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INTERVIEWEES: CLIFFORD AND VIRGINIA DURR (Tape #1)

INTERVIEWER: MICHAEL L. GILLETTE

PLACE: LBJ Ranch, Stonewall, Texas

March 1, 1975

VFD: What I would like to tell you is my connection with Lyndon Johnson in connection with the right to vote struggle, because that to me was my great crusade when I lived in Washington. It remained my crusade, and it still is in a way because I'm still fighting to get people out to vote.

When I first knew Lyndon and Bird, which was about 1937, wasn't it, at that time I had just begun to catch on to Washington. We'd come in 1933, but I hadn't gotten into any kind of action or done anything there. I had gone to work for the Democratic National Committee in the Women's Division, but only as a volunteer. You see, in those days you had servants. Even though Cliff's salary was less than ten thousand dollars, we just took it for granted we would have two servants, a cook and a nurse for the children. Of course, we didn't pay them very much. I look back on it now and I really blush to think how little they were paid. But you were given freedom to go into town and take part in things. So, I was such an enthusiastic New Dealer and such an admirer of Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt.

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My brother-in-law, Hugo Black, was then in the Senate. He was the senator from Alabama at that time. He rather encouraged me to volunteer for the Democratic National Committee, Women's Division. You see, they still have a Women's Division, which is not very active now, but at that time it was extremely active because Mrs. Roosevelt took a great deal of interest in it. There was a very nice woman named Dorothy McAllister from Grand Rapids who was head of it, and May Thompson Evans was her assistant. She was a Southern girl whom I met up there. The Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee were fighting for something which they called the Fifty-Fifty Plan, that the state committees should be composed equally of men and women, which of course has never been accomplished yet. I went there and volunteered, and it was extremely pleasant because the people there were very nice. Mrs. Roosevelt would come in , and occasionally we would be invited to lunch at the White House. So the main thing that they were engaged in was this Fifty-Fifty Plan, and the great blank in the United States was the Southern women. They just didn't vote. This was mostly the white Southern women. You see, at that time there was no question of the struggle for the black vote. We were very backward indeed, but that hadn't come up in the Democratic Party. Can you realize that? You see, this was the year '33, '34, or '35. We did a great deal of

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talking, and thought about it, and researched it too, and they came up with the idea, which I think was correct, that the main barrier to the Southern women voting--white women, you see, we're still dealing in the context of white--was the poll tax. You see, the poll tax was imposed around 1901, when the disenfranchising conventions met. You remember after the Civil War, the slaves were enfranchised, and then there was a great wave of populism. The black vote was used by all sides, you know, bought up and used. So the Populist Party and the Republican Party and the Democratic Party all got together, at least the white members did, and said that the Negro vote would have to be just wiped out because it was being used so corruptly. They didn't blame themselves, you see, for using it, they blamed blacks. Well what they did was, they had a series of disenfranchising conventions, and that's when the white primary was inaugurated, and the Grandfather Clause, and what else, Cliff?

CJD: Well, they put in educational requirements, but they exempted from the educational requirements a person who had so much assessed value of property. It was pretty low, but the blacks couldn't meet that. Many of the poor whites couldn't meet it. And then the poll tax on top of all the rest of it. I think in Alabama it was only $1.50 a year. But the way they worked that out--of course, it was cumulative: you didn't have to pay a poll tax after 45, but if you started voting at

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the age of 45, you had to go back and catch up on all back taxes.

VFD: That was $36.

CJD: Somewhere around that. Another little trick: of course you got notice of taxes due, but you never got any notice that the poll tax was due. And as part of the context too, there were so few women at the time that had jobs. You had a few schoolteachers and were beginning to get a few stenographers, but most women had no money except what their husbands gave them. Then when Virginia got into this thing the Depression was on, and $1.50 was a lot of money. It made a difference in whether you ate or voted. If you got the cumulative feature in there, many families were living for a month or longer on the $35. So it was a real barrier.

VFD: Well, I should say so. In Birmingham they didn't have any public relief at all in the depths of the Depression, and the Red Cross rate was $2.50 a week for a family of five. So you can imagine how poor people were. They were just desperately poor. I think that really what divides our generation from your generation is the Depression. I mean, it's just hard for you to realize people lined up for soup kitchens and living on $2.50 a week doled out by the Red Cross. The country just fell flat on its face.

What had happened, you see, after the poll taxes were imposed was that the rate of voting just fell, fell, fell. It just kept going down,

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down, down. In Texas it got down to around thirty percent of the voting population, not of the population as a whole. In Alabama it was something like fourteen percent; in Mississippi it was thirteen percent. I think Virginia had the lowest rate; it was twelve percent. Now they had a cumulative feature, but only for three years. Even so, it kept people in Virginia from voting.

So we plunged enthusiastically into this struggle, you see, for the right to vote. This was in the Women's Division. We lobbied on the Hill and got in touch with all kinds of organizations. We were going great guns, we thought, when all of a sudden, Mr. Jim Farley, who was then the chairman of the Democratic Committee, came up to the office, and he said, "Stop all this. It's making the Southerners sore." And [he] absolutely said, "Now, you just can't do this." He was absolutely adamant about it. We appealed to Mrs. Roosevelt. I suppose she appealed to the President. But anyway, they said we just could not pursue this abolition of the poll tax any more in the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee. It was just too dangerous, because the Southerners were getting mad at us. You know, as small a ripple as we were making it just showed how terrified they were, really, of the whole struggle for the right to vote.

So when I met Lyndon and Bird at the Goldschmidt's about 1937, wasn't it, he'd just been elected to Congress.

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CJD: I think that's the year he came to Congress.

VFD: As I said, he was so involved in the Lower Colorado River Authority, he and Alvin. You see, Alvin Wirtz was the Undersecretary of the Interior. When Lyndon got into anything, you know, he absolutely concentrated on it, and this was the Lower Colorado River Authority! Oh, I got so tired of hearing about it! Every time we'd go out to dinner, Lyndon would set forth on the Lower Colorado River [Authority]. As I was saying, I saw the Colorado River and finally realized there was a Colorado River, that it had been dammed up, and I thought, "Well thank God. Finally something came of it."

The thing that made Lyndon different from other people, I suppose, was that when he started doing something, he poured every ounce of his energy into it and it became the great overriding thing of his life. He didn't hold back anything. He just pounded and pounded and pounded on it. And then of course, he cultivated everybody that could be of any help to him at all. This was his political strain, you see. Tex Goldschmidt worked for the Interior Department, and Mike Strauss, and Abe Fortas. They were all working for Harold Ickes, so they all became great friends of Lyndon's. I don't want you to think that Lyndon was cold-blooded in that he made his friends only on those people who could help him. Of course,

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Alvin Wirtz was the Under secretary of the Interior, too, and he was at that time, you know, his political mentor. You know Alvin. You've got his papers, I hope.

MLG: Sure. I'm going to ask you some question about him.

VFD: Oh well, do. Anyway, the point I'm making is: Lyndon wasn't cold-blooded in that he only cultivated people who could help him. But if he was going after something, he did cultivate the people that could help him. Does that make sense to you?

CJD: Well I think there in the Interior with Tex and Abe and the rest of them--

VFD: And Clark Foreman.

CJD: --they were as enthusiastic about it as Lyndon. It was just sort of a natural alliance.

VFD: Yes, it was an alliance. He wasn't using them. It was an alliance. But you see, Ickes was the great advocate of the public spending on public works, wasn't that right, Cliff?

CJD: Yes.

VFD: What do you want to ask me about Alvin?

MLG: Senator Wirtz became Undersecretary of the Interior I think in 1941, in January of '41. Did you meet him before that?

VFD: Oh, he was before that, wasn't he?

MLG: No, I believe that's when it was.

VFD: Are you sure it was that late?

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MLG: 1940 or 1941.

VFD: I'm surprised at that. I thought it was before that.

CJD: I think he was up in Washington working on this thing from time to time before he became Undersecretary of the Interior.

VFD: Well, we knew him as soon as we knew Lyndon. I think we met him the same night over at Tex Goldschmidt's, Alvin Wirtz and Kitty Mae. You see, Alvin was a good deal older than [Lyndon], and he had one daughter, but he kind of treated Lyndon like a son. Lyndon had these relationships with older men like Alvin and Sam Rayburn. They both sort of treated him like a son. Lyndon always said "Yes, sir" and "No, sir" to Alvin.

MLG: Did he call him Senator Wirtz?

VFD: Yes, Senator Wirtz. He had been a state senator. He was an extremely attractive man. He had a kind of warmth of personality that was very charming, and he had a cute wife named Kitty Mae who loved to give parties. She gave lots of parties, and they liked to go out. They were very popular in Washington. They were a very attractive couple. Now I hate to say this because it shows Alvin in a bad light, but it just shows the thinking of the time. I remember Alvin and Lyndon and all of them sitting down at our house on Seminary Hill one Sunday afternoon. I was off on the right to vote. Alvin said, "Now you know if you do get that through, all the

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colored people are going to vote, and that's going to really mess things up." I said, "Well why shouldn't they vote?" I can remember exactly what he said. He said, "Look. I like mules, but you don't bring mules into the parlor." I hate to say it because it puts him in a bad light, but this was the thinking of the time in the South, that Negroes were really on the level with mules. It wasn't that they weren't kindly toward them, but the idea of equality! This is what makes Lyndon amazing, that he overcame this sort of attitude. Well, we did too, because we were both raised Southern racists and segregationists. But Alvin didn't say that in any kind of vicious manner at all, did he, Cliff?

CJD: No. I don't remember this particular occasion, but I remember his attitude generally.

MLG: Would you say that he was a civil libertarian?

CJD: Those issues hadn't arisen. The problems of the New Deal at that time are predominantly economic.

VFD: See, the business establishment had fallen flat on its face, and the government was rescuing it. Businessmen were there in Washington pleading for help. Alvin represented a lot of the big corporations in Texas. He wasn't a man of any radical sympathies at all, but he did believe in the government in the water thing. I think he came from a place called Seguin. Coming from Alabama

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where you have so much water, we never realized what a terrific thing water was to people until we knew a lot of these Texans. Then we went to Colorado, and of course, that's just--their all-absorbing topic is water. They go to war over water; fight each other over water. But with Alvin and Lyndon this Lower Colorado River Authority meant everything in the world to them, and I suppose it had done a great deal for the State of Texas.

Then we knew Lyndon in another context through Aubrey Williams, who was our great friend from Alabama. He was born and raised in Alabama. He had been head of the NYA, and Lyndon had been head of the Texas NYA. That had been sort of his first boost up into the big scene, and he was very good at it. He and Aubrey formed a very warm friendship, too, so we used to see him there. The Southerners in Washington were a rather cohesive group. In fact, the New Deal group was rather cohesive, wouldn't you say so, Cliff?

CJD: I think it was. The Southern New Deal group, yes. The race issue wasn't in it so much, and there were no civil liberties problems at that time. [This was] long before McCarthyism. We didn't have any of those problems. So the issues were economic, feeding people and getting business back on its feet.

VFD: And also, the great issue at that time that came up was the Wagner Act and the formation of the labor unions, and the right of the labor unions

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to operate. That was a great divisive issue, which divided. You see, the South was totally against unionism.

MLG: Let's talk some more about Senator Wirtz as a mentor in some of these issues, [such as] the public power fight. Wirtz was a corporation lawyer and represented some of the big corporations, but he was very much in favor of public power.

VFD: Sure. So was Lyndon.

MLG: Do you remember any episodes regarding public power discussions in Washington?

VFD: I remember the discussions. As I say, it seems to me that was all they talked about, the Lower Colorado River Authority. Any time we had a dinner party or were with them at a party, it seemed to me that Lyndon and Alvin were talking about the Lower Colorado River Authority. But you see, at that time the corporations and the businessmen were certainly not against public power. They wanted it as much as anybody else. They couldn't put out all that vast amount of money that was needed, you see, to build the dams and all.

CJD: It was a little bit mixed, because there was a good deal of business opposition to TVA, let's say.

VFD: Oh yes, there was a lot of opposition to TVA.

CJD: Of course, that was largely the utilities that were fighting it.

VFD: There was not much opposition to Ickes' Public Works program.

CJD: No. No, that's right.

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VFD: Those great big dams, you see, he built in the West. There was no opposition to that.

Alvin Wirtz was a perfectly lovely man and had a sweet wife and a darling daughter. He was a very attractive man, a very warm man. Men and women both liked him very much. But he was a conservative.

MLG: I heard he was a great raconteur.

VFD: Oh, yes. He told very funny stories.

MLG: A lot of Johnson stories came from Alvin Wirtz.

VFD: Very likely. Alvin was much older than Lyndon. I think he had a great influence on Lyndon, but I think Lyndon grew far beyond Alvin. I think he went way beyond Alvin's concept of the world.

But in any case, going back to the right to vote, when the right to vote became an issue, a really burning issue, was when the Wagner Act was passed. The union organizers came South to try to organize the South, and they were met with almost 100 percent hostility. They were thrown into jail and held incommunicado. It absolutely was a failure, a real failure. Some of them got organized, but very few. You see, John L. Lewis was the head of that at the time, and of course he had these United Mine Workers in the South that had been there for a long time. For instance in Birmingham, "Bull" Connor, that vicious character, used to just hold them in jail incommunicado

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for months at a time. A lot of them just disappeared. Nobody knows where they went, just died or killed or thrown in the river, or something. The same thing happened in Mississippi; they just disappeared. Roosevelt got elected in 1936. You see, Lyndon supported him very, very strongly each time he ran. He campaigned for him, came down and campaigned for him. So when he ran in '36, he got this overwhelming vote, Roosevelt did. Isn't that right, Cliff?

CJD: Yes.

VFD: Every state but two. After he got this overwhelming vote, Roosevelt made a conscious decision that the New Deal was being sabotaged by the Southern congressmen and senators. You know all this, don't you?

MLG: The purge.

VFD: Well, the purge failed too, you see. He went over to Georgia and made that great speech at Milledgeville about [how] feudalism and fascism are the same thing, or approximately the same thing, and how while he honored Mr. George, he didn't represent the--. Of course, George got elected with the biggest majority he had ever had. So it was after that, after this purge had failed, that Cliff and a lot of the young New Dealers got together in Washington. Under the auspices of . . . what was it called, Cliff?

CJD: The National Emergency Council, wasn't it? I've forgotten. Lowell Mellett headed it.

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VFD: Lowell Mellett headed it. They got together, and Clark Foreman of Georgia was sort of the leader in it. They wrote a pamphlet called, "The South's Economic Problem--"

CJD: Oh, that's the report on the economic problems of the South. I've forgotten the name of it.

MLG: "Report on the Economic Condition of the South."

CJD: Condition. But the term, "The South is the nation's economic problem Number One" was in Roosevelt's press statement when he released the report. That wasn't in the report itself.

VFD: Cliff wrote a brilliant piece, I thought, on credit, saying that the South was the paradox of the nation.

CJD: This part was edited out, but the New York Times picked it up from a wastepaper basket. I have forgotten exactly how I worded it, that the South was the paradox of the nation, one of the richest sections but at the same time, the very poorest. Rich in natural resources and manpower, but poor in the manmade machinery of finance necessary to make use of the natural resources for the benefit of the Southern people. As a result, it has to stand idly by and see its riches enjoyed by others not so abundantly blessed by nature but in control of the manmade machinery of finance.

VFD: Oh, that was it.

CJD: That was edited out of the report as published, but some newspaperman began to go through the wastepaper baskets, and that was picked out.

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That was the heading. The New York Times made that a feature story the day after the report came out.

MLG: Can you recall the genesis of this report?

VFD: Oh, yes.

CJD: Well, I was not in on the ideas. I think there were some of them over in the Labor Department, wasn't it?

VFD: No, what happened was that Clark Foreman was from Georgia. His uncle, Clark Howell, was the editor of the Atlanta Constitution, and he was in Ickes' Interior Department. He was a great friend of Tex Goldschmidt's, and they were very active in all kinds of New Deal goings on. After the purge had failed, you see, after Roosevelt had received such a stunning setback, after the huge mandate of the election, it was through some of the administration people--I believe it was Jerome Frank. Yes, Jerome Frank. He was one of those very smart lawyers who was very much in with the White House, an extremely brilliant fellow who later became a professor at Yale. Wasn't it Yale?

CJD: Well, I think when he went from the government. Wasn't he appointed to the Federal bench?

VFD: Eventually. But he and Clark Foreman were friends. So Jerome Frank and Clark Foreman cooked up the idea of issuing this report on the South. So they got hold of Cliff and Tex Goldschmidt.

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Jerome dropped out of it. He never took part in it. Jerome had been in the Agricultural Department, you see, and had seen the terrible plight of agriculture in the South, too. There were a lot of those North Carolina people, like Arthur Raper. All those people around the University of North Carolina, Frank Graham's group, you know. They all got together, usually met in my living room, didn't they, Cliff?

CJD: Well, not altogether.

VFD: Well all over, really.

CJD: I was not in on the original idea, but my first connection was that Clark and Lowell Mellett came to my office. I was with the RFC at the time.

VFD: Lowell Mellett was in the White House at that time.

CJD: My job at the time was head of the section recapitalizing the busted banks, so I had some awareness of the credit situation. We talked about it, and then I dictated the letter for Roosevelt to sign that was the preface to this report, and which started it off directing Lowell Mellett to make this study, making use of the staff, the people in government. I was pretty busy. I would sit in with them from time to time, and I did pull together all the figures for the section on credit in the South. I think I had a draft of it, and it was rewritten by Jack Fischer, who was later editor of Harper's magazine. He was in the government at the time. He did a good

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part of the writing.

VFD: But this report came out. Then Lowell Mellett invited a very distinguished group of Southerners to come up to Washington, and they read it. You must have a copy of it.

MLG: Sure. I've read it.

VFD: They put their seal on it.

(Pause in recording)

VFD: We were talking about the Economic Report Number One that all these young men, these Southerners and the New Deal got out. Not all of them, but this group did.

Now at the same time that this was going on, there was this big drive of labor in the South that was also being defeated by the Southern sheriffs and political forces. Roosevelt had been defeated by the political forces of the South, and John L. Lewis had been defeated by the political forces of the South. Of course, John L. Lewis had put a lot of money into Roosevelt's campaign, you know, in '36. I don't think that had any effect on Mr. Roosevelt, though. Mr. Lewis, of all people, chose as his public relations expert in the South a sweetest kind of Southern lady named Miss Lucy Randolph Mason from Virginia. She was a descendant, you know, of George Mason and the Mason that represented the Confederacy. I knew her because her sister lived in Alexandria, and I knew the Lewises because they lived in Alexandria, and we

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were all right there together. So Miss Lucy had been in YWCA work, and she wanted to get out of that. Mr. Lewis gave her this job as his public relations expert in the South. Well, you can imagine the effect it had on people, because she was the kind of Virginia lady that when she walked into a room, people just instinctively stood up and took off their hats. They were expecting some old battle-ax and then in would walk Miss Lucy looking like a very proper Virginia lady. She was a very fine woman and a very brave woman. She got all involved in this textile strike they were having in Mississippi which was a very bad strike. I think it was at Tupelo, where John Rankin came from. John Rankin, you know, was just a vicious racist, a vicious anti-labor man, too. That strike was broken with a great deal of violence, people were thrown in jail, and all kinds of trouble. I had a friend named Ida Engeman, Ida Sledge she was. She had been part of this labor drive. She had been to Wellesley. She went down there, and she was a member of one of the old aristocratic families of Mississippi. They drove her out in her nightgown twice, came to the hotel and just ran her out of town. It was really vicious. At that same time, there was some radical element in these labor struggles. You see, John L. Lewis had a rule in the Mine Workers that no Communist could ever become a member. You know, he was very anti-communist. But in this drive to unionize the South, he used a lot of young people who at that time were radicals,

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like the people that came South in the civil rights fight, very young, idealistic people, some of whom were Communist at that time. Of course, they got it rougher than anybody. Anyway, a man named Joe Gelders, who came from Alabama and had been a professor at the University of Alabama, got awfully upset by the Depression and seeing all the starvation and suffering that went on. He came from a wealthy Jewish family. But the thing that really set him off was when they began to kill the pigs and plow up the cotton. He thought this was just awful, when people were starving, to kill the pigs, and when they didn't have anything to wear to plow up the cotton. So he went to the University of Alabama library and began to read economics, and he went right up through from Adam Smith to Karl Marx. He finally came to this brilliant conclusion that it's very simple: just have socialism. (Laughing) Didn't have to bother at all; this would solve everything. So he got fired from the University. That wasn't a popular idea in Alabama in those days. So he became the representative of something called The Southern Civil Rights or Civil Liberties. It was affiliated with one of the labor defense leagues. He always said he wasn't a communist, but I'm sure he worked with them, if you know what I mean. He came to Alabama and got involved in this fight against "Bull" Connor. You see, "Bull" Connor at that time was head of the

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Steel Police in Alabama. You see, the TC&I, the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company, which was a subsidiary of the United States Steel Company, had a private police force of which "Bull" Connor was the head. You know "Bull" Connor.

MLG: Sure.

CJD: Crack Hanna, I believe was the head of that.

VFD: Then "Bull" Connor got elected Police Commissioner of Birmingham.

CJD: He was later elected Police Commissioner about the same time.

VFD: And then Crack Hanna got to be head of [the Steel Police]. Well anyway, they took Joe Gelders over the mountain and beat him and left him for dead. There was a great scandal about that, and the LaFollette Committee hearings began, you know, on the denial of the rights of labor. He became kind of a hero because he had been beaten so badly, and he was crippled, really, the rest of his life. They not only beat him, but they jumped him, if you know what I mean, up and down. When he died at a rather young age, his whole chest was just a mass of broken, splintered bone.

Anyway, he and Miss Lucy, this unlikely combination, went to see the Roosevelts at Hyde Park to tell them of these terrible things that were happening in the South, the beatings and the murders and the disappearances. So Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt together encouraged a South-wide meeting of all the New Deal elements to launch something that would counteract this conservative political system.

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In the meantime my brother-in-law, Justice Hugo Black, had been put on the Supreme Court. They had the meeting in Birmingham in the fall of 1938, and it was called the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Frank Graham was elected the president of it. He was at that time the President of the University of North Carolina. Hugo Black came down and made a speech about Thomas Jefferson. It was all about Thomas Jefferson, wasn't it?

CJD: I remember my brother was quite conservative. I was sort of standing in the wings with him. He turned to me, and he said, "I always knew Hugo was smart, but he's even smarter than I thought. Hugo Black hasn't said a word. If he had, they would have chased him out of town, but Thomas Jefferson has said every word that has been said so far!"

VFD: Mrs. Roosevelt came. "Bull" Connor had made us stay strictly segregated, the whites on one side, the blacks on the other, and you couldn't even cross over without getting arrested. He had the Black Marias all around the building where we were meeting, and the police everywhere. If you had so much as crossed over the aisle from the black to the white section, they would [be] on you like a Junie bug to arrest you. So Mrs. Roosevelt refused to be segregated. She took around with her a little folding chair, and she would put it right in the middle of the aisle, right between the black and white.

It was a very interesting meeting, and what happened was [that] there must have been a thousand or more people there from all over

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the South. It ranged from Frank Graham, and all kinds of labor people, and then black people came.

CJD: To start out with, there were several pretty solid businessmen. Domand Comer, head of the Comer Mills, as I recall made a speech to start with. This Economic Report on the South was sort of blended into the other problems, and he was concerned with such matters as the freight rate differentials and the basing point systems of the businessman. So right to start with it had a broad base until "Bull" Connor moved in and began to raise the race issue. Then some of the more conservative people there began to sort of fade away.

VFD: In any case, the main thing that they decided to do at that meeting was to get rid of the poll tax. They said this was the thing that was keeping people from voting, this was the thing that was keeping any of the labor people from having any influence, and this was the thing that was defeating the New Deal in the South. So at that point, they formed a committee to abolish the poll tax, and Maury Maverick was elected the chairman of it. I was elected vice-chairman, and this Joseph Gelders, who had the radical connections, was elected secretary.

We went back to Washington, and the first thing we did was to try to find someone to introduce the bill in the Congress to abolish the poll tax in Federal elections. We finally got hold of a fellow from

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California named Lee Geyer, and he introduced the first bill into the Congress to abolish the poll tax in Federal elections. The hearings were held before the Judiciary Committee, of which Hatton Sumners of Texas was the head. Maury Maverick testified, Tex Goldschmidt testified, and oh, all kinds of people testified. Mr. Sumners was not only unsympathetic, he was just as rude and nasty and vicious as he could be. Nasty old man! (Laughing) You know, some of these men it was awfully hard for me to be nice to. They were just awful. Ugh! This old "sweetheart" and "dearie" and "cutie" and all putting their arm around you and saying how they loved you and how beautiful you were and all, and just being so nasty, too, about anything you were for. We find this today in the ERA. We get a lot of the same treatment. (Laughing) I'm no longer young and beautiful, but anyway, men will say they love you, but they don't want any ERA. The point is that Hatton Sumners never would even publish the hearings.

Now I'm not going into the long fight over the poll tax, which went on for years and years and years. The point is that Lyndon didn't take any active part in it. In fact, he voted against it each time it came up in the House. I would always reproach him very bitterly when I saw him about it, you know, and Lyndon would put his arm around me and say, "Honey . . . " What was it he would say?

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CJD: "You're dead right! I'm all for you, but we ain't got the votes. Let's wait till we get the votes." (Laughing)

VFD: "When we get the votes," he says, "I'll pass it, but we haven't got the votes." Now this was the essence, you see, that made Lyndon different from, say Maury Maverick. Maury Maverick believed in being just like a bull, going right ahead and crashing against the wall if necessary. But Lyndon didn't believe in sticking his neck out till he had the votes. You see, this was the difference between the super politician and the politician who was idealistic.

MLG: Was there then little difference in principle but more of a difference in tactics?

VFD: Well I always felt that he and Maury and I were on the same side, but Lyndon was much more cagey. Lyndon was very cagey, you see. Lyndon was a sensitive political animal, if you know what I mean. And of course coming from Texas, he also had to forward the cause of the oil people, you know. If he didn't do that, you just might as well give up being a politician in Texas. I mean fighting for the oil depletion allowance. At that time in Texas, the oil people really controlled Texas. I think they still do to some degree, don't you think so?

MLG: Do you recall his ever discussing this difference between himself and Maury Maverick?

VFD: Lyndon never discussed things like that. You couldn't get Lyndon to

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sit down and discuss the philosophy of government or the philosophy of the poll tax or the philosophy of oil depletion allowance. Lyndon acted. He was not an inarticulate person at all. He talked a great deal and kidded a lot, you know. Everybody knew how he adored Bird, for instance. Everybody knew that Lyndon was wild about Bird and depended on her for everything. But you never heard Lyndon say it, he just loved Bird. Of course, he worked her to death! A lot of her women friends used to get mad at him because he would bring shoals of people home at a minute's notice. Some of her cousins in Alabama still say, "Bird was certainly a sweet girl and we're just crazy about Bird, but that Lyndon! We think the way he worked Bird was just terrible." These people that live in Alabama still feel that way. And he did, you know. He took her completely for granted, and he expected her to devote every waking hour to him, which she did. You can't imagine the people she had to entertain breakfast, lunch, and dinner, and put up over night. I don't know how she lived through it. But anyway to go back to Lyndon, didn't you ever talk to him? Maybe in his old age just before he died he began to discuss philosophy. Did you ever get him to discuss philosophical points?

MLG: Well, some. Did he ever enlist you as he would try to enlist other friends in promoting the things he was interested in?

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VFD: No. Now Cliff may be able to tell you something about the FCC. I want to just finish the vote and let Cliff get on with these other things. I always felt Bird was with us, but she never took a public stand, either. But then my sister, who was married to Hugo Black, never took a public stand, either. I mean, I always knew they were with us, but they wouldn't ever get out and go to meetings. I was the one that got all the mud thrown on me. But they stood by me. You see, I was right in the middle of it for all these years I was in Washington. During the course of it, I came in contact with the labor groups and the radical groups and the church groups and the Negro groups. We finally came to the realization--this is one of the things that happened--we couldn't possibly win until we enlisted the Negroes. Does this make sense to you? The Negroes had been fighting for the right to vote on their side of the fence, and the person that brought these two groups together, which you might call the New Deal group and the Black group, was Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune. You know who she was? She was sort of like an African queen, very black and very large, very very dignified and extremely majestic. She told me, "You're not going to get anywhere until you get us all together." So really, she did bring us together. In other words, the Anti-Poll Tax Committee became a National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, and all the Negro groups came into it, the NAACP

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and the Negro Elks. We had all the unions, too. This augmented it terrifically. In the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax you had the full Roosevelt coalition. You had the New Dealers, you had the labor unions, you had the Negro groups, the church groups. You had a lot of women's groups, civil liberties groups, ACLU. It was a tremendous coalition of people who were fighting to get rid of the poll tax. Well it finally went up to the Supreme Court, and they turned it down, so it looked like we were going to have to just do it on a state level. When we left Washington in 1950, it hadn't been passed yet.

CJD: You had some good Southerners in the fight with you, like Claude Pepper of Florida and Estes Kefauver of Tennessee.

VFD: Oh, heavens yes. Estes Kefauver and Claude Pepper.

CJD: Then at the congressional level you had Luther Patrick from Birmingham, but Luther got defeated.

VFD: But in the House, Vito Marcantonio, who was a radical from New York, carried it in the House. The reason he was able to get it carried in the House was because neither the Republican nor the Democratic leadership wanted to be responsible for it.

CJD: Well, he took it over after Geyer died.

VFD: Yes, he took it over after Geyer died, because he represented the American Labor Party, and also he had the Republican and Democratic nominations. You see, he came to Congress on the

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Republican, the Democratic, and the American Labor Party ticket. So he was chosen by the House leadership to carry this unpopular bill because it had to be signed out every time. It would never have got out of the Judiciary Committee. They kept it bottled up. It never got past the Rules Committee.

CJD: You got it out on petition time and time again, though.

VFD: On petition, signed out. Then when it would get to the Senate, it was filibustered to death every time. But our leaders in the Senate, the first one was George Norris, who was probably one of the greatest men in the whole world, in the United States. You know, he was the great Senator from Nebraska. Of course, he had been the father of the TVA, so he was very much interested in getting the poll tax abolished. Then Claude Pepper took it up, and he was our great champion in the Senate. But it finally got passed by constitutional amendment, which took years and years and years of going through the state legislatures.

But in the meantime, coming back to Lyndon, when he got to be President . . . now let me see, when was the first voting bill?

MLG: The Voting Rights Act of '65.

CJD: You had some earlier civil rights acts that were rather limited in their application, '57 and wasn't there one in early . . .

MLG: 1960.

CJD: Yes.

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VFD: But the thing that is so amazing is that after all these years and years and years of struggle, Lyndon Johnson, who was a Southerner, finished it off. He got these voting bills through and the federal registrars, and he brought into the franchise this great group of Negroes and of women. Now it is very interesting to me. I don't think Lyndon in any sense of the word was a radical. I think he believed, though, absolutely implicitly--now for instance, he had no idea of socialism or public ownership of the oil wells, we'll say. That was something about as far from his mind as it could be. But he did believe absolutely a thousand percent in the democratic system. He had brought into being, as it were, the two groups in the South now that are the most lively in the struggle for Equal Rights, that is, the women and the Negroes. I think that's a remarkable thing; don't you think so? And I think that the South, whatever the future may be, is in turmoil. We've got all these new forces unleashed, and I don't know what the future is going to be at all, but I do know that whatever it is, the forces that are now fermenting, Lyndon let them loose. Now how do you explain him? I mean, why do you think that a man who was as conservative as he was economically would be so liberal on the political issues?

MLG: I don't know. That question has been asked by others who are more capable than I to answer it. But this brings up a good point: was he

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more liberal in the 1930's and the first part of the 1940's while Roosevelt was alive and while he was representing the Tenth District than he was when he went to the Senate?

VFD: Well I don't know. Now of course, as Luci was saying last night. . . . weren't you sitting there when Luci was talking to us, his daughter? The horror of the dichotomy in his presidency. All the people who were for him on the civil rights issue were against him, mostly, on the war issue. All the people who were for him on the war issue were against him on the civil rights issue. Not all, but you know, there was a great division there. And it was this division in his support, this dichotomy, that made his presidency so difficult. Mary Rather went to work for him the last year, and she had worked for him on the Hill for years. That's where we first knew her. She was saying that the bliss, the joy, the fun, the good humor, the pleasantry of working for Lyndon on the Hill when he was a congressman or a senator and then being in the White House that last year or two when he was being torn apart and the country was being torn apart, she said it was an absolute horror. She just hated every minute of it. She just couldn't wait to get out of the White House, because he was just being torn so terribly.

But I want to tell you one of the explanations. Did I tell you last night about his friends telling us of why he got into the Vietnamese

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war, and sent those 500,000 people over there?

MLG: You mentioned that, but we didn't get it on tape, so let's put it on tape.

VFD: That was very interesting. I went up to the 1964 inauguration when he was elected on this overwhelming mandate, on a mandate of peace, fighting Goldwater who was talking about throwing the bomb around all the time. I came up to the inauguration, and Bird had asked me to be a White House guest. Cliff was up in Canada making some lectures at Saskatchewan, so he wasn't with me. I just had a wonderful time. I was on the front row of everything. I was so proud of them. I had been so devoted to them for so many years. Bird looked so pretty, and I was so proud of Lyndon. I was just sure that when Lyndon came in that peace would come and all the problems would be solved. The Texas people were there that day! I think all of Texas came up. Were you there?

MLG: No.

VFD: You never saw such a lot on your life. There was one lady that had a big tiara that spelled Texas, and she had a little bulb she'd [squeeze] and "Texas" would flash out. There were a lot of very extravagant [things]. Oh, and the mink coats! I never saw so many mink coats thrown around like they were raincoats. But I got the feeling then of this terrific power of money in Texas, this

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absolutely colossal amount of money that was in Texas.

Then it wasn't very long after Lyndon had been elected that he began to send the men into Vietnam. Oh, I got so mad at him! I wrote him letter after letter, which he replied to. I must get the letters. I don't know whether I kept all those letters or not.

CJD: You haven't got those letters, I'm sure.

(Pause in recording, which picks up again in mid-sentence)

VFD: . . . really angry with Lyndon. Of course you have to realize Lyndon was ten years younger than we were, so we had known him as a young fellow. To me he was a young man. When he was President, I always thought of Lyndon as a young man, and I must say I'm afraid I didn't show much reverence toward him.

We came to Texas, and this St. John Garwood who was here last night got Cliff an engagement to speak at the Texas Law School. We came here, and they gave us a dinner party. Bob Montgomery was there, and Terrell Maverick, and some of the friends from the old days. I said what in the world got into Lyndon? Why could he have done this war? I was really worked up. I'm quoting this exactly as I know. Now, I'm inclined to exaggeration, so my friends say, but my husband is noted for telling nothing but the truth, the plain truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me God. This is what I remember Bob Montgomery said: "Virginia, you ought to have better sense

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than not to know what Lyndon's doing. Now from my knowledge of what has gone on, when Lyndon got in the White House, he found that plans were far advanced to bomb the hell out of China with the atomic bomb." You know, Goldwater when he was running had talked about the atomic bomb. Now this is exactly as I recall what he said. He said that Lyndon said that the military . . . (Now I cannot say positively that he said the military were planning to take over the government if he didn't let them go ahead and bomb China. That sounds like Fletcher Knebel in one of his novels.) But he did say the military were riding so high at that time that Lyndon said that if they were so hell-bent on having a war he'd let them have the war, but they would have to fight it on the ground so they would know what war was. In other words, they couldn't just fly over China and drop the bomb. Then of course, he was scared Russia would drop the bomb, too. He had enough sense to realize that there were two people in the world that had the bomb. You remember Dien Bien Phu, when Nixon was trying to get us to drop the bomb. You don't remember that?

MLG: Yes.

VFD: We weren't in on this. We were in Alabama at that time, in the middle of the civil rights fight, and we weren't in on this Washington gossip. But in any case, I said, "I just can't believe that'" Well,

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he insisted that that was the reason that Lyndon sent those people over there, was to get the military to fight a war on the ground rather than bombing. But the strange thing was, we went out to California, and Cliff made some lectures out there at the University of California in Los Angeles. Then we went to the Center for Democratic Studies.

CJD: This Hutchins thing. I have forgotten the name of it.

VFD: Hutchins. And Rex Tugwell was there, so I said the same thing to Rex, who was an old New Dealer. By God if he didn't say the same thing, didn't he, Cliff.

CJD: He said the same thing that Bob Montgomery had, virtually.

VFD: Now Bob Montgomery's over in Waco if you all want to interview him and if he remembers this. But this is exactly what I recollect him saying. Of course, the war did undermine so much of his strength with the young people and with the liberal people, too.

When we came here to Washington to visit my daughter, Bird invited us to lunch at the White House, and we agreed to go with great joy. Some of our friends, like Izzy Stone, for instance, who was a great liberal in Washington, got furious with us for even going to the White House. He said we should have just sent word that as long as Lyndon pursued this policy of genocide that we wouldn't go. He wanted me to be a second Eartha Kitt, I suppose, just insult the

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whole family. But the bitterness was so awful! That's one of the strange things we find about Yankees. In the South, people can disagree and still have some fond feelings for each other. Friendship and blood kinship can survive differences of opinion. But in these liberals up here, by God if you don't toe the line, you are just out. You've just got to be 100 percent.

MLG: Did you ever discuss Vietnam with President Johnson?

VFD: No. I wrote letters to him, and he wrote me letters, but I never did discuss it with him.

CJD: And you didn't keep any of those letters, did you?

VFD: I'm not sure. I can't find them. I'll look through the ones I have here, but I don't know that any of them are about the war. I'll bring it down in a minute, and we'll go through them and see if there is anything about the war.

I knew that Lyndon was the most unwarlike person in the world. In the NYA, you know, he really wanted to help people. Now Lyndon didn't like to be poor himself, and he didn't like other people to be poor, either. That was his big difference. He didn't want other people to be poor, either. So he was really a man who did something, it seemed to me, totally out of character in extending the war in Vietnam. Now I've asked a lot of people who were great friends of his, like Bill Douglas, why he thought Lyndon did this? I've gotten a lot of various replies. Abe Fortas was right in there

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with Lyndon. We knew him very well. And Thurman Arnold went along with Lyndon on the war. A lot of people did that were New Dealers.

MLG: What was Justice Douglas's response to your question?

VFD: He said, "Read my second volume and you'll hear all about it." You see, he hasn't published the second volume yet, but he said, "Read my second volume and you'll find out all about what I thought about the war and Lyndon, and so on." He was very much opposed to the war, as you know, and so was Hugo Black. But you see, Hugo and Bill stayed very friendly with Lyndon. They didn't denounce him or cut off connection with him at all. But this seems to me to be peculiarly Southern, because when we came back South, of course, we were very unpopular in that we had been advocating equal civil rights. We got into that as soon as we got back to Alabama. The thing is that, although Cliff's family didn't agree with us in any way, they didn't cut us off. Some of our old friends did and some of them didn't. But don't you think that that is more true of the South, that people accept you?

MLG: I don't know.

VFD: You're too young to know. Well, we've found that to be true.

MLG: Is there anything else along this flow that you want to add?

CJD: You want to tell him about Lyndon, just as an illustration of how he

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worked, at the hearings in New Orleans?

VFD: Oh, yes, at the New Orleans hearing. Oh, we had a terrible time, because this is just typical of the way Lyndon worked, and this just shows his friendship, too, and Bird's friendship.

In 1954, everybody was talking about the Brown decision.

CJD: It hadn't come out then.

VFD: It hadn't come out then. The Supreme Court was considering it, and it was due out in May of 1954. Everybody in the South was talking about it. Jim Eastland was running for the Senate on the grounds that the Supreme Court was a communist-dominated outfit if it handed down this ruling that "niggers" and white folks had to school together. Oh, you know how he goes on, all about mass rape, and black men and white women. Oh, what a disgusting character he is! I will say for the record I think he is the most disgusting character I have ever known.

CJD: She's being factual. That's not opinion; that's just a fact.

VFD: Well I mean, here he was. He went to the University of Alabama, and according to my brother, who was in the University of Alabama, and some other people I knew, he used to invite people over for the weekend and tell them to "pick out a nigger girl and a horse!" That was his way of showing hospitality. He was a vicious little fat toad of a man. (Laughing) I'd like to think of some other things to say

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about him if I could. This is my opinion of him, but I won't be sued for libel.

Anyway, Cliff established his law practice in Montgomery. He had been sick for over two years. I had gone to business school. We were living with his mother, and we were having one hell of a time. Aubrey Williams was living in Montgomery then. All of a sudden we go down to the office one morning, and Aubrey Williams is there looking very shocked and upset. In his hand he had a subpoena from the Federal government saying that he had to appear in New Orleans before the Sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee on Internal Security headed by Jim Eastland to answer charges of Communist . . .

CJD: It was the Jenner Committee. The Republicans were in power then, and it was the Jenner Committee. On this sub-committee that was supposed to go down were McClellan of Arkansas and Jenner and Eastland. Those were the three that were slated to preside.

VFD: He had been subpoenaed before this committee because, at that time, he was a vice-president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund which had been an outgrowth of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare just split to hell and gone and disappeared over Henry Wallace in '48. It all just went up in smoke. But they had established a kind of educational wing of it, like the NAACP, tax-exempt. It was called

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the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and it operated out of New Orleans. A man named Jim Dumbrowski was head of it. He was one of these saints on the earth, if you know what I mean. He had been a Baptist preacher.

CJD: Methodist.

VFD: Methodist preacher. And Aubrey was a vice-president. Well, I had not been a member of anything for a number of years, because when I came back to Alabama I resigned from everything. I just devoted myself to trying to keep the family afloat. I didn't go to any meetings, and I wasn't a member of anything at all. Well in Alabama I never had been a member of anything but the Democratic Party. That was as far left as I had ever gone.

CJD: You belonged to the Southern Conference.

VFD: Oh, I belonged to the Southern Conference for years, but I didn't consider that so radical.

CJD: It wasn't at the time.

VFD: Other people did, but I didn't. Anyway, the point is I was there in Alabama and we were trying to keep the family afloat. We were having a rough time of it. I hadn't gone to meetings, I hadn't been a member of any of these organizations at that time. I mean, I hadn't been to any meetings of any kind.

CJD: You hadn't for years.

VFD: Several years. Aubrey was subpoenaed, so Cliff was his lawyer.

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Aubrey was mad as a wet hen, perfectly furious, saying that he thought this was the most outrageous thing in the world. Lyndon Johnson was then Minority Leader, and here Aubrey had been a great public servant and then for the people in the Senate to allow this to happen! Oh, he was sore as he could be. Cliff agreed to represent him and go down to New Orleans as his lawyer. He had had this back trouble. He'd had a spinal fusion.

CJD: And then I had a little heart condition.

VFD: Then he had a little heart condition. I got terrified. I thought it he got back into this . . . he'd been in it in Washington trying to defend these poor devils who were fired in the loyalty order. I thought if he got back into this, it would kill him. So I came home and called his doctor, and he said, "You are right, Mrs. Durr, you must not let him go down there. He might have a serious heart attack." So I told Cliff, "Now Cliff, you've heard what the doctor said." He said, "Well, I'm going. I'm not going to let Aubrey face this by himself."

We were still arguing about it when we got down to the office on Monday morning, and there, by God, was a Federal marshal with a subpoena for me, going back years to the time I was a vice-president in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare! Well of course, Cliff said he was going to defend me. This crazy

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thing happened. We went out for coffee, and we met a fellow down in Montgomery named John Kohn who was George Wallace's lawyer at that time, an old friend of Cliff's--an old acquaintance of his. He came up to Cliff. You tell it, Cliff.

CJD: John wrote a lot of George Wallace's speeches. We had broken off for coffee and were coming out, and we ran into John Kohn. He came up to Virginia and said, "Virginia, who is going to represent you down in New Orleans?" Virginia said, "Well, you know, it's hard to get any lawyers that will get into this kind of thing. Cliff has been through it. He knows the ropes, and he can guide us in our behavior." John said, "A husband doesn't have any more business representing his wife in this kind of situation than a brain surgeon would have performing a delicate brain operation on his own wife. Unless you tell me I'm intruding, I'm going to New Orleans as your lawyer, and I am going at my own expense." And he did and was magnificent.

VFD: Absolutely magnificent. That's another thing that shows you how the South operates, because he certainly wasn't in sympathy with our race views at all at that time. He's changed now. In any case, before we went to New Orleans, Cliff and Aubrey were taking this elevated Southern gentleman attitude about everybody in Washington: "By God, my friends, if they would stand by and they did this to me, I wouldn't ask them for anything. I would die before I would call one of them up." Well I didn't have any of these high class

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Southern gentleman feelings at all. What I did, I got on the telephone. I called everybody I could think of in Washington, including the Washington Post. The first person I called was Lyndon. I tried to get him all day long: "The Minority Leader is in conference." "The Minority Leader is in Mr. Rayburn's office." "The Minority Leader is on the floor." "The Minority Leader is . . ." this, that, and the other. I kept trying. When night time came on, I began calling him at home. Finally I got hold of Bird. She came to the phone--this must have been 9:30 or 10:00 at night--and I said, "Bird, this is Virginia. Aubrey Williams and I have been subpoenaed down to New Orleans before Jim Eastland to answer charges of being subversives and overthrowing the government by force and violence and all sorts of crazy stuff, and I've just got to speak to Lyndon." She said, "Well he's gone to bed, and he's asleep." I said, "You've just got to wake him up, because we really need some help in this." So Bird said--you know how Bird is, "Honey, I don't know what it's all about, but I know you and Aubrey are good people." That's exactly what she said, "I know you are good people." You see, this was getting down to the character, not the ideology. So she went and waked Lyndon up, and he got on the telephone. I said, "What do you mean letting this happen? You're the Minority Leader of the Senate, and sending this Jim Eastland down to rake us over the coals

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this way?" [He said,] "Well honey, I didn't know one thing in the world about it." I said, "And you're the Minority Leader of the Senate and you didn't even know what was going on?" He said he really didn't, and I think he was probably telling the truth. So he said, "What can I do?" I said, "Well Lyndon, in the first place you can see that no Democrat comes with Jim Eastland. Let Jim Eastland come by himself, but don't you let a lot of Democrats come down." The thing was if a great big Senate committee comes down, it's real difficult not to be cited for contempt or get in real bad trouble, but I thought we might be able to handle Jim Eastland, because he was so unpopular in the Senate as well. Well, Lyndon didn't say what he would do, he never made any declaration. "Well sweetie pie, I love you. I'll do what I can, but you know I didn't know anything about this." But he never declared himself. This is typically Lyndon. But when Jim Eastland got to New Orleans, no Democrat was with him.

Then on the Republican side, all during the fight for the poll tax we had been working with a big Republican from Ohio named George Bender, who was to the right of Bob Taft. But he thought the anti-poll tax fight was great. It helped him in Ohio with the black vote. Of course, it didn't cut any ice as far as he was concerned, because all of them voted. So he was our great champion.

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We used his office and frank and his mimeograph machine. George made speeches at anti-poll tax meetings and sang hymns for us. Finally I got hold of George Bender in Chagrin Falls. I said to George, "George, I'm being subpoenaed down to New Orleans before Jim Eastland. He's going to ask all kind of questions about the anti-poll tax committee and everything. It's going to be awfully bad." He said, "Honey, you don't have a thing to worry about. You just tell the truth. A fine, sweet lady like you , there's nothing that you have to hide." I said, "That's perfectly true. I'm not going to plead the Fifth Amendment because I have no reason to. I intend to tell the truth. Of course, George, when I tell the truth I am also going to have to tell how we used your office and your frank and your mimeograph machine and how involved you were in the whole struggle." "Oh, well now, honey!" he said, "I think maybe it would be better if you did plead that amendment. You know there is an amendment you can plead." I said, "Well I'm not going to do it." Then he gave up. He said, "Well what can I do for you." By that time he had dropped all this sweet talk. I said, "Well you see that no Republican comes down. We don't want any big Republican coming down, either." You see, when the Senate gets involved in something, a whole committee of the Senate, then the Senate feels they are bound to support them, if you know what I mean. We had already determined on our strategy, which was that we would

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answer all the questions they wanted to about ourselves, but we refused to be informers. We were not going to say, "Well I suspect Joe Gelders might have had communist connections," you know, all that kind of informing business that was going on then.

Then I called up old Senator Langer, who was the head of the Judiciary Committee. He was a wild man from the Plains. I told him, and he got the district attorney in New Orleans to come in and sit in on the hearings. That did, I think, exercise some sort of [influence].

So then we called Maury Maverick to see if he would represent us down there in addition to John Kohn, because he'd been on the beginning of the anti-poll tax fight. We got hold of his son, and he said, "Now Virginia and Aubrey, if I ask my father to do it, he's going to do it. I know the way he feels about you all and the friendship and all, he'll come and do it. But my father is a very sick man, and I don't think he has long to live. I think this might kill him." Well of course, at that point, we couldn't insist on him coming. Maury never even knew, I don't reckon, we asked him to come.

In the meantime I called up Estes Kefauver, Claude Pepper, Lister, and anybody I could think of in Washington to alert them to what was going on. We got down to New Orleans, and Jim arrived by himself, Jim Eastland. This nasty polecat, Jim Eastland. Gosh, what a pleasure it is to say what I think about him and not be sued for libel!

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CJD: Why wouldn't you be sued for libel?

VFD: I'll be dead by the time--

CJD: You can't invoke congressional immunity!

VFD: Anyway, we'll be dead by the time it all comes out, I reckon. So anyway, we got down there, and it was absolutely the most God-awful thing you have ever known in your life. They had this crazy fellow named Paul Crouch. He was a paid government informer who was mad as a hatter and began telling all kinds of crazy tales about how he had gotten into the Kremlin and talked to Joe Stalin, and had learned how to blow up airplanes and submarines, and how then they had sent him over here to organize the Communists and blow up America. Just as mad as a hatter! [He] would go on hour after hour after hour! Now he was finally exposed, of all things, by the Alsop brothers as being a total, crazy fraud. You see, he was paid $25 an hour for this kind of garbage.

CJD: Twenty-five a day.

VFD: Twenty-five a day?

CJD: And expenses, I think.

VFD: Twenty-five a day for this kind of garbage. So he got up and testified that he had met Aubrey Williams at a meeting and had heard somebody call him "comrade." That was the total amount of

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the testimony about Aubrey. [His] testimony about me was that I wasn't a Communist, he certified that, but that I was a fellow traveler. Then there was another guy there named Ahrens that read a big book called The Yenan Way. Wasn't that it, Cliff?

CJD: He read into the record. I don't know where that thing came from. But the general line was that the fellow travelers are really more valuable to the cause of communism than the actual Communist members, because they can operate more freely.

VFD: In my efforts in the Southern Conference, you see, I had been working with this big range of people, and I was a fellow traveler who had brought in all these strange people. Of course, the Roosevelts had organized the Southern Conference. I hadn't done it at all. Well in any case, the point of it was that the whole thing was absolutely the most God-awful bunch of garbage you have ever seen in your life. They had had Myles Horton down there and Cliff. They finally got Cliff on the stand.

CJD: I never was a member.

VFD: Of the Southern Conference, you mean.

CJD: Of the Southern Conference. This fellow Crouch turned on me when I was representing Aubrey Williams and said he had seen me. I was a big shot, he had seen me at top meetings of the Communist

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echelon in New York on four or five occasions. Crouch had everything. He had prepared for the others. He would go back and say, "This was on a Wednesday morning at about 10:30 a.m. on May 2, 1937." But this thing was thrown at him all at once. When they decided to get me, when I had attended these meetings? He couldn't remember. It was just some time between 1939 and 1941, and he didn't remember where a single meeting was held, because they moved from different places. He never met me. All the others at the meetings made speeches, but I just sat there. "Did anybody ever introduce you?" "No, but you're one of those distinctive-looking people like Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, and once you see the face you'll never forget it." Well at that point, I asked to be put under oath and I said, "Now look here, Senator. Every word that he has said about me is an absolute and complete lie. I have never been a member of the Communist Party, I have never attended a meeting of the Communist Party with members of the top echelon or otherwise. Both of us are under oath. It is your responsibility as chairman of this committee to see to it that one or the other of us is indicted for perjury." Of course, nothing ever came of it. But then he goes on. Virginia was out of the room at that time, and he was sort of summing up. He began to go back to Virginia.

VFD: This was Paul Crouch.

CJD: Paul Crouch, and tell how she would go over to the White House

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and Mrs. Roosevelt would sneak Cabinet secrets from the President and pass them on to Virginia, who would pass them on to a Communist spy ring.

VFD: Can you imagine?

CJD: At that point, I blew my top. All I knew was what I read in the paper. According to the paper, I vaulted over the rail of the jury box and started toward him and said, "You God damn son of a bitch! Lying about my wife that way. I'm going to kill you!" I just went completely berserk.

VFD: And Cliff of all people!

CJD: I don't remember what I said even. I just have to rely on the newspaper.

VFD: It was on the front page of the New York Times, I can tell you!

CJD: But I remember the marshals holding me firmly but sort of gently, as if "We don't blame you, guy, but we can't have this happening in a Federal courtroom." I had had this heart condition, so they hauled me off to the hospital, and they put me through elecrocardiograms and so on. While I'm lying up in the hospital, I pick up the afternoon paper, and Paul Crouch has demanded that the city assign a police guard to protect him from me--while I'm lying up in the hospital. One of the policemen dropped dead of a heart attack that night.

VFD: It was the most absolute mad thing you have ever seen in your life.

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You couldn't believe it! Of course, what they were doing, they were trying to get at Hugo Black and the Supreme Court, using me. Headlines in the paper, "Justice Black's sister-in-law accused of Red association."

CJD: He had another story in there to tie me in with Justice Black. He said he published a communist paper.

VFD: You mean . . .

CJD: Paul Crouch. And that Justice Black, he was informed, was very anxious to get the paper, but he didn't want to send it to him directly. So he would send it to me, who was very reliable, and I would pass it on to Justice Black. Well, I told Hugo about that later. He laughed and said, "What did you do? You never gave me my paper. You kept it." I said, "Well no, Jesse Jones wanted to read that. He got so interested, and I gave it all to Jesse Jones."

VFD: The thing was that we got back to Montgomery, and the family stuck by us, and a few old friends stuck by us. A lot of people got scared to death and thought we were just tainted.

CJD: My law practice declined considerably.

VFD: And his law practice declined considerably. But the thing was, I never heard from Lyndon. I never heard any more about this thing

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at all. But they didn't publish the hearings until about a year or so afterward, and then the hearings came out. But Lyndon. When Aubrey came up to Washington, he would see him, and when Bird came through Alabama, she would see me. The Johnsons don't talk, if you know what I mean. This is Lyndon's strategy. He never would declare himself, but he would do things. Behind the scenes he would do so many things. Am I giving you any idea at all of what I mean?

We were invited to the inauguration. We were invited to the White House. In fact, when they first got into the White House the winter of the assassination, they invited us to tea. You see, this is the kind of thing that means a great deal to you when you are under attack and have been so maligned and had such a terrible experience as this was, to have friends that stand by you. They may not express it in words, but they do something about it. So anyway, we've just stayed very devoted to Bird and Lyndon. I must say, as I told Mr. Middleton last night, I think that Lyndon is a very complex character. When the economy of the country was down and out, he believed in public works. He believed in helping the poor. And yet, I think Lyndon really has a great reverence for the business establishment. But you see, what he has which they don't have--at least a lot of them don't have, and my friend St. John last night didn't

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have either--is that they don't really believe in the democratic system. This is what makes the contradiction between Lyndon and big business representatives. He had this profound faith in the democratic system. I don't think a lot of these Texas people have it.

CJD: Why are you picking on Texas? I can find you a few of them in Alabama.

VFD: Well, I don't think they have all of it, because a lot of people all over the country don't have it. I think that Nixon proved that he didn't have it. But I just think that a lot of people don't have it, but I think he [Lyndon Johnson] had it to a tremendous degree. Now what's going to happen in the future, nobody knows. The fact of the matter is that Lyndon brought the South into the main stream of the politics of the United States. That is my belief, that he really struck the shackles. I mean, Lincoln struck the shackles off the slaves, but Lyndon struck the shackles off the South. He freed us from the burden of segregation. He freed us from the burden of disenfranchisement. Now the South is in the mainstream of American politics. Now what effect we're going to have on it, I don't know, I'm not that smart. But at least we are there. We're not just all isolated.

CJD: Are you almost finished with that tape or not?

MLG: We've got about ten more minutes.

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CD: I wanted a brief recess.

G: Sure.

(End of Tape #1. Interview continued on Tape #2)

(Interview continued from Tape #1)

INTERVIEWEES: CLIFFORD AND VIRGINIA DURR (Tape #2)

INTERVIEWER: MICHAEL L. GILLETTE

PLACE: LBJ Ranch, Stonewall, Texas

March 1, 1975

VFD: I'll just finish up with this letter. About Mrs. White Lyndon says, "Visiting with you and Mrs. White was really my pleasure, and I am glad she was able to come up with you." This was a Mrs. White who came from Houston. She was the first black woman ever elected to public office in the South. She was elected to the Board of Education, I believe, in Houston.

MLG: Mrs. Charles White.

VFD: Is that her name? Anyway, I was at a meeting in Washington that was called on civil rights, a women's meeting. She was there and she sat by me, and we fell into conversation. She was a very nice woman, and she had just been elected on the Board of Education in Houston. After the luncheon, all of us were supposed to go up and lobby in the Senate and the Congress for the civil rights bills that were pending at that time. Mrs. White said, "You know, this is the first time I have ever been in Washington, and I don't know how to even get up there." So I said, "You come on up with me, because I'm an old hand on the Hill. You know, as far as I'm concerned, it's hopeless for me to go to see my senators, because they are not going

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to take any stand on the civil rights bill. I know that, so it's just a waste of time. I'd just embarrass John and Lister." I knew them, and it was just an embarrassment to them. So she said, "Could you help me find my way around the Capitol?" I said, "Well who are you going to see?" She said, "I'm going to see Senator Yarborough." I said, "Aren't you going to see Lyndon Johnson?" "Oh," she said, "heavens no. It would do no good to see Senator Johnson. He's against civil rights." I said, "Well I don't agree with you at all." She said, "Oh, yes he is. He wouldn't help at all." I said, "All right. I'll go with you to see Senator Yarborough, but you go with me to see Senator Johnson."

We got up on the Hill, and we found Senator Yarborough's office. We waited for about an hour, but he was tied up in a committee or something. We never did get to see him. So I said, "Now look, you go with me to see Lyndon Johnson." She said, "Mrs. Durr, it's a perfect waste of time. We know Senator Johnson's not going to do anything for us [black people]. I said, "I don't think you're right. Let's just try and see. Let's make an effort to see." He was Minority Leader then, so we went up to the Senate side. They stopped me hardly before I got into the office, and they said, "Senator Johnson is busy, and there is no chance to see him this afternoon. It's just a hopeless effort." I said, "Just take him this note."

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I wrote him a note. I said, "Dear Lyndon, I am here with Mrs. White, who is the first Negro woman elected to public office in the entire South. If you are going to run for Vice President, you had better see her." You see, at this time it was 1960. In just a minute, here comes Lyndon. I think he would have seen me if they had sent word to him, but they wouldn't do it. But they did finally agree to send this little note in. So here comes ol' Lyndon with "sweetie pie," hugging, and all. [He] brought us into his office and sat us down at his big desk. Then he said just a minute, he was on the line to Sam Rayburn. They were cooking up some big deal. But then he was as pleasant and nice as he could be. Mrs. White, though, was very hard on him. She said, "Senator Johnson, I came here at Mrs. Durr's request, but I can tell you that we don't expect you to do anything for us. We think your record proves you are not for us." She was very hard on him. Lyndon was just very pleasant to her and as nice as he could be, terribly pleasant. Then she said her son was going to be up in Washington in a week or so with some youth group. Lyndon got the name of it and said he was going to have them all out to his house, which I think he did have them all out to his house. But the part was, he couldn't have been nicer to her. When we left the office, I said, "Well what did you think? Don't you think Lyndon seemed sympathetic?" She said,

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"Oh, Mrs. Durr. That was just one of those Johnson snow jobs. He's just the greatest snow artist in the world." I said, "Now look, Mrs. White. I believe Lyndon Johnson is perfectly sincere. There is this old tale about "he can't do it till he gets the votes," but I believe Lyndon is with us and has always been with us." She wouldn't believe me, but of course it turned out I was right and she was wrong. This is a letter he wrote me after I had been up to see him with her. That was very interesting. This was about Mrs. White.

MLG: Okay. This is March, 1960?

VFD: You'll have to get that all in line. This is '59. (Reading from Senator Johnson's letter): " . . . I don't believe that any man is "in the running"unless his feet are moving toward the White House. My feet are not moving in that direction and they are not going to do so." I didn't believe that either. I don't know if you want one of these from Mr. Middleton or not. You see, I believed in Lyndon. It was one of those cases of faith in things unseen. Is that right, Cliff?

CJD: I don't know.

VFD: I never did believe that Lyndon was a segregationist.

(Recording continues while Mrs. Durr looks through letters.)

Let's see what these are. Oh, this is a letter I wrote about

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Lady Bird. We were writing about Southern womanhood. Lady Bird typified it. I said, "Here was my sister married to a man who was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. He became one of the chief legal bulwarks of integration, a Supreme Court Justice. And here was Bird, whose husband took part in every filibuster there was, went through the same procedure of orating nonsense every time. He turns out as President of the United States and gets the civil rights through." It's a right good letter, I think, about my sister and Lady Bird. It's what I felt about them, anyway.

Now this is a recent letter from Bird. Another one, and another one. This is from Liz Carpenter. I don't know whether that would go in with their file or not. You see, Liz and I are united on the ERA thing.

MLG: A powerful ally you've got.

VFD: Boy, I've got a powerful ally. We certainly have.

MLG: Here is the envelope to that letter from Liz Carpenter. Shall we go back and pick up some of your recollections, Mr. Durr, on the New Deal era?

CJD: Yes. All right.

VFD: Wait a minute. Just a second. Oh, this is another letter from Bird, but I think this is a very recent one. Anyway, don't you want to put them in these envelopes?

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MLG: Yes. That's quite a file.

CJD: We've got a good many letters from Lyndon that he wrote in his last days. We had them up in Pennsylvania with us, and our son-in-law just went wild over them. He got them all framed.

VFD: He should certainly get copies of those [letters], because Lyndon wrote us those letters just before he died. Let me give you my daughter's address.

MLG: I think we'll have copies of the letters that he sent.

VFD: Oh, you'll have copies of the letters. He kept a copy of all his letters, did he? I see.

MLG: Let's go back and talk about the New Deal period and particularly Lyndon Johnson's relationship with the Executive and the Interior Department, the RFC. I've heard it said that he knew better than other congressmen that the real power in those days was in the Executive and he knew how to work with the agencies, with the departments. Can you elaborate on this?

CJD: Well, I'll get on something else to start with. You said earlier some people were saying that Lyndon had been more liberal in his earlier New Deal days than he turned out to be later. Certainly Lyndon was very much a member of the New Deal group. We saw each other socially quite a bit, and maybe Bill Douglas, Abe Fortas, Tex, and some others.

VFD: Hugo and Sister, too. They were very fond of Lyndon and Lady Bird.

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CJD: He was certainly all out behind the New Deal. But as I interjected when you were interviewing Virginia, the issues were primarily economic. Big business was flat on its face. The big problem was to get the economy restored and to get work and feed the hungry people. So I think Lyndon was rather consistent. I didn't see any decline in his liberalism. Conditions changed when he got into power. But I think one thing that Lyndon held to, as Virginia said, he believed in the democratic process. He knew how to make it operate and, quite naturally, he would believe in it. But again, I don't think he ever wavered in his concern for the poor people. That was very consistent, and he showed that after he got to be President. I don't think he wavered on that at all.

Virginia has mentioned the quietness with which Lyndon operated while he was in the Congress. It was a question of doing rather than talking. Going back again [to] Lyndon in his last days there, we were invited to come out to the Civil Rights meeting he had. I had just had an operation and couldn't come. I'm not the correspondent, Virginia is, but we got some of the warmest letters from him during this last six months or so of his life. There was almost a nostalgia in there for the New Deal days. One thing that he did quietly. He sent me one letter, and he said, "Here's the nice thing about having your own library." He had enclosed a letter he had written to FDR

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when I was appointed to the Federal Communications Commission. It was one of the warmest letters, praising me as a great appointment. I hadn't the slightest idea he had ever done it, but he unearths this thing and sends me a carbon of that letter at the time. He did operate in the Senate. I don't remember Lyndon coming around the RFC with any pressure for any constituent and never with the FCC. I never got any pressures at all from him. I'll go back later and tell about the purchase of the radio station. Remind me of that.

An illustration of how he operated. We got in a big hassle with Eugene Cox of Georgia. Cox and Howard Smith of Virginia just about ran the Rules Committee and were two very powerful people, as you know, and as conservative as they could come. Sabath of Illinois, I believe, was chairman, but he was very old and almost in his dotage, and those two were the powers there. In the case of a routine check on radio stations, some of our investigators came back, checking on a station in Albany, Georgia and found complete evidence that Cox had been paid a $2500 fee for helping him get the license. He had taken it and bought stock in the station. The secretary of the station was very naive, and he was very proud of having Congressman Cox as one of the stockholders, so he gave him [the investigator] everything. He came back with a certified copy of the check and the whole works, which we

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quietly sent over to Biddle, who was then Attorney General, a very good attorney general, but not the boldest man in the world. We said, "Look here, Francis, this is your baby, a clear violation of the Criminal Code for a congressman to accept compensation for services rendered before an agency of government." Well Biddle just sat on it. He got to worrying about legislation the Justice Department would be interested in. Cox gets concerned that maybe this thing will break, and the thing to do is to beat everybody to the punch. We had never had any previous troubles over at the FCC. But he makes a speech attacking the FCC. In one place, I recall, he referred to us as a nasty nest of rats and in another place, a nest of Communists. He gets a resolution through to investigate the FCC. He brings down a man named Eugene Gary from New York, who was of questionable character, to be counsel for the committee. I think he had represented a lot of fly-by-night concerns that had trouble with the Securities Exchange Commission. A man named Barger or Barker--Barger, I believe--was the chief investigator. Without calling the committee together, Cox and Gary began to invite people to come in to closed hearings--not even hearings; I don't think they were even put under oath--that had any grievance against the FCC. Then they would issue press releases. The attack was primarily on [Larry] Fly, who was a pretty tough character, a good man. Oh, he had been responsible for everything from

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Pearl Harbor right on through, just the wildest kinds of accusations. Then Gary started sending us questionnaires to answer. I was a fairly new member of the Commission. I hadn't been there long enough to get into any real skullduggery. So the first few I answered, and then at a Commission meeting I said, "Look here, are we going to continue to answer these letters? The first thing you know the way he's operating, issuing these statements without any hearing at all, he can take some of our words out of context and crucify us on our own words." Fly, to my surprise so out of character, responded, "But we've got to cooperate with Congress." I said, "Fine, I agree. We haven't got any secrets from Congress, but I don't think the members of this committee know what's going on. So let's write all the members of the committee and say, 'Look here. We'll be glad to appear before you and testify any time you want us to.'" But he wouldn't do it. I began to try to find out--it was so out of character--and I find out that Fly, when he had been general counsel of the TVA, had a mistress, a very nice gal. She had been a lawyer then. It was one of these things that was done very discreetly. Cox had gotten on to that and had just given Fly a word: "OK, you be a good boy or I'm going to blast you." Well he had a couple of kids high school age, which would have been pretty unfortunate, so I decided that I had to take the lead on it. So we're sitting there with photostatic copies of the check and the whole works.

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I finally try to bait them into subpoenaing me, and then I'm going to get the whole story out, what's behind it. I have a statement all ready with the copies of the check as exhibits. I know how Congress operates. The "club" rules. I was going to start off by saying, "Gentlemen, I haven't got anything to hold back from Congress, but I think the members of this committee should know how they are being used." They would have stopped me, of course, before I started reading it, but I had mimeographed copies ready to hand out to the press and say, "Here's what I would have said if they had let me testify." But they got a little skittish. I had refused to answer one of their questionnaires. They don't subpoena me. So then we think of another gimmick: how can we attach this to something that would hit the press? The war was going on then, and you have to have something to attract attention. So we work up another one in the form of a petition to Congress for a redress of grievances, addressed to Sam Rayburn as Speaker of the House. Public relations men were rather scarce around Washington in those days. The only press man we had, his job was to hand out press copies of official rulings of the Commission and decisions, and that was about it. So I run across an old time newspaperman working one of the other government agencies, and I lay this before him. I said, "Now how do you handle this thing with the press, because

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if the press doesn't back me up, my head is going to roll." He looked it over, and he said, "Well, I've found that this is the kind of thing that'll be a long fight, and I find it is a good idea to give some good newspaper or some good newspaperman a feeling that he's got a proprietary interest in the story. When you use press releases, you've got to give everybody an even break." I said, "Who can I do that with?" He said, "Why don't you talk to Eugene Meyer of the Washington Post?" He had only recently acquired the Post then and was sort of an unknown quantity. I said, "For God's sake, he's a stand-pat Republican, and the FCC is sort of a New Deal agency. I wouldn't think of going there." He said, "You know, any newspaperman likes to crusade against sin, and you've got a perfect case of sin here if I ever saw it, and all documented. You give him a ring." So I went back to my office and I did. He told me to me to come right on over.

I approached him with, "Mr. Meyer, here's something that I think is an important issue of just plain honesty in government, but you know you can get so close to things you can't see them in proper perspective. I wish you would read all this over and tell me if you do think I had an important issue. If you think I have, I would like your advice as to how to handle it with the press." Well he read the whole thing through without saying a word, just

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poker-faced. Then he asked his secretary to get Casey Jones, who was then Managing Editor. He just tossed it over to Casey Jones. Jones read it and then looked up at Meyer, and Meyer turned to me. He said, "The only advice I have to offer is that when you release this to the press, you do it about five o'clock in the afternoon, of course too late for the afternoon papers, but time enough for the morning paper to do a job." So the next day I release it, having sent copies to Meyer by messenger in the morning, saying, "Here's what I'm going to release at five o'clock."

(Pause in recording)

Going on with the Cox case. The next day, of course, this did hit the press in a big way, and the Post responded with a newspaper story and an editorial. The press descended on Sam Rayburn and asked him what he was going to do about it. He said, "I think the proper group to handle this is the Judiciary Committee, so I have referred it to Hatton Sumners."

I immediately write Hatton Sumners. My idea was that: "Not that I'm trying to withhold things from Congress, but here's some information Congress should have"; because I had shot my own load to start with because I had released that check. But apparently Cox felt like I might have a whole lot more. Well, the thing was bandied about between Hatton Sumners and Sam Rayburn, and every time it would go from one place to the other, I'd write this letter and hand the copy to the press. The thing went on for about six months,

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Eugene Meyer every time responding with a newspaper story and an editorial. The first thing you know, the little papers had picked it up throughout the country. This was just an issue of honest government, and the Post was not a wild paper by any means, so these editorials began to come in from all over the country. But nobody in Congress--Lyndon didn't--opened his mouth about it. Of course, this is the old congressional spirit. I had what you would call an administrative assistant now. He was a young fellow, a lawyer, named "Red" James. He's now a Federal circuit judge over in Houston, and he was a good friend of Lyndon's. Lyndon sort of kept away from me. We didn't talk about it. But along about eleven or twelve o'clock at night, he would call "Red" up and tell him about the response in Congress. He was sort of acting as a spotter, telling us where to put the next shell, and giving us Sam Rayburn's reactions. But nothing at all on the floor and nothing in the press, just doing this thing very quietly.

This thing goes on for about six months, and finally Meyer comes out with a front-page open letter to Rayburn, saying that here was just an issue of honesty in Congress, and he thought somebody in Congress should be concerned about it. It was a very powerful letter. The very next day when Congress met, it had all been prearranged. Rayburn had gone to Cox and said, "Look here, Gene, this thing is getting too hot. We can't stick with you any longer, can't back you up any longer." So it was prearranged, and Rayburn makes a speech

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eulogizing Cox as one of the finest congressmen he's ever served with. John McCormack came out [with] "the finest true American" he had ever known. Even the chaplain of the House issues a statement: "I have never known a finer Christian gentleman." And then Cox gets up. "For nigh onto six months, the poison shafts of slander have pierced my heart. I am as pure as the driven snow, but this has resulted in unfair attacks upon this House of Representatives that I have loved so well and so long. And so, out of my love for this House of Representatives, I am resigning as head of the committee and stepping aside." But this was the way Lyndon operated. He was quietly telling us what was going on. I think Sam Rayburn was glad enough himself to see Cox get his comeuppance, because Rayburn had had his problems with Cox in the Rules Committee. But that's the way thing very often operate.

MLG: Shall we take a break now, and then we'll come back later.

(Pause in recording)

MLG: One of the considerations, I think, of historians recently has been whether or not Lyndon Johnson and some of these other young turks from the Southwest and South, like Maury Maverick, were populists, were twentieth century agrarian populists.

CJD: I think Maury Maverick was more in that tradition than Lyndon was. I think Lyndon was to start with, but I don't think he was caught up in that so much as he was [in] the two threads, as Virginia said,

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went through: his belief in democratic government. And also one thing that was consistent was his concern for the underprivileged, the poor. But I don't remember myself any of the stands that he took particularly that I would say was populist.

VFD: You see, Lyndon had this dichotomy which makes him such a complex character. Franklin D. Roosevelt had the same dichotomy. They were both very complex men, and they believed passionately in helping the underprivileged and helping the poor. They also believed passionately in the American form of government. They accepted it totally and trusted themselves to it. I don't mean they didn't manipulate, but the point was that they ran for office time and again. You know, a politician reveals himself. He becomes very vulnerable. He's out there in the front, you know, to the public. But at the same time, Roosevelt and Lyndon both believed in the American capitalist system. It never had crossed their minds that there was any other system. I told you when my brother-in-law Hugo Black went to see him before the war when there was so much isolationist sentiment--

CJD: Went to see Roosevelt, you mean.

VFD: Went to see Roosevelt and tried to persuade him, as I understand, -- now I got this second hand from someone else--to nationalize the armament industry so that they could go right into preparation for the war and not have to bribe the corporations, which they did through

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this Defense Plant Corporation that Cliff was the general counsel for. Tell him now it was set up, Cliff.

CJD: It gave an opportunity to move in other directions. I was very conscious of this need to get a better balance between agriculture and industry. Long before the Economic Report on the South, when I was a lawyer with a power company firm, and they were concerned with getting power customers and wanted to bring industry in, I began to get conscious of that problem. So little industry, and the kind that came in was of very questionable value because of low wages, and sometimes they were just the fly-by-night industries. This was before Pearl Harbor. We started on this thing in May, 1940 when Roosevelt announced his program for 50,000 planes a year. You can realize the magnitude of that when you think back. The total number of airplanes produced in this country from the time the Wright Brothers flew at Kitty Hawk until Hitler's invasion of Poland was around 33-35,000 planes, and that included the little Piper Cubs. So we launched into this program of 50,000 a year, and these were military planes. Almost any of them were many times the size of these small Piper Cubs, so that meant expansion all the way down the line. I worked out this idea for a defense plant corporation. The business concerns had the organization. They would have to turn to the government for the money. And how would you get the maximum

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government protection and move fast? So I conceived the idea of letting the manufacturers, after the military had said who they wanted and what their needs were in the supplies line, come to us, and we would in effect employ them without profit to build the plant for our account. Then we would lease the plant to them for the duration of the emergency, and they would produce the airplane engines or whatever.

VFD: But they got big profits on what they produced.

CJD: Well, they would make their profits on their supplies contracts.

Also, it seemed to me that here was an opportunity to bring about a better balance. You see, all the industry at that time was concentrated on the Atlantic seaboard around the Great Lakes area. This was a problem not just of the South but so much the Middle West and all the rest of the country. Here, for military purposes, the dispersal of plants was important from that standpoint. We were in the multiple purpose field. The government had traditionally built the arsenals and high-explosive plants, but these were plants that were capable of peacetime use. You could easily convert over just by changing your jigs, dies, and fixtures from producing airplane engines to making almost anything you wanted to. So I saw this. The government was putting up 100 percent of the capital of getting some of these plants in the predominantly agricultural areas where you needed industry.

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The this would be a base after the war for Southern industrialization. The South lacked the capital to build these things. The idea was good. It didn't work out too well, but Texas went into it in a big way. In Alabama there was just the reluctance to move in, and about all Alabama took in the--

VFD: We got some shipbuilding.

CJD: Well, they got some shipbuilding down on the coast, and then there were some aluminum ore plants around Mobile that converted the bauxite, which came from Surinam, into aluminum ore. And then [there were] the aluminum plants in North Alabama in the TVA area. We had some up there. On the airplane side, I think this Hays plant in Birmingham was about it. But Texas got an awful lot of these plants.

VFD: That was the beginning of the great big industrial boom in Texas, wouldn't you think so?

CJD: Well, I think it did have a lot to do with it.

VFD: I think Lyndon had a lot to do with getting those plants. Now Roosevelt and Lyndon both believed in the capitalist system and in democracy. Roosevelt fought fascism when Hitler came up on the grounds of dictatorship. Lyndon fought communism on the grounds of dictatorship, too. In other words, they both believed in political democracy, but neither one of them, I think, ever questioned the capitalist system's being a beneficent system. Even Roosevelt,

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when it had fallen flat on its face in '33 just completely done for, picked it up and revived it. Of course a lot of criticism of the left wingers at that time was that he had revived the capitalist system, that he could have at that time just taken over the banks and taken over everything. Lyndon had exactly the same attitudes as FDR. He used to say, "Business is what makes the mule run." People say he was impressed by big business or owned by big business. I never thought he was impressed or owned by it. I just think he believed in it. He thought it was the only way to keep the system going, don't you think so, Cliff?

CJD: Yes, I think he had the idea of what he wanted to do, but you operated with it. You had it, and you did the best you could with it.

VFD: You might try to control it or make it more beneficent, but you never questioned its essential validity. FDR and LBJ were neither one of them left wingers in that sense at all. Now in England, of course, since the economy is just staggering and staggering, there is an enormous number of people who do question now the validity of a capitalist system at all. But I don't think that any new economic system arises except on the ruins of an old one. I don't think we've failed yet. The economic system is beginning to show signs of running down, but I don't think it's gotten anyway near where it was during the Depression of the Thirties.

CJD: Oh, no. It was flat on its face then. Everything was shut down.

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VFD: Anyway, to answer your point, I don't think Lyndon was a populist. He may have had some populist ideas from his father about agriculture, but as he got on in life and saw the immense power of the corporations and their control of the wealth, I think he lost all idea of having any public ownership.

MLG: What about this regionalist theme expressed in Walter Webb's book, Divided We Stand? Did Lyndon Johnson echo this philosophy that the South was a colony of the North and the East?

CJD: I don't remember him having talked about that.

VFD: Bird said he felt that.

CJD: He might have. Of course, he was in on a lot of these bull sessions where we talked about it. If Lyndon played any role at all in this economic report, it was quietly on the side. I don't remember him being around when we were working on it. I think there was some of that in the [Lower] Colorado River Authority. Here was a poor section of the country, and they had a resource that needed to be developed and was all out for the government doing it. This was not in competition with private enterprise. The government did it, or it didn't get done at all, so he had no objection to the government moving in where the need lay.

VFD: You see, in Texas up until recently you've had so much independent wealth in Texas. I mean, you haven't been a colony of the North

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as much as, say, Alabama, because you've had so much independent wealth here. You know, the cattle and the oil.

CJD: Let's go back to earlier days, though, because as I recall, crude oil was selling for something like ten cents a barrel during the Depression, so Texas itself was not a prosperous state duing that period.

VFD: Well of course in the old days, Texas was the very seat of the populist movement in the Seventies and Eighties there with the railroad, and fighting the railroads and the Yankee corporations. But I never really heard Lyndon talk like that. Of course George Brown, we used to meet him at dinner at the Johnsons. Of course, he was a great big businessman. You know who he is.

CJD: But this was a matter of the little men began to get big during this period, and I think Lyndon would encourage that.

MLG: Let's talk about personalities some more. Is there anything else about Senator Wirtz that you can call to mind, things that characterize him in your own mind?

CJD: I think Virginia can tell you more about that than I could. I just saw him socially.

VFD: I did, too.

CJD: Well I know you did, but I think you saw more of him through Kitty Mae.

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VFD: He was a very lively, attractive, vital man who was Texan through and through and who had been a poor boy. But he had the same attitude as Lyndon. He wasn't near as liberal as Lyndon on the racial issue, I told you that, but he had the same attitude as Lyndon did. That is, they believed in business and big business. It wasn't a question of belief. They just never questioned it. This was the system they lived in, and they made the best of it.

MLG: Was Wirtz a pretty jovial man?

VFD: Oh, a very charming, jovial man, terribly amusing and funny and told funny stories. He was just such a sweet fellow, and his wife was cute, and he had this nice daughter. But he just made everybody feel welcome, and he was delightful. He was a wonderful host. It just made you feel good to see Alvin. Delightful man.

MLG: Do you think that he contributed to some of the political decisions that Lyndon Johnson made? Do you think he gave LBJ advice in these areas?

VFD: Oh, I'm sure he did, I mean, as far as my knowledge goes. As I say, when we saw them together, Lyndon would always call him "Yes, sir" and "No, sir." The same way with Sam Rayburn. It was the junior to the senior, you see.

MLG: A father-son type of thing.

VFD: A father-son type of thing. Of course, he felt the same way that Lyndon did about Roosevelt. That's why I think all this crazy stuff about his mother being the dominating influence in his life is

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so exaggerated, because I think he had a great respect for his father. And I think he had that sort of respectful attitude toward older men. He was rather respectful to Cliff, for you see, Cliff was ten or fifteen years older than Lyndon.

CJD: Just about ten years older, I think.

VFD: Well how old would Lyndon be now? He was born in 1908. He would be twelve years older than Lyndon.

CJD: He was born in 1908? That would just make me nine years older. I thought he was a little respectful to start with.

VFD: He was just a very young boy when we knew him. You see, he was a very complex character. As he grew in office and became master of the Senate and learned all the arts of persuasion and arm-twisting, as they say, he became a very complex character. Now I do think that Lyndon was taken in by people like Bobby Baker. Of course, if you want my honest opinion, I might as well tell you. I think he was taken in by John Connally. I think John was so servile to him, with his "Yes, Senator" and "No, Senator" and "Yes, Congressman" and "No, Congressman." I think John Connally would have licked his boots or mine or Cliff's, or anybody else's that helped him up the ladder. I think John was essentially a servile character, if you know what I mean. He was a man who was always on the make, and he was always sucking up and buttering up people he thought could help him. I never did like him. I thought he was a cold-blooded

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opportunist. But I think Lyndon liked him. I think Lyndon loved him. I think he thought John--and Bobby Baker, too--had the same relationship to him that he had had to Sam Rayburn.

MLG: One more question on Senator Wirtz. Justice Douglas told me that all the business with the FCC in getting the radio station was done through Senator Wirtz rather than LBJ. Do you remember anything about this?

CJD: What I remember about this is this. What was the date? Do you remember the dates of that, when they got that station?

MLG: No, I don't.

CJD: Bird came to me and said there was a chance to buy this radio station in Austin, and as I recall she said for about $22,000. She either had the money or could borrow the money on this inheritance she had of the Autauga County property. She could raise that much money, and she wanted to know whether I thought it would be a wise investment. So I gave her some figures on the earnings of well-run stations at the time. They were making an awful lot of money. The only stations you had on the air then were AM stations, and there were about 900 of them in the entire United States. And there was a newsprint shortage. I heard generally around the FCC that this was a very poorly-run station. I remember our engineers complaining about the engineering operations and getting all frequencies and things of that sort. I told her that it seemed to me if she could get that station

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on its feet and get it well managed, it ought to be a very good investment. That was my connection with it. Now there wasn't any skullduggery that I ever saw at the FCC. It was more or less the routine approval of the purchase of a station. Those had to be approved by the FCC, but nobody else was in the picture. I remember her saying at the time that one thing she was interested in, too, was that they were making such vicious attacks on President Rainey. I think the owner of this whole station had been using it that way. She was hoping if they could get that station on its feet, they could give him a fair break. I remember her mentioning that. But about the time she bought that station, Bird virtually moved back to Austin. She would come to Washington on visits, but she just devoted almost full time to getting that station on its feet. As little as I could see if it, it was Bird rather than Lyndon that was working on that proposition, and she finally did get it on its feet. Now I don't remember Alvin Wirtz being around in any way.

VFD: He might have come in later when they got the TV.

CJD: He may have talked to Larry Fly about it, but this was not one of these controversial [inaudible].

VFD: I think Alvin, though, would have thought it would help Lyndon's political career along, because he was very ambitious for Lyndon to move up in the political scene. So he might have thought it was a great asset for Lyndon to have a radio station so he could get out on the air.

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MLG: Did Wirtz get along very well with Ickes?

VFD: Well now, look, who got on well with Ickes? Nobody I knew that worked for him very well. We all admired him up in Washington. He was a very blunt-spoken man, a very idiosyncratic man. If you read his diaries, you know he just blasted everybody, almost.

CJD: I might give you a little sidelight on Ickes. After I was on the FCC, Ickes called me one day and asked me to have lunch with him. Abe Fortas was just about to go to the Army. He asked if I would come over and be assistant secretary of Commerce. He said, "I don't think they are going to take him. The Army wouldn't have him because of all of his physical problems, but I'll make you undersecretary if Abe doesn't go into the Army." I said, "I appreciate that, but I've gotten interested in work over at the FCC and I think I had better stay where I am." So in reply to that, he said, "Well, I think from your standpoint, you're making a wise decision. You know, I'm not an easy person to work for."

VFD: Well as far as I know, I never heard that Wirtz had any trouble with Ickes. He was such a smooth character. He got on with almost everybody. He died fairly young. The thing about Alvin was, he was a Texan from start to finish. He was a Texan first and foremost. There were a lot of Texans in Washington in those days who were Texans

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first and members of the U.S.A. second.

MLG: Did he ever tell you a story about having a run-in with the Klan while he ran for the State Senate back in the Twenties? This is sort of a story that's followed him around.

VFD: No, I don't remember any story like that. I tell you who knows a lot about Alvin is Mary Rather. She worked for him, and of course, he was in business with her. She's getting his papers. I suppose you know all about that. But he was a perfectly delightful man, I thought, and just as charming as he could be. Now his wife had no interest in politics at all. She was just a very sweet, pleasant woman.

MLG: What about Aubrey Williams?

VFD: Oh, we just adored Aubrey. Cliff and I both could just go on about Aubrey forever. We just loved him. We thought he was just one of the most wonderful people in the world.

CJD: I saw most of Aubrey after he came back to Montgomery. Of course, I knew him pleasantly in Washington, and we would see him socially from time to time. I was working a different side of the street from Virginia. She was busy on the poll tax business, and I was working first on the banking and then dealing with General Motors, General Electric, and all the rest of them.

VFD: But he was always the big shot, and I was a little shot.

MLG: We were never able to interview him, but possibly you can fill some

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of the gaps in his relations with Lyndon Johnson.

VFD: Well, they varied. Aubrey was the head of the NYA. Now I understood from Aubrey that it was Senator Sheppard that asked him to give Lyndon this job as head of [Texas] NYA. Now that's my recollection. Somebody said that Kleberg thought Lyndon might run against him. He was scared that Lyndon might run against him or something, and he wanted to get rid of Lyndon because Lyndon had proved to be such a wheeler-dealer on the Hill just in the position of his assistant. Now this is gossip. I don't know Kleberg, but I did hear this. Anyway, I heard that Sheppard and maybe Connally asked Aubrey to give Lyndon this job.

MLG: Now, Aubrey Williams told you that Senator Sheppard had asked him. Is that the story?

VFD: Yes.

MLG: (To Mr. Durr) Does that sound familiar to you?

CJD: I vaguely recall that. I think he did say Sheppard. I didn't pay too much attention to that.

VFD: When he did get to be head of NYA in Texas, he and Aubrey got to be great friends. Lyndon had the same relationship, the younger man-to-the-older man with him. Now I don't want you to think that Lyndon in any way was a boot licker like John Connally because he wasn't, but he had good manners and was just respectful to older people. He didn't have that brashness of "I know it all."

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So Aubrey became extremely devoted to him, and after he was a congressman I think they got to be very good friends. But Aubrey always had the attitude: "my boy Lyndon," if you know what I mean. "I'm going to tell my boy Lyndon this." I think in the latter days, there was a coolness that developed because Aubrey was so passionate against the Vietnam War. When he went to Washington, he was dying of cancer then. I understood--and I understood this from Aubrey's wife--that he was really very, very harsh with Lyndon. Bird had them over there. Bird said they had a very pleasant breakfast together, but I heard from Aubrey's wife that Aubrey was really vicious to LBJ. It was very embarrassing, she said, because Aubrey just really castigated him for the war and blamed him. You see, Aubrey was dying then. He felt like the war was just awful. Now Lyndon didn't come to his funeral. He died in Washington of cancer, and we went up to the funeral. Cliff was asked to speak. They didn't have a religious funeral, but Cliff and James Dumbrowski, who was the head of that [Southern Conference Educational Fund]. Those two spoke. I remember Ben Cohen came. He was one of the old New Dealers.

CJD: Oscar Chapman.

VFD: Oscar Chapman came. When I got up there, which was the day before the funeral, we went up to the apartment. When we got

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there, the White House limousine drove up, and the chauffeur came up with this perfectly beautiful basket of flowers that they had sent. As soon as I got in the apartment, the telephone rang. It was Bird, and she was calling Anita to say how sorry she was. Then there was a telegram from Lyndon and Bird together.

CJD: Bird had you and Anita, between you, on the phone at least half an hour--.

VFD: Yes, she did. But Lyndon didn't come to the funeral. The next day Mary Bain--who used to work for Aubrey and was a great woman politico from Chicago--I asked her, "Why do you think Lyndon didn't come to the funeral?" She said, "Well, I didn't ever think he would come to the funeral." I said, Why not?" She said, "Well Virginia, you know, Lyndon is a politician, and I think he'll do everything for Aubrey but publicly come to his funeral." I asked Anita about that, and she thought it was more that Lyndon had gotten his feelings hurt because Aubrey had been so--

CJD: But Anita herself said, "I don't blame him." Aubrey was dying. He was a very sick man. He felt very strongly about it, and she did say he got very emotional with Lyndon and spoke to him very harshly. So she said, "I just don't blame him for not coming to the funeral after--"--

VFD: I know Cliff has been going through his letters to give to the Archives. Aubrey wrote Lyndon a letter recommending Cliff for a place on the

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Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals when it was empty. Cliff knew that this was impossible, knowing he wouldn't get the support of the local politicians. It was just impossible. So he wrote Lyndon. You tell it, Cliff, it's yours.

CJD: Aubrey had three operations for cancer, and he'd get up and go about his affairs again. I know he went out to--which convention was that? Aubrey went out there to try to get the nomination for Lyndon.

VFD: That was in '60.

CJD: Then during the '60 campaign, he was not a well man at all. I think he had already had two operations then. But Aubrey gets in a car with E. D. Nixon, this Pullman car porter.

VFD: A black man who started the boycott.

CJD: Aubrey had a great many Negro friends throughout the country. You see, Aubrey wouldn't permit any discrimination in the NYA, and behind the scenes, he was working on this Fair Employment Practices regulation during the war, that could discriminate against blacks in the defense plants.

VFD: He had a lot of white friends, too.

CJD: So Aubrey gets in the car and tours the country.

VFD: All over the South.

CJD: Well, all over the South. [Talking to] every Negro leader that he knew, saying, "Look here don't you worry about Lyndon Johnson. You are going to find that Lyndon is no racist. He is as far from

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a racist as any man can possibly be, and he is going to prove to be your friend.

VFD: He just laid it on the line.

CJD: He laid it on the line. Helen Fuller wrote a book about that campaign.

VFD: Oh yes, it was a very good book.

CJD: She even says that Aubrey Williams' work among the blacks may well have made the difference. You see, Kennedy went in by a pretty small vote.

VFD: Have you got Helen Fuller's book?

MLG: No, but we have it in the Library.

CJD: Then, I can remember another story that Lyndon told me. It was one of the earlier civil rights actions, one about 1960?

VFD: Fifty-seven, she said.

CJD: Well, there was '57 and another one a little later.

MLG: Sixty, probably.

CJD: Aubrey had gone to Washington with a group of Negroes, mostly preachers, to do a little lobbying for the Civil Rights Act. He was telling me of his experiences, that he wanted to see Hubert Humphrey.

(Tape recorder malfunction, then recording resumes)

VFD: Maybe we're wearing it out.

(Pause in recording)

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CJD: Well, this Lyndon told me, and I suppose it must have been the Civil Rights Act of '60. It was when Lyndon was still in the Senate, before he ran for Vice President. Aubrey went to Washington to do a little lobbying with some of these black preachers. He went to see Hubert Humphrey, and Hubert Humphrey wouldn't see him.

(Tape recorder malfunction)

CJD: Are you recording now?

MLG: Yes.

CJD: I remember him telling me that Hubert Humphrey wouldn't see him. He mentioned Paul Douglas, and Paul Douglas wouldn't see him. I have forgotten who else he mentioned. So he had a pretty frustrating day, and he was just about ready to leave. He called Lyndon. He didn't want to put Lyndon on the spot on this thing, but just to say hello to him. Lyndon asked him how he was doing and so on. He told him what kind of day he had had, and Lyndon said, "Well are those people still with you?" Aubrey said, "Well they are still here. They are just about to leave right now." Lyndon said, "Why don't you get them in a taxi and come around to see me." I think he said Sam Rayburn was back in the office. He shooed Sam Rayburn out and said, "Come on in." He sat down with these Negro leaders and said, "Here's what I can do, and here's what I can't do. I promise

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you I'll do the best I can on this. But this "--certain aspects of it-- "I'm not going to even try to do anything about, because I can't right now." After the flaming liberals of the civil rights leaders, Humphrey and Paul Douglas, had refused to see them, Lyndon gave them just a frank [talk], seeing them. And he called in a photographer and had some pictures taken there. Then do you want to talk about this letter?

VFD: Yes, because Lyndon wrote you about Aubrey's letter to him about your being on the Fifth Circuit--

CJD: No, no. That's not the way it happened. Aubrey had gone to Washington then. He had a very short time to live, it was very obvious. He wrote Lyndon a very emotional letter. He wrote it in longhand, but I think he had made a carbon in longhand. I'm not sure. But he sent a copy of it to me, and was urging Lyndon to appoint me to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. There was a vacancy there at the time. He ended by saying, "Lyndon, I have never asked a personal favor of you, but this time I am going to put it on personal grounds. I think this thing is so important."

(Tape recorder malfunction)

. . . You had Brown and Wisdom and Rives standing up, and it was sort of nip and tuck. So I wrote Lyndon back, and I said, "Look here, Lyndon, I know the political facts of life." I was getting on in my sixties then, too, a little too old. But I said, "Not me.

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The important thing is to get you reelected." This was when he was still holding over under the unexpired Kennedy term.

(Recorder malfunction)

Two people: one was a Democrat, a man named Paul Johnson who had been in a very conservative law firm but had stood up magnificently. His father and his brother kicked him out of his law firm because he said he thought--

VFD: --the Supreme Court should be obeyed.

CJD: Brown against the Board of Education. But then I went on further to say, "If you can bring yourself to appoint a Republican, here's Frank Johnson in Montgomery, who is one of these old Andrew Jackson Republicans and as far from the traditional type as he can be. If anybody deserves any promotion, it is Frank Johnson, the way he has been holding up under all the pressures." But then I ended by saying, "Since Aubrey put his request to you on my appointment on a personal basis, I want to ask a personal favor. Aubrey is still living under this cloud. He is not the kind to go around weeping about things like that. But in an official document of the United States Senate, he is branded, in effect, as a traitor to his country."

VFD: That's the Eastland hearings.

CJD: I said, "You've known Aubrey longer than I have, and you know there was never any more loyal American or finer American citizen

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than Aubrey Williams." I think I referred to some of the relief measures that were coming on and said this would give an opportunity [to show] the role Aubrey had played.

VFD: WPA.

CJD: "If you could make a public statement. As you know, Aubrey doesn't have more than a few months at the most to live and maybe only a few weeks. If you could bring yourself to make some public statement mentioning him and saying that he is as fine and loyal an American citizen as you have ever known, it would mean a lot to him before he died."

I got a letter back from Lyndon saying, "Well, I'll think about what you have said," and that was all.

VFD: I remember that letter now. That's in the Archives of Alabama, because Cliff's turned everything he's got over to there. But [Lyndon] said, "Sometimes Aubrey is a little too unrealistic about what is possible--"

(Recorder malfunction)

He said, "Sometimes Aubrey, as lovely a fellow as he is, is sometimes unrealistic about what can happen politically." Exactly what I'm trying to get at pointing up Lyndon is that Lyndon was torn in a dichotomy between various stresses and strains. That's what his daughter said last night. He was always torn between

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what he could do. He accepted the political system--

(Break in recording)

The strain between these various opposing forces, which was very difficult for Lyndon. He had to maneuver a great deal, but he never thought it did you any good to come out and say, "I am for--" something, or "I believe in this," or "I'll die for this," unless you could do something about it. He thought that all that hot air was just a waste of time.

CJD: I would like to mention again in this connection, I can frankly say I was really upset about Lyndon not showing up at Aubrey's funeral. (Recorder malfunctioning, but voice still barely audible) I expressed myself to Anita, and Anita just said, "I don't blame him at all"--

(Break in recording)

--harsh things Aubrey said to him about his position on the war. Now Aubrey was very emotional but he was not a weak man, but sick at the time.

VFD: But [Lyndon] was just berated by all of his old friends. I know Bill Douglas for one just worked on him continually about the war.

(Break in recording)

MLG: How did he respond to Justice Douglas?

VFD: I don't know. I couldn't tell you that. I just don't know how Lyndon responded to it, but I just think all that hammering on him by his old friends and his New Deal colleagues must have been pretty tough.

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You know what the bitterness was in the Vietnamese war. You were old enough then to realize it. It was just absolutely fierce.

(End of Tape #2 and Interview)

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By VIRGINIA DURR

to the

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Signed Virginia Foster Durr

Date March 10, 1976

Accepted Harry J. Middleton
Director, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library for Archivist of the United States

Date March 15, 1976