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PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S NOTES ON CONVERSATION WITH
CONGRESSMAN JACK BROOKS NOVEMBER 23, 1963

Congressman Brooks said: "It's not going to be an easy job but there isn't anybody any better prepared to do it than you.... you're the best prepared Vice President we have ever had in the history of the country...training and temperament."

(President Johnson asked him to come to his house, with Charlotte, that night.)

November 24, 1963

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND
McGEORGE BUNDY

✓
37

MB:the reception is tomorrow ...it is getting in good shape. Mrs. Kennedy wants to receive the heads of delegations herself very briefly right after the burial and then the State Department would have a . if you would receive more seriously and have a chance to talk to some over there...that would be very agreeable to the family and I think that the double-header in a way is graceful for both parties and allows you to transact some Presidential business. What we'd like to do...Bill Moyers and I were just talking...is to put them both out at once. Pierre is about to go where Mrs. Kennedy is receiving and we think they both ought to go together. If that is agreeable with you?

LBJ: Yes, that's right.

MB: Now, Tuesday appointments, I think should not be decided or announced until you and I have had one more talk because there's a good deal of conflict between us and some of the State Department bureaus on it...and I'm sure we're right but I want you to be satisfied.

LBJ: All right.

MB: I'll come over later, sir.

LBJ: All right.

Date: September 15, 1993

Processing Note

Re: Telephone Conversation between the President and Mr. Whitney Young, November 24, 1963, 5:55 p.m.

While working on preservation of the dictabelts, the archives staff observed the following inaccuracies in the transcript:

On page 1, the transcript reads:

WY: "...we're gonna meet..."

On page 1, last paragraph, the transcript reads:

WY: "...Jim _____ and I...."

The archives staff heard:

WY: "...we're gonna meet James Farmer"

and:

WY: "...Jim Farmer and I...."

Claudia Anderson
Archivist

November 24, 1963

5:55 P. M.

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND
MR. WHITNEY YOUNG

WY: How are you, sir. How are you doing.

LBJ: Hello, my friend.

WY: I just happen to talk George _____ and just wanted to bear this point to you that have one hundred percent confidence.

LBJ: Well, you're mighty....

WY: I've been seeing this on television and radio and I'm quite sincere about it.

LBJ: I know that. You've been wonderful. I want you to come in during the next few days as soon as we can get this behind us but in the meantime I want you to be thinking, of course, I'm going to urge the Congress to go ahead and act now but I don't know what we're going to get out of them in the way of tax and civil rights in the next three weeks. They're going home Thanksgiving and they're coming back but we're just beginning to fight. But I want you to give some thought to what our approaches ought to be and who I ought to ^{talk} to and how we ought to organize and how we ought to really move ahead... with what we're going to do and let's all try and go in the same direction, kind of like we have with Equal Opportunity. And, I want you to do some heavy thinking on it and statesman-like thinking on it and come in to see me. I'm going to call Roy as soon as I hang up talking to you and I don't know who else to call, but if you wouldn't mind giving a little thought to that, maybe I ought to call one or two more... if you do, maybe you can give me

WY: I think it would be marvelous. The number is BE-3-0536. I think it might good strategy, now... we're gonna meet...

LBJ: What about Phil Randolph?

WY: Phil is in Chicago.

LBJ: Would you call him ~~xxxxxxx~~... if you were me?

WY: Yes. I think it is very strategic. And all it's really doing is reconfirming cause Jim _____ and I were together yesterday and he feels the same way I do.

- LBJ: Well, I just want to get the benefit of your thinking and your approach and let's try to not move with that ball until we know where we're going and then let's go and go right on through that goal line and then not ever ... might get run out of bounds a time or two but .. they'll keep coming and kind of like the fellow said "what's the difference between a Texas Ranger and a Texas Sheriff"... said "well, when you hit a Ranger he just keeps coming." So, that's kind of the fight we want to get in. We want to just keep coming when we start ...
- WY: I've got some ideas.. and I'd be happy to talk with you.. the sooner the better because....
- LBJ: Well, I've got to get this funeral behind me and I've got all these heads of states coming and I've got to say something publicly ... I'm going to the Joint Session and I think I just ought to tell them we're carrying on and ask for passage of the Civil Rights Bill and the Tax Bill. and, I've got to sit down ... we've got to devise the strategy to get it done. Humphrey told me yesterday that they're all going home Thanksgiving and not gonna come back to taxes until December 10th and said everybody is so worn out, mad, and tired... they're not going to pass anything between now and December 18th, when they quit for Christmas, so I've got to get in behind them pretty quick.
- WY: Well, let me make a quick suggestion. I think you've just got to make a date for that and point out that ... as the death of President Kennedy... that hate that goes unchecked doesn't stop just for the week.. and the killing at Birmingham.. the people feel that they can react with violence when they dissent. So this thing is now bigger..
- LBJ: Dedicate a whole page on Hate... hate international... hate domestic... and just say that this hate that produces inequality, this hate that produces poverty... that's why we've got to have a tax bill... the hate that produces injustice... that's why we've got to have civil rights... it's a cancer that just eats out our national existence...
- WY: Right, right... that's wonderful.
- LBJ: God bless you... I was thinking of you.....
- WY: One more thing.... CORE and I haven't heard anything about we sort of expected an invitation... how are they handling that?
- LBJ: I have no idea... and, let me inquire on it but I'd sure... I'm taking my family and I'd almost take you as my guest if I can get an extra ticket... let me see

LBJ (Contd)

about it...I don't know... Bobby is handling it. But I can check it...

WY: If you would. I think it would be good that...I'd be happy to be with you
....

LBJ: Well, I'll just check it and see what happens and I'll get back to you some
time tomorrow...

WY: Thanks...good...I'll be right here.

LBJ: Bye

6:23PM CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND WHITNEY YOUNG AGAIN

LBJ: That invitation will come through to you and Roy tonight.

WY: Tonight.

LBJ: Yes, we talked to Sargent Shriver and he said that he'd work it right out.

WY: Thanks so much. What time is that?

LBJ: I don't know.

WY: Well, I mean, what time is the service?

LBJ: Noon

WY: O.K. Thanks so much.

LBJ: Now, if you don't...you call Bill Moyers through the White House
switchboard...

WY: Bill Moyers.

LBJ: He's my assistant.

WY: Yes...I've met him.. Had him speak at our conference..

LBJ: Well, no wonder he hasn't been worth a _____ to me... he's running
around here all the time.. O.K.

WY: God bless you.

LBJ: Thank you, my friend. Bye.

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PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S NOTES ON CONVERSATION WITH
MR. WHITNEY YOUNG NOVEMBER 24, 1963

Mr. Young said: "I just happened to talk to George and just wanted to bear this point to you that you have our one hundred per cent confidence."

President Johnson told him that he was going to be calling for advice on tax, civil rights, and Mr. Young suggested that in his talk to the Joint Session ~~the~~ the President should mention that "hate that goes unchecked doesn't stop just for the week."

November 25, 1963

10:30 a.m. 37

TELEPHONE CALL
THE PRESIDENT TO
J. EDGAR HOOVER

Pres.

Two things. Apparently some lawyer in Justice is lobbying with the Post because that's where the suggestion came from for this Presidential Commission which we think would be very bad and put it right in the White House. Now we can't be checking up on every shooting scrape in the country, but they've gone to the Post now to get them an editorial, and the Post is calling up and saying they're going to run an editorial if we don't do things. Now we're going to do two things and I wanted you to know about it.

One: We believe that the way to handle this as we said yesterday -- your suggestion -- that you put at every facility at your command, making a full report to the Attorney General and then they make it available to the country in whatever form may seem desirable.

Second: It's a state matter, too, and the State Attorney General is young and able and prudent and very cooperative with you -- he's going to run a court of inquiry which is provided for by a state law and he's going to have associated with him the most outstanding jurists in the country. But he's a good conservative fellow and we don't start invading local jurisdictions that way and he understands what you're doing and he's for it, and I wanted you to understand what he was doing, and he's very strong for it and he's going to announce it today. Now if you get too many cooks messing with the broth it makes -- mess it up. And I think that these two are trained organizations and the Attorney General of the state holds Courts of Inquiry every time a law is violated, and the FBI makes these investigations. So I wanted you to know that and you ought to tell your press men that that's what's happening and they can expect Waggoner Carr the Attorney General of Texas to make an announcement this morning, to have a state inquiry and you can offer them your full cooperation and vice versa, he'll do it with you.

JEH

We'll work together on it.

Pres. And any influence you got with the Post, have them point to them that you don't want too many things and just picking out a Tom Dewey lawyer from New York and sending him down -- hunting new facts -- this Commission thing, Mr. Herbert Hoover tried that and sometimes a Commission that's not trained hurts more than it helps.

JEH It's a regular circus then.

LBJ That's right.

JEH Because it'll be covered by TV and everything like that.

LBJ Just like an investigating committee.

JEH Exactly. I don't have much influence with the Post because I frankly don't read it. I view it like the Daily Worker.

LBJ You told me that once before.
I just want your people to know the facts, and your people can say that and that kind of negates it, you see?

JEH Yes sir.

LBJ Thank you

JEH Thank you, Mr. President.

Date: September 15, 1993

Processing Note

Re: Telephone Conversation between the President and Mr. Joe Alsop, 11/25/63, 10:40 a.m.

While working on preservation of the dictabelts, the archives staff observed the following inaccuracies in the transcript:

On page 3, the transcript reads:

JA (Cont'd): "...I suggest that you announce that as you do not want the Attorney General to have the clean, full, responsibility of reporting...."

On page 3, the transcript reads:

JA: "...to draw up a written report giving to the public everything of the FBI that is relevant...."

The archives staff heard:

JA (Cont'd): "...I suggest that you announce that as you do not want the Attorney General to have the clean, full, responsibility of reporting...."

JA: "...to draw up a written report giving to the public everything of the FBI that is relevant...."

Claudia Anderson
Archivist

November 25, 1963

10:40am

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND
MR. JOE ALSOP

LBJ: Joe?

JA: Yes, Mr. President.

LBJ: I appreciate very much your calling...

JB: Well, you know what I feel about you and you know how I... well,
I put it all in the letter...

LBJ: ..he has ordered or will order during the day, probably right after
the funeral, a state court of inquiry headed by the Attorney General
which he will have associated with him one or two of the outstanding
civil liberties jurists in the country, perhaps Jarwarski who
represented the Attorney General in the 5th Circuit negro case or
some of the trial lawyers of America or Dean Story, or...

JA: You mean, somebody from outside of Texas?

LBJ: No, they're going to have FBI from outside Texas, but this is under
Texas law and they take all the involvements and we don't send in a
bunch of carpet-baggers ...that's the worse thing he could do right
now...

JA: You think so...

LBJ: I know... well, we've got the FBI doing anything that..if there's any
question about Texas operation, they've got an FBI that's going to the
bottom of it and direct with the Attorney General..but paralleling that
is the blue ribbon state board of inquiry headed by the brilliant Attorney
General and associated with him somebody like say John Garwood,
Will Clayton's son-in-law, who was a brilliant Supreme Court Justice
that's retired... somebody like Roberts did at Pearl Harbor...and
that's what the Attorney General is doing...now, if we have another
Commission, hell, you're gonna have people running over each other
and everybody agreed..now I know that some of the lawyers..they
thought of the blue ribbon commission first, the Justice, and we just
can't have them lobbying them against the President, when he makes
these decisions. We decided that the best thing to do, number one

LBJ
Cont'd the
 to put ~~an~~ FBI in full force, number two to put the State in full force..

JA: Nobody...nobody...Mr. President, is lobbying me, I lay awake all night...

LBJ: They're not lobbying you, they're lobbying me....last night. I spent the day on it...I had to leave Mrs. Kennedy's side at the White House and call and ask the Secret Service and FBI to proceed immediately...I spent most of my day on this thing, yesterday. I had the Attorney General from Texas fly in here...I spent an hour and a half with him yesterday evening..I talked to the Justice Dept. lawyers and to the FBI and the FBI is of the opinion that the wisest, quickest, ablest, most effective way to go about it is for them to thoroughly study it and bring in a written report to the Attorney General at the earliest possible date which they've been working on since 12:30 yesterday. Number one...and they have information that is available to no one..that has not been presented thus far and so forth...Number two..to parallel that, we're having a blue ribbon court of inquiry...

JA: In Texas?

LBJ: In Texas...where this thing occurred...

JA: Mr. President, just let me give you my political judgment on the thing. I think you've done everything that could probably be done..

LBJ: We just don't want to be in a position...I'll make this one more statement and then I'm through....I want to hear you...we don't want to be in the position of saying that we have come in to a state other than the FBI..that they pretty well accept...but some outsiders have told them that their integrity is no good and that we're going to have some carpetbag trials...we can't haul off people from New York and try them in Jackson, Mississippi..and we can't haul off people from Dallas and try them in New York...

JA: I see that, Mr. President...but let me...

LBJ: It is their constitutional right....go ahead...now..

JA: Let me make one suggestion because I think this covers...I think this bridges the gap which I believe and Dean Acheson believes still

JA
(Cont'd)

exists...being...and Bill Moyers is the only person I've talked to about it...and Friendly is going to come out tomorrow morning with a big thing about a...a blue ribbon commission which he thought of independently...it isn't Justice Department lawyers who are carrying on this...it's just things happened thought of by a lot people and you thought of more than ...more details than anyone else...and I'm sure you're right except there's one missing piece...I suggest that you announce that as you do not want the Attorney General to have the clean, full, responsibility of reporting on his own brother's assassination, that you have authorized the three jurists and I would suggest the Texas jurists and two non-Texas jurists to review all the evidence by the FBI and produce a report to the nation for the nation...and after the investigation is completed...so that the country will have the story judicially reviewed, outside Texas and if you tell Bill Moyers to call up Friendly and if you'll get out a special announcement this afternoon, you're going to make a marvelous...well, you've already made a marvelous start...you haven't put a damned foot one-quarter of an inch wrong...and I've never seen anything like it, you've been simply marvelous in the most painful circumstances but I do feel that there is that much of a gap and I'm sure that if Moyers calls Friendly, you have a terrific support from the Washington Post and from the whole of the rest of the press instantly...

LBJ: I'll ruin both procedures we've got, though....

JA: No you won't...no you won't...just use the procedures you've got and add to those procedures a statement saying that "when the FBI has completed its work, when it has completed its work...as you do not wish to inflict on the Attorney General, the painful task of reviewing the evidence concerning his own brother's assassination...you have asked two or three, including I would include the best judge on the Texas bench...American jurists beyond, or individuals, Dean Acheson, for example, two or three individuals beyond any possible suspicion as to their independence and impartiality, to draw up a written report giving to the public everything of the FBI that is relevant and then you will have this written report...not Texas which tells the whole story which is based on the FBI evidence...it doesn't need to use the things that the FBI says can't be used...and yet will carry absolute conviction and will just be that little extra added to the

JA
(Contd) admirable machinery that you've already got that will carry complete conviction...

LBJ: My lawyers, though, Joe, tell me that the White House must not ...the President... must not inject himself into local killings... and....

JA: I agree with that...but in this case it does happen to be the killing of the President...and the thing is..I am not suggesting issue...

LBJ: I know that...

JA: Mind you, mind you, Mr. President, I'm not talking about an investigative body, I am talking about a body which will take all the evidence the FBI has amassed when they have completed their inquiry and produce a public report on the death of the President. That, I think, you see, that is not an interference in Texas...

LBJ: No, but it's...

JA: Wait a second, now...that is a way to transmit to the public, without breach of confidence...and in a way that will carry absolute conviction of what the FBI has turned up...

LBJ: Why can't the FBI transmit it?

JA: Because no one...again...on the left they won't believe the FBI... and the FBI doesn't write very well...

LBJ: You mean, Nick Katzenbach?

JA: Well, I just wouldn't put it on Bobby and Nick Katzenbach...I'd have it outside...I think it's unfair to put it on Bobby...it is his own brother's death...

LBJ: Not going to touch it on Bobby...we're putting it on the finest jurists in the land...former head of the American Bar Association...that's number one that we're putting it on...then we're putting it on the top investigative agency and asking them to write a report...

JA: I'm not...I'm not suggesting that you appoint an additional investigating commission...I'm just suggesting that if you want to carry absolute

JA

(Cont'd)

convictions...this very small addition to the admirable machinery that you've already have...will help you and I believe that it will ~~strengthen~~ the imagination of the country and be a very useful, happy thing ...and the man asks if you have two seconds...this afternoon.. for example...ask Dean Acheson...he's the man to ask...I see all the arguments you make and you're dead right and I'm not...my conception is completely wrong...but I do think that this additional feature is needed..

LBJ: I talked to...I guess, after midnight last night...

JA: Well I know how you must have been concerned...

LBJ: the ablest, the truest civil liberties lawyer in this town in my judgment..the man that's made the best arguments before the Supreme Court and it was his judgement the worst mistake we could make ...getting trapped...

JA: And, I now see exactly how right you are and how wrong I was about this idea of a blue ribbon commission...

LBJ: Now, you see, Katzenbach suggested that ^{that} and ~~provoked~~ it..the lawyers and the council just hit the ceiling...said, my God Almighty..

JA: I see...I see...I see that you're right and he was wrong..what I do ...

LBJ: Then I called back to Katzenbach and I thought he accepted

JA: Well, I don't know anything about Katzenbach...I haven't talked to him for three weeks..but what I am suggesting is not at all what Katzenbach suggested...I am suggesting simply a device...

LBJ: Well, let me talk to Acheson and....

JA: for summing up the result of the FBI inquiry in a way that will be completely coherent, detailed, and will carry unchallengeable convictions and this carrying conviction is just as important as carrying on the investigation ..in the right way...and I worry about this Post

JA
(Cont'd) editorial...I'd like you to get ahead of them...

LBJ: And, I worry about the Post, period...but...

JA: Well, I do too....but I'd like you to get ahead of them and if you have... if you make this decision and have Meyers call Friendly or Kay instead of being...well, you know....this is what we ought to do... this is what ought to be done and then what you do being denounced as inadequate, they'll be put so hard and will do you a tremendous piece and I'm sure you will have the strongest possible support... it will be thought that everything has been done that needs doing and...but I do think...my own judgment is that there is that little missing piece...and, Dean, may disagree and you talk to him
...

LBJ: I'll talk to him and...

JA: And, I hate to interfere, sir...I only dare to do so because I care so much about you....

LBJ: I know that, Joe....

JA: And I have the deepest faith in you and I think you've been right and I've been wrong...as to the general conception...

LBJ: It's not a question...it's not really my thinking...I'm not enough experienced...

JA: Him really...what I'm really honestly giving you is public relation advice and not legal advice..

LBJ: Well...I'm not bounded...I don't have a definite civil liberties picture that some of the folks that have worked on this with me..I had a lawyer left my house around midnight ..and spent, I guess, three or four hours going over this thing from A to Z..after the Attorney General was called in here yesterday afternoon ..and after the FBI was put on it ...after we told Secret Service to make available everything they had... and, we thought, that this was the best way to handle it...

JA: Well, Mr. President...I repeat...I must not keep you because you'll be late getting into your trousers...but I repeat...I think your decisions have been 200% right and I was wrong...from the public relations standpoint and from the standpoint of carrying conviction...there is that missing key which is easy to supply without infringing upon Texas feelings or sovereignty...

LBJ: Thank you, my friend.. Bye..

JA: Goodbye...

30
November 25, 1963

4:00 pm

TELEPHONE CALL
THE PRESIDENT
TO McGEORGE BUNDY

LBJ The Securities Exchange, commodity markets, etc. I'm a little worried about them tomorrow -- you know what they did -- they dropped after Eisenhower's heart attack, so that's the main reason we really wanted to speak Tuesday, hoping we could hold them. But I wonder if you wouldn't mind talking to Dillon and Martin and seeing if they've got any suggestions.

MB I talked in a general way to yesterday and he was not worried, but let me check again, because that's 24 hours old.

LBJ I think both of them might make some kind of a statement about the continuity, stability, or something, and express their confidence -- it might help. They ought to be imaginative enough to find something that they think to stabilize it.

MB Your Latin American idea is regarded a ten strike and we're going to organize that for tomorrow afternoon, there's some problem of where, but we'll have a recommendation on that in the morning. DeGaulle is the senior of these three men you're seeing this evening. I think you probably ought to see him first. You'd be seeing them all three in order. He's very protocol -aire and the other two don't care. The other two, you see, are not heads of state.

LBJ All right.

MB Does that bother you?

LBJ A little. I thought I'd sandwich him in, but if you think it'd be disagreeable. You see, he urged.... what time do we have to see him?

Copy LBJ Library

MB Well, we hope you'll be through with the reception and certain private interviews, and you could see him at 7:00 and then have Pearson and Ikeda right after that.

LBJ All right, I'll follow your judgement on that.

MB They're both tickled pink. Thank you, Mr. President. And I'll get on to Dillon on the other.

LBJ Thank you.

November 25, 1963

4:04 pm

TELEPHONE CALL
THE PRESIDENT TO LARRY O'BRIEN

37
✓

LO Yes, Mr. President.

LBJ Needless to tell you, I'm most anxious for you to continue just like you have been, because I need you a lot more than he did.

LO Mr. President. Ken is here with me. Do you have an immediate problem?

LBJ No. I just wanted you to know how strongly I felt about you and Ken and all the rest of the staff and I had talked to some of them individually, but I hadn't had a chance to run into you, and I think you know the confidence I have in you and admiration I have for you.

LO I know that, Mr. President.

LBJ I don't expect you to love me as much as you did him, but I expect you will after we've been around a while.

LO Right, Mr. President.

LBJ I just wanted to tell you I felt it. I wanted to congratulate you, too, on that (sounds like month or Mundt) votup there. I think it would be terrible to Kennedy's memory to have this wheat sale thing repudiated, and I hope that they got the votes in the Senate and they don't take it up until they do have them. Do you know anything about it?

LO No, I'll check that though.

LBJ The committee voted against it, eight to...

LO I know it.

LBJ Apparently the leadership agreed to bring it back and let the Senate vote on it.

LO There was an agreement that it would be reported out on the 25th. And that they would bring it to the floor of the

Senate.

Copy LBJ Library

LBJ Well they voted 3 to 7 today against it. Now what's important is that we check those votes pretty carefully somebody -- I don't want to be in a position personally doing it, or having some underling on my staff do it. I'd rather somebody in your office check it.

LO Right.

LBJ I did tell Mansfield that I thought it would be terrible to Kennedy's memory and I a hell of a way to launch a new administration.

LO Right, I agree.

LBJ And so I want somebody to give it a little attention and let me know tonight or in the morning if there is anything that I need to know about it if it's not well taken care of.

LO Very good.

LBJ And then you let me know any suggestions you have because we're in this thing -- up to our ears.

LO Right, Mr. President.

LBJ Thank you, Larry.

LO Thank you.

November 25, 1963
6:38 p.m.

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN TED SORENSON AND WALTER JENKIN
(Sorenson to WJ)

WJ: Hello

TS: Mr. President?

WJ: No, this is Walter Jenkins. Ted, he won't be back here for a little while because he's going to see DeGualle, Ikeda and Pearson over there before he comes back...be back here about 8:00, I think.

TS: I just wondered whether he had an opportunity to look at the Galbraith and other drafts ...would you know?

WJ: Well, I don't know about others, but I have the Galbraith one that came here since he left and he hasn't been back so he hasn't had an opportunity ...but I plan to show it to him as soon as he gets back.

TS: Well, I don't like to ask him to call me...will you be in your office that late.. I'm going to be here, quite a while, then I've got a dinner but the operator will always know where to reach me..

WJ: All right.

TS: I just thought, perhaps, before I started in, I ought to get some feeling about he feels about some of these drafts. As you can imagine, its kind of tough starting out "bang" for a new man.

WJ: Sure it is and I expect you've got one hundred different suggestions from different points of view, so, let me call you for him when he gets back.

TS: O.K. thanks.

WJ: Very good, Ted.

November 25, 1963
9:20 p. m.

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND MARTIN LUTHER KING

LBJ: your interest and your cooperation and your communication and a good many people told me that they heard about your statement... I guess, on television... wasn't it?

MLK: Yes, that's right.

LBJ: I've been locked up in this office and haven't seen it but I want to tell you how grateful I am and how worthy I'm going to try to be of all your hopes....

MLK: Well, thank you very much, I am so happy to hear that and I knew that you had just that great spirit and you know you have our support and backing... we know what a difficult period this is..

LBJ: It's just an impossible period... we've got a budget coming up that has... nothing to do with it... practically already made... and we've got civil rights bill... it hasn't even passed the House... and its November and Hubert Humphrey told me yesterday everybody wanted to go home... we've got a tax bill that they haven't touched... we just got to not let up on any of them and keep going and I guess they'll say that I'm repudiating... but I'm going to ask the Congress Wednesday to just stay there till they pass them all... they won't do it... but we'll just keep them here till next year until they do and we just won't give up an inch...

MLK: Well, this is mighty fine. I think its so imperative. I think one of the greatest tributes that we can pay in memory of President Kennedy is to try to enact some of the great progressive policies that he sought to initiate...

LBJ: Well, I'm going to support them all and you can count on that and I'm going to do my best to get other men to do likewise and I'll have to have you'all's help... I never needed it more than I do now..

MLK: Well you know you have it and feel free to call on us for anything. Regards to the family.

LBJ: Thank you so much, Martin. Call me when you're down here next time and let's get together and any suggestions you've got, bring them in.

MLK: Fine, fine. I certainly will do that.

LBJ: Thank you so much, my friend.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S NOTES ON CONVERSATION WITH
MARTIN LUTHER KING, NOVEMBER 25, 1963, 9:20 p.m.

(Came in late on conversation, but obviously Martin Luther King had made a statement, which I don't have.)

The President said....."your interest and your cooperation and your communication and a good many people told me that they heard about your statement. I guess--on television-- wasn't it? "

Mr. King said that was right.

The President went on to say:

"I have been locked up in this office and haven't seen it but I want to tell you how grateful I am and how worthy I am going to try to be of all your hopes....."

Mr. King replied by saying:

"Well, thank you very much, I am so happy to hear that and I knew that you had just that great spirit and you know you have our support and backing...we know what a difficult period this is."

The President told him that it was just an impossible period, that they had a budget coming up practically already made and the civil rights bill which hadn't even passed the House and that it was November and Hubert Humphrey told the President just yesterday that everybody wanted to go home..The President said there was the tax bill that they hadn't touched and that they just could not afford to let up on any of them and keep going and he was going to ask the Congress on Wednesday to just stay there until they pass all of them. He said he did not believe they would do it, but he would just keep Congress there until next year until they do and that he did not intend to give an inch.

Mr. King said:

"Well, this is mighty fine. I think it is so imperative. I think one of the greatest tributes that we can pay in memory of President Kennedy is to try to enact some of the great progressive policies that he sought to initiate."

The President replied by saying:

"Well, I am going to support them all and you can count on that

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S NOTES ON CONVERSATION WITH
MARTIN LUTHER KING, NOVEMBER 25, 1963, 9:20 p.m.

(Martin Luther King had made statement on television, which we don't have.)

The President said....."Your interest and your cooperation and your communication and a good many people told me that they heard about your statement. I guess--on television--wasn't it?"

Mr. King said that was right.

The President went on to say:

"I have been locked up in this office and haven't seen it but I want to tell you how grateful I am and how worthy I am going to try to be of all your hopes....."

Mr. King replied by saying:

"Well, thank you very much. I am so happy to hear that and I knew that you had just that great spirit and you know you have our support and backing. We know what a difficult period this is."

The President told him that it was just an impossible period, that they had a budget coming up practically already made and the civil rights bill which hadn't even passed the House and that it was November and Hubert Humphrey told the President just yesterday that everybody wanted to go home. The President said there was the tax bill that they hadn't touched and that they just could not afford to let up on any of them and keep going and he was going to ask the Congress on Wednesday to just stay there until they pass them all. He said he did not believe they would do it, but he would just keep Congress there until next year until they do and that he did not intend to give an inch.

Mr. King said:

"Well, this is mighty fine. I think it is so imperative. I think one of the greatest tributes that we can pay in memory of President Kennedy is to try to enact some of the great progressive policies that he sought to initiate."

The President replied by saying:

"Well, I am going to support them all and you can count on that

(2)

and I am going to do my best to get other men to do likewise and I will have to have your help. I never needed it more than I do now."

Mr. King replied by saying:

"Well you know you have it and feel free to call on us for anything. Regards to the family."

The President thanked Mr. King and said for him to call him when he was down that way next time and they would get together. He said that any suggestions he had to please bring them in. Mr. King said that he certainly would do that.

November 25, 1963

9:29 p.m.

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND
McGEORGE BUNDY

(McGeorge Bundy to The President) ✓

LBJ: Yes, Mac.

McB: Mr. President. One of the papers...one of the tickers has it that one of the Governors says that you say that DeGualle is definitely coming sometime next year...we can make this as hard or as soft as you want...do you have a view on that?

LBJ: No...no..I told them I'd asked him to come...that he had planned ..had some tentative plans to come next year...and that I would ask him to consider doing that..

McB: Well the matter is still under discussion..don't want to...

LBJ: I don't care...although he told me he would..

McB: He said he would...probably don't want to pin him in the papers...

LBJ: No...no...no

McB: We'll say that the prospect of a visit was discussed ...as planned. O.K. That's what I need to know.

LBJ: We had a good meeting with the Governors...

McB: Oh, good. I heard them out first then I thought that was very touching...good.

LBJ: Thank you, my friend.

McB: Right, sir.

Date: September 15, 1993

Processing Note

Re: Telephone Conversation between the President and Mr. Ted Sorensen, 11/25/63

While working on preservation of the dictabelts, the archives staff observed the following inaccuracies in the transcript:

On page 2, the transcript reads:

TS (Cont'd): "people are looking for an excuse to be getting the tax bill..if you...."

On page 4, the transcript reads:

LBJ: "...Doug Dillon says we've got to have a sentence on being frugal and thrifty...."

The archives staff heard:

TS (Cont'd): "people are looking for an excuse to be against the tax bill..if you...."

LBJ: "...Doug Dillon says we've got to have a sentence on Balance of Payments, being frugal and thrifty...."

Claudia Anderson
Archivist

Copy LBJ Library

November 25, 1963

10:10 p. m.

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT
AND MR. TED SORINSON

✓ 41

First part of conversation is between Bill Moyers and Ted Sorenson:

BM: Ted, just a minute, he'll be with you in just a minute....
Trying to get rid of some people...

TS: Who's this... Bill? How did the meeting go?

BM: I would sum it up by saying that he feels we ought to try a tactical move of talking about a budget of \$100-\$150...in exchange for the \$11 billion ...giving up at least \$1 billion now for \$11 billion...until we get the tax cut...I think he'll decide very shortly...but he wants the bill...he feels that there's a ... that the only way of getting the bill is to offer them a budget less than \$100-\$150 which Gordon has got it down to now.. and it's probably more important to get the bill and sacrificing in the next budget at least in the planning of it...one billion..but the clearance of the meeting is that he wants the tax bill and he wants it before the Januaryand to find the most honorable but expedient way to do it..secondly, he wants this civil rights bill, the first thing in the next Congress..he thinks if we go into the civil rights bill now you won't get the tax bill until three or four months from now...and these fellows all tell him that the tax bill now will mean...an immediate upsurge in the economy...which ought not to be delayed until next April, May, June...so he asked Gordon to go out and restudy \$101.5 ...through the use of gimmicks...or through an actual withholding of some plans and come back and see if he can't tell him "yes" he can get it down to \$100-\$200...something like that...and then see where we can go from there...what are your comments?

TS: Well it depends on how it's done..if it's done by cutting anything out of the budget..that's seared muscle..then I think that's a mistake...I think you can get the tax bill...and I know you can get the tax bill without doing that...but I know the President's thinking on this is far greater than mine..I think that a budget of \$101 ..can be described in such a way and accurately so ...that it's very clear that it is an economy type budget and is certainly enough to justify....you know, most of these

TS
(Cont'd) people are looking for an excuse to be getting the tax bill. .if you don't give them that excuse...they'll find some other excuse but the tax bill has majority of votes from the Finance Committee and has the majority of votes from the Senate floor...I wouldn't give away too much just in order to get that majority a little bit bigger...or even the action on it a little bit sooner...

BM: Well, he didn't commit himself...in fact, he said "I don't want to decide tonight..but this is my thinking at the moment and I really haven't heard the other side of it but I will..."

TS: Well, as I say...I think I'd like to take a look and see what the needs are...cutting out of the budget...there are some gimmicks you can use.. there are some ways you can hold things back or conceal them and so on...the budget after all is only a schedule of estimates...and estimates can vary by a billion dollars..one way or the other without much trouble...I don't mind the change in estimates but I don't want to see good programs knocked out...

BM: Right...I'll send you a copy of Gordon's budget...he only sent me one copy this afternoon...but I'll send you one first thing in the morning..

TS: O. K. fine

BM: I don't think we ought to say anything specific about the budget..in the address...do you? On Wednesday?

TS: No...

LBJ: Yes, Ted..

TS: Hello, Mr. President...

LBJ: I apologize for being late in calling you but I had this group...I just got Doug Dillen out of here that's on the budget

TS: Oh, I understand. As a matter of fact I'm sorry that I told Bill that I might come but....

LBJ: Well, we've got more important problems than theirs...we can't resolve it...they're not going to give us the tax bill unless we get our budget down \$100 billion...it's a question of whether you take a billion and a half out of your budget or \$11 ^{billion} out of the taxes...that's the way they put it to us

LBJ
Contd

and I guess we'll have to sweat them and see what we can do...

TS: I don't think that really is the choice... I was just talking Bill....

LBJ: You don't?

TS: I think we can do better than that...

LBJ: All right...

TS: But it depends a little bit on how we can play with the budget... ^{are} ~~there~~ ways of presenting a budget which is, you know... satisfies any reasonable man that's willing to be satisfied and the unreasonable ones will find some excuse to vote against it on the tax bill, anyway...

LBJ: Well... our problem seems Joe Fowler and Dillon and all of them in here is getting it out of the committee... and to get it out of the committee it's got to have some Republican votes... and Byrd told friend Dave Lawrence sometime ago and Byrd's been repeating since... now Morton picks it up... and in a way Ribicoff is kind of committed to it cause he's committed to Byrd on procedures... and Byrd is just not going to get any bill this year... not going to report any bill.. unless somebody gives him assurance it's not going over \$100 billion... and he's still going to be against the tax bill.. but he'll let the others like Carroll Midgen, Ribicoff and our beloved friend, Mr. Morton, vote reported if we get him that kind of assurance... you see, if we don't, he won't. Now what they have to do... they've got a \$1/2 billion gimmick so it gets down to \$101... pretty quick.. under the Kennedy guideline.. they THINK they can get that \$1/2 billion.. but not sure, they've got to work on it another day or two... side drafts instead of sending the ^{made} that leaves \$101... they think McKamara can squeeze \$2 or \$300 million more out of his... so it gets it down to \$100 billion \$800 million.. they think.. without endangering any of the programs that are in there.. they've got poverty and other things.. and some little new things.. doesn't have any new starts on reclamation.. I told them it would cost them \$10 million to put them in... but... we're getting a good deal of static from Agriculture, Interior and the other departments... they think that \$100 billion budget is going to be awful bad... and I do too but I don't \$100 billion with the tax bill is bad as \$102 without one..

TS: Well, there's no doubt about that, if that's our choice... I'm not convinced that is the choice..

November 26, 1963

1:25 p. m.

42

TELEPHONE CALL TO
H. BUSBY FROM THE PRESIDENT

LBJ: Buzz, tell me what these last two pages are. ✓

HB: Yes sir

LBJ: Buzz, tell me what these last two pages ... we've got them all but two, what are they on... international affairs?

HB: Yes sir

LBJ: If not, we've got to put a good deal of that in it, you see.

HB: Oh, yes.... is that satisfactory?

LBJ: Yes, this is real good, what we've got. I've got to get that thrift and frugality in international affairs in it..

HB: I want to get thrift and frugality in there... I want to question whether or not this legislative program talk is what you want to say...

LBJ: Yes, yes. I want just what you've got in there up to now. I don't want a new program, I just want to get the one passed we've got and we'll come up there...

HB: I meant whether you should talk about it this way at all or tell them that they can't ... don't expect them to do it for the first year... explicitly tell them that.

LBJ: I'd just leave it like you've got it.

HB: O.K. Well I didn't trust that. I didn't think that would be what you wanted.

LBJ: No, I think I'd leave it like that. I don't think .. we can go any further and we'll see but I've got to wrap it up now because I ... would make the report... I would say that in the last five days... (Bill, go out there and meet him)... apparently an interruption... last five days that I've got to adhere to what I've seen and hear to... talk to... hear the developments in international relations. We're scheduled to meet with

LBJ
(Cont'd)

the Erhardt, DeGaulle...

HB: What about Home.. did you talk to Home?

LBJ: And Home... those three, we're all going to see.. and just say the many problems we have in the world ... but we're working in unity and the way the world is working with us.. we're grateful to them.

HB: Against the business about you going to see Khrushchev somewhere... would you like to say anything about... maybe not leaving the country.. or something of that sort...

LBJ: No. ...

HB: I think that that might be rather popular with the country.. because of the recession...

LBJ: Well, we might say while some of them are coming here ..uh... with all the problems that we have... and getting acquainted with them ... and the remaining year of this Administration... don't have... it's obvious that I can't be away or something like that...

HB: I was thinking about saying something such as that the office of the American President has become a world office.. but in these times I believe that the place of the American President is at home...

LBJ: Well, you might... (is heard to say to someone in the room with him "what do you think about that Abe?" ... repeats the above .. "the office of the American President has become a world office but in these critical days the place of the American President is at home... he thinks we ought to say in view of the Khrushchev feelers and his letters in wanting to get together.. and he thinks in view of the McCormack ... He says so.....

HB: He says now... O.K... very good.

LBJ: Now, we've got to have something in there, you know, on the Alliance for Progress ... Buzz... O.K. well you'd better hurry now because I'm gonna have to work on it .. and all the

LBJ
Cont'd

time I'm going to have is between now and 4 o'clock ... cause I go into this Latin American thing at 4 o'clock and then I'm going to be stuck and I've got to get this on the mimeograph... we've got a clear ringing endorsement of the Alliance for Progress cause we're making that at 4 o'clock... and maybe Dick Goodwin maybe get a sentence of what we're saying then... I guess you don't want to repeat, though.

HB: No.

LBJ: Well, Walter can call you and read it to you if you want him to read it to you... or do you have time?

HB: Well, I can get somebody to....

LBJ: What I'm saying is this afternoon at 4 o'clock...

HB: All right.

LBJ: Walter... call him as soon as you can.
And, I don't believe I want to say that the old program is my program... I want to say on foreign policy that we're going to have a continuity and not confusion and that I embraced steps that've been taken but I don't want every time they want to see what Johnson's program is. go look and see what Kennedy said.

HB: Well, I'm concerned about ... about you not saying anything.

LBJ: Well, wait a minute, Buss... that might.... you mean you think if I don't say it... that they'll say that we're not carrying on.

HB: Yes sir... and I just don't know what else you can honorably do except to say that you're carrying on.

LBJ: As for our programs... the program of this Administration ... is already before you and I urgently commend action on it.... I've got that of the thrift and that of the frugality and I've to have that stuff for Abe (or Dave?) and the other fellows I've got there and I've got to have that in it and the international thing.. I don't

LBJ
(Cont'd)

know whether you're going to be able to get that in two pages or not, but, anyway, I'll let you go and Walter will call you on the other cause I've got to run.

HB: All right.

LBJ: Bye