How LBJ Kept Trains Running, Passed Farm Bills

'Ox Is in the Ditch—I Need Your Help'

By JAMES RESTON
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WASHINGTON—One of the vital natural resources of this country these days is the tireless negotiating skill of President Johnson.

Without it, the House of Representatives would certainly not have passed the farm bill or the food stamp bill last week, and without it, every railroad train in this country would be at a standstill.

Reston

He was on the phone till well after midnight Wednesday, pleading and arguing with wavering members of the House about the farm legislation. The ox was in the ditch, he said; he needed their help. He used every technique in the books. He appealed to their patriotism, to their self-interest, to the political needs of his own party, to his personal need for their friendship and support, and in the end he prevailed.

Thursday he was back at it with the leaders of the railroad companies and the unions. Some of his advisers told him it was the end of the road: There would be a national strike at midnight; he would only lose face by intervening. He entervened anyway.

He got them together in the cabinet room of the White House. He told them labor and management had pledged him their support "on that tragic day in November." He needed that support right now, he said. He was the only president they had, whether they liked it or not.

They told him they had been trying to settle this thing for four years and that they had lost faith in each other. He turned to Roy E. Davidson, head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. "Have you lost faith in me?" he asked. Davidson said, "no." The president asked J. E. (Doc) Wolfe, the chief negotiator for the railroads, the same question and got the same answer, but still they protested.

They said the White House had been involved in this dispute for years and it had done no good. President Johnson said all he asked was the same chance they had given President Kennedy. "Let me have 20 days," he requested.

SOME AIDE TOLD THE president a key man in the dispute was Charles Luna, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, who wasn't there. The White House got him on the phone and the president sent a plane to Canada to bring him in. The president split the negotiators up. He put the union leaders in his own executive office by themselves. He left the railroad owners among the presidential portraits in the cabinet room to think things over. "I'll be back at 8 o'clock for your answer," he told them.

Then he called Walter Heller, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. He wanted within an hour a memorandum in the effect of a national rail strike. At 8 they were still deadlocked. He read them the Heller memorandum and told them a story.

ONCE, HE SAID, WHEN he was a young congressman he lost his temper in a similar dispute in Texas and told everybody to go to hell. Later, a friend said to him: "You can always tell people to go to hell but they don't have to go." The president addressed himself again to Davidson and Wolfe. He asked them to look at one another and say in his presence that they couldn't possibly agree and wouldn't give him a chance. Were they going to tell the president of the United States to go to hell or weren't they? They didn't.

In the end, they gave him 15 days to try. "If the old atmosphere is poisoned, we'll create a new atmosphere," he said. Later that night, he telephoned Dr. George W. Taylor, a distinguished labor mediator at the University of Pennsylvania, whose wife was in a hospital. The president talked to him personally. "I'm not asking you," he said, "I'm telling you to be in my office at 9 in the morning." And so he was. Johnson met with him for over an hour.

MAYBE ALL THIS WON'T WORK, but this capital hasn't seen the like of the Johnson technique in many a year. It is an elemental force. It is directed in such a way that it cannot be ignored. It is highly personal and it is aimed directly at the personal honor of the men in dispute. It can be opposed only by equal force and only with great personal embarrassment, but it cannot be evaded.

This city is still muttering negatively about Johnson's style, but the complaints are really about appearance. If style in government is not merely the art of pleasing but the technique of getting things done and making stubborn men put the general interest above their special interests, then President Johnson has plenty of it. It is not the style of Tunney but the style of Dempsey; it is as obvious and as effective as a swift punch in the nose.

THERE IS ANOTHER POINT. This is not merely the brutal use of presidential power. The emotional content of the Johnson appeal, the total absence of ideology, the passionate insistence on the general welfare, the willingness to talk endlessly through the night if necessary, the vivid earthy American language and optimistic faith that problems can be solved all this is highly effective under Johnson.

He has that rare gift in a small room of antagonists, not only of telling men how he thinks they should feel, but of making them feel it, of forcing them to face the larger problem, as if they were sitting in his chair.

In a vast continental federal union, with inevitable conflicts between regions, parties, classes, and institutions, this is a personal force of immense value to the nation.

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Civil Rights Strategy:

Backers To Rely On Public, LBJ

(C) NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON—Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey predicted Saturday that President Johnson would take an increasingly strong and effective part in the current battle for civil rights legislation.

Humphrey, Democratic floor manager of the rights bill now before the Senate, cited the President's influence as one of two major factors favoring termination of Senate debate and passage of the measure.

"Knowing the President," he said, "I expect him to produce miracles. He has a mystery kit of legislative remedies."

"The main force that will bring about action on this bill will be an irate public opinion," he added.

The Senate met in Saturday session to complete five full weeks of debate on the bill.

With the proponents' opening presentation completed, southerners resumed Saturday the tactic of continuous oratory that had immobilized the Senate in the first three weeks.

Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. led off the new relay of speech-making with an attack on the bill as "the most monstrous blueprint for governmental tyranny ever presented to the congress."

"The tragic truth is that the bill is as full of legal tricks as a many hound dog is of fleas," the North Carolina Democrat declared.

The Senate mustered a quorum of 51 members 10 minutes after convening Saturday and thus saved leaders the embarrassment of a second successive Saturday without a working majority on hand.

Last Saturday, the Senate had to recess for the weekend after 40 minutes when only 39 members responded to a quorum call.

Saturday, 61 answered to their names when the roll was called, but nearly all of them quickly vanished and were not seen on the floor for the rest of the day. They felt free to leave under terms of a gentlemen's agreement that there would be no more quorum calls during the day.

At times, only four senators were on the floor.

Dixie Bloc Stiffens Opposition

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON (AP)—Southern opponents were reported solidifying their opposition Saturday to any early softening amendments to the House-passed civil rights bill.

A cross-section check of the measure's foes indicates a majority believes there is enough national dissatisfaction with the terms of the legislation to open the possibility of defeating it or forcing extensive modifications to remove aspects they most object to.

This belief is built in part on the surprising showing of Alabama's segregationist Gov. George C. Wallace when he took 25 per cent of the vote in last Tuesday's Wisconsin primary. Wallace said he ran to demonstrate opposition to the civil rights program.

Privately most of the Southern senators deplore that their cause was represented by a governor who dramatized his opposition to school integration by standing in the doorway as Wallace did. They think a less spectacular civil rights opponent might have done even better.

But they will be watching Wallace's performance in the May 5 Indiana and May 19 Maryland Democratic presidential primaries for further signs of what they hope is a strong undercurrent of opposition to the pending bill. Its sponsors describe the measure as mild and moderate but the Southerners characterize it as drastic and vicious.

President Johnson has called for Senate passage of the House bill without changes. Democratic leaders have echoed this demand altough there have been indications they would accept amendments which House leaders think that body would accept readily.

The Southerners may ease off their talk in another 10 days to permit a vote on some amendments.

When that test comes, the measure's sponsors could find a majority of the Southerners voting with them against the proposed changes. One veteran Dixie Democrat analyzed the proposed strategy this way:

"We want to keep this bill in its most vicious form. That way we have a chance of defeating it."

Rocky Pleads For Support

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) — Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller pleaded in a statewide television broadcast Saturday night for public support in his liquor-law battle with the legislature and indicated he would not compromise on his basic demands.

"Off and on for 30 years, corruption in liquor control has brought shame to New York State and her citizens," he said. "I need your support, if together we are to change the situation."

Struggling to protect his national reputation as a leader and preserve his White House hopes, the Republican governor took to the air with a 15-minute recorded talk sponsored by a hastily organized "Citizens Committee for Liquor Law Reform."

Rockefeller's objective was to swing pressure against the balky lawmakers in advance of Wednesday's special session of the GOP-controlled legislature.

Politicians Boost Tempo

By ERNEST STROMBERGER
ASSOCIATED PRESS

Texas politics, suffering from a slow start amid some signs of voter disinterest this year, is picking up speed.

With only three weeks remaining before the May 2 primaries, the two incumbents are launching strong campaigns.

Gov. John Connally, Democrat, who has played a waiting game while his Democratic and Republican opponents have scoured the state, begins Monday a series of thrice-weekly local television appearances.

Connally urged West Texas Chamber of Commerce leaders Saturday to help "assure Texas a place of continued leadership in our nation's rush into the age of space."

"Today, there are two unfulfilled possibilities which are vital to the perpetuation of Texas' economic well-being: The full and continuing development of both our manufacturing and our tourist industries," Connally said.

He urged the businessmen to "work together to assure a program for our schools which will guarantee excellence," develop a statewide water program, "work to maintain favorable tax policies — not patchwork expediency — at both the state and local levels, and most certainly we must work together to advertise our advantages."

Houston attorney Don Yarborough, who narrowly lost the Democratic gubernatorial nomination to Connally in 1962, said in Waco Saturday he favored the passage of laws for "fair and constitutional taxes" on natural gas.

"There is no reason why Texas should remain No. 1 in the nation in natural resources and rank at the bottom half among the states in education, per capita income, teachers salaries and old age pensions," he said.

U.S. Sen. Ralph Yarborough D-Tex., plans a series of public speeches and other appearances during the week, after spending most of last week in Washington.

Yarborough's Democratic opponent, Gordon McLendon, is promoting a statewide telecast Tuesday night.

"During this campaign I have spoken individually of what I consider the major issues in the senatorial race," McLendon said. "In my Tusday night speech I propose to summarize my position on all those issues and comment on the position of my opponent, insofar as he has revealed his stand."

Yarborough spoke at ceremonies at Stephenville Saturday dedicating the $14.7 million Proctor Reservoir and then went to Brownsboro to address the annual volunteer firemen's benefit banquet.

Yarborough told the Stephenville gathering the reservoir is part of a coordinated plan for the growth of Texas. He said water shortages are the state's biggest handicap.

Two of the four Republicans seeking the GOP nomination to run against the Democratic nominee in the November general election, Jack Cox and George Bush, were among GOP Senate candidates addressing a large Saturday rally on a ranch near Angleton.

Another GOP candidate at the rally was Bill Hayes, candidate for congressman-at-large, who pledged support of legislation "which will return the right to have prayer in our schools."

Earlier Saturday, Bush offered a Texas City audience his "freedom package" as an alternative to President Johnson's "poverty package" which Bush said "embraces many worn-out New-Deal programs which didn't work even in the 1930s." Bush's plan, he said, would allow "the unfettered free enterprise system a chance to show it can do the job."

In Austin, four candidates appeared before a rally sponsored by the Texas chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. (See story, Page 10-B)

Another GOP candidate in Austin, U.S. Senate hopeful Milton Davis, told newsmen he proposes a constitutional amendment to give Congress veto power over the U.S. Supreme Court's decisions, similar to Congress' power to override presidential vetos.

In Houston, Democrat Robert Baker campaigned in his home town for congressman-at-large, telling supporters the incumbent, Rep. Joe Pool, D-Tex., "has a better Republican voting record than U.S. Sen. John Tower," Texas Republican.

Preparing for Visit by Mrs. Connally

Mrs. Alexander J. Oppenheimer, left, Mrs. Asher R. McComb, center, and Mrs. Woodward Altgelt Jr., among those who will host a merienda for Mrs. John Connally Wednesday, discuss plans Saturday. Mrs. Connally's visit here will be part of an eight-day tour of the state on behalf of her husband.—Staff Photo.

S. Texas Vote Hunt Continues

EXPRESS-NEWS AUSTIN BUREAU

AUSTIN — Statewide political candidates will continue to hunt votes in the South Texas area this week:

Democratic candidate for governor Don Yarborough will address a PASO rally in Del Rio at 1:30 p.m. Sunday and a campaign rally in Laredo Sunday at 7:30. He will also make a 30 minute television speech just before the rally.

Gop gubernatorial candidate Jack Crichton is scheduled to address a rally in New Braunfels at 7 p.m. Tuesday.

Democratic senate candidate Gordon McLendon will return to the lower Rio Grande Valley Tuesday, for appearances in McAllen, Edinburg and Mission.

Sen. Ralph Yarborough, returning to Texas for his first seven-day week of solid campaigning will spend most of the week in the Houston-Galveston, and Fort Worth areas, moving to Borger in the Panhandle Saturday night. He has no South Texas speeches booked during the week.

Gop senate candidate Robert Morris, who spoke in San Antonio Friday, will be in Victoria and Corpus Christi Tuesday and Harlingen and Brownsville Wednesday. Republican senate candidate Jack Cox's schedule will take him to North and West Texas after a Monday visit to Port Arthur. George Bush and Dr. Milton Davis did not announce schedules.

Lt. Gov. Preston Smith will address the Nueces County medical Society in Corpus Christi Tuesday night and campaign in the city Wednesday.

Congress-at-large candidate Robert W. Baker will spend the entire week in the Rio Grande Valley and South Texas. He will be in Brownsville Sunday, Victoria, Port Lavaca and Corpus Christi Monday, Corpus Christi, Robstown, Kingsville, Raymondville and Brownsville Tuesday, Brownsville, Harlingen, Weslaco, McAllen and Edinburg Wednesday; Mission, Rio Grande City, Laredo, Cotulla, Pearsall and San Antonio Thursday; and San Antonio Saturday and Sunday.

Kentucky GOP Is Uninstructed

LOUISVILLE, Ky. (AP)—The Republican state convention agreed Saturday to send 24 uninstructed delegates to the national convention, a move requested by a possible dark horse presidential candidate.

Status of Major Bills In Congress This Week

WASHINGTON (AP) — The status of major legislation this week:

(HR 8363) Texa reduction and revision—Enacted.
(HR 3920) Medical Care for Aged Under Social Security—pending in House Ways and Means Committee.
(HR 00) Federal Aid for Public Elementary Schools—In House Education and Labor Committee.
(HR 6143) Federal Aid for Academic Facilities for Colleges—Enacted.
(HR 12) Federal Aid for Doctor, Dental and Nursing Schools—Enacted.
(S 6) Mass Transportation Aid for Urban Areas—passed Senate; in House Rules Committee.
(S 1) Creation of youth training corps—passed Senate; in House Rules Committee.
(HR 8986) Pay palses for federal employes and members of Congress—defeated by House.
(S 2525 and HR 10334) Livestock and beef import controls—in Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Committees.
(HR 8137) Expansion and extension of food stamp program—passed House; in Senate Agriculture Committee.
(S 2214) Additional financing for International Development Association—passed Senate, recommitted by House.
(HR 5525) (S 1321) Creation of Domestic Peace Corps—in House Education and Labor Committee; passed Senate.
(S 1163) Area Redevelopment Assistance—passed Senate; in House Rules Committee.
(HR 4955) Expansion of vocational education programs—Enacted.
(S 4) Establishment of wilderness preservation system—passed Senate; in House Interior Committee.
(X) Expansion of unemployment compensation—in House Ways and Means Committee.
(HR 6196) Wheat and cotton subsidies—passed Senate and House; sent to President.
(HR 4955) Expansion of student loan program—Enacted.
(X) New production control programs for farm products—in House Agriculture Committee.
(HR 5517) Additional funds for public works construction—Enacted.
(HR 10502) Extension of Foreign Aid Program—in House Foreign Affairs Committee.
(HR 7152 and S 1732) Civil Rights Program—passed House; on Senate calendar.
(HR 4997) Extension of voluntary acreage reduction program for feed grains—Enacted.
(HR 5555) Pay raises for military personnel—Enacted.
(HR 6688) Increase in Social Security taxes—in House Ways and Means Committee.
(X) Number not assigned pending committee action.

How Texas Congressmen Voted

How Texas members of Congress are recorded as voting on recent roll calls (all are Democrats except Sen. Tower and Reps. Alger and Foreman, Republicans):

Senate
No major roll, calls 1 period covered.
House
On passage, 229-189, of bill calling for a food stamp program for needy families:
For—Beckworth, Brooks, Gonzalez, Mahon, Patman, Pickle, Poage, Pool, Purcell, Rogers, Thomas, Thompson, Wright, Young.
Against—Alger, Casey, Fisher, Foreman, Kilgore, Roberts.
Listed as not voting—Burleson, Dowdy, Teague.
On passage, 211-203, of Wheat-Cotton Subsidy Bill:
For—Beckworth, Brooks, Gonzalez, Kilgore, Mahon, Patman, Pickle, Poage, Pool, Purcell, Roberts, Rogers, Thomas, Thompson, Wright, Young. Against—Alger, Fisher, Foreman.
Listed as "present"—Casey. Listed as not voting—Burleson, Dowdy, Teague.

Goldwater, Sen. Smith Face Test in Illinois

CHICAGO (AP)— Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona and Sen. Margaret Chase Smith of Maine will test their vote-pulling powers Tuesday in the Illinois presidential preference primary.

The election is expected to bring more than two million voters to the polls. That would be the largest turnout thus far in the spring primary series.

One of the main voter magnets is a brisk fight for the Republican nomination for governor. It matches Charles H. Percy, 44, board chairman of Bell & Howell Co., against William J. Scott, 37, state treasurer who has come up fast in party ranks.

Only the names of Goldwater and Mrs. Smith are printed in the preference spot on the Republican ballots.

A Chicago neighborhood group, which opposes the public accommodations provisions of the civil rights bill under debate in the U.S. Senate, started a move during the week for write-ins for Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who gathered 260,000 votes in the Wisconsin primary.

Write-ins rarely are important factors in Illinois. Some county clerks said they won't count write-ins Tuesday night, and some will let them go until the official canvass.

Goldwater Gets Minnesota Votes

ST. PAUL, Minn. (AP)—Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., a candidate for the GOP presidential nomination, claimed two of the six Republican National Convention delegates chosen at Minnesota district conventions Saturday.

Two other chosen were backers of the favorite son candidacy of former Minnesota Rep. Walter Judd, and two were uncommitted.

'Non-Candidates' Make Most News

EDITOR'S NOTE—This article rounds up what happened during the past week in the presidential campaign.

By J.W. DAVIS

WASHINGTON (AP) — Three men who say they aren't really candidates provided the top highlights during the week in the presidential campaign.

They were:

Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, segregationist and states rights champion, who pulled far more votes in the Wisconsin Democratic presidential preference primary than anybody had predicted.

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, who shot to the front in major polls on Republican presidential choices while still staying thousands of miles away, in South Viet Nam.

Gov. William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania, who made what he described as his strongest-yet disavowel of interest in the Republican nomination. Still, he left the door open to a draft if "it came from the hearts of the people."

Scranton Tie Breaker

Scranton seemed on the face of things to have put himself in a position to become a candidate only if the party's national convention becomes deadlocked.

It is just three months from Monday that the GOP convention will open, in San Francisco. The Democratic convention, which is in advance the undisputed domain of President Johnson, won't begin until Aug. 24, in Atlantic City, N.J.

The principal announced Republican candidates, Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, found reason to be pleased by some of the week's developments.

Goldwater got good news from the important state of Illinois, when he was heavily favored in a poll of candidates seeking election as delegates to the national convention.

Rockefeller was well received by a gathering of Republican women in Washington. His wife was on hand to help him campaign, although she expects a baby soon.

Nixon Tabbed

Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon was tabbed by a veteran columnist, Walter Lippmann, as the man the Republicans probably will nominate. Nixon is another of the non-candidates in this campaign.

Nixon also made news when, during a visit to Manila, he danced the tinikling. This is an intricate Philippine folk dance performed with bamboo poles.

Among both Democrats and Republicans, there was much interest in the performance of Alabama's Gov. Wallace in Wisconsin.

The Deep South governor got more than 10 times the 20,000 Northern votes he had said in advance he would regard as a victorious total. His showing surprised and impressed many politicians, but some discounted it as resulting in part from Republicans crossing over to the Democratic primary.

Wallace Appeal

The extent of Wallace's appeal, based as it is on opposition to new federal civil rights legislation for Negroes, may become more apparent next month. He has entered presidential preference primaries in Indiana, May 5, and in Maryland, May 15. These states allow no crossover votes.

Wallace's vote in Wisconsin was in opposition to Gov. John W. Reynolds who ran and won as a stand-in for President Johnson. The President and Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy both advised Wisconsin Democrats before the primary of their high regard for Reynolds.

Two days after the primary, without reference to it in so many words, Johnson told a civil rights meeting of businessmen at the White House that nothing has happened to swerve his administration from its support of the civil rights bill before Congress.

Besides talking to the businessmen, Johnson during the week dropped in on a Washington meeting of AFL-CIO union leaders. In another friendly gesture, Mrs. Johnson invited the Daughters of the American Revolution to a White House reception.

Independent Oil Men Back Langdon

State Railroad Commissioner Jim Langdon received support of two groups of leading independent oil men Saturday as he met in San Antonio with his supporters and was honored with a cocktail party.

About 400 persons turned out Saturday night for the cocktail party at San Antonio Country Club honoring the former chief justice of the Court of Civil Appeals in El Paso.

Support for the Democratic candidate seeking election to the post to which Gov. John Connally appointed him last May came Saturday from two groups of oil men, including Bruce Street of Graham, president of the Texas Producers and Royalty Owners Association.

The statement by the nine oil men including Street said Langdon "knows the problems of the oil industry and is able and willing to lend his complete support to finding responsible and effective solutions."

"In the time Judge Langdon has been on the commission, he has shown a keen grasp of the problems faced by the petroleum industry in Texas and has moved effectively to aid in their solution," a statement issure by 19 oilmen said. "We feel his election will be a valuable stabilizing influence in the administration of our oil and gas conservation laws."

Langdon leaves San Antonio Sunday to campaign further in West Texas.

Page Archives of
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