FOREWORD

Transcript Warning:

All written transcripts are imperfect abstracts of spoken conversation. Variations in sound quality and in the aural acuity of listeners can and do produce wide variations in what is heard. Even though transcripts may be prepared at great effort and with great care, many points of ambiguity are inevitable, and erroneous interpretations from transcripts are always possible. Therefore, to ensure full confidence in any and all quotations from the presidential recordings, users are strongly urged to check all transcript renditions against the actual tape recordings before publication.

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Punctuation:

The following conventions are used throughout the transcripts:

* * *	To indicate a pause in the recording while the speaker listens to the person speaking at the other end of the telephone. Used when only one side of a telephone conversation is recorded
[?]	When the transcriber is not certain of what is said on the recording.
	To indicate a sentence which the speaker trails off without completing it.
	When a speaker is interrupted before a sentence is completed.
	To indicate the speaker's emphasis.
[]	Used to enclose editorial comments of the transcriber such as [Meeting appears to be breaking up] or [Several speakers speak at once and none of the words are intelligible.]

Names:

The first time a name is mentioned, the full name is provided whenever it is known. "JFK" and "RFK" are used for President Kennedy and Robert Kennedy, respectively. When the identity of a speaker is unknown, "Speaker?" is used; when the identification of a speaker is uncertain, a question mark follows the name. The heading of each transcript gives the names of all participants listed in the President's Appointment Books as scheduled to attend the meeting.

Preparation:

These electronic documents were created from transcripts available in the audiovisual research room in the John F. Kennedy Library. The transcripts were scanned using optical character recognition and the resulting text files were proofread against the original transcripts. Some formatting changes were made.

Item 28A1

October 24, 1963

JFK: Hello.

Operator: Yes, please.

JFK: Hello, 2192.

Operator: Ready.

JFK: Mr. President?

Tito: 1 Yes, I am. . . .

JFK: Oh, how, how are you? This is . . .

Tito: Oh, I am very good, Mr. President . . .

JFK: How are you feel-...

Tito: Much better.

JFK: Are you feeling better?

Tito: Yes. Much better.

JFK: The, I'm very sorry about, uh, some of your diffi-...

Tito: [Words unintelligible].

JFK: I'm sorry about your difficulties in New York. And, uh, I'm very sorry you

didn't get a chance to get to California and some other parts of the United

States.

Tito: Thank you, thank you. It was not so bad.

¹ Josip Broz Tito.

JFK: Well, they always, uh, they boo me in New York, too, sometimes. So, I hope

that you have a good trip back and we were very glad you came to the United

States.

Tito: [Words unintelligible]. Thank you, thank you very much.

JFK: And you, give my best to Mrs. Tito . . .

Tito: Thank you very much.

JFK: ... and, as I say, we're, we've been glad you're here, uh, and we want you to

come back sometime . . .

Tito: Yes.

JFK: ... and to see, uh, California and, uh, Massachusetts and the rest of the United

States.

Tito: Yes, thank you.

JFK: Good.

Tito: I hope, but I hope also that I will meet you, meet you in Yugoslavia.

JFK: /Laughs./ All right, fine, good, thank you very much.

Tito: Good bye.

JFK: Bye, bye.

Operator: /Waiting, waiting?/

Item 28A2

October 28, 1963

JFK: ... when the, with that, uh, Judiciary Committee trying to get this civil rights

together and . . .

Daley:² Yeah.

JFK: . . . uh, Roland Libonati is sticking it right up us.

Daley: Is, he is?

JFK: Yeah, because he's standing with the extreme liberals who are gonna end up

> with no bill at all. Then when we put together, uh, he'll, gonna vote for the extreme bill. Then I asked him, "If you'll vote for this package which we got together with the Republicans which gives us about everything we wanted,"

and he says, "No."

He'll vote for it. He'll vote for any goddamned thing you want. Daley:

JFK: /Laughs./ Well, can you get him?

Daley: I, I surely can. Wh-, where is he? Is he there?

JFK: Well, he's in the other room.

Well, you have, uh, uh, Kenny, 3 tell, tell Kenny that, uh, to put him on the Daley:

wire here.

JFK: Okay. Or would you rather get him when he gets back up to his office? That's

better, otherwise, 'cause he might think . . .

That's better. But he'll do it. The last time I, I told him, "Now look it, I don't Daley:

> give a goddamned what it is, you vote for, for anything the president wants and this is the way it will be and this is the way we want it and that's the way

it's gonna be."

² Richard J. Daley ³ Kenneth P. O'Donnell.

That'd be good. JFK:

Daley: I'll get him as soon as he gets back to the. . . .

[Laughs.] JFK:

What are they trying to do, they got you hanging under . . . Daley:

JFK: Well, we're gonna, we have a chance to pull this out.

Daley: Yeah, but . . .

JFK: But you see, of course, these guys, they . . .

... what the hell's the matter with our own fellows? Daley:

That's why, well, it's good. . . . Krol⁴ was, uh, Philadelphia, Billy⁵ got him JFK:

and if you can get Kr-, Libonati.

Daley: Well, I'll [catch?] Libonati.

JFK: Okay, good.

Daley: Bye, now.

JFK: Thanks, Dick.

Archbishop John Joseph Krol.
William J. Green, Jr., congressman from Pennsylvania.

Item 28A3

October 29, 1963

Operator: He'll be right with you, sir.

Halleck:⁶ Okay.

JFK: Hello.

Halleck: Yeah, Mr. President.

JFK: Well, you did a great job.

Halleck: [Oh, well, thanks?].

JFK: What?

Halleck: I got a lot of mad people up here.

JFK: [Laughs.] Oh, but that's all right.

Halleck: [I know?] you've got a few.

JFK: I got a lot of 'em . . . [Tapes skips and repeats itself.]

Halleck: ... you've got a few.

JFK: I got a lot of 'em.

Halleck: ... you've got a few.

JFK: I got a lot of 'em. [I got a lot of mad Negroes that are ready to come and throw

rocks at me, but that's all right. That is good?]. That was terrific, Charlie.

Halleck: Well...

⁶ Charles A. Halleck, congressman from Indiana.

JFK: You really did what you said.

Halleck: ... my guys, boys did better and, uh, we ...

JFK: That's right.

Halleck: I hated to overpromise down there, Mr. President.

JFK: Well, that was good. Got Roland, ⁷ unfortunately, uh, we didn't get Roland.

Daley. 8 Evidently that Cook County machine isn't as strong as we hear.

Halleck: No, no. I, you got ten of my guys, didn't you?

JFK: Yeah, well, anyway they got m-, more than you said. I know they got at least

nine. But, uh . . .

Halleck: You know, whenever I say something I underestimate a little bit . . .

JFK: Yeah. Yeah.

Halleck: ... and, uh, I don't get to be made out a liar.

JFK: Yeah.

Halleck: I got a little trouble on my side, uh, but, uh, a lot of guys bitching . . .

JFK: Yeah.

Halleck: ... and so I ain't sure they'll make me leader again, but ...

JFK: [Laughs.]

Halleck: ... I don't give a damn.

JFK: [Laughs.] No, that was good. That was good.

Halleck: Well, thank you very much for calling. Now, look, we got a. . . . The bill got

reported, didn't it?

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⁷ Roland V.Libonati, congressman from Illinois.

⁸ Richard J. Daley.

JFK: I think it, yeah, yeah.

Halleck: Yeah. By a real good vote.

JFK: Very good.

Halleck: Twenty-four, eleven.

JFK: Right, right.

Halleck: We got to get a rule. I don't think, Mr. President, uh, if I could just make a

little suggestion . . .

JFK: Right.

Halleck: ... [press up two things?], let a little dust settle ...

JFK: Right. Right. Right. Okay.

Halleck: ... and get a rule [and then go?].

JFK: Okay, good, Charlie, very good.

Halleck: Thank you.

JFK: Very good. All right.

Item 28A4

October 30, 1963

JFK: Hello, Mike.

Mansfield: Yes, Mr. President.

JFK: I talked to, uh, our friend, uh, of course, he's a hard man . . .

Mansfield: Yes.

JFK: ... and he's got a, he thinks he's got a, he says, "This is a helluva issue," you

know, and all the rest. Of course, it's easy to knock the jock off of this poor old, uh, lady, but, uh, anyway the two things he talked the most about was--he didn't object to economic assistance to Latin America--the two things he objected to most, of course, was (1) this question of recogni-, you know, giving assistance to, uh, military groups and the kinds of military assistance we give in Latin America. I talked to Fred Dutton ¹⁰ and asked him to look over that language and see if they could reverse that thing on coups that, uh, where we would provide aid <u>unless</u> the Congress disapproved. Put it, you

know, in the negative rather than the affirmative.

Mansfield: Yeah.

JFK: And then the second thing would be, uh, uh, to see whether we could get him

a list of the kinds of assistance we were planning to give which would. . . . He says he didn't mind rifles and trucks and so on. But he seems to mind the heavy equipment. And see if we could ease his fears a bit there. Uh, but, uh, he says no votes this week, then next week, but he'd stay in close touch with

you.

Mansfield: Fine.

JFK: So, I guess that's about, uh, we'll see what Fred Dutton can come up with. I

think if we can just say to him we don't want to prolong this thing too long. One way or another we got to take our medicine because we got these, all

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⁹ Michael J. Mansfield, senator from Montana.

¹⁰ Frederick G. Dutton.

these other bills and with civil rights coming up, we may find ourselves really in horrible shape.

Mansfield: Yeah. Well, I'll give him a chance to have some lunch and I'll try to get

together with him.

JFK: Well, tell him that, uh, I think you might say the president enjoyed his

conversation with you very much, he understands your point of view, he's just

interested in, etc., etc., and . . .

Mansfield: Yeah.

JFK: ... we'll stay in touch but I think we ought to try to vote as soon as we

reasonably can beca-... Now Gruening 11 is hopeless, I guess, is he?

Mansfield: Oh yes, yeah, but then the key there is not Gruening but Morse. 12

JFK: Yeah, he's the one who gets it.

Mansfield: I, I would /words unintelligible/.

JFK: Wayne could be helpful, I think. He says, "I may not be able to vote for it in

final passage." Well, I said, "That's all right," but I said, "We need your help

in getting the right amounts."

Mansfield: That's right, but, uh, but as of now he's the key and I think he's being used by

other groups which he may not recognize as yet.

JFK: Yeah, that, uh, to delay everything.

Mansfield: Right. Right.

JFK: Uh, you, what about the, looking at sort of our schedule, if that civil rights bill

is going to come out and that turned out damned well. If that civil rights bill is going to come out of that committee, the report we're gonna try to rush. . . . Let's say we get a rule and get it through the House before the end of

November, then what would our schedule be?

Mansfield: We would still take it up, and, uh, and stay with it. And I would say, uh, two

or three weeks of debate, a cloture, and if we can't get it, try it again.

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¹¹ Ernest Gruening, senator from Alaska.

¹² Wayne Morse, senator from Oregon.

JFK:	Yeah.
JIIX.	i Can.

Mansfield: Not carry on too, too long because the, the responsibility is not yours now, it's

not mine, it's the Senate's collectively.

JFK: Right. Then, Mike . . .

Mansfield: [Yep?].

JFK: ... what about, can we stop these fellows from going away for a while ...

Mansfield: Yes.

JFK: ... or else tell them that they gotta give proxies? Nobody can go unless they

give a proxy.

If we can't come to an agreement with Morse this afternoon, it's my intention Mansfield:

to make a statement that, uh, no senators should go to the NATO¹³ meeting or to the Kuala Lumpur conference or any other place 'til this matter is disposed

of.

I think that's right or otherwise. . . . Now, I wonder if we could get, I better get JFK:

McCormack¹⁴ and have him say, 'cause I think we oughta keep everybody around and get this goddamned, we got a chance to do a lot of good things this

year if we can get everybody to stay.

Mansfield: You gotta keep them now and this is the time that they're gonna want to get away.

JFK: Okay, I'll get . . .

Mansfield: [Words unintelligible],

JFK: ... I'll get the Speaker.

Mansfield: Fine, sir.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization.John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House.

<u>Item 28A5</u>

October 30, 1963

Operator: Yes, sir.

JFK: The Speaker of the House, please.

Operator: Thank you.