion any year, the Committee records show Mr. Eisenhower's budget was reduced every single ~~\$\$\$~~ year. That was the 83rd Congress, from January 3, 1953 to Sept. 1, 1960.

B-Well, your knowledge of it is better than mine and I wrote that about six weeks ago but I don't remember the details off hand. But let me go back -

LBJ-I'll tell you this and then you check it and if we are in error I want to get me and you in a fight.

B-No, well, we're not going to have any fight.

LBJ-Well, I mean with backing us with their letters.

Now I will send you our source, you want me to give you citations: Page 782, Appropriations Budget Estimate, Senate Document 162, 87th Congress, 2nd Session.

B-All right, okay.

LBJ-That's compiled by the Appropriations Committee.

B-Okay. I'll do that and I'll have an answer -

LBJ- Comparison of budget estimate and appropriations of all Eisenhower Congresses. I'll just make a photostat of this and you can check its source and it may be the Appropriations Committee has screwed up or overlooked something. I'll send it to you. And where will I reach you. NBC?

B-Yeah- uh,uhhh.

LBJ-What --?

B-4801 Nebraska Ave.

LBJ-Okay, I'll get it out. Thank you my friend.

B-Thank you.

LBJ-I'll see you.

B-Goodbye.

LBJ-Goodbye.



COPY

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B-Yeah- uh,uhhh.

LBJ-What --?

B-4801 Nebraska Ave.

LBJ-Okay, I'll get it out. Thank you my friend.

B-Thank you.

LBJ-I'll see you.

B-Goodbye.

LBJ-Goodbye.



13 Liquid  
Brickley

on the Rowan of Ill.

Mr Perry  
Per conu

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transcriptions

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Telephone Conversation between James A. Rowan and Juanita Roberts: 5/16/63

COPY

R-This is Jim Rowan, Democratic State Chairman of Illinois.

J-Yes sir.

R-We have information out here that the Vice President is coming up to make a graduation address at Jacksonville at the McMurry College. Are you aware of that?

J-Yes.

R.His niece is a graduate there.

R.What I was given to understand. My only reasons for calling you is this. If this is strictly a family affair and he doesn't want anything done about it, we understand that sort of a thing but if he was coming here to land at Springfield or something, we didn't want him to think we wouldn't have the red carpet out to meet him or something like that. You understand what I mean.

J.Yes, I do.

R.So I was wondering if you could find out for me what his schedule is or plans were and we certainly want to do something if the VP is coming out here if he wanted us to. Now if he doesn't, I can understand how it could be purely a family affair, but if it isn't we would be very happy to arrange a reception or luncheon or anything he might want.

J. You are mighty, mighty kind, Mr. Rowan, and I want to pass this on to ~~you~~ <sup>him</sup>. And we will be back in touch with you

soon. Now would you give me your - two things. Your mailing address and your telephone number.

R.-Well, all right. The mailing address of the Democratic State Headquarters is at -

J.-What's your best address. Your quickest one.

R.-Well, my quickest one is the Dept. of Finance. I am the Director of Finance for the State.

J.-Yessir.

R. And it is Room 202, in the State Capital Building.

J.-All right.

R. And my private wire number here is - this is in area 217, Springfield, and the local number is 523 5531.

J.All right. And would you want to give me your home address and telephone number?

R. Well, my home is in Chicago.

J.Yes sir.

R. And my telephone number is Plaza 2 8778 and the area code in Chicago is 312. My home address is 1734 East 71st Pl. Chicago, 49, Illinois. But I'm down here ordinarily on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, and Chicago on the week ends.

J.All right. Well, again, thank you very much for what you've said and I will get this into the hands of the people who make the detailed plans and coordinate with all persons. And you will be hearing from us. (Thanks were said and then goodbye)



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

Mr. Johnson,

This is a verbatim transcript  
of the recording.

You may like to glance at the  
last page --- Dr. Heller's comment  
on business investment.

mjdr



TRANSCRIPT  
CONVERSATION BETWEEN DR. HELLER AND MJDR  
MAY 18, 1963

Dr. H. I was just talking to the Vice President giving him some key figures for use in Oklahoma on Monday and I find that a couple of the figures I gave him were not exactly correct as a matter of fact, they're better than I had given to him and I want to give him one other figure. Now, where --- he was speaking from a mobile phone, where was he headed?

MJDR: I don't know, Dr. Heller, how long ago was this?

DR. H: Five minutes ago.

MJDR: Perhaps he's on his way here, but we haven't heard from him.

DR. H: Well now, would you be sure to get this information to him if I give it to you?

MJDR: Yes Sir, I surely will.

DR. H: All right, first of all I gave him some Gross National Product figures and they were correct. But, you might just jot them down. From an annual rate -- in other words, it grows from an annual rate of \$5 hundred billion, first quarter, '61. What he wanted to do is to get some measures of several things from the time the Kennedy Administration came in until today and so my figures are either first quarter of calendar '61 or, when I indicate this they will be January 1961. To show how much progress we've made. So, the first figure which as I say was correct, but I just thought you might since you're going to put it all on one piece of paper for him, you might include it. GNP rose from an annual rate of \$5 hundred billion in the first quarter of 1961 to \$572 billion in the first quarter of 1963. That's the first point.

The Second Point -- I was too modest -- personal income, I told him, increased from \$414 billion. Actually it was from \$404 billion. In other words, there's \$404 billion in January 1961 to \$454 billion last month (April 1963). And, of course, that's a very pretty figure because it's a rise of \$50 billion and you see that is \$10 billion better than I had given it to him before.

*Dr. Heller  
called back.  
Saying this is  
a 12%  
increase -*



Dr. H.: Now the third thing. He already had correct, that is Corporate Profits before taxes rose from \$40 billion as an annual rate when we came in. In other words, in the first quarter of 1961, to over \$52 billion at an annual rate today. The interesting thing about that is you see that is a 30% increase.

The next figure that I have I'm sorry I gave him the figure but the right figure is a good deal better. Industrial Production. I told him it expanded by 10% but that was --- somebody gave me the annual figure -- when you start from January 1961 we get a rise of --- now what's happened to my --- are you following these okay so we don't have any problem? Hold on just a second --- a rise from, well, the index was 102 when we came in in January 1961 and it is --- I'm sorry, as you can see, I'm doing some of this as I go along. Just a second, it's either 121 or 122 today. It's 122 today. So, the --- that instead of a 10% increase which I gave him, it's a rise of 20%. That's a very nice -- but again, you see what happened was that my staff, in the hurry when he called, gave me a year to year figure instead of giving it to me from January '61 to the present. That's why we went off the track. And, that, by the way, is, he may, I don't think he's going to go into details but he may want to know what is a hundred. Well, 1957 is 100 in this. We often put in parenthesis 1957 = 100. And, in those terms, Industrial Production Index -- that's the Federal Reserve Index --- of Industrial Production --- was 102 in January '61 to 122 today. A rise of 20%. He'll be pleased to see that because that's a whale of a lot better figure.

Now, a final point that I think is worth making with businessmen is that we've had remarkable price stability. The wholesale price index has actually declined since the Kennedy Administration was in office by a little bit, but I think the point to make is simply this -- that the wholesale price level was 101.0 when we came in and it is today --- let's see -- these things are never quite in the form you want them -- that's one of the main rules of economic statistics -- no matter how you want them, they're in a slightly different form. They just give me the change rather than today's figure. Excuse me just a moment. It's exactly 100.0 today. It was 101.0 when we came in. So that --- in other words, we've had -- it really is remarkable price stability and I think usually with a group of businessmen --- Of course on one hand they see that their own prices haven't risen so they're not so happy about that, but if they are talking about the bugaboo of inflation, we've held it just as steady as it could be. Now it's true Consumer Prices have gone up about



1% per year, but the wholesale price index which is -- from the standpoint of international competition, etc., is the important one that's held steady actually. Actually gone down a trifle. Well, I think those figures -- you'll be sure to get those to him, won't you?

MJDR: Yes, Dr. Heller, I certainly will.

DR. H.: Okay. After all, we have to convince the Oklahoma businessman that this Administration is doing its job. I think -- I don't know whether he'll want to, in terms of the policies of this Administration, would you mind if I added one more thing?

MJDR: I'll be happy to take it.

DR. H.: Note that the liberalized depreciation and the 7% investment tax credit put in by this Administration have already boosted business investment by \$1.2 billion-- that is business investment plans for 1963 by \$1.2 billion or almost half of the entire increase in business capital spending planned for this year. And that's -- then in parenthesis you might say -- that's based on a McGraw-Hill Survey --- because I think that one of the things one should do is not only show that the economy has done well, but that the Kennedy Administration can take credit for the better business conditions and I'm sure the Vice President is interested in showing that.

DR. H.: Well, thank you so much.

MJDR: Thank you, Dr. Heller.



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

Mr. Johnson:

This is real rough --  
but thought you might  
want to see it before  
it's recopied.

mf



The Attorney General to the Vice President, June 3, 1963, 12:02 pm

LBJ Hello.

AG Hello?

LBJ Yes, General.

AG Do you have any further thoughts on this legislation?

LBJ I sure do. I <sup>have</sup> got a good many, but I didn't think that the point ~~was~~ <sup>one</sup> with the limited information I had -- I've been in none of these conferences except the other day -- and I don't know it, I've never seen it. The first thing I got ~~was~~ the message this morning at 8:00 and I gave my comments to Ted at 9:00. I've given a good deal of thought to it. I told Kenny today ~~and~~ <sup>that</sup> if he <sup>wanted it</sup>, I'd be available any time the President wanted to discuss it with me.

*I was not  
in a position  
to be at home  
this day*

AG Do you think it's a good idea?

LBJ No, not the way we are approaching it, I don't.

AG What do you think we should do?

LBJ Well, I'll talk to you about it anytime you want to. I don't think we can go into it on the phone. I think the objective we seek is very desirable. I think the objective the Republicans seek is to divide the President and the South. And I think that we may very well do that anyway. But ~~if we do~~, I think that we ought to take precautions not to, if we can. And we must -- whatever we do -- do our homework so we can put the Republicans in ~~which~~ with us -- on the spot. ~~And stay here until we pass~~ <sup>believe</sup> ~~the bill.~~ I don't think we are at that stage yet. I'll go into all the details <sup>at any time</sup> but I think sending this message tomorrow -- if it's done -- will kill the President's program. I think that's bad. I think we've got to ~~have this~~. I think we got to pass legislation. I think we got to have one bill, but I think we ought to pick the time, we ought to pick the place, we ought to move them in with us and make them go instead of saying we're not doing enough, and we're doing too much. And, I don't think we've done that homework. ~~I don't think~~ I think we've got to do some work in the South -- not lecture to them and not teach them as errant children but just say we're going to treat these people as Americans. And I think we can that way get most of the votes for the bills we got to have and then we'll just keep them here like we did in 1937 ~~uh~~, 1957 <sup>uh</sup> until we pass the bill. And we got to see that the leadership people like Mansfield, and people like Smathers, people like Mills and the rest of them realize that we're going

*along  
the whole  
all*

*the  
Republicans  
treat  
must*



to stay here until we pass it. But I'd get their ~~stuff~~ <sup>measures</sup> out of the way, and while I was doing that, I'd talk to Mr. Eisenhower, <sup>and the</sup> Republicans and say now how far do you want to go. How much are you willing to do. <sup>When</sup> ~~We think~~ Here's what we think, ~~and try~~ -- this is a war, -- we're in war, ~~why~~ we all get together and close ranks. This is not a foreignone, it's a domestic one, but if we don't do something about, we're going to wreck this country. Let's quit playing politics with it -- we're not trying to just get a few ward votes. We're trying to treat everyone as Americans. And I'm fearful that as it is, ~~if the south~~ -- the Negro is ~~will consider it~~ <sup>the Negro</sup> too little and the South will consider it too much, then the President's program will go down the drain and he will be the one that pays the price. I think that what he's got to do ultimately this session is <sup>to</sup> let the world know and the country know what you and I know ~~already~~ -- that he's on the side of every American -- in other words, the government is behind the negro. And I think he's got <sup>have</sup> to do that dramatic. I think that's more important to him than all the little bills that we debated, ~~always~~. But once he lets them know that then I think we've got to pick the bills, go over them very carefully, consider every aspect of them, <sup>we have</sup> see that they have as much bipartisan support as you can ~~possible~~ and always be sure you got 67 votes for cloture/ which you can get -- which you don't have -- which in my judgement, <sup>but</sup> you won't get unless we do a good deal of spade work, <sup>and</sup> if you want me to give you an illustration or two of things that I think should be done, I would ask the House to move day and night, Saturdays, and get these bills passed -- <sup>the</sup> particularly tax bill. I would ask the President to stop in the Space Center in New Orleans or Miss, and I'd have Henry Gonzales introduce him in San Antonio -- maybe when he goes to White Sands ~~the~~ for 20 to 30 minutes. I'd have every television showing this Mexican and I'd have the President say something about him. <sup>--</sup> How proud he is that all Americans have opportunity and we want to see that they do in this country. I'd have him in ~~the~~ Georgia ~~thing~~ and I'd have Andy Hatcher walk into the hotel where he stays or speaks with him -- we did that in Richmond during the last campaign ~~when I~~ <sup>when I</sup> was ~~at~~ just a candidate and they didn't dare throw him out. And when I got these things about June -- <sup>always</sup> <sup>through</sup> <sup>make</sup> <sup>speeches</sup> <sup>there</sup> and I would go in ~~there~~ <sup>those areas</sup> and say in two or three pieces as a part of my general statement to elaborate some on some of the things that you have said, that I have said and he <sup>a</sup> said. But I'd say them right to their face. They'll respect his courage, <sup>has</sup> as it is now, they think we're just after votes, but we can make them see that he's got a conscience, that it's a human thing with him, that he's going to do what's



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AG I think those are some good ideas. Well, actually, I wanted  
to find out if you and the President could get together today.

LBJ I'll do it anytime you want to or anytime the President does.

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it's enough because they want a moral commitment and the South will think it's too much.

AG            OK. Thank you a lot.

LBJ.        Bye



Telephone Call from the Attorney General to the Vice President, June 3, 1963,  
12:02 pm

LBJ Hello.

AG Hello?

LBJ Yes, General.

AG Do you have any further thoughts on this legislation?

LBJ I sure do. I have a good many, but -- with the limited information I had -- I've been in none of these conferences except one the other day -- I was not in a position to be extensive this morning. I got the message this morning at 8:00, and I gave my comments to Ted at 9:00. I've given a good deal of thought to it. I told Kenny today that if he wished, I'd be available any time the President wanted to discuss it with me.

AG Do you think it's a good idea?

LBJ No, not the way we are approaching it, I don't.

AG What do you think we should do?

LBJ Well, I'll talk to you about it any time you want to. I don't think we can go into it on the phone. I think the objective we seek is very desirable. I think the objective the Republicans seek is to divide the President and the South. And I think that we may very well do that anyway. But I believe that we ought to take precautions not to, if we can. And we must -- whatever we do -- do our homework so we can put the Republicans in with us -- on the spot -- and stay here until we pass the bill. I don't think we are at that stage yet. I'll go into all the details at any time, but I think sending this message tomorrow -- if it's done -- will kill the President's program. I think that's bad. I think we've got to pass legislation. I think we have got to have one bill, but I think we ought to pick the time, we ought to pick the place, we ought to move the Republicans in with us and make them go along instead of saying we're not doing enough and we're doing too much. And, I don't think we're done that homework. I think we've got to do some work in the South -- not lecture to the people and not treat them as errant children, but just say we're going to treat all people as Americans. And I think we can, that way, get most



of the votes for the bills we must have, and then we'll just keep them here like we did in 1957 until we pass the bill. And we must see that the leadership people like Mansfield, and people like Smathers, people like Mills and the rest of them, realize that we're going to stay here until we pass it. But I'd get their measures out of the way, and while I was doing that, I'd talk to Mr. Eisenhower, and the Republicans and say, "Now how far do you want to go. How much are you willing to do. Here's what we think." This is a war. When we're in war, we all get together and close ranks. This is not a foreign one, it's a domestic one. But if we don't do something about it, we're going to wreck this country. Let's quit playing politics with it -- we're not trying to just get a few ward votes. We're trying to treat everyone as Americans. And I'm fearful that as it is, the Negro will consider the program too little and the South will consider it too much. Then the President's Program will go down the drain, and he will be the one that pays the price. I think that what he's got to do ultimately this session is to let the world know and the country know what you and I know already -- that he's on the side of every American -- in other words, the government is behind the negro. And I think he's got to do that dramatically. I think that's more important to him than all the little bills that we have debated. But once he lets them know that then I think we've got to pick the bills, go over them very carefully, consider every aspect of them, see that they have as much bipartisan support as possible and always be sure we have 67 votes for cloture which you can get but which you don't have -- and which, in my judgement, you won't get unless we do a good deal of spade work. If you want me to give you an illustration or two of things that I think should be done, I would ask the House to move day and night and Saturdays, and get these bills passed -- particularly the tax bill. I would ask the President to stop in the Space Center in New Orleans or Mississippi and I'd have Henry Gonzales introduce him in San Antonio -- maybe when he goes to White Sands for 20 to 30 minutes. I'd have every television showing this Mexican, and I'd have the President say something about him -- how proud he is that all Americans have opportunity and we want to see that they always do in this country. I'd have him in Georgia, and I'd have Andy Hatcher walk with him into the hotel where he stays or speaks -- we did that in Richmond during the last campaign when I was just a candidate and they didn't dare throw him out. And when I got these things through about June \_\_\_\_\_ (garbled) and I would go in those areas and make two or three speeches as a part of the things that you have said, that I have said, and he has said. But I'd say them



right to their faces. They'll respect his courage. As it is now, they think we're just after votes, but we can make them see that he's got a conscience, that it's a human thing with him, that he's going to do what's right. I think that it'll have a little different effect on them. We may lose all the South, but we will at least have tried our best to be reasonable with them. I think we're in danger either way, but I don't think that enters into it. We've written our ticket and have got to see it through and have got to do it because it's right. And if they don't stay with us in the North, then that's our problem. But I just think it requires a good deal more attention and thought and homework -- particularly in the legislative field. I was distressed that we are considering sending a message up here in the morning that Mansfield and Smathers and the rest of them haven't picked at and looked at and written their recommendations on. I had 42 minutes to go over it, and did. My suggestions were not very good, but here's a few. We speak of complete integration of all terminals. Segregation still exists in many places -- we ought not to claim that it doesn't, because we know it does. I think that segregated facilities act as a barrier to job opportunity. I think that the way the message reads now sounds like he was trying to take care of some Negro tourists of Ambassadors. I think we ought to point out the real problem -- that here is a negro who is offered a job by an employer and the employer has a right to find the best worker and the negro has the right to find the best job. As it is now, he can't move to take a job in a segregated part of the country, because his family can't have housing, can't have schooling, can't go to the parks and all these other things. And And that's the reason we want to open these public facilities and see that these people have their rights -- not just because somebody wants a tour through the country. I think that more stress in the message ought to be on a great national problem -- not just a sectional one. The message talks about Birmingham a great deal -- I'd mention Philadelphia too, so they won't hit the President over the head with the fact that this is a straight out North and South fight. I'd say what you said to the Governors the other day -- that it's a real national problem and it's in Chicago as you told Turner, and it's in Philadelphia and it's in other places. And those are some of the thoughts I have.

AG            I think those are some good ideas. Well, actually, I wanted to find out if you and the President could get together today.

LBJ          I'll do it anytime you want to or anytime the President does. I think the danger is that as the thing is now constituted, it can



be interpreted as too little and too much. The negroes won't think it's enough because they want a moral commitment, and the South will think it's too much.

AG OK. Thank you a lot.

LBJ Bye.



The Attorney General to the Vice President, June 3, 1963, 12:02 pm

LBJ Hello.

AG Hello?

LBJ Yes, General.

AG Do you have any further thoughts on this legislation?

LBJ I sure do. I got a good many, but I didn't think that the point was with the limited information I had -- I've been in none of these conferences except the other day -- and I don't know it, I've never seen it. The first thing I got was the message this morning at 8:00 and I gave my comments to Ted at 9:00. I've given a good deal of thought to it. I told Kenny today and -- if he wanted it, I'd be available any time the President wanted to discuss it with me.

AG Do you think it's a good idea?

LBJ No, not the way we are approaching it, I don't.

AG What do you think we should do?

LBJ Well, I'll talk to you about it anytime you want to. I don't think we can go into it on the phone. I think the objective we seek is very desirable. I think the objective the Republicans seek is to divide the President and the South. And I think that we may very well do that anyway. But if we do, I think that we ought to take precautions not to, if we can. And we must -- whatever we do -- do our homework so we can put the Republicans in which with us -- on the spot. And stay here until we pass it. I don't think we are at that stage yet. I'll go into all the details, but I think sending this message tomorrow -- if it's done -- will kill the President's program. I think that's bad. I think we've got to have this. I think we got to pass legislation. I think we got to have one bill, but I think we ought to pick the time, we ought to pick the place, we ought to move them in with us and make them go instead of saying we're not doing enough/ and we're doing too much. And, I don't think we've done that homework. I don't think -- I think we've got to do some work in the South -- not lecture to them and not teach them as errant children but just say we're going to treat these people as Americans. And I think we can that way get most of the votes for the bills we got to have and then we'll just keep them here like we did in 1937 -- uh, 1957 -- until we pass the bill. And we got to see that the leadership people like Mansfield, and people like Smathers, people like Mills and the rest of them realize that we're going



re-s

to stay here until we pass it. But I'd get their stuff out of the way, and while I was doing that, I'd talk to Mr. Eisenhower, Republicans and say now how far do you want to go. How much are you willing to do. ~~We think~~ Here's what we think, and try -- this is a war -- we're in war why we all get together and close ranks. This is not a foreignone, it's a domestic one, but if we don't do something about, we're going to wreck this country. Let's quit playing politics with it -- we're not trying to just get a few ward votes. We're trying to treat everyone as Americans. And I'm fearful that as it is, if the south -- the Negro is ~~considered~~ <sup>will consider it</sup> too little and the South will consider it too much, then the President's program will go down the drain and he will be the one that pays the price. I think that what he's got to do ultimately this session is let the world know and the country know what you and I know that he's on the side of every American -- in other words, the government is behind the negro. And I think he's got to do that dramatic. I think that's more important to him than all the little bills that we debated always. But once he lets them know that then I think we've got to pick the bill, go over them very carefully, consider every aspect of them, see that they have as much bipartisam support as you can and always be sure you got 67 votes for cloture/ which you can get -- which you don't have -- which in my judgement you won't get unless we do a good deal of spade work and if you want me to give you an illustration or two of things that I think should be done, I would ask the House to move day and night, Saturdays, and get these bills passed -- particularly tax bill. I would ask the President to stop in the Space Center in New Orleans or Miss. and I'd have Henry Gonzales introduce him in San Antonio -- maybe when he goes to White Sands ~~the~~ for 20 to 30 minutes. I'd have every television showing this Mexiczn and I'd have the President say something about him. How proud he is that all Americans have opportunity and we want to see that they do in this country. I'd have him in the Georgia thing and I'd have Andy Hatcher walk into the hotel where he stays or speaks with him -- we did that in Richmond during the last campaign -- <sup>when I</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>us</sup> just a candidate and they didn't dare throw him out. And when I got these things about June -- \_\_\_\_\_ and I would go in there and say in two or three pieces as a part of my general statement to elaborate some on some of the things that you have said, that I have said and he said. But I'd say them right to their face. They'll respect his courage as it is now, they think we're just after votes, but we can make them see that he's got a conscience, that it's a human thing with him, that he's going to do what's



right, I think that it'll have a little different approach for them. We may lose all the South, but we will at least have tried our best to be reasonable with them. I think we're in danger either way, but I don't think that enters into it. We've written our ticket and got to see it through and got to do it because it's right. And if they don't stay with us in the North, then that's our problem. But I just think it requires a good deal more attention and thought and homework particularly in the legislative field. I-when I was distressed that we are considering sending a message up here in the morning that Mansfield and Smathers and the rest of them hadn't picked at and looked at and written their recommendations on. I had 42 minutes to go over it, and did, my suggestions were not very good, but here's \_\_\_\_\_ complete integration of all travels. Segregation still exists in many places-- we ought not to claim that it doesn't, because we know it does. I think that ~~Segregated~~ \_\_\_\_\_ Segregated Facilities Act is a barrier to job opportunity. I think that the way the message reads now sounds like how was trying to take care of some negro tourists or Ambassadors. I think we ought to point out that what problems really got is here is a negro who is offered a job by an employer and the employer has a right to find the best worker and the negro has the right to find the best job as it is now he can't move to take a job in a segregated part of the country because his family can't have housing, can't have schooling, can't go to the parks and all these other things. And that's the reason we want to open these public facilities and see that these people have that right not just because somebody wants a tour through the country. I think that more stress of the message ought to be on this great national problem not just a sectional one. Talking about Birmingham a great deal -- I'd mention Philadelphia too so they won't hit the President over the head with the fact that this is a straight out North and South fight. I'd say what you said to the Governors the other day that it's a real national problem and it's in Chicago as you told Turner and it's in Philadelphia and it's in other places. And those are some of the thoughts ; have.

AG I think those are some good ideas. Well, actually, I wanted to find out if you and the President could get together today.

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it's enough because they want a moral commitment and the South will think it's too much.

AG OK. Thank you a lot.

LBJ. Bye



MR. VICE PRESIDENT,

Here are the two edited conversations you requested.

GER-

July 9, 1963



THESE ARE EXTRACTS OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT  
LYNDON B. JOHNSON AND TED SORENSON, JUNE 3, 1963.

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VICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON: First I think we need to do our home work before we send a message to Congress, and I don't think we can do that unless we spend some time on the Message.

Second, I think we need to exchange viewpoints on what legislation we can get, and try to get everything legitimate we can but also try to be sure that we can get what we ask for.

Third, I think that the Negro wants something more than a voting bill or a minor school matter in a military installation or even access to public facilities. I believe that what he really wants is a feeling that the President and his Cabinet have a moral commitment to side with him in his desire to be treated as an American.

Summarizing, I would say that a good deal needs to be done before we bring this matter before Congress, including securing commitments from the leadership and examining the bill carefully to be certain that anything in it that is ridiculous is removed. Don't forget that President Eisenhower killed Title III by saying he didn't know it was in the bill. And if that happens to us, it will be impossible for many good people to support the measure. \* \* \*

(more)



We can lose the South either way, but I think the people will have a lot more respect for us if we face up to the issue as Americans. As it is, I am afraid that many people think we are just after votes -- and I don't think we are. The issue goes a lot further than that. Should we face up to this problem? The answer is yes. Should we do it by legislation? The answer is yes.

We should approach the leaders of the other party. We have to ask them how far they are ready to go? How many votes have they got? What are they willing to do? These are Americans and should be treated as such. \*\*\*

I don't think you can ever get their agreement (Southern Senators). But I am sure that you can get their respect and I think you can get the respect of their States. \* \* \*

I have always believed that the No. 1 ingredient and necessity of any civil rights bill ought to be a conciliation service just like the Labor Department has, and if you had one in Atlanta, and they sent a man out to Jackson instead of having other officials and the Army going in, perhaps people could be pulled together. It was suggested to me in 1957 that the Liberals thought it was too soft and it wouldn't do any good and the Southerners thought it was FEPC -- but I still believe that a professional conciliation service -- with real human beings running it -- ought to be a part of the bill. \* \* \*

(more)



The President should say: 'We have a Golden Rule -- do unto others as you would have them do unto you. I am leader of this country and when I order men into battle, I order those men without regard to color. The Negro can go into a fox-hole; the Mexican can go into a fox-hole; and so can others. We have to have the same philosophy about people driving down a highway looking for a place to eat. I am going to ask the Congress to say that we will all be treated without regard to race.....' \* \* \*

I know the risks are great and these moves might cost us the South. But those States may be lost anyway. The difference is that if the President just enforces court decrees the South will feel that it has yielded to force. But if he goes and looks them in the eye and states the moral issue and the Christian issue, the Southerners will at least respect his courage. .... I think the Southern white and the Negro share one point of view that is identical. They are not certain that the government is on the side of the Negro. The whites think that we are just playing politics to carry New York, and the Negroes feel a suspicion that we are just doing what we have to do (under pressure) and until that feeling is laid to rest, I don't think we are going to have much of a solution. \* \* \*

(more)



I have spoken from Milwaukee to Chicago to New York to Los Angeles and in Gettysburg and Dallas and Johnson City, Texas. I think that I know one thing -- the Negroes are tired of being told they should be "patient" and they are tired of a piecemeal approach. They want a moral commitment that the government is behind them. ....

I do not think that it is impossible to pass a good, constructive bill along the lines you have got. I think it is possible to pass probably a stronger one -- after it has been thought through. \* \* \*

I said some of the things I said at Gettysburg from every train stop in the South (during the campaign) and I looked them right in the eye when I said them. And every reporter was trying to find me running from the issue. But we said those things and they respected us. ... When the President says those things the decent people and the preachers will come and support him.

I have been to North Carolina this year at a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner and I have been into Florida. In neither place would they allow Negroes in the audience. I said I am going to come and I am going to talk about Constitutional rights and I want them (Negroes) on the platform with me. And if you don't let them come I am not coming period. They put Negroes on the platform in both places. \* \* \*

(more)



More than 100 years ago in the Lincoln-Douglas debates Lincoln said no nation can endure half slave and half free. Now no world can endure half slave and half free and we have got to do something about it in our own country. .... I don't think you want these people to go on the unemployment rolls in Detroit and Los Angeles. I think they ought to be trained here at home so they can learn a job. \* \* \*

Should we have legislation? The answer is yes. Should we have legislation that is substantially of this type? The answer is yes. Can it be improved on? The answer is yes. What should we do before we send it?

I would say Republicans one; public sentiment two; the South three; legislators four; Negro leaders five. Then, when I got ready to swing, I would go the whole way and I would not let anybody deter me or dissuade me. I am looking at a couch that I slept on for 37 nights, but I produced quorums at 2:00 A.M. and 4:00 A.M. and that is what you have got to be prepared to do. ....

We have a little popgun and I want to pull out the cannon, and the President's cannon, and he should be on all the TV networks, speaking from his conscience -- not at a rally in Harlem but at a place in Mississippi or Texas or Louisiana. Just have an honor guard there with a few Negroes in it and let him reach over there and point and say: 'I have to order these men

(more)



into battle in the fox-holes carrying that flag and I don't ask them what their name is -- Gomez or Smith -- or their color or their religion. If I can order them into battle, I must make it possible for them to eat and sleep in this country. Then everybody can go home and ask his wife what is wrong with that proposition? And they can go searching their conscience. Every preacher can start preaching about it. We must recognize this moral force and put it to work. \* \* \*

The big problem is saying to the Baldwins and the Kings and to the rest of them that we will give you our moral commitment -- the government is behind you. You do not have to do it in the streets. You can do it in the courthouses and in the Congress. Now let us get ready for that and use the same energy talking to the people. ....

# # #



EXTRACTS FROM A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE ATTORNEY  
GENERAL AND THE VICE PRESIDENT, JUNE 3, 1963.

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THE VICE PRESIDENT: I think we have got to pass legislation. I think we have got to have one bill. But I think we ought to pick the time, we ought to pick the place, we ought to move the Republicans in with us and make them go along instead of saying we are not doing enough and we are doing too much.

And, I don't think we have done that home work. I think we have got to do some work in the South -- not lecture to the people and not treat them as errant children, but just say we are going to treat all of the people as Americans. And I think we can, that way, get most of the votes for the bills we must have, and then we will just keep them here like we did in 1957 until we pass the bill. And we must see that the leadership people like Mansfield, and people like Smathers, people like Mills and the rest of them, realize that we are going to stay here until we pass it. \* \* \*

But if we don't do something about it, we are going to wreck this country. Let's quit playing politics with it -- we are not trying to get just a few ward votes. We are trying to treat everyone as Americans. And I am fearful that as it is, the Negroes will consider the program too little and the South will consider it too much. ....

(more)



We may lose all of the South, but we will at least have tried our best to be reasonable with them. I think we are in danger either way. But I don't think that enters into it. We have written our ticket and have got to see it through and have got to do it because it is right. And if they don't stay with us in the North, then that is our problem. But I just think it requires a good deal more attention and thought and home work -- particularly in the legislative field. \* \* \*

We speak of complete integration of our terminals. Segregation still exists in many places -- we ought not to claim that it doesn't because we know it does. I think segregated facilities act as a barrier to job opportunity. I think that the way the Message reads now sounds like he was trying to take care of some Negro tourists or Ambassadors.

I think we ought to point out the real problems -- that here is a Negro who is offered a job by an employer, and the employer has a right to find the best worker and the Negro has the right to find the best job. As it is now, he can't move to take a job in a segregated part of the country because his family cannot have housing, can't have schooling, can't go to the parks and all these other things. And that's the reason we want to open these public facilities and see that these people have their rights -- not just because somebody wants a tour through the country.

(more)



- 3 -

I think that more stress in the Message ought to be on a great national problem -- not just a sectional one.

# # #



Telephone Call from the Attorney General to the Vice President, June 3, 1963,  
12:02 pm

LBJ Hello.

AG Hello?

LBJ Yes, General.

AG Do you have any further thoughts on this legislation?

LBJ I sure do. I have a good many, but -- with the limited information I had -- I've been in none of these conferences except one the other day -- I was not in a position to be extensive this morning. I got the message this morning at 8:00, and I gave my comments to Ted at 9:00. I've given a good deal of thought to it. I told Kenny today that if he wished, I'd be available any time the President wanted to discuss it with me.

AG Do you think it's a good idea?

LBJ No, not the way we are approaching it, I don't.

AG What do you think we should do?

LBJ Well, I'll talk to you about it any time you want to. I don't think we can go into it on the phone. I think the objective we seek is very desirable. I think the objective the Republicans seek is to divide the President and the South. And I think that we may very well do that anyway. But I believe that we ought to take precautions not to, if we can. And we must -- whatever we do -- do our homework so we can put the Republicans in with us -- on the spot -- and stay here until we pass the bill. I don't think we are at that stage yet. I'll go into all the details at any time, but I think sending this message tomorrow -- if it's done -- will kill the President's program. I think that's bad. I think we've got to pass legislation. I think we have got to have one bill, but I think we ought to pick the time, we ought to pick the place, we ought to move the Republicans in with us and make them go along instead of saying we're not doing enough and we're doing too much. And, I don't think we've done that homework. I think we've got to do some work in the South -- not lecture to the people and not treat them as errant children, but just say we're going to treat all people as Americans. And I think we can, that way, get most



of the votes for the bills we must have, and then we'll just keep them here like we did in 1957 until we pass the bill. And we must see that the leadership people like Mansfield, and people like Smathers, people like Mills and the rest of them, realize that we're going to stay here until we pass it. But I'd get their measures out of the way, and while I was doing that, I'd talk to Mr. Eisenhower, and the Republicans and say, "Now how far do you want to go. How much are you willing to do. Here's what we think." This is a war. When we're in war, we all get together and close ranks. This is not a foreign one, it's a domestic one. But if we don't do something about it, we're going to wreck this country. Let's quit playing politics with it -- we're not trying to just get a few ward votes. We're trying to treat everyone as Americans. And I'm fearful that as it is, the Negro will consider the program too little and the South will consider it too much. Then the President's Program will go down the drain, and he will be the one that pays the price. I think that what he's got to do ultimately this session is to let the world know and the country know what you and I know already -- that he's on the side of every American -- in other words, the government is behind the negro. And I think he's got to do that dramatically. I think that's more important to him than all the little bills that we have debated. But once he lets them know that then I think we've got to pick the bills, go over them very carefully, consider every aspect of them, see that they have as much bipartisan support as possible and always be sure we have 67 votes for cloture which you can get but which you don't have -- and which, in my judgement, you won't get unless we do a good deal of spade work. If you want me to give you an illustration or two of things that I think should be done, I would ask the House to move day and night and Saturdays, and get these bills passed -- particularly the tax bill. I would ask the President to stop in the Space Center in New Orleans or Mississippi and I'd have Henry Gonzales introduce him in San Antonio -- maybe when he goes to White Sands for 20 to 30 minutes. I'd have every television showing this Mexican, and I'd have the President say something about him -- how proud he is that all Americans have opportunity and we want to see that they always do in this country. I'd have him in Georgia, and I'd have Andy Hatcher walk with him into the hotel where he stays or speaks -- we did that in Richmond during the last campaign when I was just a candidate and they didn't dare throw him out. And when I got these things through about June \_\_\_\_\_ (garbled) and I would go in those areas and make two or three speeches as a part of the things that you have said, that I have said, and he has said. But I'd say them



right to their faces. They'll respect his courage. As it is now, they think we're just after votes, but we can make them see that he's got a conscience, that it's a human thing with him, that he's going to do what's right. I think that it'll have a little different effect on them. We may lose all the South, but we will at least have tried our best to be reasonable with them. I think we're in danger either way, but I don't think that enters into it. We've written our ticket and have got to see it through and have got to do it because it's right. And if they don't stay with us in the North, then that's our problem. But I just think it requires a good deal more attention and thought and homework -- particularly in the legislative field. I was distressed that we are considering sending a message up here in the morning that Mansfield and Smathers and the rest of them haven't picked at and looked at and written their recommendations on. I had 42 minutes to go over it, and did. My suggestions were not very good, but here's a few. We speak of complete integration of all terminals. Segregation still exists in many places -- we ought not to claim that it doesn't, because we know it does. I think that segregated facilities act as a barrier to job opportunity. I think that the way the message reads now sounds like he was trying to take care of some Negro tourists of Ambassadors. I think we ought to point out the real problem -- that here is a negro who is offered a job by an employer and the employer has a right to find the best worker and the negro has the right to find the best job. As it is now, he can't move to take a job in a segregated part of the country, because his family can't have housing, can't have schooling, can't go to the parks and all these other things. And And that's the reason we want to open these public facilities and see that these people have their rights -- not just because somebody wants a tour through the country. I think that more stress in the message ought to be on a great national problem -- not just a sectional one. The message talks about Birmingham a great deal -- I'd mention Philadelphia too, so they won't hit the President over the head with the fact that this is a straight out North and South fight. I'd say what you said to the Governors the other day -- that it's a real national problem and it's in Chicago as you told Turner, and it's in Philadelphia and it's in other places. And those are some of the thoughts I have.

AG I think those are some good ideas. Well, actually, I wanted to find out if you and the President could get together today.

LBJ I'll do it anytime you want to or anytime the President does. I think the danger is that as the thing is now constituted, it can



be interpreted as too little and too much. The negroes won't think it's enough because they want a moral commitment, and the South will think it's too much.

AG OK. Thank you a lot.

LBJ Bye.



EXTRACTS OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE VICE PRESIDENT AND TED SORENSON 6-3-63.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Summarized -- I would say that a good deal needs to be done before this thing comes up, including getting commitments from Mansfield, Smathers and getting anything ridiculous out of the bill that would kill it -- like Eisenhower killed TITLE III by saying he didn't know what was in it. And I think that by the time they point out a few things in these bills that you will make it impossible for people like even Albert to support it -- or Boggs -- who are good men. They have got to have more to do with being a part of it.

I would hope that the President would make an appearance somewhere in the South before he sends a recommendation -- not to lecture them or treat them as if they were children, but to plan to have on the platform with the President the Vice President and the Cabinet. .... If we lose the South either way, they will have a lot more respect for him if the man himself says how he feels as an American, and then they will buy some Message up here, and he will have a lot more support.

As it is, I am afraid that they think we are just after votes -- and I don't think we are. It goes a lot further than that. Should we face up to this Negro problem? The answer is yes. Should we do it by legislation? The answer is yes. Should we do it along the general line? The answer is yes. And the timing -- I think the President should pick the time and the place.

\* \* \*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: .... There was a rule change up here that we spent 6 weeks on, and nothing was done about it. I don't think it ought to have been done anyway. But anyway this time I think that whatever the man recommends ought to be the minimum -- and it ought to be a must.

SORENSON: Well I think we all agree to that. And I think that -- if I may say so -- I think we have tried to do our home work on this Message and get to work on the bill.....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Good, good.

SORENSON: And maybe if any parts....

(more)



THE VICE PRESIDENT: I am not familiar with the bill....

SORENSEN: ...And any parts of the bill, I would like to have them pointed out....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Fine. Well, I haven't seen it and I don't know about the home work, but I leaned over to Kennedy this morning and I said: 'Have you talked to any of the leaders about this in advance -- any Southerners' -- and he said yes, he thought he had talked it over with Russell. Now I don't know anything about that and maybe this has all been done. You asked me for my reaction and I gave it to you. It hadn't been checked with me. I don't know ... maybe they have talked with the Russells and the Hills and the others. Maybe they see eye to eye. I don't think you can ever get their agreement. But I am sure that you can get their respect and I think you can get the respect of their States. I think that the Rockefellers and the Javits want to throw the South away and tear it apart. They have tried to do that with us ever since we came in. They tried to do it before Los Angeles. The meanest letter I got was from Barry Goldwater, calling me a hypocrite because I would run with a fellow like Kennedy. Now they are going to succeed in doing that the way we are going at it right now. And they may succeed anyway. And I think that the time is right upon us that we will have to take that gamble. I think that we ought to prepare the way and put the Republicans in there with us, because we have got to get 67 votes and I don't believe we have done that.

Has anybody talked to Dirksen and said: 'What are your minimums -- if your Party really believes in civil rights how much does it believe in them and what are you ready to do about it?' Javits has no votes, the President said this morning. Now we know where he stands. But he is just a foil -- he is just an agent to go out and stir all this stuff up so that they can bust up the President's combination -- and it is a winning one. Now I wouldn't let them get me with this trick. I would move right in with them.

SORENSEN: The important thing, though, as you say, is that we have got to face up to the problem and we have got to send up a bill.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: You have got to .....

(more)



SORENSEN:                   You have got a pretty good bill, and I think it is a minimum bill, and I think it is one that we can stand behind.

THE VICE PRESIDENT:       Well, I haven't seen the bill. I don't know. But I think we ought to go through it and explore it and we ought to see what we can do and what we can add to it. I don't know if anybody has given it a thought, but I have always believed that the number one ingredient and necessity of any civil rights bill ought to be a conciliation service just like the Labor Department has, and if you had one in Atlanta and they sent a man out to Jackson, instead of the Attorney General, the Assistant Attorney General, and the Army going in, why perhaps they could pull these things together. Ted Kheel suggested it to me in 1957, and the Liberals thought it was soft and wouldn't do any good and the ~~Eastlands~~ thought it was FEPC. But I still believe that a professional conciliation service -- where you have real human beings running it -- ought to be a part of the bill.

SORENSEN:                   Yes. As a matter of fact, the bill that we have sent up already, which will be included in this bill, on the civil rights commission would give it that....

THE VICE PRESIDENT:       That's fine. I have seen nothing like that and I don't know.

\* \* \*

THE VICE PRESIDENT:       ....I just think that the President ought to number one: move the Republicans in with him; two: ought to move some Southern sentiment in here ahead of his Message with him on the basis of what is right -- the Golden Rule.

SORENSEN:                   How are we going to do that?

THE VICE PRESIDENT:       I would say -- seriously consider an appearance in wherever our space center is in Mississippi or New Orleans. But of course ...

SORENSEN:                   But he was just down there.

(more)



THE VICE PRESIDENT: Yes, I understand that -- but not on this matter. I would seriously consider a reception in San Antonio. It is a pretty integrated town and you have a Mexican Congressman. It would really open their eyes .... maybe New Mexico would do it, I don't know, but there are a lot of Mexicans there -- 300,000. This is not a Negro problem -- it is an American problem. And I think he needs to do some of these things before Washington goes to handing down to them these things....

Now if any of these things appeal to you or to the President, I will try to write down the steps that I would take or recommend if you will let me see the bills and take a little time. Maybe he feels it is incumbent that he acts before he leaves. If he does, then....

SORENSEN: I think that it is tough to put it off another week.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Tough to?

SORENSEN: Yes.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: That's the decision that he has to make. If you want my judgment, my judgment is that I would put it off until I got some of this program through.

SORENSEN: Without being....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Yes, sir. I don't see that he is going to do much now except hurt himself by getting it up now. I sure wouldn't touch it, unless I had the leadership behind him.

SORENSEN: Well, I think the leadership is behind him, the leadership that we had there this morning.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I don't think so. I don't think (a), that they know what's in it and (b), when they know I don't think they can be with this situation as it is right now and....

SORENSEN: What is it you think we would have to take out of it to get them behind it?

(more)



THE VICE PRESIDENT: I don't think you might have to take out anything. You might be able to add things to it. But I just think that the climate... The President is going to have to get some agitation for doing right for the South -- which he can do from the pulpits and from the people... What I would like to see done is to develop a task force immediately on the regional basis -- start with the people from the press and spread to the public leaders and get into the towns where they are known and try to let the people know that the problem confronts all Americans... I don't know where the space center is in Mississippi but I think it will be very appropriate if the President went in there and invited the Senators and the Congressmen to go with him. If he made a talk on the future and then took maybe 3 out of 12 minutes and said: 'Now I don't want to come here without talking about Constitutional rights and we are all Americans. We have a Golden Rule -- do unto others as you would have them do unto you. Now I am leader of this country and when I order men into battle I order a man without regard to color to carry our flag in the foxhole. The Negro can do that, the Mexican can do it, and others can do it. We have got to do the same thing when we drive down the highway in places to eat. I am going to have to ask you all to do this thing. And I am going to have to ask the Congress to say we will all be treated without regard to race...' The good people -- the church people -- I think have to come around to him. Not the majority of them, maybe, but a good many of them over the country. It would really unify the North and he would be looking them straight in the face.

SORENSEN: Well I think that's a good idea and....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I would do it at San Antonio. I would let a Mexican Congressman -- I would just show them there isn't anything terrible about this business, that here in the heart of the Southland you have got a fellow whose mother was born out of this country and he's in Congress.... As it is now, the President's Message doesn't get over. He gets it up here and every man -- it is just like a manifesto -- every person has got to sign that manifesto or he is ostracized in his own community and he is defeated. Now the President has to go in there without cussing anybody or fussing at anybody, with a bunch of Congressmen sitting there listening to him, and he has got to be the leader of the nation and make a moral commitment to them. And they cannot insult him for doing it -- not in the lecture forum but in a kind of informational forum. This fellow Baldwin says: 'I don't want to marry your daughter. I want to get you off my back.' And that's what these Negroes want. They want that moral commitment and that will do more to

(more)



satisfy them than your bill will. I mean you have got to have your bill too, but I think we are running the risk of touching off about a 3 or 4 month debate that will kill his program and inflame the country and wind up with a mouse. And I don't think that means that the legislative approach ought to be abandoned but I think it means that the subject proposals have got to be weighed a little more carefully than I have been able to weigh them.... I wouldn't have him go down there and meet Wallace and get in a tussle with him. I would pick my own time and my own place...

I think that he ought to talk frankly and freely, rather understandingly and maybe fatherly, and he should state morally his position. He should do it without equivocation, not as a mean man trying to punish a child. I know these risks are great and they might cost us the South, but those States just may be lost anyway. The difference is that if the President just enforces court decrees the South will feel that it has yielded to force. But if he goes out there and looks them in the eye and states the moral issue and the Christian issue, and if he does it face to face the Southerners will at least respect his courage.... I think the Southern white and Negro share one point of view that is identical -- they are not certain that the government is on the side of the Negro. The whites think that we are just playing politics to carry New York, and the Negroes are suspicious that we are just going to do what we have got to do. Until that is laid to rest, I don't think you are going to have much of a solution.

\* \* \*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: This is just what the Republican Party -- if I were their manager this is what I would recommend they do, and this is what they are doing. They are standing back giggling. And here Javits gets Humphrey pretty souped on a few terrible demonstrations. We get civil war going on in the South and move Kennedy in and they cut off the South from him and roll up the bridge -- that's what they want to do.

If I were Kennedy, I wouldn't let them call my signals.... Let them chew on it a day or two, because this world wasn't made in a day. I would be sure that I had a good solid program and that I would get the Republicans with me, if I can, and get my leaders with me, and then when I moved, I wouldn't be stopped. Now he

(more)



has already tried this literacy bill -- this shooting from the hip business -- and they messed around here 4 or 5 days and had a little perfunctory vote and that's hypocritical. Don't you think so?

SORENSEN: Last year, you mean?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Yes.

SORENSEN: Well, I think that we could have done better.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Sure we could, sure we could. And we had better just see what we will do and be sure that everybody wants to do it and then go ahead. I don't think we are at that stage now, and I told the Attorney General that, and I tell you that. Now if you are at that stage, I will abundantly clear, I am on the team, and you will never hear a word out of me.

SORENSEN: Well I think it's, well, what it really comes down to is a question of timing....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: And substance....

SORENSEN: I think what you say is right. We are in agreement in substance. I think that this bill has been gone over pretty carefully and I think that the changes made the other day are good changes and I think....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't....

SORENSEN: But it is the minimum we can ask for and the maximum we can stand behind. The question is one of timing and I think.....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I don't agree....

SORENSEN: ...That this thing is hot enough now. It's pretty tough.

(more)



THE VICE PRESIDENT: I don't agree with that.... You ought to get your tax bill passed instead of killed. This Kennedy program oughtn't to go down the drain and I am afraid that is what will happen if you send this up here. Now I want to make it clear I am as strong for his program as you are.

SORENSEN: I know that.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: But you want my judgment now.... I would just as soon be included out on all these things but if at the last minute I am supposed to give my judgment I am going to do it honestly as long as I am around him.

SORENSEN: Well....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: And I am going to do it loyally. And I think he will be cut to pieces by this and I think he will be a sacrificial lamb. I think his program will be hurt if it is not killed... I don't think that it is impossible to pass a good constructive bill along the lines you have got. I think it is possible to pass probably a stronger one, but I don't think it has been talked through....

\* \* \*

SORENSEN: ....I am not sure that you have to wait and send up the bill afterwards.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I don't think that you have to wait. You have to do this other and as soon as you do it, go ahead with the other. But I don't agree with you that it has been done. I think this is Republican timing setting it up.

SORENSEN: Well, it is just as well, because it is the Negro's time to set it up.

(more)



THE VICE PRESIDENT: Well, I would talk to the Negroes. I think that what the Negroes want, unless I misjudge them -- they have heard these voting rights and they have heard about these public facilities and they have heard about taking down the white signs in buses. But they know that has not happened and that the law is not going to happen and they know that it is not going to be done in 3 or 4 months. But they want to know if the President is really hard on their side. And I believe that they believe he is. They believe the Attorney General is and I think that they believe I am. But I just want to convince them and be sure that they believe it and then I would get some supporters -- this way I think that you might have some success.

\* \* \*



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

Mr. Johnson:

F.Y.I. - Dnc Chr  
John Bailey on Washington Vespert  
Cliff

(of 267)



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

Mr. Johnson:

John Bell - 100  
John Bell - 100  
John Bell - 100





York City, or they can carry Illinois, and that includes Chicago, or that he can carry, what is the other big city machine? Detroit--Detroit has no machine, I can assure you of that. They have a non-partisan election in Detroit. You've got to carry Detroit well if you're going to carry Michigan. I know definitely that the Republicans have a problem in New York State in the early part of this with New York City when he disagreed with the some of the leadership in New York City. I would say that this is a forerunner of what the Republican campaign might be. And it's nothing new. But you see, the Republicans have this problem. The problem they face is that they vote against the things the people who live in the large urban centers want. They're against housing. They're against minimum wage. They're against all these things that are really interesting to these people. It affects these people. They can talk about increasing their organizations in the city. All I can tell you, if they increase it and bring out more votes, we'll win by more votes in these cities.

DAVIS: Can we get to another subject here? On the second half of the Democratic ticket in 1964, it will presumably be the same as it was in 1960. Vice President Johnson has been making a lot of speeches on civil rights. The President has used him for certain forums. He's on several committees that deal with employment in government construction jobs, etc. Do you think that Mr. Johnson, after the record of the New Frontier so far in civil rights, will be as effective in the South in '64 as he was in '60?



MR. BAILEY: Yes, I think that Johnson will be effective in the South. It was under the leadership of Johnson as the Senate Majority Leader that the civil rights bill was passed during the Eisenhower Administration. And I think that the combination of Kennedy and Johnson will be strong all over the United States. I refuse to limit North, East, South or West. There is a great deal of talk over the air in the Press and the rest all about the South, and what is going to happen there. But I feel quite confident that we will be in pretty fair shape by the time November 1964 comes along. To get back to that previous question of Goldwater talks about the corrupt city machines, he never proves anything. All he does is talk about it. I mean there are scandals. In New York State there was a scandal, but that isn't a city scandal, that's a state scandal on state liquor control. And all these things happen. But Mr. Goldwater talks about Chicago. Chicago just had an election and the people re-elected Mayor Daly, I mean, and there was no talk of that in the city election, where there would be talk. I say that Mr. Goldwater several months ago was saying he wasn't a candidate, but he's acting an awful lot like one today.

DAVIS: Do you think as I think Senator Javits detected the other day that Mr. Goldwater might have stepped a little bit to the left of where he was two or three months ago. Have you detected this?

MR. BAILEY: Well I think Javits would like to detect that, so he could kind of say he was in the same party.

CORRICK: Chairman Bailey, Senator Goldwater also takes a dim view



## REPORT TO THE PEOPLE

WELLS: With me here in our Washington studio is the Honorable John M. Bailey, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who is going to report to the people on Democratic prospects next year.

Chairman Bailey, as a starter, President Kennedy will run again, is that right?

MR. BAILEY: There is no question in my mind and I'm sure there is no question in your mind, and I'm sure there is no question in the minds of all the citizens of our country.

WELLS: Is there any basis at all for rumors that Vice President Johnson is to be dumped?

MR. BAILEY: I have never heard that Vice President Johnson was going to be dumped. I feel confident that Vice President Johnson isn't going to be dumped. We have a winning combination in Kennedy and Johnson. They won in 1960 and I'm sure this is going to be our team in 1964. You don't break up a winning team.

WELLS: Besides Johnson will help out in Texas.

MR. BAILEY: Johnson will help out all over. Lyndon Johnson is a great American. He's a great majority leader. He was helpful to President Kennedy in 1960 and I know he'll be helpful to him all over the country, not alone in Texas.

WELLS: Who is your favorite Republican candidate to oppose the President?



EXTRACTS OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE VICE PRESIDENT AND TED SORENSON 6-3-63.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Summarized -- I would say that a good deal needs to be done before this thing comes up, including getting commitments from Mansfield, Smathers and getting anything ridiculous out of the bill that would kill it -- like Eisenhower killed TITLE III by saying he didn't know what was in it. And I think that by the time they point out a few things in these bills that you will make it impossible for people like even Albert to support it -- or Boggs -- who are good men. They have got to have more to do with being a part of it.

I would hope that the President would make an appearance somewhere in the South before he sends a recommendation -- not to lecture them or treat them as if they were children, but to plan to have on the platform with the President the Vice President and the Cabinet. .... If we lose the South either way, they will have a lot more respect for him if the man himself says how he feels as an American, and then they will buy some Message up here, and he will have a lot more support.

As it is, I am afraid that they think we are just after votes -- and I don't think we are. It goes a lot further than that. Should we face up to this Negro problem? The answer is yes. Should we do it by legislation? The answer is yes. Should we do it along the general line? The answer is yes. And the timing -- I think the President should pick the time and the place.

\* \* \*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: .... There was a rule change up here that we spent 6 weeks on, and nothing was done about it. I don't think it ought to have been done anyway. But anyway this time I think that whatever the man recommends ought to be the minimum -- and it ought to be a must.

SORENSON: Well I think we all agree to that. And I think that -- If I may say so -- I think we have tried to do our home work on this Message and get to work on the bill.....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Good, good.

SORENSON: And maybe if any parts.....

(more)



THE VICE PRESIDENT: I am not familiar with the bill....

SORENSEN: ...And any parts of the bill, I would like to have them pointed out....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Fine. Well, I haven't seen it and I don't know about the home work, but I leaned over to Kennedy this morning and I said: 'Have you talked to any of the leaders about this in advance -- any Southerners' -- and he said yes, he thought he had talked it over with Russell. Now I don't know anything about that and maybe this has all been done. You asked me for my reaction and I gave it to you. It hadn't been checked with me. I don't know ... maybe they have talked with the Russells and the Hills and the others. Maybe they see eye to eye. I don't think you can ever get their agreement. But I am sure that you can get their respect and I think you can get the respect of their States. I think that the Rockefellers and the Javits want to throw the South away and tear it apart. They have tried to do that with us ever since we came in. They tried to do it before Los Angeles. The meanest letter I got was from Barry Goldwater, calling me a hypocrite because I would run with a fellow like Kennedy. Now they are going to succeed in doing that the way we are going at it right now. And they may succeed anyway. And I think that the time is right upon us that we will have to take that gamble. I think that we ought to prepare the way and put the Republicans in there with us, because we have got to get 67 votes and I don't believe we have done that.

Has anybody talked to Dirksen and said: 'What are your minimums -- if your Party really believes in civil rights how much does it believe in them and what are you ready to do about it?' Javits has no votes, the President said this morning. Now we know where he stands. But he is just a foil -- he is just an agent to go out and stir all this stuff up so that they can bust up the President's combination -- and it is a winning one. Now I wouldn't let them get me with this trick. I would move right in with them.

SORENSEN: The important thing, though, as you say, is that we have got to face up to the problem and we have got to send up a bill.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: You have got to .....

(more)



SORENSEN: You have got a pretty good bill, and I think it is a minimum bill, and I think it is one that we can stand behind.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Well, I haven't seen the bill. I don't know. But I think we ought to go through it and explore it and we ought to see what we can do and what we can add to it. I don't know if anybody has given it a thought, but I have always believed that the number one ingredient and necessity of any civil rights bill ought to be a conciliation service just like the Labor Department has, and if you had one in Atlanta and they sent a man out to Jackson, instead of the Attorney General, the Assistant Attorney General, and the Army going in, why perhaps they could pull these things together. Ted Kheel suggested it to me in 1957, and the Liberals thought it was soft and wouldn't do any good and the Bastards thought it was FEPC. But I still believe that a professional conciliation service -- where you have real human beings running it -- ought to be a part of the bill.

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THE VICE PRESIDENT: ....I just think that the President ought to number one: move the Republicans in with him; two: ought to move some Southern sentiment in here ahead of his Message with him on the basis of what is right -- the Golden Rule.

SORENSEN: How are we going to do that?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I would say -- seriously consider an appearance in wherever our space center is in Mississippi or New Orleans. But of course ...

SORENSEN: But he was just down there.

(more)



THE VICE PRESIDENT: Yes, I understand that -- but not on this matter. I would seriously consider a reception in San Antonio. It is a pretty integrated town and you have a Mexican Congressman. It would really open their eyes .... maybe New Mexico would do it, I don't know, but there are a lot of Mexicans there -- 300,000. This is not a Negro problem -- it is an American problem. And I think he needs to do some of these things before Washington goes to handing down to them these things....

Now if any of these things appeal to you or to the President, I will try to write down the steps that I would take or recommend if you will let me see the bills and take a little time. Maybe he feels it is incumbent that he acts before he leaves. If he does, then....

SORENSEN: I think that it is tough to put it off another week.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Tough to?

SORENSEN: Yes.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: That's the decision that he has to make. If you want my judgment, my judgment is that I would put it off until I got some of this program through.

SORENSEN: Without being....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Yes, sir. I don't see that he is going to do much now except hurt himself by getting it up now. I sure wouldn't touch it, unless I had the leadership behind him.

SORENSEN: Well, I think the leadership is behind him, the leadership that we had there this morning.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I don't think so. I don't think (a) that they know what's in it and (b) when they know I don't think they can be with this situation as it is right now and....

SORENSEN: What is it you think we would have to take out of it to get them behind it?

(more)



THE VICE PRESIDENT: I don't think you might have to take out anything. You might be able to add things to it. But I just think that the climate... The President is going to have to get some agitation for doing right for the South -- which he can do from the pulpits and from the people... What I would like to see done is to develop a task force immediately on the regional basis -- start with the people from the press and spread to the public leaders and get into the towns where they are known and try to let the people know that the problem confronts all Americans... I don't know where the space center is in Mississippi but I think it will be very appropriate if the President went in there and invited the Senators and the Congressmen to go with him. If he made a talk on the future and then took maybe 3 out of 12 minutes and said: 'Now I don't want to come here without talking about Constitutional rights and we are all Americans. We have a Golden Rule -- do unto others as you would have them do unto you. Now I am leader of this country and when I order men into battle I order a man without regard to color to carry our flag in the foxhole. The Negro can do that, the Mexican can do it, and others can do it. We have got to do the same thing when we drive down the highway in places to eat. I am going to have to ask you all to do this thing. And I am going to have to ask the Congress to say we will all be treated without regard to race...' The good people -- the church people -- I think have to come around to him. Not that majority of them, maybe, but a good many of them over the country. It would really unify the North and he would be looking them straight in the face.

SORENSEN: Well I think that's a good idea and....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I would do it at San Antonio. I would let a Mexican Congressman -- I would just show them there isn't anything terrible about this business, that here in the heart of the Southland you have got a fellow whose mother was born out of this country and he's in Congress.... As it is now, the President's Message doesn't get over. He gets it up here and every man -- it is just like a manifesto -- every person has got to sign that manifesto or he is ostracized in his own community and he is defeated. Now the President has to go in there without cussing anybody or fussing at anybody, with a bunch of Congressmen sitting there listening to him, and he has got to be the leader of the nation and make a moral commitment to them. And they cannot insult him for doing it -- not in the lecture forum but in a kind of informational forum. This fellow Baldwin says: 'I don't want to marry your daughter. I want to get you off my back.' And that's what these Negroes want. They want that moral commitment and they will do more to

(more)



satisfy them than your bill will. I mean you have got to have your bill too, but I think we are running the risk of touching off about a 3 or 4 month debate that will kill his program and inflame the country and wind up with a mouse. And I don't think that means that the legislative approach ought to be abandoned but I think it means that the subject proposals have got to be weighed a little more carefully than I have been able to weigh them.... I wouldn't have him go down there and meet Wallace and get in a tussle with him. I would pick my own time and my own place...

I think that he ought to talk frankly and freely, rather understandingly and maybe fatherly, and he should state morally his position. He should do it without equivocation, not as a mean man trying to punish a child. I know these risks are great and they might cost us the South, but those States just may be lost anyway. The difference is that if the President just enforces court decrees the South will feel that it has yielded to force. But if he goes out there and looks them in the eye and states the moral issue and the Christian issue, and if he does it face to face the Southerners will at least respect his courage.... I think the Southern white and Negro share one point of view that is identical -- they are not certain that the government is on the side of the Negro. The whites think that we are just playing politics to carry New York, and the Negroes are suspicious that we are just going to do what we have got to do. Until that is laid to rest, I don't think you are going to have much of a solution.

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THE VICE PRESIDENT: This is just what the Republican Party -- if I were their manager this is what I would recommend they do, and this is what they are doing. They are standing back giggling. And here Javits gets Humphrey pretty souped on a few terrible demonstrations. We get civil war going on in the South and move Kennedy in and they cut off the South from him and roll up the bridge -- that's what they want to do.

If I were Kennedy, I wouldn't let them call my signals..... Let them chew on it a day or two, because this world wasn't made in a day. I would be sure that I had a good solid program and that I would get the Republicans with me, if I can, and get my leaders with me, and then when I moved, I wouldn't be stopped. Now he

(more)



has already tried this literacy bill -- this shooting from the hip business -- and they messed around here 4 or 5 days and had a little perfunctory vote and that's hypocritical. Don't you think so?

SORENSEN: Last year, you mean?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Yes.

SORENSEN: Well, I think that we could have done better.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Sure we could, sure we could. And we had better just see what we will do and be sure that everybody wants to do it and then go ahead. I don't think we are at that stage now, and I told the Attorney General that, and I tell you that. Now if you are at that stage, I will abundantly clear, I am on the team, and you will never hear a word out of me.

SORENSEN: Well I think it's, well, what it really comes down to is a question of timing....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: And substance....

SORENSEN: I think what you say is right. We are in agreement in substance. I think that this bill has been gone over pretty carefully and I think that the changes made the other day are good changes and I think....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't.....

SORENSEN: But it is the minimum we can ask for and the maximum we can stand behind. The question is one of timing and I think.....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I don't agree....

SORENSEN: ...That this thing is hot enough now. It's pretty tough.

(more)



THE VICE PRESIDENT: I don't agree with that.... You ought to get your tax bill passed instead of killed. This Kennedy program oughtn't to go down the drain and I am afraid that is what will happen if you send this up here. Now I want to make it clear I am as strong for his program as you are.

SORENSEN: I know that.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: But you want my judgment now.... I would just as soon be included out on all these things but if at the last minute I am supposed to give my judgment I am going to do it honestly as long as I am around him.

SORENSEN: Well....

THE VICE PRESIDENT: And I am going to do it loyally. And I think he will be cut to pieces by this and I think he will be a sacrificial lamb. I think his program will be hurt if it is not killed.... I don't think that it is impossible to pass a good constructive bill along the lines you have got. I think it is possible to pass probably a stronger one, but I don't think it has been talked through....

\* \* \*

SORENSEN: ....I am not sure that you have to wait and send up the bill afterwards.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I don't think that you have to wait. You have to do this other and as soon as you do it, go ahead with the other. But I don't agree with you that it has been done. I think this is Republican timing setting it up.

SORENSEN: Well, it is just as well, because it is the Negro's time to set it up.

(more)



THE VICE PRESIDENT: Well, I would talk to the Negroes. I think that what the Negroes want, unless I misjudge them -- they have heard these voting rights and they have heard about these public facilities and they have heard about taking down the white signs in buses. But they know that has not happened and that the law is not going to happen and they know that it is not going to be done in 3 or 4 months. But they want to know if the President is really hard on their side. And I believe that they believe he is. They believe the Attorney General is and I think that they believe I am. But I just want to convince them and be sure that they believe it and then I would get some supporters -- this way I think that you might have some success.

\* \* \*



Conversation

to GEL  
to Edit  
LBJ

Missed 1st 3 min  
Vickie did not understand  
note for recording.

CALL BETWEEN MR. JOHNSON AND MR. TED SORENSON - 6-3-63 (fr. Sorenson)

LBJ: ..... give to the President if he wants them, I don't think it's good to just get 'em at H, and you know just try to -----(blurred)-----.

Perhaps if Lindy in civil rights and see how a bunch of Democrats speaking constantly in the Senate and some in the House leaving the Democratic party with an image of anti-Negro. Now I don't think that ~~ne~~necessarily needs to be.

I think that we need to do our homework before we send a message - One - and we can't do that unless we spend some time on the message - Two - I think that we need to exchange viewpoints on what legislation we can get and get everything we can but to try to be sure that we can get what we asked for and be prepared to die if we don't. Three - I think that the thing the Negro wants more than some little voting bill or some little school thing in the military installation or even public facilities is the feeling that the President and his Cabinet is on their side. And that they have a moral commitment to treat them all as Americans and not just chopping away at the minor items. I think that we haven't done that very well, but I think that we can do it if we spend a little time. Summarized - I would say that a good deal needs to be done, before this thing comes up including getting commitments from Mansfield, Smathers, and getting any ridiculous out of the bill that will kill it - like Eisenhower killed Title 3, by saying that he didn't know ~~h~~ what was in it. And I think that the time they point out a few things in these bills that you'll make it impossible for people like even Albert to support it or Boggs -- who are good men... ~~KXX~~ They've got to have more to do with being a part of it. I would hope that the President would make a appearance somewhere in the South before he sends a recommendation - not to lecture them or treat them as they're children, but too plan to Hatcher(?) on the platform of the President and



the Vice President and the Cabinet .. Maybe have Henry Gonzalez introduce him in San Antonio when he goes to California and let a Mexican Congressman point out that we're all Americans and show them what's in his conscience, and this is a matter of conscience... If we lose the South either way, they'll have a lot more respect for him, if the man himself says how he feels as an American, and they will by some message up here, and he'll have a lot more support.. As it is, I'm afraid that that they think that we just after votes -- and I don't think we are. It goes a lot further than that. Should we face up to this Negro problem -- the answer is yes. ~~A~~ Should we do it by legislation - the answer is yes. Should we do it along the general line - the answer is yes. And the timing -- I think the President should pick that time. The place -- and he ought to pick that, and he ought to do it after he's talked to the Republicans, and he ought to put them right in with him -- This is war. When we go to war, why we all close ranks. This is not a foreign war - this is a domestic war. And it's being fought out on the streets of America. Philadelphia and Birmingham - and he ought to say to Haleck and Dirksen and Eisenhower -- how far are you ready to go on this? How many votes you got? What are you willing to do - these are Americans. I think that he's ready to move, it oughtn't be from the head -- it ought to be all the way with all of his team shifting the right side of the line and staying there until he gets across the goal. Now, I don't want to - some newspaper reporter calling me and saying that you're against civil rights. I understood you said this morning in a certain meeting - now when I say that in those meetings, Ted, that's what happens to me. k

TS: Well, I.....



LBJ: The tax meeting, Charlie Bartlett called me immediately afterwards and he didn't say that what it said, and they always do, so I don't want to go into ~~with it~~ it with a group. I'm ready for..... to be specific for whatever my judgment is worth. It may not be worth anything if the President wants to send a message in the morning - then count me in. I play on the team. -- I'll swallow, smile about it, won't find anything wrong with it, and support it with what little if any power, that I've got. But, if you want my general judgments, whatever time that he finds, if he'll let me know, I'll be there and give them to him, but I ought to explore it a little more than I have, --~~x~~ the only thing that I've seen about it k- the New York Times which I carefully follow, and I which I think pretty well explains it in advance - Plus, this message which I read this morning in the 8:05~~meeting~~. Now the other day, I had never seen a bill, had never heard of a bill. - ~~all I knew was~~ all I knew was that - and I didn't think I ought to be - being a non-lawyer - sitting up there ~~blacked out~~ - ~~blurred~~ - (end of side 1)



..... the news was that the President would be - shouldn't ~~be~~ - sending something up like this without anymore standing, because he's already got a ~~illiteracy~~ bill sitting up here, and not a damn thing has ~~be~~ been done on it, - you know and I know that it should've been passed last year. ~~He's already got a civil rights bill and nothing~~ He's already got a civil rights bill and nothings been done on it - and you know and I know - ought've been passed. There's a rule change up here that we spent 6 weeks on, and nothing was done about. I don't think it ought've been done about, but anyway this time I think that whatever this man redommends ought to be the minimum, and it ought to be the must.

TS: Well, I think that we all agree to that. And I think that - if I may say so - I think that we've tried to do our homework on this message and get to work on the bill....

LBJ: Good, good ...

TS: And maybe if any parts ..

LBJ: I'm not familiar with the bill....

TS: And any parts of the bill, I'd like to have them pointed out

LBJ: Fine, well I haven't ~~seen~~ it, and I don't know about the homework, but I leaned over to Kennedy this morning, I said, "Have you talked to any of the leaders about this in advance, - any Southerners," and he said, "Yes," He thought it had ~~talked~~ over with Russell, now I don't know anything. Maybe this has all been done. You asked me for my reaction, and I gave them to you. ~~It~~ It hadn't been with me. I don't know. Maybe they've talked with the Russells, and the Hills, and the others. ~~and~~ Maybe they see eye to eye. I don't think ~~they~~ you can <sup>ever</sup> get ~~their~~ their agreement. I sure that you can get their respect and I think that you can get the respect of their states. I think that the Rockefellers



and the Javits. want to throw the South away and tear them apart. They tried to do that with us ever since we came in. They tried to do it before Los Angeles. The meanest letter I got was from Barry Goldwater . - calling me a hippocrate <sup>because</sup> telling me/I would run with a fellow like Kennedy. Now they're gonna succeed in doing that the way we're doing it now, and they may succeed anyway. And I think that the time will be right upon us, that we'll have to take that gamble. I think that we ought to prepart the way and put the Republicans in there with us because we've got to get 67 votes, and I don't believe....

TS: Yeah.

LBJ.: And I don't believe we've done that. Has anybody talked to Dirksen and said what are your minimums - if your party really believed in Civil Rights, how much does <sup>it</sup> believe in them, and what ~~do~~ are you ready to ~~a~~ do about it, and --- Javits got no votes, the President said this morning. Now we know where

TS: Yeah.

LBJ; he stands . But he's just foile, he's just a agent to go out there and stir all this stuff up, so that they can bust up his combination, and it's a winning one. Now I wouldn't be - I wouldn't let them get me in thattrick, now I 'd move right in with them.

TS: The important thing though, as you say, is that we've got ~~to send up a bill~~ face up to the problem, and we've got send up a bill.

vLBJ: You've got to...

TS: You've got a pretty good bill, and I think it's a minimumbill, and I think it's one that we can stand behind.

LBJ: Well, I -- I haven't seen the bill - don't know. But I think we ought to go through it, and explore it, and see what we can do and what we can add to it. I don't know if anybody's given it a thought, but I've always believed that the number one



ingredient and necessity of any Civil Rights Bill ought to be a conciliation service just like the Labor Department has, and ~~you~~ if you had one in Atlanta, and they sent a man out to Jackson, instead of the Attorney General and the Assistant Attorney General, the Army going in, why maybe, they could pull these things together. Ted Keels suggested it to me in '57, and the Liberals thought it was soft(?), and that it wouldn't do any good, and the Eastlands thought it was FEPC, but I still believe that a professional conciliation service - where you got real human beings running it - ought to be a part of the bill.

TS: Yeah. Well, as a matter of fact, the bill that we sent up already, which will be included in this bill, on the Civil Rights Commission would give it that

LBJ: That's fine. I have seen nothing like that, and I don't know. But we had it in the original bill - ~~and Keel~~ and we had to take it out, but Keel and Jerry Siegel and a number of people thought that would be - that would do more to pull these things together, and I saw it in your committee this morning, you know the Community Committee that you mentioned, and I thought it was approaching it, but it's a lot different in <sup>between</sup> having a preacher on a committee, and having a trained conciliator, who understand race just like you understand Labor.

TS: Yeah.

LBJ: The President points maybe 30 of them in an office in Atlanta, the mayor can call that office and have them in there, and he can go into towns like Shreveport and Jackson. I just think that the President ought to Number One: ought to move the Republicans in with him. Two -- he ought to move some Southern sentiment in here ahead of his message with him - on what's right - the Golden Rule.

TS: Yeah.

LBJ: UH,...



TS: How are we going to do that?

LBJ: I would say - seriously consider - an appearance in ~~whenever-in~~ wherever our space center is in Mississippi. - or New Orleans. But , of course,....

TS: But he was just down there....

LBJ: Yes, I understand that - but not on this matter, and I ~~would~~ would - I would seriously consider a reception in San Antonio. It's a pretty integrated town - you've got a Mexican congressman - it would really open their eyes - every television camera in the country - have this fellow introducing him, and have Andy Hatcher sitting up on the platform - a good many of them. Maybe New Mexico would do it, I don't know. A lot of Mexicans - 300,000 of them there. This is not a Negro problem - it's a American problem. I think that he needs to do some of that before he Washington goes to handing down to them these things, And I think the first meeting he has should probably be with the Negro leaders - Bobby or somebody - saying we're for you - the government's ~~for-you~~ on your side. We give you a commitment: we're going to - this government is for the Negro - and the Mexican and the Japanese and everybody else, but you can be sure of that - Now we're not gonna kill a tax bill by making it impossible for them to vote for it. Now we're gonna pass this bill and we're gonna stay here until we pass another one - civil rights . But we're gonna get ~~this~~ this other stuff out of the way. Wait just one second , the myother phone is ringing. Hello -----Now, if any of these things appeal to you or to the President, I'll try to write down the steps that I would take or recommend if you'll let me see the bills and take a little time and - may be that he feels its incumbent that he do it before he leaves; if he does , then....

TS: I ~~think that I'm to put it off another week~~ - I think that it's tough to put it off another week, I think.



LBJ: Sir? ~~Tough to?~~ Tough to?

TS: ~~Th~~ Yes.

LBJ: That's the decision that he has to make. If ;you want my judgment, my judgment is that I would put it off until he got some of this program through.

TS: ~~Would~~ Without being ??????????

LBJ; Yes sir. Yes sir. Yes sir, I don't see that he ~~'s~~ going to do much now - except hurt him by getting it up ~~on~~ now. I sure wouldn't tough it, unless I had the leadership behind him. Unless they said ~~that they would take it~~ we'll take it and we'll ~~stay~~ until we pass it. And..

TS: Well, I think that the leadership is behind it - the leadership that we had there this morning.

LBJ: I don't think ~~so~~. I don't think a. that they know what's in it, and b. when they know I don't think they can be with this situation as it is. And ,

TS: What is it you think we'd have to take out'? to get them behind it.

LBJ I don't think you might have to take out anything .. You might be able to add things to it, but I just think that the climate - that they don't know, you see. and the c~~o~~untry - the South doesn't know. The President is gonna have to get some agitation for doing right for the South - which he can do. From the pulpits and from the people. I have a -- well, here is a sample to see if I - I had just a note from ~~one~~ of the best conciliators we have--Sam Bloom . He's a Jewish fellow from Dallas, Texas who handled the Dallas integration. I have been trying to get Bert Marshall in touch with ~~Bertman Russell~~ this morning. I'm not God's answer to integration but I have ~~had~~ a lot of experience and have some ideas. I would like to make this recommendation - the Attorney General~~th~~ talked the other day - he understood the growing Birmingham attitude and understood the movement away from the more



conservative urban group and up to the more Martin Luther Kings and the Muslims. What I would like to see them do is develop a task force immediately on the regional basis - start with the people from the press and spread to the public leaders, and go into the towns where they're known, and try to let them know that the problem confronts all Americans. I would do this thing with a integrated task force - the groundwork has to be laid, and I think that we have to line up the press first. I think that he should stand pat about no children being involved. They should go all out to see that the children take no part. What is happening is we adults turn the work over to the children and let them do it while we go on to work. I know what's been done in Birmingham. The only way to slow this thing down is to get the children out of it, and if I were strong enough as if what would happen if children got involved, then I think that we would have a different picture. Dreadful sin about this thing is that the child ~~and not the~~ Negro adult will not stop long enough to get involved. He is afraid of losing it. But they encourage the child to participate, and this must be stopped. The white man made this mistake earlier, and now the Negro is making it ~~pushing~~ pushing the responsibility off on the children. I think that we should do it - if preliminary work and education ~~is~~ in the southern states on what rights ~~Americans are entitled to~~ - We're Americans are entitled to. We're all Americans after all, and we should be treated as Americans eating and sleeping and so forth. If we could get 10 or 15 very strong newspaper men and other experienced leaders, I think that we could get the ball rolling and at the same time, please ask the Attorney General to stand pat on keeping the children out of it, and I want to see him stand tall on this child thing. That's the best way to slow this thing down, and I'll be there Tuesday for a meeting, if you want to talk to me, I'll do it. Now he's the man that worked out the deal



- the Dallas integration. I don't know if he's sound or not. I ~~wanted~~ wasn't in on it. That's his call to Walter Jenkins at 10:00 a. m. this morning . Now I don't think - that we have done that much . . I don't know where the space center is in Missississippi . But I think that it would be very appropriate if the President went in there and invited the Senators and the Congressmen to go with him. If he made a talk on the future and may ~~be~~ 3 minutes of 12 minutes , and said, "Now I don't want to come here without talking about constitutional rights, and we're all Americans. We got a Golden Rule - Do unto others as you would have them do to you. Now I'm leader of this country, and I- when I order men into battle, I order a man without regard to color that carry our flag in the foxhole. The Negro, can do that, the Mexican do it, and others can do it. We got to do the same thing when we drive down the highway in places to eat and I'm going to have to ask you all to do this thing , and I'm going to have to ask the Congress to say we'll all be treated without regard to race. I believe that he'd run some of the demagogues ~~right out of the~~ right in the hole - this thing - the halo around the President. Everybody wants to believe in the President and the commander-in - chief , and I think that he'd make the Barnetts and the Wallaces look silly. They get people - church people-( blur) - I think have to come around to him. Not a majority of them, maybe, but a good many of them over the country. It would really unify the North, and he would be looking them straight in the face - not lecturing to them as a father, but as to what his responsibilities were as President. He sent these boys to Viet Nam and he didn't say pick out the whites and ~~the whites-only~~ <sup>say whites only</sup>, and I'm telling you they'd be out there by the hundreds of thousands , and ....

TS: Well, I think that's a good ~~time~~ idea, and



LBJ: I'd do it at San Antonio . I'd let a Mexican Congressman - I'd just show them that there isn't anything terrible about this business. That here in the heart of the Southland, you've ~~got to~~ got a fellow whose mother born out of this country - and he's in Congress. I'd <sup>let him</sup> introduce him with that white suit on - every television in America for maybe a 15 minute stop at a research - uh - at a space or medical center. Let him talk maybe 2 minutes on that, and maybe 7 minutes on America. And I think that would seep in before this thing gets up here, and then a man is put in a position walmost where he's bigoted to be against the President. As it is now, the President's message doesn't get over - he gets it upe here, and every man - it's just like a manifesto - Ted, every person has to sign that manifesto or he's ostercized-in his own community , and he's defeated. Now the President has to go in there without ~~u~~ussing anybody or fussing with anybody with a bunch of congressmen sitting ~~right~~ there listening to him and be the ~~Ma~~ leader of the nation, and make a moral committment to them. And they can't insult him for doing it - not in the lecture form, but in ~~the~~ a kind of informational form, and you see this fellow, <sup>Baldwin</sup> ~~Bolling~~, he says " I don't want to marry your daughter, I want to get you off my back." And that's what these Negroes want. They want that moral ~~commen~~commitment, and that will do more to satisfy them then your bill will. I mean you got to have your bill too, but I think that we're running the ~~risk~~ risk of touching off about a 3 or 4 month debate that will kill his program and ~~ifl~~ inflame the country and wind up with a mouse. And I don't think that means that legislative approach ought to be abandoned, but I think that it means that it's the subject proposals got to be weighed a little more carefully than I've been able to weigh them. Then reach a conclusion as to what all of us lining up on this play that's going around right in. And I don't think there's



any institution that can pick ..... (end of side 2)



the conscience of the nation, and it would go over the world, I think. I wouldn't have him go down ~~there~~ there and meet Wallace and get in a tussle with him. I'd pick my own time and my own place, and to hell with confronting those people, but I think that he ought to talk frankly and freely, rather understandingly and maybe fatherly, and he should state morally his position, he should do it without equivocation <sup>not as a</sup> ~~without being a~~ demon trying to punish a child, but I know these risks are great, and they might cost us the South, but those states just may be lost anyway, and the difference is <sup>just enforces</sup> that if President ~~issues~~ court decrees, the South will feel ~~that~~ its yeilded force, but if he goes out there and looks them in the eye and states the moral issue, and the Christian issue, and if he does it face to face, the Southerners will at least respect his courage. They ~~ffx~~ feel that they're on the losing ~~of the~~ side of the nation's conscience now. I think the Southerner ~~and~~ white and Negroes share ~~an~~ one point of view that is identical if not certain that the government is on the side of the Negro. The Whites think that we're ~~just~~ plain politicking to carry New York, and the Negroes feel that they're suspicious that we're just doing what we got to do, and 'til that's ~~laid to~~ rest, I <sup>'re going to</sup> don't think you have much of a solution. I don't think that the Negroes goals are going to be achieved through legislation, and a little think here on impact areas a vote or something. I think that the Negroes leaders are aware of it, but what Negroes are really seeking are moral force to be sure that we're on their side., and make them <sup>all act like we're Americans.</sup> ~~feel that we're all on their side.~~ Until they receive that assurance unless it's stated dramatically and convincingly, they're not going to pay much attention to ~~each~~ executive orders and legislative recommendations, and they're going to approach them with skepticism. So....

TS: No, I agree with that and I think that's very sound.....



you've  
 LBJ: And I think that ~~we've~~ got to have his bill; he's sitting over here, and we've got  
 Now, I think he <sup>us</sup>  
 six ~~bill~~s months and we haven't passed anything. / ~~You~~ ought to make ~~him~~ pass  
 some of this stuff before he throws this thing out. This is just what the Republican  
 they  
 party, if I was there manager this is ~~law~~ what I would recommend ~~them~~ do, and  
 this is what they're doing. They're sitting back giggling. And here Javits  
 gets Humphrey ~~pretty~~ pretty souped up on a few terrible demonstrations, we get  
 Civil War going on in the South, and move Kennedy in, and they cut off the South from  
 him, and blow up the bridge - that's what they want to do. If I were Kennedy, I  
<sup>them</sup>  
 wouldn't let/call my signals; I'd ~~pass~~ my programs, and make them ~~stand~~ stand  
 up and vote for it, and while I was doing that, I would go in ~~x~~ into the South a  
 time or two myself, and while I was doing that, I would put the Republicans on  
 the spot making them buy my program or if they want more, just let them -  
<sup>he</sup>  
 let Dirksen say how ~~no~~ much ~~they~~ wants, and I would try to call in my Southern  
 leaders that have got lockheeds over the country and others and ~~say~~ now, Here  
 or in the courts  
 we've got to do it either in the streets/ and they're doing it in the streets, and  
 I can't sit idly by, and say, "What do you recommend, Senator?". Let them  
 chew on it ~~a~~ day or two, because this world wasn't made in a day, and I would  
 be sure that I got a good solid program that I got the Republicans with me, if I  
 can, and get my leaders with me, and then ~~if~~ when I moved, I wouldn't be stopped.  
 Now, he's already tried this literacy bill, this ~~shooting~~ shooting -from -the -hip  
 business, and hell, they messed around there 4 or 5 days, had a little profuncto  
 vote, and that's hippocrätical and disgraceful. Didn't you think so?

TS: Last year, you mean?

LBJ: Yeah.

TS: Well, I think that we could've done better.



LBJ: Sure we could, sure we could. And we better just see what we want to do, and be sure that everybody wants to do it, and then go ahead. I don't think ~~x~~ we're at that stage now, and I told the Attorney General that, and I tell you that. Now if ;you are at that stage, I'll abundantly clear, I'm on the team, and you'll never hear a word out of me.

TS: Well, I think ~~it~~ its , uh, well, what it really comes down to is a question of timing,...

LBJ: And substance.....

TS: I think what you say is right, We're on agreement in substance . I think that this bill has been gone over pretty carefully, and I think that the changes made the other day were good changes, and uh, I think <sup>it's uh, I think</sup> that it's the minimum we can ask for, and the maximum we can stand behind. ~~The question...~~

LBJ: Well, I don't ~~know~~.....

TS: The question is one of timing , and I think that this thing is hot enough. <sup>now</sup>

LBJ: I don't agree....

~~TS~~ It's pretty tough <sup>uh</sup> to agree with that, I don't know though....

LBJ: I don't agree with that, I don't know though, <sup>but</sup> I haven't seen it, but I don't believe the legislators because I don't think they know but I think you ought to give a good deal of thought to the conciliation service <sup>and</sup> instead of the Attorney General or the District Attorney being the conciliator I'd have a trained man do it and I'd have him available to every community in this land <sup>just</sup> as the troops are I think there area good deal of things that you can do. You ought to get your tax bill passed instead of killed. This Kennedy program oughtn't to go down the



the drain and I'm afraid that's what'll happen if you send this up here.....

Now I want to make it clear I'm as strong for his program as you are, my friend.

TS: I know that.

LBJ: <sup>Buh</sup> You want my judgment, now, and I don't want to debate <sup>these</sup> these things around 15 men and have 'em all go out and talk about the Vice President and how ... ~~and~~ how he is 'cause I haven't talked <sup>to</sup> to one Southerner about this and I haven't been able to talk to one Executive man about it except the Attorney General and you and Ken very briefly this morning. I haven't sat in on any of the conferences they have had up here with the Senators. I think it would have been good if I had. I don't care. I'd just as soon be included out on all these things but if ~~at~~ at the last minute I'm supposed to give my judgments I'm goigg to do it honestly as long as I'm around him

TS: Well

LBJ: And I'm goi ~~ng~~ to do it loyally. And, I think he will be cut to pieces by this and I think he will be a sacrificial lamb. I think his program will be hurt if it's not killed. I don't want to be extreme. ~~by~~ We may be able to pass it, but I think he's entitled to more support than he's got to go in with or that he will get after he does and I think the Presidency can get <sup>it</sup> for him. And I have spoked from Milwaukee to Chicago to New York to Los Angeles to Illinois last night and Gettysburg and Dallas and Johnson City, Texas and I think that I know one thing that is the negroes are tired of this patience stuff and tired of this peicemeal stuff and what they want more than anything else is not an Executive Order or Legislation -- they want a moral commitment that he's behind them. And, if he'd make it in Jackson, Mississippi it would be worth a hell of a lot more than it would be in Harlem. And uh, I don't think that it's impossible to pass a good, constructive bill



LBJ: along the lines you've got. I think it's possible to pass probably a stronger one but I don't think it's been talked through, I don't think ..... the procedures, I've given a good deal of thought since you suggested it go to Interstate in the Senate I'd send it there and Judiciary in the House which is almost laughable but

TS: I was laughing myself

LBJ: Yeah. So ---- well, you, you are not <sup>just</sup> sadistic, are you? I thought you ...

TS: Laughter

LBJ: Well, anyway, uh I think we ought to have that planned out and we ought to know that we've got the votes to do and we can get them a whole lot better before the message than we do after <sup>words.</sup> it. The moment that message hits, every cruel and evil influence in this country plus all the uninformed plus all the people that've got a wounded air and a persecution complex are going to be unified against the President and that oughtn't to be. He ought to make it almost <sup>uh</sup> ~~make~~ make a bigot out of <sup>nearby</sup> anybody that's against him. By high lofty ( deal ) Treat these people as Americans. I said some of the things I said at Gettysburg from every train stop in the South and I looked 'XX 'em right in the eye and said 'em and every reporter from Doris Fleeson on ~~was~~ was trying to watch me run from 'em but we said 'em and they respected us and they knocked Lady Bird's hat off in Dallas but by God they voted for us. And if I can do it - and they called it corn pone and all that kinda ~~stuck~~ stuff but the President can sure do it. And when he does, the decent people and the preachers and --- they'll come and support him. I've been into N. Carolina this year at Jefferson and I've been into Florida. Neither place <sup>would</sup> ~~was ever~~ they allow Negroes to come and I said I'm going to come and I'm going to talk about their Constitutional Rights and I want 'em on the platform with me and if you don't let 'em, I'm not coming. Period. By God they put 'em on both places --- right on the platform and right eating with us the first time George Smathers ever had dinner with 'em in



St. Augustine, but we had 'em.

TS: Good.

LBJ: I think the President could this in North Carolina or someplace. And I'd invite the Congressmen and Senators to be on the platform. I wouldn't do like Roosevelt <sup>with</sup> did ~~to~~ Walter George and let him get up and say we will --- I accept your challenge. But I'd have him talk about the contributions that they had made and I'd say now we have a problem here. No nation can ---- 100 years ago <sup>in the</sup> ~~when~~ Lincoln ~~and~~ <sup>half</sup> ~~have~~ free ~~Douglas~~ debate Lincoln said no nation can long endure half slave and ~~half~~ free. Now no world can endure half slave and half free and we're gonna -- we got to do something about it in our own country. And how would you like to be treated? Treat the other fellow the same way. And I don't y' think you want these people to go on the unemployment rolls in Detroit and Los Angeles. I think they ought to be trained here at home so they can earn a job like your children. And I'd have that Governor on the platform with me. John Connally in Texas -- in San Antonio and ~~have~~ Henry Gonzalez introduce me and ----. I took the United Nations down there and they said they didn't believe this was the South because they saw 50 high school bands with Negroes and Mexicans and whites all marching down the same street and they saw 500 thousand people like ~~in~~ a football stadium and they just saw 'em black, brown, white, ~~and~~ everything in San Antonio. I think television ought to see that and I think that's the place for him to make a Gettysburg ~~is~~ speech. That's just a part of space medicine thing or as a part of space in Mississippi or as a part of space in New Orleans and then I'll tell you it will be a lot easier for Hale Boggs. ~~And~~ anyway Hale will already have voted for his tax bill. He'll have that behind him. Now summarizing ~~it~~ everyth ing, I'd say the legislation ought to be screened much more carefully. Ought to be added to and taken from. I don't know. I haven't ~~seen~~ seen it, but that would be my guess.



LBJ: ~~And that~~ <sup>er</sup> can be done ----I've never seen one that can't be and I think it would be a better product a month from now than it ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> now. Second ~~thing~~. I think he ought to talk to Negro Leaders and give 'em that moral commitment --- right from the ~~horse's~~ horse's mouth. That he's going to help get 'em off their back. Three, I think he ought to talk to the Republican leaders from Eisenhower on down, particularly the legislative leaders. Four, I think he ought to get his own team and line ~~up~~ 'em up. Chairmen of Committees --- he's got Humphrey --- what the hell's Humphrey? He's a wonderful man. But we know he's like Bob Taylor's goat ---- he's done voted. You've got to get some other folks in this thing to get that cloture. You've got to get a good many of your westerners. You've got to sit down with 'em and help have a reason. Let their people go to writing to 'em from Wyoming - from Montana from Idaho and some of these other places. Fourth, I think he ought to look 'em in the eye and say this in the south. Not wrestling with Wallace but a place of his choosing and a time of his choosing ~~but~~ where the image of his choosing and leave it. I think that will pulverize a good many of them. I honestly believe the Negroes will appreciate his appearing in New Orleans, La and Jackson Mississippi and saying what I know is in his heart than they'll appreciate all these damn things if you passed 'em tomorrow which I don't think you'll ever pass as it is.

TS: Well, that's a good point ....

LBJ: Did I make the point? <sup>TS-Yeah. LBJ:</sup> That you haven't done your homework on public sentiment on legislative leaders on the opposition party or on the legislation itself. I think it can be more constructive and I think it can be better without any reflection on anyone. I don't know who drafted it. I've never seen it. Hell, if the Vice President don't know what's in it how do you expect the others to know what's in it? And I got it from the New York Times and from that message of yours this morning. I've never seen anything else, but that's the way Eisenhower ~~took~~ took Part III



and Russell just ~~rammed~~ ran him off the ---- out of the White House uh 3g  
balcony cause he said I never heard of it - - didn't know that was in there,  
they just slipped it in on me and my guess is that they'll be picking at this thing and  
that they'll have seven things and I'd let 'em pick at it before I sent it up. And I'd  
find the answers to it. Do you follow me?

TS: I do.

LBJ: ~~See~~ I would have Dick Russell sit down with Lyndon Johnson. <sup>on</sup> I'm not a lawyer, but  
with a lawyer. Bobby's been negotiating with him, ~~and~~ I'd just say now I've got --  
and let him advance every argument he can and be sure you got the answers  
and then go ~~an~~ and send the bill if you want to. But I would make them show  
their every card they got and ---- you know they forced me -- this Javits group ---  
forced me to give a commitment to take up civil rights in '60. You remember that?  
Before the Convention?

TS: ~~That's the worst mistake we ever made~~ Yeah.

LBJ: That's the worst mistake we ever made. Because it killed all the other program.  
We couldn't get medical care. We couldn't get wage and hour. We couldn't get  
anything else. Because we divided our forces, split 'em to pieces and we passed a  
civil rights bill but we killed everything else that we had and we were prostrate  
when we came back here..... Kennedy and Johnson. Now I'd pass the program  
and let Mr. Javits go straight to hell. He's not going to win this election between  
now and july <sup>first</sup> or september <sup>first</sup> and when I got my bills passed, <sup>Side 4 by that time,</sup> I'd be ready  
and I'd have a plan and I'd have a program and I'd have the power behind ~~me~~ it  
and every cabinet officer would know what's in it and be for it. And every  
northerner including the republicans would have to be for it. And I would have  
already pulverized the south pretty well myself. They can't attack this President  
but  
~~and~~ I'll tell you when he sent this message they're going to come running out  
there and Howard Smith's going to be in the lead in one place and Dick Russel



in the other place and they're going to sit quietly in these appropriations committees and they're going to cut his uh outfit off and put in their pocket and never mention civil rights. So, uh, huh, I'd move my children on through the line and get them down in the storm cellar and get it locked and key and then I'd make my attack. And I'd tell the Negroes what I'm going. Maybe I'm wrong. You asked for it and I could go into a good deal and I think that I have the ~~fix~~ feeling the Negro has in this country. I've been talking to a good many of them. Bobby came in the other day to our Equal <sup>e</sup>mployment Committee and I was humiliated. He took on Hobart and said about Birmingham. Said the Federal employees weren't employing them down there and he just gave 'em hell and said we got 26 jobs for 'em. Well, obviously the President and the Attorney General can get 26 or 2600 if they'd tell 'em to put 'em on. But the only way we can tell 'em is to take the Civil Service Register and the Presidential appointees and we can't make 'em do anything although we had urged ~~XXXXXX~~ them in a letter in March --- please, this meant business. The President insisted it be done. Well, we did it, but I don't believe. I believe those 26 will cost us in the long run. I think we got to say to those southerners that if you don't want to send these people to Detroit and Los Angeles to go on the relief rolls that you want 'e to work and to earn their own living and stand on their own feet. So, we are gonna give 'em jobs and we are going to do it ~~fix~~ in the labor union and we are going to do it in the Federal Government. And then I think they will. But the point --- ~~only~~ <sup>I think</sup> the President can do it. When we got through the Committee came around to me and said "Well, it looks like there's a great division in the Administration and why don't you do this in every city like they're doing in Birmingham and I said I can't very well ask the Civil Service to do something that the law has already provided they'll do the right and I can't say the President's men are not doing it. Now the President can but if they want that done I'll sure love to do it in every city. Montgomery right on down. Now we've called



every large employer in 25 large cities and we've said to them, please 46  
go out privately and hire your maximum number of Negroes. But, you know what  
happened in Birmingham. 1400 took the exam --- 80 passed it and only 40 -40  
of ~~3x~~ 'em want to come to Washington and we did it right here at Howard. 150  
were screened and 8 were qualified and only 2 we could finally get on the job.  
The same thing in Chicago. ~~3000~~ 350 examined and the trouble is our school  
system has been unfair to them all these years and they are not qualified -- most  
of these places. We've got training programs going on like Los Angeles's got a  
hundred graduated last week. I went out there and spoke to them. <sup>But</sup> I can't get into  
the paper. Had every aerospace manufacturer in California present with 100  
graduates and the semi-skilled people that ~~ought~~ all got jobs when they come out  
of this technical school that they graduated from. Dan Kimball, President of  
Lockheed, President of Northrup, President of North American --- every one  
of 'em. Now that's what's got to be done all over this country and I went --- spent  
10 days getting up a letter and urged the Secretary of Labor to send it out a month  
ago to every labor union saying we are going to get a report from you and see if you  
are complying with what you said. He sent all this stuff out and the labor unions are  
not. We're going to have to bring some suits. The Attorney General's got the  
power under that Executive Order to do it but I think the President ought to tell  
'em before he does and say to the south that here you've got 35% of the people of  
Birmingham are Negroes but you haven't got one in a single union in Birmingham.  
So I hope they will take ~~xxx~~ them in but if they don't we are going to have to ask  
that the Attorney General go into court and go to the National Labor Relations  
Board. Now, do you know who wrote that provision in the Executive Order on  
authorizing the Attorney General to go in? Dick Russell. And I think you ----  
they want these to people to work. And, you know who ~~was~~ helped on Lockheed?  
Mr. Russell. It's got the best employer record in the country 'cause by God he  
kn w



knew the President wasn't going to give him that contract if he didn't empty  
Negroes. That's the loudest language a President can speak. Do you follow me?

TS: I sure do.

LBJ: I think it would be good for him to appear at Lockheed. He's looking at all these  
White Sands things right in the middle of Georgia and not say something they say  
I accept your challenge but say I appreciate what you've done here. You've been  
a beacon light for the nation but you people that don't believe in ~~star~~ starving  
your fellow man - - you think a man who wants to work ought to have a chance to  
do it so see that these unions let 'em in --- see that these employers let 'em work  
and I'll tell you that these Negroes will be whispering to each other that he walked  
right in there and he stood right up to ~~stand~~ 'em and he told them the facts and  
I think the South --- I don't know much about it but I think they'll respect him  
because here's a man with a conscience. They think that they don't believe in  
anything that the Pope believes in - - - you know that but they believe this man  
is a sincere man and he's a catholic because he believes that's what ought to be  
and when you tell 'em about the Joe Kennedy and that Baptist boy from Fort Worth  
going down on the same plane they'd knock a damn bigot down that ~~questions~~ his  
religion and they'll do the same thing here but you've got to put it to them and we  
haven't. And you've got to do it in Georgia and Mississippi and Texas and I've  
got as much problem here as any human being and they'll probably boo me off the  
platform but I'll be right there with him. I'll be saying <sup>it</sup> ~~to~~ myself if he wants <sup>me</sup> ~~to~~ to  
but I just don't think ---- I think he ---- the only person that's hurt by this is the  
President and the Democratic Party if he does this now. He's played right into the  
Republican's hands. <sup>and</sup> Done exactly what they wanted him to do. I got a memo from  
the head of the civil rights commission <sup>He's</sup> ~~Talked~~ to a friend of mine. <sup>He</sup> ~~He~~ wrote me  
4 or 5 months ago and he said this thing is going to boil and we are going to have in  
the streets --- and here's what Mr. Rockefeller is going to do -----



LBJ I got a memo from - uh, the head of the Civil Rights <sup>C</sup>ommission, he talked to a friend of mine, he wrote me 4 or 5 months ago, and he said ~~that~~ this thing is going to boil, and have in the streets, and here's what Mr. Rockefeller is going to do. I told the President at that time that Rockefeller <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ going to try to out-Negro our administration just like he out-niggered ~~Mr~~ Airvella Harriman<sup>s</sup>, and he's gonna lay it onto us, and <sup>then</sup> try to make him take a position between the Negro in the south. And we couldn't get in that position. And I think that they gonna make us do it. <sup>just</sup> We ought to do it our way, instead of their way. <sup>TS:</sup> oh, uh, ----- and it wasn't what you say. That's sure.....

TS: That's sure.....

LBJ: Suppose you sent it yesterday? Hell, you've sent - you've got two bills up here and where are they? I don't know where Smathers is and I don't know where Mansfield is, but I'd find out where they are and I'd see what I'd do about those and , uh, if you ask me, ~~Should we ask~~ have legislation, <sup>Question</sup> the ~~answer~~ is yes, ~~and if the question is~~ should we have legislation that is substantially of this ~~the~~ type, <sup>?</sup> the ~~answer~~ is yes. Can ~~it~~ be improved on, <sup>?</sup> the answer is yes. Should we, uh, what we should we do before we send it, <sup>?</sup> I'd say, Republicans ~~work~~, one, public sentiment, two, and the South, three, ~~legislators~~, four, individually, <sup>for</sup> Negro leaders, five, and , uh, then when I got ready to swing I would go in <sup>to</sup> the kill, and I would not let anybody deter me or persuade me. And I slept on this couch that I am looking <sup>at</sup> for 37 nights, but I produced quorums at 2:00 and 4 o'clock, and that's what you got <sup>to be</sup> prepared to do, and you may as well ~~know~~ notify these wivesthat <sup>the time</sup> you're gonna have some unpopularity because they cussed me all ~~night~~, <sup>fighting</sup> but that's what you're goona have to do, because this crowd, they're experts at this thing, and we're not prepared



for 'em. We got a little popgun and I want to pull out the cannon, and the President's cannon, and you let him be on all the TV networks, speaking from his conscience, not <sup>at</sup> in a rally in Harlem, but at a place in Mississippi or Texas or Louisiana, <sup>and</sup> ~~or~~ just have a few ~~honored~~ honor guard there with a few Negro <sup>as</sup> in it, and let him reach over there and point, and say "I have ~~to~~ order these boys into battle in the foxholes, carrying that ~~h~~ flag, and I don't ask them what their name is, whether it's Gomez or Smith, or what color what they got, ~~or~~ what religion. and if I can order them into battle, I gotta make it possible for 'em to eat and sleep in this country." Then, how does everybody, he goes home and asks his wife what's wrong with this, and they go searching their conscience - every preacher starts preaching about it, and we ought to recognize <sup>that</sup> ~~it~~, and put that busy. Why? Because <sup>Dean</sup> ~~Beauregard~~ Serves spoke <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ my meeting the other day ----- not clear <sup>he</sup>), and what all ~~they~~ <sup>he</sup> wants to do, and I said well, I'll just put you on the country circuit right now, and you head south, <sup>B</sup> But you saw what the Episcopalians did, I commended him for it, but the President ought to get all of his troops when he's <sup>entitled</sup> and put every Republican in there with him, and put every preacher <sup>in</sup> there with him, every decent Southerner in there with him. Now, if he acts this way, my judgement is these leaders is that these leaders won't be against him. Because they will be so poisoned, and, uh, the newspapers, the only newspaper will be there, the Jackson paper, and the Dallas News, all of em, and they'll just hear one side of it, and they'll say about how Bobby, and Lyndon Johnson were traitors, and what ~~x~~ all they've done, and the ~~P~~oor President is just being misled. They look at him on television speaking down there, right from the shoulder, and they'll examine their consciences <sup>that</sup> that night, and he got plenty of



time to propose; he can propose right up to September. You ain't gonna even get started discussing it til September anyway. You got your pass your tax bill, and you got to pass some of your other bills, and uh, September is just about the time, because they'll all want to be going home, <sup>then</sup> and you won't have to have so many night sessions before you get closure. So, the only big problem is saying to the Bollins, and the Kings, and to the rest of them, we'll give you <sup>moral</sup> ~~our~~ committment, the government is behind you; you're not gonna have to do it in the streets, you can do it in the court houses and in the Congress; now let's get ready for that, and <sup>let</sup> ~~with~~ the same energy go in and talk <sup>ing</sup> to the people and letting their congress, <sup>your</sup> you, you, got some of ~~the~~ legislatures in session and you may have to- have this ~~xxx~~ same situation in Florida and Louisiana and you may have a sweep all over the ~~and~~ country, this message right now; but if he pulverizes right away, he ~~may have~~ why, he'll have as many voters on his side, as ~~he's got~~ these little legislatures got on their side., if he tells them the truth. Cause he's right, Ted, <sup>TS!</sup> ~~but~~ , uh, but do you think that we've exploited that personality and that office and that man, and uh, bled him for everything's he's got to give this leadership movement? I don't think that we've done ~~it~~ any of it. They'll do a lot more of it, and they'll be doing a lot more of it all summer, I'm not sure that you have to wait and send up the bill afterwards.

LBJ: I don't think that you have to wait, you have to do this other, and as soon as you do it, go ahead with the other, but I don't agree with you that it's been done, I think that this is Republican time setting it up.

TS: Well, it's just as well cause it's the Negroes time to set it up

LBJ: Well, I'd talk to the Negroes. I think that what the Negroes unless I misjudge them, ;they've heard about these voting rights, and they've heard about these public facilities, and they've heard about taking down the white signs on buses,



<sup>but</sup> ~~and~~ they know <sup>that</sup> ~~it~~ hasn't happened and <sup>that</sup> ~~it's~~ not going to happen, and they know that it's not going to be done in 3 or 4 months, but they want to know if the <sup>the Law's</sup> ~~President~~ is really hard on their side. And I believe that they believe he is. They believe the Attorney General is, but I think that they believe I am, but I just want to convince them and be sure that they believe it, and then I would get some supporters -- this way I think that you run it off. You might want to talk to Mansfield; I've never mentioned it to him, and see what he thinks. I was informed that his plan was to take ~~back~~ the House bill, discuss it for one, -uh, take the House bill committ it to judiciary instructions, and bring it back within a month. Now, I haven't explored that, but I rather believe, just my hunches, that that would be the best way to get it back.

TS: Yeah, I think so.

LBJ: Uh, you take it up direct, you, you, lose some votes because it hasn't been considered...

TS: No, no, I agree.....

LBJ: You get it to a committee without instructions, you can't get it back...

TS: Yeah.....

LBJ: So, it's got to do that, and I wouldn't consider any other committee, I'd just...

TS: Yeah, I agree with that...

LBJ: Although, if I could report it out of House interstate, I would do it, but I've looked at that, and I don't believe you can. But, I would----- (side 5)



cont.

LBJ: .... right to do that, and I wouldn't consider any other oommittee, I'd just..

TS: Yeah, I agree with that..

LBJ: Although~~t~~, if I could report it out of House Interstate, I'd Do it. I've looked at that, and I don't believe you can. But, I would sure get the Republicans in on this thing --- I wouldn't say that we were in on the landing, but we're not in on the takeoff. And this is not warfair, I don't know what is. They've arrested ~~t~~ 'em by the thousands, and killed 'em by the dozens, and we're sure ;interested - Carl Albert said down there this morning we can't fascinate these \_\_\_\_\_? , and I said, what makes you think you can't? Just, just to uh, just to get the proof. Halleck told me under no circumstances would he vote for it. I'd let him ~~t~~ what these Republicans want to do about it, this thing. Cause, or you get your message off tomorrow, my friend, uh - probably every Dirksen and Dick Russell will be sitting around there Sunday <sup>over a</sup> ~~with a~~ mint julep <sup>with</sup> ~~and~~ a understanding that they're ~~do~~ gonna doa good deal more than you've asked, and , uh - he ~~hasn't~~ been consulted , and he got a right to offer more than you ask, and that'll be defeated, and then he won't go along - he'll go along then with Russell, and he's made a book against you. Now I'd make a book with him instead of ~~mak~~ <sup>Russell</sup> making it with him. \_\_\_\_\_? and all the - every moral force in this country loose on him.

TS: \_\_\_\_\_?

LBJ: I want to talk to the President about this and about super-sonic bombers and - You want to take one ~~ini~~ minute on that? They are ~~12~~ 13 government agencies; there's the same amount of jealousy and envy involved in that



question as Roosevelt had with ? \_\_\_\_\_ and Hopkins? I've never seen it in this government - up to this point - it's there now. Uh, we finally got 'em all to agree that we would recommend to the President that we start on the program ---- We ask the Congress for a hundred million dollars, we ask for design competition immediately, and ~~we~~ when it came in, we <sup>decide</sup> ~~decide~~ whether we want it two or 3, and whether we should go on or not. We all think ~~that~~ we should, the people who really know we should are Dillon, and Harriman, and Halaby, and, uh, I think that, uh, Labor doesn't care - the people who - uh - question it are, uh, Commerce, Barton thinks it oughta be in Commerce, McNamara is just, uh, against it, he has no need for it, and I think, pretty generally, he's against super-sonic stuff. He, uh, UH, just has no need for it, and I think just pretty generally against it. Last August, he wanted to study it, and he got a report from Stanford, and still wants to study it, and after a year it was studied much more, and the British and the French will have theirs, and Tripp is signing up this afternoon for 6 of them anyway. Uh, juh, I got McNamara to go along, and got budget to go along, with the understanding that they were there, ~~with the end~~ to \_\_\_\_\_ some more characteristics before they asked for ~~so more~~ design competition, so I appointed him unto a committee, and he's meeting with 'em ~~next~~ day or two. My judgment is that, uh, the British had the leadership of the world because they dominated the sea for centuries. We've had the leadership of the world cause we took the air away from Hitler and had it ever since we took it away from him. And, my judgment is that we ought to keep the leadership of aviation, and the only way to keep it is to



not sit on your fanny, and let the British and the French build 02.2 and let us do nothing.

TS: Yeah,

LBJ: And, uh,...

TS: I'd like to see a copy of your report.

LBJ:q Allright, it's in the President's hands; it's a two-page letter. And, uh, I think that he ought to ~~adopt it~~ adopt it, and then he ought to send Halaby up here, and let Halaby testify to the Congress, maybe on the same kind of message you sent on space. This is a far-reaching decision; if it were up to me alone, I would submit you to the facts - You oughtn't undertake it, unless you plan to do it. And if you do decide to do it, I hope you'll not look back. Kind of the same message you did on space - A billion dollars - they'll ridicule it, they'll laugh at it, but, uh, just <sup>like</sup> they ~~do~~ do the space thing, But my friend, if he didn't do it, he'd be in worse shape, so, Dillon is strong for it, and Harriman is strong for it, Budget, and McNamara are weak, although, they agreed to go along with this letter, and I think that the President ought to act on this letter pretty soon. And He, he got to name one man to be the czar, he's in the FAA; ~~they~~ there's a pretty good man named Baines, that I saw in these conferences; but I never heard of him, never knew his given name; he wrote the FAA report; he got brains and guts, and vision, I think. He might be the man, I don't know. But whoever the President wants, ought to be selected tomorrow. And say now, you go and present this thing. And, I think ~~that~~ it's pretty important cause the ~~plain people are~~ plain people are buying em now. They came down and showed x Dillon their contract. They've already signed



with the British and teh French to buy 6. And they'll be doing more, unless we ~~stop~~ show we got a program. That man ought to be named, and the first thing that he ought to do is get ready for his testimony on the House bill and go over there playing the lions, and say, " Here , here's what we're going to do , and we want you to <sup>agree to</sup> put up some of the money. Now \_\_\_\_\_ the same way, ; he ought to be an able and tough negotiator , and I don't want the President to ask me who to recommend - I don't have anybody to recommend - don't know. Maybe Baines is the man; I'd look into it awfully carefully if I were in the President's place, but I sure urge a prompt decision; just ~~like~~ like I did the Space in January and April. I, we, uh, we're gonna ~~g~~ have a str m on it, but I think that you'd be proud - 25 years from now.

TS: I bet I would.

~~TS~~: I'll pass that on - the supersonic ,

LBJ: Allright

TS: I'd like to have a look at ~~a~~ it myself.

LBJ: Allright, and, uh, they scheduled a fifteen minute appointment for me today at eleven, and then as we suggested twelve, I'm not ~~ask~~ asking <sup>for any</sup> ~~atall~~. But, the President asked me this morning, "Do you have any suggestions", and I've had some experiences - I don't want to spend this week telling these newspapers/~~s~~/reporters - why I disagree, and I never do, so whenever he wants them, I'm available.

TS: Well, I'll pass all this on to him, you can be sure.

LBJ: Thank you, Ted.

TS: Thank you, very much, Mr. Vice President.

LBJ: By .