Nevada Test Site Oral History Project
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Interview with Jacob (Chic) Hecht

May 11, 2004
Las Vegas, Nevada

Interview Conducted By
Mary Palevsky

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[00:00:00] Begin Track 2, Disk 1.

Chic Hecht: We're right on time, 9:30.

Mary Palevsky*: OK, perfect, 9:30. So as I said, maybe you could just begin by telling me your full name, date of birth, place of birth, and a little bit of early life history.*

My name is Jacob Hecht. I was born November 30, 1928 in Cape Girardeau, Missouri. I grew up in Cape Girardeau, graduated college from Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri. I graduated in 1949. My father had moved to Las Vegas to retire about 1946, and I used to visit him in the summers and then go back to college. Well, when I graduated I came out, and he was in the clothing business and I went to work for him, and that was in 1949 and 1950. The Korean War broke out about that time, and I worked for him less than a year and got drafted in the Army for the Korean War. I was put into infantry basic training, then they gave us a series of tests, and after my basic training was over, I was sent to Army intelligence school at Fort Hollabird, Maryland. I went through an intensive three-month course on Army intelligence, every aspect of it, and then I was sent to Europe.

When I was starting out in college, I was a pre-med and in those days you had to study German in order to get your degree because so much was still written by German doctors. Wonderful information. So when I went through all my tests and they gave me the language test, it showed that I had knowledge of German, certainly not a great speaking ability but reading and other aspects of it. I was sent to Army intelligence school. After three months of intensive and I

say intensive training I was sent to Europe to further my language skills at Oberammergau in Germany, which was the Army language school.

Just about that time, serious problems were going in the Cold War. If I may take you back in history, Stalin was ruling Russia, one of the cruelest, most sadistic leaders of a country that ever was. And I was sent behind the Iron Curtain as an American intelligence agent. I served in Eastern Europe for eighteen months behind the lines and I'm very proud of this. I'm in the Army Intelligence Hall of Fame because of my work behind the Iron Curtain.

Now, let's take a little minute to talk about this because this is interesting to me. You go behind enemy lines, which must mean you're not known to be an American. How does that work?

I worked out of Berlin, which was a hundred and twenty kilometers behind the Iron Curtain. And Berlin was the thriving capital of Germany and intelligence agents from all countries were there, and I worked out of Berlin.

Now, I have a lot of questions about this. First of all, does this mean your German was good enough that they thought you were a German native, or—?

No.

You weren't sort of passing as a German native, then, in that sense.

No, but my German became very fast, very good. You never lose your accent.

OK. Yes, I can imagine that's true.

But it was very important to be able to communicate to different people in sensitive positions to work for us because we were at war during the Korean War.

Now, I just know this from seeing movies and reading John Le Carré so bear with me. Did you have like a cover position that you were pretending to be and you were an intelligence agent? What was your job?

[00:05:00] In those days intelligence agents could have cover as a newsperson, a correspondent. So I had several different identities: as a newsman, as a member of the West German government in East Germany. And whatever it was you could manufacture an identity card. But an interesting note on that. You asked about my fluency. I was there just a short time, a matter of days or weeks, and I was called in the middle of the night by another agent who's an American to come down and help him on an interrogation and to be a translator. So I went down there and I said, Why did you call me? You are a native born German. You came to America, became an American citizen, and you want me to be an interpreter for you. He said, Because these people won't talk to me. They think I'm a German and they don't trust a fellow German, so they want to talk to an American. So I asked the two individuals that I was interrogating, Why won't you talk to him? He's an American. He said, No, he isn't. He's a German. So this more or less explained why you are more effective with an American accent than with a German accent.

Interesting.

Does that explain to you?

Yes, that answers my question.

I think that's true of intelligence right now. In our war in Iraq we're short on people who can speak the language.

Yes.

But when you're risking your life to help someone you have to trust that person, and the East Germans and the Russians did not trust the West Germans.

Interesting. So they would trust an American more.

They didn't trust the others at all. They would only trust an American.

Interesting. And what kind of information in a story like this where you've got this communication going on, this question, what kinds of things were they telling you?

Well, now that it's over fifty years I can certainly discuss it. We were very worried after the Second World War that Russia was building up and they had an atomic bomb. Many of us thought World War III was soon going to be there. Berlin was an island a hundred and twenty kilometers behind the Iron Curtain. In order for World War III to start it was surmised by the top leaders that the Russians would come through Germany into Europe. So I was a part of a select group to notify government and the top people at all times what the buildup of the Soviet military was doing. In other words every Soviet barracks—they called them *kaserne* in Germany—in eastern Germany which was a place for the soldiers to be, every air field, every naval [base], which I did not work on but we had people doing that, and we kept a twenty-four-hour surveillance on all military camps. We checked how much gasoline they had, how much ammunition they had, how many troops they had, how many tanks they had, because if they were coming over the line they had to have a lot of troops, they had to have a lot of ammunition, they had to have a lot of tanks, and in those days we did not have the satellites to do it and so how did we check? We had people working in the *kasernes* for us that would tell us when the buildup was coming, and then the Russians would go on maneuvers from time to time and bring **[00:10:00]** a million, two million people to eastern Germany and we would alert our commanders to be preparing for a war if they did come. One time John Foster Dulles in his memoirs said we were at the brink of war, and I was very much involved in that brink-of-war time because the Russians had I think close to two million people on the borders, a lot of tanks, a lot of planes, but nothing happened and they went back to Russia and they were just on maneuvers.

Wow. Just a general sense of what year that might have been.

Nineteen fifty-one to nineteen fifty-three.

OK.

Did I explain it?

Yes, you're explaining it really well.

Now, as I say we did not have satellites so how did we get the information? We recruited people working in these different military installations. How did we do it? For money. Why else do people do it?

So as much as you can walk me through. Do you have an idea, a lead, that someone might be willing or—?

Yes, that's a very good question. At that time the Berlin Wall was not up so people could walk back and forth from east to west. Every day about a thousand or fifteen hundred people were fleeing eastern Germany. They did not want to live under communism so they would go to a refugee center. We had people working in the refugee centers that would contact us if they were from a certain city, say Dresden—Dresden had a military installation—and they had a friend or someone working there, they would contact us immediately. We would go out, we'd interrogate the people, and try and send them back to see their friends and make contact to meet with us. So it was a constant, constant source of information for us, and it was so lucrative intelligence-wise that it was surmised that that was a reason they built the Berlin Wall.

Really. Because I have to tell you, when you first started talking, not clear on my history I was assuming that the Berlin Wall was already there, but no, so there was a free flow back and forth across from East Berlin to West Berlin.

That's right. That is correct.

Interesting. And so you would literally talk to people and then say, Rather than staying here and being a refugee, go back and work for us, is that what you're saying?

Go back, or go back and get a friend to work for us. They might have a friend who worked in the army camp.

OK. And then how would—I'm so curious about this—how would that information actually be passed back to you? Was it verbal, was it written, when someone had something to tell you about troop buildups, et cetera*?*

Oh, it would be verbal or written, both ways. Both ways. One of my spies working for me was a cleaning woman for a Russian general and she would bring me books and pamphlets on new military equipment. I would set her down in a certain place, a safe house we called it, I would run over and get a photograph, sometimes hundreds of pages, then she would take it back and replace it in the general's bedroom or office.

Amazing. Now how would a woman like this even be recruited? I mean do we assume that she was an anticommunist like you say or—?

Yes, but she knew that she had access to valuable information, she came to us with the information, and we recruited her and paid her off, and each time she would come we would reimburse her financially.

Wow.

Does that answer all your questions?

Well, I think—

Let's go on to the atomic—

We will, but I think why this is useful to the project historically is that the broad reach of the

[00:15:00] *Cold War and the various ways the Cold War atmosphere and the fighting of the*

Cold War manifest themselves are all directly related to the test site, especially when you say, We were worried about atomic war.

OK, you're absolutely right, and let me continue then. Part of our targets for me as a spy to get information was parts of East Germany they had uranium, and whenever we would find someone from a city close to a uranium mine, that was a prime target. When I would pick up someone like that, or through the refugee camp, I would immediately call another agent who I wouldn't know and he would come and immediately talk to that person because that was a top, top priority. And Russia during the time I was there had the atomic bomb and we were very worried about it. I did not talk to anyone on nuclear matters because I did not have the background and I would not know whether people were telling me the truth or whether they were fabricating stories. So in order to get that we had to get other people who had a background and knew what they were talking about. Now I lived by myself in a house with a housekeeper and only a handful of people knew who I was and where I was, and we did that purposely because if we were picked up by the Russians they would torture you and get information from you and so we did not want anyone to—fellow Americans, I would not know who they were, they would not know who I was, and that was the purpose.

Yes. But you had a limited number of contacts, then, you're saying, so that—

Yes, I had contacts and I would contact someone else who would contact someone else. And as far as the nuclear, that was *the* top priority, and in those days, 1951, I didn't know much about nuclear, although being in Las Vegas I did watch several nuclear tests. In those days at two in the morning or three in the morning people used to go outside and the bars would be open and we'd watch the bombs go off. They were in the atmosphere then so you could watch them. Later they got smart and put them underground, but in the early shots they were all over, all atmospheric, so you could see it. It was like daylight at two in the morning.

Right. So when you arrived in Las Vegas and then what, you learned that that's something that people do and then—? What did you think when the first one you saw and it was like daylight at night?

Well, it was a thrill to see it. It was just a thrill to see it. It's the end of World War II, our nuclear tests, our nuclear bombs, and everyone was very nuclear at the time. Everyone was pro-nuclear, and a big part of the economy of Las Vegas was from the jobs at the nuclear test site, so there was no antinuclear feeling.

Interesting. And then you go to Germany and you actually probably, unlike most people there, have some sort of first-hand knowledge of what an A-bomb looks like, I guess.

No, I would have no idea. No idea, and I knew nothing more than I had my targets and you worked on your targets.

Right. No, I was just saying, most people hadn't even seen an atomic explosion.

Very few people. Very few people.

Right. Till this day, very few people. So you're in Germany, you said, 1951 to 1953, is that right?

Yes.

But you're still a fairly young man then, if you were born in 1928.

[00:20:00] Age is relative. I'm seventy-five. When I was a young boy, a man fifty was an old, old man. So everything is relative.

That's true. But by my calculations you're in your early twenties when you're doing this.

Yes, early twenties, that is correct. And an interesting aspect, it was a very select group of people and no married men were in the group. This was long before women were allowed in intelligence, but no married person. Because it was very dangerous and they felt if a man is married and has children he might be more defensive, so we were all young and unmarried. You

look at things different if you have a wife and children. I just threw that in because I thought you might find it interesting.

No, it is interesting, and it leads me to another question about what was life like for a young unmarried spy in the early fifties in Berlin? In other words, did you have a social life? Did you just basically work? I suppose you had to socialize somewhat in looking for contacts. I don't know. You have to tell me. I'm just wondering. Did you go out? Was there entertainment? You know, things like that.

You stayed to yourself pretty much, and we'd go out, by yourself or sometimes with another agent, although we tried never to be together like that because if you're picked up it's no good. And you work out a social life, and because of my language I could converse with everyone. And it was important also to meet secretaries of the East German politburo who would have meetings, and in those days we used carbon paper and they would type the minutes of the meetings and give you an extra carbon. Everyone who had information that was very relevant to our preventing a third world war was a good target.

Yes. And so you get this material and then you have ways to get it back to or to send reports to your higher-ups about what you're—

That is correct. That is correct.

And they're sort of putting everything together.

Definitely they put it together. As a matter of fact, when I became a U.S. senator I tracked down one of my operations officers who I kept in contact with. I never met him because he was in the American zone and was not behind the lines. And he was Secretary Weinberger's top intelligence person. Secretary Weinberger was secretary of defense. And he took me to the Pentagon one Saturday afternoon for several hours and laid out everything. And at that time I

found out how little I knew because when you're an agent you're only given enough information to do your task and absolutely nothing more. So I learned more about my task when I got out than when I was in because you were not told the broad picture. I was an agent.

Right. That's interesting that you had the opportunity to eventually get that broad picture.

I got the broad picture. But in intelligence you want as many sources as you can possibly get: people like myself in Berlin, people in Russia, people in the other satellite countries, and then the analysts put everything together.

Right, right. Yes, just as a note, one of the physicists I interviewed that worked on the Manhattan Project said how difficult intelligence was during the war from here because they'd get reports, say, from prisoners of war and this kind of business. From what he saw, he was sure that the **[00:25:00]** *Germans had the A-bomb, which they didn't. But he used that as an example to say what you're saying, you have lots and lots of different sources verifying things or else you can make incorrect conclusions, was his thing from all of that.*

I was never an analyst but I surmise that they knew how to put everything together.

Right, right. Interesting. So you're there for two years because that's the length of the stint or how does that work?

That was the length of the stint and also I got compromised, and in intelligence there's a cardinal rule: You never pick up someone that you know is a spy. You watch them twenty-four hours a day to get their contacts. One day I saw a little boy outside of my house, who was the son of a known Communist, taking license numbers, and I went over to him and I said, `Why are you taking these license numbers?` He said, `My father wanted me to do it.` So we checked his father and found out he was a known Communist and it was evident that they knew

who I was and what I was doing. So that was about, oh, four or five weeks before my time was up and so basically I no longer could be very effective.

So let me understand this a little bit. The fact that they were taking license numbers near your house meant that they suspected you?

They knew.

Oh, that they knew.

They knew.

OK, and so they were seeing who else was talking to you, by the license numbers.

That is correct.

Ah, OK.

Who was coming to my house and everything.

I understand, yes. So they had found out.

And one night I came home and a car was waiting for me and I yelled and screamed at him in German to my friends who were not there to come and help me and they got scared and took off. Then I had to be careful after that though.

That's scary. So you get home and there's a car there.

Yes.

I guess that's why they have young men do these jobs.

Yes, yes, because when you're young you don't have any fear.

Yes. So that's how you look back at yourself. I mean that's just amazing to me that you're so young and you're doing that stuff. But I guess it's a kind of soldier.

Well, yes. Well, I was in civilian clothes. However, I did keep a uniform because if the Russians came over, any American in civilian clothes would be interrogated and shot. So I had a

corporal's uniform. If you're not an officer the Russians didn't pay any attention to you, so I was going to just put on my uniform and fall in with the rest of the soldiers, hoping to save my life, but not worrying too much.

Right. And if you were in uniform, I guess this question comes up because of what's going on now, would some prisoner of war—well, we weren't really in a declared war but would any of those things have come in if you'd been captured in a uniform? Would you have been treated differently by the Russians?

Life and death, of course, in the uniform, the Geneva protocols were in effect then, but in civilian clothes you're shot. Fact of the matter is we were required to carry a gun with us all the time. However, I didn't do it because that was a sure giveaway: What's a newsman doing with a gun? And the talk was that we only needed a gun if we got captured—to kill ourselves—because they **[00:30:00]** would torture you, then kill you, so why not just save yourself the torture?

Right. Right. Wow. But you're in the Army, so you do have a real rank.

Yes.

What was your rank when you were doing that?

A corporal.

You were a corporal.

But that was because I went to school and everyone in intelligence, the counterintelligence course, CIC was what we're a part of, and they used to phrase it "Corps of Indignant Corporals" because the military was very envious. I lived in a nice home and I had a maid and cook. And you were never promoted. And you were in civilian clothes, so to other people you could be a major, a colonel, a captain, or a civilian, so by wearing civilian clothes you overcome the lack of rank.

That's very interesting. That's very interesting.

I should also add, I was in the group of intelligence, the OSS [Office of Strategic Services] was being phased out, the CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] was being phased in, and I was in the group in the interim and our work was later taken over by the CIA, and in fact they wanted me to stay with them. I didn't know what the CIA was at the time because it was all new and very secretive, but they wanted to know if we wanted to stay. And I enjoyed the work very, very much and I would've liked to have stayed. But my mother passed away, my father was by himself, and so my father wanted me to come home. And when I thought about it I felt in some ways I was lucky to be alive and maybe not tempt fate.

Yes. Yes. Well, whenever you make a decision like that, I think you must wonder what would've been if you had stayed. Do you ever think that way or—?

I'd have been a career intelligence person. I'd have been with the CIA and a career man.

You would've been.

Yes.

Yes. Before we get back to the States, I wanted to ask you a question I'm curious about, about what Berlin was like. This is six years after the end of the war, six and seven years. Was Berlin being rebuilt? Could you still see evidence of World War II when you were there? What was it like?

In Berlin there's a German term, *ausgebomb*, "completely bombed." The work to rebuild it was barely started. It was chaos. We had the airlift. We were feeding the people in Berlin. The planes would come every three minutes and if they couldn't land at Tempelh of Airport somehow they would have to go back in the air and go get in formation from Frankfurt and try and land again. It was the greatest mass feeding program ever, ever. It's just miraculous. The mood of Berlin and

the people was very “live today for tomorrow we will die,” and everyone had that feeling. There were very few men left in Berlin. Everyone was a soldier, but most people were physically—lost a limb or something from the war. And so you were single and the mood of the German women was that you were in one piece where the rest of the **[00:35:00]** people were maimed from the war. So you could have a good social life, because there was an attitude completely, `Live today, tomorrow the war starts.` But at that time the rebuilding had not really taken off.

So you’re really living in the remnants of World War II, then, day to day.

Definitely. Absolutely, absolutely. Living in the remnants of World War II, waiting for World War III, which thank God never came. Again I’m going to mention John Foster Dulles and his *Brink of War*.

Yes. And I’ll read it, so thank you for that. Now, the one other question that arises from what you said about Berlin is what the Nazis did is now known, so do you have any particular feelings toward German people when you’re there?

The question has far more relevance than you probably thought when you asked the question. I’m Jewish, so what the Nazis did to the Jews was horrible. I mean just unthinkable, horrible, nothing like it in history. And here I was, an American working to save the German people. We were risking our life to save the German people. I was first of all a soldier, so I did my job. [Pause] Oftentimes it was emotional, when I was talking to Nazis, and oftentimes some of my agents were Nazis and I knew it. I don’t know if they knew that I was Jewish or not. It never came up. But I knew they were a Nazi and they were working for me, and ten years earlier they’d have killed me. So it was quite a paradox.

Wow. And you knew they were Nazis—this sounds really ignorant but how would you know they were Nazis? I mean they would—?

They would give us some type of a bio before they started working for us. And if they were a major or a captain, they had to be a Nazi. So it was an emotional time.

So this wasn't lost on you, as young as you were, you had a clear understanding of—

Of course. But many of the Nazis were working with the Russians, and they were in sensitive positions because they knew what to do, so we worked with them.

Wow.

"Wow" is right. "Wow" is right.

Now, being Jewish did you have family in the old country that you knew had been lost in the Holocaust, or had most of your family in the States?

My mother was an immigrant.

From—?

Russia. So obviously I had a lot of family that didn't make it. But did I know them? No. But you ask a good question because when I was taking my test to go to intelligence school, that was one problem that I had, but I overcame it, that my mother was an immigrant, because that was a way the Russians got people to work. They would come and say, `If you don't work and cooperate with us, we're going to kill your aunts and uncles and cousins.` But since I had no known relatives and my mother came here when she was a small child, it didn't stand in my way of getting into intelligence.

[00:40:00] *Interesting. Well, we could move on to when you come back to the States, but before we do, if there's any other thing that's coming to mind from that era that you'd like to let me know about, that's great.*

Let me re-emphasize our number one target, uranium mining, and how important that was to the Russians at that particular time, and how important it was to Stalin. Now when I say I lived and

worked under Stalin, at the time of Stalin, to a young boy that's like saying Benjamin Franklin. It was so far back in history. But to me it was not.

Right. Right.

Let me throw this in. The people that I spoke to that were knowledgeable at that time working, we thought World War III was coming. There was no question in our mind, World War III was coming. And then Stalin got sick, and when Stalin died no one knows. His death was very mysterious, and I remember it so vividly, Russia was a primitive country and because his blood was bad they said they put bloodsuckers on his body to take his bad blood out, and it was just a very mysterious death, so who killed Stalin? Did he die? I don't know anyone that could tell you that answer. But when he died things seemed to be better and it was not such a push on for a war, so I assume people around him killed him. That's just a personal assumption, because everything was so mysterious at the time. And when he died was very mysterious. It could've been over a period of any time in a two-or-three-year span.

Really. I don't know very much about this. I know nothing about it. And the two or three years we're looking at are—?

That might be too much, two or three years, but it could be sometime within a year. Very mysterious time.

And when is he officially supposed to have died?

I think 1953.

OK. So when this is going on, are you home yet or are you still—?

No, I'm still behind the Iron Curtain.

You're still there. And so you experience some sort of change while you're there, as far as your own fear or is it in retrospect, do you think?

Well, I hate to say this, but everyone was happy that he died. He was ruthless. And I think there was an easing of tensions after that.

Yes. Well, at least it sounds like from the American point of view, or from your own point of view, the fear that a war was imminent seems to have been lessened, if that's what I'm understanding you to be saying.

Yes. Yes. Is there anything tangible that I could point to? The answer is no. Because when he was alive his speeches were heard everywhere and always fired up tension.

Yes. Yes. Well, it makes sense, knowing what we know now about the millions of people that he killed. It's just so amazing that an individual could wield that much power. It's really incredible to me.

Hitler. Stalin. That's right.

OK, are you still in Europe when your mom dies or—?

[00:45:00] Oh no, she died in 1946.

OK, so she had died after the war and you come back to the States once you're compromised, is that correct?

Well, my time was up, so I come back to Las Vegas and I worked for my father and then I made plans to open up my own clothing store, which I did.

Now did he have a clothing store himself?

Yes. Yes. And I opened up my own, and my nickname was Chic. I had it from the first week I was born. I don't know how I got it but it stuck, so I called my business Chic Hecht, and I spent hundreds of thousands of dollars advertising the name, so when I ran for state senate, I ran as Chic Hecht because in Nevada there's a law that you can run under any name that you're known by. And so that's how I kept the name Chic. And as I said my name is Jacob, and what prompted

me to do it, it was in the paper that I was going to run, “a prominent businessman” they called me. And then someone came down to me one day and said, `Your father’s too old to run for office,` because they thought Jacob was my father’s name, and I decided to use Chic. And it’s a very informal name. It was a wonderful name politically because it broke down a lot of barriers. People were comfortable calling me Chic. So I went into business—

Excuse me, I didn’t mean to interrupt you. Your dad still had his store. What kind of clothing did he sell?

Women’s clothing. Our whole family’s in the clothing business, women’s clothing. I have nine uncles, they were all in it, uncles and aunts.

So we’re now back to about 1955. In 1960, around there, there was a savings and loan crisis in the West. California, Nevada, the savings and loans went bankrupt. It was chaos, financial chaos. I decided with the people running the state and everything that I thought I could do a better job. I was a businessman, I was in banking at the time, a major owner of one of the banks, and I ran for office in 1966 for the Nevada state senate. It was unique because I was a Republican, or I am a Republican, and Clark County was only Democratic. There was no such thing as an election in November because the election was a primary. I was the first Republican state senator elected from Clark County.

Really? Interesting. And the election itself, was that a response to the savings and loan crisis, do you think, that they were saying people—?

Well, that was one of my pillars of my campaign, that I could do a better job as a businessman. OK, 1966 I got elected as a state senator. That was in November. The next year—no, let me go backward. Clark County’s in trouble financially because of the savings and loans. Hundreds, maybe thousands of homes had been repossessed, which is hard to believe today, and savings

and loans were offering them to anyone who could just pay the interest or move in so that the house wouldn't go under. And so J. Edgar Hoover had spoken to then-Governor [Paul] Laxalt that the **[00:50:00]** mob influence was here and basically `Clean up your state or we'll clean it up for you.` So that was the situation. Then in the middle of the night, 1967, the guardian angel appeared to save Nevada, and that was Howard Hughes. He came and bought the casinos and the mob people took their money and either retired or got out. And Howard Hughes, whatever anyone wants to say, he saved this state financially.

OK, so this is some Nevada history that I don't really know.

OK, let me go on. Howard Hughes had something in his mind, his instincts, very antinuclear, and he made quite a point that nuclear testing which we were doing at the time was terrible and should be stopped and we should not have anything nuclear. Now I'm not a nuclear scientist but basically I'll explain this to you. When you build nuclear bombs, five years later you don't know whether they're going to work or not because there's certain top secret chemicals that they put into them, so you have to take them and you have to test them to make sure they're working, and we're still in the Cold War with Russia. So he was very, very much against this. So as a state senator we spent a lot of time at the test site looking at the cattle which they were living there and everything else to see about the safety. So Howard Hughes was absolutely against anyone who was for testing and nuclear bombs. Obviously he did not have an effect and he left the state as he arrived, in the middle of the night sometime. But his influence was very prevalent and remained so. So that was the first person to my knowledge in Nevada who went antinuclear completely.

Interesting.

You have not heard this part before.

No, but that doesn't mean anything because some of these Nevada stories I'm just new to because I haven't been here very long.

Well you're just a kid.

Yes, but I haven't been here very long. So let me understand a couple things about Howard Hughes. First of all, did you meet the man?

No one met him. No one that I know met him. No, I did not meet him.

You meet his representatives, I guess.

That is correct. That is correct. If he had a question he would call his representative or another man [on] his personal staff who would contact the representative who would contact the senator, and Tom Bell was my contact and passed away recently.

Yes, I've heard that name. So to summarize what I'm understanding you to be saying, Hughes comes and buys a lot of casinos and that helps clean up the state from the mobsters.

That is correct.

And he brings with him this antinuclear point of view that you're saying was the first time it had been put out sort of in a big way, I guess, an antinuclear—

By a person of such prominence. There were other people but Howard Hughes was very prominent and he was a billionaire, the only billionaire at the time. Now there's five hundred billionaires because of inflation, but at that time he was the only billionaire so when he spoke everyone listened.

And his concern was mainly safety in the state, you're saying. He raised safety issues or—?

You know, I can't answer that. I don't know what his motive was, other than he was just **[00:55:00]** antinuclear and wanted the tests stopped, which they did not do it.

Right. So I think the more pertinent questions will have to do with, as a state senator what kinds of concerns you'd have, so obviously safety would be one of them, around the test site, I would imagine, if you're going out there and seeing about—

That is correct.

Yes. So how did that sort of work? You'd visit the test site and they would show you around and—

Yes, yes, constantly. The government would take us out because they wanted us to get as much information and they felt it was safe, what they were doing, and they wanted us as elected representatives to pass that on to the people.

Now we're no longer doing atmospheric tests obviously but did they invite you out for any events or things like that when you were—?

No, they were all underground. No, no events. However, as a United States senator I witnessed one event.

Yes. And what was that?

Just an underground nuclear test. But I was in the room, went through the whole drill.

Yes. Did you stay long enough to see, after the underground test goes off, where the earth forms into a crater?

No.

I asked that question because I was talking to one of the test site people about it and he said it can take a long time for that to happen and I had not known that. It can sometimes I guess take quite a period of time between the time the device is exploded and the earth actually caves in, so—

No, I don't know.

We're off the subject here a little bit. I just was curious if you'd seen that. So let's go back historically. So you run for state senator. What was that like? Are you still running your business at the time?

Yes, yes, because it was not a full-time job or a part-time job. You only met every other year and by statute, I think at that time, it was sixty days but it went over, seventy, seventy-five, eighty, ninety. Now it's a hundred and twenty. It's changed completely, but in those days yes, you ran your business.

So let's talk a little bit, just because it's so interesting to people historically, about what Las Vegas was like in the mid-1960s, in your shop and the kinds of things that were sort of going on.

OK. In the 1960s when I was elected, 1966, I would estimate, and it's just an estimate, we had a hundred and fifty, two hundred thousand people here. Everyone knew one another. It was only Fremont Street to shop on. And it was a fun town. No one locked their doors. We did not have crime as we have it today because, say what you want, the mob did control crime. There just wasn't any crime. When bad people would come to town, the sheriff would find out about it, meet them, and say, You can get on a plane and get out of town or you can go in a hearse. So we did not have crime. As I say, everyone knew one another and it was in many ways a much more fun city. I was born in a little town, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, which at the time I left was about twenty thousand people, so I enjoy a small town.

So a small city sort of worked for you.

Oh yes, yes.

And when you say women's clothes, what would we compare it to today? Would you have all sorts of styles?

Mostly sportswear. I had sportswear and my father had more cocktail clothes.

Yes, which in the 1950s and 1960s was a big deal.

Big deal. People used to dress up. As a matter of fact, I took my wife out for Mother's Day and I said, I'm going to wear a tie. You just never wear a tie anymore. In those days everyone wore a tie and a coat, and the women all wore cocktail dresses.

[01:00:00] *Right. Now were your shops near each other on Fremont Street?*

Yes, next to one another. My father owned the property and so he was in one store and I was in another store.

What's there now?

Parking garage.

Wow. So these were good businesses and you'd have, what, you'd have tourists and—

And locals. My business was about half tourist and half local.

And you buy from, what, national designers or local designers or—?

California and New York.

Yes. OK. Were you going to say something?

No. As far as nuclear, the city at that time was very pronuclear because of the economic impact. It was a big employer. In fact, we used to have military appreciation days for the businesses because Nellis was such a big part of the workforce, and we would have military appreciation day, banquets for them, dances, and we really catered to them. And the federal government was the biggest creator of jobs.

Yes, I guess between Nellis and then you've got the test site with all those big contractors and the labs—

And Hoover Dam. All government. Yes, we were a government city.

Right. Those of us who aren't Nevadans have made the observation that Nevadans sometimes represent themselves as so independent and then it's a paradox because so much of Nevada has been employed by the U.S. government, and then there's also this notice that we're sort of these independent westerners that no one can tell us what to do.

Where are you from, Mary?

Well, I'm originally from New York but I've been in California for years. Which is also another big state, federally funded state, don't get me wrong.

You don't have a New York accent.

Well, it's a curious thing. I was raised on Long Island and I don't have a Long Island accent. My parents were from Chicago, so maybe that mediated it in some way. That's just my comment. Sometimes you think of Nevadans thinking of themselves as sort of the Wild West and then well, but the government was really so involved in so much of the development here. Was that ever problematic for you as a state person? Were there conflicts from what the feds wanted and what you thought was best for the state or things like that?

Oh constantly. That's the biggest part of it. The BLM [Bureau of Land Management] and the Forest Service, they're always fighting the state. As a state senator, U.S. senator, we're always—the BLM and the ranchers in this state, oh constant, from water.

OK. So who has water rights, things like this?

And the BLM wants to take over so much land, the ranchers said, `We need this for grazing.` See, and southern Nevada is a city. Northern Nevada is still rural. Besides Reno, it's all rural. And so you have to take care of your ranchers, give them land for the cattle to feed on, give them water.

And the BLM wants the land for what?

Different things. A constant fight. Constant fight.

OK. That's all I need to know then, I guess. So you're a state senator for how many years?

Eight years.

From 1966 to—

Nineteen seventy-four.

Nineteen seventy-four. And so you go immediately to run for U.S. senator, is that right?

No. When President Ford pardoned President Nixon, that was the 1974 election was right after that and Republicans all around America were defeated. That was a terrible—the country went **[01:05:00]** Democratic and out of sixty-eight thousand votes I lost by a hundred and sixty votes. So I was defeated.

You lost to who?

Ty Hilbrick [sp] The name probably doesn't—

It's all right. Just for the record.

But as everything in life that turned around, it was the best thing that happened to me because I had two teenaged daughters and a father was in the house and a father could say, `You will be home at a certain time,` where the mother might not. And I expanded my business. So it was just terrific.

During this time I had maintained a very strong friendship with then-Governor Paul Laxalt, then United States senator. Nineteen seventy-six, Reagan ran. Didn't get off the ground. He did get off the ground but he did not win the nomination, but I was the chairman for Reagan for southern Nevada, co-chairman for the state. We had one up north and one down south. And I worked with Senator Laxalt at the time. Nineteen eighty, I did the same thing for President Reagan. I thought his philosophy, his ideas, were right and so I ran his campaign down in

southern Nevada. Nineteen eighty-two, Senator Howard Cannon, who was a twenty-four-year incumbent, I thought could be beaten and I ran against him and won. And Senator Laxalt and I served together in the U.S. Senate.

I was on the Senate Energy [and Natural Resources] Committee, which had jurisdiction over all atomic matters, nuclear matters. I wanted to learn as much as I could and I studied night and day on it because that was one of the big issues. The mood had turned from the years as a state senator to a U.S. senator, from pronuclear to antinuclear.

In the state you see this change.

In southern Nevada. I became very friendly with Dr. Edward Teller, the father of the H-bomb. And I visited him often at Stanford University where he lived, and he came to Washington often, and I had free access to him and he was my advisor during the whole time.

Now we come to the part of the nuclear which is very, very important.

OK, well then I'm going to stop you for a second because I want to change this CD because I don't want to run out in the middle of this.

OK.

[01:08:49] End Track 2, Disk 1.

[00:00:00] Begin Track 2, Disk 2.

As I just mentioned I was very fortunate to have as my top advisor, Dr. Teller. You're only as good as the information you have and no one can be smart in everything. You have to have people who know the facts and Dr. Teller had all the credentials. It was Dr. Teller who drove the car for Einstein to write the famous letter to President Roosevelt saying about the future of the atomic bomb and the reality. Anyway I asked Dr. Teller this question: `You got us into this. How are you going to get us out?` With all the nuclear deal and all the antinuclear when I

was a U.S. senator. Now get this, I'm talking to one of the most brilliant men [who] ever lived, most brilliant man of our life, equal maybe to Einstein. I said, You got us into this. How are you going to get us out? He said, There is no problem. It's a political problem. You reprocess it and you recycle it. And that is the way our nuclear program was started: to have a complete fuel cycle and reprocess it and recycle it. And this never left my mind. And Bennett Johnston, the chairman of the committee, we worked together, but the nuclear waste problem is strictly a political problem. Now this is just not a figment of my imagination. France has been doing it for years and years and years. And the Energy Committee took trips to France and went through all their reprocessing and recycling. France said after the Second World War, We have no coal, we have no gasoline, we have no fuel. We have to go nuclear, and they were about eighty percent nuclear. Each nuclear power plant is exactly the same thing. They have a university where they train people; they can go anywhere. America's different. Each power plant is different. But I visited all the facilities. We went to Russia and visited facilities. Went to Sweden, China, all around the world visiting these nuclear facilities, and only in America is there a problem, which is political.

The problem is political in what sense? I'm not quite sure I'm following you.

They won't go back to reprocessing and recycling and complete the nuclear fuel cycle. That's the way we started the nuclear, to have a fuel cycle that completely burns itself out. Now in France at the time, when I was a U.S. senator, when we went there, there is a little residue left after reprocessing and recycling, but I like to refer to it, it's not hot. And France has it buried in an area like a basketball court, down about ten or fifteen feet, and you can walk over it and it has absolutely no risk. And that's the way we were set up and President Carter changed our nuclear

direction. So since nuclear was paramount in importance to Nevada, I spent a large part of my time on nuclear matters, traveling all around the world. Dr. Teller and I went to Europe together.

Did you?

Yes. We have this nuclear problem politically and this huge amount of money that's being built **[00:05:00]** to house nuclear. It's not necessary.

For the nuclear waste, you mean.

Yes. Dr. Teller told me several times and please make a very important point of this. He said, `If your state is forced to take the nuclear waste, make sure you have ownership of the nuclear waste.` He said, `It's going to be very, very valuable. Don't let them take it into your state and store it. You must have ownership of it.`

Well, this raises a couple of questions. What was the value? How did you understand what he meant by that?

Nuclear waste had value. He said it's going to be worth a lot of money.

As a fuel, I wonder, or—?

To reprocess it and recycle it.

But that's not what's happening now. The federal government is going to keep ownership of Yucca Mountain, as far as I understand, is that right or—?

I don't know. Since I've been out of politics I don't know what the answer is. Now let me just bring out a huge paradox. I'm a United States senator. I know from a top secret—I'm on the Intelligence Committee—that you cannot build a bomb and ten years later take it out and it's going to work one hundred percent. You have to have nuclear testing. So what did we have, a thousand nuclear tests roughly in the state? I don't know. I've never seen the figure but I'm just throwing out a figure.

Yes, in the state it's probably between nine hundred and a thousand. There's nine hundred-something.

So say a thousand. How can we rationalize we can have nuclear testing and be antinuclear? I mean if it's no good, it's no good. So I tried to walk that line. We had to have nuclear testing for the security of America. We were at the Cold War with Russia. Khrushchev said, `We're going to bury you.` So Russia is nuclear. They're full of nuclear bombs; I don't know how many or what it was. No one ever knows. Thirty-five thousand it was estimated at, I read one time. And how could I be antinuclear when we needed nuclear to save America.

Right. It's very complex and I think you had to be dealing with this complexity, but you've got testing which goes on in Nevada, and I think when you're thinking about testing you're thinking about security in the arms race and mutually assured destruction and deterrence and these kinds of thing. But as a senator are you also thinking about, when you go out to the test site, do you think in terms of what the weapon itself is actually capable of doing, or do you purely think in terms of deterrence? Do you understand what I'm saying? If you're looking at a nuclear weapon it does horrible harm, as we know, much worse than Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with more modern technology. So the political problem with that is that people are opposed to that kind of horrible weapon. Do you think in those terms or do you think more in terms of the Cold War and deterrence? How do you reason through those things, I wonder?

As I told you at the beginning of the interview, my life as an intelligence agent, I could not envision and no one could envision what the Third World War would've been like if it would've been nuclear. It could've destroyed everyone on this earth. Fifty nuclear bombs go off? I don't know. Your mind can't comprehend that. I thought until the date the Soviet Union collapsed, the world would have a war, and it's unbelievable to me that some second lieutenant or sergeant on

either side would not have made a mistake and bomb would've gone off. So thank **[00:10:00]** God, and the Almighty was watching out for us, we did not have it. But we could not allow Russia to have nuclear bombs and America could not have them. We had to have it for the security of America. So everyone was in favor of testing but the aftermath, the storage—I've never known why President Carter changed the direction of America and stopped the reprocessing and recycling process. When I was a senator many things were offered to the state if they would have a nuclear repository, but there was such an antinuclear feeling at the time and, not to be political, but many Democratic people, individuals, ran on that. They based campaigns on that.

Well, you're a politician; you get to be political. But this change and sort of the feeling within the state, was it a gradual thing, the antinuclear voices started to come out, or was there a particular time you could see it really changed? I know that protests started to get pretty big in the early 1980s out at the test site.

I would get back and say the first real organizing was from Howard Hughes. In my mind, [a] person of that type of a stature, the protests were there but those protests seemed for everything. There's always protest, pro or against it, but a real organized one or again someone with the stature of Howard Hughes, that was the beginning in my mind, and it just seemed to grow more and more and more. And most scientists were against nuclear testing. Dr. Teller was one of the very, very few scientists [who] says, `This is a nuclear age and we're in the nuclear world.` And that's the gist to it. Nuclear medicine is prevalent all over. You have cancer, you have radiation. One of the things that was brought up to me as a U.S. senator, at that time the federal government wanted to build a university to have nuclear. They wanted to put it out here in Nevada, which would have more Nobel Prize scientists, to determine the uses of nuclear,

nuclear medicine, and they said Nevada has the world's largest laboratory, the Nevada Test Site, which is the perfect place, that there's parts of the test site you can't walk on for twenty-five thousand years. That was always a problem with the protesters. The guards had to keep them away from certain areas. But nothing happened and the state became very, very antinuclear.

I was fascinated that you got to know Edward Teller so well. He's at Livermore and he's working on tests that are happening at the test site, but do you remember when you first met him? And then I was curious also about you having taken a trip with him to Europe. That must have been interesting.

When I met him—my recollection is he testified before the Senate Energy Committee, and **[00:15:00]** I went up and talked to him afterwards. And like a lot of people in this Earth who are brilliant, they appreciate when you ask their advice. I was a member of the Energy Committee and he appreciated that I would always go to him.

Another case in point, I thought President Nixon was one of the best authorities on China and Russia. So when I would travel to China or Russia, I would call President Nixon up in New York and say, Mr. President, I'm going to China or I'm going to Russia. I'm going to do this, this, and this. He said, You get on a plane tomorrow, come up to New York, and we'll talk about it. And I went and did that many, many times, sought his advice, and he was just brilliant. Whether you like him or not, he was brilliant on China and Russia. He saw the possibilities.

One time I called him up and I said, Mr. President, Ho Chi Li [sp] invited me to come to China.

He said, Ho Chi Li?

I said, Yes.

He said, Well, he's going to be the next successor in power. Come to New York tomorrow and I'm going to brief you on it.

He briefed me on it, and he knew him, and it made a wonderful trip for me because I was able to do things for the Intelligence Committee. So when you pick a person's brain, they appreciate it. And I asked President Nixon, I said, Does anyone else ever ask you? He said, No. Interesting.

And Dr. Teller. When I campaigned for reelection, Dr. Teller came to Las Vegas and campaigned for me.

Really? I'm going to have to look in the newspaper. That's interesting.

And it turned out to be a very humiliating experience for me because the news people treated him so badly.

Did they?

Just terrible, like he was some dumb kid off the street. Here you have the most brilliant scientist in the world in Las Vegas talking to a press deal and they treated him horribly because he was so pronuclear. And I said, Please don't hold that against me. He understood it, Dr. Teller.

Wow. That's a real reason for me to look at the news coverage. And then when you say "like a child," they were just critical of him or—?

Every which way, like a young student in nuclear engineering, a freshman. Each one of the news people thought they were smarter than Dr. Teller.

Interesting. Interesting.

Very interesting. So you see, the news on nuclear has been slanted.

And what was the occasion for your trip to Europe with Teller?

It was on nuclear. It had to do with nuclear. And we flew in to Munich, stayed the one day, and came back. All the European nations had. Most of the time the nuclear was in Vienna, if I'm not

mistaken. I never went to Vienna on nuclear, but I think that's where it was. But this time a European conference on nuclear was in Munich.

Now this is the 1980s so there's also Teller's working on the Strategic Defense Initiative as well.

That is correct.

Right, so is that something that you're having to look at as a senator or you're talking to him about?

Yes. Yes, he said definitely it can work. Definitely.

So you guys talked about that.

Yes. Yes. However, since nuclear was so important to my state, my constituency, I tried to—I **[00:20:00]** mean I was nuclear. And the SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative], I didn't have the background. When you talk to someone like Dr. Teller, you want to know what you're talking about, and that was more military and I did not know enough. But I could ask him innocent questions on nuclear, since that was my state, which I did.

Right. Interesting. Now you were elected in what year?

Nineteen eighty-two. I was sworn in in 1983.

OK. The other thing that happened at the test site that I was just wondering if you had anything to do with because it had to do with the Russians was the Joint Verification Experiment where the Russians observed a test here and the Americans observed a test there. But I think that was after you left the Senate.

Yes, that was after me. We had nothing like that. We were still in the height of the Cold War.

Right. Well, I think some of the test site people here are saying how strange that was even for them, to be doing that, because of the Cold War atmosphere.

Yes, that was after my time.

Yes, yes, OK. I just wanted to know.

I left. Nineteen eighty-eight was my last year. And I lost my bid for reelection.

Right. So you ran for reelection, and who—?

Dick Bryan. And nuclear was a big deal, a big, big deal, but I was for nuclear testing because of the security of America, and that's the number one job of a United States senator, security of America. And I'll correct myself when I said I lost the election. I really didn't because after I lost I got appointed ambassador to the Bahamas.

Really?

In 1989.

Wow!

That's my card. [referring to business card]

Well, now we understand your card.

And my wife and I had the most delightful time, three-and-a-half years in the Bahamas as a U.S. ambassador.

OK, so Reagan appoints you? Oh no, it is Bush appoints you.

No, Bush senior.

Yes. Wow.

And that was all the newspaper talk about that time, Hecht won the election because I got appointed ambassador and it's very difficult to become an ambassador. And so I am very fortunate. I've had both U.S. Senate and U.S. ambassador.

That's amazing. And that must be, besides the Bahamas itself being beautiful, I mean you must have had a beautiful residence and all sorts of interesting things there.

Had it all. Had it all.

Wow. And your daughters, you have two daughters, you said?

Yes.

So they're grown and they could visit you there and things?

Yes, they did. One was married at the time, one wasn't.

Before we get there though, so you're telling me that the election itself, the nuclear testing issue was a big part of the election itself.

Probably the biggest.

OK. OK. And you're supporting testing and your opponent is saying testing should stop or—?

I don't want to put words in his mouth.

I'll read the papers. I'll read the papers. But from your point of view, that was the big issue.

Big issue. I would say that was, and I constantly said, `Reprocess and recycle,` as Dr. Teller said always. There's no problem. But remember my question to him. I'll never forget that. Here I am, a person uneducated in anything nuclear, asking him this question, `You got us into this. How are you going to get us out?`

Right. And I wanted to ask you about that question. When you said, "You got us in," are you talking about way back, the scientists inventing the A-bomb?

Yes, yes. Yes, he was one of the first. He was with the group that I said he drove the car for Einstein.

Right. So you're going all the way back.

Yes. I said, `You got us into this nuclear age. How are you going to get us out?`

Sure, that was way back.

Right. And you weren't just saying, `You got Nevada into this`. You were saying, `You got the world into this.`

[00:25:00] No, the world into this.

Well, that's an interesting question because you're saying in that question that we've got a problem here.

That's probably one of the most important questions ever asked. `You got us into this. How are you going to get us out?` In those exact words, simplistic in every way.

But in that question to me there's two things. There's the waste problem, OK, and he's saying, `Go through that entire cycle.`

Have the fuel cycle. You've got to complete the fuel cycle.

Right. But the other part to me implicit in that question is how do we get out of that there's so many dangerous weapons around? Is that part of your question too?

No, that was not part of my question. No, I didn't—

Your question was really, `How do we get rid of the waste?`

That is correct. That is correct.

I think right now at UNLV they're doing different things on—I don't want to say "transforming," but for lack of a better word—transforming nuclear waste in ways that it's less dangerous. So it's something that people are really thinking about [transmutation].

You don't have to study it. Just do like the French are doing, the way we were supposed to do it. I mean you don't have to be a nuclear scientist. Do something that works.

Just duplicate what's already been done.

It's already been done.

Right. I just want to check in on our time. It's about ten after eleven. Are there any other things regarding the test site that you were involved in, either as a state or a federal U.S. senator that you think would be relevant? You told me a lot. I just want to make sure if there's anything else.

I don't think people in Nevada are appreciative of the role the test site played in the security of America. As a combative rather than an appreciation attitude. When Russia had a nuclear missile

that went down, I think it was in Newfoundland, what did they do? They came to Nevada, got a group to go and pick up the nuclear particles, and Troy Wade was the head of that group. That's just one instance but I'm sure there's many more that we don't know anything about because it was always very secretive. Anything like that would be secretive. But Troy Wade and countless others have done a great service to our country. And as I say, people of Nevada are not appreciative. We would've had World War III had we not had a nuclear bomb and the means and the wherewithal to put it anywhere we wanted. So you've got two issues: peacetime use of nuclear and wartime use of nuclear, and you can bring them together. I think—no, I'm going to pose the question to you: How long will we still have oil to drill for? Will it be twenty-five years? Will it be fifty years? You know you run out. Then what are you going to do? We'll go back to nuclear.

So now you're talking about nuclear power, right?

Nuclear power. You're going to run out. I mean oil is something that you do run out of. It doesn't go on forever. Nuclear does. So we will have nuclear power in the future. The **[00:30:00]** genie is out of the bottle. You can't put it back.

Right. There's a letter where Teller writes about that. I'm sure you know. He writes that exact phrase.

Maybe that's where I got it from.

Maybe. Maybe. Or maybe he said it to you.

Let me just mention one other thing about Dr. Teller. Here he is, the acknowledged genius on nuclear, and yet he's a very humble person. Very, very humble. Well, you see certain people, they think they know something, they got an ego and they can't walk through the door, their

head is so big. He's just the opposite. A very, very humble person. And when I'd ask him questions, he would thank me for asking him. Always had time for me.

Amazing. I just have one question related to what you said about the people of Nevada not being appreciative basically of the contributions of the test site, sounds like what you mean. Do you think that's—?

That is exactly what I mean.

Do you think that's related to what you said next, which is that wartime/peacetime, that once peacetime came, in a sense there wasn't really appreciation of the concerns of the Cold War?

Absolutely.

Do you have any thoughts about it?

No, I think you said it better than I could say, that young people don't realize that we were nearly at war with Russia for over fifty years. And when the soldier comes home from the battlefield, it's forgotten the next day.

Well, I think this might be a good stopping point, unless there's something you want to add.

It's not too late to rethink our nuclear waste policy. To reprocess and recycle it would save all the worries of transportation because what we'd be transporting would be the residue which I say, for lack of a better expression, is no longer nuclear hot. I think the way it was started out, there was two spots, one on the east coast, one on the west coast. You need a lot of water for that. And that would stop transportation. At this stage of my life, you can be very philosophic, but the nuclear program is a prime example of a program run by people who are not knowledgeable and thought they were knowledgeable. People like Dr. Teller were not listened to, and most of the nuclear scientists became antinuclear. At that time, it was too late. We had **[00:35:00]** passed over. And on a personal deal, my brother was in the Second World War, was

on a troop ship to Japan for the invasion of Japan. And of course it never came because we dropped the atomic bomb. So how many lives were saved on that? No way of knowing. But he was on the ship and they turned it around.

That sort of thing brings things full circle in an interesting way. So I think we can stop for now. We can always clarify things later if that's necessary.

Sure.

[00:36:02] End Track 2, Disk 2.

[End of interview]