INTERVIEW I

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INTERVIEWEE: GEORGE P. MILLER

INTERVIEWER: JOE B. FRANTZ

PLACE: The Millers' home, Washington, D.C.

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M: My association with Lyndon Johnson was a very pleasant one.

F: You overlapped in Congress, didn't you?

M: Overlapped in Congress. He was in the House when I came here.

F: You came here, when? 1940?

M: No, I came here in 1945.

F: You were just ahead of that 80th Congress.

M: Just ahead of the 80th Congress. I came in the 79th. Teague came in the 79th, though I came a couple of months earlier, because he was elected while he was in the service and he didn't take office until about March. So I never let him forget that I'm his senior! (Laughter)

F: Put him down every time you can! He's a hard man to put down.

M: He's a great guy, and his wife Freddie is a great girl. We've made many trips together.

But Lyndon was well up in the ranks and very friendly with Speaker Rayburn. When I came here in 1945, the physician in Congress, Dr. Calver, skilled in geriatrics, would call in new freshmen congressmen and tell them some of the realities of life and say, "You have to be here at least six years, then they know who you are." And there's

a good deal of sense in that. But I met Lyndon along with the others. He was then in the leadership. I came to know Sam Rayburn very well, and asked his advice on important problems.

F: Right.

M: But we always got along very well. Then, in those days, the members got one two-room office in any of the buildings, except on the fifth floor of the old Cannon Building; there you had a three-room office. I was fortunate in getting up to the fifth floor.

And along one wing, the wing that goes down First Street, was a fellow by the name of Richard Nixon, who came here two years after I did. And around the corner, on the other wing, was a guy by the name of Lyndon Johnson!

F: Why did they give you extra offices in the Cannon Building?

M: Well, I think to get people up on the fifth floor. Those offices were so divided that there were three rooms. But a lot of people would come back here and say, "How come they've got you way up there on the fifth floor? What did you do? Is that some sort of punishment?" On the other hand, knowledgeable people, people who were up there, would be very quick to say, if they wanted to know a good reason that by the time the troops came down here--and at that time, people were coming here in busloads from New York, et cetera, going around Congress--by the time they got through seeing the people in the Longworth Building--where they generally started--and four floors of the Cannon Building--the floors were pretty hard--they didn't get to the fifth floor! (Laughter)

F: I see. Kind of an insulation, wasn't it?

M: It was an insulation. It was very good. It was fine. But we had the three rooms up there . . . with no air conditioning.

A good Texan who had an office next to me was Lloyd Bentsen, now Senator Bentsen. When he ran for the Senate I supported him. I got hell from the man he defeated, who used to live on the third floor under us here, in the M. E. Building. Bentsen wrote to me and I wrote him a letter outlining how cooperative he had been as far as the space effort was concerned. His opponent took exception to that, told me that I shouldn't have gotten into these things. That was my business. I had no quarrel with the other man, but Bentsen had been very cooperative and he was my friend. You know him, I presume. He had a fine knowledge of space and he was a little more progressive in this line than many of the older men who hadn't been through what he had been through.

There was another Californian up there, Jerry Voorhis, whom Nixon persecuted. And there wasn't a harder working or a more sincere man in Congress than Jerry Voorhis.

F: We've seen Jerry on this program.

M: And, of course, Helen Gahagan Douglas was in my class. Helen and I were very good friends.

F: Nixon did a good job of cutting both of them up.

M: Oh, he cut them up. I just say that maybe the chickens came home to roost! (Laughter) He's feeling the pains that he created in others.

Over the years, I got to know President Johnson rather intimately. Our greatest contact was in the space field.

F: How did you get into space? You're a natural for it, with a California background.

M: Oh, I happened to start life as a civil engineer. During World War I, I was in the field artillery. I can't brag about the contribution I made to the war, but among the other things, I was second lieutenant in the field artillery, and I was sent to the School of Fire at Fort Sill, and I was graduated from that. What this gave me was a good background for space.

F: Also gave you a good background to know what Lyndon Johnson was talking about when he was talking about dry, hot country!

M: That's right. If I may divert, I'll tell you about the dry, hot country. I was graduated from the first officers' training camp, and I was sent up to Fort Lewis outside of Tacoma, Washington. I was put on a special duty up there; when they had to reduce the people in the regiment, they got rid of the deadheads--and I was one of them--by sending them down to Columbia, South Carolina. General Marsh had been in France and when he returned he decided to change the system of training people in field artillery because it was rather technical.

While I was at Columbia the opportunity to go to Fort Sill came up. I put in for it and I was sent to Sill. I came from one hot country to another, Oklahoma.

F: Yes.

M: Not Texas. (Laughter)

F: No, well, it's just across the river.

M: Just across the river. We traveled by rail going from Columbia, South Carolina to Fort Sill. There was a salesman on the train and he was talking to me, he said, "You know, you're going into a new area now, a new country. You've been down in Columbia, South Carolina, where it didn't make a bit of difference who you were. It's who your grandpappy was." And I said, "We are going to Oklahoma where you never talk about a man's grandpappy, because he may have come here to beat the law!"

F: Right, right.

M: There's more truth than poetry in that, and that used to go for California, too. My grandfather pioneered in California, and we went through the same thing out there.

When they talk about hot country, I lived in the Sacramento Valley a long time, and we can match your heat.

F: Yes, I know that country.

M: People tell me, "You've got a wonderful climate in California." I say, "That's right. We have a wonderful climate. What kind of a climate do you want? We'll give it to you." We have one of the most windblown places over on the coast, Trinidad Head. They had the skiing meet at Mount Lassen every Fourth of July. And you can go down into the Central Valley, from Redding to Bakersfield, and it'll match anything in the line of heat. The only difference between the West Coast and the East Coast is if it gets hot and humid and sticky here as it does around the Sacramento Valley where I lived, you don't have to live with it. You drive and in any direction you go you are in the same heat. But in Sacramento, you head for the Sierras, and in an hour and a half, you'll

be reaching for your coat; if you go in the other direction toward San Francisco Bay, when you come to Suisun--the Indian name for the west wind--the west wind would always blow and you'd reach back and put on your coat, too! That is our difference!

F: I've seldom been colder than in San Francisco in July on occasion.

M: Well, that's right. That's when you get some of your worst weather. I live in Alameda. The fog comes across the bay but you like it.

Getting back to Lyndon. In my own interest, I had ambitions to serve on two committees when I came here. One was the Committee on Reclamation and Irrigation. The other was the Armed Services Committee. But a man Frank Havenner--California--came in with us in the 79th Congress. He had been in Congress before and had served on the old Naval Affairs Committee under Carl Vinson. So the moment Havenner said he wanted to go back, Vinson welcomed him with open arms; nobody tried to override Carl Vinson. Havenner served only two more terms.

The people from the Bay area were quite interested in the Armed Services Committee. This was my opportunity; I asked for that assignment and got on the Armed Services Committee. With my engineering knowledge and my technical background in artillery, I had great interest in many of the things pertaining to space. As we began to develop missiles, Von Braun was brought over here, and the missile program progressed. Few people in Congress knew anything about missiles. Well, I didn't know much about them but I, at least, knew how they operated and the theory.

F: You knew what they were talking about.

M: I knew what they were talking about. And I tell the story of one very distinguished committee member from Colorado and a trip we took to Huntsville. The Redstone, one of the first missiles, was on the pad. He said to me, "George, what could they do with that thing?" "Well," I said, "Judge, if they put an atomic warhead on it, and they wrote into the computer certain directions, and somebody lit a match under that big firecracker, in about twenty minutes"--that's about the time it takes--"Denver, your hometown, would look like a Hiroshima or Nagasaki." "My God, could it do that?" I said, "It could do that."

F: That wasn't Wayne Aspinall?

M: Oh, no, no. It wasn't Wayne Aspinall. It was Judge [J. Edgar] Chenoweth. I don't know if you ever knew him. Well, Chenoweth was a fine old fellow. He had great confidence in me, I'm happy to say. He used to come visit, and we'd talk about the metric bill. He'd say, "George, can't we just have something that's American?"

So I had maybe a little better background than even some of the members on our own committee. When I got on the committee, I took my duties very seriously. I can best express it this way. They used to have a flight that ran daily from here to Travis Air Force Base; then, down to Moffett Field on the Bay, and then, back. It just went back to Moffett, because that's where its western headquarters were. As I said, this ran every day, and if there was a seat available, you could bum a ride out. But you had to have a copy of a letter from the chairman of the committee. So I screwed up courage enough to go to Carl Vinson

and ask him. He said, "Drop in tomorrow," and I did. All right, my letter was there. Russ Blandford who was afterwards executive of the Armed Services Committee--Bob Smart was at that time--worked on our committee; Russ is a retired Marine Corps major general now. The old man went to Russ and said I wanted to go out [and asked] did I do my homework. Russ was very generous. So Carl said, "Anytime he wants to go, give him a letter." You earned them that way.

F: Yes.

M: But we worked in the field, such as it was, of missilery on the Armed Services Committee. We were concerned with missilery, with the DEW line, with the notification, the radars around the country. So I had a little more and better knowledge than some of the others in this field. When the Science and Astronautics Committee was set up, Overton Brooks became its first chairman. Did you know Brooks?

F: No.

M: Well, Brooks was from Louisiana. [Overton] Brooks was the ranking Democrat under Vinson on the committee on Armed Services. Brooks was a fellow who did not engender a lot of confidence. He was quite opinionated, and he and Vinson didn't get along. The next man below him was a Texan, Paul Kilday. Kilday, for my money, was the salt of the earth and a fine and good man. One of the things that worried Vinson was that if anything happened to him, Overton Brooks would take over the Armed Services Committee. When they set up the Committee on Science and Astronautics, I never accused John McCormack--John was a very good friend of mine--but I think I know how John worked. The committee had to have

certain authorities that had been founded or laid in the Armed Services Committee. So, as they were setting it up, Brooks knew that he'd have to outlive Vinson, and Brooks was a fellow who was a physical coward. He was afraid of pain. He knew that he wasn't too well, that he should have an operation, but he never had it because he just . . .

F: Couldn't face it.

M: . . . didn't want to go through with the operation. Well, McCormack, to get certain jurisdiction, agreed to accept Brooks as chairman of the committee. Brooks wanted a chairmanship. So he traded this off by getting certain authority from the Armed Services Committee. Overton lived only a little more than a year and a half. My seniority put me next in line because John McCormack had stepped down. He could have been chairman. I was walking through the tunnel from the Cannon Building to answer a roll call. One of the fellows who had answered the roll call was going back to his office and he stopped me, stuck out his hand and said, "Congratulations!" I said, "What are you congratulating me for?" He said, "You're the new chairman of the Committee on Science and Astronautics." I said, "What are you talking about?" He said, "They just announced that Overton Brooks died." He had cancer. I then took over the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

F: This was when, now?

M: It was 1961 when I took over the committee. We had a fine bunch of men on it.

Now, while I was on the Armed Services Committee, I served on the Hebert Subcommittee on Investigations. This also gave me a little

background which some of the others didn't have because we went to Europe at least once a year to inspect bases in Spain. When they built the bases in Morocco, there was a lot of flak about the waste of money, and Vinson set up this committee, put Ed Hebert in charge of it. We had a very good subcommittee; we went over to study the bases in Spain and quite naturally, take a look at things in Europe. So, it was the sort of a continuing thing. You didn't feel, "Well, I've been over. Now, I'll never see Europe again." You knew that, maybe next year or in six months, you'd be back. And you got a chance to see some of the things they were doing over there. You didn't hear a lot about space but you knew the damage that bombs had done. The first time I was in London they were still digging themselves out. . . . You saw what had happened. . . .

F: Those buzz bombs?

M: Yes, the bombs. And throughout Europe, you saw what had happened. People were still--women, old women were still worried about the havoc. But it gave me a little background.

The name of the committee was the Committee on Science and Astronautics, but it was devoting 95 per cent of its efforts in the field of astronautics, which was fine. We needed it. But we did have other responsibilities. We had an excellent staff. Charlie Ducander from Louisiana was the counsel for the committee; Ducander was a very fine fellow, a very good friend of mine. He was very active in Reserve work, had been a great friend of Vinson's. Vinson was reluctant to lose him on the committee, you know, the Armed Services Committee, and I can

understand it. We had a good staff, excellent people to work with.

Teague was very much interested in his veterans' committee. I used to raise hell with him because I had worked with the Veterans Administration, but Tiger and I thoroughly understood and respected one another. That was true for practically the whole committee.

By this time, Johnson was vice president and was chairman of the space council. We had not too much to do with the space council. We could feed things into them, he was always ready to cooperate and accept them, and he did a fine job.

Clint Anderson was chairman of the Senate Committee. Clint had been in the House, and we got along exceptionally well.

We had to do a lot of homework. We had to do a lot of work in the House itself. It wasn't a question of getting up and making a flowery speech about space, telling them what the benefits of space were. They were more interested in, "What's it going to do for me?" We had good cooperation from the Republican side. The ranking Republican was a fellow who was quite knowledgeable. He, once in a while, would get a little taut.

F: Who was that?

M: Fellow by the name of Fulton. We always worked together, in the final analysis. Jim died some years ago, died while he was in office. His successor, Mosher, who is still in office, is a fine fellow and easy to work with. I say we had to work within the structure of Congress by making appeals to people, by trying to wear down the opposition. Some member was against you, and made a speech on the floor. We didn't try

to rule them out, we tried to educate them. We were very successful.

That was the way we ran it, and this was the way it went with Johnson. We'd go down to see him. Of course, when we first were there, it was Kennedy who sent for me. Our budget in those years was around five billion dollars. I knew Jack pretty well. We had worked together on the old District of Columbia Committee when we first came here--this is where your seniority counts. He sat in the rocking chair and said, "George, they want twenty-five million dollars to eventually build a building to assemble these missiles on Cape Canaveral. That's a lot of money. Is it essential?" I said, "Mr. President, it's essential." I said, "As far as I'm concerned, Cape Canaveral has only one redeeming feature, and it's one that you can't transfer to another area, and that's its location. We want to get as near the equator as we can, to take advantage of the thrust of the earth. This is about as far south as we can get. Other than that, the water's no good, we must bring in fresh water. And the climate, although it's fine for swimming, it's terrible for the things you have to do." I said, "You know what happens to electric connections in damp climates. They corrode. We've got to replace the climate of the desert. Now, White Sands, that hot country, was a hell of a fine place, Edwards Air Force Base.

F: Things last there forever.

M: Things last there. I cited White Sands. I said, "You've got to recreate the atmosphere at White Sands not-- ."

F: It wasn't so essential that it be on the coast as that it get further south than White Sands?

M: They had to get further south, you see. You wanted to get further south, and you wanted to fire over the water. Because it was easier to control; if you fired one of these things overland, something went haywire and it came down in a city--

F: There goes El Paso.

M: There goes El Paso. They selected a place south of Fresno called Lemoore which is the base where these planes are kept for training. One night a plane coming from Lemoore to Alameda Naval Base had some dysfunction. They don't know what it was, but it plowed into an apartment house in Alameda and killed eleven people. Everybody was up in arms when this happened.

Then there was a fellow on our committee, Jack Weigler, a Republican from the Kennedy Airport area in New York who was always making speeches about the airplane noises. What were we going to do about them? And he kept hammering on it. They can cut out a lot of the noise, but you'd have to rebuilt half of the planes by putting relatively noiseless engines in the new planes, but you can't rebuilt all of the old ones. What do you do with trucks along the highways? You've stayed in motor lodges along the highway where those trucks [go by].

F: Yes.

M: You can't get away from these noises so you must accept them.

Now, Lyndon understood all of these problems, and he was most cooperative. We'd go to him generally with three or four problems; if there were any questions, he'd raise them, and we'd try to answer them. I think we were very successful in working things out in this manner.

Suffice to say that during those years, the early years of the Space program, we got the money that we needed to put this program over, around five billion dollars a year.

F: And he seemed to have a grasp of what you were trying to do?

M: He had a grasp, a knowledge, a knowledge that was born of his own experiences, and his experience in both the House and the Senate, where he had headed the committee in the Senate to put up and establish NASA. John McCormack headed it in the House. They were the two that were responsible for the original space efforts.

F: Going back to that time: was there much consternation on your committee when James Webb was named as head of NASA, the professional administrator instead of a scientist? Did that cause any problems?

M: No. And I may say this: some people were talking about the energy crisis, and the bind that we're in, and we were just getting no place. And I said, "Damn it! They ought to set up something and try and get a James Webb." Do you know him?

F: Yes.

M: Do you know him well? Do you know his background?

F: Yes, I know his background.

M: All right. Here's a man who was in the State Department. Here's a man who was in the Bureau of the Budget.

F: Right.

M: He, in my estimation, knows government better than any other man that's held that job. And you know, as a young man, he came to the Hill and

was a clerk on the Rules Committee of the House. Did you know that?

F: No.

M: All right. So this gave him a knowledge in all these fields that he had to work in. And then he's a bulldog; he's a driver; he can make enemies but he can make friends. We've been very fortunate to have had him in the early days of Space.

F: He always knows which shell the peanut's under.

M: You're right he does. And he knows how to get it out from under there if it is there, see? He's clever enough. He's a great guy. We had a sort of a team for the first few weeks. And I don't take a great deal of credit, I'm going to tell you. Because we were down at the White House after Mr. Nixon was elected. They invited the committees down there, Science and Astronautics and Science and Space, or Space, Science, and Astronautics in the Senate. We knew the chairman of the Space Council, one Mr. Spiro Agnew. In his talk, he said that he hoped to be as familiar with the space and space problems as Mr. Fulton and Mr. Miller were. Mr. Fulton was the ranking Republican on the committee and I was the chairman. But he at least gave us this credit. Now, Lyndon was encouraging and a great help, because of his own great knowledge of this you didn't have to draw any pictures for him. He was always way ahead of you in this respect. He knew it, and we knew it. It was a pleasure to work in that frame, where you had this cooperation.

F: He wasn't just a titular chairman? He was the working chairman?

M: Yes. Joe, I don't know. Even in the Space Council, they helped us. See, he and McCormack set it up. As vice president, he was chairman of

the Space Council. So he knew exactly what he was doing. He knew the story of space. He knew how it affected the country. Now, you had one man whom I've got to see. I haven't seen him, because I don't get downtown very much, but Mr. Melvin Laird just got through with this job.

F: Probably wishes he were back in Congress.

M: Well, he always voted against space appropriations. And my records are all out in California, or I could dig them up and show you the pages where he did. I knew him very well. I said, "Mel, why the hell do you do this?" "George, I'm not against the space program. But, goddamn it, until you quit just giving all the contracts in New England and California, until you can spread some of them around through Michigan and other places, I'm against it." This is the difference in approaches.

Now, we got a lot of space business in California. My district takes in Alameda, where the big Naval Air Station is located; Port of Oakland, which has the biggest container port on the West Coast and now one of the biggest in the United States. There's a good deal of industry in my district; it was the original home development of Caterpillar Tractor. But there weren't any people who were particularly interested, or any contractors who were doing much in space. I used to have the staff break down states where the money was going. I asked them to break down California. Well, sure enough, down in Santa Clara County, in San Mateo County south of us you got a lot down there. Then we went into Southern California, and there is a great deal of this business in that area.

All of a sudden, in Alameda County, showed we were getting, not a heavy amount, about seventy-five thousand dollars more one year than we got the year before. And I said, "Find out who is getting that business out there." And it turns out when I went home, I had known them, an outfit by the name of Miller brothers. No relation of mine. But these were a couple of bicycle mechanics who got into the plastic business on their own, and they were making plastic models for Moffett Air Force [Base] for use in the wind tunnels. What they got was miniscule compared with San Mateo and Santa Clara county--some of the big aerospace people are down there. But I wanted to know what they were doing, because I didn't want to be accused of pushing business into my own district.

F: Well, you didn't load your district with installation.

M: I've never loaded it with a thing. We have the most active naval air station in the country. Oakland Airport is the home of four of the biggest contract carriers in the country: World, Saturn, TIA, all have their headquarters in Oakland.

Oakland has the largest hanger in the world right now. It's owned by, put up by World Airways, the Port of Oakland, and of course, World is the biggest contract carrier. The hangar will take four 747s at one time. These were pictures of the dedication. I'm merely showing you what [it was like]. Look at the crowd. Over two thousand people there. This is the 747, and this hangar is named the George P. Miller Hangar.

F: Right, right.

M: This is Ed Daley; he owns World Air Ways. That's my picture on the plaque. They say, "You look more like Harry Truman."

The Goddard Trophy is awarded every year to the man who is supposed to have excelled in Space, and properly Lyndon Johnson got it one year. The man who gets it one year presents it to the man who gets it the next year. The following year, I had the privilege of going down to the White House and receiving the Goddard Trophy from Lyndon.

F: Nice to get it from a friend, wasn't it?

M: You're damn right.

F: As well as the President.

M: The only thing is, it weighs about thirty pounds, and after they give it to you, they get too long-winded, and you get tired holding it. The year after that, it went to Bob Seamans. So I was in between Lyndon Johnson and Bob Seamans. Bob Seamans' a great guy.

F: He's pretty good company.

M: He is good company.

F: Was there much misgiving in Congress about when Kennedy made that famous statement, "We're going to put a man on the moon in this decade."

M: There was among the people. Now, you know, you've been around here long enough to know that you have various people coming from different parts of the country that are congenital savers. Any time you want to spend money, "What's it for?" The fellows who consider, "Why isn't my district getting this stuff?" Here's a fellow such as Nixon put in as head of the Department of Defense, whose interest is, "What's in it for my old district?"

Speaking of assets that you have in Florida, you can get into it by water.

Michoud, which is a part of the city of New Orleans, had an outfit which was set up to build ships, small ships. The war ended that and that project was wiped out. When it came to assembling the big rockets, they might be built another place, but they had to be assembled. You couldn't ship them by highway or you couldn't ship them by rail. They were too big. So they picked up these facilities at Michoud, where the rockets were then assembled. They had to be tested so they went up into Mississippi, near Slidell, Louisiana, and put in the test center for the rockets. Bill Colmer was the congressman from there when this was chosen. They got about forty thousand acres of buffer area around it, in case one of these rockets exploded. Bill used to raise hell with me, never seriously, "You ruined the most viable industry in Southern Mississippi with your goddamn space effort. They produce the finest moonshine." We drove out all these people--

F: All the moonshiners out.

M: All the moonshiners out.

F: You destroyed the basic industry.

M: Yes. He said, "The most viable industry in our area." Well, as a matter of fact, with today's set-up it's now a place where environmentalists work this stuff. The Coast Guard is down there and the Corps of Engineers and environmental groups. Now, they had to dig a channel so barges could haul these big rockets on them. At one time they were going to cut a canal across Florida, but they found they could take them around south of Florida

and bring them on up to Kennedy. You've been down, I presume, to Kennedy. You've seen--

F: I saw the Apollo 11.

M: Well, all right. Did you see those big caterpillars they have to move the rockets out on?

F: Yes.

M: All right, Mr. Frantz. Thirty years ago, you tell a man that you could build a caterpillar that would take the weight that's higher than the dome of the capitol and transport it to the launching pad, they'd say, "You're crazy. It can't be done." But you've opened up more techniques through the space effort than any of the early people advocating it ever anticipated. For instance, we are in the center of an energy crisis, the energy that we use on earth comes from the sun. You see a lot of trees out here. I just came back from southern Madison County yesterday. I went down to see Bob Porter, who is a retired four-star general and my brother-in-law's brother. We went down to his farm where you saw forests. But you go to other parts of the country, other parts of the world, you'll find rain forests. All of the coal fields in West Virginia and Ohio and all over the world are the result of vegetation.

F: Right.

M: Generated by the sun.

F: Right.

M: So you get coal and oil from that source. There is heat down at the magna of the earth. We're living on top of an oven; only it's about thirty miles down. Maybe twenty miles of that is granite but it's very hot.

Once in a while, when water gets to it, you have hot springs. Well, in Italy for years they've been using electricity generated by steam from hot wells. Out in California, they tried it. Back in the eighties and nineties there were spas, hot springs, where people used to go after wild parties. They'd quiet it up and drank water that was a little cathartic.

F: Boiled down.

M: Came away boiled out saying, "Look what this has done for me." There were some hot springs through California. I mentioned Mount Lassen, the other day, having a ski run up there in July. There's a place up there they call the Devil's Den, where you have five feet of snow all around it. This is hot. You can feel the hot ground here in the summertime. Well, you know there's heat near there. On top of Mount Shasta, which is about the second highest mountain in the United States--Whitney's about three or four hundred feet higher--you have a hot spring. I've never been up to it.

F: Right.

M: But there is a hot spring on top. All through the country you have these. There's a place called the Geysers, north of Santa Rosa.

Before I came to Congress, four years before, I was executive officer of the California Division of Fish and Game. At one time in the nineties, somebody tried to make these geysers into a hot springs, but the water is so full of sulfuric acid they never made it. The old hotel was done. In the twenties, somebody conceived the idea of generating electricity with this steam; they put in the concrete foundations for engines, but when they put steel pipe into the ground, the sulfuric acid just ate it up.

F: Ate them up.

M: Through the space effort they developed the steel that could withstand this acid. The Pacific Gas and Electric Company and the Magna Company, which is one of the big oil companies--I forget which one--have acquired about four thousand acres of land around this area. They are generating electricity that's being used in the Bay area very successfully.

We took a committee out there. Congressman McCormack was chairman of the subcommittee. I appointed him chairman of the subcommittee because he is a nuclear physicist; worked for the AEC up at Hanford, Washington, and he's got a wonderful background. He understands a lot of this stuff.

Magna, the parent company, brought one of its engineers back from Japan. Well, the Japanese government is very much interested in trying to develop thermal electricity now. From a hill we could look out and see about fifty fumes, steam rising around different parts of this three thousand acres. They've put in wells; you don't shut them off, because if you do, the water would concentrate in them and you'd lose the wall. They're bleeding them and measuring the pressure of the steam, because it's rather expensive putting in these generating plants. They have two plants; they want to see whether these, over a long period, will maintain the pressure. This is one of the sources from which we can get energy. They estimate, down in the Imperial Valley and into Mexico, if they can maintain the pressure--you're not sure, you may spend billions of dollars, and then, find the thing slipped out from under you--they could generate enough electricity to take care of Southern California. There's hardly a place in the United States that you don't find this.

F: Open up a whole new world.

M: Open up a whole new world, and give you energy that you want.

F: Did you have any trouble with the armed services in setting up NASA? Did they feel that they ought to contain this agency?

M: No, we didn't. Because, as I tell you how it was done with the committee, and as far as the armed services itself was concerned, we had no trouble with them, because, after all, they were developing their rocket systems. There was a lot of information they could get from us, just as there was information that we could get from them. And we had no trouble at all in working with them.

F: In one sense, you were a research agency for them.

M: That's right. And, of course, they're one that we worked with very closely. And all of the astronauts, or practically all of the astronauts, are test pilots. You have to be a test pilot. There are some civilian test pilots, but the ones that we picked out were primarily the people in the military services. So there was a close tie-in in that respect and a close interchange of communication and ideas. This was fully worked out so we had no trouble with the armed services. The fellows that want to send up rockets, we used common facilities on the Pacific Coast, Vandenberg [A.F.B.]. The armed services wanted to put in a lot of big rockets down there so they acquired a lot more land. There were farmers who had to move out. No one down there raised pork as a specialty, but some of them had pigs. Rather than wait until they could be relocated and find a place for the pigs to live, it was easier to let the damn pigs

loose, with the result that the place became overran. What do you call them in Texas?

F: Overgrazed?

M: No, when you go pig hunting.

F: Javelinas.

M: So down there, the Army didn't like the fact that people wanted to go hunting on the base where you have a lot of these rockets. They don't even trust one another. Harder than the devil to get in there. But always, of course, we went as our people got along very well with them. We had the run of the place though as in the beginning, that was one of the places, Vandenberg, where we were testing rockets.

F: You never really got into a civilian versus military sort of situation?

M: The military had their own. For instance, the military had facilities at their testing rocket, take-out rockets, in the Pacific. They'd fire them from the West Coast, down range.

F: What do you mean take-out?

M: Well, they're anti-rockets.

F: Yes.

M: We all cooperated. You see, the youth had studied and are familiar with many of the fall-outs. The fall-outs in medicine alone would eventually pay for the program. The fall-out in new materials, new techniques, will pay its own way. And then the more you can analyze the earth the more it pays its way.

We had these breakthroughs at the beginning. I presume that the military, of course, put up the first communication satellites. Now, the

communication satellite people are on their own. We do a little work for them, get a little work from them. They came in where the space effort, the whole of it, was developing these things.

One of the first places to start education by satellite or by television was in Samoa. Rex Lee was governor down there. He got fifteen million government dollars out of old Mike Kirwan to put up a television station, and they started educating the natives by means of television. I followed it very closely, because we were very concerned with it. They had a hard time getting teachers as it is very expensive to bring teachers from the mainland to Samoa, and having them out in the small communities living with the natives was pretty hard for them. It wasn't until the mid-forties that they graduated the first class from high school although we had had the island since the turn of the century.

This program became highly successful. The Indian government has contracted to put up satellites, educational satellites, some will broadcast into over two thousand towns in India. I've gone into a classroom in Samoa with thirty or forty little kids sitting on the ground, with a little bench in front of them and the big television. On all the televisions, there's a big lip saying, "Now watch my lips. Say after me, 'Yes.'" These little kids, "Yes." You could work it down there because we had never disturbed the original native set-up.

I was interested. I'd been down there on committees, and my father dredged the harbor down there in 1903. He was down there over a year and he brought back many articles showing their culture. I was anxious to go there and see things for myself.

There you have the matai system, that is the family system. The head of the matai allocates work for his family--so many people will go fishing today--so many people work in the poy patch--so many women will take care of the babies--so many will do this and that. Any money that's earned by the member of the matai, technically, goes to the head of the matai, thus they could own the televisions. These television sets gave them a whole new outlook on life.

Mrs. Miller went down there once with me and we went to see the schools. Oh, first, one of the other things Rex Lee did was to clean up the bay. Each little village had an outhouse on the bay and a path out to it. I don't know that pollution was their problem, because they had lots of water, but it didn't look too well, so he put in a sewage system.

They had a movie made on how to clean a toilet bowl, how to maintain it. And these could be shown to the people via television. It was one where the little girl comes in and says to her mother, "Auntie So-and-So is coming over, and let's clean up the house." So they clean up the house. The Indian government studied this program and is now spending money on the plan to educate India. Other countries are looking at it also.

You see, one of the big things that NASA has is its communications centers around the world. Australia is almost antipodal to Cape Kennedy, the western part of Australia, and we have a big dish down there. A committee went down there. Dr. Buckley, the head of the tracking stations for NASA, and General Davis, who was head of the tracking stations for DOD, accompanied us. We were invited to Canberra to sit with the government council, which was like being invited to sit in the Cabinet.

And the matter of communication came up. And they said, "Well, now, with these satellites, if we had a satellite over Australia, could we communicate with Western Australia and Eastern Australia?" I had these two experts on either side of me and knew I was on solid ground. I said, "You don't need to carry a satellite overhead. There is a satellite almost directly north of Australia over the equator. It's up at twenty-two thousand miles. All you'd have to do with communication stations, any place in Australia, that could bounce from these things, and it's in." That surprised the hell out of them. This is true but we don't appreciate the fact.

F: Yes.

M: By satellite. You know what it is. Does it ring a bell fully with you? We take it for granted.

F: You watch the Olympics.

M: We take it for granted. If we tried to tell our grandfathers that you'd see a picture on that tube that's originating in California or Alaska or Texas, they wouldn't believe you.

F: "I don't like this picture. I'll get another one."

M: They'd say, "Come on, son. There's a man in a white coat out here who will treat you very nicely."

So that's a part of the space industry and the contribution it's made to us. And the other contributions, hell, I went over to West Virginia, to the University of West Virginia, to a conference one time. And there was a man from the geological survey on the panel. Of course it's a big field to keep up in; I thought I was pretty familiar with it,

but he showed some slides that very much interested me. Then we got to talking about what you could do for space in reproducing maps, geological maps; the cost of doing it by air is less than one-third of what it would cost if you have to send people out with surveying instruments.

F: Changes the whole concept. Did Johnson as chairman of the Space Council work with you and with the Senate committee in trying to get budgets?

M: Oh, yes. He worked with us, and this Space Council was one of the things that spoke for him. It was his council, and it spoke for him, and he worked very closely with us. But I suppose had I been more of a maverick, I could tell you a lot more about him. We'd have some new idea and if it was good, he bought it. And if he had some idea that was good, we bought it. And it was the great teamwork in the country that put space over, the cooperation.

F: Now, you've selected these sites, such as in New Orleans and Mississippi, which we've already named, and of course, finally, the Manned Space Center in Houston. How much was that sort of a geographical consideration, and how much was it politics?

M: I think I wouldn't be fair if I didn't say some politics entered into it.

F: Well, you have some pretty senior congressmen from that part of the world.

M: Yes, very senior congressmen from that part of the world, and the President was from that part of the world too. You had some people, who were very cooperative near here, and the universities that were willing to help, just as in Colorado. The Survey does a lot of work in its centers out there, because of the university work. Universities, to my

mind, are something more than just educational institutions; they're the places where we must develop the techniques that guide us in the future. Where's a greater place, than in the university, to do this?

Now, I didn't go to a big university. I went to a comparatively small Catholic college, St. Mary's College in Oakland, now out in Moraga.

F: I remember when they had a great football team.

M: They had a great football team under Slip Madigan. They gave up football, because it was beginning to overpower them a little bit and they were losing sight of other things. They're coming back now, and the school's getting along very fine. I'm going to give them all of my books and papers. But, take the work that's being done at the University of California in nuclear physics.

F: Right.

M: Take the work that was done in other universities, different phases of science; the work that was done in California Polytechnical Institute; in Connecticut--I just picked up a pamphlet about Dr. Goddard--that's where he started.

F: Yes.

M: So these are some of the things that the universities do for this country; although frankly, we are prone to ask, "Has it got a good football team? Has it got this and that?"

F: And are the students streaking or something. Yes.

M: Yes, it's the fellows, the men in the faculty, the men who do the work, and we have progressed to where we find now that the world is all topsy

turvy. People question, "Will democracy work? Has it worked here and there?"

You know Jefferson, one of the real fathers of this country, stressed education. We're just beginning, after two hundred years, to follow him. His theory is: any man who was capable of acquiring and assuming education should be educated by the government. Democracy is based on education. And in some of these countries where you have one-man rule and they rule with a shotgun, you have no education. Give them education, and you can begin to see results. Until we have education well-established throughout the world, we are not going to have stable governments. One man told me the other day, "My God, look at what they're doing. Chiang Kai Shek, this and that." And I said, "Chiang Kai Shek was a war lord." He said, "That's what he was." I said, "Yes, that's what he was. But that other leader who was contesting him was a war lord, too." I asked, "Have you ever been to China?" He said, "No." "Well," I said, "I've flown over the Yangtze Basin, you can look down and count thirty little towns, and you had to realize that there were men who were born, lived, and died in those little towns, and had never been further away than maybe two or three other little towns." What did they know? The war lords came; they levied demands on the towns; they had to produce so much rise or so much of something else; and they also had to send so many men into the army. These fellows didn't know why they were fighting, whom they were fighting, what they were fighting for.

F: Their number would just come up, and that was it.

M: That was it. And this is what you had in Europe. This is what you have in Russia.

F: I judge you voted right down the line with Johnson on education.

M: Oh, absolutely. Our committee members were very much for it, science is the first name of the committee on Science and Astronautics, and science connotes education. Our people went down the line with Johnson.

F: Well, you know, during the middle sixties there began to be some criticism of NASA for taking up too much money that was going to welfare, education. "All the problems we've got here on earth, why are we fooling around out there?" I suppose your answer to that always was, "This is another means of supporting the economy and of underwriting education."

M: That was it, and we didn't hesitate to use that last, to tell the fellows who had projects in their districts, "Now, damn it, you had better get in and do this." Of course, you always have mavericks like Gross, who were always ready to get up and raise hell, and an old fellow who was here when I first came who, every time you wanted to do something, would get up and ask, "Where are you going to get the money?" He was the great economist, and as I remember, his name was Rich.

F: I don't know.

M: I know this fellow. He was a Republican from Pennsylvania. The first thing that Congress ever did for itself--we got ten thousand dollars a year then--was to vote a twenty-five hundred dollar a year special fund for which you did not have to be accountable. You had to write a letter and say you wanted it. You didn't have to tell anybody what you did with the twenty-five. And this guy just raised hell with that. He used

to make speeches against it. The sergeant-at-arms was a good friend of mine and said that about two weeks before Congress was over, this member came down and drew out five thousand dollars, twenty-five hundred dollars for each year. If he'd let it slip, the only way he could have gotten it would be to put an item in the budget to pay it. But after all his protesting, when the money was slipping through his fingers, he came down and got the twenty-five hundred. So you have members who'll do this, and it's understandable. Congressmen are not supermen, or lily-white, but on the whole, they're as fine a group of guys as you could meet in a day's run.

F: Those I know--

M: Very sincere, huh?

F: Those I know have been.

M: I could tell you, you do get some not so sincere.

F: Well, you take any community of five hundred and thirty-one people, you're going to find--

M: Five [hundred and] thirty-five.

F: Yes, I wasn't thinking about the other four.

M: Now, you're going to get some people in it who will cheat a bit, but taken on the whole, those are very fine, very hard-working people. And I'm proud to have spent twenty-eight years as a member.

F: Did you have much trouble with the argument that, "Well, NASA really isn't with it, anyhow; we're way ahead of the Russians, and why not relax?"

M: No, there wasn't much of that. Because you were never too sure in the early days that you were ahead of the Russians. As a matter of fact, if

it hadn't been for the first Russian effort, we'd have never gotten off the floor.

F: She really put the fluid in there.

M: When the first rocket went up, Mrs. Miller and I were on our way to Europe. I was on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and we were going over to study government employment of Americans in Europe. They'd be employed under the provisions of the Foreign Service, but if that was not written into a specific law, then they served under the Civil Service Act. If you got sick over there; you had two weeks sick leave, and then you were off the payroll. If you got sick, and you had to come home, you had to pay your own way, and no one paid any attention to you when you got here. If you were working under the provisions of the Foreign Service Act, and you got sick, they'd take care of you while you were there. If necessary, they'd ship you home and you were sent to a hospital here. You'd find girls working side by side, one under one act and one under another. We found in Cairo a girl had developed hepatitis. The wife of the man who was with the public relations group at the time was a nurse; she and her husband took pity on this girl and they took her into their home after her salary ceased and she was broke, and nursed her. Then the people on the staff all chipped in some money to keep her going. We found these cases, and this created trouble.

Senator Johnson of South Carolina was chairman of the Joint Committee. We corrected it to give them all a break. You found lots of inconsistencies and irregularities in this employment business.

We went over by ship, and when we got into Vienna you could dial a number, and you could hear the signals coming from Sputnik, and it was very interesting. We landed in England and editorials in the paper asked the U.S., "What are you going to do about it now, big shot? It's your move."

F: Yes.

M: The Russians had beat us to it. It wakened the people in this country. And if it hadn't been for that, I suppose we'd have lagged ten years in getting things together. We never used to quote it very much because it was evident, and its effect was there, so we didn't necessarily stress it.

F: There was some criticism of Johnson as president that he wasn't giving the NASA program quite the support it might get; that he wanted to go ahead with the Apollo shots, but didn't want to go on to the Mars probe or doing any lunar explorations for a while. Was that valid?

M: I don't think it's valid. Because I think that he did everything that he could do, that he was very much interested in the program. I think those are things that some people have picked up, looking for--

F: Something to criticize.

M: Something to criticize.

F: Going back, in 1964, of course, Johnson ran for a term of his own. I know you worked with him a little bit out in California.

M: Oh, yes. I worked with him. I worked with them all.

F: Well, tell me about when he came out there.

M: I owed the Democrats a lot, and I always supported the Democrats.

F: Well, now, you rode a little bit of the Johnson campaign trail with him in 1964, didn't you?

M: Yes. I made several places with him. I would've done more, but he wasn't in our part of the country much as he had to get into the valleys and down in Southern California. We always took pretty good care of him in Alameda County. But when you did that, you got on the train, you'd see him. He was always very nice to me. He went out to inaugurate the BART system in the Bay Area and took me with him. I went out with him on his plane. He invited me to come up and see his portion of the plane. In his part of the plane he would roll the damn seat back and go to sleep. You didn't talk to him much as he was under a lot of pressure and had to rest.

I think one of the funniest things that I ever remember, though, about him: One night, Mrs. Miller and I were invited down to the White House for a family dinner. There was another couple there from the Congress. We were upstairs, and he was having a little snort. We were talking, and Lynda came into the room, she had on very fancy lounging pajamas. He looked at her and said, "For the love of God, where did you get that dress?" She looked him right in the eye--she wasn't terrified by him--and said, "Your daughter sent it to me. What have you got to say?" (Laughter) He wasn't getting into a battle on that one, between the two girls, criticizing something that the little one had picked out for Lynda.

F: On March 14, 1967, he presented you with the Goddard Award. Did he give

you a [hard time], oh, kind of tease you with it, or did he make a big ceremony out of it, or was it pretty straightforward?

M: Oh, it's always quite a ceremony. If I had my records here, I could show you the pictures. All the people from the space club, the representatives of the people, were all there. It was quite a nice little affair. The only thing is, the trophy weighs thirty pounds, if he takes too long in presenting it to you, your hands get a little tired. The following year, when we presented it to Seamans, it was also done in the White House. They asked him if it could be presented at the White House, while he was there, and he always accommodated them. Incidentally, Teague got it last year.

F: Did he ever talk to you about his troubles with the California delegations, as you came down toward 1968, and what Jess Unruh and others were doing to him?

M: No, he didn't, because I was never that close to him politically. He would have found a very sympathetic ear in me, and he knew it.

F: Amazing how some of those people come up like meteors, you know, and suddenly, you don't hear anything out of them anymore.

M: They're out. Now you've got a few more that are out. Jerry Walde thinks he can get himself elected governor by walking through the state. He's worn out a half a dozen shoes. Jerry's a nice guy, but hell, I don't think he's got the charisma or the thing that it takes to get over. And this walking deal is fine; you can meet a lot of people and talk to them, but it takes a little more than that now. If that was all that was

necessary, look at the crowds of Republicans Nixon is drawing, and then look at the results of the polls.

F: Right, right. You and Johnson had some communication after he retired.

M: Not very much. That was only a little, but not too much. I always wanted to get down to Texas to see him. Lady Bird was always very nice to me.

F: Incidentally, she's here, and I saw her this morning. She said to give you her greetings. And I bring you greetings from another lady whom I saw a couple of weeks ago, and I said that I was going to come see you and that was Jacqueline Cochran.

M: Oh, she's my pal.

F: Oh, she thinks you're the greatest. Speaking of test pilots, there's a real one.

M: She is, I'll tell you. We always, and rightfully so, sent the people that wanted to go to the air shows in Europe. I didn't exactly have charge of the plane, but when it came to saying where we go and what we do, that was up to me, and I was always sure that Jackie was invited. Do you know Jackie very well?

F: I just spent three days as her guest out in California, and I'm going back next month.

M: Well, you just give her both Mrs. Miller's and my love.

F: I will do that.

M: She's fine. You know, maybe she's told you, she doesn't know who her parents were.

F: Yes. A most remarkable success story.

M: Best success story you've ever heard. I've never been down to her place, but when we get out and Mrs. Miller is well, that's one of the places we're going.

F: You'll enjoy it.

M: I'll be glad to see her. But, I started the boys. You generally leave Andrews at eleven o'clock at night, fly all night. Then you rest all the next day.

And I suggested, once, that we go to Dublin, being half Irish, you know.

F: Just half? I would have guessed you were all.

M: No, I'm Irish and Italian. So we got into Dublin. A good Texan was along, Earle Cabell.

M: The next day was our free day. You leave the next morning. This will give you time to rest. The Ambassador had set up a couple of things, one of them was to go to the races. Some wanted to go shopping. Earle went to the races. On the way out, I gave him a five pound note; that night, when we came back, he gave me eight pounds. And he just had a hell of a good time at these races. So after that, Dublin was in. A fellow by the name of Mike Devlin, with one of the big companies up in New England, would arrange a dinner at Drury's Restaurant. Have you been in Dublin?

F: No.

M: Drury's is a famous restaurant. It's expanded now, and I guess it'll lose a lot of its flavor, but it was purely Irish. You'd get a lot of laughs. They had girls, but the girls' dresses were always well below the knees. There was no showing off in that respect.

But they told a story one time that always sticks with me. This fellow said, "First, you have to realize that there are a lot of Japanese motorcycles in Ireland. Jimmy O'Toole got a new one. Johnny 'Can you take me for a ride on your bike?' 'Sure, jump up.' They start down the road, and Jimmy says, 'Wait a minute. Wait a minute, Johnny. You're going so fast that I can't get me coat up around me neck, and it's very cold back here.' 'I'll take care of that.' They stop the bike. 'Take your coat off. Now put it on backwards, and it'll be around your neck.' They start out again, and they're bouncing along, and pretty soon he's conscious of the fact that his man isn't there, behind him. He turns around, and starts back down the highway, and he sees two fellows that had come up on the road jogging. They're leaning over his friend. He gets up to them and says, 'How is he? How is he?' One of them says, 'Well, when we come up, he was rolling around, and he was groaning, but when we turned his head around the right way, he quit moving.'" (Laughter)

Well, on this trip, Jackie was met at Dublin by a girl who works for Pan Am, who was one of her chief lieutenants, a captain, when she was taking ships over. We were staying at the Intercontinental Hotel. Jackie was met by a maid with whom she always traveled. And she said to me, "Now, George, you've got some dirty clothes, haven't you? Just put them out because my maid will wash them for you." You know I wasn't going to worry about that. That night when I came back to the hotel, this girl said, "I don't want you to get excited, but Jackie told me to go to your room and pick up any dirty clothes that I found there." There were a couple of shirts and some underwear, all nice and clean, laid out on the

bed. Jackie wasn't trusting me. She sent her maid in. When Jackie said, "Go in," this girl went in.

F: I can see that.

M: She's a great girl. She has done a great deal for space and for aviation. Is her husband still alive?

F: Yes.

M: Well, she'd go to the air show with us, but she wouldn't come back with us. Or on at least one trip, her husband went. She had taken a place down on the Mediterranean where she joined him. Jackie and I got along from the very first time we met.

F: I can see where you would.

M: And I appreciate the work that this woman did, the contribution she made and she has continued to make. She was never afraid to compete with men.

F: No. No, I was thinking about that. She never heard of women's lib. She just always did her own thing her way, you know.

M: If some of these gals talk women's lib to her, I think she'd knock them down. She's demonstrated just how you do it and how you get by. She's a wonderful person.

F: Mr. Congressman, is there anything else we ought to talk about?

M: Not that I know of. I think I've told you enough; I don't know that I've given you much.

F: Well, you've given me a wonderful feeling for it.

M: All right. In the first place, I never had any differences with the President. I was on the job before he got there. I think I earned my way to the job. He never asked me to do anything politically; and he knew

that if he did and I could do it, I would. I think he had that confidence in me.

F: That brings up one question. Did you have a feeling that the Manned Space Center went to Houston more through Albert Thomas's influence than Lyndon Johnson's?

M: Now, that's a very rough one to answer. There's no question that Albert Thomas had a great deal to do with locating it there. I think that Albert was quite an operator, and he might have started it. But it was again, as I tell you, one of the reasons I think it belonged there was that you have a number of universities that could work with the program.

F: And water.

M: And water, and the industrial area, the things that you needed to support it.

I'm sure, as with any politician, Al Thomas would be the first to claim that he put it there. But I think it was a natural. And I think that the successes that you've had there bear out the selection that was made. It had to be on the Gulf Coast because of the problems that I spoke about--the transition of these things--anymore than the Michoud thing was a natural to go there. This is the outfit that was going to build boats, small craft, the type of thing that Kennedy was in. They were going to build them out of wood, though, but they had put in full facilities there that NASA could pick up.

F: Yes.

M: And NASA picked them up, and it saved them time and saved them money. It pumped a lot of life into Louisiana.

F: It did that, right.

M: I always Kid Ed Hebert. Ed and I were very good friends; we were down there one time, and he arranged for me to go out to the races and present the trophy to one of the winners. And we were down around Michoud when we had to get out. We had an automobile and a police escort. So this police escort was out in front of us, buzzing this thing. I was sitting in the back of the car. Ed was all tied up with his head down. "I don't want the old sons of bitches to see me running behind this car disturbing traffic." (Laughter) Do you know Ed Hebert?

F: No, I do not. Never met him.

M: Well, Ed is a great guy. He's chairman of the committee now and doing a good job. He was a newspaper man and a little bit round around the edges, but you could get along with him all right. I know this committee used to go to Europe and one time we went down to Majorca. I was very glad to go down there, because that's where Father Serra, who founded the missions in California, was from. We had another Californian on the committee, and we went to Ed and said, "Now we want to go out to Petra, Father Serra's home." "Oh, we don't stop there. You can't do it." And he was rough.

We wanted to cross the island and go to a place called the Caves of the Dragon which is a very beautiful spot. There's a lake, Chopin and George Sand held forth there. A boat comes down this little lake, playing Chopin music and all this. Well, when we got there, we went to the Mirasol Hotel. Hess was the ranking Republican; he and Ed were very good friends and they always got the best. We didn't mind.

They were talking about taking a little guest house, and I said to Doyle, "Come on, let's go on down to the hotel. We don't want to monkey around up here." So we went down to the hotel where they had a number of reservations. We were the first ones in, and they gave us a beautiful room overlooking the bay. Pretty soon, the rest of them came in. Hebert said, "Goddamn it. You guys came down here, and you got the best room. That's the double room that Hess and I [wanted]." I said, "I don't give a damn. Take it! You were up there fussing around with the other thing; you weren't paying attention to us; Clyde and I just came down and got the room." We turned the room over to them and got another room; we were just as well satisfied. In Spain in those days, on Majorca particularly, you ordered a bottle of wine with your meal; if you didn't drink all of it, they'd mark it and put it back on your table the next time. Americans hadn't ruined Majorca or ruined the people there.

So we got out to the Cave of the Dragons. This big guy came up and put his arm around my neck, and he said, "You know, I acted like a goddamn fool last night." I said, "It was nothing to worry about. You acted naturally." He said, "Well, all right. But," he said, "I'll tell you. I've arranged that we'll go in through Petra and we'll stop there; and then we'll go on back to the . . ." I forget the name of it, the capital of Majorca. This was a detour of maybe ten miles.

Well, when we got to Petra, we went through Father Serra's home. It was in a row house which looked just like all the other houses. It was locked so if you wanted to get in, you had to call on the chief of police, and he came down and let you in. A group in San Francisco had

bought this and dedicated it to Father Serra, but there weren't enough visitors to keep a person there regularly.

Mendel Rivers and his wife were along and Mendel thought it was the greatest place he had ever seen. They came back praising the trip down to Petra. Then Ed said, "See, damn it, you get all the credit for it." But the big bird couldn't kid me, and he wasn't fooling me when he told me some of these things. We got along very well.

F: I should say for the record that when we were on the National Historical Publications Commission together that we used to sit and talk about you. You were gone a lot, you know, because of your involvement in space but you were always considered a most valued member because we felt that you represented us so well in Congress.

M: Well, I tried. One of the people I had a little trouble with, and I'll tell you now, was Jack Brooks.

F: Yes, I know. I took the new archivist down there to see Jack one time. You know, Jack was pretty plain spoken. And this was his first brush with a congressman. He thought they all spoke like the Congressional Record and Jack started in on him.

M: Well, Jack always felt that maybe he wasn't getting any recognition, and I know Jack very well. I had a talk with Jack and, before we were through he was convinced and from then on he helped us. You remember Frankfurter was on it; then Judge Brennan, later on. I was extremely happy to serve on this commission because we're trying to preserve history.

F: Well, I've got to get out from under. Thank you very much.

[End of Tape 1 of 1 and Interview I]

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