INTERVIEWEE: JOHN W. HECHINGER

INTERVIEWER: DAVID G. McCOMB

March 5, 1969

M: This is an interview with Mr. John W. Hechinger, who is the Chairman of the District Council, that is, the city council for Washington D.C. The date is March 5, 1969. I am in his office in the District Building, Washington, D.C., and my name is David McComb.

First of all, I'd like to know something about your background. I know that you've been in Washington for a long time. You've been president of a prominent lumber and hardware concern in this town. Were you born here?

H: Yes, I was born here. So was my father and my grandmother, and my great-grandparents are buried here, so we speak of the fact that I'm a fourth generation Washingtonian.

M: And you got your college education at Yale, is that right?

H: That's right. I went to Lehigh University first, transferred to Yale. Went to the public schools and the secondary schools all through from kindergarten to graduation at Woodrow Wilson High School here in town.

M: I understand that before you became Chairman of the District Council you had had some experience with local government--some appointments such as Redevelopment Land Agency. Is that correct?

H: I would say in terms of political exposure this probably was my only, certainly, appointment--or any service in the political field except working on both Democratic and Republican inaugural committees in the years past.

M: You worked on both of them?

H: Yes.

M: Is that in organization of the ceremony and that sort of--?

H: That's right. People that chaired the committees in the Republican years asked me to join with them, and then the same thing happened during the Democratic--but for Lyndon Johnson. I was the chairman of the Medal Committee at Lyndon Johnson's inauguration. This committee is an interesting committee because it's that they strike the medal, and it's one of the biggest money raisers--or was that year--of all the events that take place in the inauguration, that raised the most money.

M: Do you have to get an artist to cast the die for you?

H: That's right. That year it was Felix DeWeldin, who is the same sculptor as the sculptor of the Iwo Jima momument over there across in Arlington Cemetery.

M: Then the money from these medals is used to defray the expenses of the inauguration?

H: That's right. Then sometimes hopefully there's a surplus, and that surplus is usually given to some District event or District charity. I think the year that I was the chairman of the Medal Committee, and Dale Miller, a good friend of the President's and Scooter Miller--I think they turned in about a hundred or hundred-fifty thousand dollar surplus which was given to the United Givers Fund.

M: When did you first meet Lyndon Johnson, do you remember?

H: It is an unusual--I don't really know when I met him, but when I began to focus in on him, being a resident of Washington and not a member of the congressional circle, was through the National Cathedral

School where Luci Johnson was a student and my daughter, Nancy. In addition to that, little Benetta Washington--I say that because Mayor Washington's wife is Benetta and his daughter is sometimes called "little" Benetta--she also was in this same class. So I knew of the Johnsons through Luci and went over to their house in Spring Valley a couple of times, picking up Luci or putting the girls together somehow. It is interesting just to bring it down, because I've kidded about it often--that Miss Lee who was the principal of National Cathedral--this is her first year when she is not the school head--had been there forever--a rather buxom school "marm," and she ran the school. She is from Texas herself and she's back down there, as a matter of fact. But we always kidded her that she made up this triumvirate of Walter Washington, John Hechinger and Lyndon Johnson. And it was probably, truthfully, it really was an exposure through this contact that--at least when maybe both our names--I can't speak for the Mayor to be sure--when both our names came up, this had something to do with it.

M: What were the circumstances of your appointment to the Redevelopment Land Agency?

H: I remember that I was driving back from New England and that I stopped in New York to see my wife's parents, Mr. and Mrs. N.A. Ross. We were on the beach in Long Island when I got a call to call the White House, which was sort of a dramatic thing to be doing on the beach. I said, "Jeez, I can't understand what this is." So they said, "We want you here by 2 o'clock to discuss something with you." It turned out that I was talking to Marvin Watson, who I didn't know at all at the time. But I told him I just couldn't make it because it was

now 12 o'clock, and that was a little too far away, and I had a car and I was going to get that car back. So we made a date for the next day.

M: Then you came in and talked to Marvin Watson?

H: I talked to Marvin Watson, and he said, "The President has selected your name for this job as Commissioner on that Redevelopment Land Agency." I must say I was a little taken aback. I was all excited, as a matter of fact, at the moment, but I told Mr. Watson I would just have to determine what the job entailed because I was in business and I didn't know just what it was. I had to also straighten out whether there was any conflict of interest, which I wasn't sure of. So he was very particular in regard to who I should talk to. He said, "This must not get out. As you probably know by this time," he told me, "The President is wild about any of his appointments leaking, so we really don't usually allow this kind of thing. But I want to assure you that some terrible things have happened--I mean, the people don't get jobs when this gets leaked out." So he was bringing home what I already saw in the paper about Lyndon Johnson's proclivity to want secrecy--or he wanted to have the option to move on his appointments. So I was given leave to talk to Neville Miller, who was the Chairman then of the Redevelopment Land Agency. I called Mr. Watson back the next day and said that I'd be honored to accept.

M: Did you have any contact with the President while you were serving on this land agency in that capacity?

H: No, never did.

M: I've also heard that you were once considered to be appointed as one

of the three commissioners under the old government. Is that correct?

H: Yes. I had a call, I believe, almost a year before this appointment as Chairman of the City Council. I think that would have been in '66, I believe--or was it early '67!

M: I don't know.

H: I can't remember. I think it was probably late '66--the fall of '66, I believe. I'm not real positive about that now. Either the fall of '66 or the spring of '67. I happen to remember it because of something that reminded me of spring, but I was called by John Duncan, the commissioner at the time, and I was told that I was being considered for what was known as second commissioner. He told me at that time that Walter Washington was going to be the president of the Board of Commissioners, or number one commissioner; and that there was some talk in the air about switching some of the powers between the commissioners. That is, the police were under the Board of Commissioners' president, and it was going to be moved from the number one commissioner to the number two commissioner which would have been me.

I said, "I doubt if Walter Washington takes it under those circumstances because I think this is being done possibly by people on the Hill because of his being black." I then went on to say that, "I really don't think that I could do the job. I couldn't afford the time." I think of course in my own mind that the commissioners had been in office six or seven years--Commissioner Tobriner, Commissioner Duncan, several engineering commissioners have gone by; and I wasn't very enthusiastic about the thing. The matter of time, of course, was to be no less when I took the Chairman of the City

Council for the first time. But at any rate that was a wise decision. I'm glad I didn't do it.

M: Then I suppose your next major step into local government was your appointment to the chairmanship, is that correct?

H: That's right.

M: Can you tell me about the circumstances of this appointment?

H: This was a strange one, too, because I saw the speculation in the newspaper about who was to be appointed. I must honestly say that I was sort of relieved--which is sort of a self-serving statement --but out of the nine people I thought that due to this other commissioner thing, I might have been selected to something. Really I sensed a feeling of relief when the full council was named, and the Chairman of the Council was Max Kampelman. I had closed my mind to it.

One night I got home from a National Symphony concert. After the concert we actually went to the Austrian Embassy, I remember that too. So we didn't get home until something like 1:15. When I got home there were notes all over the house by my teen-age son saying, "Call the White House."

M: Mr. Kampelman had withdrawn by this time?

H: I knew nothing about it.

M: And you had these calls to call the White House.

H: To call the White House. So I called the White House.

M: Who did you get at the White House?

H: I got Steve Pollak, and Steve Pollak says, "I'm not at the White House; the White House switchboard has found me at home; I want to come over and talk to you."

I said, "What an hour! My God, the way you sound you're getting out of bed!"

He says, "Well, I am, but I'm coming, and you stay right there." So I was dressed in black tie. He comes in fifteen or twenty minutes later and says to me that he is on this late duty because the President of the United States, Johnson, has decided to withdraw the name of Max Kampelman, and wants to nominate "you." Now he then went into more story--I don't know how much you want to hear about this.

M: Go ahead.

H: He told me that Mr. Kampelman had been advised by the Attorney General's office that his law practice would have to be greatly modified to the point that he certainly couldn't operate, or any partner couldn't operate in the federal area; and this conflict of interests caused him to withdraw.

So I said, "Well, that sounds sensible, but the main thing is what about all this stuff in the paper," because there had been a lot of sort of yellow journalism going in there.

He said, "Well, without commenting on any of its truth or falsehood, the fact is that this is going to make his confirmation rather sticky. So although this isn't the total reason for withdrawing, we are nevertheless going to withdraw his name and the President wants you--he kept using the President's name, you know, dropping it."

Later on, I felt, "Is it true; I wonder, does Lyndon Johnson know a damned thing about what's going on?"

Let me stop here for just one second because I have a visitor I have to see.

So at that time I said, "Look, Steve, you go on home, because if you think you're going to get an answer tonight, you're wrong. I'm going to think this thing over."

He says, "Well, I'll tell you it's very important. You've got to make a decision immediately. The President does not want this to leak out about Max Kampelman until he has a replacement appointee, I'll tell you very frankly." Then Steve Pollak told me how important I was. You know, he says, "You're the only man to do the job," and all that kind of stuff.

My wife kidded me about it to the effect that, "You're the only man that can do the job in alphabetical order. 'K's' come before 'H.'" At any rate, I had my wife in there listening to Steve--we did know him before this.

We decided to sit down, put the pros and cons on a piece of paper, what we could do--I mean, what the job would entail. Before Steve left, I asked him, but he didn't know too much about it, even though he himself is credited--and of course I know Steve and have talked to him many times since, of doing one of the major parts of the draft of the Reorganization Act Number Three when he was at the White House. He was at the White House at the time incidentally --Steve Pollak was.

I also asked could I talk to anybody about this, and he says, "Absolutely not!" He went through the same thing I heard, you see, with the Redevelopment Land Agency--"The President really doesn't want this to leak out." I finally extracted from him though permission to talk to Walter Tobriner, who was Board of Commissioners present at the time, and to talk to Max Kampelman himself.

Anyway, I didn't sleep at all that night. We were up talking about the thing. I just thought that it would be an impossible thing. So what happened was, the next morning, I guess about 7 o'clock or 6:30 when I shouldn't be doing it, I called up Walter Tobriner. I guess he was still in his pajamas, and I said, "Can I come over to talk to you?"

He says, "Oh, they've reached you!" So he already knew what it was about just by my saying this.

So at 7 o'clock I go to my door, after calling Tobriner, open the door, pick up the newspaper, and here it is in banner headlines: "Kampelman withdraws," something like that.

I said, "Good God, what kind of a secret is this!" I was really feeling a little shaky about this thing. I called Steve right away, and I said, "What the hell are you giving me here. Here it is, four-inch banner headlines, 'Kampelman withdrawn,' and you're telling me what a big secret it is!"

He said, "I can assure you that I've been on the phone for the last hour, and it's just damned good newspaper reporting. There is nobody that knows what's going on, and I just don't know how they found it out." I took some little convincing because I thought that the whole thing was a little cockeyed.

But I went over to see Walter Tobriner, he told me that the job was going to be hell without question; "What the hell did I need that for." It was just going to be a miserable thing and vowed that no word ever got out that he discouraged me in any way from taking the job, because his name would sure be mud with the President if that ever took place. Because he was a friend of

mine--I mean a social friend from long standing--and he saw, as I was talking to him, that I probably wasn't going to listen to him anyway, that I was going to take the job. So then he went into the other part of it and said, "Well, it's a great service," and so forth.

Then I went downtown and saw Max Kampelman, and he gave me about ten--he was very cordial, but I just popped in on him--he gave me about ten or fifteen minutes because at that very moment, he was on the way to a previously set conference with the Daily News editorial staff to tell them his aspirations for the City Council. And the News--nobody had this story about his being withdrawn but the Post, and until the Post said it, of course everybody I guess was trying to investigate it. So he told me he had to withdraw because of this law firm--not only would he not be able to share in the income of the firm, as it had to do with representing federal interests, but his own partners would be foreclosed from taking cases, or something of this sort. He said, "I can tell you that I am dying because of this. It's a great, great opportunity, a great honor, and I think you should do it."

M: Then after consulting with him, did you go see the President?

H: No, there's still quite a bit of story. What happened was I was called at Kampelman's office because I kept Pollak advised where I was--he told me--and I was supposed to report immediately to Warren Christopher, the Deputy Attorney General under Ramsey Clark. I went down to the Attorney General's office and I met Warren Christopher. I told him that I really was very much on edge about the thing. I did break the confidence with Steve Pollak by calling a friend of

mine in the District, a man who is very knowledgeable on the Hill, and asked his advice on the thing--a man named James Newmyer.

In the meantime I really was getting frightened by the whole thing, and I had just about made up my mind that I was making a mistake.

M: What worried you about it?

H: The kind of thing really that Jim Newmyer brought back to me after discussing with people--he told me who he'd talked to--that it would be a very divisive kind of a situation where the individual councilmen would have their own political base, they would have close ties with the White House and the Executive; that some of them, principally Polly Shackelton, had very close ties with the White House and it would be miserable. Incidentially, I've got to say parenthetically here because I don't know whether I'll remember, there has been no greater mainstay, no greater helpmate, than Polly has been, and it has been an absolute joy.

M: So that fear was unfounded.

H: But I mean it has turned out to be, yes. But the other thing was that the new government, new structure, has no more power than the three commissioners had, and "it would be a tremendously time-consuming and emotional thing that you'd be going through without really very much accomplishment." So that plus the unknown, I guess, really--.

So I really started to feel the pressure. Warren Christopher was talking to me, and a man named Morrie Richmond--I think his name is Morrie--who was Assistant Attorney General, or an Attorney General. Then, you know, they started to get me off on the particulars. We started talking about conflict of interest and got so involved in

that. They were running back and forth, checking this and that, and working on the mechanics of things, where I kept saying, "Now, wait a minute. You're worrying about all those mechanics. I haven't said yes!" So I finally said, "No."

And Warren Christopher says, "Well, do me one favor. Will you go over and see Joe Califano?"

I said, "No, I'm not going to do it, because I've heard about this before. Arm-twisting is not going--If I go over there, he's going to break my arm, I know it!"

He says, "Well, will you talk to him on the phone?" So they put Joe Califano on the phone--.

Before that, incidentally, during the day--this was a really hot seat--they got Walter Washington up there. And Walter was telling me that I had to do it. Then all of a sudden, I'm sitting there, and a call from New Orleans from Deputy Mayor Tom Flethcer, whom I'd never met at that point; and he said, "So nice to hear about it," and he wanted to talk to me about it, but unfortunately he had to be at a conference in New Orleans--it was the first time he had been out of the city in years and all kinds of stuff. So there was really mounting pressure.

They had a chauffeur-driven limousine, and they took me over to the White House--

M: You talked with Califano on the phone?

H: On the phone, yes.

M: He persuaded you to come over there?

H: He persuaded me. He said, "Now, look, we have gone this far. And I think--" Here we go. He said, "You owe it at least to me, who

was on part of the selection committee, to meet me. That's all I'm asking you to do." So I went over to Califano's office, and I sat in this big leather chair, and he kept the same drumbeat of, "You're very important; you've got to do it; the President"--the boss, as he calls him--"the Boss wants you."

I said, "Cut it out, Joe. The Boss doesn't know me from Adam."

"No, it's really true."

I said, "No." I said, "no".

He said, "Well, look, the least thing you can do is go up and see the Boss, just for a minute, and tell him yourself, because we want you to know that we were interested. I can understand your problem, but I think you're deserving of the honor at least of seeing the President personally."

M: What time of day was this, by the way?

H: This was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I think, by this time. I've been in Califano's office many times since, but I have never heard it so quiet. He really had his calls cut off. He was pounding away on the importance of taking the job. I said, "Well, look, give me just a moment. I want to call my wife, and you get out of the office." "May I use a phone," I asked.

He said, "No, use my office," and he stepped out.

I called June. I said, "Man, this is very stiff down here, and here I'm going to see the President of the United States, and I think I'm slipping." I forget. I expressed to her the concern about, "Maybe if I finally take this thing that I could ask to take it only for one year," you see--the shorter term. She says, "Listen, when you're talking like that, it sounds like you are going to take

it." Anyway, I hung the phone up and Joe came back.

M: Was she in favor of your taking it or not?

H: She was a little ambivalent, but she kept saying, "It's up to you." I think she was tending a bit towards it, but she wanted to not take any responsibility at that point.

Joe came back in and he put his coat on, and "we'd go up and see the Boss." So we went upstairs in that private elevator right off the Fish Room, climbed up in the elevator, and we came out on the second floor of the living quarters into that little living room next to the President's--. I right then, you know, was sort of palpitating a little bit. Here I was waiting for the President of the United States, and I got my back turned looking out the window.

Then all of a sudden he shows up. He's sort of overpowering when you see him coming up from that 4 or 5 o'clock nap. He was looking ruddy and like he'd been out of the sauna and sunbathed --freshly pressed clothes and a folder in his hand. He said, "Well, how are you, John? Good to see you. Come over here." So we went and sat on that couch--I've been trying to get a picture. I asked the White House photograhper to give me a picture of that couch up there on the second floor. He sat in what I understood to be the chair right next to it and leaned sort of over on that night table and started to talk about how he loved this town; that he had been here thirty-seven years, that it was his really native town, and that he had tried to bring home rule to Washington; he had failed; it was one of the greatest disappointments in his whole career because he had boosted it and he really was in favor of it. Now he has come through this reorganization and he wanted somebody that would

represent the people of Washington, "You are the man, John, and you must do it," and so forth.

So I talked to him, asked a few questions, and then I said, "Mr. President, I am honored, but I really can't do it. That's why Joe brought me up here, and I really feel that I'm not the man for the job, very frankly." He says, "Well, if that's the way you feel, then I can understand it. I know it's a very hard decision to make on such short notice as we've given you. You've been up all night. I'm just so glad that you don't have to decide what's in this folder I've got here--whether we bomb Haiphong Harbor or not." So I winced inwardly. And he says, "And by the way, you could take this, you know, for the shorter term, one year, if you cared to."

And I thought to myself, "Goddam, I think that phone was bugged. I don't remember saying that to anybody else but June." And several things he answered, you know, which I either had only said to June or to Joe Califano, and there was no contact between Joe and the President in my sight. So the President had all the answers to some of the things I had talked to Joe about. They must have been on the phone when he went out of the room because that's the only time he had.

But at any rate within the next five minutes of all that jazz, I accepted. He got up. He was very grateful, and he shakes my hand, and he walked me to the elevator with Joe--Joe running in the elevator.

Joe was positively elated. He was excited as hell. He was like a kid. He was so excited about the thing! We got back there, and as soon as he got back to his office, all hell broke loose. Phones were ringing; he was calling Kay Graham in one place, Senator Morse

out in Oregon, checking with everybody and saying, "I want to tell you that Kampelman has withdrawn and the President has appointed John Hechinger." Every time he'd hang it up, "Oh, boy, we're getting good reports on this." Of course, I felt a little bit at that moment, you know, that I had solved his problem by filling in a candidate that he could announce officially within, say, six or seven hours after this break in this story of Kampelman so that there would appear to be a continuity that they knew what was going on all the time; that they had the thing under control, and that they had a candidate that was accept--because he was very pleased. These people he called knew me, and there was a very good reception.

Then as soon as we did that, we has three television sets in his office there, and he turned them all on, picking up the daily press, and then we went downstairs to George Christian in the press room. He walks me in and he introduces me to George Christian. And the activity is tremendous. I've never been there before. But it was tremendous--people running around, reporters and photographers. He comes over to me with a stack of papers about that thick, he says, "Would you mind checking this?" Goodness gracious!

M: About an inch-and-a-half thick?

H: Inch-and-a-half thick of my own biographies! I said, "Now, what made you do that!" They'd had the thing run off. They had the whole thing done 'way in advance because they couldn't have done it between the time that I was with the President. Then we went into this press room, and they called the photographers out, and then it started.

M: Do you have any idea why your name came up?

H: I saw the folders--I think Joe showed me on his desk. He had folders about a foot thick. Evidently they had done some research--screening through people and decided upon me.

M: After you'd been through this treatment, it must have been very exciting for you--all this tension and so forth. Then after you went home and cooled off a bit, what did you think? Did you wonder what you'd gotten into?

H: I had a terrible sinking spell. A few of my very close friends came over, and we had a drink together, and there was a certain sense of kidding that developed, you know, about the thing. All of a sudden I found myself not in the mood and really blue about the thing, and I really had the sweats all night long. I just couldn't--I thought I'd made a big error.

The next morning the newspaper, the Post, came out with a banner headline, saying, "Hechinger Nominated for Chairman," and there were some other pieces in there. "Well, I guess it's worthwhile. Somebody seems to like it, so that's fine." Then the Star repeated it--

M: And you started feeling better about it then?

H: That's right.

M: Had you known Walter Washington for a good while before this?

H: Yes. Another connection I had with the Johnsons is the working on the First Lady's Beautification Committee. I had been one year as a member and then following two years as chairman of the Awards Jury of the First Lady's Beautification Committee, which was a special subcommittee of the major committee to give awards to local

organizations and residents for beautification work in the city. As a consequence, I worked under the Assistant Secretary of State, Katie Louchheim, and I would say that I was going to the White House on this matter maybe three times a year. And always in the awards ceremony, I would stand there with Lady Bird and pass out these certificates. Of course, later on I became a member of the larger committee, working on the projects for Washington with Mary Lasker, who was one of the large benefactors, and Mrs. Astor --she is a member of the committee--Laurence Rockefeller and others. It has been a great source of excitement and pleasure to be on that committee with Lady Bird because there was a very distinguished group as well as a very interested, involved group, and we always ended up in a very social manner afterwards.

You know, I have a little bind, and we'd better work our time. I've got to go to the Senate at 4 o'clock.

M: There are a number of things that I'd like to ask you about which will take more time than you've got. Would it be all right if I come back?

H: Sure.

M: Another time at your convenience.

H: Well probably today. Why don't we try to do it today?

M: We can, if you wish.

H: I will certainly be back at 5:00 and no later.

M: What time do you want to leave for the Hill?

H: About quarter-of.

M: Whatever you say.

H: That would be best for me, I think.

M: Since you brought up Mrs. Johnson, are you impressed with her role as First Lady?

H: I'm tremendously impressed. There is no more sincere and involved person in the urban scene than she has been--a great benefactress to Washington. This whole beautification--the strength of what she has done--I think our city has benefited more than any place in the country. She has really put this question of beauty as a very high priority. It has been effective in terms of highway beautification and billboard restriction.

But insofar as Washington is concerned, there are so many things that you can point to as far as the improvement of the city, the very latest being the fountain down at the end of Haines Point--an enormous thing--and some new fountains just on the side of the Washington Monument. A lot of people have thought, "What the hell are you fooling with all of this beautification while our cities go to rack and ruin. We have the highest venereal rate in the country, and infant mortality rate is one of the highest, and here you are fooling around with flower pots!" But this kind of bringing beauty and something more than the humdrum of life to the inner-city residents, I think, is important. I think it has been shown that where work has been done around schools either voluntarily or brought in by some benefactors and kept up by the children, that the window breakage is much less, and so this is direct payoff. But most of it is not direct. But I know that there's a park over northeast near my company at Stanton Park where there has been a fortune put into that park in terms of benches and relandscaping, and it has been in there four or five years, and it has held up very

well despite the usage that it gets.

M: Do you have any idea of where she ever got her interest in beautification?

H: I was told that, but I seem to forget. I don't want to--I want to preface my remark about that. Someone told me that they were responsible. Now I don't know who it was. Was it Bess Abell, or Liz Carpenter, or Stewart Udall, Secretary of Interior? But somebody, as I understand it, was asked, "Where do you think I can make the greatest contribution?" And somebody came up with that thought for her, they say. It may have been from her own mind, I don't know. But Jackie Kennedy, President Kennedy's wife, was noted for the work that she did at the White House in decorating. So each First Lady, I guess, mustn't follow directly in the steps of the other because it would be really not significant enough an attention-getter, you see? So I think it was wise for Lady Bird to do more than the White House. She beautified the entire country for everybody outside.

M: Did the President maintain his interest in the development of the D.C. Council and the new government?

H: I saw him quite frequently at greeting ceremonies of foreign heads of state. I was part of the furniture, so to speak. You stood out on the lawn, and the twenty-one gun salute, and then we'd go through a receiving line. It was remarkable. He would, in those early days, he said--he'd shake your hand and then he'd put the other one on top of it, you know, in his big paw, and he'd say, "I was watching you on television. You're doing all right, John, doing fine!"

As a matter of fact, I do remember that incident when

during the days between my nomination and the final swearing-in that I was on television a couple or more times where reporters were asking me about my opinion of certain issues in the city, all of which I had not done before, and expressing it before television cameras found me in quite a tough experience. I mean, this was unusual, you see, to be having to even air my views on the things that nobody else wanted to know before. And I wasn't even sure that I had complete views.

But the Council met for the first time--all members--in the Fish Room of the White House one day. There's a marvelous picture, as a matter of fact. You can see it over there; you can take a closer look. That's the very picture, and everybody's face shows but the President, and his is the one with the back. And he has got such a distinctive back profile, so to speak, that it's a marvelous picture. You see him sitting there relaxed, and Steve Pollak is in the picture.

M: And Walter Washington.

H: And Walter Washington and Fletcher were in the picture, all the councilmen. I believe there is one missing. I think Turner was missing from the picture for some reason. But he said, "Ladies and gentlemen, I've been watching the Chairman here, and he's doing all right. He's going to make out all right." And it brought out what an avid television watcher this man must be. And how he ever had time to be watching the screen, because I can't even do it today with the job that I hold. I get home past the 7 o'clock news, never get a chance to watch it, and either am out most of the time so I don't see the 11 o'clock. He has one all around the clock. How he

gets anything read, I don't know. He watches television avidly. So that's what happened in the first days.

M: Why don't we break at this point, so you can make your appointment. I have a few more questions about Lyndon Johnson.

[appointment]

M: We were talking about Lyndon Johnson and his interest in the Council, and you told me something about that. Then I was about to ask you, in pursuit of this same line of questioning, what his response was to the riots in April of 1968.

H: I might add--not answering that question yet, but--I believe that the President probably put as much time on this issue of forming this Council as on any major issue that has ever come before him, really. I spoke to you about the picture that you see in the Fish Room over there on the wall. I believe that he saw most of the councilmen individually as well as collectively. In the few days after the announcement, we were gathered together twice with him. That was the picture of one time, and then there was another time that we met. He said, as I said earlier, that one of his greatest disappointments was that we didn't get home rule, that he tried.

As a matter of fact, the day he left office, or the 18th of January, Mayor Washington and myself went over there and presented bronze plaques and keys to the city especially designed for Mrs. Johnson and himself. I believe they are very handsome plaques, and I hope they'll be in the Library because they were especially designed with an emblem designed by Ivan Chermayett. He accepted the plaques and then gave a little speech to the press corps which was there in great numbers. He said the two disappointments of which there had

been many of his entire career--of which stood out the most were one, the failure to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the lack of home rule for the District. So this was always in his mind and really rated very high in his disappointment.

M: Did he see the formation of this new Council as a step toward home rule?

H: Yes. He sort of addressed himself to us and said, "This is the closest I can come to home rule by executive fiat." He wanted us to get out there in the streets and talk to those people. I have his actual quotation in here. It might be interesting to put on tape. I'll get that in a second. But he said in effect, "Get out in the street and represent those people as if you were elected, and this will be a furthering step for home rule."

M: That raises a question about the structure of the government itself. But it might be better to hold that until we finish up.

H: You asked me about the riots. The fact is that he was on the hot line through Joe Califano, for the most part, from the very beginning of the outbreak of this matter.

M: When you say "hot line," does that mean to this office or--?

H: No, the Mayor had a White House phone. We were moving from his office down to a temporary command center downstairs and eventually over to command center in the Municipal Office Building near the offices of the Chief of Policy. I was with the Mayor constantly for four days.

I must say that there's a little blank on this particular question that you've asked as far as I was concerned. I am under the impression that there was a lot of talk with Califano, although the Mayor had

direct talks with the President on several occasions. And then, of course, Cyrus Vance showed up, and so I was staying with him for those four days--traveling the city with Cyrus Vance, and then there was Under Secretary David McGiffert of the Army who was involved, and the man from the press at the Pentagon--I've forgotten his name right this minute.

But there was very definitely liaison with the President because every night--maybe 4:00 in the morning or some time like that--I would take Cyrus Vance home, and he was staying at the White House. So he was living right at the White House during this period. I must say I can't recount any conversation--I had no conversation with him during this period, but there was a constant flow and interchange of information between the White House, the Army headquarters, and Civil Defense headquarters; and a considerable amount of direction and help came from these quarters.

M: Along this same line, did he express interest or did you have any conversations about Resurrection City and the camp of the poor people?

H: There was considerable there, too, all of which--not all of which--most of which I think was handled through Califano or his designee. Again, we had set up a sort of permanent liaison with the Pentagon. Men were assigned to the Mayor's office, and again, I myself was associated throughout this on a day-to-day basis, but through the Mayor. I myself did not engage in any conversations with the President--and I think one or two with Califano, who called me to ask me my impression of the explosive nature of Resurrection City.

I was astounded--I have been on several occasions--I forget the issue, but I know that Joe Califano said to me, "We'll have to

check that with the President."

I said, "Ye Gods, you're joking! You're going to bother the President about this thing?"

He said, "Well, he demands to be in on it. He wants to be in on it." It was a matter like, I think--I'm not sure this was it at all--but I came out for a commuter tax.

M: Right.

H: How do you know that?

M: I have picked up some information on you, newspapers and articles. There's an article in the Washingtonian recently, and I think it's there that they mention it.

H: I was wondering. You certainly are well-grounded in District affairs. It is very remarkable.

It was something like that, and I came out without any sanction or instructions. But as a matter of courtesy after it hit the fan, I asked Joe what he thought about it, you know. He said, "Well, I think it's a damned good idea. I think you've got a good issue there. I think you're right. I'll check it with the Boss."

I'm not quite sure it was that, but what I mean is that it was a thing of that nature, you see--that it was a matter that you would be surprised that he would pay any attention to. He was really very, very involved in the city affairs.

Yet, let me say this, it's my feeling that--you know, Charles Horsky was appointed by President Kennedy to be the District liaison man in the White House; and Horsky, a personal friend of mine, did a wonderful job. But he was much too visible in terms of running the city. As a consequence, in some respects people have said that

it was undercutting to Commissioner Tobriner to have two heads of government. When President Johnson replaced Horsky, he did it with Steve Pollak who, either at the President's instruction or by Steve Pollak's sensitivity, began to say, "Don't ask me. Go ask Tobriner." Then when Walter Washington came in, he said, "Go ask Mayor Washington, or go ask Chairman Hechinger," and tried to withdraw from it.

Very definitely in matters of going up for a thousand additional policemen, which we added to the 1969 budget, that was directly from the White House. Often times we were called over there, and I was included. I don't know what percentage of the time. But sometimes I had a feeling that there was a lot more going on over there that I was not included in. But when an issue like that came up, we would go to the office of Califano. He would be continually saying, "The President wants a real message on crime," and "He thinks we ought to go for more policemen--a thousand more." We would sit there and help draft the ideas that might go into the President's message.

M: Do you want to read that quotation?

H: Yes.

M: The statement that you made while ago sort of takes us into the structure of the D.C. government, when he told you to try to represent the people of the District. Do you get an unusual feeling from being a representative of people who actually didn't elect you?

H: You see, if we had started from a base of having elected city officials and they decided to turn the government into an appointed body, you would feel strange. On the other hand, it didn't feel like

that at all. It was quite a different feeling. That is, that we had gone from a three commissioner form of government to a historical, or a better word might be a traditional form of municipal government called the Mayor and City Council. So in effect, we felt liberated in terms of the more bureaucratic terminology "commissioners." So we thought of trying to live up really--and I have said this in this report--that we have tried to live up to what President Johnson had asked us to do, and that is to act as if we had been truly elected.

M: Are you impressed with the effort that went into the choosing of the Council? In other words, it seemed to be unusually well balanced. People are from different parts of the city. There are three Republicans. There are five Negroes out of the nine members. It seems to be a deliberate effort to get as representative a body as possible. Is this true?

H: Incidentally, I don't know--I might mention that John Macy has told me--have you interviewed him?

M: No, but I know who you are talking about.

H: John Macy has told me--and I've gotten friendly with him over the period of service here--that, "Sometime I'm going to have to sit down with you and tell you how we went about choosing the council." So there is a good source.

M: Maybe that's a good question to ask him.

H: Are you thinking of interviewing him?

M: Oh, yes.

H: Will you be doing it yourself?

M: Yes.

H: You tell him I said so, and that if he puts it on tape, he ought to do the same thing that I'm doing because I want to learn, and this would be a good way to tell me. You can tell him all that stuff about his own choice about making the thing confidential or off-the-record, but John Hechinger wants to hear that portion, so please do it. But he has never really told me about that.

But, supposedly, there was a bit of the computer technology brought in on the selection. I think John Macy introduced this into the Civil Service, but very actively, as I understand it, it was brought into the selection. Now, I don't know much beyond that. Except to answer your question, yes, I have grown to really admire the basis of selection of the people on this council, because they've all become close friends of mine, and I have a great feeling for them. They, on their part, really, for appointed officials, could not have done a better job. They're looking to represent the people out there. We've divided the council--although it doesn't call for it statutorily--we've divided the council into councilmanic districts. So they're beginning to, instead of a council appointed at large, which we are--we're going backwards and saying, "Although you're at large, you shall represent the southern district, the eastern district, the northern district." And they're developing contacts and setting up ward offices and things of that sort.

M: Obviously, you feel responsibility to the people in the District. Legally, where does your responsibility lie--to the President, or to Congress, or where? In most city governments, the city council is responsibile ultimately to the people who elect them. Now, where does your responsibility lie?

H: We take it that our responsibility is to the people, and I think that's the way most of the councilmen have played it--just that way. We feel that in representing ourselves either to the President or to Congress or to the Mayor that we do so in light of interpreting what we think is the desire of the people.

M: Do you still think that the next step would be home rule and election of the council and so forth--Mayor?

H: That is certainly the next step. I understand that the non-voting representative in Congress, followed by a constitutional amendment to provide a voting representative in Congress of anywhere from one congressman only to that number of congressmen according to our population, plus two senators, may be higher on the Nixon Administration's agenda than home rule will be. And there's an awful lot of talk in Congress about this now that seems to presage the possibility within the next year or two of this--maybe before home rule.

M: Have you had to spend a lot of your time as Chairman on the Hill talking to congressmen?

H: I have spent a lot of time, but in proportion to everything else I do on this job, that has not been a very sizeable time. As a matter of fact, we just broke up this taping and I went to see Senator Cooper on the highway issue. So here it is an hour, and I've got another meeting tomorrow with a senator.

But an awful lot of time was put in by, we'll say, Deputy Mayor Fletcher on the Hill because we have these interminable budget hearings. First, there has to be a budget hearing before the House; then there's a budget hearing before the Senate; and they run from four days to four weeks. He was sitting right there with each

department head the whole time, you see. Now, I went up there on that on specific issues. I went up on the Council's budget; I went up there trying to get money for the City Hall Complaint Center and specific things that we were interested in. And I was back up there on both days to introduce the beginning of the thing; that is, to introduce the budget to the Appropriations Committee, to introduce the revenue to the District Committee. I was up there on this riot insurance. Then I made courtesy calls, when I first came to office, to a number of congressmen just to introduce myself and find out their views. I have gone up on specific issues. It has not been a major part of what I've done. I will say this: that it has been my opinion in this government that we do not have sufficient legislative liaison; and I think they've finally placed in the reorganization plan, which is going to be announced I think Friday, that there is going to be an actual position of legislative liaison.

M: Has the House D.C. Committee been more lenient to you in the past year or so?

H: I think so. We've had some hard times with them--after the riots, Resurrection City, policy-community relations with Pat Murphy taking it on the chin because of his disturbing the makeup of the police department but nevertheless in the end we got more money on the federal payment than has ever been gotten before. It was raised from sixty million to ninety million dollars, and this was a striking increase. The budget was reduced only a very small amount in specific areas. The Council's budget was untouched. As I said in an article, we came through unscathed.

M: Has your job as Chairman really been part-time?

H: Really it has not been.

M: It has been a full-time job.

H: Yes.

M: And overtime, I suppose.

H: That's right. Constantly. I'll be down here Saturday. And even now, when I've only got a few days left, in order to catch up with the stuff that's undone during the week. The fact is that I've been working at home and Sundays and everything else because the question of our Tuesday meeting and doing a little caucusing around to see how people were thinking on issues and talking to them about it. Nevertheless, I do think it ought to remain a part-time job. Most of the councilmen jobs in the country, as I understand them, are part-time. Now the reason for that is that you've got to find people who will take the time, who can afford it on a basis --but it should be part-time because I think the interplay of involvement in the community, like myself--I'm in business, and another man is a lawyer, they should continue to be that way rather than professionals.

I was saying that I think the idea of allowing a person to involve himself in his profession or whatever work he's doing in the community is traditional with city councils. And I believe, like in the New York City Council, where you have a real eager beaver, you have a man who's devoting almost his full time to the council activity.

M: Since it is a full-time job and since you didn't spend most of your time on the Hill, what did you spend most of your time doing?

H: You see, being the first Council, of course the early days--and really almost up to now, there are pieces of it that remain, and that is

organizational matters.

M: Just getting things going then.

H: Just getting things going. I have personally been involved in architectural changes. As it says in that article, I've chosen every doorknob. We just took an old barn of a meeting room down here and turned it into a dignified council chamber befitting the need of having nine councilmen sit comfortably through hours of testimony and trying to have decorum in a place that looks like a council chamber. Then we had to take this wing of the building and turn it into a nine division council--where each person has his office, where they had just a table to sit at before--and to the design of the stationery; selection of staff, building it up. As soon as I was appointed, I was assigned one person, and that's Miss Downing that you've been talking to here who worked for the Engineering Commissioner before, and I hired from Nashville Tony Creswell, my executive assistant. We came over here with that staff, period. We built our staff, and the issues have been flying ever since then. Then we have to make our own rules and regulations, which I did on my own and presented them to the Council with some outside help, and the help from the Corporation Council, as well as outside expertise from lawyers. These occupied our first month.

We were sworn in November 3rd; by December 1, we had over a half-a-billion dollar budget to consider, having never done this kind of work before. We had to return a verdict on the Mayor's budget in thirty days, so we really worked like mad. Then we got into January, and we had urban renewal problems that had been hanging fire, and the Ft. Lincoln Urban Renewal Project. That's

this new town in town out there in the northeast that the President was solely responsible for ripping that damned thing away from the GSA, and from all federal grasping hands to provide a new town in town. We moved to make that a reality. And so on and so on until BAM we then got into our April riots and the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., Resurrection City, the assassination of Senator Kennedy. Then we started getting the police gun registration, and on with the other business.

M: Was there any kind of internal rearrangement as to who would initiate programs, say, from the Mayor's office or from the Council? Was there any kind of a settlement that had to be made on this?

H: No. I would say that up until about Senator Kennedy's assassination the majority of issues before the Council were initiated by the Executive Office, with involvement of the councilmen in the issues sufficient to have one councilman well versed in the matter.

When it came to the Budget of '69 which I told you we handled in December '68, councilmen introduced new things each in their area. I divided the Council into work groups. For example, I had revenue. And at that time I introduced the commuter tax. Joe Udell came on strong on the education field, and Polly Shackleton in welfare--all with new concepts which were introduced in the budget. It gave them an opportunity for the first time to tackle new issues.

Then after that was put to bed, which was prospective into the '69 area, then we got into handling the material and the issues that were sent to us by the Mayor from then on until about Senator Kennedy's assassination. Then we broke loose and started to introduce issues of our own and passing them.

M: Short of home rule for the District, are you satisfied the way the new government has worked?

H: I'm very excited about it. I think, really, that--to be dramatic about it--it was an idea whose time had come, you know--to quote that old phrase--because 1968 all over this country has been, and you've read this, and I'm just repeating what you've read, this and my feeling--a year of participating politics and more than that, confrontation. So the effect of the Council, although we started off with a lot of very militant people and a lot of old establishment types saying, they're completely irrelevant, that this is a grafting job of major proportion on what used to be a very simple form of government, nevertheless--I think I counted up--we've had eighty-five meetings or full Council hearings, not counting individual committee meetings, individual meetings in the neighborhoods, individual councilmen meetings, and so forth. That's one every five days. Now, the fact is that kept us damned busy, and it is something new. In other words, people had a place to yell, a place to present their point of view.

M: This brings me into the last major topic I wanted to bring up with you. Now, all large urban centers in America today apparently have some common problems, such as rising crime and air pollution and, maybe, water pollution and sewage and highways and freeways, etc. Does Washington, D.C., have any peculiar problems for a large urban city?

H: We have a number of the problems that are more aggravated than other places in part. We have an unusual situation of having 67-percent of our population that are Negro, which creates a different climate.

The fact is that you have a white minority, some parts of which have resisted the thought of having Negroes in the seat of power. I think that the government in its year-and-a-half in existence has demonstrated that insofar as this involvement of Negro leadership is concerned, that it has been very satisfactory. I think Mayor Washington is to be credited with that in the people that he has chosen--the black citizens who he has around him are all, and I think from my part, very impressive.

The other problems are our unique relationship with Congress and the need for checking with them on our finances. But I have a theory, and I expressed that too in a Washingtonian article, that really when you get down to it, every city has these same kinds of problems, and maybe even more so in some cases, because they have the overlapping of city, township, counties, state.

M: What about the surrounding suburbs? You've mentioned this commuter tax. Would the surrounding suburbs ever agree to something like that? They did not agree on gun registration, did they?

H: No, they didn't. But that's a little different issue. It would be more meaningful to have metropolitan-wide gun registration, and that still is cooking on low burners all around the suburban area, but none of them will be able to pass as stringent a law as we have. I doubt it.

But on the commuter tax, it's natural that there will be resistance both from the citizens and from the municipal authorities of these jurisdictions. It's my hope that when we can establish reciprocity, that they can deduct their tax from their state income tax form, the individual citizen won't fight it, and, of course,

that's where most of the pressure comes from.

M: That would be difficult, wouldn't it, to deduct it, say, from Maryland state tax and Virginia state tax.

H: This isn't a brand new idea. There are twelve hundred different jurisdictions in the United States that have an earnings tax, right today. So they've worked it out somehow.

I know one thing. Congressman Broyhill of Arlington, Virginia, sent me a telegram, and the telegram read, "What is the idea of your crass proposal of exempting congressmen from the commuter tax which I don't like anyway!" So I researched it a little bit and found, you know, the congressman is 'way off base because the facts are that congressmen are exempt from D. C. taxes now. So in saying in my original introduction that congressmen would not have to pay it even though they lived in Maryland was not giving them anything they didn't have. So rather than blast him in the press, I went up to see him on invitation. He took me in his office and he said, "Mr. Hechinger, you know, I want to thank you so much for this commuter tax issue, because by God, you have just won my next election. My phone has never rung more, and I've gotten more letters, and they're raising hell over you. And I want to tell you this, Mr. Hechinger, that whether or not you're right or not, I'm going to fight you like mad because you've given me a wonderful issue."

M: Does partisan politics, that is, Republican versus Democrats, cause much difficulty for running the D. C. government?

H: No, it certainly hasn't flared up in the Council. There's quite a bit of kidding about this. They'll talk about Councilman Jack Nevius and Councilman Thompson and Councilwoman Haywood as, "Oh, you know,

"You'd better present the Republican view." But they will do that individually because there has been no voting, no thinking on a partisan basis on their part at all. I would say truthfully that the one who was most conscious of his party affiliation was Jack Nevius, who often appeared to be voting not completely free of that kind of thinking, not to the detriment either of his vote or of his relationship with the other councilmen. But that's the only place it showed up. In fact, when you say,"visit the Hill," of course some of our best friends up there are Republicans--Congressman Ancher Nelsen, who is the minority head of the District Committee, is a mainstay. If we didn't have him, I don't think we would have gotten out this revenue issue and this federal payment.

M: Did you have any great difficulty getting gun registration? Or was the mood such that it--?

H: No. The fact is that I would say right off the bat I knew that the Council was going to vote for it. But we went through some hairy hearings, I'll say that; and also a lot of stormy mail. But nothing like what took place with me when I went to Montgomery County where I was nearly mobbed and had to be warned that, "I'm afraid I can't put you on tonight." President Greenhall of the Montgomery County Council said, "You'll have to come back Friday when we're having it in the Council Chamber rather than this high school because I'm afraid for your life. We've got 3,000 raving maniacs in this high school tonight."

M: Why the depth of reaction over gun registration?

H: It's typical of what's taking place all over the country, and that is that the gun buffs don't want to have any registration. The business about the Constitution provides for the right to carry arms, of course which Constitutionalists say has nothing to do with the

rights to own your own gun, but rather to have a militia--But I mean they're wild. I can just tell you. This is the NRA. They're steamed up about the thing; they've fought it with a passion for years; and they react with a passion.

M: And they will fight it even on a local level?

H: And how!

M: How about this Sunday liquor-by-the-drink law or ordnance?

H: That is something that anybody who has lived in Washington has always thought would be necessary for a very long time--and it has failed in Congress repeatedly--and that is the transfer of the right to set liquor hours with the city government. After the riots, I particularly made a pitch and made a pitch to the Mayor, and he made a pitch after my interest in this matter because this was a rejuvenator for our major industry next to the Federal Government, which is tourism. Conventions were inhibited from coming here because there was no bar open past 12 o'clock Saturday night or Sunday. So it provided not only tourist business, but the sales that would come from that and it would provide inner-city jobs, meaning jobs at the non-skill level. So the Senate stuck it on; it was a rider to the Revenue Bill; and it went through.

M: This mention of tourism is a rather intriguing point. Does the D.C. government advertise for tourists, or is that necessary?

H: Oh, it certainly is necessary. It certainly has been more and more necessary. We've got a very bad name across the country. It's an alarming thing to me when I visit around--I mean, they think this place is an armed camp, you know, the crime capital of the world, Nixon said during his campaign, although his more moderate approach

has been very good since then. But the fact is that we contribute about $100,000 to the Washington Board of Trades Visitors Bureau; and insofar as they spend the money for advertising, that's as near as we come to it.

M: What about the problem of housing and urban renewal? Does the D.C. Council have any control over that?

H: We have absolute control of urban renewal. We set the boundaries as well as any funding. Any application must come through us.

M: How about the housing control?

H: Housing--we have a regulatory function. It's run by the administration, but should regulations be needed in the housing area, of which there are many, then the Council would be involved.

M: Is this a major problem--housing?

H: Housing is rated by some to be the major problem. Frankly, in my own estimation, I can't rate the various problems that we have, but I will say that housing is what I think may be the major priority, because it is something that we can cure in our lifetime--you know, within a short space of time. All it takes is a massive infusion of money and skills.

Education--unfortunately children have grown up in a bad system, and it takes years to correct, and years to reeducate those who have passed through. I mean a person in the sixth grade is already in bad shape. He has had five years of bad education. But education is, of course, one of the most important things.

But housing can be cured, and you'll give people decent places to live which will work towards wanting to bring their kids into better education, wanting to look for good jobs and get good jobs.

M: Is crime a major problem also?

H: Crime, of course, I guess has to be rated the number one emergency problem of the District of Columbia, of the city of Washington, and of the country, but--

M: Can this be cured in short-run?

H: It has been interesting to see that some effect has been made by more foot patrols here in the last short while. It's a very complex matter that is being written up daily in all our newspapers and commenters commenting--that is, that you will never cure crime until you cure the total package, and that is a revamping of the judicial system, support, with more judges, more courtrooms, the need for a better bail system, the need for--and on and on and on.

M: I've one last question. Looking back over your experience, has it all been worth it?

H: Oh, I definitely think so. I have found it really very exciting and stimulating as hell and full of tension and grief. But, you know, I was just reading while I was waiting for the Senator up there in his office a new article put out by Newsweek that was talking about Clark Clifford as the Defense Secretary; and it says that he was supposed to be a hawk when he came in, and the first thing you know he had concern, and then he had doubt, and then he had commitment, shifting to the dove position. I must say, take the highway issue and other issues that have come off, that has been sort of my patterm. First, your eyes begin to open when you see these things of concern, then doubt; then a commitment to an answer which seems to be the best one for the urban situation. And the highway is a typical one.

M: The Highway Act has been of course in the newspapers--that versus the subway.

H: Yes. Now there's an example of a unique situation here in Washington. Without question the City Council, in adopting the National Capital Planning Commission's plan, has adopted a popular position on highways --not just political, because it's planned by Chairman Phillip Hammer's Planning Commission. He himself is an internationally known planner and he isn't knuckling in to pressure. But we've designed a plan which is about two or three hundred million dollars worth of highways, despite the anti-highway group saying if one extra road would be built they'd throw themselves down in front of the bulldozer. So we haven't knuckled in to the ultimate in what they want yet; we've curtailed it, and now we find that our subway is in hostage, that Congressman Natcher will not release it until it's built the way he wants it. Yet during this election year, we had a referendum in all the counties--each state and each area had a vote as to whether they wanted to pay the bonds for the subway, and it passed massively, where it was failing in Los Angeles and in Atlanta. So we want the subway. It's captive of Congress right now, and I think things will develop very fast within the next month or two on this.

M: This would seem to be an example of the unique relationship between you and Congress.

H: Right.

M: Between the city and Congress.

H: That's right. But Congress beware, because--and what we're trying to do is bring this message to the congressmen as best we can; and

that is that should the federal government and Congress start legislating roads in the Washington community, what makes them think that they won't be doing the same thing in their own community! Because this highway lobby is voracious. They never will stop. They want to pave the world.

M: Let me ask you an open-ended question. Is there anything else that I should ask you about that I haven't, or any statement you wish to make?

H: I think we've covered it.

M: Okay. Thank you very much.

H: Not at all.

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By John Hechinger

to the

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In accordance with Sec. 507 of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (44 U.S.C. 397) and regulations issued thereunder (41 CFR 101-10), I, John W. Hechinger hereinafter referred to as the donor, hereby give, donate, and convey to the United States of America for eventual deposit in the proposed Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, and for administration therein by the authorities thereof, a tape and transcript of a personal statement approved by me and prepared for the purpose of deposit in the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. The gift of this material is made subject to the following terms and conditions:

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Signed John W. Hechinger

Date 3/13/72

Accepted Harry J. Middleton - for
Archivist of the United States

Date September 30, 1974

I ask only to have a duplicate copy for my own keeping