Meeting of the bipartisan Senate leadership in the Senators' Conference Room, S-207, of the Capitol.

Present are Senators Thomas H. Kuchel (R-Calif.) and Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.); Stephen Horn, Legislative Assistant to Senator Kuchel; Patricia Connell, Counsel to Senator Keating; Gerald Grinstein, Chief Counsel, Senate Committee on Commerce (representing Senator Magnuson); Bailey Guard, Administrative Assistant to Senator Cooper; Frances Henderson, Executive Secretary to Senator Case; Stephen Kurzman, Legislative Assistant to Senator Javits; William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to Senator Hart; Charles Perris, Counsel, and Kenneth Teasdale, Assistant Counsel, Senate Democratic Policy Committee; and Nelson Guild and Raymond Wolfinger, APSA Congressional Fellows. Non-Senate members present are Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights Burke Marshall; Joseph Rauh, Washington attorney, and Chairman, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; Clarence Mitchell, Director, Washington office NAACP; Andrew Biemiller, Director, Department of Legislation, AFL-CIO; and Thomas Harris, General Counsel, Department of Building Trades, AFL-CIO.

Mitchell brings up the memorandum written by Mr. Harris, who is General Counsel to the Building Trades.

Harris discusses Amendment No. 501 which has been offered by Senator Dirksen to H.R. 7152. It provides that "on page 29, line 13, after 'person' insert '(including a labor organization having a hiring hall or hiring office)'". He argues that the union is now covered. To cover a union twice, once as a union and once as an employment agency, is to cause confusion. He would not object to a letter from the Department of Justice stating that unions are covered.

Marshall agrees that "we could cover it that way."

Katzenbach asks: "What's the confusion?"

Harris does not really explain what it is in his reply.

Mitchell: "There is a mischief-making possibility. It is an attempt to divide the Grand Alliance [of Civil Rights groups which include labor--Dirksen was not born yesterday!]. (Kuchel enters.)

Harris adds that "it is an attempt to scare the Building Trades into opposing Civil Rights legislation."

Clark: "I don't see anything controversial in the memorandum. Let the staff look it over."

Kuchel: "I would vote yes on the amendment. I don't see any grounds to negotiate on Title II."
Clark: "Originally, I thought of smoking him out."

Harris: "All concessions on enforcement were made in the House of Representatives."

Katzenbach: "I agree. There is a theory that Dirksen wants to make changes regardless of what the changes are. I'm always reluctant to not permit changes."

Kuchel: "I have a good deal of reason to listen with profound attention when my friends in the Building Trades talk. We are talking about an attempt through negotiation to hasten a cloture vote on the bill. If Mansfield were able to say—forgetting the Whips—that 'the following amendment of Senator Dirksen is acceptable and I'll co-author it,' then that is a small price to pay if it hastens cloture. None of our group would vote for the amendment to take away the [Equal Employment Opportunity] Commission's right to sue. If the hiring hall amendment won't change anything, then it shouldn't be difficult to take."

Clark: "... or Dirksen could drop it."

Harris: "The Building Trades look with distaste on a hiring hall as employment agencies. Katzenbach could advise that unions are fully covered now." [Most still do not understand what is Harris's point.]

Kuchel: "As employment agencies, what flows from that which is different than from a union?"

Horn: "You are worried that hiring halls will be picked up when state cession is granted under the act. They are not now covered."

Harris: "That's right."

Katzenbach: "The second you write the letter, you take away the argument that it should not be in. Maybe it should be put into the union section."

Biemiller: "Provided that it is not linked to employment agencies."

Harris: "I think Dirksen is after the Building Trades."

Katzenbach: "Just put it in the right section. He can't object to that."

Kuchel: "We are talking about a few faceless United States Senators who will follow Dirksen on cloture. There is no disagreement on this. You [Harris] and Nick [Katzenbach] get together. I'll read it and get back to you."

Harris is also concerned about the use of the word "willfully."
Katzenbach: "We would agree with what you say here. My inclination is rather than say 'no,' we should explore it. I agree with most of what is said here. I can't discuss the matter, however, without knowing what you are really after."

Mitchell: "I understood Dirksen would go along with the Saltonstall amendment to Title II."

Katzenbach: "One thing that makes the Dirksen amendments attractive is that they are amendments."


Ferris: "It cuts down the [Senator Herman E.] Talmadge [D-Ga.] amendment."

Rauh: "It's Talmadge's fallback position as taken by Morton."

Kuchel: "That's right. I am not sure how many votes they have. I like [Senator John Sherman] Cooper's amendment. If you are a public official, all the signals are off."

Katzenbach: "The Dirksen-Mansfield is being done to conform with what the majority of the Supreme Court believes. If the staff sentence on public officials remains, then that would go up to the Court again."

Kurzman: "It is discretionary in the 1957 Act."

Mitchell and Marshall: "It is in the 1957 Act."

Harris: "Some unions would like the advantage of a jury trial when they are cited for contempt."

Rauh: "I think whether it is antitrust or a union, to take on more controversy is a mistake."

Harris: "Why treat Civil Rights violations more gingerly?"

Rauh: "It shouldn't be, but we are faced with a problem."

Kuchel: "I agree with you completely. The reason we treat them differently is Rule XXII [the rule of the Senate which permits the invocation of cloture to shut off the filibuster]."

Mitchell wonders what is the forecast for this week.

Kuchel: "With God's good grace, we will go through the week. My judgment is that Dirksen will next offer the atheism amendment. I am going out [to California] on Saturday to see what I can do to help [Senator Barry M.] Goldwater stay out of The White House."
Rauh wonders if the atheist amendment has been cleared with the bipartisan Civil Rights leadership in the House of Representatives.


Katzenbach: "I don't think Dirksen will stand on venue where one can't sue."

Kuchel: "I think Case feels you can change some of the Dirksen venue language and make it work."

Harris: "Other statutes do provide alternative service." Then getting back to hiring halls, Harris notes that an amendment could appear on page 30, line 9, where there is a definition of a "labor organization."

Kuchel asks Horn to provide him with a memorandum showing him that the group approves this change. Katzenbach agrees that the result will be the same.

After the meeting Katzenbach, Marshall, Biemiller, Harris, and Horn sign-off on the following changes: Amend Dirksen's Amendment No. 501 to read that on page 29, line 23, after "organization" insert "(including the labor organization having a hiring hall or hiring office)." Make the appropriate change on page 30, line 9, after "organization."
Monday, May 1, 1964, 11:10 a.m

Conversation between Stephen Kurzman, Legislative Assistant to Senator Javits, and Stephen Horn, Legislative Assistant to Senator Kuchel.

Kurzman reports great "resentment at the way Humphrey jumped at the Mansfield-Dirksen proposal." He thinks that the Cooper and Morton amendments might win. We discuss a combined amendment where there would be no jury trial if a public official were involved and Titles II and VII would be amended to include a 30-day limit.

Horn feels "this issue is a case of 'Ego v. Substance.'"
Tuesday, May 5, 1964, 9:45 a.m.

Meeting of the bipartisan Senate leadership in the Senators' Conference Room, S-207, of the Capitol.

Present are Senators Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.), Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.), and Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.); John Stewart, Legislative Assistant to Senator Humphrey; Stephen Horn, Legislative Assistant to Senator Kuchel; Patricia Connell, Counsel to Senator Keating; Gerald Grinstein, Chief Counsel, Senate Committee on Commerce (representing Senator Magnuson); Stephen Kurzman, Legislative Assistant to Senator Javits; Charles Ferris, Counsel, and Kenneth Teasdale, Assistant Counsel, Senate Democratic Policy Committee; and Nelson Guild and Raymond Wolfinger, APSA Congressional Fellows. The only non-Senate member present is Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

The Morton amendment is the pending business.

Teasdale reports that Senator Cooper's legislative assistant [Merom Brachman] has indicated that Cooper might not call up his amendment.

Ferris adds that Cooper is concerned that public officials down South would get off without a trial.

Stewart feels that the Department of Justice has raised a number of questions concerning the Cooper amendment.

Katzenbach recalls that Justice did make a distinction in the House when it resisted the 45-day amendment on Title III. Public officials have a higher obligation. Yet it was very close on a teller vote in the House. He asks: "How long do you keep a governor in jail? Do we send George [Wallace (Governor of Alabama)] to a federal prison in Indiana?" (Clark enters.)

Hart reports "qualms on the vote."

(Katzenbach leaves after Democratic Majority Leader Mansfield's secretary comes to fetch him for a meeting with Mansfield.)

Clark recalls that "Hubert [Humphrey] thought yesterday that there would be two or three votes on Wednesday."


Clark: "I've got other things to do."

Stewart: "Humphrey asked me to call Katzenbach and Marshall on this."

Hart: "It's up to Hubert."
Keating: "I think it is wrong tactics to have a meeting. I'd try for cloture without a deal with Dirksen." (Katzenbach returns.)

Katzenbach: "I think it is important to get into a discussion with Dirksen. Dirksen is not anxious to weaken the bill."

Keating: "I have some amendments to strengthen the bill. I think it is weak now."

Clark: "I've been threatening to offer the Senate a Fair Employment Practices Commission proposal. It might only get two votes."

Keating: "Voting as defined in the Act should cover state elections."

Clark: "Of course it should. What if they table us?"

Katzenbach: "I'm looking at the moment for a vote on cloture. There are 100 parties in the Senate. No senator is morally bound unless he binds himself."

Keating: "I'm for exploration of the offering of strengthening amendments."

Clark: "I had a somewhat significant conversation with Dirksen at the well yesterday. I asked him when his hydrogen bomb on Title II would be set off. Said Dirksen: 'Joe, it is not a hydrogen bomb, it is more like a firecracker that a 12-year old boy would set off.' I replied: 'Will it be set off by a nice boy or by a juvenile delinquent?'

(At 10:10 a.m., Frances Henderson enters.)

Clark: "If we cede to the states without standards, we will be in real trouble."

Katzenbach: "We can delay for six months, but the Fair Employment Practices Commission must be able to go into federal court. He is worried about patterns of discrimination. (Clark and Keating leave to answer a quorum call in the Senate.)

Stewart lays out the schedule. He notes that May 28-29 is bad since there are Kennedy Memorial dinners occurring. May 18th would be the best. May 19th is a holiday in Maryland. May 17th is a Sunday and the 10th anniversary of the Brown [v. Board of Education of Topeka] case.

Hart believes that we will have a better notion of timing after the discussion has been completed on the Dirksen amendment.

Horn would still shoot for Friday, May 15th—a position he has been advocating for two months.
Conversation between Senator Thomas H. Kuchel (R-Calif.) and Stephen Horn, Legislative Assistant to Senator Kuchel, on the way to WRC-TV [Washington NBC station] to do Rockefeller primary TV spots.

Kuchel mentioned that the morning meeting in Dirksen's office had not gotten very far. Present were [Attorney General] Bobby Kennedy, [Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deB.] Katzenbach, [Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights Burke] Marshall, Dirksen, Mansfield, Humphrey, Kuchel, and a few others. Mostly they spent their time going over what the language meant. There were two piles of amendments. Pile A included the "non-controversial" and Pile B included the "controversial" amendments. Dirksen is not giving on enforcement or effective cession for the FEPC. They will go back at it tomorrow.

I said that I thought that Humphrey would sell his mother just to get a bill labeled "Civil Rights." I urged that we shoot for cloture on May 15th or 18th and said that I thought that we had 62 to 63 votes overall of which there would be 22 to 23 Republican votes, including Dominick and Cotton.

Kuchel was pretty disgusted with the Dirksen slowdown.
Meeting of the bipartisan Senate leadership in Senators' Conference Room, S-207, of the Capitol.

Present are Senators Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.); John Stewart, Legislative Assistant to Senator Humphrey; Stephen Horn, Legislative Assistant to Senator Kuchel; Patricia Connell, Counsel to Senator Keating; Frances Henderson, Executive Secretary to Senator Case; Stephen Kurzman, Legislative Assistant to Senator Javits; William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to Senator Hart; Charles Ferris, Counsel, and Kenneth Teasdale, Assistant Counsel, Senate Democratic Policy Committee; Nelson Guild and Raymond Wolfinger, APSA Congressional Fellows; and John McCarthy, Stanford-in-Washington intern on the staff of Senator Kuchel. Non-Senate members present are Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach; Joseph Rauh, Washington attorney, and Chairman, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; Clarence Mitchell, Director, Washington office, NAACP; Andrew Biemiller, Director, Department of Legislation, AFL-CIO; Thomas Harris, Counsel, Department of Building Trades, AFL-CIO; and James Hamilton, National Council of Churches. (Horn entered late at 10:05 a.m. while Humphrey is talking.)

Humphrey: "It is terribly important to get a bigger vote on Mansfield-Dirksen than on the Morton amendment."

Clark: "McNamara [Patrick V., (D-Mich.)] and I don't want any jury trial amendment. We have to submerge our views [which are pro-labor all the way]."

Biemiller reports of "latent feelings in our movement for the Talmadge amendment."

Humphrey: "Our good friend Pastore [John O., (D-R.I.)] had to swallow his pride and vote with us. I have a petition from home. If we do lose, we would lose cooperation with the top leaders. I told Dirksen that it is not enough to be for it. He was humiliated and unhappy. Dirksen said, 'It is not a test of Civil Rights strength.' I told him the first test is on the Mansfield-Dirksen amendment. If the leaders backed up by their deputies can't produce, then we are in trouble. If we can produce 64 votes, we are okay. But if we only secure 49 votes, then we have had it."

Clark: "It is cruel to give a live pair to some Southerner when he is off around the world."

Humphrey: "We needed Fulbright on this mission. The Undersecretary of State, George Ball, told me that Fulbright would not go unless he was assured of a live pair. I told him that we would only give Fulbright a pair if we did not lose by one vote."

Mitchell: "Some voted against Morton later in the day who would have voted for the amendment earlier."
Horn observes that Senator Kuchel "feels strongly that we must not play hanky-panky and have Liberals voting for Mansfield-Dirksen and then voting 'no' on the Talmadge amendment as substituted."

Clark suggests that "we should twist McNamara and Hart, and work on Douglas."

Rauh and Biemiller observe "Horn is absolutely right."

As Humphrey reenters, Rauh reports that the Leadership Conference's feeling is that there should be no negotiations at this time with Senator Dirksen.

Humphrey (who is aroused by Rauh's comment) observes: "Whatever we are doing, has but one purpose. And that is to secure a civil rights bill. Anybody who has an alternative, I'm glad to hear it. It is not pleasant for Tommy Kuchel and myself to have it appear that Dirksen is writing the ticket. I want the bill passed--the House-passed bill. We will not eliminate any title, purpose, or emasculate the bill. We aren't going to agree or negotiate anything which violates the House view. Celler and McCulloch are being consulted. Hubert Humphrey, Joe Rauh, Nick [Katzenbach], Burke [Marshall], Tommy Kuchel, Javits, Case, et cetera, are all together. I'd rather have no bill than the shell of a bill. I'd just as soon politically have no bill than a sham."

Clark: "The more I get into this, the more I agree with Hubert. Arresting senators, tabling amendments, staying here all summer makes no sense. I am satisfied that we need cloture to get the bill. We have two questions: (a) 'What price does he [Humphrey] pay to get cloture?' and (b) 'Is it too high?''

Rauh: "Can't you say we do not intend as the price of cloture to do anything else to weaken this bill?" (Grinstein and Humphrey's secretary enter with a message.)

Humphrey: "We have intended to do that."

Rauh: "Ken [Teasdale] and Charlie [Ferris] will try to keep me and Tom Harris [counsel to the Building Trades] informed on the discussion."

Humphrey: "The Leadership Conference should be out getting votes. I saw a number of conservative Republicans taking on their own leader [Dirksen] in the Republican cloak room last evening. I'm not getting much help on cloture. I'd like a whack on cloture. And this changes my original thinking of no cloture unless the votes are there."

Clark: "Try cloture on May 22nd. The last 10 days in May are out with the Kennedy Salutes and the Memorial Day recess."
Humphrey: "I asked our leader [Mansfield] yesterday if there was a commitment for a vote. I will be glad to go on." [There is a reference to "sick daffodils" for weeks, which escaped me.]

Clark: "There should be no session on Saturday. If one is held, it is the height of hypocrisy, stupidity, and dumbness."

After the meeting, Horn chats privately with Humphrey and repeats what he said to the group before Humphrey entered re "hanky-panky" and suggests that Humphrey get on Hart, Douglas, and McNamara like we are getting on Javits and Keating. He agrees.

Later in the morning, Kuchel informs Horn that Senator Karl Mundt (R-S.Dak.) will vote against cloture and the Civil Rights legislation.
Thursday, May 7, 1964

3:20 p.m.

Conversation between Stephen Kurzman, Legislative Assistant to Senator Javits, and Stephen Horn, Legislative Assistant to Senator Kuchel.

Kurzman states: "I congratulate you. You have won us over."

I suggest that we organize teams to provide "the word" on various amendments.

3:25 p.m.

Conversation between Senator Thomas H. Kuchel (R. Calif.) and Stephen Horn, Legislative Assistant to Senator Kuchel.

Kuchel agrees to hold a meeting at 1 p.m. on Friday to review the various strengthening amendments. Horn told him that Senator Keating was getting anxious on the voting rights section. Pete Williams [Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., (D-N.J.)] has said that he would offer an amendment to include state elections in the bill's provisions.

Horn mentions his "little speech in the bipartisan leadership meeting this morning on stopping the hanky-panky of voting for Mansfield-Dirksen and then against the Talmadge amendment as substituted by Mansfield-Dirksen. Kuchel agrees. Horn also informs Kuchel that he had cornered Humphrey and told him to straighten out McNamara, Hart, and Douglas. Humphrey agreed. Horn reports success in straightening out Pat Connell (Keating) and Steve Kurzman (Javits).

As for cloture, Kuchel is not so sure he would go along with the Humphrey-Horn view that we should have a cloture vote prior to the Memorial Day recess. But he agrees that it is no good voting when Dirksen has some massive resistance amendment on the floor. He is worried about individual complaints and wonders if there should be a separate title in which the Attorney General or the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission would be empowered to bring suit where patterns of discrimination or massive resistance occur. He indicates that "nobody is terribly excited about state cession."

Kuchel has heard that Clarence Mitchell said this morning before Horn arrived that Tom Harris and Joe Rauh should be at any bargaining meeting with Dirksen.

Following the meeting with Senator Kuchel, Horn lines up Senators Clifford Case, Jacob K. Javits, Kenneth B. Keating, Winston L. Prouty (R-Vt.) and Hugh Scott (R-Pa.) to attend a meeting at 1 p.m. on Friday. Word is left with Representative McCulloch. Senator John Sherman Cooper is in Dallas and his administrative assistant, Bailey Guard, will attend in his place.
Meeting of the bipartisan Senate leadership in S-239, Senator Magnuson's (D-Wash.) Capitol office overlooking the West Front of the Capitol.

Present are Senator Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.); John Stewart, Legislative Assistant to Senator Humphrey; Stephen Horn, Legislative Assistant to Senator Ruchel; Patricia Connell, Counsel to Senator Keating; Gerald Grinstein, Chief Counsel, Senate Committee on Commerce (representing Senator Warren Magnuson); Frances Henderson, Executive Secretary to Senator Case; Stephen Kurzman, Legislative Assistant to Senator Javits; and Harry Schwartz, Legislative Assistant to Senator Clark. Non-Senate member present is Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

Katzenbach believes some of the language can be worked out to meet Senator Dirksen's objections. Dirksen appears to want a vote on cloture during the first week in June.

Keating thinks that we will be able to get 22 Republican votes now for cloture. If we want more, we will have to make substantial changes. We will not get Mundt or Curtis.


Keating believes we will have the 22 Republicans we need by next week and that includes Dirksen. "If he didn't vote with us, we might lose only one or two Republicans." (Keating then leaves to answer a quorum call on the Senate floor.)

Katzenbach suggests that we need to put in words as best we can that in individual suits we are talking about patterns of discrimination. The stories are vague enough in the papers to cover the negotiations.

Henderson feels that one of the problems is that Senator Dirksen goes to the press gallery and spreads his story before the press and it is not always what happened in a meeting!

Katzenbach believes we will reach either impasse or agreement with Dirksen next week. Katzenbach does not "regard the Harlem Globetrotters as legitimate examples of segregation." He regards it as "bad for racial relations to have just Negroes on the team."
Friday, May 8, 1964, 1 p.m.

Meeting of the Senate Republican Pro-Civil Rights Leadership with the House Republican Pro-Civil Rights Leadership in the Office of the Senate [Republican] Minority Whip, S-229, of the Capitol.

Present are Senators Thomas H. Kuchel (R-Calif.), Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.), Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.), and Winston L. Prouty (R-Vt.); Representatives William M. McCulloch (R-Ohio) and James E. Bromwell (R-Iowa); Stephen Horn, Legislative Assistant to Senator Kuchel; William Copenhaver, Counsel to House Judiciary Committee and Representative McCulloch; Patricia Connell, Counsel to Senator Keating; Bailey Guard, Administrative Assistant to Senator Cooper; Thomas L. Hayes, Administrative Assistant to Senator Prouty; Stephen Kurzman, Legislative Assistant to Senator Javits; and Richard Murphy, Legislative Assistant to Senator Scott.

Senator Kuchel opens the meeting by indicating that its purpose is to review and to introduce helpful and strengthening amendments to the House-passed civil rights legislation. "If it is desirable, we should do it. If we can get a meeting of the minds, then we will tell the Democrats what we plan to do." He agrees that if Representative McCulloch does not agree with the proposals, we should not introduce them. He sees "immense value if the lines of communication are open to Senator Dirksen on Titles II and VII."

McCulloch: "I don't believe a useful purpose is served to try to make the House-passed bill stronger. The House-passed bill is a strong bill. Four months before it was passed, we could not have passed it. In June 1963, only Titles II and VII had been introduced by Representative John [V.] Lindsay [R-N.Y.]."

Javits: "Bill [McCulloch], will you yield? There is a real feeling on our part that the only perfecting amendments being offered are Dirksen's. Let me be practical. There is no use talking in riddles. Keating has an amendment to include state elections. We have one amendment which says that criminal acts are to be spelled out. (Senator Prouty enters.)

McCulloch replies that "the interruption is well taken. In the House, I offered an amendment to include state and local elections. I receded because we wanted to get the show on the road. That could well be the peg on which we hang ourselves on civil rights in the House.

Bromwell agrees.

Copenhaver: "There was a time when a package proposal was a possibility. If the House of Representatives had the bill before it today, it could not pass the present bill. Each day the filibuster goes on, we lose support in the House."
McCulloch: "Contrary to many stories, [House Republican Leader Charles A.] Halleck [R-Ind.] has been fully cooperative. He agrees that we shouldn't get hung up in the House Rules Committee and the two national political conventions."

Bromwell agrees.

In response to a query on House procedure by Senator Javits, McCulloch indicates that when the Senate acts on the House-passed bill, unanimous consent will have to be asked to take it from the Speaker's Desk and to concur therein. If an objection is raised, the measure will be sent to the Rules Committee for a rule. That will need a majority vote. If the leadership does not seek a rule, we could seek suspension of the rules, but we would need a two-thirds vote to do that. "Clarence Brown [R-Ohio] has been a tower of strength in civil rights. So has Dick Bolling [D-Mo]."

Prouty: "If the bill is weakened in some respects, would it be more tenable than it is now?"

Case would pass the House-passed measure as it is.

Kuchel believes that's an old argument.

McCulloch: "We aren't that pig-headed. We are talking that way--talk's big, so don't have a wide hole in the dyke. One hundred forty-seven amendments were offered in the House of Representatives."

Javits: "We should get all the amendments of the various floor co-captains drawn up. Then we should have the co-captains meet and decide without Bill McCulloch. Then we should get together with McCulloch."

Kuchel: "I would like to have the staff look them over."

McCulloch: "A permanent Civil Rights Commission is not a great problem."

Horn comments that Senator Saltonstall would place the Community Relations Service under the Civil Rights Commission. [Kuchel had proposed incorporation of the Community Relations Service under the USCCR in his opening remarks on the bill. Congressional Record, 88th Cong., 2nd Sess. (March 30, 1964), Vol. 110, Pt. 5, p. 6561; Scott agreed, Ibid. (April 6, 1964), p. 6986. See Saltonstall comments, Ibid. (April 17, 1964), Pt. 6, pp. 8294-8295.] He notes that the strategy of offering strengthening amendments is knowing that the Department of Justice will oppose them and that will rough up Lyndon Johnson with some of the pro-Civil Rights forces.

Case is not sure that we have the power to accomplish that.

McCulloch is distressed by "some of the comments now being made in that great state of mine [Ohio]."
Javits refers to the Morton jury trial amendment. He indicates that he hates putting up amendments he hopes will be defeated. He thinks that "is a dangerous policy."

McCulloch observes that 98 percent of the people who live in his congressional district are native-born white. He does not believe we will lose, if we do the right thing.

Javits is disturbed that Senators [Wayne] Morse [D-Ore.] and [Paul] Douglas [D-Ill.] will have the luxury of voting "no" and, thus, be heroes of the piece. "We are not going to let the bill go down the drain for individual glory."

Kuchel indicates that "a mark of statesmanship is the balance you can strike and how much you can give without losing the bill."

McCulloch: "Cellar doesn't believe that we should let the jury trial amendment hang up Civil Rights legislation."

Horn reports that the only other senators with whom we are having a problem on this issue are Hart and McNamara, and we think Hart will be okay.

Copenhaver: "Even Senator Barry Goldwater said that he could live with Titles I and IV." Copenhaver would fire on Titles II, VI, and VII. He believes that putting the Community Relations Service under the Civil Rights Commission might draw off some of the fire.

Case observes that Senator Keating could introduce his "state elections amendment" and leave it at the desk.

Horn points out that the press will immediately go to Representatives Celler and McCulloch and ask for their views.

Kuchel: "Bill, couldn't you say, 'I'm for it personally, but I can't take it to the House.'?"

Hayes wonders how McCulloch feels about the NLRB mechanism in Title VII.

McCulloch replies that the "administration has to still reckon with us. They bog down and we push them over."

Kuchel indicates that there will be a Republican conference next week and Senator Dirksen will go over the various amendments.

Prouty indicates that "as a businessman, I'd prefer dealing with the NLRB rather than those zealots [in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission]."
Friday, May 8, 1964

3 p.m.

Meeting between Senator Thomas H. Kuchel (R-Calif.) and Stephen Horn, Legislative Assistant to Senator Kuchel, following a meeting with Senator Hugh Scott (R-Pa.) concerning the Rockefeller campaign.

Kuchel informs Horn that he went up to see Senator Humphrey last night about early cloture on May 22nd. "Hubert said, 'Tommy, I'm talking out of both sides of my mouth.' He was pretty discouraged. He doesn't think that we can secure any action before the first week in June. He is talking to keep the Civil Rights groups in line."

4:30 p.m.


Landauer believes that "it looks like if Barry Goldwater is nominated, some Republicans cannot vote for cloture. Some of his Republican friends apparently wouldn't want to leave him isolated as anti-GOP." Jerry hears that "some of the Southerners patted Barry [Goldwater] on the back and said, 'You keep winning those elections--it's helping.'"
ATLANTA, May ’6 (AP)
Lynda Bird Johnson used
two magic words to Southern
audiences today—"you all"—and brought down the
house.

When President
Johnson’s 29-year-old daughter
was introduced at a break-
fast of Georgia legislators,
she vowed the crowd by
saying, "Thank you all for
your friendly greeting."

It almost came out pure
"y’all," in true Southern
fashion. The crowd burst
into applause, "I never
heard a ‘y’lall’ sound pret-
tier or more distinguished
in my life," said Georgia’s
Gov. Carl Sanders.

Lynda drew more
warmth from the crowd
when she said her heart
had been in Georgia for
years "because of my be-
loved Friend Sen. Dick
Russell who helped raise
me." Russell is the State’s
senior U.S. Senator.

"Riding through Atlanta’s
streets in a motorcade, she
and the President stopped
before street crowds. She
jumped up and effectively
used "y’al" again.

"Thank y’all for coming," she said. "It is so won-
der ful to see so many friendly
faces. Daddy and I wish we
could stay in Atlanta."

The people loved it.

A small airplane flew
overhead with a sign: "So
glad y’all came, Lynda
Bird."

Time after time she
stopped with her father
here and in Gainesville,
Ga., to shake hands. At
times it seemed she had as
many persons clamoring
for her attention as for the
President’s.

At Gainesville, the
college student licked
about her father calling her
"a dropout and a stand-in
for my mother." Then she
turned serious and ap-
pelled to young people to
help their country.

"Young people are mak-
ing the Peace Corps work
and we want to make the
Job Corps work, too," she said.

"My generation is going
to be the one to lead the
country in another 30
years if not sooner."

Talking to newsmen at
Gainesville, she said, she
had found "a lot of people
who seem to want to help"
and said she wanted to
draft young people for the
war on poverty."

She said people had been
asking her: "What can I
do? I’m just one person."
Her reply: "You can
teach others. You don’t
have to have a college
education; you just need to
be able to read and write."

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