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OPINION IN THE CAPITAL

A METROMEDIA - WTTG PRODUCTION

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GUEST: SENATOR EVERETT DIRKSEN (R., ILL.) - (PART TWO)

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EVANS: YOU'VE HAD A RATHER SPECTACULAR CAREER IN POLITICS. DO YOU EVER REGRET GETTING INVOLVED IN IT?

DIRKSEN: NOT FOR ONE MOMENT. NOTWITHSTANDING ALL THE FRUSTRATIONS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS, I STILL DON'T REGRET IT A MOMENT, BECAUSE I THINK THIS IS WHAT I WAS INTENDED TO DO. YOU SEE, SOMETIME IN LIFE, YOU HAVE TO DETERMINE IN WHAT FIELD YOU'RE GOING TO STRIDE. THAT'S A DETERMINATION THAT EVERY YOUNG MAN HAS GOT TO MAKE. AND I HAD TO TRY OUT VARIOUS THINGS. I WAS A CONTRACTOR, I WAS A BAKER, OPERATOR OF A WHOLESALE BAKERY. I DID MANY THINGS; OPERATED A GROCERY STORE. YES, BUT, AT LONG LAST I THINK I FOUND THE PLACE WHERE I HAD TO GO.

EVANS: YOU'VE TAKEN SOME GOOD LICKS IN YOUR DAY....

SEN. DIRKSEN: OH, INDEED..

EVANS: YOU PROBABLY DON'T REALIZE THIS, BUT I REMEMBER ONE OF THE MOST OUTSTANDING SPEECHES I EVER HEARD WAS YOU STANDING ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THOUGHT MAYBE THAT YOUR POLITICAL LIFE AND LIFE GENERALLY HAD SORT OF PASSED YOU BY.

SEN. FIRKSEN: YES, THOSE TIMES COME.

EVANS: THIS WAS ABOUT AS CRITICAL A TIME AS, I GUESS, YOU'VE KNOWN.

SEN. DIRKSEN: YES, IT WAS. THE REACTION BACK HOME WAS SUCH THAT EVEN YOUR FRIENDS WOULD WRITE TO YOU AND SAY 'YOU'RE A ONE-TERMER. I'M SORRY I EVER VOTED FOR YOU.' THOSE ARE CRUEL MESSAGES TO GET FROM YOUR FRIENDS. TO GET THEM FROM YOUR ENEMIES IS BAD ENOUGH, BUT FROM YOUR FRIENDS, THAT'S A DIFFERENT THING.

EVANS: YOUR EYES HAD GONE BAD...

SEN. DIRKSEN: YES, THAT WAS IN '48. YES, THAT WAS A FRUSTRATION, TO SAY THE LEAST. AND I KIND OF WONDERED IF THIS WAS THE JUMPING OFF PLACE. I HAD LOTS OF PHYSICIANS, EXCELLENT SURGEONS, EXCELLENT COUNSEL....

WELL, THEY WERE DIVIDED AS TO WHAT IT WAS. SOME THOUGHT IT WAS MALIGNANT AND SOME THOUGHT OTHERWISE. BUT I LANDED IN JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL AND THEY HAVE A GREAT EYE CLINIC THERE, AND A GREAT EYE SURGEON - I WON'T MENTION HIS NAME - BUT I WAS SENT THERE, AND HE THOUGHT I CAME, AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE OTHER PHYSICIANS, TO HAVE AN ENUCLEATION.

THAT'S A NICESIXTY-FOUR DOLLAR WORD FOR HAVING YOUR EYE REMOVED. HE SAID 'WHEN DO WE START?' I SAID, 'WE DON'T'. HE SAID 'WELL, WHAT DID YOU COME HERE FOR?' I SAID, 'I CAME HERE BECAUSE MY WASHINGTON DOCTORS SENT ME HERE.' WELL, HE SAID, 'WHAT'S HAPPENED?' I SAID, 'I GOT ANOTHER DOCTOR.' HE SAID, 'WHO'S THAT?' I SAID, 'I GOT A BIG DOCTOR.' WAY UP-STAIRS. I SAID, 'I GOT ON MY KNEES ON THE WAY UP TO BALTIMORE, ON THE TRAIN. 'OH,' HE SAID, 'YOU'RE ONE OF THOSE GUYS, ARE YOU?' YES, I SAID 'DOCTOR, I'M A PRETTY ROUGH CUSS, BUT I'M STILL ONE OF THOSE GUYS.'

EVANS: DID YOU JUST HAVE THE FEELING THAT YOU SHOULDN'T GO AHEAD?

SEN. DIRKSEN: OH, MARK, YOU JUST HAVE TO OPEN YOUR SOUL, AND THE DIVINITY WILL TALK TO YOU.

EVANS: THIS ISN'T OFTEN TALKED ABOUT IN WASHINGTON...

DIRKSEN: I KNOW IT ISN'T; IT SHOULD BE.

EVANS: DO YOU DO IT OFTEN?

DIRKSEN: VERY OFTEN.

EVANS: DOES PRAYER PLAY AN IMPORTANT PART IN YOUR LIFE?

DIRKSEN: OH, I BELIEVE, THE MOST IMPORTANT PART. BECAUSE WHEN THE WAY IS NOT CLEAR, THEN YOU'VE GOT TO GO TO THE PIPELINE. AND WHAT IS THE PIPELINE TO THE ALMIGHTY IF IT ISN'T PRAYER?

EVANS: I DON'T THINK THE PUBLIC GENERALLY REGARDS POLITICIANS AS BEING GENUINE IN THEIR WORSHIP.

DIRKSEN: SOMETIMES I CALL IT A ROADMAP, SAME THING, WHAT WOULD YOU DO WITHOUT A ROADMAP IN A STRANGE COUNTRY?

IT'S A TRAGEDY THAT SO MUCH CYNICISM HAS DEVELOPED. IT'S A PART OF THE SOPHISTICATION OF THE AGE, I DON'T KNOW.

EVANS: SENATOR, WHAT'S THE ROUGHEST PART ABOUT POLITICS?

DIRKSEN: WELL, OF COURSE, IT'S THE FACT THAT OBVIOUSLY YOU CANNOT PLEASE ALL PEOPLE. WHEN YOU TAKE A STAND THAT IS BASED ON CONVICTION, ON CONSCIENCE, YOU KNOW THERE IS GOING TO BE DISAGREEMENT AND THEY'RE GOING TO EXPRESS IT. AND SOMETIMES IT CAN BE POWERFUL AND VERY INFLUENTIAL. IT DOESN'T MAKE YOU FEEL VERY GOOD, BECAUSE YOU READ IT AND SAY WELL, THERE'S ENOUGH INFLUENCE THERE TO DEFEAT ME AND TO CUT SHORT MY CAREER IN THIS FIELD.

EVANS: IS THERE ANY TRICK TO YOUR SUPERNATURAL MEMORY?

DIRKSEN: NO, MARK, THERE IS NO TRICK. I THINK THE TROUBLE TODAY IS THAT WHEN WE HEAR A THING, WE HEAR IT JUST SO IMPERCEPTIBLY, THAT WE CAN'T QUITE RECONSTRUCT IT LATER. FOR INSTANCE, BOOTH TARKINGTON ONCE WROTE A PLAY CALLED 'CLARENCE' AND IT CENTERED AROUND ONE YOUNG FELLOW AND AT DINNER THAT NIGHT, IN THE FIRST SCENE, THE FATHER SAYS - BECAUSE THIS BOY CAME INTO THE HOUSE WITH PLUMBING TOOLS TO FIX UP SOMETHING AND THEN STRUMMED HIS FINGERS OVER THE PIANO, THE FATHER SAID WELL, HIS NAME IS MOON. THE MOTHER SAID, ' YOU KNOW, FATHER, HIS NAME IS SMUM, 'AND THEN ONE OF THE DAUGHTERS SAID, 'YOU KNOW IT ISN'T ANYTHING OF THE KIND. HIS NAME IS SOMETHING ELSE.' EVERYONE HAD A DIFFERENT IMPRESSION OF WHAT HIS NAME WAS. WELL, WHAT HAPPENS? IT'S GONE. SO OFTEN I SAY TO PEOPLE WHEN THEY TELL ME 'MY NAME IS' SO AND SO, WELL, HOW DO YOU SPELL IT? ONCE YOU GET A FIXED IMPRESSION, YOU CAN'T FORGET IT.

EVANS: OF COURSE, YOU'RE PROVING MY POINT. HOW LONG HAS IT BEEN SINCE YOU'VE MADE A REFERENCE TO THIS TARKINGTON STORY?

SEN. DIRKSEN: IT MUST BE A DOZEN OR FIFTEEN YEARS.

EVANS: HOW DO YOU READ CHARLES DE GAULLE?

SEN. DIRKSEN: FIRST OF ALL, I'M AFRAID HE ALSO HAS A MEMORY, AND HE REMEMBERS THE SLIGHTS THAT GO WAY BACK TO WORLD WAR TWO, AND HE DIDN'T FEEL VERY GOOD ABOUT IT. IN OTHER WORDS, THERE WAS A DISPOSITION TO CONSIDER FRANCE AS A FOURTH RATE POWER. YOU REMEMBER THAT. AND, OF COURSE, HE'S GOT HIS PRIDE. HE MUST HAVE VOWED ON OCCASIONS, EVEN WHEN HE WAS IN NORTH AFRICA, WHEN I GET BACK, I'M GOING TO GET MYSELF INTO A POSITION OF AUTHORITY AND I'M GOING TO WASH OUT ALL THESE AFFRONTS TO THE FRENCH, AND TO FRANCE, AND TO ME. AND SO, WITH HIS ADVISORS, NOW HE'S SEEN THE COURSE, AND HE'S DONE A PRETTY GOOD JOB ON MAKING IT DIFFICULT FOR US. BECAUSE HE HAS RAIDED OUR GOLD STOCK AS NO OTHER COUNTRY EVER DID, AND STILL DOING IT. LOOK AT THE DIFFICULT SITUATION. I THINK WE GAVE FRANCE SOME \$700-MILLION WHEN SHE WAS STILL CONTESTING IN VIETNAM, AND I WAS OUT THERE, IN INDO-CHINA, BEFORE IT BECAME VIETNAM, AND BEFORE DIEN BIEN PHU FELL. I USE TO WATCH THE FRENCH PLANES TAKE OFF AT HAIPHONG AND HANOI. NOW THEN, NOBODY EVER MENTIONS THE FACT THAT WE BAILED \$700-MILLION INTO IT. LOOK AT THE PIPELINE SETUP WE'VE HAD IN FRANCE. 1600 MILES OF PIPELINE FOR OCTANE FUEL FOR ALL THESE LITTLE AIRPORTS FROM WHICH OUR FIGHTERS WERE TO TAKE OFF. HOW EASY IT IS TO SAY, 'TAKE UP YOUR MARBLES AND GO HOME'. YOU SEE, THAT'S THE TROUBLE, THERE'S TWO SIDES TO THE STORY.

EVANS: IT'S FRIGHTENING, THOUGH, TO THINK THAT A MAN WOULD HAVE THAT QUIRK IN HIS MAKEUP TO REACT AND CAUSE THE WORLD TO HAVE ANOTHER SORE SPOT.

DIRKSEN: AS I READ HIM, I CAN'T COME TO ANY OTHER CONCLUSION.

EVANS: WHERE DO YOU FIND YOURSELF IN THE VIETNAM SOLUTION ARRANGEMENT?

DIRKSEN: IF I HAD TO USE A VERY SHORT PHRASE, IT WOULD SIMPLY BE, WE MUST DO THE NECESSARY. WE CANNOT RETREAT. IF WE RETREATED FROM THERE,

WE WOULD LOSE FACE NOT ONLY IN THE ORIENTAL WORLD, BUT IN THE MOSLEM WORLD AS WELL. AND ALL OF THE PRESTIGE THAT'S STILL LEFT WOULD GO INTO A HAND-BASKET BEFORE WE GOT THROUGH WITH IT. WE CANNOT SURRENDER. GOD PERISH THE THOUGHT THAT WE WOULD EVER SURRENDER. A GREAT COUNTRY LIKE THIS. 190=ODD-MILLION PEOPLE, WEAPONED TO THE HILT, FIGHTING A LITTLE COUNTRY WITH PROBABLY LESS THAN 19-MILLION PEOPLE.

EVANS: HAVEN'T WE LOST A LITTLE PRESTIGE ALREADY?

DIRKSEN: OH, WE HAVE, WE'VE BEEN THERE ALL TOO LONG, SO THE QUESTION IS DO WE STRIKE AHEAD AND USE WHATEVER IS NECESSARY?

EVANS: DO YOU BUY THE EISENHOWER PHILOSOPHY ON THIS?

DIRKSEN: I DO.

EVANS: EVEN IF IT WENT TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

DIRKSEN: WELL, THAT, MARK, I THINK IS A THING THAT OUGHT TO BE CLARIFIED A LITTLE. I THINK THEY MISINTERPRETED WHAT EISENHOWER SAID RECENTLY AT THE REPUBLICAN COORDINATORS COMMITTEE, WHEN WE MET IN WASHINGTON. THAT COMMITTEE CONSISTS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP, SOME FIVE GOVERNORS, NATIONAL COMMITTEEMEN AND COMMITTEEWOMEN, AND OTHERS. SO IT'S MEANT TO BE A NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE. NOW, IT WAS THERE THAT IKE MADE THIS STATEMENT. AND THEN THE PRESS BEGAN TO INTERPRET IT. WELL, HE NEVER SAID HE WAS GOING TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE SAID HE JUST SIMPLY DID NOT RULE OUT ANY FORCE OR ANY WEAPON, DEPENDING EXACTLY ON WHAT THE CONDITION WAS. NOW, IMAGINE, SUPPOSE WE WERE SO THREATENED WITH DISASTER OVER THERE AND IT WAS FINALLY UP TO A DIVISION FOR THE OVERALL COMMANDER GENERAL WESTMORELAND WHAT TO DO TO SAVE OUR BACON WITH OVER 317,000 TROOPS OVER THERE, WHAT WOULD THEY DO? WOULD YOU LEAVE THAT TO THE COMMANDER IN THE FIELD? I WOULD. I'D HAVE TO TRUST HIM. BECAUSE HE WAS SELECTED AS THE CREAM OF THE CROP.

EVANS: CHANGING THE SUBJECT, ARE YOU SURPRISED AT THE RATHER AMAZING

SHOWING OF GEORGE ROMNEY OF MICHIGAN ON THE POLLS?

DIRKSEN: NOT NECESSARILY. FIRST, BECAUSE I KNOW GEORGE WELL. I KNEW GEORGE WHEN HE WAS HERE IN WASHINGTON FOR THE FIRST TIME AS A CLERK TO A COMMITTEE. AND I KNOW THE VIGOR THAT THE FELLOW HAS. HE'S JUST BOUNDLESS IN ENERGY, AND HIS HEAD WORKS PRETTY WELL. I'M NOT SURE THAT I AGREE ALWAYS WITH HIM, BUT I HAVE A GREAT ADMIRATION FOR HIM. SECONDLY, HE'S BEEN VERY SUCCESSFUL IN THE BUSINESS FIELD AS THE HEAD OF AMERICAN MOTORS, WHICH PUT THE RAMBLER ON THE MARKET. HE'S BEEN EXTREMELY SUCCESSFUL AS A GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN. HE PULLED IT OUT OF THE MIRE WHEN THE FORMER GOVERNOR BENNETT WILLIAMS LEFT IT IN A CONDITION WHERE INDUSTRY WAS READY TO MOVE OUT OF MICHIGAN. SO YOU'VE GOT TO GIVE THE DEVIL HIS DUE AND HE'S DONE A GOOD JOB.

BREAK

EVANS: DOES IT BOTHER YOU, SENATOR, TO HEAR ALL THESE FLOWERY THINGS SAID ABOUT YOU?

DIRKSEN: I JUST HOPE THAT EXPRESSIONS OF TRUST AND ESTEEM ARE SOMETHING THAT I CAN'T MODESTLY MERIT. BEYOND THAT, IT DOESN'T BOTHER ME. BUT, IT'S AN ENCOURAGEMENT, YOU KNOW, A STIMULATION TO DO YOUR BEST.

EVANS: DOES ROMNEY IN ORDER TO BE CONSIDERED FOR '68, HAS TO BRING GRIFFIN ALONG WITH HIM. IS THAT YOUR CONCEPT?

DIRKSEN: I DON'T KNOW THAT THAT'S NECESSARILY TRUE. EXCEPT, THAT I HOPE THAT HE DOES, BECAUSE BOB GRIFFIN HAS BEEN A GOOD CONGRESSMAN AND HE'S BEEN A GOOD SENATOR. I WORKED WITH HIM WHEN HE WAS ON THE HOUSE LABOR COMMITTEE. INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, THE LATE LAMENTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, JOHN KENNEDY, WAS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE WHEN WE HAD UP THE LANDRUM-GRIFFIN BILL. THAT'S WHERE BOB GRIFFIN AND I REALLY GOT ACQUAINTED WITH EACH OTHER.

EVANS: WHO, IN YOUR ESTIMATION, IS THE LEADER OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY?

DIRKSEN: I DON'T KNOW. I THINK WE'VE GOT A LOT OF LEADERS.

EVANS IS THERE NO ONE REAL HEAD?

DIRKSEN: OH, HE'LL SHAKE OUT IN DUE COURSE. MAYBE YOU CAN CALL THIS MULTIPLE LEADERSHIP.

EVANS: YOU WOULDN'T PUT THE CROWN ON ANYONE MAN?

DIRKSEN: NO, NOT AT THE MOMENT.

EVANS: IF YOU HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN ROMNEY AND NIXON AT THE MOMENT, WHICH ONE WOULD YOU?

DIRKSEN: - MY ANSWER WOULD BE THAT IT'S STILL A LONG WAY TO THE CONVENTION IN 1968. AND, WHO KNOWS WHAT WILL COME OUT OF THE WOODWORK. LOOK HOW WILKIE CAME OUT. SOMEHOW, LIKE A METEOR IN THE SKY. NOBODY HAD HEARD OF HIM BEFORE. HE WAS GENERAL COUNSEL TO A UTILITY, AND SUDDENLY THEY MANUFACTURED ALL THIS INTEREST IN HIM, AND HERE HE WAS BOOMED RIGHT UP ON THE HORIZON AND SUDDENLY THEY NOMINATED HIM.

EVANS: YOU ARE NOTED FOR HONESTY AND FRANKNESS. IS THERE A CHANCE FOR THE REPUBLICANS IN YOUR ESTIMATION?

DIRKSEN: OH, DEFINITELY. NOT ONLY IN '66, BUT '68, AS WELL. LET ME GIVE YOU THE REASON FOR IT AND THE REASON IS SIMPLE. PARTIES DO NOT DEFEAT EACH OTHER. I'VE SAID THIS A THOUSAND TIMES. THEY HAD AN OLD PROFESSOR OF POLITICS AT WISCONSIN UNIVERSITY. HE SAID, 'PARTIES ACCUMULATE BARNICLES AND PEOPLE FINALLY BECOME INCENSED. THEY THINK OFF WITH THE OLD AND ON WITH THE NEW.' AND SO, IT'S ONLY BECAUSE OF THIS ACCUMULATION OF FAULTS, AND SINS, AND DEFECTS. IT'S NOT THAT THEY ELECT ANOTHER PARTY. THEY DEFEAT THE PARTY THAT'S IN POWER.

EVANS: HAVE PARTIES LOST SOME OF THEIR IDENTITIES? ARE THEY CHANGING YET?

DIRKSEN: THAT STILL GOES ON AND SO LONG AS THAT STRUGGLE CONTINUES, BY VIRTUE OF THE INTRUSION OF THE FEDERAL POWER INTO THE AFFAIRS OF

PEOPLE AND INTO THE AFFAIRS OF STATES, THAT STUFF IS GOING TO GO ON, AND, WHO KNOWS, ALONG WITH LINCOLN, WE'LL HAVE JEFFERSON AS ONE OF OUR PATRON SAINTS, TOO.

EVANS: IS THERE A NEED FOR A REALIGNMENT OF PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES? IS THAT A REALISTIC HOPE THAT THE LIBERALS AND THE CONSERVATIVES WILL ONE DAY MARRY? BECAUSE YOU'VE GOT FOUR PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES AT THE PRESENT TIME.

DIRKSEN: SO THEY SAY. I HOPE THAT IF IT COULD BE DONE, IT COULD BE DONE ON A CLEAR-CUT BASIS, BUT I'M NOT SURE YOU CAN ACCOMPLISH IT WITHIN A PERIOD OF 50 YEARS. BECAUSE YOU HAVE THESE IMPRESSIONS, YOU HAVE THESE PASSIONS, YOU HAVE THESE CONCEPTS OF HISTORY, YOU HAVE THESE PREJUDICES THAT ARE SO DEEPLY ANCHORED AND HOW DO YOU OVERCOME THEM? YEARS AGO, WE HAD PROBABLY FOUR OF THE OUTSTANDING CITIZENS OF THIS COUNTRY TO SERVE AS CAPTAINS ON BOTH SIDES IN THE HOPE THAT THAT PROBLEM COULD BE SOLVED. ONE OF THEM WAS THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION; ANOTHER WAS JESSE JONES, GREAT FINANCIER AND GREAT GOVERNMENT EXPERT AND PUBLIC SERVANT FROM TEXAS, BUT THEY WORKED AT IT FOR QUITE A WHILE AND ACCOMPLISHED NOTHING.

EVANS: MEN ARE RUNNING FOR OFFICE WITH ONE FOOT IN WASHINGTON AND ONE IN THE DISTRICTS. WHAT'S YOUR PRESCRIPTION FOR THIS?

DIRKSEN: WE HAD A PRESCRIPTION FOR THIS. IN 1946, I WAS ON THE LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION COMMITTEE. SIX SENATORS, SIX HOUSE MEMBERS. WE BROUGHT IN THE FIRST LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION BILL. WE PROVIDED THAT WE OUGHT TO GO HOME ON THE 30TH OF JUNE, OR THE 31ST OF JULY, BUT WE HAVE NEVER, EVER CONSUMMATED. WE MADE MORE RECOMMENDATIONS IN THAT

BILL THAT HAVE NEVER BEEN CARRIED OUT. THAN YOU COULD SHAKE A STICK AT. SO, YOU CAN LEGISLATE UNTIL YOUR HEART'S CONTENT, AND EXPRESS ALL THESE PIOUS HOPES IN WORDS, BUT WHEN YOU GET ALL THROUGH, THEY ARE NOT ARTICULATED. THERE'S A REASON FOR THAT TOO. THE BUSINESS OF THE COUNTRY IS INCREASING AS THE COUNTRY GROWS. NEW ACTIVITIES, NEW INVENTIONS, NEW INDUSTRIES, NEW FORCES, NEW FEDERAL CONTROLS, NEW REGULATIONS, ALL THAT TAKES PEOPLE. WHEN YOU SPEAK ABOUT CONTROLS, YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT THE CONTROLLERS, THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE TO EXERCISE THAT AUTHORITY.

EVANS: WILL YOU FORESEE A DAY WHEN THE CONGRESS WILL MEET ON A CERTAIN DAY, AND TAKE A VACATION ON A CERTAIN DAY, AND MEET THE YEAR AROUND?

DIRKSEN: WELL, I DON'T KNOW. I WOULD HOPE THAT IT WOULDN'T BE THAT WAY, BECAUSE THE COUNTRY WILL BE LOSER. WHEN YOU THINK, IF YOU SPEND TEN OR ELEVEN MONTHS UP ON THAT HILLTOP, WHERE DO YOU FIND TIME TO SIT BACK AND, IN PERSPECTIVE, TAKE A LOOK AT THIS WHOLE BROAD PICTURE, AND THE TRY TO COME TO A REASONED CONCLUSION, THAT IS NOT BOTHERED BY ALL THE TREES THAT OBSCURE THE FOREST. THAT'S THE TROUBLE WHEN WE LIVED AT THE MAYFLOWER AND USE TO GO TO WORK, THERE WAS THE IBM OFFICE AND IN THE WINDOW WAS A SIGN. IT SAID, 'T.H.I.N.K.'. SO, WHEN I GOT ON THE STREETCAR TO GO UP TO THE CAPITAL, THAT WAS IN MY HEAD. 'THINK! WHEN DO YOU FIND TIME TO THINK IN THIS BUSINESS - THAT'S THE TROUBLE UP THERE.

EVANS: WHAT IS THE ANSWER?

DIRKSEN: THE ANSWER IS YOU'VE GOT TO DRAW OFF, SOMEHOW, EVEN IF YOU DO IT ARBITRARILY. YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE TO STOP THIS THING IN ITS TRACKS, EVEN AT THE EXPENSE OF GOING HOME FOR AWHILE, COMMUNING WITH YOUR PEOPLE, AND THEN COMING BACK, BECAUSE YOU'LL BE REFRESHED IN BODY AND SPIRIT.

EVANS: THERE'S A FEELING OF FRUSTRATION AMONG OUR PEOPLE. HOW DO YOU

FEEL ABOUT TOMORROW?

DIRKSEN: LET ANYBODY LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF THIS COUNTRY. LET HIM GO BACK FOR INSTANCE TO 1900, SEE WHAT OUR POPULATION WAS, WHAT WE HAD BY WAY OF LUXURIES, AND PLEASANTRIES, CONVENIENCES, AND SWEETNESS IN LIFE, AND THEN LET HIM GO TO 1925 AND 1950 AND TO 1960, AND SEE HOW YEAR BY YEAR LIFE HAS BEEN MADE, IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE SCRIPTURE, MORE ABUNDANT. IT HAS BEEN MADE MORE PLEASANT. THERE HAVE BEEN HARDSHIPS, OF COURSE. THERE HAVE HAD TO BE SACRIFICES, BUT ALWAYS THE COURSE HAS BEEN UPWARD.

EVANS: ARE WE A HAPPIER NATION?

DIRKSEN: SOMETIMES I DOUBT IT, AND THAT'S THE THING THAT BOTHERS ME MOST. NOW, WHEN THE CONSTITUTION MAKERS, AS YOU KNOW, PUT IN THAT CELEBRATED PHRASE "TO INSURE THE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY". IF THERE'S ANY QUALITY IN THIS WORLD THAT PROBABLY ADDS UP TO SUMMUM BONUM OF THINGS TO BE ACHIEVED, IT WOULD BE TRANQUILITY - TRANQUILITY WITHIN AND WITHOUT.

EVANS: THERE ISN'T MUCH OF IT.

DIRKSEN: THAT'S THE TROUBLE TODAY. PEOPLE ARE WORRIED ABOUT THIS FORCE AND THAT FORCE AND WHAT'S FINALLY GOING TO HAPPEN, AND WHETHER THE REPUBLIC WILL DISINTEGRATE. WELL, ALL HISTORY REFUTES THAT. BECAUSE OUR COURSE HAS ALWAYS BEEN UPWARD. THINK OF WHAT YOU LOSE, WHEN YOU LOSE PEACE OF MIND, AND PEACE OF SOUL, AND THE COUNTRY, AS SUCH, ISN'T TRANQUIL LIKE IT OUGHT TO BE.

EVANS: HOW DO YOU OVERCOME IT PERSONALLY?

DIRKSEN: YOU HAVE TO OVERCOME IT ON THE INSIDE. YOU KNOW THERE'S A CITADEL IN HERE AND THE ONLY FELLOW THAT CAN GET AT IT IS ME (GESTURING TO HIS CHEST). I'VE GOT THE KEY TO IT. I CAN THROW AWAY THAT KEY JUST BY MISDEEDS OR FAILURE TO CONSULT CONSCIENCE, OH, THERE ARE A LOT OF WAYS THAT I CAN LOSE THAT KEY. I CAN ONLY GET IT BACK BY GOING OUT TO FIND IT, BUT I HAVE TO GET BACK ON THE BEAM. AND THEN WHEN I DO I GO INTO THAT CITADEL AND THERE I AM, I DRAW AWAY. AND THEN I BEGIN TO SEE IN BETTER

PERSPECTIVE. EVERYBODY HAS THAT CITADEL. IT'S AVAILABLE TO EVERYBODY.

EVANS: HOW DO YOU FIND IT IF YOU'VE NEVER FOUND IT BEFORE?

DIRKSEN: YOU HAVE TO FIND IT, AND YOU HAVE TO STRUGGLE TO FIND IT.

YOU SEE, I WAS BORN IN JANUARY, THAT'S THE DEPTH OF WINTER, REALLY. I'M A WINTER'S CHILD. WINTER'S CHILDREN WERE BORN UNDER THE SIGN OF SATURN. SATURN IS THE DOER PLANET AND IT MAKES YOU WANT TO FIND STILLNESS, ALSO EVEN DARKNESS, AND QUIET. OF COURSE, THOSE ARE THE ATTRIBUTES WHERE, SOMEHOW, THE SOUL BEGINS TO FIND ITSELF.

EVANS: BLESS YOU MY FRIEND. LONG MAY YOU LIVE.

CLOSE