

## 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.

## Dictabelt 22A

Item 22A1

June 12, 1963

Operator: Yes, please.

Lincoln:<sup>1</sup> The president would like to speak to Mrs. John Fell in New York.

Operator: Thank you very much.

Lincoln: Uh-huh.

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<sup>1</sup> Evelyn N. Lincoln

## Dictabelt 22A

### Item 22A2

June 12, 1963

Operator: The president will be right on, sir. One moment.

Albert:<sup>2</sup> Fine. Thank you.

Operator: Thank you.

JFK: Hello.

Albert: Hello, Mr. President.

JFK: That was a tough one, wasn't it?

Albert: Oh, it was awful. Yeah.

JFK: I suppose that civil rights thing has just got 'em all excited.

Albert: That's a, that was one of the factors. It, well that cost us more than enough votes to, to win it, uh, [tape skips and repeats itself] to win it, uh. . . . The order . . .

JFK: What?

Albert: The order requiring the integration of some of these facilities. The order that apparently had been published by the administrator in connection with, uh, some of these facilities after a certain period of time.

JFK: How long ago was that?

Albert: I don't know when it was, I haven't even known anything about it 'til today, and then they, somebody brought it up and, uh . . .

JFK: Yeah. O- . . .

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<sup>2</sup> Carl Albert, congressman from Oklahoma.

Albert: That's what did it. That, plus the Republicans' cohesion in the thing and . . .

JFK: How many Republican votes we get?

Albert: I don't know how it wound up, but I'm sure it was less than ten.

JFK: Is that right? Is that right?

Albert: Yes, and CIO<sup>3</sup> had told us they had twenty-three firm.

JFK: The AFL<sup>4</sup> did?

Albert: Yes, and, urn, um, Municipal League<sup>5</sup> said they had twenty-two firm, and, uh. . . . Of course, our own polls showed better than it did. We got about four to change at the end and still . . .

JFK: *[Right?]*.

Albert: . . . didn't do it. Every time we got one to change, Charlie<sup>6</sup> would get someone to *[do it?]*.

JFK: Um. That's too bad.

Albert: He had it completely under control on his side.

JFK: That's a tough one to lose.

Albert: The civil rights, uh, that was it on our side. I mean we lost some of the southern boys that we would otherwise have had.

JFK: Yeah. What does this mean?

Albert: I'm awfully sorry.

JFK: Oh, no, well, hell, you know, Christ. Just events are making our problems. Christ, you know, it's like they shoot this guy in Mississippi *[An echo begins and continues until noted below. Echo has not been transcribed.]* and they

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<sup>3</sup> Congress of Industrial Organizations.

<sup>4</sup> American Federation of Labor.

<sup>5</sup> National Municipal League.

<sup>6</sup> Charles A. Halleck, congressman from Indiana.

shoot somebody, uh, I mean, it's just in everything. I mean, this has become everything.

Albert: It's overwhelming the whole, the whole program.

JFK: That's too bad, this one. However, we might try again, there must be some way we can try to get this back.

Albert: The way I understand it, this was a little too ambitious from some of the friends, uh, from some of my friends, uh . . .

JFK: How much did we have in it?

Albert: *[Echo ends.]* Four hundred and fifty million, I think. They said they didn't need that much. They, they, all they need is enough to finish out the, the end of the program. You're gonna have to have a new authorization anyway, so. . . .

JFK: What would you suggest we try to do?

Albert: I would suggest that, that they come out with the, with the minimum they can get by with, uh, considering what's in the pipe line. In figures, I don't know. I, I'd . . .

JFK: Yeah.

Albert: . . . like to talk to Patman<sup>7</sup> about that.

JFK: Okay, yeah. Well, that's tough luck. But we did- . . .

Albert: Well, I'm awfully sorry. I, I don't . . .

JFK: How, how upset are the southerners?

Albert: Well, uh, they're, they're, some of them are mad, but, uh, those you, you can't count on anyway.

JFK: That's right.

Albert: Most of them are frightened.

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<sup>7</sup> Wright Patman, congressman from Texas.

JFK: Yeah.

Albert: Elliott Hagan of Georgia just came in, and he said, "You know, I don't know whether I can stand the heat on this thing or not . . . "

JFK: Um.

Albert: ". . . this, this integration order." He said, "My people are just completely . . . "

JFK: [Words unintelligible]

Albert: ". . . upset over this thing. And that I've had no letters for it and every letter I've had's been against it." Fulton<sup>8</sup> of, uh, Florida, he'd, he'd been reported as wanting to vote with us and he got frightened out by . . .

JFK: This, yeah. . . .

Albert: . . . the integration scare. And, uh, I . . .

JFK: Of course, the trouble with the goddamned thing is we've got all these programs and then everybody wants to, uh, you know, they say you shouldn't spend money in a way to encourage segregation. So the guy announces he's gonna integrate and then, of course, every southerner said. . . . Well, I think, we just got to consider maybe we just have to send up a supplemental, another public works thing which will, uh, you know, just a new program and try to start over again a little later.

Albert: I do, too.

JFK: Maybe it isn't, maybe it won't be quite as excitable.

Albert: I think, well, the accelerated public works program. I, I think it would go. I talked [words unintelligible].

JFK: Yeah. Okay, good.

Albert: And, uh, one other thing, this, this is gonna affect mass transit, there's no question about that.

JFK: Uh-huh. Uh-huh.

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<sup>8</sup> Perhaps Richard H. Fulton, congressman from Tennessee.

Albert: And, of course, it's gonna kill, uh, any of these farm bills. Cooley<sup>9</sup> wouldn't vote with us and I couldn't talk him into changing.

JFK: Why wouldn't he vote with us?

Albert: I don't know. A committee chairman, can you imagine that? He just said he was committed. Poage<sup>10</sup> voted against us. Mahon.<sup>11</sup> We lost some of the, some of the top men of the House.

JFK: Um. I think, you came out, you . . .

Albert: I couldn't do a damn thing with them, you know.

JFK: Civil rights did it.

Albert: Civil rights, yeah.

JFK: Is it the administrator's thing or because of, I suppose the whole climate has just got 'em?

Albert: Well, I, I think it's both.

JFK: Yeah.

Albert: I think the fact that, uh, that they're afraid they might get caught with an integrated, uh . . .

JFK: Vote.

Albert: Uh, well, they might, somebody might build a motel and it'll be the only integrated one on, in their town, you know . . .

JFK: Yeah, yeah.

Albert: . . . and that sort of thing. Stuff like this.

JFK: Yeah. Well, we just have to take 'em as they come.

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<sup>9</sup> Harold D. Cooley, congressman from North Carolina.

<sup>10</sup> W. R. (Bob) Poage, congressman from Texas.

<sup>11</sup> George H. Mahon, congressman from Texas.

Albert: Yes, sir.

JFK: [Laughs.] Okay, Carl, thank you.

Albert?: Right.



## Dictabelt 22A

### Item 22A3

June 14, 1963

- JFK: Governor? Governor, how are you?
- Davis:<sup>12</sup> How are you, sir? [The quality of the recording of Governor Davis's side of the conversation is very poor. Most of his words are inaudible.]
- JFK: I was away out on, at sea when this matter came up and I wanted to express my appreciation to you.
- Davis: [It was a tough situation but?] it's all right now.
- JFK: Uh, you don't have all your votes that close down there, do you?
- Davis: No. That's one [words unintelligible]. No, we [words unintelligible].
- JFK: Well, but God, that was a close one. But I was out on the Kitty Hawk, but I just want to tell you I appreciate. . . . I remembered our conversation and I appreciated what you, uh . . .
- Davis: [Words unintelligible] to call about that. I, uh, [words unintelligible]. It was a rough thing that we had down here.
- JFK: Well, as a matter of fact, it's helped a lot and it has made a big difference down in Florida.
- Davis: So it has [words unintelligible].
- JFK: Oh, yeah.
- Davis: [Words unintelligible] I've always admired [words unintelligible].
- JFK: Well, I appreciate that. When are you coming up here?
- Davis: [Words unintelligible].

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<sup>12</sup> James H. Davis, governor of Louisiana.

JFK: Okay, fine. Well, I'll be going to Europe next weekend, but I'll be back after ten days.

Davis: It was certainly nice to talk with you, Mr. President, and I appreciate it very much.

JFK: Oh, well, thank you, governor.

Davis: Good luck to you on your trip.

JFK: Righto, good, fine. Thank you.

Davis: Bye, bye.

JFK: *[Tape appears to repeat itself.]* Thank you.

Davis: Bye, bye.

## Dictabelt 22A

### Item 22A4

June 18, 1963<sup>A</sup>

JFK: I was hoping I would get a chance to see you out in Honolulu, but I heard that you weren't able to get out there. I heard you weren't able to get out there.

Thompson:<sup>13</sup> [This is certainly an honor to talk to you?]

JFK: I wondered if there's anything that, uh, we could do up here, I could do, that, uh, uh, this situation I'm concerned about, 'cause I, I hate to, uh. . . . I'm trying to, uh. . . . In my message I'm sending up there on Wednesday, we're gonna try to urge 'em . . .

Thompson: Uh-huh.

JFK: . . . as much, easy as we can while the Congress takes a look at it. But I was wondering whether there's anything that we could do to make the situation less, uh, critical down there?

Thompson: Yes, sir, here is, here's the only thing I know. The Associated Press man was in this morning and I told him what a wonderful fellow you were. Of course, any other things you hear about it, don't pay any attention, because I, I really think the world of you . . .

JFK: Well, I appreciate . . .

Thompson: . . . and I tell people that and I know you're a marvelous man and have a terrible job, an impossible job.

JFK: Uh.

Thompson: The only thing, uh, that I know is that if you could some way or other ask the people in your own way--I mean, I know you've got your problems a hundredfold more than I have--but if you could just urge Congress to let the courts, uh, take, take the, uh, I mean to go through the courts and you not have

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<sup>13</sup> Allen C. Thompson, mayor of Jackson, Mississippi.

A. Correct date, according to telephone records although JFK refers to meeting with clergy "today" and meeting was June 17, 1963.

marches and intimidation. Now you take down here in Jackson, if you don't mind me quickly telling you . . .

JFK: Sure.

Thompson: . . . we have frankly almost everything under control. We have done, uh, what I told the merchants, I've been. . . . It's entirely up to them if they want to sell to whites, sell to Negroes, or [words unintelligible], or anything in the world, it's up to them and I'm going to protect them with every force that's in my command.

JFK: Um.

Thompson: But, uh, I, I want an order, a court order . . .

Speaker ?: Yes.

Thompson: . . . if anybody comes into this and you've got to do it at 'em, you've got to do it.

Speaker ?: [Words unintelligible].

Thompson: And frankly my people here, oh, have come around to it. I'm just amazed at the fine Negro leaders that called me just in the last day or two. Who have called and said, last night, just last night, [words unintelligible] he's a fine fellow [words unintelligible] . . .

JFK: Right.

Thompson: . . . and said, "We just don't want to put up with this." See, we have our people going through there, we have put our policemen protecting everybody who comes in. They have threatened to bomb me and shoot me and, oh, I don't care.

JFK: Yeah.

Thompson: [Words unintelligible]. But anyhow, if there was just any way you, because people will listen . . .

JFK: Right.

Thompson: . . . if you could just work it into it and go on and say what you believe like you did during the, the [spring?], uh, for a [time?] marches, demonstrations, intimidations won't work. You could [uh, in other words?] all these things these people wanted, they're [forgetting?] most of 'em, but they're getting 'em through the courts. And there's a different atmosphere entirely. In other words, people are sick and tired . . .

JFK: Yeah.

Thompson: . . . but we've got a tough job of selling all of these things.

JFK: That's right. I understand that.

Thompson: [Just a word?] out of you, uh. . . .

JFK: I, well, now what about it, mayor, uh, I talked to some of the clergymen who were up here today from Jackson.

Thompson: Yes.

JFK: And, uh, uh . . .

Thompson: Well, [words unintelligible] . . .

JFK: . . . I'll tell you where . . .

Thompson: Let me interrupt for just a second. The ones that you talked to probably doesn't like [me?]. There are a lot of them down here that like me. [Words unintelligible] . . .

JFK: Well, now let me tell, I talked. . . . Yeah, I talked. . . . I got, Bishop Allin<sup>14</sup> was here . . .

Thompson: Well, a very fine man . . .

JFK: . . . Bishop Gerow<sup>15</sup> . . .

Thompson: Oh, wonderful.

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<sup>14</sup> Bishop (Rt. Rev.) John Maury Allin.

<sup>15</sup> Bishop Richard O. Gerow.

JFK: . . . and Rev. Whitney<sup>16</sup> were in here.

Thompson: Rev. Whitney doesn't like me, although [I haven't really ever met him?]. [Laughter.] But in, uh, [you got to go ahead with it, I know?], but, uh, the only thing if you could just. . . . People listen to you and if you would just tell 'em to stay out of this because they're using these young children . . .

JFK: Yeah.

Thompson: . . . Mr. President, and that's where your trouble comes.

JFK: Well, now what I, when I talked to them there seem to be two or three things that didn't seem to me to be too unreasonable. One was this question of policemen.

Thompson: Oh, I have got that.

JFK: Yeah.

Thompson: I was, I was so disappointed this morning I nearly died. I had two all picked out that I've been working on for two or three years . . .

JFK: Yeah.

Thompson: . . . and they were just ready to go and they didn't come up. And then, uh, the other thing on truck drivers, I was ready to do that and then all of a sudden my boys picked up on that. But I'm going to handle that. And, wait a minute, there was one other thing.

JFK: Well, now, there was the cross guards.

Thompson: Well, we got those all picked out.

JFK: Yeah.

Thompson: All picked out and ready to go. I mean there's just not any. . . . That's it.

JFK: Yeah.

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<sup>16</sup> Rev. S. Leon Whitney.

Thompson: We have answered every other thing like I told 'em except the biracial committee, and I just can't do that right now.

JFK: Now, what about, uh, if the, uh, here was a . . . What about if a, if, uh, let me talk to. . . I'm gonna talk to. . . I understand Rev. Smith, is he, is he the stud duck down there?

Thompson: R. L. T. Smith. He's not the power. Houghton, H-A-U-G-H-T-O-N, is the one that causes problems and he's real smart and they look to him a lot.

JFK: Houghton, H-O-U-G-H-T-O-N?

Thompson: . . . G-H-T-O-N.

JFK: Yeah.

Thompson: Uh, Sanders, I. S. Sanders, is up there with them. I. S. Sanders is supposed to be the head of the thing.

JFK: Reverend. Is he a reverend?

Thompson: No.

JFK: He's a professor.

Thompson: Uh . . .

*[Continued on Dictabelt reel 22B.]*