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Biographical Note
Anderson, a Democratic Senator from New Mexico from 1949 to 1973, discusses Kennedy Cabinet appointments, Kennedy's positions on agriculture and Medicare policy as Senator and President, and relations between the Kennedy Administration and Congress, among other issues.

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Clinton P. Anderson

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Oral History Interview

With

Clinton P. Anderson

April 14, 1967
Washington, D.C.

By John F. Stewart

For the John F. Kennedy Library

STEWART: Senator, could you tell us if you recall when you first met John Kennedy [John F. Kennedy]? Was it during the time that he was in the House of Representatives and you were Secretary of Agriculture, or was it later?

ANDERSON: It was after, when he was in the House and I was in the Senate.

STEWART: Do you recall the circumstances of your meeting or your impressions of him at that time?

ANDERSON: He was sort of a long-legged, spindly fellow, but I didn't know much about him at that time. He was, of course, elected to office. I thought he was a very competent person. He was, as you know, ambitious. I didn't know too much about him or his background or anything of that nature.

STEWART: Do you recall having any contact with him at the 1952 Convention? He was, of course, a strong Stevenson [Adlai E. Stevenson] backer, as, I recall, you were at that time.

ANDERSON: Yes. I didn't see much of Kennedy in 1952. I was interested in who would be nominated for President. I knew Bob Kerr [Robert S. Kerr] reasonably well, liked him and helped him all I could. I also talked several times to Senator Russell [Richard B. Russell], but I had to tell him that I didn't think he would be a good candidate. If I discussed John Kennedy, it was only because of the fact that the Massachusetts delegation would be important for Senator Kerr or Stevenson, and I wanted to help one of the other of these men.

STEWART: I've heard it said that you had a strong influence in the shaping, to the extent that it was shaped, of Senator Kennedy's position in favor of flexible price supports in his early days in the Senate. Do you recall discussing this with him?

ANDERSON: Yes, I do. I told him that the Western states had a different farm policy from what I supported. I had called into Washington all of the principal farm leaders, and we battled for days in the Department of Agriculture to make sure that we had a unified point of view. The Farmers' Union, the Farm Bureau and the Grange were all active, and it was this group which developed a program of flexible price supports. The Farm Bureau was more conservative than the Farmers' Union because the Farm Bureau was for basic agricultural commodities in the market place, whereas the Farmers' Union wanted cheap food and large supplies to guarantee that it would always stay cheap. I supported the Farm Bureau's position to a large degree, and it took me some time to persuade Mr. Patton [James G. Patton], President of the Farmers' Union to go along with the united front. The Grange was even more conservative than the Farm Bureau. I feel you could say that the Farm Bureau and the Grange were leaders in the farm policy, and the Farmers' Union went along even though Patton did not support all of the ideas. There was a man named Talbott [Glenn J. Talbott] in the North Dakota Farmers' Union. He was more liberal than any and possibly was a little too strong for me to support or endorse. We had some Farmers' Union troubles in all the

Western states; and while the Farmers' Union came through in some respects and won the delegations from North Dakota, South Dakota and Oklahoma, it was the Farm Bureau which really wrote the ticket.

STEWART: Did he actually show much interest, do you recall, in his early years in the Senate?

ANDERSON: No.

STEWART: Or as much interest as could be expected from a person from a Northeast industrial state?

ANDERSON: Well, he had many side interests, I thought, but not quite so much farm

interests. He was more interested in economics a little bit, it seemed to me, than in what the farmer was going to do. I think he thought the farmers as a group had to be treated to a certain extent, but he didn't want to treat them very much. And I think he would have been very happy to just sit and let the Farm Bureau have what it wants and not bother with it more than any other ordinary group. We tried to trim that down to three groups with a Farm Bureau, a Farmers Union and the Grange. The Grange was not active at all in the west--I don't think it was at least--but he knew some people there and did have some interests in the Grange because it had a Middle Western sort of point of view, Ohio and Indiana, and it was part of the farm belt that he didn't know anything about. And because of him there were a few people who did interest themselves in the Grange and what sort of a program was in the Grange. So I would say he was very primarily interested in the Farm Bureau which had several million members and not too much interested in the Grange which--well, it also helped him once in a while, or he helped it--and not much interested in the Farmers Union, which was pretty much of a radical influence in the western part of the country. I think there was a shift in emphasis on John Kennedy. He came into the Senate without any definite ideas on farm policy. Or at least in my discussions with him I found him really anxious to support what

the really conservative farm organizations believed than what Patton believed. I think he would have been happy to have the Farm Bureau write all the legislative program because the only people he knew well were farmers from the New England states or Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

STEWART: In 1956 you served with Senator Kennedy on a committee investigating lobbying activates. Do you recall? This was the McClellan [John L. McClellan] Committee. It later became the Gore [Albert Gore] Committee, I believe, as a result of the matter of Senator Case [Francis H. Case] and the Natural Gas Bill. Do you recall that?

ANDERSON: We didn't spend very much time together at that point. I know of Senator Case's prominence, and he formed a sort of group that sponsored some legislation. I was not particularly conscious that he was active in that group with me or that I was active with him.

STEWART: Yes. Well, apparently as a member of the committee he wasn't that active then or you would have recalled?

ANDERSON: I think the first time I really paid much attention to him was at the Democratic Convention in 1956. Francis Case had been offered a bribe on the Natural Gas Bill, and there was great excitement about it; but the person really concerned was the Senator from South Dakota and not the Senator from New Jersey. In the interview, my answer is completely correct when I say that I first paid

attention to him at the Convention in 1956. Incidentally, I was a little surprised at the strength of Kennedy in 1956, and this is reflected in the interview.

STEWART: Could you talk about that a little bit? When did you first become aware that he was a potential candidate for the vice presidency?

[-4-]

ANDERSON: Well, that's a point of order in a way. I saw him in 1956 time after time because the--there were many people who were criticizing him a little bit. He had done a motion picture film, and it was a very good film, a very fine film, but he introduced this film to the audience and spoke of it. I felt probably that he shouldn't have done that because he ought to have been less prominent. If you're a candidate you don't spend that much money on it. Dore Schary made the film, and it was told to us very frankly this had cost over a quarter of a million dollars--and Dore said nearly a half a million dollars. And I felt that it was too much of a jump for this young boy to get to be vice president or anything else on the basis of that film, because we all couldn't spend a quarter of a million dollars to make contributions, and…. A film had been made at a cost of what I understood was $250,000, and this was paid for completely by Kennedy's father. Dore Schary prepared the film, which was a very fine presentation of the Democratic point of view. Now that I read through again, I hope that the transcript stresses the fact that many people thought that John Kennedy was wrong in narrating the film if he were going to be a candidate for vice president in 1956. He was advanced to a very prominent role by the film and then later on he nominated Stevenson. Most of us felt that his money had brought him too much prominence. Bobby Kennedy [Robert F. Kennedy] came to the New Mexico Delegation and asked them very vigorously to support his brother for vice president. I was the one who refused and held my friends in line to where we did not give him any votes at all. And this caused me some trouble later on, after Kefauver [Estes Kefauver] became the 1956 nominee. I felt at that time that he would have a great future later on and didn't want him to take a chance of spoiling himself as a vice presidential candidate then.

STEWART: This was the film that was shown at the Convention?

[-5-]

ANDERSON: Yes, yes.

STEWART: I see.

ANDERSON: And it stirred up quite a little animosity toward him at that time because the cost was bigger than most people could afford--or any combination could afford, or the Democratic Party could afford at that time--who were in national life. And many people thought that he was too quickly a candidate.

Secondly, he had the only open car in Chicago, I think. They supplied us, as I remember, with cars and--it could have been Chryslers. I'm not sure what we had. But

we all had sedans that were pretty skimpy in the back seat, and we were all kind of unhappy with it. And then he came out with a driver and a brand new car, and you know how quickly you would antagonize folks who don't have that much money or have much influence. He apparently had plenty of money and plenty of influence. The crux of it really was that he did not pay for the cars. They were all by the National Committee. I think his was the only one that was an open car, a convertible. And I do remember that many of us kind of said, “We're not too happy about him.”

STEWART: Did you have any occasion to talk to him during the Convention?

ANDERSON: Yes, I did. I talked to him right after the film was shown. I thought it was an excellent job. I walked in at that time and told him how fine I thought it was and tried to compliment him on the very exquisite presentation that had been made. I didn't see why he came down to the long walkway and spoke to the audience as he was actually showing the film, but…. I thought there must be some program that would push him ahead. At that time I hoped that Adlai Stevenson would pick a real good running-mate, and I had very strong support for him. I never dreamed that Senator Kennedy would be the nominee himself. We also thought that he was hurrying too fast. I had managed the Al Smith [Alfred E. Smith] campaign in my state, New Mexico, in 1928.

STEWART: ‘28.

ANDERSON: I had determined at that time that I was going to try to get the first real good Catholic I could to be elected President of the United States without really spoiling himself or hurting himself. We all realized how bad a judgment he could make and how he was spoiling himself in offering too quickly; whereas if he'd stayed back for awhile and didn't get in as a candidate for vice president, he would make a better name for himself and gain needed experience and become a better candidate later on. As far as I was concerned, at that time I was more interested in the situation on religion than his own personality. He did charm a great many people, and we all liked him fine, as far as that was. But I thought he pushed himself a little too rapidly and it might be harmful to him.

I saw Bobby Kennedy at that time, who came over to our delegation and tried his very best to get us to break loose and support John F. Kennedy, just as the last roll was being called. I think I probably was--I won't say strongest in the group, but had the most influence at that time to hold the line and give it to Kefauver. They had voted for me in the New Mexico delegation. They tried to see if I wouldn't get something started, you know. I told them to hold their votes until it would be effective. So they voted for me on the first ballot.

Bobby Kennedy came over and stood by Senator Montoya [Joseph M. Montoya], the then Mr. Montoya, our Congressman, and talked a little bit about it. And I said we were not going to do it at all. He wasn't going to get a single vote. It was too early, too much for him to be pushing ahead. At that time I said to some people, who were also--not Kennedy

but some other person who came over--that I thought they were making a serious mistake and that they should let some of the other people go, Sparkman [John Sparkman] or somebody else who'd run once before, or Kefauver, but not to try to bring in the Catholic element at that time.

[-7-]

That was primarily the question we had. It wasn't a question of program or philosophy; it was just a question that I didn't see any possibility that he could be elected or would help the ticket at all. I thought Adlai Stevenson needed all the help he could get, and I felt that Senator Kennedy should not be that prompt in pushing for the limelight.

I only talked to him once during that session and that was on his politics. And I told him then that I thought he was making a mistake. I said, "You're the only really good prospect we've had for a Democratic President who is a Catholic. You should not destroy your influence in this thing by running the show this early."

STEWART: What was his reaction, do you recall?

ANDERSON: Well, his reaction was just very fine, that he had only come out there trying to help, and if the Party wanted to have him he would be glad to help. But he didn't seam annoyed at me at all that I had talked to him about it and said those things to him. I couldn't accept the fact that--he was too hurried. I just couldn't do it. I didn't believe it was worthwhile, for him or for anybody else. And it turned out later that this was not the proper use at the proper time…. But I still feel that if he had been nominated with Adlai Stevenson he would have been slaughtered along with everybody else that was slaughtered at that time, and it might have set him back critically. As it was, he had a very fine record. He was a charming man, first of all, and had a very fine personality. And it shouldn't have been wasted. And I was afraid it might be wasted by too quick a campaign.

STEWART: Arthur Schlesinger in his book states that your arguments during the '56 campaign regarding the halting of the nuclear task force convinced Senator Kennedy that the United States wouldn't suffer militarily if this was done. Do you recall discussing this with him at that time?

[-8-]

ANDERSON: Oh, yes. In 1952 Stevenson had set up a campaign headquarters of fifteen people--a campaign committee--and he had named me one of the fifteen. I had gone in several times to talk to him, particularly about campaigning and various other things and the Farm Bureau and some more things of that nature. Pearlman [Philip B. Pearlman], Phil Pearlman went into the farm question, also. I don't know how much detail you want about this, but I had strongly urged in 1952 that they write a platform pledge which could set forth the flexible price supports. Secondly, I had done a reasonable amount of urging that they work in with it a statement somewhat favorable to oil interests in Texas.

Adlai Stevenson asked me to write my views down on a platform plank. I spent hours at Springfield writing two planks, one for the farm program and one for the question of oil. A man from Texas named Shivers--I think it was Allan Shivers, who was the Governor of Texas--and I had had some dealings. I also had some oil production in a small way, and I realized the boys there in the Texas group were very very bitter toward the possibility that Stevenson might favor them too much. And so I wrote this farm plank and the oil plank.

Phil Pearlman came out the next day from--I guess he came from Baltimore. He'd been out of the administration for awhile. He came out and said, “My God, you can't do that. This will tear the whole Farm Bureau up and the Farmer's Union. And there's Oklahoma and all these other--South Dakota and North Dakota….” And I said, "Would you like to gain one state?" He wanted more than that.

Well, we didn't succeed very well in the farm program because Pearlman phoned Mr. Brannan [Charles F. Brannan], who was then the Secretary of Agriculture. So he phoned him and when he saw this plank that I wrote he was wild. He sent this call for Secretary Brannan to come right out at once and give him the gospel. Of course Brannon was then the active Secretary of Agriculture. I was not too popular in the Brannon program. He couldn't muster a single vote but one in the whole Senate Agriculture Committee. I tried to say that we ought to stress a new farm program and support the new flexible price support that had never even been tried, and I wanted to adopt that.

Stevenson was very much interested, apparently, in it. He had me go on home and take these two planks. He then had Phil Pearlman call down to a Texas lawyer to see about the oil plank. I admit the oil plank was weaseling. I'm not going to argue about it. We had tried to weasel because we couldn't seem to resolve these two camps, the wealth of the Texas crowd and others. It seemed necessary to me for an election. And while we stated a very forthright plank in the Farm Bureau--I had written it--I had sort of weaseled in the oil program where a man could almost satisfy his own conscience on either side of the question. It was not persuasive, but I was sure of the Texans and other people in the oil company, so we had some reassurance for that.

Governor Stevenson had then asked me if I would write a farm speech with which he might open the campaign in 1952. I'm sorry to go back to this….

STEWART: No, that's all right.

ANDERSON: And I wrote his farm speech. At that time I spent endless hours, going back to Albuquerque on the first day, and I just spent hours and hours and hours writing those things that I knew the Farm Bureau wanted because they had five times the membership of the Farmer's Union and we had to do what we had done with Truman. We had broken the farm belt with Truman, and I had persuaded some of these farm leaders to Truman's support when we didn't think he was going to be worth very much as far as the Farm Bureau was concerned. But he got wonderful support. I knew Adlai could do it, also.

And when he came to speak in North Dakota on the opening of the farm speech, I listened to the radio with enormous interest, and the only words that I knew were, “Ladies and Gentlemen.” Every other thing pertaining to the farm program was thrown completely out the window. Phil Pearlman had written a speech which really didn't support anything at all.

Well, the next time I saw Senator Kennedy--I mean, when I saw Senator Kennedy in 1956, I said to him that for heaven's sake if he was going to be the nominee I hoped to God he wouldn't do that sort of business, that he'd give us a chance to write a good farm program for him and try to pacify it with all these broken up oil interests that had seen the bill passed and were hopeful that he would administrate it accordingly and would influence it accordingly. Well, I don't know, we talked for maybe fifteen or twenty minutes only, but I did get a chance…. He seemed know what an outsider felt about these things. Brannon was a retired Secretary of Agriculture, and he was and pulling in various directions, but Senator Kennedy wanted to know what might be done in this order. So I talked to him at that time. I can't tell what is being proposed by the paragraph. We favored the Farm Bureau position as did Kennedy in 1956 when he saw some results from other programs and decided to leave the farm program alone and decided to accept what Brannon had proposed.

(Brannon wasn't a retiring Secretary of Agriculture in 1948. I was the one who retired in early 1948--May).

Then when the nomination came on, if New Mexico had swapped, if I had turned my votes to Kennedy, he would have been nominated. You have to take for granted that I was sincere in saying that he was, I thought, too early and too young. But he was wonderfully nice about it and seemed to have no hard feelings toward anybody who hadn't wanted his candidacy and pushed him ahead.

Then later on he came to El Paso. I don't think I could identify the exact year: It might have been during the campaign of '56. I think it was. I could have turned over my votes to Kennedy if he were nominated for vice president, but I thought it would be better for him not to be nominated for vice president and take a defeat which would hurt him later on. He did come to El Paso and made a very fine speech, but never referred to farm policy at any time.

STEWART: He did quite a bit of traveling then.

ANDERSON: Well, he came into El Paso and made a very fine talk. I had a friend, Riley Allison, who had the top floor of the Hilton hotel in El Paso as his apartment. He was a partner of mine in--I was a partner of his in the oil business and very closely associated. He was vice president of my insurance company and so forth. He turned his very nice suite over to Kennedy after the speech was over to invite people up there and so forth. Kennedy made a wonderful impression, a really

wonderful impression. He was obviously so sincere and so nice and so pleasant that many people said, “Oh my, we made a mistake. We should have picked that boy for the vice president.” And I must say that after I saw Senator Kefauver's campaigning, I wished I had done a job for Kennedy. But it was unfortunate.

In the Stevenson campaign there were two issues that cropped up. Am I talking too much about this?

STEWART: No, go ahead. This is good.

[-12-]

ANDERSON: In the campaign in '56 there were some issues that didn't die down. One was the question of the draft. There was the question of nuclear power, of course. We rewrote the nuclear plank--Chet Holifield, Gore, and I--a hundred times, I think. We rewrote it and rewrote it. John McCormack would then take it and show it to a Catholic person. I'd better not identify him. I'm not really sure--it may have been Bishop Cushing [Richard Cushing], but I'm not sure. But anyhow, his strong Catholic friend with whom he revised it. And the Catholic Church was important. We wanted the Catholic Church--the members to know that we were trying our very best to get a decent plank.

So we wrote and rewrote that plank and tried very hard to get it adopted. And that plank was written into the platform about the way it was suggested, finally. We had a great many people who were a bit disturbed about what those things would be, what plank they would take, and we were very happy when these people adopted it. I therefore didn't talk much to Senator Kennedy after the nominations were over because I was hopeful that Senator Kefauver would be able to carry the burden. But he didn't do very couch.

And along the halfway mark of the campaign--oh, two weeks before it ended, I guess, Adlai Stevenson went out to California. And there he met Harrison Brown [Harrison S. Brown]. Harrison Brown had been married, I think, to a daughter of William Jennings Bryan. Bryan had bought some land in Florida and had made the family some money. Harrison Brown married the daughter, who also had some money. But they were very nice people, and they entertained Adlai in very fine fashion. He told me one day when I was in Las Vegas, Nevada that he had had satin sheets and that the people even brought him a cup of tea in bed. He thought that was real luxury. You know how happy--the phrasing you do, you phrase very readily what very nice things they did.

[-13-]

What I didn't tell you was that they had discussed some matters of high importance and that Harrison Brown, who is still active, had suggested to him certain approaches that he must make and things that would be very useful. So he helped write these proposals with Adlai. Oh, I think he has since denied that, but Adlai said he had, and he made a great speech

in California in which he suggested two things: the end of the draft and to give, unilaterally, nuclear materials to other people.

Well, Dick Russell called me about that time--I guess only two or three days afterwards. Dick Russell rated above me on the Atomic Energy Committee. He'd always been the ranking man on the Atomic Energy Committee since the beginning of it in 1946. I was the chairman of it, became the chairman in '54, and therefore in '56 he wanted to talk to me about this plank. And he said that the election was almost over, that the suggestion of the elimination of the draft probably had beaten Stevenson world without end. He said, "Clint, the only thing you can do, you might salvage a little bit on the nuclear power end of it by having Stevenson change his tack a little bit. He should not say that we will stop nuclear testing. That's our only hope. We've got a monopoly on the power; we've got a monopoly on the bomb; we must keep on testing; and we must not let him stop that."

So I called Adlai somewhere and got him out on the West Coast and hadn't any more than opened my mouth to say it's nice to talk to you when he said, "Come in to Chicago, I'm busy now." "Come into Chicago?" And he said, "Take part of my broadcast with me on the next day or two." I said, "You ought to get a military man." He said, "Could I get Dick Russell?" I said, "No, Dick Russell is gone on a steamer to Europe. He's all through with you. There's no hope, he says, at all of you winning the election, and it's a bust that you've made here. But," I said, "Symington [(William) Stuart Symington] might be able to come. I go right through there, and I can try to call him." So I did.

[-14-]

I called Stuart Symington, and he and I came to Chicago and went over to the law office that Newt Minow [Newton K. Minow] and the rest of them had--I can't tell you now what street in Chicago. But I went over there early in the morning. We didn't have any good sleeper planes to take advantage of. I had an all night flight from Albuquerque in there. I didn't have any sleep at all.

I went over to the office, and they were very nice about it. Mr. Wirtz [William Willard Wirtz] and others were just as kind as they could be, but they didn't tell me anything about it. I said, "When are we going to talk to the presidential candidate?" That night the speech was supposed to be made.

Well, he did come in after a while, you know, kind of early. "Why don't you take your hand and try to write something?" I had a whole pocketful of what I'd been trying to write. I said, "I've already got it." He said, "What is it?" So I read him this plank on the draft that I thought--Dick Russell had suggested it to me--in which he said that he meant by that, this thing, and this, and this. He dodged, in other words. But it seemed the only hope he had. And then we tried to write a new nuclear statement in which I said he didn't mean this unilaterally at all, he only meant that in case the other parts of the world were willing to give up a little bit we could give up more. We could give up more for humanity and so forth and so on.

Well, we were supposed to have five minutes apiece, Stu and I were. He came in about 2 o'clock, Stuart did, and we argued for awhile about the thing. I told him he should wear a different tie. I'll never forget that. I traded him, from my briefcase, a necktie that I thought had more statesmen-like qualities than Stu's had for

something like this broadcast. This really surprised me that there was nobody anywhere. Finally, I said to Stu, “Don't you think we ought to read, back and forth, your talks and mine to see what could be done?” And he said, “Well, he's blown it, blown it.” But he said he had about a seven or eight minute speech. I don't think he's going to have that much time. There's only a certain amount of time on radio. There was no television, just radio. So we both worked on it for awhile. And he got his speech down to about five minutes and I got mine to about four.

[-15-]

Then Adlai came in. He came in at 6:30, as I remember, something like that, maybe seven o'clock, to be at the station at 8:30. He'd been resting a little bit, hadn't done too much work. And when we told him we had these things, he said, “Let me hear them.” I read the first one on nuclear testing, and he said, “There's no point in that, I'm not going to do that. That repudiates my stand.” And I said, “You've just damned near ruined yourself anyhow, but you've got to say something about the fact that you're not going to do this unilaterally.” And he said, "You can't say this, and you can't say this, you can't say this," and all the things that you couldn't do.

We finally got down my speech to about a minute and a half--it was supposed to be two and a half minutes--and Stuart's was down to two and a half minutes. He let Stu pretty well alone. But he knew that I had not been happy at all with his nuclear speech, and he tried to get some changes in it and yet he wouldn't do a single thing.

Now, I'm giving you that background to show you that I had a harsh time in 1956 and had turned hopefully to 1960. Therefore, when I met Senator Kennedy afterwards in El Paso, he was so pleasant and so nice and so understanding, it seemed to me, that I had hopes that he would be the nominee after awhile. I hoped then, and I hoped for many years thereafter, that the Democratic ticket in 1960, and hopefully in '64, would be Johnson and Kennedy. I have to mention that I all the time kept associating Kennedy with a man too young for the responsibilities.

STEWART: Do you recall anything else about this meeting in El Paso…

ANDERSON: Oh, he did a marvelous job.

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STEWART: …specifically, as far as the discussion of your position on the nuclear testing?

ANDERSON: I only explained the position on nuclear testing, and he said he ought someday to get caught up on it. I said, “Well, there's a certain limit on how much we catch you up.” I said, “There's an awful lot of privacy and secrecy that goes on. We only had a few words to say, and then, of course, the next thing was that he had to leave. But I did present him to all these people in El Paso, and they all were very much interested in him. The only bad part of it was that nearly every person I

introduced him to came over afterwards and said, “Why the hell didn't you support the fellow a long time ago?”

STEWART: Did you have a definite indication that he was looking forward to 1960?

ANDERSON: I surely did not. I did not. I had the impression that he was a good Democrat trying to campaign, to spend his time and energy to help the Democrats if he could, and he would not be disturbed if he had to wait awhile. And I had the strong notion that he should wait awhile because I thought he would be more appreciated in later years.

STEWART: Moving on to some contacts in the Senate in the period of 1956, say, to late 1959 and 1960, do you recall any discussions or contacts with him in the Admiral Strauss [Lewis L. Strauss] nomination? This, of course, was a difficult issue for him…

[END SIDE 1, TAPE 1]

[BEGIN SIDE 2, TAPE I]

STEWART: …because his father had been friendly with Admiral Strauss, and I guess there was a bit of conflict. Then he did eventually vote against the nomination.

ANDERSON: There was a long, long conflict. I think I should start out by saying that Murray, Tom Murray [Thomas E. Murray], was a deciding influence. He was a member of the Atomic Energy Commission. His niece had married Henry Ford; his father had been a very distinguished advocate of private ownership of utilities. Murray was a very fine man, I think one of the finest men that I ever knew. When I was in New York one time, he took me over to his apartment, his home on Park Avenue, and showed me he had there the vestments of every Catholic position from a common priest up to an archbishop. He had friends dropping in all the time. He was the first one that I had ever seen to be a very distinguished Catholic lay person who had unlimited funds and who worshipped his religion tremendously. You have to bear that in mind in order to come to understand later on why other things happened.

Nobody intended that I was going to oppose Strauss--I don't want to go into the Strauss question because it's a long book--but I had said to Mike Mansfield, who was then Democratic leader, that I would not oppose him at all. I talked to Dick Russell and told him that I wouldn't because I decided I wasn't going to worry about him. But I said, “You'd make a mistake, several mistakes, and that's what we need, that's where we got some of our elections before.” It didn't quite work out that way, and they had a conflict and so forth. I don't wish to bore you on this thing, but I told him that if he jumped on certain people, I would testify that I didn't want to testify, I didn't want Magnuson

[Warren G. Magnuson] to ask me to testify, and I would not testify unless they happened to be jumping on some folks, two people that they wanted.

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Well, without those two fellows we then had a long hearing, and Admiral Strauss got weaker and weaker and weaker as time went by. And we all said, Lyndon Johnson kept telling me, he said, "The longer he talks and the longer he fights, the better you're going to get." And along with this, Strauss had nominated this fellow Armand Erpf, who was a most capable man. Mike Monroney [A.S. Mike Monroney] lashed him to pieces for that. And we all did. But we were having a great deal of trouble counting noses. I went to see Senator Kennedy--he'd been down in Florida with a bad back--and I went to see Senator Kennedy, and he was the most evasive man you could ever ask for. I have to throw this in, I'm sorry, but I….

STEWART: That's all right.

ANDERSON: There was a reason why he would talk to me. One day in the afternoon he'd made a speech about defense--about military matters, anyhow--and Homer Capehart moved he was violating the rules and made a motion to clear the galleries. Well, we don't clear the galleries once in a hundred years. It's only in extreme circumstances that you'd clear the galleries. I had been sitting there, quite a ways from him. As you go--in a sense you go down and around and then clear up the middle, and down toward the lower end your seating arrangement is not very good. His was a far back seat, high; and mine was way down in the front. I had to listen to him talking, and I had listened very intently, and I heard he hadn't said a single word that I thought was trouble. Kefauver was just getting ready to second it. Then Capehart moved to clear the galleries.

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I got up quickly and said, "I hope that nobody pays any attention to Senator Capehart and tries to clear the galleries." I said, "I know more about identification of materials and the proper protection of the news of the Atomic Energy work than he does." I said, "I hope I know more than anybody on the floor does because I've made a study of the rules." I said, "I am not saying that I am an expert, but I am an expert in this field, and Senator Kennedy has not in any way violated security." I never really knew the man much until sometime later. Capehart started toward him, and they had quite a little talk. I said, "I'm just telling you people that you have to have a parliamentary second. Now Senator Capehart can make just as big a fool of himself as he wants to, but none of the rest of you people have to give a second because he's just as wrong as he can be. I can prove Capehart doesn't know about it, and he must not have said this thing. If there's any chance, then, we won't do it, then we won't grant it."

Hickenlooper [Bourke B. Hickenlooper], who is a sort of rough politician, probably, but who's a patriot always, Hickenlooper knew this was true. He'd been on there a long time, longer than I had, and he knew that was true, that Kennedy hadn't violated his trust.

And Hickenlooper finally urged Capehart to sit down, and I finished up some trivia and dialogue and sat down, and Senator Kennedy finished his speech.

I left when his speech was over, and he hunted me up, and he said, “I certainly appreciate your stepping into this.” He says, “I couldn't have said that I was proper. I thought I was all right. I had some friends writing the speech. I thought I was all right, but I wasn't really sure about it.” He said, “When Capehart sat down, I was so thankful you were there.” Real nicely. It wasn't false praise, just real nice, friendly conversation. And that was the only basis on which I had to go to see him in the Strauss matter.

I said, “I tried to help you one time. Now they're trying to chop my neck off, and I'd appreciate it if you'd help me a little bit.” He said he had a hard problem. He said, “I do have a hard problem, but I'll do the best I can.”

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When they were counting noses the next round or so, I went to Tom Murray, and I said, “What about this? Here's what Kennedy told me now.” And I repeated what he had said about how he appreciated what I'd done and so forth and that I'd asked for help. And he said, “Well, I'm working all I can.” He had gone to Senator Kennedy and said that he hoped he would support me in whatever I would do. And he said, "I know it's hard." He said, “Your father would like Strauss.” And he said, “Your father probably would have all the appreciation he could if he were appointed Secretary of Commerce, but he's wrong now.”

Of course, Murray had been firmly persecuted by Strauss. He hadn't been allowed to speak certain things, and he had been stopped all around. And Murray told Senator Kennedy the whole story that was going on. He talked to him round after round. Murray had even gone to the Catholic Church a little bit because he had some feelings that they were persecuting him and so forth. At some time people thought that he'd gone to the Catholic Church to try to get some of them in his favor. Kennedy was not the main interest in that at all, but there was conversation and comments and so forth.

I did detect, I thought, a sort of a warm gleam when Senator Kennedy walked past me. He was not very much in his office at that time. He had been so far away, and he had so much resting to do, and so forth, with his back. And yet I felt that we might have a very good chance. When we were counting noses about the last time, I said to him that I was having a hard time, that it came out about two or three to the margin, and I said, “It might even be almost a tie.” And I said, “This is pretty tough business.” He said, “You might do pretty well, you can't tell,” and walked on. He hadn't said a word, but I thought he really meant to help if he could. When the roll call was started, of course, he voted and voted for us.

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I think you'd have to say that he voted for Tom Murray because of the fight that I had had with Strauss on trying to support Tom Murray. I think Tom Murray is one of nature's godly men. I really do. But he got into trouble because he couldn't confide in Strauss. Strauss had to be completely dominating on the Commission or he wouldn't

play. And I think Senator Kennedy tremendously improved on our possibilities by his position. He did take time to read, and he asked Tom Murray to give him certain citations. He asked Tom Murray to explain certain things. He didn't ask me at all; he just used to visit me. He asked Murray a great many things and wanted constant detail so that he didn't cast a haphazard vote. He was very, very careful. I think he displayed very graciously his kindness toward people. He never hurt Strauss at all. But his father had strong feelings, very strong, and he had a hard time with it.

STEWART: Do you recall any other contacts with him in this period after 1956? Could he always, for example, be counted on to support the natural resources and other legislation that you might be interested in?

ANDERSON: I don't think he ever had a question on resources or conservation. I'd say he had some problems on the farm legislation because he'd been punished a little bit on farm people who were--I imagine those states like Oklahoma and the two Dakotas. And he wasn't really sure that what he'd done on his own behalf was too helpful for it. I had not too many contacts with him at that time. I just couldn't help but like him when he'd done what I thought was a very brave thing, to go against the wealth of the country when he belonged to that class. You talk about people fighting their own class, why he--no matter how rich or strong it was or how rich the rest of these people were, Tom Murray, he had equal money and maybe a little more than that, and he was not going to be sore at their group, but he just couldn't stand the stuff that they gave Lou Strauss. I thought he was very fine and very kind,

and of course I had an extremely strong fancy for him from that time on. It didn't show on the next nomination, but I can discuss that some other time.

STEWART: Could we move on to the early stages of the 1960 campaign? Did you imagine, say in late 1959, that he could possibly win when he started his active campaigning?

ANDERSON: No, I thought he'd win the nomination for vice president. I guess I wanted him to do that; I wanted him to be the nominee for vice president. I made a talk. We had a big New Mexico party early in 1950, oh, I guess seven or eight, maybe. Lyndon Johnson and I had clashed again on a cloture bill. We clashed with him on the cloture bill in 1957, I think it was. I was pretty unhappy because the presiding officer was Tydings [Joseph Tydings], and I guess he was all right, but Dick Russell had urged him. Lyndon sat down when he finished his talk, and I moved that a certain thing be done, and Dick Russell just listened and ran off almost and said, “How did you lose the floor?” And I said, "How did I lose the floor?” And the fellow said, “You didn't. The Senator from New Mexico was out of line.” I wasn't at all; I had the floor properly. And there were several things right after that. Lyndon says I constantly challenged and did enjoy it.

But he came out to our state in the 1950's--Lyndon in 1954 and did a wonderful job. He in--I think it was '56 or '57--'57, made a very fine talk. But he'd come into the room and had been very nice to my son and to me and was visiting. We had known Lyndon pretty well up here because we had some western saddles and six or seven horses, and he'd go out there and ride. So I was friendly to him.

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In my introduction when he was there, I said, “This man will be the next President of the United States,” which you sometimes say in a speech and don't worry about it too much. But thereafter, Senator Clements [Earle C. Clements] wanted to know, he kept asking me, “What will you do?” I said, “Well, I…. As long as you try to support Kennedy for vice president then it's going to make sense that Lyndon have Kennedy for his running mate.” Well, I found that I got several commitments from people who had heard that and people who insisted that I pretty much follow along with Johnson in the next round.

I had sort of hoped that we might arrange a Johnson-Kennedy ticket. I thought Kennedy was making some real strides and doing very well. I never changed my decision, but I was not hostile to him. He came out to New Mexico to make a speech when we had our convention, and an attempt was made by his friends to instruct our delegates for Kennedy and by Johnson's friends to instruct the delegates for Johnson. I took the position we were going to be with the two people, one or the other, in the next round, and we might as well try to see that we all got some friends and not enemies and so forth. I told Senator Kennedy when he spoke up there that he would have about four or five votes and Johnson about thirteen votes, but not to worry about it because if he was the nominee, with his Catholic background he might want to have some real friends in Texas so they could go back to them and say, “You should support this man.” So he was sort of wrestling around back and forth with this and didn't take it with too much of a serious nature.

He'd come to Santa Fe on this speech and came over to my room and brought Jack Beatty, who was a strong supporter of his and manager of the Western states--somewhat manager of the Western states. He brought him over, and we had a very nice conversation. I told him what the score was as I saw it, and another man in the room said, “Well, we can instruct our delegation without any trouble for you, Senator Kennedy.” And I said, “Well, try it. Don't do it unless you really want to throw in a bag of screws. We've counted nose counts, and that's the way it is.” So Senator Kennedy turned to him and said, "I think you'd better leave it the way Clinton said.” He said, “If you can, give us all your votes, and if you can't, why give us as many of your votes as you can.”

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And we were very fortunate in that we had a thirteen to four split that was registered before, and did. We hadn't antagonized either the Kennedy crowd or the Johnson crowd. All I know is that he hadn't changed a bit. He was extremely nice, extremely kind, and

very decently friendly, and all of us were very staunchly in his favor when he was nominated.

STEWART: Was there much serious opposition among the New Mexico delegation or was it more a matter of preferring President Johnson as a candidate?

ANDERSON: No, they were all selfish. We felt that if Senator Johnson was the nominee and Senator Kennedy was the running-mate, the ticket was safe as far as we were concerned. Our state, we were concerned only with our state. Our state would be safe, and we'd be in fine shape. But it didn't turn out that way, and we still got our state, but by a limited margin.

STEWART: You were a member of the platform subcommittee on civil rights?

ANDERSON: I was a member of the platform committee, period. It wasn't a question of civil rights. At Los Angeles we had a customary convention meeting, I mean the resolution platform committee, of which I was a member as I had been in '56 before and '52 before. But we had enough quarrels in the platform group. They appointed us as sort of a subcommittee and it was heavily--well, I think I would be correct in saying heavily dominated by the Kennedy group. We had certain positions that we took that they--one or another of them said, “No, Senator Kennedy wants this, that, or the other.” So I'm quite sure that you'd have to say that he was a dominant voice and his friends represented him in the platform resolutions at all times, and the platform was so written, besides the fact that he was the most popular candidate.

STEWART: This extended to the agricultural plank which….

ANDERSON: Yes. We had an agricultural plank which I didn't like, which Jim Eastland [James O. Eastland] didn't like, which especially Holland [Spessard L. Holland] didn't like. We could almost have changed it, but there were just so many people who felt that Kennedy wanted this the other way that we didn't make any special roll call, as I remember. Jim Eastland tried to force another roll call. I wasn't--I had been visiting with a luncheon group at that particular time, and when I came back it was just about as this was to be adopted. There wasn't much debate to it and discussion of it, and the other issues got pushed to the front, and there was really no great fight with it. I did not approve the agricultural plank at all, but didn't worry about it because he had been very nice, very accommodating--you can't say the man's a bad actor when he's doing all right.

STEWART: I have seen your name mentioned as a conceivable vice-presidential candidate in 1960. Was this ever a serious thing? Did you ever….

ANDERSON: No, it might have been more serious in 1948…. In 1948 I could perhaps

have taken it if I hadn't just been nominated in the primary for Senator. I don't have very good health, and I try to take an easier job sometimes than I otherwise would. I had wanted to have membership in the United States Senate for a long, long time, as a boy, almost. And when I saw an opportunity for it, I took it, and therefore didn't take anything else. But in 1948 there was some discussion of that. In 1960 there were just a few lines. I was certain that the situation would be they'd want someone from the West somewhere, and I thought that Symington sounded a little more usable.

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STEWART: Were you consulted at all in the choice of the vice president after Kennedy was nominated?

ANDERSON: I wouldn't say I was consulted. I saw Senator Kennedy the next morning. I actually went by an open door--he was just telling some newspaperman goodbye or something, and I was walking by and just saw him start to shake hands, and he said, “Come in here.” I went in, and he asked me a little bit about various people, and I told him I thought Symington would be ideal from his standpoint, that Scoop Jackson [Henry M. Jackson] would be good if he wanted to play that part of the country. He asked me about anybody else, and I said, “Well, I think I can name a few more people that are possibilities.” He then asked me about Senator Johnson. I said, “He won't take it. Sam Rayburn made him promise he won't take it, and he won't take--I don't think.” But I was wrong. [Laughter] I'll have to go back to that damned board, I guess.

STEWART: Again, do you want to.

[END SIDE 2, TAPE 1]

[BEGIN SIDE 1, TAPE 2]

STEWART: You were saying you were in the hall, that you were going by his room and had discussed this with him.

ANDERSON: I started to say that he knew that I had been vigorously active in work with Senator Johnson, and he was just as kind and nice as he could be. I wished him well and told him that I thought he should pick Symington or Jackson for it or somebody like that because I was quite sure that friends of Lyndon Johnson's would not want him to take it. As his friends not wanting him to take it, all right, but that he had made up his own mind to do it.

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STEWART: Right. You didn't have any indication at this time that he was going to be asked about it.

ANDERSON: No. I judge it was nine or ten o'clock in the morning, no more. I had no indication any time. A little while later I was called and told that Lyndon Johnson wanted it. Some people were opposing him and so forth. I said, "Well, if he wanted it, I'd be glad to help him with it." I didn't talk with President Kennedy at that time.

STEWART: Did you have any other role at the Convention after that?

ANDERSON: No. He spoke--both of us spoke in a friendly fashion at the night rally, and they were there and had a chance to visit all of them. Senator Kennedy made some remark about taking a part in the campaign, but this applied to two or three individuals, might have been more.

STEWART: Could we talk a little bit about that August session of Congress--you recall, they came back after the Convention, and the Democrats lost out on a number of issues.

ANDERSON: Well, we came back for two things, I thought, primarily. One was the Medicare proposition, and the other was the minimum wage. It was very odd. President Kennedy had to do most of the work himself. I mean, he didn't get the same degree of party loyalty and party support that I thought he usually had.

I intended only to talk about health care, the so-called Anderson-Kennedy substitute we had in that bill. He'd been very nice about it; he'd seconded the bill that I had introduced, which is one thing that gave it a push. I therefore probably would have to do a hard job in order to push it. I had no intention whatever in pushing the minimum wage legislation; I didn't know anything about it and didn't plan to do it at all. In the course of the discussion, I found around the edge of the tables that the Democrats had apparently made some concessions, made up their minds about what they were going to do, and they were not the things that Mr. Kennedy wanted to do or had wanted to do. I talked to him quite a little bit at that time because I thought the Democrats were not helping him on this minimum wage.

Then when that bill finished we got into the question of Medicare, which we all knew was a real problem. We thought we might have it a little better than we did, maybe, but not much better. He very loyally supported it and very loyally did what he could do for it. I thought he had real courage to just stand up and say, "I'm running for office now. And if the doctors want to shoot me, they can shoot me." But he didn't do that. He just went ahead and tried to help, and everything went along, and he was not a bit timid. He had his mind made up. I'd been talking about certain problems to him, and he said, "Will you stand for that and stand for that?" I don't think he even said a single word that I didn't appreciate, and he was straightforward and honest and fine with it.

STEWART: Were you fearful that the substantial Democratic opposition would cause the whole attempt to backfire, as far as the campaign was concerned?

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ANDERSON: No, I don't think so. I thought that…. I don't know exactly what you really mean there.

STEWART: As far as Medicare was concerned.

ANDERSON: No, I know that many people didn't want it, but I thought there were more people that did want it. We probably--we had a national voter count of all votes by polls, and we thought it would be a fine thing to add to it. He recognized that there would be many questions asked of him, that it would be tough, like religion. He was very determined, it seemed to me, that certain things which he'd stood for, campaigned for, would be stressed, not equivocated at all. There was no attempt to dodge or make any change of policy. He was strongly for certain things. And I, who would never want to do any minimum wage legislation, tried as hard as I could to help with him because he was a straightforward individual.

STEWART: Whose decision was it to go ahead with the minimum wage legislation?

ANDERSON: Well, I think his. And, of course, Lyndon Johnson was on the other part of the ticket. But my impression was that the effort in the Senate was directed by John Kennedy.

STEWART: Did you see any evidences of Kennedy's frustrations about not being able to get out and get the campaign started during this August session?

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ANDERSON: No, I didn't. I think he wanted to go. But I thought he thought it was more important that these principles be established, and he therefore loyally lended his support to whoever was pushing it. My own impression was that he was where he wanted to be, namely, laying the blame on the Republicans for not adopting Medicare without an issue. I suppose he was frustrated because he did want to get out and campaign, but I thought he was doing a better campaigning job as a leader of the Senate, as he really was then, than he would be in any other fashion.

STEWART: There was never any doubt that he was in charge as far as the strategy for the Medicare?

ANDERSON: No, no doubt about him. I did talk to Lyndon Johnson two or three times. He had a burden of his own because Bob Kerr was so strenuously opposed

to it, and Kerr had meant a great deal to Johnson's life, and he didn't want to disrupt their friendship. Kerr was sponsoring against it in every form at any time. Vice President Johnson was then--wasn't trying to pick any fights. I think he did do a very good job of getting through to Senate people, and I have no question about what his loyalties were and what his principles were. I didn't see much opposition. I saw it in the votes later on, but I mean he tried his very best to put through his program and did it decently and properly. And I thought he did a fine job of it.

STEWART: What part did you play in the national campaign, if any? Or were you primarily concerned with the New Mexico situation?

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ANDERSON: I can't remember now whether it was Senator Kennedy or Senator Johnson that started talking to me about the campaign. One of them at least did, and a reporter from a newspaper sitting right beside there reported in the paper out there what I was supposed to do. But the group that started the national organization listened more to Senator Kerr and others than they did to me.

I had all the campaigning I could do in New Mexico, and I didn't take any part in the national campaign with one exception: I was asked to go down and do a speech in Texas because they wanted to talk a little bit about Kennedy's interest in Medicare and things of that nature, and they wanted an outside witness. So I flew with him when he spoke in Albuquerque at the football stadium. He made a fine speech and a fine appearance. We had a beautiful sunshiny day. And I think it helped tremendously. Then I flew from there to Amarillo and then went down--I flew into Dallas, and I was going on the next morning to San Antonio. That was the morning on which Lyndon Johnson and Mrs. Johnson were pushed and shoved around in the crowd. All we could talk about in the plane was to discuss what foolishness this had done. I said that there was every chance in the world that Kennedy would carry Texas now when he never before would have. And I went on down there and made the speech. That was the only real connection I had with the outside group.

STEWART: He carried New Mexico by an extremely small margin. I think it was about three thousand votes.

ANDERSON: Three thousand votes. Well, I don't know, but it was an extremely small margin. When Senator Chavez [Dennis Chavez] was elected the first time--when he was elected at one time; I think it was the first--he got a margin of about four thousand votes. Another time he got a margin of about five thousand votes, and the election was contested. We've had some close elections, but I never dreamed it would be that close.

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As a matter of fact, I talked to him on the telephone election night when some of the polls were already closed, and he was curious about these last few states. I said, “I can tell

you one thing, you don't have to worry at all; you can pretty well go to bed because I know exactly where these boxes are, what they would normally produce, and you would have won by around five thousand." When it got down to three thousand he probably wanted to know if I really knew my stuff. [Laughter] Well, we didn't. There were pockets of people who all were against the Catholic Church, and they hurt us considerably. But it was too close for comfort. He did win by a very narrow margin.

STEWART: Was this the only issue, as far as his opposition was concerned, as far as the….

ANDERSON: Well, Medicare was whacked all over every place, and they didn't just simply say he had supported it. As you may remember, the original proposal that came from the Democratic Administration was what he called the Anderson-Kennedy Amendment. I had tacked on the "Kennedy Amendment," and then they wrote the nice words "Kennedy-Anderson" on it. And he said, "No, sir. It should be the other way. I'm not trying to…." He didn't want the sole emphasis to be placed upon him. So this was done and became the so-called Anderson-Kennedy Amendment that had been offered. They had labeled it so that not only was he a part of it, but he shoved people in front of it and everything. It was a pretty nasty campaign saying he didn't really believe in it and I didn't really believe in it. But the doctors were pretty rough, and they barred certain people from certain places and so forth. It wasn't very pleasant. He never twitched an eyebrow. He just went right through with it, with what he said and was thereafter extremely nice.

STEWART: Did you have any contact with Senator Edward Kennedy, who was coordinating things in the western part of the state?

ANDERSON: No. Well, I had no part in it. He came out for the meeting in which Senator Kennedy addressed the state convention. He'd done quite a bit of working before Ted had. In that election he came fairly early to Los Alamos, where he thought he could gain a real toehold over there and tried to upset, really, our plans because he thought that they could get a Kennedy endorsement. But he sat all the way through in the convention with the Los Alamos crowd and kept sending runners down to tell other people to raise hell with this and raise hell with that. But we only had one roll call.

I had told Senator Kennedy that if the matter came to a test we could snow him under two to one, and that's what this person in the room objected to so strenuously. They thought they could carry him. I said, "No, it'll be two to one against you. It doesn't need to be that, but it'll be that." And then he turned and said, "Take what Senator Anderson says because we don't want trouble in that sort of space." They had one roll call, and it was two to one against him. Ted didn't say another word hardly to them, but kept pushing people to raise hell a little bit. He was disappointed. He thought his brother was safe in the New Mexico delegation

and wanted it very badly because that was a very crucial vote. But I didn't see much of Senator Ted Kennedy. I just knew he was there and frightened about it, and I was also frightened about it. But I didn't see him very much.

STEWART: But during the campaign you didn't have any…

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ANDERSON: No. He came into the state, and I met him at Roswell. He went up to Clovis. Anyway, we talked together at Roswell, and we had a meeting in--I can't remember now; let's see--Carrizozo, I think it was, and Almagordo and down to Las Cruces. It was sort of a night meeting at Las Cruces. He was very helpful. If anything, he'd been--for one thing, I hadn't talked to the Kennedys before, but you'd never know it the way he came in. He came in very kindly and cordially and did a fine job of boosting the whole state ticket, and we appreciated it very much. That was the only time I saw him during the campaign.

STEWART: Moving on then, after the election but before the Inauguration, your name was mentioned as a possible Secretary of Interior. Did you consider it, or were you asked?

ANDERSON: Yes. I'm not just sure--let me say it this way. He called me for a recommendation for the Secretary of Agriculture, and I gave him the name of a man I thought was very good. He told me that he'd been given another name and I thought it was very bad. I told him that he'd better get some people and send out a team to investigate it. I thought the two names he had were just horrible.

STEWART: Would you care to mention who they were?

ANDERSON: Well, one of them was a Missouri man, and--I can't seem to remember who the other one was now. I guess it was Freeman, but I'm not really sure anymore. I thought there might be some trouble with them. He asked if I'd give him a name, and I said, "Yes. Why don't you go--there's a very good man at the University of Iowa or Iowa State College in Ames, and there are some good people…." I thought George McGovern was a good person. And I said that I thought he ought to take two or three of these men in. He then mentioned a man that he thought had been quite well recommended for it. And I said, “You couldn't possibly. You couldn't possibly take him.” He said, “Why?” I said, “Well, he'd drive you crazy! You

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can't stand him at all." I said, "I can just barely stand him, but you can't stand him at all, and you're younger a whole lot. You'd go nuts if you had him in the Cabinet." And he said, "Well, this has been pushed by some very strong people." I said, "Forget it. You absolutely can't do it." He said, "Will you come in?" I said, "Yes, I'm going to come in to-- Rockefeller's having a meeting down in Williamsburg. I'm going to be in there and come back up to Washington, and I'll be glad to see you."

Well, anyhow, I went in to see him in Washington. I told him I'd call him in Washington first. I called him in Washington, and he asked me if there was any possibility that I might be considered for the Interior job. And I said no. I said I'd just finished an election and the Republicans had elected the governor and that if I was to retire to the Cabinet the Republicans would have one more vote. That couldn't be done very well. You can't just be appointed now and then spread it through to two years. You have to do it at the end of March third, and by that time there would be a Republican governor.

Bobby Kennedy then called me and asked me about it. He said would I take it since it was offered to me. I said I'd have to do it if he asked me to, but it would be a very serious mistake. "I'm not well and I'm having troubles all the time and I shouldn't do it. But anything he asks me to do I will do, although it would be a very serious mistake." When I got into Washington he asked me about that, and I said, "Well, it's wrong. You can get plenty of other people. I ought to stay in what I'm now doing, and I ought to stay within the limits of my own strength." I said, "Let me talk to you more about the Secretary of Agriculture. I'm not worried as much about what this thing in the Interior can do."

I went over to his house here and just wore a new hat. He didn't wear much in the way of hats. This was a hundred dollar Stetson. So he began asking me about these hundred dollar Stetsons out of curiosity. He tried the hat on and walked over to a mirror which was just outside the entry-way, and I said, "That's a hundred dollars even. I'll just leave it with you if you'll step out of this house." The photographers were outside pressed against that wall. "If you'll just let the photographers take a picture of you with this hat, I'll just leave it with you." The Senator says, "That's almost a good bet, but I guess I won't do it."

But he was very pleasant as usual, and he asked me again about this Interior job, and I said, "You can get much better people in the first place, and I'm worn out, and you shouldn't have a retread." I think he seriously wanted to have Udall [Stewart L. Udall], and I said, "Yes, I think Udall will be fine, and I'd be glad to help him. But you've got to get this Department of Agriculture question pretty well settled." And I said I'd just as soon he have two or three names of people who were very well placed in the departments, not a political job at all, and that he let these people go. He again asked me about another man, and I said I didn't like that fellow. Then I said, "I would take Orville Freeman." I said, "I think I would take George McGovern first and Orville Freeman second, philosophically. But because George McGovern has never managed a business bigger than a five person employment and Orville Freeman has run the state of Minnesota, I would favor him." And he said, "Well, you've changed." I said, "Yes, I did change because I thought a lot about it and I think Orville Freeman would do all right. Personally, I would like George McGovern." And he said, "Well, come back again after you've been to Williamsburg."

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I had some trouble after Williamsburg and didn't feel well, and I had a little heart trouble, and I had to go straight back to New Mexico. And I didn't call him until I came out to New Mexico. He said, “I gave Udall the office of the Interior.” I said, “This is fine.” He never seriously considered my going into Interior; he was just curious about what I might do, I guess.

STEWART: Were you involved in any other appointments that you recall?

ANDERSON: Well, yes, I sure as hell was. I was involved in the appointment of the Atomic Energy Commissioner and--I don't know. That's pretty confidential.

STEWART: As I say, you can close this material for--many people do…

ANDERSON: I want this closed for a long time.

STEWART: …from ten to fifty years--or whatever you want.

ANDERSON: Just this section of it--at least for ten years. I told him that I thought that he ought to come out into the West and take his nominee for the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. He said, “Who do you recommend?” I said, “Bob McKinney [Robert M. McKinney].” I showed him the kind of work that Bob McKinney had done. Bob McKinney was then the director of IT&T [International Telephone and Telegraph], a director of the Rock Island Railroad, and so forth. He used to be a Republican candidate and, I thought, a very competent person. He said, “Well, I'll talk about it.”

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He came over about the 15th, I guess, to talk about it--of January--and he said, “I can't appoint McKinney. Can you give me another name?” And I said, "No sir, I won't give you another name. McKinney's the best person I can name out there. Don't bother about it. If you can't name him, you can't name him. That's all. Just forget it.” He said, “Well, why don't you ask for the reason?” And I said, “Well, I think that's enough. What are the reasons?” His father had had some contacts with Mr. Young [Robert Young], the railroad…. I think New York Central.

STEWART: Milton Young? No.

ANDERSON: Well, he died a few years ago. He'd had some difficulty with Mr. Robert Young, and Bob McKinney was a distant cousin of Mr. Young and had

been placed in his job in Washington by his relative. He said, “I just can't offend my father that way.” He said, “Now, if it's absolutely got to be this way, then I'll go and try to talk to my father.” I said, “No, it doesn't have to be that way at all. You asked me to recommend, and I did recommend, and I think he's the best person, but you have to decide for yourself what is to be done.” He then called me again and said, “I can't do it; I just can't do it. I've tried to explain it, but I just can't do it. I'll find him another job some day.” And that's how Mr. McKinney got to be Ambassador to Switzerland.

He settled on Mr. McKinney when he was President as the Ambassador to Australia. But the President--he took time to always explain why he couldn't do it. He told me why it was he couldn't possibly be interested in him for this job. McKinney wanted Japan, and he said no, that Reischauer [Edwin O. Reischauer] married to a Japanese girl, and he said, “I'm going to name him.” I said, “Well, I can't improve on that; that's fine.” So we got along all right, but we did discuss many things of that nature.

STEWART: Were there any other appointments that you recall?

ANDERSON: Well, you see, I had been in Washington for quite awhile. I had come to Washington in 1935 to the Relief Administration. I was elected to the Congress in 1940 and served steadily from that time. I could tell him some people I knew that I didn't think were the proper folks for certain jobs. And I did discuss a good many jobs that he had on his mind and mentioned. It seemed the best people, I missed them because I couldn't remember them at the time. But I wanted Mr. Rusk [Dean Rusk] very much. I never thought about him until one time when I talked to the President. I thought about it afterwards. I was down in Williamsburg then.

STEWART: I was going to mention he was….

ANDERSON: I was down in Williamsburg with Lawrence Rockefeller, and he was named at that very time. And Lawrence and I sent him a telegram, and we were congratulating ourselves about him. I thought he was a very fine person, and still do. I had a notation somewhere about him, and I don't think I ever mentioned him at all to the President, which was a regrettable thing. We used to enter discussions about what other people there were. He'd directly say, “This fellow is good for an agricultural post.” “He'd ruin you.” So anyhow, he talked to me about it.

STEWART: There were, of course, a number of task forces set up during this transition period to come up with definite programs in various areas, but there was never a task force on agriculture. Sorensen [Theodore C. Sorensen] says the reason there wasn't was because they just couldn't find enough…. They could find people who were open-minded and they could find people who were experts, but they couldn't find any open-minded experts. Now, were you at all involved in the discussions as to whether to set up a task force on agriculture?

ANDERSON: No, I was not.

STEWART: Were you involved in any of the other task forces that were set up? There was one on conservation….

ANDERSON: No. I don't believe so. I had taken my ammunition to him, and the President pointed out that because of the fight on Medicare he had been very considerate of me and asked me about the programs that I didn't know, but I don't think he ever asked me about that.

STEWART: There are a number of general questions on the relationship between the White House and Congress during this period that I'd like to ask you. Sorensen, again, states that a large part of the problems that the President had with Congress were because of a struggle of power between, as he says, “two different generations of politicians.” Do you agree with that? Do you feel that the fact that Kennedy was so much younger--Kennedy and the people around him--had any significant impact?

ANDERSON: Well, I think there was a definite conflict between the South and elsewhere. I think the deep South and the moderate South were almost constantly opposed to him. I can't think of very many folks that really loyally rejoiced in his being elected, but some accepted that. I don't think it was a second generation of politicians because Bob McNamara [Robert P. McNamara] was old, but I gather he loyally supported Kennedy. And I'm not young and there were a great many people who were pretty old all supported Kennedy. But the deep South never gave him a chance.

STEWART: Did you feel that the fact, again as Sorensen says, that Kennedy felt somewhat uncomfortable and perhaps too differential with those men who the previous year had out-ranked him? Did you ever see any evidence of that?

ANDERSON: No sir. One of my rare observations. I think he--I remember what President Truman did when he walked into the Presidency. It was harder for him to jump from the Vice-Presidency to the Presidency than it was for Kennedy to go from Senator to President. I thought Kennedy fitted perfectly, as if he'd been a hundred years in the Presidency. He had no worries at all about it.
I talked to Bobby one time about the fact that he was--how well I thought he was doing. Bobby would ask me a question sometimes, not really political, but I told him how well I thought the President was doing and I pointed out some experiences--I can't remember them now at all--that I had had compared to what he was having. And I was really surprised that the President had done so well about it. He was just extremely fine with his

handling of people and picking of people. He had, of course, the great benefit of Clark Clifford and I think he did a wonderfully fine job of attracting people and was excellent all the way through it.

STEWART: Again, Sorensen says that many members of Congress were less suspicious of Kennedy than of the brisk young men around him. Would you tend to agree with that?

ANDERSON: Yes.

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STEWART: Can you think of any examples in situations where this was quite evident?

ANDERSON: Well, I probably could, but I'd have some trouble with it probably. I wouldn't try to pick them out right now. He picked [Luther H.] Hodges, the former governor, who'd been working hard for Johnson, as his Secretary of Commerce. He had these young folks all around him. We felt we couldn't get very far on it for awhile.

As a matter of fact, I strongly urged him to appoint his brother as Attorney General. But I was a little surprised. I think he really went a little bit beyond the range of Attorney General and used to advise him. I don't regretfully say that. I was just rather surprised that he placed that much weight on Bobby's judgment who was still younger. I guess it's because I used to think Walter George was one of the greatest senators in the world and Dick Russell was a senator's senator and a marvelous person and so forth. They're all pretty well along in years. I didn't like some of the very young ones that nobody knew anything about and that I thought didn't have very much seasoning.

STEWART: Do you think the fact that many Democratic senators had never served under a Democratic President and thought principally of their own states and districts had any impact on their attitudes about the President or the White House?

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ANDERSON: I don't believe so. You say that most people had never served under a Democratic President--great many of them had, and a great majority of the senators had served under other people. They had been with Roosevelt [Franklin D. Roosevelt Sr.], Truman [Harry S. Truman], and so forth. I think we were pretty well satisfied, and delighted to be under a Democratic President.

STEWART: Well, here again I'm just quoting some of the reasons that Sorensen gives for the somewhat poor showing as far as the volume of legislation is concerned.

ANDERSON: Well, I'm not so sure now. One day I went over to see Ted--Senator Kennedy's office to talk about it. I guess I wanted--I think I invited him to come and make a speech on behalf of Congressman Montoya. Sorensen was there. I didn't know who Sorensen was at all. So he asked me afterwards if I had seen Sorensen. “No,” I said, “I went to see Kennedy.”

“Wasn't Sorensen there?”

“No. Well, I might have seen a couple guys sitting on the table, but Kennedy was the one I wanted to see and I spent the entire conversation with him.” “Well, what about this? What about this?” I didn't see the interest in those people at all. I thought Kennedy did a pretty good job of rounding up his own group, and I trusted him, and I didn't worry about some of the other ones.

I know that Bob Kerr one day went to see the President and to talk about the investment credit. No, that isn't right. Yes, it is. The President proposed the investment credit, and they had trouble. Now I had made a move one time to kill the whole thing in the Finance Committee, and Bob Kerr said, “Well, let's wait until tomorrow.” But the White House call came to go over to the White House. And he said, “You'd better ride down with Bob Kerr.” I thought, “Oh, no. Investment credit.”

So I went down with Bob Kerr, and the President did want to talk about investment credit. I told him I did not have much sympathy for it. I said, “There is one very bad thing they've tacked on to the investment credit, the credit for power--public utilities. That should never be on there. You'd do better to regulate industries. And you won't change it a bit if you put the investment credit on those. You won't be able to add, you'll just reduce their taxes.” And, of course, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, they tell me, got a hundred million dollars from the investment credit, and didn't change a damn program. They didn't change one solitary thing, not one, not one line even.

I argued with the President very hard about that. He said he had a commitment to Bob Kerr. What Kerr had to have in the way of a program he had to get the investment credit loose, from Kerr's standpoint, in order to have a chance to pass it, and he had it bottled up with the utilities. Kerr thought you just leave it or you take care of these other things even though they're improperly place. I thought they were very bad; I thought they were a bad deal all the way through. I voted for the thing when the President asked me to. I'd always discuss it, but I sure as hell never liked it. And yet there it was. Kerr was the influencing person at that time.

But I don't think the young folks were so greatly influential. They sure did a hell of a lot of business and did some real work, and they were fine folks--no question of that--but they didn't influence too much, I don't believe, this course of action.

STEWART: Moving on, to what extent, if any, was the Administration involved in the 1961 and '63 fights over Rule 22? Do you recall discussing possible involvement with the President or with Larry O'Brien [Lawrence F. O'Brien]?

ANDERSON: No, we didn't discuss it with Larry at all. I didn't worry about him, I don't think, too much. We thought we had enough votes among--that the Kennedy victory gave us enough votes. But the truth was really that the closeness of the election sort of strengthened some people's hands and gave a very disproportionate hand to Bob Kerr. And of course, Bob took it. He arranged for the American Medical Association to help some people. I remember we had one vote that was very questionable that we lost. He won nineteen million dollars on that vote for West Virginia. It was too bad. They had enough votes against us because of Bob. Bob was pretty ruthless. He did what he wanted to do, apparently, and I would say he had a big influence on some of the things that were being done by the Administration.

STEWART: Especially during 1962, I think, wasn't it?

ANDERSON: He was just seemingly all-powerful for awhile in there. He tied up everybody. Bob Kerr was a natural born trader. He traded in oil wells and everything else in the world. He stayed in a position of tremendous wealth, and he'd trade all these things as he went along. He picked up every single dollar's worth of the Public Affairs money and tied them to where he'd say, “If you want this road, you get this road.” Therefore I think that he had a disproportionate effect on legislation, and I don't think these youngsters had so much to do about it.

STEWART: What mistakes did you feel the Administration made on Medicare? Arthur Schlesinger, for example, says that they made a grave mistake in making trade expansion the highest priority item instead of Medicare in 1962.

ANDERSON: I don't think so. Kennedy went down to make a speech in New York. We all were parceled out for rallies on the Medicare issue. I went to Houston. Johnson was being kicked all around in Houston. I went down there, and Kennedy went to New York. He gave a fine speech, he gave a rabble rousing speech. And while it enthused the audience in New York, it was as dull as hell for the rest of the country. And the people that gave it the cheers found that if they read the stuff, it wasn't very good. I should say everything was fine with the President, but it wasn't very good.

I worked out, as hard as I could, a good speech--hoped to, at least--and the Kennedy crowd paid no attention to that sort of talk at all. One of the fellows spoke down there, and he was a wild-eyed one, and they'd cheer him to the echoes. I thought it was a pretty wild speech. I just believe that Kennedy himself lost a bit of his ground by not sticking to the subject on two or three principal occasions when he was the speaker. He did do a wonderful job of speaking, but he didn't do a wonderful job of selling.

And, of course, we had Bobby Baker cutting our throats, and we had the then Vice President not too excited about it at that time. He did a wonderful job later on, God bless him, but he didn't at that time. We had Bob Kerr, who was dishing out millions of the

Medical Association's money. They spent many many millions of dollars over that fight in a very short period. And a great many people were helped through Bob Kerr for something of that nature. And he tied them up every time they asked for a vote on it and owned them from that time on the Committee here. We had a hard time with it.

STEWART: Would you say really there was nothing then that the Administration could have done because of Kerr's strength?

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ANDERSON: No. No, no. President Kennedy pointed an involuntary finger at Kerr; he should have shook a fist at him. I think that Kerr would have recognized that if the President was shaking a fist at him, he'd better be careful. He had to have too many things from Kerr and therefore treated him, I think, better than he needed to be treated.

STEWART: Did you ever tell the President this?

ANDERSON: Not in so many words. When Kerr and I were over there that particular evening he told the President that the President better watch the costs of money in the government and business and so forth. I can't remember what Kerr wanted to change, but he said this sort of thing had to be changed. He pointed his finger at him, and he said, “And if you don't change, Mr. President, we'll do it for you.” And I said, “Well, Senator Kerr's talking about the same thing now--about what we can do to Medicare.” I said, "Mr. President, any time you want to stop him all you have to do is cut his water off. You can just drop a few pints of oil and stop the depletion allowance' Kerr said something about--I was drilling wells at that time--Kerr said, “You wouldn't stop this.” I said, “You'd stop the prepaid drilling expense. That's the biggest single step. The depreciation allowance isn't anything compared to the prepaid drilling allowance.” I said, “That's what you should stop, and if you stop that or change it you'll have the oil people in here right quick, and Bob Kerr will be at your side right quick.” Bob laughed about it, and that's all there was to it.

I think the President did very well with what the situation was with Kerr. He felt nobody else could handle it, and I'm quite sure he was right, probably. Bob already had the thing in motion, and he could go along with some of the things. And he did, but he paid an awful price for it.

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STEWART: Did you have many contacts with Secretary Ribicoff [Abraham A. Ribicoff] and Wilbur Cohen on Medicare?

ANDERSON: No, not with Ribicoff. After he got into the Cabinet, Ribicoff was persuaded that the issue was not very good. Wilbur Cohen also helped Bob Kerr take Jennings away from us, Jennings Randolph away from us.

STEWART: Cohen helped…. Why? How did that come about?

ANDERSON: Well, there's no secret about it. Jennings Randolph was a sponsor of the original bill and strongly endorsed the Kennedy-Anderson Bill-so-called the Anderson-Kennedy Bill--and was all set to get the next proposal. But his state government down there made a mistake, and it spent money which it didn't possess. They spent nineteen million dollars. The governor down there talked very strongly to Jennings and said, "We're going to be all ruined unless you get this thing wiped off." So Jennings went to Bob Kerr and asked him how in the world they might get that done. And Kerr called Wilbur Cohen to his office and said, "This man has got to have help. How can it be done?" Wilbur floundered around awhile and finally said, "Well, this nineteen million dollars has got to be cleaned up some way." And Kerr put through a little bill that said they could wipe it off. You couldn't wipe it off for some other people, but you could wipe it off for West Virginia. And Dirksen [Everett M. Dirksen] got it in Illinois. When that was done, we lost the vote.

STEWART: You say Ribicoff was never that strong on it, though?

ANDERSON: Well, in 1962 when Ribicoff ran in the Senate he found out, as he said, he found out that Medicare sure wasn't popular. He notified us that he was not going to be supporting too much of that. And, as I say, Ribicoff never did enter very much into discussions. I met hundreds of times with Cohen, who is a good smart person and a very decent guy. I like him fine. He conferred long with us on the 1965 bill and kept telling what he might do. He was always trying to harmonize somehow a little bit too much. But Ribicoff, I never saw him--I saw him but I never heard him really trying to fight for this. Celebrezze [Anthony J. Celebrezze] was a battler. Was it Celebrezze who succeeded him?

STEWART: Right. He succeeded him.

ANDERSON: He was a real good one, but not Ribicoff.

STEWART: Is there anything else on Medicare you want to put in?

ANDERSON: No, I don't think so.

STEWART: As far as the space program, were you in total agreement with the President about the acceleration in controls?

ANDERSON: About the acceleration, yes.

STEWART: Did you….

ANDERSON: About the national goal and so forth, yes.

STEWART: Were you or were the President and the White House, in your impression, fearful that the space program might become a political liability in '64 because there were quite a few criticisms in 1963 about the program, particularly of the amounts that were being spent and the scientific value and so forth?

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ANDERSON: Well, again we go to the same actors. We move the stage around a little bit, but the same actors. Johnson was the head of the Space Council, and Kerr was head of the Space Committee. Kerr never gave anybody a vote or an argument. He was strong enough to say, “You don't have to come by the Space Committee. Well, don't bother with it, just send them over by proxy.” Bridges [Styles Bridges] worked for him very closely and collected a bunch of proxies, and he ran the Space Committee that way. And Lyndon Johnson handled the Space Council that way. I think that you'd have to admit that Johnson and Kerr were the two dominant voices. It was that sort of situation. And they're the ones really that adopted the program. I don't think that President Kennedy had many discussions as to how this could be used. He did help to establish the goal, but Kerr and Johnson did a good deal of work.

STEWART: When did Kerr die? Kerr died in late 1960….

ANDERSON: January of 1963, didn't he?

STEWART: Yes, I think so.

ANDERSON: Well, you see, Bob Kerr and I had a long friendship and some old acquaintances that played gin rummy a great deal and so forth. He talked very frankly about these proposals. The last thing he did, he forced the military to give him a plane: he picked out a bunch of manufacturers and loaded them on the plane and flew them to every airbase around the country. He said, “You can have a factory like this in your control if you build it in Tulsa or Oklahoma City.” And the day that he died he was trying to get these fellows to tell him how many plants they could put in Tulsa and so forth by digging a water channel from the Mississippi River all the way up to Tulsa. A tremendous expense. It would be hauled overhand. Hundreds of millions of dollars would be wasted. But Bob was going to trade that boodle to have factories built there. And of course he put North American right square in that place, and other companies were there because Bob Kerr was there. And when I went on the Committee,

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when I was the chairman of the Committee afterwards, we thought about this. We'd made a commitment on it. We were going to build a factory at Tulsa. When they asked me:

"Oh yes, we'd build it at Tulsa." They worked together all right, but I don't think President Kennedy spent much time in that sort of a program. He approved of the Space Council, and on it went.

STEWART: Were you involved--I imagine that you were--in the decision on the facility in Boston that eventually wound up in Houston?

ANDERSON: No, not much. Johnson had some friends in Houston, you know, the president of American General Life Insurance Company…. They called themselves The Cuff Club.

STEWART: The what?

ANDERSON: The Cuff Club. They had little cuffs embroidered on their waiters'-coats. You sign on the cuff and at the end of the year you settle the cost. I think that--you say the center in Boston…. Bob Kerr and Lyndon Johnson did plan a great many of these things to be in Houston, and they built duplicates of many of the great things in the country. I don't think that President Kennedy was very much associated with this program. He knew it was good and was pushing it. That's all he wanted to be doing in it, and they were the ones handling the distribution of it.

STEWART: Well, this, I think, was decided in 1963, or it came up….

ANDERSON: No, Houston was before that. Houston was somewhat before that. The center in….

STEWART: There was another….

ANDERSON: That center in Boston was an electrical center, this being…. You could build it now. You can build it now. We had a five million dollar budget this year. Let's see, there were the two tracks running together, and it was going to be a triangular lot, and he was going to build a research laboratory there in Boston.

STEWART: I thought there was another facility that was involved that eventually went someplace else, that I think went to….

ANDERSON: You'd have to give me a better idea than that.

STEWART: Well, I'm sorry. I can't think of it at the moment. To what extent did you feel that the NASA budgets were influenced by space achievements? The budget you would have been particularly concerned with would be in 1963.

ANDERSON: I think they were all influenced by the operations. We had very fine luck until recently. Extremely good luck. I think the influence was basically good.

STEWART: Moving on to the National Fuels and Energy Study Group, could you describe how, if at all, the White House was involved insetting up this study and what kind of cooperation you got from the Administration on this?

ANDERSON: Fuel study?

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STEWART: This was the…. The coal industry had pushes: a long time for a study of the national resources, the national fuels and energy resources, and this was set up in September of 1961. You, I think, were the chairman of the group.

ANDERSON: We did have a study and we had some good people, but I borrowed most all the people from oil companies and signed them on as advisories and so forth. They wrote most of the reports, and we just tried to point out what the real situation was. I don't think that President Kennedy was involved very much in it.

STEWART: No, no one in the White House at all to any great extent. Do you remember just a few other things that you apparently were associated with--the Navajo Indian Irrigation Project? Again, do you remember anything significant as far as the involvement of the White House in this or the Administration?

ANDERSON: No, this is a long time back. In 1949 I introduced a bill to establish a Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Committee. And we then followed that one with irrigation district legislation, and we first passed a bill for a complete facility, mixed them all together, and then we had a hard time putting the irrigation projects through. But Eisenhower was the one that helped a great deal at that time. I think that the irrigation projects were originally approved without President Kennedy's signature. I think it was done in advance of that.

STEWART: Now the final…. He signed a bill in June of 1962.

ANDERSON: No, I've got down.

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STEWART: Do you recall ever discussing the Cape Cod National Seashore?

ANDERSON: Oh, let's see. Yes, sir. We had an attempt to get some seashore locations. I was trying my best to get a whole lot of test projects through. He wanted to

get some parks along the seashore, and he had trouble with it. Kennedy as a Senator did not get it through, and he sort of got me in tow one day and said, “Now that I'm out of the Senate you won't get any trouble on your hands. You go ahead and try to get this thing passed.” He then made some suggestions as to the individual people--there was a Republican Congressman up there named Keith, I think.

STEWART: Right. Hastings Keith.

ANDERSON: Yes, Hastings Keith. And he said he was a good man and various other people were, and to go ahead and try to work it out.

So when we had the meeting, I simply said, “Now, we'll start off this session, but you folks have got to tell us what to do with this thing. You folks will have to do a whole lot of work for it.” We ought to ask the questions openly, what is to take place. And while Kennedy wasn't involved in this at all, I then put the mayor of this group up to saying, “We will not stand for this.” And I said, “Now, Forest Service, do you have to have that?” In one place they had an alley over here, and they wanted to have this alley in that block. And the Forest Service said, “No, we don't really need it, but we'd like to have it.” I said, “What would you like to do?” “We'd like to take this much out and put this much in.” “Mr. Mayor, how do you like it?” I said. “Well, that'll be all right.” I said, “Congressman Keith, how do you like it?” “Well, it'll be all right.” “Well, that much is agreed to. Now, what's the next step?” So really at the President's suggestion I tried the case in public in the Committee and got them all to agree finally before we got through, and I said, “Now, this is going to be written up. Is any man going to renege? If you're going to quit, we'll quit, too. If you aren't going to renege, we'll try to get this thing done.” They all agreed to it, .and we put the bill through.

And when he signed it, he called me up and said, “I just wanted to show you how a good Senator can work. I couldn't, but you got it done.” I think this is one of the real traits of his. Most of them will say, “Well, I sowed the seed.” He didn't do that; he said, “You got it done.”

STEWART: This was something he was very personally interested in, I think.

ANDERSON: He was very sensible about it. You can't force people; you can't coerce them; you can't use the rod of eminent domain. You've got to do something else. So that's what we did. We got along.

STEWART: You consistently voted against the Administration's feed-grain program and the Agricultural Act of 1962, I believe. Do you recall ever discussing these votes with the President?

ANDERSON: No. He knew what my position was, and he left me alone.

STEWART: There was no problem as far as he was concerned?

ANDERSON: I told him frankly what I was going to do with each one of them, and he never said a word. He knew I'd have to do it.

STEWART: Do you recall ever discussing the wheat sale to Russia with him?

ANDERSON: No. I didn't talk to him about it.

STEWART: You were somewhat critical of the slowness with which the administration resumed nuclear testing after the Soviets did. Do you recall discussing this with him?

ANDERSON: Yes, but I couldn't tell you very much about it. I know that I wasn't happy, and I talked to him about it and we both tried to work on it, but I couldn't think about it in one piece. I've got to get to….

STEWART: That's about all the questions that I have, unless there's anything else you want to say.

ANDERSON: No sir, you can pack up now and try to get these things….

STEWART: Thank you very much.

ANDERSON: You bet.

[END OF INTERVIEW]

Clinton P. Anderson
Name List

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