

Orren Beaty, Jr., Oral History Interview – JFK#4, 11/7/1969
Administrative Information

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Biographical Note

Beaty, administrative assistant to Congressman Stewart L. Udall during the late 1950s and assistant to Secretary of Interior Udall from 1961 to 1967, discusses members of the Interior Department staff under Udall and the influence that outside constituencies had on appointments, particularly within the Bureau of Mines and Bureau of Mineral Resources, among other issues.

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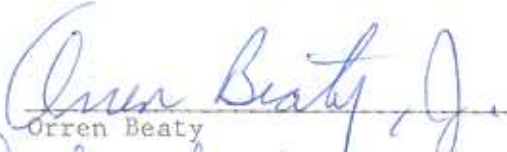
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Orren Beaty
July 4, 1979
Month Day Year


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Orren Beaty, Jr. – JFK#4

Table of Contents

<u>Page</u>	<u>Topic</u>
78, 85, 93	Interior Department staff
80	Bureau of Land Management
82	Interior Department central and regional staff working at cross purposes
84	Changes in land management policy
86	Republican holdovers in the Interior Department
95, 105	John M. Kelly, the oil industry, and the Bureau of Mineral Resources
100	Bureau of Mines
103	Coal
104	U.S. Geological Survey

Fourth of Twelve Oral History Interviews

with

Orren Beaty, Jr.

November 7, 1969
Washington, D. C.

By William W. Moss

For the John F. Kennedy Library

MOSS: All right. Let's see, last time we were working on the staff, and I have some names here that we either touched on briefly or didn't really get into very deeply. Let me take the one that seems rather curious to me, seems like a perfunctory sort of thing, and that's the science adviser, Dr. Roger Revelle [Roger R. Revelle], first, and then a fellow by the name of Calhoun [John C. Calhoun, Jr.], second. How did they get the positions, and what were they tasked with doing?

BEATY: Well, I'm probably hazy on some of this, but Resources for the Future [Inc.] had provided a haven for Democratic people, trained economists, that sort of thing during the Eisenhower [Dwight D. Eisenhower] years, and somebody from that organization, or somebody who knew about it, apparently talked to Stewart Udall [Stewart L. Udall] before he became secretary, before the change actually took place, and suggested that this organization had some capabilities for examining the department's operations and kinds of offices it had and could make some recommendations that would be helpful to better handling of the resource matters in the department. I don't know what kind of a contract they got or whether it was done at no charge or what. I imagine that they were paid something for their study and report.

But one of their recommendations was that the department needed somebody who could look at things from a purely scientific viewpoint and not have his mind cluttered with the requirements of an individual

bureau and how its role related to that particular resources problem and suggested, I think, that this particular person be put on the staff of the Secretary. At any rate, this was one of the recommendations they made that was accepted. A lot of the others ran into flak from administrative people who knew more about the situation than Udall did at the beginning, I think.

We got this thing started and how Revelle's name came up, I don't know. He had been head of the oceanography operation at Scripps Institute at San Diego and had ties either as a consultant or a part-time instructor or something at the University of California at Berkeley. He was highly recommended for the job. The idea was that they wouldn't stay too long. For a real good scientist, I don't think the job offers that kind of attraction, either in money or in challenges, to keep them around too long. And so it was expected at the beginning that they'd move on, that they'd work for a year, a year and a half. So when Dr. Revelle had other prospects, had things worked out on his schedule or his timetable so he could move on to something else, we looked for a different person and with some different capabilities.

I think the Secretary continued to have interest in the development of oceanography, Interior's role in that, because of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Bureau of Sport Fisheries [and Wildlife], and, to a lesser extent I guess, the Bureau of Mines, and Geological Survey. Well, getting into the mineral field and in oceanography and other things, we turned to somebody who had that kind of experience and this was Dr. Calhoun from Texas A & M [Texas Agriculture and Mechanical University]. He may or may not have been recommended by the Vice-President, Mr. Johnson [Lyndon Baines Johnson], but people that the Secretary had confidence in recommended him.

The Secretary developed a rather close relationship with President Kennedy's [John F. Kennedy] science adviser, and I'm sure we looked to him for recommendations now that I remember a little more about it. Who am I trying to think of?

MOSS: Wiesner [Jerome B. Wiesner].

BEATY: That's right, Jerry Wiesner. We had others as time went on, but I've forgotten --these are the only two that served during the Kennedy period, I guess.

MOSS: Right. Let's see, Charles Stoddard [Charles H. Stoddard] is listed as the director of the technical review staff, or later the resources program staff. I presume that was a reorganization change.

BEATY: That's right. It had no administrative role; it was a brain trust for the Secretary. They did a lot of detail work, pulling together reports from bureaus, but also working on major projects involving both resources and administrative things in the sense of working with the Bureau of Budget on long-term planning and that sort of thing.

MOSS: And how did Stoddard come to be appointed? Was he already there or...

BEATY: No, I can't remember now whether he had any previous experience in the department. He was one of those from Resources for the Future. I think he had worked for RFF [Resources for the Future], and he had a rather close association with people who had held top roles in this particular area in the department, former government people who would be associated with a liberal, activist role in resources matters: Leland Olds from, I guess, the Federal Power Commission in earlier days and--I can't think of the man who headed the Bureau of Land Management during part of Truman's [Harry S. Truman] presidency, but he had been at RFF and Stoddard held him in high regard and he was still active in this area. Chuck had been fairly active in--I don't know whether it was political or resources matters in Wisconsin, and we had rather strong recommendations for him from people like Senator Humphrey [Hubert H. Humphrey], Senator Proxmire [William Proxmire]. He was recommended for assistant secretary, one of several whom we considered, but he was really more of a scholar than a hard-driving administrator. He fitted into this role better than I think he would have as an assistant secretary.

MOSS: Why was it that he was later appointed to the BLM [Bureau of Land Management] to replace Landstrom [Karl S. Landstrom]?

BEATY: This whole thing could be the chapter of a book or a book of its own about the controversies that developed between.... This federal agency is supposed to be looking out after the resources owned by all the people and dealing with interest groups like grazers, people who run the cattle and sheep, or the lumber cutters and manufacturers. We had raised the grazing fees on public domain lands over the opposition of the ranchers and senators who represented states that had a lot of ranching activity on public lands. And the man we brought in as the director of the Bureau of Land Management had an unfortunate personality; he couldn't disagree with a senator without becoming disagreeable. And while he was doing exactly what the administration wanted him to do, what we wanted him to do, what the Bureau of the Budget wanted us to do on the grazing fees, he became almost persona non grata on the Senate Interior Committee. I'm sure he could've lasted it out if we'd chosen to do it, but....

MOSS: This is Landstrom that you're referring to?

BEATY: Yes, Karl Landstrom. That's right. But the change seemed in order, and I think you ought to ask John Carver about this if you haven't, because John would know his own thoughts. But John came up with the recommendation that Stoddard would be a good man to take over this role. Chuck had good credentials with conservation

groups, Forester International--I can't think of the name of the organization now. But these publications of these organizations had praised Interior for raising the grazing fees and for instituting certain conservation practices. We didn't want to alienate them by putting in somebody who would look like we were bowing to the grazers and that sort of thing. I think probably some people who had some ties to the lumber industry talked to John, John Carver, about Stoddard, and so this recommendation was made, and he was talked into it much against his will; he didn't want the job. He knew that the average BLM director lasted about two years and was always in controversy. In the end, the lumber people beat him to death, and I think a lot of it was unfair, and so he was given a different job and somebody else became director of the Bureau of Land Management.

MOSS: What were the lumber people's gripe in that particular case?

BEATY: Well, a lot of BLM land in Oregon is forest land. Mostly we think of BLM as grazing land, and that the Forest Service and Agriculture run the agriculture products areas, producing areas, lumber producing areas, but a lot of land that had been granted to railroads or wagon roads or one thing or another to encourage the building of them in the earlier days of the development of the West had reverted to federal ownership because the roads weren't built or the railroads weren't built. They'd be caught with vested lands. The O & C, the Oregon and California Railroad, the O & C land, this is the big thing in Oregon, and the organized lumbermen out there pretty well run the O & C advisory board. It's supposed to be advisory, but it had become kind of a management thing. The department didn't go against their recommendations usually. We tried to keep up a controlled cut of--what do they call it?--when you keep the forest producing at a certain level and never lose....

MOSS: Maximum yield?

BEATY: No, it's anything but maximum yield.

MOSS: Oh, I see, all right.

BEATY: It's a commonly used phrase which'll come to me...

MOSS: The only phrases I know are maximum yield and cutover second growth timber. [Laughter]

BEATY: Sustained yield, I guess, is the right word. You cut the annual growth, really, is what it amounts to so that you never destroy the producing capability of the forest. Oregon--a great deal of its economy depends on the timber business, and they watch over very

jealously any changes in the allowable cut because it'll mean a decrease in income and income tax for the state and that sort of thing. There were several things--these things probably occurred after the change of presidency, but I'm not sure--which led to all the problems and that forced Stoddard out. The state director of BLM in Oregon was, I thought, a captive of the--and not knowingly, he just saw it their way--of the industry out there, and he was, to my mind, insubordinate. He ran to the press and told his story every time there was that meeting, and industry out there backed him up in the papers and Governor Hatfield [Mark O. Hatfield]--Stoddard was in an absolutely impossible situation.

MOSS: This is an interesting thing because often when you have the central organization in such things as the Forest Service and the Park Service and so on and you have regional directors, you've got this pull and tug between the two all the time.

BEATY: Yes, that's right.

MOSS: How often did you run into a situation where the regional people were really so identified with the local interests that they were in this kind of situation; they were running end runs around you and that kind of thing?

BEATY: Well, you know, I could probably think of several if we worked through this. And I remember one, feeling that Omaha, Nebraska, was a lousy place to be headquarters for one of the national park regions. There were no national parks nearby; the national parks were centered over in the Rocky Mountains and to the West. And we thought that Wyoming or--we thought more of Wyoming than Colorado because Senator Gale McGee [Gale William McGee] is from Wyoming, for one thing, but also Colorado seemed to be a center of federal offices, and from our point of view it wouldn't hurt to spread them out a little bit. If it had been put in Cheyenne or Laramie, [Wyoming] it'd be close to Yellowstone and Teton [Grand Teton National Park] and to Rocky Mountain, Grand Canyon, all these great parks in the West and you wouldn't have this extra run clear to Omaha.

But when we started talking about this, the National Park Service people--I'm sure in Washington, too--were against it. But the Omaha office ran to congressmen, some of whom were high on the Appropriations Committee and who had developed a close working relationship with the Democrats on the same committee. Ben Jensen [Benton Franklin Jensen] at that time was the ranking Republican on the House Appropriations Committee; and while Mike Kirwan [Michael J. Kirwan] is as partisan a Democrat as you run across, working in the committee there, he worked with Ben Jensen very closely, and they just told us flatly, "You're not going to

[-82-]

move it." And we didn't, and it's still in Omaha.

Now, maybe it made no difference as far as efficiency of management goes, but this is an example, I think, of how the people worked. If I'd been secretary, as

bent on revenge as I am, I would never have given the guy that ran the Omaha office any further sympathetic treatment in the department. But Stewart Udall's a very forgiving sort of person, and before long, Howard Baker [Howard W. Baker], who was head of the office in Omaha, was brought to Washington into the National Parks Service office, had a promotion, and he's been a very loyal and helpful man in the Park Service since then and has risen until he's probably the number two man, number three man over there now. And so my vengeful qualities would've cost me the services of a good man, probably. But just the same, I think that they ought to take some direction from Washington.

MOSS: This brings up an interesting point. You described Udall as being a very forgiving sort. Did this make for a frustrating situation sometimes between him and others; others who wanted to push harder, for instance?

BEATY: No, I don't think so. He becomes forgiving over a period of time, not instantly. He tends to forget that somebody is against him on something once, and if they can work together in the future, that's a... Really, this goes back to his first campaign for Congress. I remember some things there where he later became allied with people who were maligning him rather severely in that campaign.

Oh, we ran into these things, lots of them, getting rid of a Bureau of Mines office in Las Vegas, I think it was Las Vegas, Nevada. I knew the people there in that office were close to the staff of Senator Bible [Alan Bible], and for all I know, that office is still in existence. It's hard to abolish an office and concentrate these offices in four or five places when you're going against a man who's number three or four on your Interior Committee and a similar position on the Appropriations Subcommittee. I think Senator Bible carried the ball on that committee the last two or three years that Senator Hayden [Carl T. Hayden] was here because Hayden was just not strong enough to do it. I thought of others as we were talking here, but they've now slipped out of my memory.

MOSS: All right. Well, then let's go on to some of the other people. Let's see, we mentioned Stoddard. Then Landstrom was brought up onto the staff after he was removed from BLM and became assistant for Land Utilization. What sort of job was this?

[-83-]

BEATY: I don't think right at that time the Public Land Law Review Commission was in operation. But he was kind of the Secretary's and Mr. Carver's by that time, I guess--rather he still may be the assistant secretary...

MOSS: Yes. He was.

BEATY: ... but later became under secretary. In both cases he gave a lot of attention to land matters. And so either Carver or Udall, or Udall through Carver, was giving Landstrom directions on representing the department at the meetings of the Public Land Law Review Commission and providing liaison with Mr. Aspinall [Wayne

N. Aspinall] who was Chairman both of the House Interior Committee and the Public Land Law Review Commission. Anything that involved land, the work we had to do on the wilderness under the Wilderness Act, getting mineral surveys and things like this done, making annual reports on it to the President or to the Congress, preparing them for the President to make to Congress, these were things that Mr. Landstrom did. It was a job that could've been done, I'm sure, by the director of the Bureau of Land Management if we hadn't felt obligated to not kick out a man who had gone to bat on the grazing fee increase, and then we had to get him out of the way because of the problems with the Congress, with our principal committee members, and that sort of thing.

MOSS: In the early days of the administration, there were several public policy pronouncements on land management: the moratorium on new applications, the business of wanting to make sure that the right use was made of the land in the public interest, and this sort of thing. Did these originate with Landstrom, or were they talked out in staff before they were released or what?

BEATY: Well, I think we talked about this a little bit, didn't we, in one of our previous sessions--maybe not?

MOSS: I don't remember it.

BEATY: I just didn't want to find on tape that I'm contradicting something I said a week before.

MOSS: This can always be fixed with a marginal note, you know.

BEATY: Yeah. What I seem to recall having mentioned in one of our previous discussions was that Stewart Udall, as a member of Congress from a state that had a lot of public land, was aware of the problems caused by a vast number of applications for land.

MOSS: Right. Right. We did talk about this.

[-84-]

BEATY: Desert land entries and things like that.

MOSS: Right, we did talk about this. I was thinking specifically of the way that these policy pronouncements originated and were cleared through staff as a management policy.

BEATY: I think at the beginning most of the things that were done were originated within the secretariat by the Secretary himself or by one of the assistant secretaries. You know, as you get an organization going and get used to working with bureau chiefs, a lot of stuff will generate in the bureaus and come up--maybe

through Stoddard's staff or something like this. I think at the beginning this land stuff was Udall utilizing his own knowledge of it--John Carver, having served on Senator Church's [Frank Church] staff as his administrative assistant and being very familiar with land problems, no doubt working with Landstrom, who'd been the chief man for lands on the House Interior Committee, and Stoddard--that all of this they worked together, but mostly they were carrying out things that Stewart Udall had decided that something had to be done about and quickly. And there was this matter of getting the backlog cleared up in the land applications and finding some way to make this thing a more responsive, better, more efficient operation.

But there's also the determination, I think, on his part, too, that enforced cooperation between the Interior agencies and the Forest Service--so that where we did the same things, where we could turn some lands over to the Forest Service that would be better used there in exchange for land that didn't really serve a forest service type purpose, we'd do that. And I know he and Freeman [Orville L. Freeman] talked occasionally--or frequently, probably more than any other two cabinet officers the first few months. I mean, I think Udall talked to Freeman more than he did to anybody else because they were trying to work out things, put down the old rivalry that had existed ever since resource bureaus were established in different departments, working with states and key senators and governors to try to make exchanges that would block up state land and forest land and BLM land. I think all this was done at the top level rather than listening to bureau suggestions.

MOSS: Okay. Let me move on to another thing. Looking over the material generally, I have a feeling that there's more to the Herschel Schooley [C. Herschel Schooley] story than I have been able to get out or that we've talked about. Let me ask--he was a Republican holdover?

BEATY: That's right.

MOSS: Do you feel that he was deliberately undercutting Udall in his public statements and this kind of thing or was the source of leaks?

[-85-]

BEATY: No, I don't. I don't know. There were leaks, and I suspected different people in different areas. They weren't important leaks, they were just things that kind of irritate you at the time. But key senators--a lot of things came out of Senator Bennett's [Wallace F. Bennett] office. Well, he was a ranking Republican senator, and he'd been used to dealing with the different bureaus before the change of administration, and I think a lot of people just develop the habit of, "Well, the Senator's interested in that; then let him know about it." And it wasn't too deliberate; maybe in a few cases it was. In the Schooley's case, I have a feeling that he was trying to perform as a professional information officer. I don't think I ever really thought he was doing us any harm intentionally.

MOSS: And then Faber [James N. Faber] was appointed to replace him. How did Faber get his appointment?

BEATY: He had been, I think, director, of publicity for the Seattle Exposition [Century 21 Exposition] or World's Fair or whatever they called it. It had been a very successful show at least from that standpoint. Senator Magnuson [Warren G. Magnuson] and Senator Jackson [Henry M. Jackson] had both recommended him as they were obviously aware of Udall's problems with the information setup. There was a man named Joe Miller, [Joseph S. Miller], whom we had known for a long time on the Hill, who came from--at least had worked up in the Washington area, was close to Senator Jackson, and had worked for a number of senators in their campaigns, advertising, publicity and that sort of thing. And he and Faber knew each other. I think that probably he also recommended Faber to the Secretary. He came in--I think we put him on as a consultant for awhile and let him get familiar with things and offered Schooley a different job. And he didn't want it and left and joined the staff of Senator Tower [John G. Tower]. It showed where his political leanings were. And then I know--at this point I know that he then began feeding stuff out to the press to cause us some trouble.

There was a reporter named Pat Munroe who was a veteran around here, and because he covered for some western papers he'd gotten to know Secretary Udall some years before and was generally friendly. But he put the ax on us on a couple of things there that well, he didn't bother to check it any. He just took what Schooley had given him.

MOSS: What things were these?

BEATY: I've forgotten. I've completely forgotten them.

MOSS: There were two or three other situations where there were Republican holdovers, and you caught some flak from Democratic congressmen and governors and so on. I know one: Governor

[-86-]

McNichols [Stephen L. R. McNichols] wanted Grant Bloodgood removed as the chief engineer of the Bureau of Reclamation; called Bloodgood a black Republican and wanted Walter Price [Walter H. Price] appointed in his stead. What was the story here, do you know?

BEATY: No I don't. I know the situation. I remember it, but I don't remember the background. This was just a case really of a bureau chief being his own man and having very strong support on the Hill in certain areas, with Senator Hayden particularly, with Wayne Aspinall to a slightly lesser degree.

But Floyd Dominy [Floyd E. Dominy] had gotten used, I think, to running his bureau regardless of what the assistant secretary wanted during the last year or so of the Eisenhower administration. I don't think Governor Aandahl [Fred George Aandahl] who was the assistant secretary of Water and Power had a thing to say about what the Bureau of Reclamation did. I don't even think he knew. Dominy had access to Secretary Seaton [Frederick A. Seaton] and particularly to Elmer Bennett [Elmer F. Bennett], who was the under secretary, and Bennett and George Abbott [George W. Abbott] and Stevens [Ted Stevens], the one who's now--Ted

Stevens, who's now the senator from Alaska. At that time I think he was a solicitor or the legislative counsel. But they had the reputation for running the department, and Dominy dealt directly with them. And he was a strong bureau chief. He knew his men, he knew the local political situations, and he just wasn't going to be pushed around.

A tremendous number of my difficulties--they were really Udall's, but he gave them to me--in the first two years we were there was because of arguments between the Under Secretary Jim Carr [James K. Carr] and Dominy. Carr had his own ideas about how things ought to be run, and he had personnel changes he wanted to make in California just as Governor McNichols wanted to make in Colorado. I mean, Carr did in California in the Sacramento office of the Bureau of Reclamation. And some offices went unfilled for months or maybe a year or more because Carr demanded it, and he wouldn't go for one thing, and Dominy would suggest something else.... In the end, I think Dominy got his way.

MOSS: Where was Holum [Kenneth Holum] during all this time?

BEATY: Well, he was loyally trying to do what Udall wanted to do, and he, I think, exerted a lot more control over Dominy than Aandahl had done. But again, he was a nicer guy, and nice guys have a hell of a time. He and I worked together on Dominy on this Colorado River salty water situation with Mexico from time to time. We had some rather tough sessions, but we'd get things done. Holum was in the middle in the fight between Carr and Dominy. Carr'd tell Holum, "It's going to be that way." And he wouldn't talk to Dominy, and Dominy would come back, and

[-87-]

poor old Ken was right there in the middle without clear directions from Udall, I think, because Stewart didn't want to interfere with Carr, and yet he knew how much support Dominy had if it got to a showdown are we going to let this get clear to the Hill and have Engle [Clair Engle] and Hayden and everybody else butting heads? Also, Senator Jackson was totally disenchanted with Dominy, and if we had followed his advice at the beginning, we would've changed that office. He didn't like Dominy, didn't think he performed well, but he said in the end, "If you want...." You know, "You're the Secretary; you're going to have to live with him. If you want to go with him, fine; I won't block it."

MOSS: And you decided to go ahead with him?

BEATY: Yes.

MOSS: I have...

BEATY: Here is Governor McNichols, who didn't really strongly support Kennedy or didn't support Johnson in the.... I think he was kind of a fence rider in the pre-convention period. If he'd been a little stronger for Kennedy, he might have been secretary of Interior. I don't know. But at least he'd have had more say. As it was, he was just a friendly governor interfering, in effect really, with an administrative matter at a

career job, and career level job. This is not a political job, the chief engineer. It's a very important job, and it's one that Dominy was determined not to let somebody tamper with.

MOSS: Was there much of this friction in tampering with career level jobs?

BEATY: No. I don't think so. It just didn't happen.

MOSS: Yes. I have three other names. I don't know, unfortunately, what their positions were, but I do have a note that there were Democratic congressmen who were rather peeved over the failure to replace Don Shearon [Donald W. Shearon].

BEATY: Yes. He was.... That name doesn't quite sound right.

MOSS: S-H-E-A-R-O-N.

BEATY: Well, that's right, I guess. He was in charge of the Departmental Correspondence Control Office, DCCO. All of the mail addressed to the Secretary, all of the congressional mail, this sort of thing went through his office. And he opened it, stamped it, recorded it, routed it. [Interruption] Don, I guess, had been put there. It's a sensitive job. You see all this mail. Unless things

[-88-]

were marked personal, he opened them, made copies, sent copies to--I guess he sent copies to the Secretary's office so we'd know what had come in and where it had been routed and how much time was supposed to elapse before they got a reply. I'm confused on this because we changed the procedure several times during the eight years or six and a half years I was there.

But Don was a Republican appointee, and when he finally left us, he went to work for a Republican senator or congressman. And it's quite possible if some interesting mail came in that he may have passed it on. I don't know. But he was very helpful. We had, as you can imagine, an awful stack of mail coming in every day, and we hadn't learned the department completely--maybe nobody ever does. But without somebody like that providing advice--and he was in and out of my office constantly, calling my attention to something, some deadline or some problem.... It's hard to tell.

The administrative assistant secretary that we had held over, Beasley, Otis Beasley [D. Otis Beasley], had apparently worked very well with Don and Seaton when it was a different administration. I don't know if he was trying to make himself look good with Udall by criticizing Don Shearon constantly; but Shearon was under Beasley's direction, theoretically, and Beasley made life miserable for him. Shearon never complained to me about this. I picked it up elsewhere. But anyway, there was this, "You ought to get rid of Shearon" kind of a campaign going on fairly regularly. I think it's probably just as well we got our own man. I think that's a job that the Secretary ought to have complete control of. It isn't a career job; it's a sensitive thing on which the Secretary had to rely.

Just this week the *Congressional Record* had some stuff in it about Secretary Hickel [Walter J. Hickel] and his problems with answering the mail. A Republican member got up on the floor and denounced Hickel for being taken over by the bureaucrats: "It's been three weeks since I demanded a reply, and I still haven't even gotten an acknowledgement." And somebody else gets up and defends Hickel, and then a little later some Democrat gets in and says, "Well, I've got three letters down there I've been waiting for answers on for as much as three months." He says, "I doubt if there even is a Wally Hickel." Well, you know, it just shows you how much trouble you can get into if you don't respond to this congressional mail.

I made a mistake. I remember now one of the things that got leaked out. The Secretary liked to write to the members of Congress, "Dear Wayne" or "Dear so-and-so" because he knew them, and he didn't want them to think he was suddenly--I think this; would never say this--but, he didn't want them to think he'd suddenly gotten stuffy or

[-89-]

big shot because he was now in the cabinet. He didn't want to start saying "Dear Mr. so-and-so" or "Dear Senator so-and-so" when he knew the man very well. As a guidance to people who were preparing these all up and down the different bureaus, I did up a little memo on so-and-so gets called "Mr.", so-and-so gets called "Dear Don" or something like this. Well, a copy of this got out to the press, and it was published with which ones Udall calls "Mr." and which ones he calls "So-and-so." I suspect one of John Carver's assistants on this because I knew he was a Republican flak in the earlier days. John kept him on but this particular guy performed very well, and he stayed with us, and he could still be there for all I knew. And John Carver had great confidence in him, and he was very helpful to us, so I probably suspect the wrong man. Maybe our friend Herschel Schooley gave it to them. You don't know. How can you tell, under those circumstances?

MOSS: Another name I have is Phil Mullin [Philip J. Mullin]?

BEATY: Phil Mullin was clearly a Republican party operator in the department, a very fine guy, and I'm sure he did a good job for Seaton. I think right now he's with the Kennedy Center [for the Performing Arts].

MOSS: Performing Arts Center?

BEATY: Yes, as their principal information--now I may be wrong, but I think that's where he wound up. We could've fired him the day we went in as a schedule C job, if I remember right. We transferred him to one of the bureaus or something. And this is partly because some newspaper reporter thought Phil Mullin was a great guy, and that they knew we weren't going to keep him on indefinitely, but why don't you let him stay on the job until he gets something instead of throwing him and his wife out on the street. And it was just that kind of act of mercy that caused us to keep him on. He didn't work for any of us. He wasn't in any position to cause anybody any trouble.

MOSS: Okay. Edward Larson.

BEATY: Do you have any other names besides Larson?

MOSS: No, that's the last one of the Republicans that I have.

BEATY: How is Larson listed, as...

MOSS: I have no listing.

BEATY: ... as a job.

MOSS: I just ran across the notation that there was some Democratic

[-90-]

congressmen that were kind of ticked off that he was still around.

BEATY: There were two or three people that I never got to know very well. And they weren't really--I'll have to get a list of them--on the Secretary's staff. One of them was Ed Day [Interviewer note: Not J. Edward Day]. Now that doesn't sound right. This was the Secretary of the--Postmaster General. But this was also a Day [Robert E. Day], I think, on our staff and Larson. And they had responsibilities relating to security or national defense. Really, what it amounted to was making a monthly report to whoever was in charge in the overall government for our defense functions, and where we'd run to if Washington were attacked, and you know, the different functions we had to perform in an emergency situation. It was routine. I think at one point we had given notice to these guys, at least to Day and somebody else, and the word came back to us from somebody like John Moss [John E. Moss] on the Hill through Jim Carr that these were really Democrats who had managed to hole up during the eight years that Eisenhower was president and that we shouldn't get rid of them. Well, they weren't in the way. The job had to be done and we didn't have anybody pushing for these jobs anyway. They weren't sensitive positions as far as we were--politically, they weren't sensitive, policy wise they weren't sensitive. As a matter of national defense or security, they may have been sensitive in that sense. But if Larson's the man I'm thinking of, I'd have a contact with him about once every two months. We'd get a threatening letter or somebody'd come into the Secretary's outer office and promise to come back and tear the place up and this sort of thing. And you'd call on him, and he'd station somebody up there to make sure nothing happened.

MOSS: All right. Most of this I have little bits and pieces of things with no real flesh on them. I have one curious one here. Who is Jack Beaty of Albuquerque? Any relation?

BEATY: No. I know Jack very well, I've seen him recently. But he was a businessman in New Mexico in wholesale candy and tobacco business, I think.

Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Las Vegas, this northern New Mexico area. He took the lead in New Mexico.... He's a good friend of Senator Clinton Anderson [Clinton P. Anderson]; but in 1960 Anderson and Chavez [Dennis Chavez] were both with Johnson for president, and so Jack Beaty took the role that Stewart Udall took in Arizona in being the Kennedy man--Whizzer White [Byron R. White] up in Colorado. So the way Stewart Udall got to know him was in that campaign, in the preconvention stuff, and I'm sure at Los Angeles and subsequently, in the actual campaign for the presidency. I had met Jack a few times up on the Hill without even registering that we had the same name. I know this sounds strange but...

MOSS: Yes, I know what you mean.

[-91-]

BEATY: I really got aware of him when some southwestern reporter asked me, "Who's this guy, Jack Beaty?" They were a little suspicious of him or they didn't.... He looked like some kind of a stranger, and they thought I might know him. Well, then it began to fit together, and I remembered I had met him someplace.

MOSS: The reason I ran across the name was that he was pushing a fellow named Murray Morgan for an appointment to the BLM. He did this through O'Brien [Lawrence F. O'Brien], I believe.

BEATY: That's right. We got an awful lot of pressure to take Murray Morgan. One of the finest things I can say about Senator Chavez is--and my family's known Senator Chavez's family for a good many years, a lot longer than I've been alive, probably--he wrote Stewart Udall a letter in which he said, "Look, just because I'm a Democratic senator from New Mexico doesn't mean I'm supporting Murray Morgan for BLM. This is a matter of national trust and some very important resources, and he's just not the man for the job. He's oriented to the users. He's not going to be looking out after Uncle Sam's best interest." He didn't say it quite that frankly, but that's what he said. And Senator Anderson wasn't pushing him. So it wasn't too hard to resist this pressure, but there was quite a bit of it built up out there.

MOSS: Why was Beaty pushing?

BEATY: Well, I suppose Morgan had helped him in the campaign. The state land commissioner out there is elected in New Mexico, and you serve two terms and you can't serve any more. It's a constitutional limit of two terms on most of the state offices. And Morgan was either out of a job or he wanted a promotion--I don't know, I really don't. But I suppose he had worked with Jack in the campaign.

MOSS: I'll sort of apologize for this being bits and pieces.

BEATY: No, it's okay.

MOSS: ...but this is the way I ran across it. A fellow named Dan Purvis was appointed to the Federal Petroleum Board, and there was some question as to why he was appointed instead of reappointing L. P. Blanton.

BEATY: Oh, this is a fascinating story and we like to never get rid of...

MOSS: Blanton?

[-92-]

BEATY: Well, now, I think of Purvis. I think we got him in some other job. Blanton was a Republican, or if he was a Democrat, he had been an Eisenhower democrat. We had a lot of pressure from Senator Yarborough [Ralph W. Yarborough], if I remember right, for Dan Purvis. In fact, I think Purvis is married to Yarborough's sister or some.... No. He's married to the sister of one of Yarborough's principal fund raisers in his campaigns or some such connection. It was a pretty personal relationship. It wasn't just supporting some good Texas Democrat for the job.

Otis Beasley called to Udall's attention that there was a period there for some reason that you could give Blanton notice and replace him, and he gave us the wrong information, and we notified him one day late. So when it was announced that he was being replaced by Purvis, he brought some action or threatened some action, and as it turned out, he was right and we were wrong. We couldn't get rid of him that easily.

In the meantime, Yarborough is.... I'm real hazy on this because it happened right in the early part of our administration down there. And it wasn't an important job, but it seems to me we got Purvis appointed to one of three or four defense petroleum liaison jobs between Interior and OEP [Office of Emergency Planning]. One of them was at Michigan where Jake Simmons [Jake Simmons, Jr.] went. I think we mentioned Jake earlier. If we haven't, we will in the future because he was one of our top Negro appointees. And we got Purvis put in the Atlanta office, and he caused us nothing but trouble. He did things as he chose to do them. He was irresponsible. People like Bob McConnell [Robert C. McConnell] if you can ever get him lined up--Bob would know this because he had some of the responsibilities for dealing with Purvis, and he's got a way of remembering minutiae that I don't.

MOSS: I noted that Dorothy Davies at the White House was the one who had asked why all this business of Purvis' appointment. What was her role? Did she fill this kind of role usually or...

BEATY: I had a lot of dealings with her. I think she worked.... Oh, I don't know. You know, she'd been on Senator McClellan's [John L. McClellan] staff. She knew a lot of people on the Hill. I would say she'd be oriented more to the people who supported Johnson prior to the convention than to the Kennedy people, but I don't think she was really political. I mean, it's just the way she knew people; she would have known the people that were backing Johnson. I know they made good use of her in handling

appointments to jobs below a certain level. She didn't handle the top level jobs by any means. I can't remember who did right now after the actual change. We dealt with different people.

MOSS: All right. Again, sort of out of the blue, I have simply a note that there was some trouble over three Alaska appointments. The names that I have here are Helen Fisher, Frank Peratrovich, and Waino Hendrickson.

[-93-]

BEATY: I remember those two men's names. I think Pevatrovich was a state senator that they wanted appointed, and then they didn't get it. I really don't know. I don't think I can be of any help on these.

MOSS: Okay. Let me see what else we have here that we can't take up when we get down to some of the other things. Oh, here's a rather interesting note. Early on, I have a note that Udall recommended to the White House that Dr. Marion Donaldson [Marion Gray Donaldson] of Tucson be commissioner of education. This sort of works another way, but what was the lash up here?

BEATY: Well, Marion Donaldson was a very good school man. He was progressive, he was interested in federal aid for elementary and secondary education and Udall had been very active in that from the Education and Labor Committee assignment he had. I think he thought Donaldson would make a good commissioner of education. Beyond that, I don't know. He made his recommendation. It became clear to us rather early that Arizona wasn't going to get another appointment at that level, and that was the end of it.

MOSS: I had a note over here that.... I have a rather interesting one I ran across a note from Larry O'Brien to Senator Mansfield [Mike Mansfield] thanking him for endorsing Jack C. Toole to be assistant secretary for Mineral Resources. And the handwritten note on the bottom says, "Advise Orren Beaty to ignore above." Do you recall that?

BEATY: No I don't, but I know that they didn't push Udall, neither Mansfield nor Metcalf [Lee W. Metcalf]. I think both of them thought really that a Montanan named Leif Erickson was going to be the assistant secretary for Mineral Resources anyway. In fact, his appointment was pretty well agreed upon at the time, but it fell through.

MOSS: Why did it fall through? I ran across a complaint from Thomas Kennedy, UMW [United Mine Workers of America] man, that Leif Erickson should have been appointed.

BEATY: Well, you know, Leif Erickson fitted into the Kennedy picture, I think, better than the man we got. He'd been interested in national issues. He'd been active

in the Democratic party in Montana, and he'd been active in the Western Democratic Conferences or whatever they were called. He'd been to national conventions and had been on platform committees. He and Senator Anderson served on the agricultural platform committee in 1956 and '60, I think; Anderson, because he'd been secretary of agriculture.

Erickson's appointment, as I understood it, was agreed on, to be announced shortly. We had lunch at the Senator's dining room in the New

[-94-]

Senate Office Building the day that Secretary Udall got his confirmation hearing by the Senate. You know, the Senate went ahead and had all these hearings before January the 20th--all the cabinet had been confirmed before the change of administration took place. And I don't know what day it was, but I remember I was up there and--I can't remember who all was at our table. I think probably Mrs. Udall [Ermalee Udall] was very likely there and Stewart, and my wife and I were there, probably Senator Anderson. We were probably in the dining room because of him. But a lot of people knew--Erickson was at the table--a lot of people knew him, and they'd come by and say hello to, you know, to whoever else was there, but to Udall and to Erickson. He was not very smart. He kept telling them, "I'm taking over the job." And it hadn't been announced, and it tipped off people that he was to be and reaction set in, and he didn't get it.

Now, I'm sure there're people who think he didn't get it because he wasn't, wouldn't have been as friendly to the oil industry. Udall would have to give you his views on it. I don't have any firm views, but I do know that Senator Anderson vetoed Erickson for whatever reason. The story that Udall got was that he was not effective or he was kind of flighty, that Anderson's opinion of him based on his platform committee sessions was not good. But Anderson does have some ties with the oil industry, and John Kelly [John M. Kelly] was from New Mexico and was in the oil business and did have connections with the oil industry, and it was easy to make the case that you needed somebody who knew something about oil in that job. So John Kelly got the nomination, and Leif Erickson didn't.

MOSS: Let's talk about Kelly for a minute or two. He was more on the small producers end of things.

BEATY: He's an independent.

MOSS: Yeah. How does this stack up in the whole business of the Interior Department? Now this is a wide-open subject, really, but how does an independent operate in the kind of job that John Kelly had when he's got the big oil pressure on him?

BEATY: I think an independent can survive and so very well by getting along with the big oil. He's not necessarily a dog-eat-dog operation. I don't think in his operations he favored independents or big ones. I think he ran a pragmatic operation there, doing what had to be done from his standpoint.

He was from Boston, moved to New Mexico, I suppose, when he finished high school or something like that, went to college at New Mexico, in those days, School of Mines, it was called--it's something else now--at Socorro [New Mexico Institute of Mines and Technology]. He became state geologist, which was a part-time job, and engaged in oil and gas leasing and a lot of

[-95-]

things. I imagine he probably taught school, too. But he had been very successful at it. I think he probably was one of the officials of the Kennedy-Johnson campaign ticket in New Mexico. So even had some good campaign credentials to support him for the job.

But he represented the oil industry. He knew what they wanted; he knew what they needed, and from his standpoint as an oil man.... I don't know.

MOSS: Well, let me turn it around another way. The popular conception of this kind of thing is that if you have an oil man in the position, it's a kind of a fox in the hen house situation. Now, how do you deal with this if your job is to be protector of the public interest?

BEATY: Well, you know, you've got to depend on the guy's integrity, and he's now serving the United States government and not the oil industry. I really think you ought to have somebody not associated with the oil industry. And I couldn't point to a single thing, really, that he did that I thought was wrong. Actually, we had several clashes, but they were more over personalities than they were over issues. If you could find somebody, let's say a professor at a reputable university who knew oil economics and minerals and this sort of thing, I think you'd be better off than taking an oil man no matter how decent and honorable a man he'd happen to be. I think in some of the subordinate offices it's all right to have an oil man as long as you've got somebody running it that knows what it is and knows what this guy's up to. But again, if you want to stock the place with academicians, I wouldn't object to that either. You have a feeling, I think, on the part of industry and the members of Congress that you can't have a bunch of theoreticians, dreamers, that you need some people who have some practical knowledge of the problems of the oil industry, and so you'd have to fight that pressure. And they might be right, you know, on some of it. But personally, I felt more frustrated and felt we weren't doing our job as well in that area as in any other area we had under our jurisdiction, because you've got to grow up with industry and devote your full time to it to really know what's going on.

[BEGIN SIDE II, TAPE IV]

MOSS: Well, we got started on talking on John Kelly so perhaps we should go down the Mineral Resources people unless you have something else in the staff area that we haven't touched on.

BEATY: No, that's okay. Go ahead.

MOSS: All right. Who was really pushing John Kelly for the post?

[-96-]

BEATY: Well, nobody but Senator Anderson that I know of.

MOSS: Nobody but Senator Anderson. Okay.

BEATY: That's right. It was like he had come up with his own man and this was it.

MOSS: Did he put it in those terms?

BEATY: Well, I wasn't present for any of these discussions. I'll tell you one thing, I remember now, we ran the usual check on Kelly, and Udall got some kind of alert from the White House that he wasn't going to be cleared because of his oil and his stock holdings and that sort of thing, that we would run into some trouble there. But I gather that Senator Anderson put the pressure on someplace else because this thing hung fire for awhile, and for all I know, he was the last one we got. Maybe not; maybe Briggs [Frank P. Briggs] was the last one on the job; but there it was just because we had trouble finding somebody. In this case, it was a question of losing Erickson when we thought we had him and then getting Kelly cleared. That's the only other thing I remember about it. But as far as I know, Anderson was the only one who was actually pushing Kelly. In fact, nobody seemed to have heard of him that we dealt with.

MOSS: Any later indication that the appointment of Kelly really worked to Anderson's advantage?

BEATY: Oh, no. I just think he did want a New Mexican. There weren't any New Mexico people getting an appointment in this administration in the Interior area, and he undoubtedly thought an oil man ought to be in it. They knew each other.

MOSS: All right. Other people in the mineral resources area. The first name that I have is Lawrence O'Connor [Lawrence J. O'Connor, Jr.] who later went to the FPC [Federal Power Commission], but he was administrator of the Oil Import Administration. There was a little flak here, too, about his oil interests, wasn't there?

BEATY: Yeah, I think so. All we did was keep him there; we didn't replace him. He had support from people I think like Rayburn [Samuel Taliaferro Rayburn] and Johnson.

MOSS: And the man who replaced him when he went to FPC was Cordell Moore [J. Cordell Moore], who had been director of security under Beasley.

BEATY: That's right.

MOSS: How does a man move from director of security to become the administrator of the Oil Import Administration?

BEATY: Well, Moore let us know at the beginning that he knew something about oil and gas and he was interested in that and he'd like to move into that area sometime when there was an opening. He had the fortunate circumstance of being married to Pauline Moore, who was the chief secretary on the Senate Policy Committee under Lyndon Johnson and a longtime relationship between.... When I came back here in 1955, late 1955, the assistant to the then-governor of Arizona, who had served as an assistant to Mr. Johnson when he was the minority leader during the first two years of the Eisenhower administration, asked me to look up Pauline Moore because she was a great gal and she was close to the Vice-President--at that time Senator Johnson--and that she'd be very helpful to me if we needed any help over in the Senate. So actually, I went over and had lunch with her and a man named Booth Mooney, who later wrote a book about Mr. Johnson which was updated after he became president. I think it was really her influence--I mean, the fact that she had a key role helped Cordell more than his own proven capabilities. I remember the Secretary [Udall] discussing this with Otis Beasley--Otis was in overall charge of the security operation--did he think Cordell would be capable in that role? And Beasley said he thought he would. I don't know where else this was discussed before his appointment was made.

MOSS: Okay. George Lamb [George A. Lamb] became the director of Coal Research. How did he wind up in that appointment?

BEATY: He was kind of loaned to us by the coal industry, as I recall. He was with the Consolidation Coal Company, I believe.

MOSS: Oh, yes. All right. Yes.

BEATY: They're the nation's largest coal producer. I think that's where he came from. But--I don't know--I'm very hazy on when his appointment was made. It didn't last too long. I think he left of his own free will. It was just a matter of he'd served as long as.... Was he also Coal Research?

MOSS: Director of Coal Research. I presume it was the Office of Coal Research, yes.

BEATY: Yes. Yes. This office had been set up fairly recently, and I think it was the coal industry.... Well, these fuel studies and things like that that the Senate had run had been part of the effort of coal state senators to help keep coal competitive with the fuel oil and natural gas and things like that. And I'm sure that their activities

had led to the creation of the Office of Coal Research because they felt the Bureau of Mines wasn't performing adequately in that area. The Bureau of Mines and now an office of coal research. [Interviewers note: 1977 memory: I think Ed Larson worked in this area]. It was kind of a research and contracting operation to get money to explore different uses of coal and to do it through universities or the coal industry. And I think very likely it was Senator Randolph [Jennings Randolph] or Senator Byrd [Robert C. Byrd] or both convincing somebody at the White House or maybe Secretary Udall himself that at the beginning we ought to take somebody that the coal industry would loan us to get this thing started off in the right way. And I know it wasn't political. It wasn't in the sense that the Democratic recommendation that George Lamb--I think very likely he's a Republican. I just don't know this. But he had the industry support. Very pleasant guy. I don't remember now how long he stayed, a year or so.

MOSS: Yes. I noticed that the post was vacant in '63-'64. Did it remain.... I don't know how long it remained vacant.

BEATY: It couldn't have been very long because one of the people that the National Committee pushed very hard on us to get a job was a West Virginian named George Fumich [George Fumich, Jr.]. George was a young lawyer who had been active in politics. I think he probably served in the West Virginian legislature, but I'm not sure. I don't remember at this point. But he'd been very active in the Kennedy campaign in West Virginia, and Larry O'Brien or somebody on his behalf called George Fumich to my attention.

Matt Reese [Matthew A. Reese, Jr.]. Does that name ring any bell for you?

MOSS: No.

BEATY: Matt Reese is a big--some miners call him "Tiny"--he must weigh three hundred pounds, a big guy from West Virginia who is a very skilled political operator, and I'm sure he worked with the Kennedy campaign in West Virginia.

MOSS: Yes. Now I'm.... Yes.

BEATY: He wound up in the Democratic National Committee and worked there for several years. He runs some kind of a political consultant service here now. But Matt used to call me about once a week. "What have you done for George Fumich?" You know, "Let's get on with it."

He was one of those people that John Kelly was just determined not to hire. Kelly just wouldn't take anybody unless he picked him himself.

He was the most obstinate son of a bitch I ever ran across, I mean, you know, in a political job. That's the reason I said earlier, no conflict. I don't know of anything he may have done right or wrong in the oil and gas end of the business, but in personalities he was hard to deal with. And Fumich was just a politician from West Virginia, I mean, Kelly didn't have any place for him. Oh eventually, I managed to bring in Udall and the whole administration's weight to bear on Kelly, and he accepted him for some job. I forget what his first job was.

MOSS: Well, he became director of Office of Minerals Exploration, I believe.

BEATY: That's right. That's right. Well, Kelly came to like him and thought he was a great guy and recommended him himself when Lamb left. "Why don't we put George Fumich in this job?" And we did, and George did very well there. In fact, Kelly later tried to put him in charge of both that and the Bureau of Mines when there was a vacancy in the Bureau of Mines--or when we were trying to get rid of somebody in the Bureau of Mines. So this is how Fumich wound up in the deal.

MOSS: Yeah, let's talk about the Bureau of Mines. Marling J. Ankeny, isn't it?

BEATY: Yes.

MOSS: Is that the way it's pronounced?

BEATY: Yes.

MOSS: The reference that I ran across was that he was rather a weak administrator, but that the United Mine Workers and the industry, both were very fond of him. How did this go?

BEATY: Well, you know, everything you read in the papers or magazines about the United Mine Workers losing their punch because they now are bankers loaning money to the coal industry and that they work hand-in-glove is all true as far as I'm concerned. We never got a recommendation on an appointment that I recall the whole time I was there that didn't come from both--I forget when the change took place in the presidency of the United Mine Workers--but Tony Boyle [W. Anthony Boyle], John L. Lewis when he was still alive, and Frederick Fox [Interview's Note: Not right name] is a name that seems to come to my mind from the industry. They both signed these letters endorsing so-and-so for the Coal Mine Safety Board of Review or whatever

[-100-]

that thing's called and for director of Bureau of Mines and all these things. They presented a united front.

Ankeny was a.... Well, he had a very unpleasing personality. He didn't project anything really, kind of a nothing. It isn't a bureau you get in a lot of trouble with most of the time, except on safety. But he didn't run the thing. He had personality conflicts. Shortly after

we got there, the deputy position in the Bureau of Mines became vacant because he'd forced out the man who was in it. I can't think of his name now. I think Kelly thought that the other guy was better than Ankeny, but he wasn't willing to challenge it at that point. Some of the bureau chiefs' jobs in Interior are subject to confirmation by the Senate; some of them aren't. I think this is one that is, has to be confirmed by the Senate. It was a White House appointment.

We were ready to dump Ankeny two or three times, and one time we had it all cleared, and we'd had the scientific community searching for somebody who would do the job. We got a man from the University of Pennsylvania or--I've forgotten now--got him cleared and ready for everything. And as I was told the story, Tony Boyle from the United Mine Workers and some others came screaming into Mike Feldman's [Myer Feldman] office in the White House. I don't know whether it was before or after the Kennedy assassination, but Mike got scared and advised the President or somebody not to let us make this change. It was a presidential appointment. They had to accept his resignation, and they weren't going to do it.

He was absolutely unyielding in discussions with Udall about getting out; offering him a--you know, he had to put his time in for retirement--offering him consultancies or bring him back and use him as an adviser, this sort of thing, so that it would back up his story, if he wanted to tell it that way, that he'd served his time and wanted out. His constant reply was, "Well, my people won't let me," his people being the mine workers principally, I think, but the industry too. He just felt he had support, and he wasn't going to leave. I don't know if he was the worst bureau chief we had, but I think he was very--I just don't think he had any competence at all.

His principal man for safety was another one I thought was worthless; absolutely unresponsive to anything from the Secretary's office. I can't think of his name now. It'll probably come to me. But this was a position, also, that both the unions and the industry paid special attention to, health and safety being obviously something that the mine union had to be interested in because of the welfare of its members. It's Jim Westfield. But about the only time Secretary Udall saw these people was when there was a mine disaster and we had to do something about it, and held get them up for a report or something. So he didn't get to

[-101-]

know them personally too well, except when there was a crisis.

One of the crises developed--I mentioned some of the things last week, I think, where decisions were taken early, but we didn't run into the problems about them until later--and this was the heliumS conservation program which had been approved by Congress in 1960, but it hadn't been put into operation until after we took office. And so Udall was faced with some quick decisions on something that he didn't have a lot of details on. Kelly also didn't have a lot of details on it, I think. Maybe he hadn't even been there long enough to get his feet on the ground. Ankeny should have been providing information, but I don't think he knew a thing about it; and he left it in the hands of an assistant director of the Bureau of Mines named--again, I'm losing the names. I can see him, but I can't think of his name. But we wound up with contracts that GAO [General Accounting Office] criticized rather severely later.

MOSS: Was this the Pinto Dome business?

BEATY: No.

MOSS: No?

BEATY: No. We were criticized on these for not having renegotiating clauses in them, and the companies that developed these helium extraction plants and so forth got a very good deal out of it. In spite of all kinds of pressure, I don't think they ever agreed to any kind of renegotiation on what their payments would be. And I think it was incompetence in the Bureau of Mines. I wouldn't be surprised by what--Wheeler [Henry P. Wheeler, Jr.] was the name of the assistant director in charge of helium. I wouldn't be surprised if there was a rather close working relationship between industry and the people there. Maybe nothing in the way of payoffs, but they'd known each other for years. They'd go out to lunch, drinks, and go to the conventions; and it's hard to suspect that their company is trying to put something over on you when you know them so well.

But we got bad advice, no advice, and I think there may have been some administrative mix-ups so that these contracts weren't carefully examined by everybody involved. At least Otis Beasley later, perhaps in his own self-defense, complained that his group of contract examiners or something hadn't had a chance to look these things over. Whether they did or didn't, I think this was one of the big mistakes we made in that area.

MOSS: One thing that's occurring to me as you're talking is that the old West Virginia-Pennsylvania-Eastern Kentucky coal mining area was one of the distressed areas that you were trying to hit very hard with a lot of expertise and so on, and here we wind up in this critical area with some relatively incompetent people. How did the White House react to this? Was this considered as a problem and were solutions sought for it or what? Was it considered in this context at all?

[-102-]

BEATY: Well, you know, people in the White House might be able to tell you this; I can't. But from what I would know, based on communications from the White House, I don't think they did. I think they were thinking of things like what later developed as the Appalachian Regional Commission and programs of acid mine drainage and mine subsidence and underground fires and all these problems as well as the education and health problems, I think they were thinking more in that line rather than the coal industry itself.

I know we had some interest in building up the coal industry, and we spent a lot of time on it--working on exports, for example, to European countries, and the industry itself didn't deliver very well on this. I think John Kelly would give you better information on that. They needed a high BTU [British Thermal Unit] content coal in Europe. We had some of that, but when it came to meeting the export demand, the industry didn't produce enough to meet that demand.

But nevertheless, coal was at a low point in 1959 or '60. It has improved steadily. Its total annual tonnage has probably gone up a hundred million tons or something. I don't know the figures, but it was down below five hundred million tons a year I think is the figure. It's up close to six hundred million tons now. So when I say Udall didn't see Ankeny's guys, we were giving attention to the coal industry, and one of the first things that he did was, that the secretary did, was go with a group of congressmen and coal industry people and railroad industry people on a trip into West Virginia. We worked all day, as I remember it, and got on a special train at Union Station at around midnight and slept until morning. We had breakfast on the train.

MOSS: Did you manage to sleep on that train going around all those mountain curves? I've been on it before. I was dead.

BEATY: I was dead. And it seems to me that my wife and I had already bought tickets to a theater production that night before the date was set for the trip, and so we had.... I worked at the office-,until, say, 7 o'clock or 6:30, and we went over and grabbed a quick dinner and made the show, and I slept through about half of it. She drove me down to the station. But I was tired. I slept.

It was a good trip. We got a good look at the coal industry, but it was strictly from the management side. We didn't see the poverty areas. We saw good consolidation coal production. Steve Dunn [Stephen F. Dunn] who'd been the assistant secretary of commerce under Sinclair Weeks during the Eisenhower administration was head of the National Coal Association--and the National Coal Policy Council, which is headed by Joe Moody [Joseph E. Moody]--both of these organizations were represented. We had the whole group there, and we had a look at underground coal; we got a look at the processing above ground, the transport, and a series of shows on the unit train, all the things that were being done to make the coal industry more competitive.

[-103-]

It wasn't neglected, but most of our good advice was coming from outside, I think, and not from within the department. And then I don't think there was any emphasis from the White House on this at all. I think it's more a matter of keeping the senators happy; you know, don't mess them up. And we had to take actions allowing more fuel oil to come to the eastern part of the country from Venezuela and other places to meet the demands. And every time you do this, Joe Moody and others are in the press denouncing you, and Senator Randolph and Senator Byrd are on the phone--I got to know Senator Randolph's voice very well--on these things. And the White House recognized, I think, that there were more senators and more pressure from the East Coast, New England, and New York, New Jersey areas, Pennsylvania--eastern Pennsylvania--that needed.... We had to let this oil in, but every time we did it, there was a press release that "five thousand more miners were thrown out of work by Secretary Udall yesterday when he signed this order."

MOSS: In other words there was no real recognition or policy that one of the ways to rebuild Appalachia was to help rebuild the coal mining industry.

BEATY: I don't think so. I think the feeling was that the whole economy had been based on coal and any new emphasis ought to be on other things; that, you know, keep the coal industry healthy, but this isn't going to be the answer. So then I think this was probably the reason there was less attention given to it.

MOSS: All right. I have several more people here. Let's see, Thomas Nolan [Thomas Brennan Nolan] was director of Geological Survey. Is that a career kind of thing?

BEATY: Yes. It is. The Geological Survey, as I understand it, is about as nonpolitical as an organization can get in government. Traditionally, the National Science Foundation or some association of scientists, examines people who might be qualified for this job and makes some recommendations, and you take them. When Dr. Nolan retired--there was never any thought about replacing him when we came in--and when he was ready to retire, these recommendations came in for the man who's now the director. I don't recall any political pressure to put anybody else in there.

There was political pressure on a subordinate position there. There is a division of conservation or something like this, which really means the oil and gas deal. This happened after the Kennedy era, but John Kelly and others had come to the decision that a man in the Geological Survey in the New Orleans area--he was in charge of this offshore oil down there in the Gulf--was the logical person to take this over. He was young. He was capable. It was just about

[-104-]

agreed within the department to put him in as the other man retired, when the oil and gas industry screamed and hollered, and the White House gave us word that he would not get it. And so we wound up with somebody else that was acceptable to Senator Long [Russell B. Long], I think. You know, I'd have to check the records on names, and then I'm sure a lot of this would never show up because it just isn't the kind of thing that gets down in letters or....

MOSS: All right. How about the Office of Geography? Is that in a similar kind of situation, a merited laurel?

BEATY: Yes. Yes. It's absolutely nonpartisan, nonpolitical, nonoperating. They take care of things like.... They serve as the secretary of the Board of Geographic Names. The only time they ever got into the act to amount to anything was when President Johnson wanted to change Cape Canaveral to Cape Kennedy, and we had to deal with them to make sure that this was approved because there's resistance to changing names that are already established. They don't mind naming a peak, for example, Mount Kennedy if it's a peak that had no name previously. One of the subordinate peaks on Mount McKinley, for example, got named after somebody, and this was no problem because it was a separate feature that had no name. But there was no politics involved in the appointment of these people. They were career geographers, very small office. During the war, apparently, it

had built up to quite a large office because of the need for maps of parts of the world that the United States Army and Navy and so forth had never used. And I'm sure it became a very important office at that point. At this point, it was just doing its daily work, and it was a fairly low level of activity, I believe. I don't think they were overstaffed, but I don't think they were overworked either. You know, it was just a routine operation.

MOSS: The first director of the Office of Oil and Gas was Frederick Lott [Frederick S. Lott]. He's carried in the manual as acting director. Is he a carry-over or....

BEATY: He's a career man. I remember him. I can't remember the circumstances around the decision to keep him on. He wasn't anybody who inspired our confidence. We were glad when it was time for him to move out. In fact, I think he was probably eased out, asked to leave, or asked to accept his retirement. Kelly handled it. He was one of these guys that had been around a long time and knows the routine, but has no real imagination. I don't think bad about him; he just wasn't doing anything especially good.

MOSS: His replacement was Jerome O'Brien [Jerome J. O'Brien] and I seem to remember there was a little flak from the public interest people on his appointment.

[-105-]

BEATY: O'Brien was an oil man and, you know, if you believe in the theory of the oil and gas conspiracy, I think they may have planted him there. I don't know of any evidence of this. He was a very pleasant person, very knowledgeable. I don't know that he did anything that caused us any trouble, but I think that--again, getting back to what we said at the beginning of this discussion--any time you put a man, practically on loan from the oil industry, in a job like that you're looking for trouble. I don't think the public interest is best served by that, and yet I don't know of anything that happened that I think was wrong during the time he was there.

MOSS: This is one of the things that I'm beginning to find rather curious. The popular literature is full of the oil and gas conspiracy and the special interest conspiracies and the relationship between the political appointments in these offices and the industries, and yet everybody seems to contend that the Kennedy administration was so much above all this, that it didn't go on during the Kennedy administration.

BEATY: Well, you know, it's quite possible that I'm not perceptive enough to pick this up. Stewart was in Congress with Frank Ikard [Frank N. Ikard] from Texas, and Ikard quit to become head of the National Petroleum Council or whatever his job is. No, that isn't it. Yes. Whatever it is.

MOSS: Petroleum Institute?

BEATY: Petroleum Institute, perhaps. NPI, National Petroleum Institute. I forget. But anyway, you know the job, and it's an independent--it has nothing to do with government. It's the oil industry. Ikard called frequently. I don't know what they talked about. I didn't participate in a lot of their discussions. I think while we had O'Brien and a man named Parten [Jubal R. Parten] who served as a consultant on some, I think, oil and gas matters. He was from the industry. We had Bill Keeler [William W. Keeler] from Phillips Petroleum [Company] serving as a consultant on Indian Affairs. I'm sure that he and Udall must have discussed people when it came to finding somebody to fill this job, this Lott thing. I think probably he was acting at this point. O'Brien came in and Lott stayed on; somebody else came in and Lott stayed on; and finally Lott was eased out. His departure was much later than the period we're talking about here now. It doesn't make any difference; it's an insignificant part of the whole thing. But I just remembered that somebody may have headed this in the Eisenhower period, and Lott, as the top career man there, stayed on as acting at the time we came in until O'Brien was appointed.

MOSS: You said that O'Brien was an oil man. Who in Congress was pushing him, or was it simply through the industry?

[-106-]

BEATY: Probably through the industry. I can't remember. It may have been through Johnson for all I know. He's (Parten) a Texas oil man.

MOSS: All right. One more name I have here and then I guess we'd better cut it off, William Flory [William E. S. Flory], who is director of Office of Minerals Mobilization, which later became the Office of Minerals and Solid Fuels.

BEATY: He was a career man and was one of those people that sold himself to John Kelly as doing a technical professional job, and he went on ahead and did it. I had only one series of dealings with him and it had to do with stockpiling, perhaps with the nickel expose that we were working on involving....

MOSS: Hubert Humphrey?

BEATY: Yes. And I found Flory to be very unresponsive, humorless, self-righteous. He wasn't one of my favorite people, and yet he apparently did his job in an efficient way. So he stayed on, and I understand that he was one of those who got kicked out when Hickel came in because of an association with us which didn't really exist. He was just there and did his job, and nobody kicked him out.

MOSS: Let me ask this on the business of career people. It's easy to understand how political appointments can work with the industry. Are career people as subject to the same thing? How do career people respond to this kind of situation?

BEATY: I think they're as likely to work with the industry that they're associating with in the course of their duties as a political, maybe even more so. For example, I hardly ever accepted an invitation to lunch or dinner with somebody from an industry. I probably had been at Interior for four years before I did. I mean, you know; you might be able to find out that I did, but in my memory, as I recall it, the first time I started going out to lunch with people in industry was General Electric people who were interested--and they had their own interests to serve--but they were helping us with Congress on the Hanford [Hanford Works, Washington] reactor program and the intertie. The intertie came later. And I'm not sure whether I got involved with them during the Hanford thing or afterwards. But they had a series of lobbyists here, guys in charge of their office, their Washington office, who knew Congressmen in some cases a lot better than we knew them. It had been their business to know who's on the Appropriations Committee and that sort of thing.

But when I did start going out once in awhile with these guys to talk business, talk congressional relations, I would find career people along, people from the Bureau of Reclamation or from the Bonneyville Power

[-107-]

Administration and, you know, they knew each other on a first-name basis. They were old buddies. This kind of regular contact apparently goes on all the time, and it's with the career people because the savvy lobbyist knows that they're going to be around all the time. And I think that just because you're a career man doesn't mean you're pure and above politics because lobbying is politics.

MOSS: Okay, fine. Thank you. It looks like our time's up and we'll pick up next time.

[END OF INTERVIEW #4]

[-108-]

Orren Beaty, Jr. Oral History Transcript – JFK #4
Name Index

A

Aandahl, Fred George, 87
Abbott, George W., 87
Anderson, Clinton P., 91, 92, 94, 95, 97
Ankeny, Marling J., 100, 101, 102, 103
Aspinall, Wayne N., 84, 87

B

Baker, Howard W., 83
Beasley, D. Otis, 89, 93, 97, 98, 102
Beaty, Jack, 91
Bennett, Elmer F., 87
Bennett, Wallace F., 86
Bible, Alan, 83
Blanton, L.P., 92
Bloodgood, Grant, 87
Boyle, W. Anthony “Tony”, 100, 101
Briggs, Frank P., 97
Byrd, Robert C., 99, 104

C

Calhoun, John C., Jr., 78, 79
Carr, James K., 87, 88, 91
Carver, John A., Jr., 80, 81, 84, 85, 90
Chavez, Dennis, 91, 92
Church, Frank, 85

D

Daly, Charles U. “Chuck”, 74
Davies, Dorothy, 93
Day, Ed, 91
Day, Robert E., 91
Dirksen, Everett M., 62
Dominy, Floyd E., 87, 88
Donaldson, Marion, 94
Duke, Joseph C., 64
Dungan, Ralph A., 73
Dunn, Stephen F., 103

E

Eisenhower, Dwight D., 78, 87, 91, 94, 103, 106
Engle, Clair, 88
Erickson, Leif, 94, 95, 97

F

Farber, James N., 86
Feldman, Myer “Mike”, 101
Fisher, Helen, 93
Flory, William E.S., 107
Fox, Frederick, 100
Freeman, Orville L., 85
Fumich, George, Jr., 99, 100

H

Hatfield, Mark O., 82
Hayden, Carl T., 83, 87, 88
Hendrickson, Waino, 93
Hickel, Walter J., 89, 107
Holum, Kenneth, 87, 88
Humphrey, Hubert H., 80, 107

I

Ikard, Frank N., 106

J

Jackson, Henry M., 86, 88
Jensen, Benton Franklin, 82
Johnson, Lyndon Baines, 79, 88, 91, 93, 96, 98,
105, 107

K

Keeler, William W., 106
Kelly, John M., 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 103, 104,
105, 107
Kennedy, John F., 79, 84, 88, 90, 91, 93, 96, 99,
101, 102, 104, 106
Kennedy, Thomas, 94
Kirwan, Michael J., 82

L

Lamb, George A., 98, 99, 100
Landstrom, Karl S., 80, 83, 84, 85
Larson, Edward, 90, 91, 99
Lewis, John L., 100
Long, Russell B., 105
Lott, Frederick S., 105, 106

M

Magnuson, Warren G., 86
Mansfield, Mike, 94
McClellan, John L., 93
McConnell, Robert C., 93
McGee, Gale William, 82
McNichols, Stephen L.R., 87, 88
Metcalf, Lee, 94
Miller, Joseph S., 86
Moody, Joseph E., 103, 104
Mooney, Booth, 98
Moore, J. Cordell, 97, 98
Moore, Pauline, 98
Morgan, Murray, 92
Moss, John E., 91
Mullin, Philip J., 90
Munroe, Pat, 86

N

Nolan, Thomas Brennan, 104

O

O'Brien, Jerome J., 105, 106
O'Brien, Lawrence F., 92, 94, 99
O'Connor, Lawrence J., Jr., 97
O'Toole, Jack C., 94
Olds, Leland, 80

P

Parten, Jubal R., 106, 107
Peratrovich, Frank, 93
Price, Walter H., 87
Proxmire, William, 80
Purvis, 93

R

Randolph, Jennings, 99, 104
Rayburn, Samuel Taliferro, 97
Reese, Matthew A., Jr., 99
Revelle, Roger R., 78, 79

S

Schooley, C. Herschel, 85, 86, 90
Seaton, Frederick A., 87, 89, 90
Shearon, Donald W., 88, 89
Simmons, Jake, Jr., 93
Stevens, Ted, 87
Stoddard, Charles H. "Chuck", 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85

T

Tower, John G., 86
Truman, Harry S., 80

U

Udall, Ermalee, 95
Udall, Stewart L., 78, 79, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106

W

Weeks, Sinclair, 103
Westfield, James, 101
Wheeler, Henry P., Jr., 102
White, Byron R. "Whizzer", 91
Wiesner, Jerome B., 79

Y

Yarborough, Ralph W., 93