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This is an interview with Senator Strom Thurmond, United States Senator from the State of South Carolina. The interview was conducted on February 1, 1974 by Jack Bass and Walter DeVries. It was transcribed by Susan Hathaway.

WALTER DEVRIES:

STROM THURMOND: Since '48? Well I think one major political change, of course, has been the fact that more black people are voting, than voted prior to that, and everybody who was qualified to vote when I was Governor voted, who wanted to vote, but I think the emphasis on voting has helped a great deal. I think also a great change is the per capita income . . . has been increased greatly. The South has become more industrialized. Are you speaking from the South, or the whole nation now?

W.D.: South.

Thurmond: South. The South has become more industrialized and when I was Governor from '47 to '51 we brought in more than a half a billion, about a half of billion worth of

industry beside the Savannah River Plant, which in itself ran probably about a billion dollars, maybe more than that now, and Charlie Daniel has made the statement many times that that was the beginning of the industrial revolution in South Carolina. Mr. Daniel went with me to many places, DuPont. Singer, a whole lot of companies that we brought down there, and we got those companies to come and locate in South Carolina, and so we have gone from an agriculture economy to now an industrial economy to a large extent . . . not completely because agriculture is still important, but industry was emphasized so much from say 1947 up until this day that South Carolina has gotten tremendous industry over this entire period and tended to raise the per capita income of the people, and this incidently has brought about greater employment for all the people. It has especially brought about employment for people who did not have jobs before that paid much. So when industry came in, there was demand for human resources and manpower and so they could get jobs in these plants that paid more than other sources of income, and during this same period vocational education has been stressed a great deal and this has been a great change. I recommended to the Legislature the first year that I was Governor to establish a system of area trade schools, which envisioned just about now what they call the tech system.

Governor Byrnes followed me and for some reason didn't seem to favor too much that system of education, and so they cut them back. I believe we had about four. Our government was growing, but I believe it was cut back to two, but later under Senator Hollings, he recommended a broader system. He called them Tech Schools, at any rate, it is all vocational education and the system was expanded and today we have the finest system of vocational education, I think, in the United States. This has trained many people to get better jobs. It's trained many people to become skilled, and has improved the economy, not only helping the families but the taxes they have paid because they make more money and so forth. During this period from 1948 up until now there has been the Supreme Court decision of 1954 which provided any child of any race to go to any school, and for the last number of years the schools in the South have been integrating to a greater extent . . . desegregating, whatever you want to call it, and all of the schools that I know of, certainly in my state have desegregated and any child of any school could go to any race, or any school he wanted to. Except the Supreme Court has now reversed its decision and has practically taken the opposite of what it decided in 1954. Now they don't say any child of any race can go to any school, they take the position that you have got to have a mixture, and if there is no children of a certain race

in a certain area, then you have got to haul them in there, and so they are hauling many children. In North Carolina, in Charlotte I understand that they hauled one child, I don't know what color he is, but they hauled him a long distance just so they could say that they had desegregated, and so the schools have become desegregated. There is a unitary system in South Carolina, and I think from what I hear is in most of the other southern states. These are some of the big changes. I am sure there are many others that have taken place during this period. Tobacco is the number one money crop in South Carolina. The Tobacco farmers are . . . still have supports and they have quotas and acreage is limited. They can only have a certain number of acres, but it makes those acres very valuable. An acre that has an allotment . . . land has an allotment on Tobacco will bring several times what it would without that, and now with the larger demand over the world for tobacco that's going to make it even more important. Soy beans has come into a very prominent place now. Years ago it was way down on the list of South Carolina crops, now it is number three in our State in the amount of income. Cotton has dropped from first to second in our State, and in the South beef cattle has become a very important factor in the economy. Years ago we had dairy cattle, and milk and butter production. but practically no beef. Beef was grown out west chiefly. Now the South is growing a tremendous amount of beef, and egg

production too has increased in the South. Some people who went into it though were disillusioned and have gone It hasn't proved as profitable as some of the other out. agriculture sources of income. As a whole, I think the South has made tremendous advances in every way that I can think of and it offers unlimited opportunities in my judgement not only to people in business but to people in the professions because when your income increases, when salaries increase, per capita income goes up, that helps the Doctor, the Lawyer, it helps the Preachers, it helps every type of personnel, school teacher salaries have doubled and tripled in this period of time, and school teachers now probably receive less than any other professional for the work that they do, but still it has been greatly increased which I am very proud of. Having been a teacher myself, I have always felt that they were underpaid. You may have in mind some other particular questions on that that you would like to ask me.

J.B.: In '48, which is the period we are starting, that was the year of your Presidential campaign. Do you consider that a turning point in the South insofar as moving away from the National Democratic party?

Thurmond: Many people have expressed that opinion to me and I think it well could have been, Jack. You see the South had not gone against the Democratic party up until that time for a hundred years, and we did get them to go independent that year, and we carried four States, and we got the people to feel that if they didn't vote the national Democratic ticket the sky wouldn't fall. I remember when I ran for the Senate in '54, which was six years later. I wouldn't have dared run on the Republican ticket though, and I don't know whether I could have been elected on an independent ticket that time. However, I was on a write-in, I guess that is an independent ticket in a way.

J.B.: Senator, you are saying that you were considered though even nobody in the history of the United States had ever been elected as a write-in candidate in the United States Senate at that time, there would have been a much better chance than as running as a Republican in South Carolina?

Thurmond: To run as a write-in?

J.B.: Yes sir.

Thurmond: Might have been. Might have been because to run as a Republican . . . to run as a Republican in '54 would have been very difficult. I doubt if I could have been elected on a Republican ticket. I mean, people just voted Democratic. To be considered the Democratic nominee was to be considered elected practically, and that is the reason that people felt that when Senator Brown was selected as Democratic nominee to succeed Senator Maybank in 1954, that he would be the Senator, and . . . but so many people contacted me about running and have a 37 or 38 people select a Senator without the vote of the people, and that is what it amounted to . . . six years because the general election was considered a mere formality was just immoral they felt, and so I decided to run on a write-in, but to run on a Republican ticket at that time, I don't think that anybody could hardly have been elected on a Republican ticket at that time.

J.B.: I think that it has been reported that one of the decisive factors in your making the decision to run was Governor Byrnes's role, that he asked you to do it, and that was a factor. Was that a . . .

Thurmond: No, Governor Byrnes didn't ask me to run. Governor Byrnes asked Donald Russell to run on the thing.

J.B.: But then after he decided not to run . . .

Thurmond: He didn't decide not to run until after I had announced . . . I called Senator Russell and told him that I was going to run, and he said "well, since you are going to run, I won't consider it any farther." I called Bryan Dorn and told him that I decided to run, he had been mentioned and he said "well, if you are going to run, I won't run." I am not too sure though that either one of them would have run though because they had plenty of time before I announced. I wasn't too anxious to run myself on a write-in basis because when I look back over it now, I don't see how in the world I got elected. It was

just a long name like mine . . . there is a picture of the ballot up yonder. it shows the names of the offices, starting with Governor on down the list, and the Democratic column in which Senator Brown's name was listed along with the Governor and everybody else, then the Republican was a blank, no candidate on the Republican column, then the other is just a blank column, it's not headed write-in even. It is just a blank column in case anybody wanted to write-in. That is the reason we drew the arrow on our sample ballot in case anybody wanted to write-in. So they had to go down that list of offices and find the United States Senator, which was on this /Interruption7 . . . and that is what they thought they were doing because to be the Democratic nominee as I said was to be considered elected, and it was a hard decision for me to make, but I made up my mind after giving time to Russell, and Don and the rest of them who had been mentioned, and I made up my mind to run and I was going to run then regardless of who ran, once I made the decision, and I called them and told them.

J.B.: One of the other stories I heard was that Thomas Wearing was among those who urged you to run.

Thurmond: He probably did. Tom Waring probably did. After I announced, of course, Governor Byrnes did announce support for me and he based it mainly, I think he hinged mainly on the fact that people were denied the right to vote, although he was a friend of mine. I has supported him all of my life. He was a friend of my families, but he did then announce his support and he was about the only in South Carolina who I believe did come out and openly announce. See all the State officers were running on the Democratic ticket, and naturally they were putting across the whole Democratic column. The State newspaper and the <u>Greenville News</u> . . . in fact most of the papers in the State did support me.

J.B.: Did any of the other Editors call you before you announced office, support you and urge you to run besides Waring?

Thurmond: I don't recall that they did. I don't recall that they did. But after I announced, they did support me.

J.B.: In '64 you then switched to the Republican party after Senator Goldwater got the nomination.

Thurmond: Well now after I was elected on the writein ticket . . . because if people had been denied the write to vote for the Senator they felt, I announced during the race that I would resign and put the office back into the first primary after that election. So that next primary came in June, 1956, and so I had to announce in April. So I resigned April 4, 1956 and was out of the Senate then until November 7, I believe, of that year. Governor George

I went back into office the day after election. I had no oppostion in the Democratic primary, and I had no opposition in the general election. Then I served until 1960. I ran for re-election as a Democrat, and was in a primary with Mr. Beverly Herbert. I won that primary and had no opposition in the general election. Then in 1964, I changed parties, and I had supported President Eisenhower in 1952, and then in 1960 I voted for Mr. Nixon then, although I was a Democrat. In 1964, I supported Senator Goldwater. In 1966, I had changed parties Bradley Morrah I ran as a Republican and Barry Mare of Greenville ran against me then, and I was elected in that election, and then in '72, of course, I ran again as a Republican and Mr. Nick Ziegler ran against me then and I was reelected again at that time.

J.B.: What happened between '54 and '64? What changed happened in the State?

Thurmond: That caused me to change parties? J.B.: Yes.

Thurmond: Well, I had known that the Republican party was more conservative before I came to the Senate, but I didn't realize there was as much difference up here in the parties as I thought. After I got up here I soon found that the Republican party was more in line with my thinking and the philosophy of the people of South Carolina than the Democratic party up here at the national level, ſ

and so that is the reason that I changed parties. I felt more at home in the Republican party. I found myself voting with the Republicans, or they with me, or us togetherabout 70% of the time, and I just felt that to be honest with myself, I ought to be in the party where most of the people think and feel the same as I do, and that is the reason that I canged parties. I frankly didn't know what effect it would have, or whether or not I could get elected or not, but I was willing to take the chance because I was confident that the Republicans up here . . . a great majority of them felt and voted like the people of South Carolina felt and would vote if they were up here.

J.B.: Do you think you would have made the move had there been another Republican candidate other than Senator Goldwater?

Thurmond: It depends on who it would have been. I probably would have changed parties, if not that year, probably sometime after that. In other words, if some other conservative man had run, I would have changed. I mean I was about ready to change parties anyway when 1964 came because I had been here long enough to see how it was going. But this just made it easier for me to change at that time since Senator Goldwater was running, and he was well known in the South, and he and I thought very much alike on so many matters. He believed in the strong national defense, he believed that the national government was getting too powerful, and asserting the rights of the states, and we thought together on a lot of things. So it made it easier to change at that time and support him. I could have supported him and would have supported him as a Democrat, but if I had then, I would have lost my standing with the Democratic party here and probably couldn't be as effective through the Democratic machinery as I could be by moving over to the Republican machinery. The only objection to changing parties was whether I could get re-elected, and on that, I took a chance.

W.D.: Excuse me, I have to catch a plane, I certainly am sorry that I have to miss the rest of the interview.

Thurmond: Well I am glad to see you. It's a pleasure to meet you too.

J.B.: Senator, President Mixon was pretty much supported insofar as the '68 Presidential election basic your campaigning

throughout the South. You have been largely credited and deserve credit for his carrying most of the States in the South that he carried. What . . . and it has been recorded that it was your meeting with him in Atlanta that convinced you to support Mr. Nixon at that time, what was it at that meeting that convinced you . . . what did you ask and what sort of . . . not so much promises in terms of any political .

commitments, but in terms of commitments on basic issues did you get at that time? What did he do at that time that impressed you?

Thurmond: Well, he met with the southern delegates who were in Atlanta at that time. They propounded questions and I propounded quested and then he asked me to ride with him to another hotel where he was going, and I agreed to do it, and we talked there too. Let's see now, no, I had talked to him prior to the meeting with the southern delegates too, so it was really three times, before the southern delegates met, I talked with him. I talked with him with the southern delegates, mostly we listened to what they had to say because I had already talked with him chiefly, and then I rode with him to this other hotel. During those three times, he made the statement . . . made statements that appealed to me on a number of very important topics. One was that he believed in a strong national defense. Ι was a member of the Armed Services Committee up here, but whether or not I was a member of the Armed Services Committee I'd take the same view and it is my feeling that if we are going to preserve this nation as a free nation, we've got to remain strong militarily, and I told him that I favored a military superiority, that we could not afford to be second, and I asked him how he felt about that, would he stand for strong national defense second to none. He said he would. I asked him how he felt about appointing judges to

the Supreme Court, would he appoint judges who were . . . who believed in the Constitution, would follow the Constitution, in other words, were strict constructionists of the Constitution. He said he would, and he went on that point to elaborate that he felt that his greatest achievement, if he became President would be to . . . would be the appointments he made to the Supreme Court because his term would only be eight years if he were re-elected, but judges would be on there for twenty or thirty years maybe, and he felt that would be the most important decisions he could make to get the right people on the Supreme Court. Then we discussed about the federal government going into so many fields of activity and dominating the states . . . too much power going to Washington, and how did he feel about reversing the floor of power, and on that he expressed himself as strongly favoring that, he felt the same as I did about it, and subsequently, as you know, he advocated revenue sharing and sending money back to the states, and he has taken other positions that would give the states more power. He tried to decentralize some, not as much as I would like to see, but he has proceeded along those lines considerably, but he expressed himself on that occasion as strongly favoring giving the states more power and reversing that flow of power so to speak. He also told me . . . I told him that I thought it was foolish not to let children go to the nearest school,

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neighborhood schools. I said "why not let them go to the neighborhood school, if they are not satisfied there, go to any school they want to, without any discrimination," and he said that he would favor a "freedom of choice in schools without discrimination." He said "I do not favor discrimination in any way, shape or form, but I do favor a freedom of choice." He advocated that in the campaign. In Charlotte he went on the TV and he so stated, and he so stated here in Washington and some other places during the campaign and after the campaign too. He hasn't been as strong on that, I think after he got to be President maybe as he should have been, although he hasn't changed his position so far as I know, but I was hoping that he would come out strongly and advocate to Congress to take action to provide a freedom of choice, and that with no idea in view of discrimination at all . . . there was no idea in view that any race is inferior, it's just so that the schools are desegregated, and so it wouldn't effect the desegregation; up until 1954 when I was Governor, for instance, our State had laws providing separate schools for different races. As Governor it was my duty to uphold that law until it was changed or striken down. It was not striken down while I was Governor, not until 1954 and I went out in 1951, and I think other Governors in the South had similar laws and they had the responsibility to uphold it too. After the decision was

handed down, I never advocated defying a law, I never advocated taking any steps that would bring our State in disrepute in any way, shape or form. At any rate, those were some of the things that we discussed, and may have discussed a few more, but the ones that I mentioned, I believe were the chief ones that we discussed in Atlanta, and I was satisfied from his answers that he gave me that he was sincere in what he said and I was satisfied that if he carried out that type of program, to which I felt the country needed so badly, that he would make a good President, and I didn't commit myself to him at that ime though. I came back and gave it somemore consideration and several weeks later I did endorse him, and I was with him from then on.

J.B.: Then in the 1970 gubernatorial race, you actively campaigned for Congressman Watson?

Thurmond: 1970, that's right. Well some people had the idea that I got Watson to run and he was my man and that I was running his race and that is all untrue. I never advised anybody to run for an office. That is a decision that they have to make. I told them what I would do if I were in their shoes if they wanted to be Governor or wanted to be Senator or something else maybe, and I told them the advantages and I pointed out disadvantages. I told them that if I felt the State needed them or if they could run a good service, but Watson, that is a decision that he made himself and he had to make it after talking to a lot of people. I know a group of people that met with him here in Washington one time, and he met with other people on other occasions, and before he decided what to do because he had a sure seat in Congress and it was a big decision he had to make, but he . . . Watson did announce, and he ran, and I made some speeches for him. He didn't particularly ask me to speak anywhere, but I don't know who arranged these places where I was . . . I was invited to some places where I just went and spoke, and I spoke in there. Then they had some campaign rallies. They had one big one up in Spartanburg. I spoke in Camden once, I don't know whether Watson even knew I was going to be there. I spoke I reckon four or five times, I doubt if I spoke over a half a dozen times for him, but I did speak for him. I felt that he was an abler man, and I felt he was a progressive man, but yet he was sound in his views with regard to industry. and sound in his views in regard to schools, and sound in his education and progress and I considered him of a conservative philosophy of the school of thought to which I belonged.

J.B.: And he lost that campaign in that election. John West got almost all of the black vote didn't go for the black candidate in that race.

Thurmond: I expect he did. I imagine he did. J.B.: And subsequently, is when you appointed Tom Lawton to your staff, which sort of, I think, set a precedent for the South Carolina Congressional delegation in so doing, and many observers back in South Carolina were saying that you were recognizing the importance of the black vote and also reading the returns of the 1970 election, and in giving greater recognition to increase the black vote with your own re-election campaign coming up, how did you feel, you know, coming into the '72 campaign insofar as black voters were concerned? This caused somewhat of a new phenomenom in South Carolina.

Thurmond: Well now, my race in '70 when Watson ran, my race was four years old at that time, and I didn't give too much thought about my race at that time.

J.B.:

Thurmond: That's right, you're right, it was two years old, that's right. Well I figured the people of South Carolina knew me and what I stood for and regardless of who I supported in some other race, that they would make their own judgement on me, and I think that is what most of them will do in races. I don't think they blame a man, sometimes I think they admire a man more probably if he expresses himself. Although, a lot of times it isn't necessary to do it and I think the candidate himself has to determine himself whether it is wise under the circumstances to do it. Well, in 1954 the decision that provided thatany child could go to any school, and that began to open

up the schools to all races, that began to acknowledge, you might say, the black race more than they had been before, and one step after another came along and was taken, and the black people were given more responsible positions which was nothing but right, and I have never objected to a black person having the best opportunities possible or doing everything he could to promote himself because it is not a man's color that counts, it's what is in his heart that counts. It is not a man's race, it is his manners, and as time went on, I had a staff. . . I had no black people on my staff I guess until about 1971, and I think the time had come, sometimes you do things too quickly and take a step that will cause a setback, but I felt that the time had arrived that it would be proper to appoint black people to the staff and I a pointed Tom Moss as the first black person and we have appointed a number of them since then. We have a black girl back here now, Marge Blake, who is a very competent girl. She is a filing clerk. She is about the best we've had, as good as we have had. There is another girl who works here, she is studying law up here now, we have her on part time now. She works afternoons and weekends. and works in the office part time. She worked here full time until she got married. She married a Doctor here and he is an intern and they needed some additional income to make it while he interns and while she studies law and so we are giving her part time employment, and we have had

black interns here. We've got one coming here I believe this summer, won his name from me by the way, and we'll probably have several. We don't turn any of them down on account of race, we haven't had too many black ones to apply to intern but we have taken all who have applied, and I have appointed black people to canvas. I appointed one from Anderson a year or two ago. He was President of his class, a leader in the student body and everything, but he didn't . . . but he didn't make the entrance examination, anyway he wasn't admitted, but I felt that he was outstanding, and probably if he had gotten an A he would have made it. Anyway, they didn't admit him, but I appointed him. Ι wanted him to have that opportunity, and I take pleasure in trying to help people who are needy and worthy and the foundation that I have established we have helped any number of black students. At Strom Thurmond High School I established with my own personal money, about \$13,000 in scholarships there, and most of those have been black students because the school is about 70% black, and so we have tried to do all we could to try to help them. I have always helped . . . I helped to educate a black dentist several years ago before 1954 came in. I mean, it was years ago, and back when I was a State Senator, I loaned money and gave money to black students to go to college on, and I have loaned and given money to blacks to help them all my life. I know them and have gotten along with them. I have defended them in court

when they were charged, when they were not able to pay, when I was practicing law, and so my relations with the black people have always been good, but when I ran for President on the States Rights ticket, I think a great many of those leaders misread their people in telling them that States Rights was against their best interest, and I didn't get the support that I should have gotten from the black people, and it has taken some time to override that. I don't know that we have overcome that entirely yet, but we have tried to do what was right and help them every way that we could.

J.B.: Do you have a few more minutes?

Thurmond: Go ahead Jack. Who is that out there?

J.B.: Senator, you did mention that there was one thing that you had meant to add in that conversation you had that time with Mr. Nixon on textiles.

Thurmond: Oh yes, that was another point we discussed which I overlooked telling you a few moments ago. I told him that textiles was the number one industry in South Carolina and a number of other states as in North Carolina and Georgia, and was the largest industry in the United States employing people, I believe. It employs about two million people, and it was of great importance to the economy of the whole nation that on account of the excessive imports coming into the United

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States that large numbers of mills had been closed in many states. Quite a number in South Carolina included, and that I wanted to know how he felt about protecting American industry here, especially the textiles, and he expressed himself that he felt that steps should be taken to protect the American workers and that he would take steps to do that, and then after the nomination was over with, he sent me a wire . . . between the nomination and the election confirming that statement, and that he would take steps to do that, and the recent agreements that they have got now signed by, I believe fifty nations was it with the United States was really a fulfillment of the commitment he made on the textiles between his nomination and his election.

J.B.: When you hired Tom Moss, how did you define the job? What did you want him to do?

Thurmond: Well, he works out of the Columbia office just the same as other people who work there. He has a desk there, but he travels a great deal among people of his own race. Now he is instructed to help anybody, white or black who needed help and passed on to us information where they needed help regardless of who they were, but for him to give special emphasis to his own people because I felt that he would have an entre with his own people. They would confide more in him when they needed help, whether it was Social Security, transferring a soldier, or on a Passport or whatever it was, that they'd probably place more confidence in him than they would someone else, and so he has worked chiefly with the black people, but not altogether. In the Columbia office whenever he is there he helps anybody who comes in that wants help. I feel he would do the same for anybody, but he makes special visits to the black people and he visits those he feels need his services. Occasionally I think he visits some schools and colleges, and he tries to remain in touch with the leaders of his race to find out what they need, and what help he can render. In the matter of employment, we've helped any number of black people get jobs. We've helped some of them get high jobs here in Washington, and we have recommended others for promotion, and he's been in touch with his people not only as a liason officer, but as an effective staff member.

J.B.: A lot of people in South Carolina were surprised When Victoria Lee ended up supporting you. Did your support of her Day Care Center and so forth lead to that, did that grow out of Tom Moss's work?

Thurmond: No I don't believe it did. I think she called on us for help. I believe she said that she had been to other people in political office in Washington and Columbia maybe and other places and didn't get any help. I think she said I was the last resort. She came to me and so we helped her. I guess Tom Moss knows her. Now whether or not he talked to her and suggested that she come to me. I don't know. He has never mentioned it and she never mentioned it to me, but I don't think . . . I think she came because she had no where to go.

J.B.: Did she call you or what?

Thurmond: I don't remember the nature of the contact. I think now I'll probably ask Mr. Carrison on that and I'll see if he remembers. Would you come in here a minute please. We'll see if he remembers the first contact she made. /Interruption.7

(Begin Side Two, Tape 1)

Carrison: I believe she did it on her own volition, Senator. I think the word was getting out that you could get things done and she thought why not try it.

Thurmond: Do you remember if she called us or wrote us letters? Did she make contact through the Columbia office?

Carrison: She contacted through your Executive Assistant, who was John Marion Evans at the time. She got in touch with him and they had many a conversation, I think, on this, and I talked with her.

Thurmond: She contacted my office first over the telephone.

Carrison: Remember the TV show, Dialing Strom Thurmond? Thurmond: I had forgotten the details. J.B.: Senator, I wanted to ask you a couple of nonpolitical questions if you have just a few minutes, and that is your degree and level of physical fitness and energy and virility and so forth that make you sort of a national hero among a lot of people who I think agree and disagree with you politically, and the question is, how do you do it? How do you keep so fit?

Thurmond: I don't know that I am much more fit than Camison Mr. Gassner who plays golf.

Carrison. I wouldn't race you Senator. Cassner:

J.B.: What kind of a schedule do you follow. How do you look at it yourself?

Thurmond: Well I get up between 6:00 and 6:30 somewhere in that range, then I do calisthentics for about twelve or fifteen minutes. I don't do too many push-ups now, but I do varied exercises. For instance, I do a few push-ups.

J.B.: What do you call a few?

Thurmond: Anywhere from 25 to 50; I do several dozen kick-ups with each leg, then lie on the floor and raise my feet over my head several dozen times and then I stretch as far as I can to each side . . . stretch til it hurts.

(End interview with Strom Thurmond.)