

An Oral History Interview

with

**THOMAS CHANDLER (part 2)**  
Tucson, Arizona

*conducted by*  
Julie Ferdon

July 2, 1998

The Morris K. Udall Oral History Project  
University of Arizona Library, Special Collections

© 1998

[END TAPE 1, SIDE A; BEGIN SIDE B]

TC: ...talked to him and found out what was in his soul and his heart and his mind, but I just don't have any heroes. But Morris is a special person. He really is. (knock at door, tape turned off and on)

JF: We're back on again after a short break. Did you ever try any cases with or against Stewart?

TC: Yes, but really, they weren't anything of any substance. But I've seen him in the courtroom, and we've had a lot of cases together that we disposed of. Stewart was a good trial lawyer. He was more matter-of-fact, he was more, just the least more--I don't want to say pompous--formal, he was a little more formal than Morris was. And Morris was so easy. He was not stiff at all. Stewart was a little stiff by nature.

JF: Now you were saying just a couple of minutes ago, between turning [the tape] off and turning it on again, that Mo was about the only hero you've ever had.

TC: No, no. I said I have no heroes.

JF: You have no heroes.

TC: No heroes.

JF: But he comes the closest.

TC: He comes pretty close. Maybe not the closest, but he's way up there on the list.

JF: And why is that, in particular?

TC: His integrity, his commitment to good things, things that are important: good government, to free people, people with equal opportunities, clean air, clean water. He's a statesman and has done a great deal for the country and for his fellow man. And then, as a lawyer, he was about as close to what a lawyer should be as anyone I've known. He was a very good lawyer, not just in the courtroom--out of the courtroom. He understood law and he understood the use and had a great aptitude for it. And he was just a good, dedicated human being, and I had a great deal of respect and admiration for him.

JF: Now you knew and worked with Stewart, Mo, and the younger brother David Burr [Udall], who is in your firm, for a number of decades.

TC: Yes.

JF: All are extremely successful people: lawyers, public servants. To what would you attribute their success?

TC: Well, of course, every one of them had an abundance of intellectual ability, brain power. They were all smart. They all had a lot of common sense. They all cared about other people. None of them were mean and vindictive. They were good people. A lot of it has to do with their heritage, their upbringing. They had outstanding parents. The judge, a beautiful, wonderful man. The mama, Louise, as good a woman as anyone ever

knew: bright, compassionate, sensitive. And their whole experience of growing up. They grew up in a small town, which I think has a great deal to do with a person's outlook on life when they get older. The church influence was there; I think that impacted them for the better. I think that Stewart went on a mission. That impacted him for the better. And regardless of a person's religion, the fact that they believe in something and they believe in giving, sharing, helping, that impacts what a person is like. And just their experiences in life. They were a pretty outstanding group, that family. The girls were, are--Inez is gone--but Alma is just about as bright and good a woman as I've ever known. (JF: She is.) Just tremendous. And I don't know Eloise all that well, but she's good. And the parents were the salt of the earth. I mean, those people, they couldn't do a dishonest thing even if they wanted to; if they tried they couldn't do it. It wasn't in them. And that has a lot to do with what the kids are like. That kind of an upbringing. And yet they let them do their own thing, to a certain extent. I don't think Burr made church every Sunday. I know Morris didn't. He was involved in a traveling poker game on Sunday, too busy to go to church some of the time. (laughter)

JF: What was this traveling poker game?

TC: Well it would start when the parents went off to church. (laughter) And it would move around depending upon where people were, finally, I think, winding up in somebody's barn with a lantern to finish the game. They'd play all day.

JF: And this was in St. Johns?

TC: Yes. He was a great poker player. I think he held the third mortgage on the local printing press that he'd won in a poker game. He was a poker player.

JF: That's great! Were you involved in his campaign at all, when he ran for county attorney?

TC: To a limited extent. Not much. He ran his own show. He was pretty much his own guy there.

JF: Now in 1954, Stewart decided to run for Congress. As I understand it, Mo wanted to run for that seat too, and deferred to his brother. But, I get the feeling from my research that it may have caused a bit of a rift between them for a short while. Were you aware of that time at all?

TC: Well, if that was a fact, it was something that I never knew. I did not think, and I don't think, that Morris was interested in that job. Morris wanted to be judge. And he ran for judge. And I think he ran that year, didn't he?

JF: He ran in 1954, yes.

TC: Yes, the same time Stewart ran. And I don't mean I would have known it if it happened. I don't mean that I had all the intelligence available, but I just don't think that's accurate. Because I think I would have heard something about it.

JF: Were you involved in Stewart's congressional race?

TC: Not really, to any great extent. One of my fraternity brothers and a friend of mine that I'd known for ever and ever and a good friend was a guy named John C. Smith, from

Yuma, "Juni" [phonetic spelling]. He'd been in the state Senate and maybe the House too, but I know he'd been in the Senate, and he had his eyes set on Washington and he wanted me to help him in his campaign, because I live here and I was active in the Democratic Party. And I told him, "No, I can't do that, Juni. The best I can do is try to stay as neutral as I can. But I've got to tell you that I'm going to give Stewart some help. I'm not going to get on the committee and I'm not going to go out and do anything like that, but I'm going to help him." So I'm sure I did do something for Stewart.

JF: When Mo ran for superior court, he lost pretty badly, I gather (TC: Yes, he did.) from what he has described as the "political machine" [having broken]. Do you recall that [grace?] at all?

TC: Oh, yes. Sure.

JF: What...

TC: What happened? They voted by machine, and they put your name on the machine alphabetically, and they had the judges in a particular place. And when it came to the judge's race, I think Kipnis was running, Irving Kipnis, I think, Joe [Joseph H.] Riley I think was running, and I think another one, maybe. And Morris. And here are these names here, but they didn't have room for him, so they put him over here somewhere. I finally found him, but it took a long search. It really, you couldn't find him. Of course, here's Stewart, so someone's voted for Udall, well that's probably.... And there maybe, I don't think the judge was running that year.

JF: Was Don Udall running in that race?

TC: He was running in Navajo County. And maybe Nick was running for something in Phoenix, there were a lot of Udalls. But the bottom line is that you couldn't find his name, and people thought that he'd withdrawn or "where is Udall?" And a lot of people called about it and said, "I couldn't vote for you. I couldn't find your name." That caused a change in the way the machines were set up. Now they're rotated. You know, the paper ballot, they rotated the names. Adams was first here, and then it moved and moved and they rotated them. Now they do the same thing on machines. At that time, every machine was set up the same way: giving the first name on any category or any office a great advantage.

JF: Well, it seemed to probably serve him well as things came out, that he didn't get the race. But what kind of judge do you think he would have made?

TC: Excellent. He would have been good. He would have been good at any level.

JF: Do you think he would have been satisfied staying as judge?

TC: I don't think so. He would have wanted to go to the supreme court of the state, and then the next step is east, the United States. That would have been his aim. And he was perfectly capable of doing both, filling both positions. Perfectly capable. He had the brain power and all the tools to do it.

JF: Well he seems to have taken the political route instead. In 1956, he chaired the Arizona Volunteers for [Adlai] Stevenson.

TC: Yes, he did.

JF: Were you involved in that at all?

TC: Yes, I was.

JF: Can you tell us something about it? What are your--something I really don't know anything about, except that he did.

TC: Well, I loved Stevenson. He was a good man. He was kind of my kind of Democrat, if that means anything. It was inevitable that Morris would get into public life. That was going to happen. That was a family tradition that he was going to do it sooner or later at some level. And he jumped in and did that.

JF: Did he lead the delegation at the national convention that year? Or was he simply a delegate?

TC: I can't remember. I never went to the convention. I stayed at home while they were back there drinking and parading around singing songs. (laughs)

JF: You never went to any convention?

TC: I went to state conventions. No national conventions.

JF: In 1960, a couple of years later, Mo chaired the Committee for Modern Courts, of the State Bar Association. (TC: Yes.) Did you work on that at all, or were you aware of that?

TC: Yes, I was aware of it.

JF: Did you work on it at all?

TC: No.

JF: As I understand, the primary thing that was accomplished by that initiative was to make judges appointed rather than elected. What else was involved?

TC: Well, I can't remember, really, and I wouldn't even try to do it from memory. The problem with being a lawyer is, either the courts or the legislature repeal your legal education every two or three years. And if it was the election--at one time, for example, the supreme court could not hold court out of Phoenix, had to hold it in Phoenix. That was one thing, because I remember the case that impacted on, a case that Morris and I had together. That case, I think, the first case argued out of Phoenix after that--it was a constitutional amendment, I believe, either by initiative or referendum, I believe. (JF: Yes, it was initiative, I believe.) And one thing it did is permit the judges to hold court outside of Phoenix, and Morris and I argued the first case out of there, out of Phoenix, here in Tucson.

JF: What case was that?

TC: It was called *Arno* [phonetic spelling] *versus somebody*, and it was the Flamingo Hotel. But that is, the Arno is the plaintiff and I can't remember the name of the defendant. It involved an incident at the Flamingo Hotel, but it was not the Flamingo Hotel that was the defendant, it was a person who owned the Flamingo Hotel. That was argued down here at the city council chambers.

JF: Now he, around the same time, wrote the hornbook, the *Arizona Law of Evidence*.

TC: Right.

JF: Do you know how he came to do that?

TC: Well, he thought that there was a need for it, and who else was better equipped to do it than Morris K. Udall? (chuckles) I criticized it. I said, "I found a glaring error in the first four pages, and I refused to read further," I told him. (chuckles) I don't think it was a glaring error, it was something I disagreed with him about. But it was a good piece of work.

JF: When did he work on it?

TC: Morris wasted no time. He made the best use of time of any human being I ever knew. He didn't sit around and bull with bull sessions with people, you didn't stop him on the street and walk over in the shade and talk for ten or fifteen minutes. He was busy. He came to work early, he would form a corporation, he would draft a will, he'd go try a case, he'd come back at noon, do some things, go back, try the case, come back to the office, work a little bit, go home and play softball with the kids, and then sit down and write more on the book. He worked all the time.

JF: Well, that's what I've wondered. Was there time for his family?

TC: He spent a lot of time with his family. A lot of time with his family, in the early stages--a great deal. They did a lot of things together. His whole life was his job and his family. He wasn't out with me (chuckles) and other people chasing around or doing this or that, playing golf, doing all that. He played occasionally, but not often. He was a very dedicated, busy guy. A worker, he worked hard.

JF: In 1960, was the [John F.] Kennedy campaign, and as I understand, Mo and Stew worked on organizing delegates for Kennedy.

TC: Stewart did. I don't know that Morris did.

JF: Well, that's what I wondered: to what extent Mo was involved.

TC: Of course, Stewart was very active in 1960 for John F. Kennedy, and he announced early on that he was a Kennedy man. I was, I think I was a Southern Arizona manager for Kennedy. I think that was my title; I had some title of some sort. And I think Bill [William P.] Mahoney was the state chairman for Kennedy. But Morris wasn't visible in that campaign, to speak of. I'm not implying he did nothing, but he didn't do very much. Stewart was the one, and Stewart, along with assistance from others, did what needed to be done to see that the Arizona delegation went for Kennedy at the convention. Kennedy got more votes from Arizona at the convention than from any state west of the Mississippi.

JF: Is that right?

TC: That is right.

JF: I wonder why Mo wasn't involved, because he was back in practice at that point, wasn't he?

TC: Well, he was busy, and I don't know that he had decided that he wanted to get into politics. I think he was doing other things. But Stewart helped. (aside about coffee) Stewart helped see that the Arizona delegation went for Kennedy. He wasn't the only person responsible for it, but he helped see that that happened, and happily got the credit for it.

JF: Well, the following year he was appointed to Kennedy's cabinet as interior secretary. (TC: Right.) And Mo ran in a special election.

TC: Right. Against Mac Matheson

JF: And as I understand, it was a squeaker campaign.

TC: It was close.

JF: Why was it so close?

TC: Apathy.

JF: That's often still the case.

TC: Yes. As someone said, "What is worse, ignorance or apathy?" And the guy said, "I don't know and I don't care." (laughs)

JF: Did you know Mac Matheson?

TC: I knew who he was. I knew enough about him to make me increase my efforts on behalf of Morris. (chuckles) He was an honorable man. He was quite conservative. (tape turned off and on)

JF: You were talking about Mac Matheson?

TC: Well, he was a decent, honorable guy; he was very conservative, extremely conservative. And I couldn't--at that time in my life, I was, quote, "liberal," if that term means anything to anybody. It means nothing to me.

JF: Was Matheson from Tucson?

TC: Yes.

JF: Stew mentioned in an oral history that was taken of him, that, if I understood it correctly, that Mo blamed Stewart partly for the close margin. Were you aware of that at all?

TC: No. What did Stewart do wrong?

JF: Well, I wasn't clear from that. That's why I wondered if you knew.

TC: Didn't work hard enough?

JF: Maybe. I think that may have been the case.

TC: I don't know. I don't know.

JF: In 1962, Mo was reelected defeating Richard [K.] Burke by 56%.

TC: Yes.

JF: Were you involved in that campaign at all?

TC: Yes.

JF: What role did you have?

TC: I can't tell you what I did in all his campaigns. I do remember the first one because one of our workers got arrested.

JF: The Mac Matheson one?

TC: Yes. (chuckles) I think we were all on -- I wonder what the statute of limitations is on crimes of that nature? -- Roger Lewis. (chuckles) I was very concerned about the turnout, and I was watching the polling places. And Precinct 36 at that time was (interruption from office intercom) and we got real concerned about it and Roger was really concerned-- he was a worrier anyway. And so we went down to [Precinct] 36 and started electioneering. You're not supposed to do that on election day.

JF: You couldn't do any kind of election work on election day?

TC: Well, you couldn't do what we were doing. They captured one of us (chuckles).

JF: What were you doing, electioneering?

TC: Looking over the backyard fence of some miners who got off work early.... (tape turned off and on) ...fence, and say, "Are you guys registered Democrats?" "Yes." They're sitting there drinking beer. "Have you voted?" "Ah, no. It's a cinch." "You better put the beer down and go vote. It's no cinch. And you've got a friend running for this office, you'd better get out of the backyard and go take care of it, or you'll be working for nothing someday." And we were doing a little of that. We were trying to encourage them to vote.

JF: And who caught you?

TC: Well, they didn't catch me and they didn't catch Roger, they caught someone else. (chuckles) I don't know who caught them.

JF: Was it somebody from the other campaign?

TC: No. I think the other people snitched on us. But it was an officer of the law that went and snatched the other guy and charged him with a crime.

JF: Did that make the papers at all?

TC: I don't remember whether it made the papers or not.

JF: So did you behave yourselves on the next campaign?

TC: Oh, yes, and every one thereafter. I was not up on what you could and couldn't do, exactly. I knew that there were certain things. I was aware of the limits, and you can't electioneer or can't do this, can't do that. But what we were doing apparently was not right at that time.

JF: In 1964 he ran against William Kimble and won by 59%. Kimble is an attorney in town.

TC: Yes, indeed. A good one.

JF: Didn't he eventually become a supporter of Mo?

TC: I think he was his chairman one year, or co-chairman. He was at least on his committee. He always liked Morris. You could not dislike Morris, if you knew him, had anything to do with him. If you viewed him from a distance, and said, "This is a socialist or worse, this is a wild-eyed liberal and so on and so on and going to transform the world into something," you could work up a hate for him or a dislike for him or a lack of respect for him. But if you knew the guy, you couldn't, you couldn't do it. I mean, he was just too good a person and too straightforward. And he wasn't any wild-eyed liberal. He believed in certain things.

JF: Why do you think Bill Kimble ran against him?

TC: He wanted to leave Cochise County. And of course, he was a devoted Republican and the Republicans said, "You're a person who can win this, Kimble. Get out there and...."

JF: Was he lawyering in Cochise County?

TC: He was in Cochise County, yes.

JF: In 1965, Pat Udall, Mo's first wife, asked for a divorce. As I understand, you were practically neighbors with Mo? You lived fairly close to him?

TC: We lived fairly close together, yes.

JF: Did you get to know Pat and the kids then, I'm assuming?

TC: I got to know Pat before she was a neighbor.

JF: Oh, is that right?

TC: Oh, yes.

JF: So you knew her before they were married?

TC: Oh, no. No.

JF: What were your impressions of Pat?

TC: I don't have one.

JF: You don't have any impressions at all?

TC: None that I intend to discuss.

JF: Okay. Can you discuss at all how the divorce affected Mo?

TC: No. I can say this: that I never saw anyone more willing to do anything under the sun that he was asked to do in connection with the dissolution of marriage. And I never saw anyone who handled the isolation from his children with the dignity and tact that he did, as well as he did.

JF: I know she moved to Colorado at some point. Was it pretty much abrupt?

TC: I don't know.

JF: I don't know either. That same year he was reelected again, running against Alfred McGinnis [phonetic spelling].

TC: Yes. They became great friends later.

JF: Did they really?

TC: Oh, yes.

JF: Now tell me something about Alfred McGinnis.

TC: I didn't know much about him. He was a kind of a--I don't even remember what he did. He was a salesman or something.

JF: I wonder if he was a used-car salesman?

TC: No. No, no. That was another McGinnis. (laughter) A different McGinnis. He worked for--he was a good guy, a nice fellow. He and Morris were great friends, you know, afterwards. And he was a great admirer and supporter of Morris later.

JF: He turned another one, huh?

TC: Yes.

JF: In 1967, he came back to Tucson at the Sunday Evening Forum and announced his opposition to Vietnam.

TC: Right.

JF: Did you know he was going to do that?

TC: No. It didn't surprise me, but I didn't know it.

JF: What do you think his motivation was in doing that?

TC: He thought that the war was an evil, evil thing and that it was doing great damage to this country, and that we were killing a lot of our people for no good reason, and we were destroying a lot of people over there for no good reason, and that it was just morally wrong to continue that conflict. It really ate at him and it was really something that--he knew that it was politically not wise because of [President Lyndon Baines] Johnson.

JF: To come out against it, you mean?

TC: Oh, yes. Oh, indeed. He knew that. He knew it very likely would cost him the speakership or some role of leadership, majority leader or speakership. He knew that. And he did it anyway, and it was a matter of conscience with him. It was something that he thought had to be done.

JF: Do you think any of the motivation might have been an early interest in running for president later?

TC: Not at all. Not at all.

JF: In 1968, he was again reelected, beating Alfred McGinnis.

TC: Yes. Like a drum.

JF: And the same year he challenged Speaker of the House John McCormack. (TC: Right.) And two years later he challenged Hale Boggs for majority leader, (TC: Right.) losing in both cases. Did he ever talk to you about those races?

TC: Well, he said he was going to do it.

JF: Before he did it?

TC: Yes.

JF: What was his motivation?

TC: Well, he thought it was something that had to be done. Now, McCormack, rest his soul, wherever he is, was a good public servant, but time had passed him by. You needed some young vital leadership in that role. You needed a new voice, and there were a lot of

things that needed to be done that weren't getting done. And he [Morris] says, "We need a leader here, and who else is better qualified to do it than me?"

JF: Do you think he thought he could win?

TC: I think so. He was very optimistic about his chances. Yes.

JF: So he wasn't offering himself as a sacrificial...

TC: Sacrificial lamb?

JF: Yes.

TC: He might have been one time, but another time he might not have been. I think that he got the carpet pulled out from under him, I think, in the Boggs thing. And I think that--was Johnson still around? Johnson pulled the rug out from under him in one of those, I'm pretty sure.

JF: I think it might have been that. He then ran against Morris Herring (TC: Yes.) and was reelected by 70%. His margins were going up. Do you remember Morris Herring or anything about that?

TC: Oh, of course. There was very little to remember about Morris, but I remember a little bit about him. He was--wasn't he the state treasurer or something? And he was a working Republican. And yes, I remember Morris.

JF: Now, sometime--at least when I worked for Mo in the early seventies--your name popped up a lot as, I believe, the campaign chair, on doing a lot of fund-raising in the campaigns. When did your role evolve into that?

TC: I don't remember.

JF: But by this time, by 1970, you were doing fund-raising sorts of things?

TC: Well, I helped from time to time, but Morris, in all the congressional races that wasn't really a big problem. That wasn't a big problem. He hated to do it. He didn't like it. But that wasn't a great problem, to get enough money for him to run.

JF: In 1971, he was the chief sponsor for the campaign reform act, (TC: Yes.) which was I guess the first real act limiting contributions and expenditures in campaigns. On a practical basis, did you see any effect of that on his local races?

TC: No.

JF: Not at all? Did he ever talk to you about that?

TC: Oh, I'm sure we discussed it. I always have been pretty vocal about the need for campaign reform, finance campaign, financing reform. It ought to be funded by the public.

JF: Yes, that debate sure continues today.

TC: Yes. And as long as people want to buy influence, it will continue. They'll insist on a system where they can buy congressional votes. Very bad. Very bad business.

JF: In 1972, Mo chaired the Arizona delegation to the National Convention, and was a [Edmund S.] Muskie delegate and working very hard for Muskie at that time. (TC: Yes.) Did he ever tell you why it was Muskie he was backing?

TC: No, I don't think we talked about that. I was a Muskie guy. I liked Ed Muskie. I thought he was a good man: honorable, straightforward, and a good leader. But I never had any long talks with Morris about his....

JF: Did he ever say anything about what he felt about George McGovern?

TC: I don't remember him bad-mouthing McGovern. I probably did. He was an awfully good man, a very, very good person.

JF: I was a Muskie alternate at that convention. (chuckles)

TC: Yes. Well, and McGovern was a good guy, a good man. Needed a little more zoom and zip there to get [him]self elected.

JF: In 1972, also, he was reelected again, defeating Eugene Savoy [phonetic spelling] by 63%. The margin goes down a little that year.

TC: Yes.

JF: Was there any reason for that, that you remember?

TC: No.

JF: Do you remember anything about Eugene Savoy?

TC: Not a lot.

JF: Do you remember anything about who he was?

TC: Not really.

JF: A lot of his opponents don't seem to be very memorable (chuckles). How about Keith Dolgard [phonetic spelling]? Do you remember him?

TC: Oh, yes. I remember him.

JF: That was 1974. (TC: Yes.) The margin down a little bit again, 62%. (TC: Yes.) Do you remember anything?

TC: No. He was an accountant, I believe. Wasn't he? Or a dentist? What was he? I remember him, yes. Well, more people were moving in, new people coming in and a little shift toward the Republican Party in those things.

JF: In 1974, Mo's House of Representatives colleagues circulated a petition supporting his nomination for the Democratic presidential nominee. (TC: Yes.) Thereafter, he announced his presidential candidacy in New Hampshire. Did you know in advance that he was going to do this?

TC: Yes.

JF: And did he ask your advice on it?

TC: I'm not too sure that he asked my advice. We talked about it.

JF: Do you remember the circumstances in which you first talked about it?

TC: The specific sit-down when we--no I don't.

JF: But he did tell you ahead of time.

TC: Yes.

JF: Did you have any advice for him at that time?

TC: I had a theory at that time, that I expounded far and wide, from then and on down the road.

JF: What was that?

TC: It was: This is a doable operation, a very long shot, but it can happen. And it can happen if, first, Hubert [H. Humphrey] sits on the front porch and waits for people to come get him. If he comes out and says, "I am entitled to this. I ran. I've been the standard-bearer, I've been in the vineyard many years and I have a right to this," he'll get it. Nobody will sidetrack Hubert if he does that. If he sits on the porch, they won't go get him, though. There would be other people that are aspiring to it and they'd just leave him sitting there because politics at that level, at any level but particularly that level, is, I don't want to say "ruthless," but I don't know what other word to use, to a certain extent. If Kennedy wants it he can get it. If he'll come out and fight for it, he can get it. Now if those two things don't happen, then where are we? Well, here's where we are. He can beat Harris in a primary. Harris is a liberal, but he can beat him in a primary. I think he can beat Birch Bayh in a primary. I know he can beat Sarge [Sargent] Shriver, who is lingering around in the primary. He's got to be able to run very tight against Scoop Jackson in a primary. Maybe he doesn't have to beat him, but he's got to make a good showing.

You can forget about Terry Sanford and Jimmy Carter, I said. Neither one of those has a ghost of a chance. They're from the South and nobody's going to elect a Georgia cracker or Terry Sanford. So forget about those. Put those out of your mind and concentrate on what's here on the table.

A long shot, but it's doable. That was my analysis of it. And how brilliant was it? Great. Because Carter did what I tried to encourage people to do, tried hard. And I was having a health problem at that time and didn't have any energy and couldn't do anything. I tried to get people to believe that it was doable, and to say, "I'll commit to this." A dozen people, if they had committed to that scenario, he would have been the president.

If they'd gone to Coleman Young, in Detroit, and said, "This man is no racist at all." They'd have cited his effort in the school desegregation matter, they would have cited his speech at Brigham Young [University] when he broke with the church about the African American problem, they'd have cited his record on those issues and said, "You don't have to endorse him, but you sure don't have any business calling him a racist." And, "Get off of that and apologize and get the job done, or head it off before it starts."

He never met the president of the United Auto Workers, if you had enough people involved, that could have been arranged, that could have been done. Wisconsin could have been won, if there had been enough people to go out and raise some money and he could get the airplane, he couldn't get in the air because it didn't have enough gas.

I've got a poignant picture of a guy named Alan Sitsitsky [phonetic spelling]--he was a state senator from Massachusetts--having a rally for Morris, and the plane didn't have any gas. One thing they were trying to do, I think, is get enough money to get the plane in the air. But, "Oh, wouldn't it be wonderful? Maybe he can be the vice-president," and maybe this and maybe that. They didn't believe it.

Your neighbors never--you're not a prophet in your own land. You can't imagine that this man that you know so well and admire and think he's a very great guy is going to be the president of the United States. You couldn't make them believe that.

JF: So you think it was a matter of people not believing that he could do it that made the difference?

TC: That's right. Oh, yes.

JF: You're not speaking simply on the local level?

TC: Some of them on the local level, you bet.

JF: But also on the national level?

TC: Yes, we needed some help nationally, but the local ones could have helped with that. They had contacts out of Tucson, Arizona. They had contacts in Michigan. They had contacts in Iowa, where we did nothing, absolutely virtually nothing. We fought with two arms tied behind us, really. Terry Bracy was out there giving it a good effort, but he didn't have anything to work with. No help.

JF: You were chair of that campaign, as well, weren't you?

TC: I don't know what I was. I was a flop, whatever I was, a failure.

JF: You were very much involved in fund-raising at that time, though.

TC: I tried to, yes. I tried to.

JF: At what point do you remember in the campaign that finances became a problem?

TC: From Day One. From the very beginning it was a problem.

JF: I remember the grounding of the airplane, but I don't remember exactly when that was.

TC: I don't remember where it was. It might not have been in Massachusetts, but I remember that that happened.

JF: How did Mo deal with the losses? Did you ever talk to him? I mean, he lost twenty-two primaries, came in second in seven of them, seven big ones.

TC: Well, he lost with dignity and with good humor; he found something about it that he could smile at and even laugh at. I'm sure it hurt him deeply down inside him, because when you make that commitment and you say, "I'm going to do it," of course you want to win, and you think that you'd be good for the country. And when you're second and third, and second and third, and you're so close, so close--look at Wisconsin--just so close, and then lose it. It has to really hurt. The night when the Secret Service abandoned him, and the hotel came and took out his phones and everything, and the credit card companies were saying, "Pay up,"--that had to have been a lonesome, lonesome, lonesome thing, and to have to go to convention and do what he did. It had to be hard, very hard. But he never whined about it, never complained about it, he never blamed anyone. It was just a great effort and "I came close." And then he--you've heard the New Hampshire story, getting his hair cut?

JF: I'll ask you to repeat it, because I've heard a lot of New Hampshire stories.

TC: Well, he has a little dead time in a little town in New Hampshire, and he goes in and gets his hair cut, and he says to the barber, "I'm Morris Udall. I'm running for president." He said, "Yes, we were laughing about that just yesterday."

JF: Did he ever talk to you at all about his feelings about Jimmy Carter?

TC: No. No. You mean in a negative way? No.

JF: Just his impressions of him.

TC: Oh, he thought he was a bright guy. He thought he was lucky: right place, right time. And what happened to Carter was what I thought could happen to Morris. About a dozen guys, Charlie Kurbo [phonetic spelling], a lawyer, and Kenyon Spaulding [phonetic spelling] in Atlanta, went out and got some people and they went out and sold the Carter story. And how much easier would it be to sell Morris Udall? Anywhere! Even in Georgia! Now if you'd lived next--I've met Carter, I've talked to the man. He's a sweet man. He's a very honorable, sincere, bright guy. He's a good man. Look at what he's doing now. Not lobbying to get rich, you know, which he could do, or anything like that. He's out helping build homes for people [who] need them. But if you live next door to the guy, would you rather talk to him or rather watch the paint dry on his barn? (chuckles) I mean, he was not the most.... You know, and here's a guy that, Morris, as far as communicating and talking to people and getting them to believe in him, he could sell ice to Eskimos, Morris could. Carter couldn't sell them handwarmers. (chuckles)

JF: At the end of the campaign, as I recall, there was quite a bit of debt remaining.

TC: Yes, there was.

JF: What happened about that?

TC: I don't know the history of all of it. A lot of it was paid off, different ways and different methods. A lot of it was paid off, and, I don't know.

JF: Do you think the Campaign Finance Reform Act that Mo sponsored hurt him at all in the election?

TC: I don't think it had any effect. See, a lot of people give because they believe in the guy. But a lot of people give because they want something--they want a job or they want influence or they want an ear, or they belong to an organization that they believe this person will support, be favorable to in what they do. I'm not suggesting that everybody or any of them do it with evil motives. You know, there's nothing wrong with looking after yourself. If you don't look after yourself, you may not get looked after. You know, all you have to do is go see some parole guy and see how many people knock on his door or her door. I mean, they're not beating a path to your door and saying, "Well how are you today, George? Need anything?" You can't fault people for looking at and protecting their own interests: union people voting for people who are going to support their interests. But that's the way it is, and you'd better be able to raise the money or you're gone.

JF: I'm going to need to flip the tape again here.

[END TAPE 1, SIDE B; BEGIN TAPE 2, SIDE A]