JF: This is Tape 44 of the Morris K. Udall Oral History Project. Good afternoon, it's Thursday, May 11, 2000, and we're in the Albuquerque, New Mexico, office of the Manuel Lujan Agency on San Mateo Boulevard. My name is Julie Ferdon, and I would like to welcome Former Congressman and Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan and to thank you, sir, for joining us today.

ML: Thank you, Julie.

JF: Let's start with some biographical information. Where and when were you born?

ML: I was born May 12, 1928. We had a little farm right next to the San Idelfonso Indian Reservation. As a matter of fact, in the thirties, when the government was enlarging reservations and making land settlements, the little farm was condemned, and so we had to move from there, and we moved to Los Alamos. But a few years later, the government decided to do the atomic bomb project, and they condemned that. And so we moved from there and moved down to Santa Fe.

JF: (laughs) And they didn't condemn that yet!

ML: The reason I mention that is because that has some relevance to some of the actions that we took in the Congress, with the Hopi-Navajo [land] dispute that was kind of a philosophy, I guess, that I had about the government coming in and telling you where you had to go, like in the Hopi-Navajo Partition.

JF: Exactly.

ML: So that really had a lot to do with my thinking on that issue. When we were considering it in Congress.

JF: Yes, that's interesting background. So you were raised in Santa Fe?

ML: Raised in Santa Fe.

JF: Graduate of Santa Fe High School?

ML: No, St. Michael's High School, and the College of Santa Fe. At that time, it was also called St. Michael's College.

JF: That's right. When did you graduate from college?

ML: In 1950.

JF: And what was your major?

ML: Business administration.
JF: What did you do after college?

ML: Well, I sold insurance from about 1947, 1948, somewhere in there, to when I moved down to Albuquerque in 1965, and was in the insurance business until 1968, when I ran for Congress. So for twenty years I was in the insurance business.

JF: Now, the Manuel Lujan Agency, was that started by your father?

ML: Yes, he started that in 1926, and I started working for him in 1947. Well, I worked for him before then, when I used to collect bills and deliver policies, since I was in the eighth grade. But then in 1965, I moved to Albuquerque and started this agency, Manuel Lujan Insurance Agency in Albuquerque.

JF: When did you first get involved in politics?

ML: All my life. My dad was the mayor of Santa Fe in 1942, thereabouts. My mother was county clerk. So I was always involved in helping one way or another. On my eighteenth year, I was the precinct chairman in our little local precinct there. I've been involved since then.

JF: In 1968, you were elected to Congress. How did it come about that you ran for Congress to begin with?

ML: Probably as a loyal party member, because we wanted to win that seat. I was assistant state chairman at that time, and one night the state chairman called me and he said, "We have a poll that says you can win." Well, I had just moved down two years before to start this insurance agency here in Albuquerque, and I was not too thrilled to run, but the seed was planted. He said they had a poll that I could win, and I started analyzing past returns, and the more you....

JF: The bug bit?

ML: Absolutely. And so that's how it all... I had never been to Washington! I had no desire to go to Washington, but the state chairman suggested that I could win, and after you study it, you determined that, well, maybe I can. The state of New Mexico had not been represented by a Republican for forty-two years, and so I thought, "Hey, it's an opportunity to make history for the state." And besides, I thought I could do it better than the guy that was there. (laughter)

JF: Weren't you effectively the first congressman from the First District?

ML: Yes.

JF: It had just been established?

ML: Because prior to that, two congressmen would run at large in the entire state, and the
Supreme Court said that we had to break it up. So that was the first year, 1968, where we ran by District 1 and District 2.

JF: And it was a Democratic district, largely, wasn't it?

ML: Oh, yes.

JF: How did you win?

ML: This handsome fellow?! (laughter)

JF: Tall and charming?

ML: No. Well, I was in the insurance business, and that was my territory, really. That's where I would go to sell. Secondly, I was president of the New Mexico Insurance Agents Association, and so you had a built-in organization. The insurance man at each little town knows everybody, knows all their business and everything, so that was a pretty good organization to have. And then in addition to that, having gone to St. Mike's, almost all of the mayors, county commissioners, the neighborhood store owners, in all of those little towns in northern New Mexico, were what they called "St. Mike's boys"--they had gone to school with me, and so that was a pretty good organization also. (phone rings, tape paused)

JF: All right, we were talking about your first campaign for Congress, and you had an automatic sort of support group in the St. Michael's gang. That district included both Albuquerque and Santa Fe, didn't it?

ML: It did, yes. Practically everything north of Interstate 40, with the exception of two counties along the Arizona border. But it was all the rest, half the state.

JF: Was ethnic support a factor?

ML: That had a lot to do with it, yes. The northern district was probably about 30-35% Spanish-speaking people.

JF: Before going to Washington, had you ever heard of Morris or Stewart Udall?

ML: Yes, but just "out there." Before going to Washington, before running for office, I had never met a congressman. I knew who they were, our own, but as far as knowing them personally, I did not, (JF: At that point.) nor any other congressman, for that matter. I never really thought that I would ever [go to Washington]. That was not part of my thoughts, or part of my goal, or anything. My goal was to be the best insurance man I could be, and that was it.

JF: In 1966, two years before you arrived in Washington, Mo had authored a book entitled The Job of the Congressman, which was intended to help orient new members. Did you read it?
ML: I did, after I won the election, and I remember very, very distinctly I bought the book after I was elected. I had never been to Washington, understand. So I read the book and one day in December I remember closing the book when I finished, and I looked at my wife and I said, "Well, I've read the book on how to be a congressman, but I've got to go to Washington before I take office and see what it's all about." And so I did one Sunday. I took a flight, went to Washington and started looking around, questioning people. I remember the first place I walked into was the third floor of the Longworth Building. An office was open. Incidentally, my office ended up on the third floor of the Longworth Building. And the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs was on the third floor. But I do remember walking in, and the guy was there. He worked for Chalmers Wiley [phonetic spelling] from Ohio. He was the administrative assistant. I said, "Well, now, what is that?! And what does an administrative assistant do?" Well, of course he told me that that was the most important guy on the whole Hill. I remember taking my little book in which I kept notes and said, "Administrative assistant--need one!" And that was my orientation to Washington.

JF: That's great! So that was quite a move, in more than one way.

ML: It was.

JF: Do you recall when you did first meet Mo?

ML: No, I do not recall specifically, but probably when I walked into committee, which would have been the fourth, fifth, or sixth of January of 1969, right in there.

JF: What committee assignments did you ask for, and what did you get?

ML: Well, I asked for Interior, because of being a westerner, and I asked for Science and Technology, but I didn't get that until later on. In both cases, I rose up the ranks to be the ranking Republican, meaning the senior Republican, on Interior and Insular Affairs.

JF: What year was that, that you became the ranking member, do you recall?

ML: Gosh I don't remember that, but it would have been somewhere in the middle to late seventies. And then I stayed there as the ranking member. I continued on the committee until I left, but then the opportunity came to be the ranking Republican member on Science and Technology, and I had a particular interest in that, because of Los Alamos and Sandia being here, and all the research. And so I became the ranking member of that. But while I was on Interior, I did get the opportunity to be a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

JF: When did you leave the Interior Committee?

ML: It was 1988 when I decided to retire from Congress.
JF: Okay. You were on the Subcommittee on Energy and Environment, were you not?

ML: Yes.

JF: In 1973, Mo was chair of that subcommittee. What impression did you have of Mo as chair of that subcommittee?

ML: Well, I thought he was a little liberal for me, but that was our basic difference, and that was the only.... Again, my feeling that he was more liberal than I was, more toward the environment than what I would have been, although I couldn't criticize him for it, because being a westerner also, I had kind of those environmental tendencies towards the land.

JF: Was he effective as a chair?

ML: Oh, very, very. As a matter of fact, one of his pride and joys was that the Interior Committee generated more legislation than any other committee. I don't know that that's good or bad, but....

JF: I saw something where you were quoted as saying that you weren't really legislatively oriented. (laughs)

ML: I really was not. As a matter of fact, to this day, I don't think that we need to pass a law for everything, for all the ills that we have. As a matter of fact, I think the less laws that we have, the better off we are--but that's my own political philosophy. Mo's pride and joy was Interior generated more legislation than any other committee, so that was one difference that we had. But he was very effective, he passed his legislation.

JF: Did you, in that period before about 1974, did you ever see Mo socially?

ML: Just at receptions and things like that. We were not social friends, although I knew him, knew the family. (phone rings, tape paused)

JF: Okay, we were talking about knowing Mo on a social basis.

ML: As a matter of fact, I never knew Mo to be very, very social, into the social whirl of Washington. Well, neither was I. But we would see each other at receptions and doings that had to do with Interior, but that was the extent of it.

JF: In 1974, November, Mo announced that he was a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. Did his announcement surprise you, and what was your reaction?

ML: Yes. You know, you always think the people that you know really, really well--kind of your peers, so to speak--that's a big step. As a matter of fact, when I ran for Congress myself, the very first time, I thought, "Do I know what I'm doing?! Am I really up to this?" So you always think--at least I do--think about that, about your peers. You don't think of them as presidential timbre. You think of them as "one of the guys." I've kind of changed
my mind since then, since George Bush was in the Congress with us, Gerald Ford and all that. But yes, it was kind of a surprise to me.

JF: Based on the amount of work that you did with him over the years, what kind of president do you think he would have made?

ML: I think he would have been very good. He'd have been very active, legislatively. He'd have had a lot of different proposals--some that I would have liked, some that I would not have liked. I think one of the things that I would not have liked would have been the tying up of large acreage as wilderness areas or recreation areas and things like that. But that was a difference in philosophy. But I think he would have been a very active president, legislatively.

JF: In 1977, Mo was named chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. You became ranking minority member around the same time. With these two seemingly opposing positions, how did you two get along?

ML: We worked together very well. One of the things that both of us did work was the "art of the possible," I guess, more than anything. I remember one particular issue that we had, that we were on completely opposite sides: the funding of interveners--meaning those that would oppose nuclear hearings, nuclear licenses, those kinds of things--individuals that would intervene on some issue, either in court or before commissions or things like that. And there was a $2 million annual funding, which I opposed, and I offered an amendment to zero it out. Mo, of course, since there were a lot more Democrats than Republicans, had more proxies than I did, and so we lost it. So I asked for a record vote, which usually took about fifteen, twenty minutes, half hour. And I lost the record vote. But then I remember I offered another amendment, and kept going, each time asking for a record vote, change it a little bit so that the amendment would be eligible, and he kept defeating me. He said, "Well, how far are you going with this thing?" I said, "Well, I don't know, probably two million times, at a buck an amendment, or something like that," I said. And he said, "This pile of proxies that I have here feels like maybe $250,000 would be a proper figure to settle on." I said, "I think that's fine." And that's how it ended up. So he was not dogmatic. He had his point of view, but he needed to move ahead, and not have me bringing up amendment after amendment. And so there was compromise there. And so that's why we were able to work together.

JF: That sort of comes into my next question, and addresses it somewhat. I was going to ask what characteristics you would attribute to Mo as chairman, and what his style of leadership was.

ML: Well, that was kind of it. We would talk about the amendments that were coming up, the legislation. We each knew basically where the other one was going. If at all possible, we would work out some arrangement. But if he didn't like it, he'd just run over me. I mean, he had the votes. But legislatively, we did communicate a lot.

JF: Who was chairman before Mo?
ML: I think [James] Haley was. Yes, Congressman Haley from Florida, who was married into the family of Ringling Brothers-Barnum and Bailey Circus, and I believe he became an officer in the company after that. And before that, it was Wayne Aspinall from Colorado. Legendary chairman.

JF: That's right, yes. How did Mo's style differ from theirs? Did the dynamics of the committee change at all with him as chairman?

ML: Oh, yes, because we were able to discuss things. He wasn't as dictatorial as Aspinall, for example. Well, I'll give you an example about Congressman Aspinall. When I was first elected, Paul Weeks, who was also a friend of Mo's--he died just recently--a reporter for the Albuquerque Journal, asked me what I thought about the seniority system. I had been in Congress about two months. I said I didn't like it. He asked me how I would change it, I said, "Well, I would have the committee members vote," which later on did [happen] when reforms came. But at that time, maybe if you were the senior guy, you were the chairman, and that was it. So he said, "How would you change it?" I said, "I would have committee members vote." He said, natural follow-up question, "would you have voted for Aspinall?" And I said, "No, I don't think so." There was somebody else I thought knew the committee better, knew the issues better. So he called me in because he found out that I had said that. He asked me, and I said, "Yes sir, I did say those things." And he gave me a tongue lashing! And I said, "Well, now, that's exactly why I said that. You're talking to me like I'm an eighth-grader and you're the principal of the elementary school. And I represent as many people as you do. The only thing you have on me is the seniority, and so that's why you're chairman and I'm not." I thought, "I'm gonna tell him." I thought my career was over anyway. So years later, when he retired, because it wasn't like that as time went on--he did know what he was talking about--so I went and said, "I was wrong," and he said, "I was wrong. I went home and I asked my wife, 'Do I treat those guys like eighth-graders?' and she said yes." And he did change after that.

But another time, which is the dictatorial part about him, we were in Alaska, and we were freshmen congressmen, all three or four of us: [John D.] Happy Camp, Lloyd Meeds, myself, one other, I can't remember who it was. So we were going from village to village, and it was on the Alaskan Pipeline, and on the Alaskan Native Lands Settlements and all of that. And we get to this one place and Aspinall said, "We only have fifteen minutes." And so amongst us we decided we can't do that. You know, these people do their little dances and baked cookies and stuff like that. So we made this pact amongst ourselves, when we're there, even though he wants to leave in fifteen minutes, we'll just hang around, and we'll extend the time. Well, we did, and he left, and left us there. We had to ride a truck to the next town. Mo would have never done that. I mean, he was just not like that. But that's a difference in....

JF: In style, yes. What was the level of bipartisanship in the committee, and in fact in Congress as a whole then, as compared to now?

ML: It was very good. Mo and I never had any difficulties as far as the partisanship was
concerned. Probably we did with Philip Burton, but I had as much trouble with him as Mo himself did. One time, for example, I remember something was coming up and Philip Burton—he was the second man or the third man on the committee at the time, and Mo was chairman—Philip became very aggressive, and Mo turned to me and said, "Man, I'd better hold onto this gavel!" (chuckles) like Philip was coming after his gavel. So he used to have a lot of trouble with Phil Burton, but he and I never did have much trouble.

JF: In 1977, the year Mo became chair, the Strip Mining Reclamation Act was signed by President Carter. Did you support that bill?

ML: I don't know, I can't tell you—probably.

JF: Do you have any recollections at all of passage of that bill, or did you travel to any of the hearings?

ML: We did, we came to Kayenta. I guess that's where the mine is, isn't it, in Kayenta?

JF: The coal mine, yes.

ML: Yes, the coal mine. And I do remember that as we were walking, one of the environmental gals that had come with us—Louise was her first name—she picks up this chunk of coal and she mentioned how many BTUs were in that chunk of coal. I don't know if there really was, or she was kidding or not, but I thought to myself, "Well, no wonder the enviros kick us each time. If she knows that! I have no idea how many BTUs. If they're that knowledgeable about the product, no wonder they beat us all the time." But that's one of the things that I do remember about that.

JF: In 1980, the Alaska Lands Act, first introduced by Mo in 1972, was signed by President Carter. What was your position on that bill?

ML: I was for that. We visited up there, and what we tried to do was to reduce the amount of acreage that would be granted, but we lost the battle and ended up supporting it.

JF: New Mexico is a state that has a tremendous amount of land under federal control. Did your constituency have any view on that bill at the time?

ML: No, they never did. As a matter of fact, I got very little input on issues by my constituency. My work in New Mexico.... Well, I would vote and participate in all the legislation and all of that, but that was not a high priority as far as I was concerned. My high priority [was] and is still, from a representation standpoint, is the casework—aiding people in their doings with the federal government, and try to help them out.

JF: Did you go on any of the Alaska trips in conjunction with that? I gather the reception wasn't always very warm in Alaska.

ML: It wasn't bad. I remember going many, many times, and the officialdom was not all in
favor of that, but certainly the Alaska natives were. As a matter of fact, when I was secretary of Interior, one of the funny things that happened, I went up there, went up to the North Slope up in Barrow, and the guy that was telling us all about the beginnings of the North Slope and all of that big oil exploration. And he said, "And here's a picture of the original congressional delegation that came when we were just starting this project." And here I am, in the picture of that original [delegation], and I felt like Methuselah--really one of the old, old-timers that had been up there.

JF: Don Young, the Republican congressman from Alaska, worked very hard to defeat the bill, as I understand it. What were your impressions of Don Young?

ML: Well, I think Don is a very dedicated Alaskan. Incidentally, that's one of the things that I found when I went to Congress: I never had a very good impression of people in government. Having been in the insurance business all my life, all I knew was that the government took money away from me every April 15, so I didn't have a lot of good thoughts about [it]. But when I got there, I discovered most of the guys--you had one or two that had their bad things going--but 99.9% of the guys really worked hard for their (unclear, obscured by PA system, tape paused). They all worked for the benefit of their district and their state, and that is what Don does. He'd get pretty mad at members of Congress if they voted against some particular issue that had to do with Alaska. He always felt like, "You gotta do what I say when it comes to Alaska." As a matter of fact, somebody from Indiana, I remember, introduced a bill about some wilderness stuff or something in Alaska, and so he introduced a bill to make that member's district a wilderness, and see how he liked it. But Don was always very mad about....

JF: That wouldn't have been Seiberling, would it?

ML: No, it was not Seiberling. It was one of the young fellows, and it was after Seiberling had left. But that was a dog fight with Seiberling and Don all the time.

JF: How would you describe the relationship between Mo and Don Young?

ML: He was more adversarial than what I had been, but they were good friends, and they got along, and it was a good-natured fight. But they were more, you know, philosophically against each other. But still, Mo got along real well, if you compare to George Miller, who came after Mo as chairman of the committee--the relationship between Don Young and George Miller was a lot worse than between Don Young and Mo.

JF: Did that have to do with personalities?

ML: I think so.

JF: Leadership style also?

ML: Both, I think.
JF: How about the committee staff, did you have much dealings with them?

ML: They were very good to me. We worked together. Amongst the staff itself, there was a lot of Republican-Democrat friction, like, "This is our bill and we're not going to give the Democrats the benefit of what we know," or vice versa. "We're not going to give the Republicans the benefit of what we know, we're gonna keep that to ourselves, and we're gonna run this thing." But amongst the members, with some there were those difficulties, but by and large, not--but there was in the staff, there was a lot of friction.

JF: I understand that you sponsored a number of bills aimed at improving the circumstances of Native Americans. That was a key interest of Mo's as well. Did you work directly with Mo on any bills?

ML: A lot, a lot of them. The only one that I remember that we were on opposite sides was on the Hopi-Navajo issue. I was on the Navajo side because they wanted to--part of the bill was to move the Navajos out of the area that belonged to the Hopis. Eventually they were not moved, they were given seventy-five years, or something like that, to move. But the reason for that is, when we moved to Santa Fe, there was a church that was built near our house, and we were nine kids, so our house was pretty good-sized, had four bedrooms and all that. Well, the preacher wanted to buy our house and came to my mother, and my mother said, "No." Offered her twice what it was worth, and she said no. I mean, "This is my home, and I will never move." Goes back to the same experience of losing our farm and the Indian Reservation and Los Alamos and all of that. And that was my feeling. And so that was one, probably the only one, really, that we were on opposite sides. I do remember the restoration of the Menominee Tribe. That was one that we worked together--and others.

JF: The Archaeological Resources Protection Act? Was that one you worked on together?

ML: Yes.

JF: As two western congressmen, it sounds like you were generally on common ground.

ML: Generally we were. Generally, except I guess usually on wilderness where there was really large pieces of property that were put into wilderness.

JF: Except Alaska. Of course that went into more than wilderness.

ML: Yes.

JF: Mo was diagnosed with Parkinson's disease in the late seventies, but showed symptoms, I think, before that. (ML: He did.) When did you personally become aware of his Parkinson's?

ML: Oh, very early on, because I would see his hand shake, and he would hold his hand when he'd pick up a paper and all of that. I looked at it as a very tragic, tragic thing happening to a really good guy, a guy that I really cared for and admired.
ML: I think it became a chore for him. His mind was fine, but he was, towards the end there, was not very effective, because he could not really push something that he was really interested in. But by the same token, you hated to oppose him on anything, because of the sympathy factor. But I do believe that there towards the last year or two, that he lost his effectiveness. I went with him, incidentally, when I became secretary of Interior, which was unusual. Mo asked me to go with him on a trip to Guam and Palau and different places, and by then the disease was pretty well on its way. The doctor traveled with us, as a matter of fact.

JF: Is that right? I didn't realize that.

ML: His personal physician from Arizona traveled with us. But we did, we went to those.

JF: You, in 1988--in fact, I was just about to get there--in 1988, you decided not to run for Congress again. You'd been there twenty years. I assume you wanted to do something else?

ML: Just get out, yes.

JF: But you didn't get out of town fast enough (chuckles) and President Bush tapped you to become secretary of Interior. What was your reaction when he asked you to do that?

ML: Well, I didn't want to. I had been asked by staff on three different occasions, on a "what if" basis, what if the president-elect asks you to be in the cabinet, what would you say? My answer to them was, "Tell him not to ask me." So my brother was in Washington one day in December, and the president-elect said, "Why won't Manuel be in the cabinet? Is he sick?" because I had had a heart attack in 1984, 1985, somewhere there. And my brother said, "No, he just wants to go home, that's all." "What would it take for him to be in the cabinet?" Edward said, "If you ask him, he can't say no to you." And that's exactly what happened. I was cleaning out my desk, and the phone rang, and it was George Bush. He said, "What are you doing?" and I said, "Well, I'm gettin' ready to go home." He said, "You want to come by this evening, come by the house?" That's how it all happened.

JF: Did you consult with Mo at all on that issue?

ML: No, I did not, because by then I was already distracted about coming home. My wife was here already. I called her, as a matter of fact, when the president-elect called me and said, "What do you think? I know what he's going to ask me." She said, "Well, you gotta do what you gotta do. Do whatever you want." But no, I did not talk to him about it. I only had three hours, I guess, from the time he called to the time that I was over at his house and said yes.

JF: Stewart Udall, Mo's older brother, was secretary of Interior under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. I'm guessing you probably didn't get a chance to talk to him either.
ML: No. I did not serve during the time that Stewart was there. Incidentally, since leaving, I see more of Stewart than I did then.

JF: Did you know Stewart before?

ML: Then? No, I did not.

JF: You didn't then, okay.

ML: For example, we did some work together on the Baca location ranch, the Via Grande that the government is just buying now. And other little things, but that was the main thing.

JF: So you have contact with him now?

ML: Yes.

JF: On Guam. As I understand, it was soon after you became secretary of Interior and Mo was still chairing the Interior Committee, he invited you to go on a congressional trip to Guam. Was that unusual?

ML: It was very unusual. In all the time that I was in Congress, no cabinet secretary--now, there may have been before--but that I know of, never had the secretary of Interior been invited to go on a congressional trip.

JF: And especially with it being from a different party. I would think that would be....

ML: Yes. Particularly.

JF: How did that come about? Did he just call you and say, "Want to go to Guam?"

ML: Yes. "We're going. How would you like to go?"

JF: Did your wife, Jean, accompany you on that?

ML: Yes.

JF: Was Mo married yet to Norma at that time?

ML: No.

JF: He wasn't. Okay. Tell us something about the Guam trip.

ML: Well, it was nothing unusual, because I had been there a couple of times before. So had Mo. I believe that at that point there was a Point Udall established, which was the western-most, or eastern-most, or whatever it is over there--one end of the earth. And then
there's another Udall Point, maybe for Stewart, over in the Virgin Islands, so that each end of all the territries of the United States, there's a Udall Point.

JF: There's a Udall Point, both eastern-most and western-most. So you think the Guam point was established then?

ML: Established then.

JF: That's one of the things I wondered, when that was. As secretary, while you were secretary and Mo was chairman, did you collaborate on many issues?

ML: We did. Well, like, for example, when I was appointed secretary, they have hearings. The hearing before Mo was two minutes long. (chuckles) It was more than a courtesy, it was a sign of friendship and goodwill and everything. It is customary and mandatory that you have these hearings when a new guy comes in, to size him up and all of that. And like I say, mine lasted two minutes.

JF: Did Mo treat you any differently as secretary of Interior than he did as ranking minority leader?

ML: No. No, we continued to be friends. I don't remember any serious disagreement we had when I was secretary of Interior. One of the things that I do remember was the National Park Service, with the concessionaire program. I had had a foundation here in Albuquerque that raised money for scholarships. We used to have concerts and wrestling matches, so I got to know the concessionaires for the state fairgrounds and the university property and all of that, and I knew that they paid 45-50% of the gross in fees to the university or the state fair commission or whoever. The National Park concessionaires paid an average of 2.5%, and I thought, "These guys are really rippin' off." So I did a study and determined that the rate should be 22.5%, and the reason for that, that was half of what these guys would pay, because the concessionaires and the Park Service were normally rural, and so it was more expensive for them to do business, so I set it at 22.5%. But before I did that, I went back to Congress and talked to Mo Udall and talked to Sid Yates, who was chairman of the Appropriations subcommittee; Ralph Regula, who was the senior Republican on that Appropriations subcommittee; Don Young; all of those who would have something to do with the Park Service--because I knew that the concessionaires would be coming to them and saying, "What's the matter with this guy?! We're gonna go broke!" So I said, "Look, I'm gonna do this. When they come to you, sympathize with them if you want to. Tell 'em, 'I knew that Lujan was no good. He wasn't any good when he was here, he's not any better now.' So you can do all that, but don't pass a bill or an amendment that I cannot raise it." And they didn't. I don't know if they said that I was still no good, but I could do that because I had been a former member of Congress, and he was my friend, and the others were my friends. Had I come in from the outside, I don't think that I'd have been able....

JF: It might have been more difficult.

ML: Yes.