

An Oral History Interview

with

TOM UDALL (part 1)

conducted by
Peter Steere

Santa Fe, New Mexico
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The Morris K. Udall Oral History Project
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PS: Morris Udall Oral History, Tape 8. Peter Steere is interviewing Tom Udall in his home in Santa Fe.

Tom, I wanted to start by asking you just a few questions, in terms of your background and career. You're not, obviously, as well-known on a national level as your dad and Morris were. And for people who will be using these tapes down the road, it would help us to get a little bit of background. You were born in Tucson?

TU: Born in Tucson, Arizona, May 18, 1948.

PS: And Tom, you obviously grew up in Tucson for a while. I assume at some point, when your dad went to Congress, that the family moved to Washington?

TU: Actually, what we did is up until the sixth grade, I lived full-time in Tucson. And then in 1954, when my father was elected to Congress, Congress was basically from '54 to '60, which is the time period that Dad was in the Congress, was only in session six months a year. And so they came in, in January, and they let out in June. So for the first seven years of my schooling, I spent the first semester of school in Arizona, and then the second semester in Virginia. We'd drive back at Christmas, and then we'd come back home in June. We went back and forth like that, six months in each place.

PS: So you would basically be in one school for six months, and then another school when you came back, and this would be through 1960?

TU: That would be through 1960. And then Dad was sworn in, in 1961. The election was November of '60, and then he was sworn in, in '61. I came back, then, and eighth grade, which was the next year, was my first full year of school in one school. And then I spent high school back there. When he was in the cabinet, I spent high school in McLean, Virginia, at McLean High.

PS: And so you finished high school back there, then?

TU: Finished high school back there, and then came out to Prescott College, in Prescott, Arizona, in 1966.

PS: That would have been in the early years, when Prescott was . . .

TU: I was in the charter class of Prescott College.

PS: Which was, at the time, an alternative educational experience. I'm a little familiar with some of the things that Prescott College was doing back then. Tom, can you talk a little bit about your educational experiences at Prescott, and how that influenced you? It was not the same as if you'd gone to the University of Arizona or Arizona State University at the time, because their whole teaching methods were somewhat different, and the whole program was different.

TU: The idea of Prescott College came out of a Ford Foundation study. And the study focused on the issue of what was wrong with the liberal arts. And the conclusion that the Ford Foundation study came to is that with regard to the liberal arts, we were putting things in smaller and smaller boxes, and there was no interdisciplinary study going on, where you were having teaching across disciplines, and having professors from different disciplines team teach, and those kinds of things. And so really, the aim of Prescott College was to try to teach in an interdisciplinary fashion, to bring people together.

And the faculty and the students and the administration were all supposed to be living in a learning community. The idea wasn't that they'd just come and teach classes—they were there and available to you at all hours, and that this would be a true exchange and a true learning experience. So the college was organized in a way where instead of English 101 and those kinds of compartments in traditional liberal arts, they were organized in very broad global centers, and there was a Center for Man and Anthropology, a Center for the Sciences, a Center for the Humanities, and then an overarching center called The Center for Civilization, and that would unify all of these centers. And so they attempt was always to make it interdisciplinary, and many of the courses that we took were team-taught, where you'd have a history professor and a scientist, both in the same classroom, trying to grapple with scientific issues and history issues at the same time.

I was in the charter class, there were just seventy-five students, about, I think, twenty-one Ph.D. faculty members and administrators, and we were on this square mile of campus, outside of Prescott, Arizona.

PS: Tom, there was some emphasis in the curriculum there, on environmental education and environmental issues, is that not correct?

TU: More recently it's taken even a greater emphasis in that area. But one of the thoughts of the early founders of Prescott College, Dr. Ronald Nairn, who was the head of the college, was to use this outdoor laboratory. And so we had an extensive geology program, and one of the thoughts was that you would use the setting you were in. For example, what could be greater for a student, than to float down the Grand Canyon and study geology? And there was an actual field trip part of the geology courses at Prescott College, where they would get on a raft and float down for ten days, and look at all the various geologic structures, and study it from that perspective, while also studying it in the classroom. So it was, it was very different, and the emphasis was in using the out-of-doors.

The other way we used the out-of-doors was in terms of the orientation for the college. Dr. Nairn, after, I think it was the first year, the second year decided on having an outdoor action program. And he hired Outward Bound the first year. The theory was that when you came into the college, instead of a traditional one-day orientation, you would have a three-week orientation in the wilderness, where you would go out into the wilderness, with a group of administrators, faculty, and the new students. Eventually, I was one of the instructors in the courses that

occurred later on. But our idea was to have instructors that were actually Prescott College students, to lead these groups.

You'd go kayaking, sailing, mountain climbing, and do all of these things, while you were learning about what the college was about. And there was an honor code at the college, and part of the orientation was for everyone to pass on what the honor code was all about, and basically what the approach of the college was. And so we used the out-of-doors as that setting for the orientation, and they did that every year that I was there, I think, from the second year, on. And I think it was maybe the third or fourth year where I then became an instructor, after working with Outward Bound, and led one of the courses.

PS: Tom, when you were growing up, did you have an opportunity to spend much time with your Grandfather Levi and your Grandmother Louise? And if so, can you talk a little bit about their influence on you?

TU: I didn't have that much time spent with Levi and Louise. And I think that was probably, more than anything, due to our separation in terms of distance. I was born in Tucson, and they were living, I think, in Phoenix at the time. And then we moved east in 1961, completely. And then I think my grandfather actually died before Dad—I don't know the exact date, but I think he died before Dad was sworn into the cabinet.

PS: Levi died in 1960.

TU: Yes, 1960, so it was before Dad was sworn in.

PS: You would have been only twelve then.

TU: I would have been twelve. And then Nana, as we called her, or Louise, lived until 1974, and so we would see a little bit more of her. But my memories of Levi were that he was a very strong, silent kind of judicial figure. He'd been a judge and read law and went to the Arizona Supreme Court, and I always just remember him being very quiet and solid. And that's probably the extent of some of my memories there. His wife, Louise, my grandmother, was much more outgoing and much more lively. I do remember when we would come out west, and sometimes we would go to their home and visit, and she always, for us, as kids, had lots of activities going on. She'd always organize other cousins to come over, and we'd have a good time there at the house. But I don't think I ever really reached the age where I got that exchange that you get with your grandparents, spending a lot of time with them—actually, like now, my sister's kids are getting with my father and my mom. They're getting a much more intensive experience than we had. It was more than anything, I think, just the separation.

PS: Here you're in close proximity.

TU: Here we're very close. My sister is just a couple of miles away. My mom helps with the kids in the morning. The grandchildren come over and spend hours at a time, either hiking with my dad, or just playing around the house—that kind of thing.

PS: Tom, when you finished at Prescott College then, at some point you made a decision to go into law as a career. And you went to law school immediately after finishing Prescott, or was there some interim time before you started law school?

TU: I graduated in May of 1970, and I didn't start law school in England, at Cambridge University, until October of 1973. So I had a period of time there, several years, where I was doing a number of other things. The first thing I did out of Prescott College, was immediately join a campaign. It was a fellow named Oren Beatty. He was my father's right-hand person for fourteen years, the time he was in the Congress, and the time he was in the cabinet. And Oren decided to come back out to Arizona. He was a native-born Arizonan—or he'd been there since he was very young—and decided to run for Congress in the district where I went to college.

And there was this very conservative congressman by the name of Sam Steiger, who really didn't fit my bill of what a congressman from that district should be. I had known Oren and grown up with seeing Oren around, and I just thought he was great. And so Dad encouraged me to sign up with Oren, and helped out a little bit financially. And the next thing I knew, I was Oren's really all-purpose aide. In those days you didn't have big fancy campaign staffs. Oren and I would get in a car, and I'd be his driver. Then we'd get to town, and we'd need to rustle up the press, and so I'd run down to the local newspaper and bring the press over. I'd help when we'd be riding along in the car, editing the press releases, and helped him out with that. So I was driver, and sign-putter-upper, and assistant press secretary, and just everything rolled into one. I spent from graduation, all the way 'til November, doing that. It was pretty much full-time. It was a very intensive experience.

And then the experience I mentioned that I gained at Prescott College, of instructing Outward Bound courses, I then worked a number of outdoor action courses—not Outward Bound specifically, because other courses were starting up that were very similar. And I worked about seven or eight of those in various places around the West—some in Colorado. The format is just like Outward Bound. It's a twenty-six-day course, you take kids out, you have a marathon, you have a solo, you have the final expedition. It's the components of Outward Bound—it's just the programs were named differently. One was called Challenge Discovery. Another course that I did in Baja, California, was for Denver's East High School. It was an inner-city high school, and they had hired us to take kids into the mountains, and give them a mountain experience, hiking up a canyon in Baja, California. And so I think that was a little shorter than twenty-six days, but it was the same format: give them backpacks, teach them to orienteer, work as a group, those kinds of things.

So I did that for a period, and then I worked for Senator Joe Biden, when he just took office. This is still before I went off to Cambridge University. And I worked for Senator Biden. He had that tragic.... I actually went to.... The first time I met him was when I went to Delaware with my father. There was a flurry, the last three or four weeks in campaigns that usually happens in Senate races that are identified where there's a challenger that's really making headway and has a shot. And that was the case with Joe Biden. He was running against a guy named Caleb Boggs, a three-term incumbent. I was back east, and Dad was going up to

campaign for him, and I had a day or so, and so we went up together, and I met Joe Biden, and then he did knock off that incumbent, and he had that horrible accident where his wife and his kids were killed before he took office. But he came into office, and I think I started in February and worked for about four or five months in that time period, until the summer, and then we had some family summer trips planned out west, and we did those, and then I took off for Cambridge in the fall.

PS: Tom, what did your work involve when you were working in Senator Biden's office?

TU: I think my title was something like assistant for special projects. And really, what I ended up doing was being kind of a trouble-shooter and helping with any project that came up during the day that might be an emergency, or might need some urgent attention. I remember doing things like drafting correspondence. Sometimes I'd get an assignment from the administrative assistant, and they'd say, "Senator Biden is going to speak to so-and-so group, and he needs you to pull out facts and figures on what's happening in that area." It might be health care, it might be juvenile crime, it might be crime overall. And so they would have a file there, and I'd pull the file out and read it, and then what we call nowadays "talking points," I'd just pull out some of the relevant facts and figures and try to give a little bit of a history on the facts and figures, and where we were, and then summarize the bills that were pending before the Senate. I think I went with him occasionally to some of the talks. And some correspondence.

Then the other part of it was actually analyzing legislation—treaties and legislation—and writing a briefing paper for him to read and educate. And the purpose would be to educate him on why a particular treaty or a bill was before the Senate: how many times had it come up; how it had changed; what were the amendments that were going to be proposed; what were the pros and cons on the amendments; what interest groups would take different positions, the national groups, what they were saying, and what their problems were with the bill. So it was basically those kinds of tasks.

PS: Tom, I'll come back to Cambridge, but I want to go back just a little bit before you left for Cambridge. Once your dad took office in January of '61 as President Kennedy's secretary of the Interior, shortly thereafter Mo was elected in a special election, through a rather bitterly-fought primary and then an election in May in which he took your father's old position as a District 2 congressman, Arizona only having two districts at that time. During that time period, after the family had moved to Washington, Mo arrives shortly after to take up his first congressional term. Did you get to spend much time with Mo when you were in Washington, in terms of visits, talks? And I think what I'm beginning to sort of get at here, if so, what kind of an influence did Mo begin to have on you? At the time you would have moved in '61, you would have been thirteen years old. Up to the point you finished high school, you would have been in Washington, Mo would have been there. And these are, as I guess the child psychologists say, formative years. I'm sort of curious to find out what kind of interactions went on between yourself and Mo during that time period.

TU: Okay. Probably in the earlier years, when I'm down around the age of twelve or thirteen, more of the involvement with Mo and his wife Pat, was through the kids. I mean, I actually feel

like our two families, the Morris Udall family and the Stewart Udall family, and the six kids in each family, it's really, in a way, like one big family. They're my first cousins, but the way we grew up, we were very close to them, and saw a lot of them. And we all grew up in Tucson. We didn't grow up very far apart, and we saw quite a bit of each other as kids. And so I think my first memory would be [that] it was exciting for us that they were coming back—that the kids were coming back. It was very short-lived, because Pat and Mo split up, and the kids went back out to Arizona. But that was the early period, my memory of them: of the kids coming back and having some contact with the kids.

And then I think as I got older, in the fourteen, fifteen, sixteen range, when you start getting to the point you're focusing more outside of yourself, and what's going on in the world, and where things are going, and you're getting into high school. There was a great deal of contact between Mo and my dad. They would come over to our house, or go over to Mo's house, and talk about the issues of the day. It was the same kind of discussion that we would have around our breakfast table or dinner table, or whatever. But Dad and Mo would be visiting about whatever the issue was. I don't even remember many of the issues right now, but that was something for me—and I think it probably had more of an influence on my life, because I was older then, and I was at the point of being interested in what was going on. And so I was, most of the time, really in the role of just sitting and listening and hearing what they were saying about the Congress or about the relationships within the cabinet, or how a particular issue was proceeding, or discussing the personalities that they had to deal with.

Mo and Dad both have that experience of being in the House, and I think early on—I would imagine, I don't remember specific discussions—but I'm sure that Mo was probing Dad a lot about his experience in the House, and who the players were, and how it worked. And then as they moved further down the line, and Dad got his agenda together as secretary of Interior, I'm sure it was the other way around, of him probing Mo in terms of how do we work all these angles in order to get things through, that he wanted to propose, major pieces of environmental legislation that were put through in the sixties. And so there was always that sharing going on, and visiting going on. I think that's probably the beginning, or the sparks were there, of being interested in public service, of being interested in public policy issues, and sparking an interest in me, and just being involved in my society, and caring about how it operated, and playing a part somehow.

I would describe Mo and my dad, the two of them, as I grew up and as I got older, it was like having two dads, rather than having one, because Mo was just as accessible, and he was always there, back in Washington, if I happened to go back to Washington. Although after I came back out west, I didn't have as much contact with Mo, although all of us as kids were very close, and we always spent our vacations, we always tried to spend our vacations back with our parents, and usually Mo would be back there, some of his kids would be back there, and all of my brothers and sisters would be back there. So we'd have that interaction going on.

PS: Tom, did you ever have the opportunity to watch Mo in action, so to speak, on the House floor? Did you ever go to sessions of Congress?

TU: Yes.

PS: I've watched films of this, and the feeling that one is left with, watching Mo in action on the floor of the House, was an incredible ability to almost mesmerize people with his arguments, his logic. Do you have any thoughts or feelings, whenever you had an opportunity to do that, and sort of watch him arguing a particular bill?

TU: Well, he was always a very engaging person. And in just these living room conversations, whether it was at Mo's house or at our house, he had that same kind of energy that he really put himself into the issues, and into his life's work. And so when you saw him, when my mom or my dad would take me down, I think I probably—the first memories are probably going back to my mom taking me down and seeing my dad on the floor. I was very, very young then, and don't remember exactly what the issues were, but Dad would be down there talking. It was really a much different institution then, because I think all of them were on the floor then. The impression I got later on when I was back in Mo's office very, very late, is they seemed to all be watching what was going on, on the floor, from their office on their closed circuit television, that was showing them what was happening, rather than convening over there and hearing the speeches.

But Mo was a very dynamic figure, and he was very outgoing. He was very gregarious. He was always willing to talk about whatever part of his—at least to me and any others that were there—any part of his job. And I even remember a few times he would include me, when I'd stop by, in his staff meetings. And I don't quite remember the years, but he'd have a staff meeting, and I'd just happen to be down there or something, and stop by the office, doing something at Library of Congress, and he'd have a staff meeting. He'd say, "Why don't you join us?" and he'd encourage me to speak up and state my opinion.

He had a way with his staff: he'd always throw out whatever issue it was, and ask their advice. I think he probably most of the time already knew where he was headed, but I think it was a way of a management tool of including them, and making them feel that they were buying-into the work they were doing, that they were helping shape certainly the background that he was basing his decisions on, if not the actual decision.

PS: Tom, the next question sort of evolves out of the one I just asked you, and perhaps is a little more general. Growing up with a well-known father and uncle, who were both leaders in the newly-evolving environmental movement—the sixties marked a watershed for the environmental movement in this country, there's no question in terms of gear switching, in terms of how things were done from previous decades. How did that influence you in some of your decisions in terms of career, some of your stands on environmental issues? Do you look at yourself in some sense as inheriting some of that mantle of environmentalism or conservation, or do you differ a little bit from that? Does that remain a very, very strong influence?

TU: The thing that really hit me first, I think, was how much both Dad and Mo really loved the land and loved being out-of-doors. That just always showed in our upbringing. When I talked earlier about us going back and forth between Arizona and northern Virginia, when we would

come back west, there would always be some kind of summer vacation, even when we were the youngest of kids. I think several of the summers then were spent over on the beach, over on the ocean, at Laguna Beach. I think my parents were always kind of ratcheting-up the out-of-doors for us. I mean, early on, when you're a small kid, the beach, it's sometimes even hard to handle the beach with those big waves smashing and whatever. But then we would later on go on Jeep trips. My father took us out and we did rock climbing out in Carderock in Maryland. And so there was always a component of our lives where my parents, our vacations were out-of-doors, we were doing things out-of-doors.

When they built the house in Arizona, it wasn't in a real tight little suburban neighborhood, it was actually out there in the desert. We had a horse when we were young, we lived on the edge of a big wash. I just always had the experience of growing up in the out-of-doors. It probably wasn't exactly like where Mo and my dad and his brother and sisters grew up in St. Johns, but it was very much an outdoors experience, and learning the desert, and learning the desert animals, and the desert plants, and those kinds of things. So that was the start, I think, for me, of just having a great appreciation for the environment, just being a part of the natural world.

Then, as you grow older, there were all the discussions Dad and Mo were having. You become more aware in the world of what's going on. And clearly, their work in the Congress, and then my father in the cabinet, and Mo's run for president, a major thrust of what they were doing was conservation, preservation, just really old-fashioned environmentalism; and back to Teddy Roosevelt and some of the real historic figures on environmental issues. And I think my natural affinity for the environment that I grew up in, and all of that, contributed to giving me a real interest in environmental issues. I've maintained that all of my life.

When I got out, I went to Prescott College, we had that outdoor action program there, I strived to be an instructor and very early was, and then spent a couple of years just doing out-of-doors, on-the-loose kinds of things. You know, just out there teaching courses. When we weren't teaching courses, we were doing a reconnaissance for a course. And so I spent several years of my life almost exclusively in the out-of-doors. And my cousin, Mark, as you probably know, carried that particular part on, and was the director of the Outward Bound School for almost fifteen years. At a particular point in my life, if it had taken a little different twist, I could have very easily seen me doing the same kind of thing, because I just enjoyed it so much and loved it so much. But I took a little different path, and I think in all the jobs and wherever I've been, I've tried to stay involved with the environmental movement and the environmental issues of where I'm living and that kind of thing. And then as attorney general, it's been one of my big issues here in New Mexico over the last six years.

PS: And Tom, I want to talk about that a little bit further down the road. Let's get back. I think we left you leaving Biden's office, and you were about to go off to Cambridge.

TU: Right.

PS: What influenced your decision to go to law school at Cambridge?

TU: Well, I went to this little college of Prescott in Arizona, and it was headed up by a New Zealander by the name of Dr. Ronald Nairn. And Dr. Nairn had a network of people, internationally, that he knew in the education scene. And one of them was a gentleman by the name of Dr. Clive Parry. Dr. Parry came and visited Prescott, and I had the opportunity to meet him. A good friend of a girlfriend of mine—actually, the brother of a girlfriend of mine—went to Cambridge the year before I applied, and I started hearing about that experience then. He wrote me and told me that they had this great international program for students at Downing College, Cambridge University. And he encouraged me to apply. And at the time, I was applying to law schools all over the West—mainly in the West—Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico.

And so when I heard about the program from this friend of mine, Alan Cox [phonetic], I thought this was a great opportunity. And I'd worked with the president of the school in an independent study program, so I became much closer to him than most students at Prescott. And he was saying what a great opportunity it would be. He weighed in and made some heavy recommendations. And I had never been to Europe. I'd only, I think, as far as being out of the country, had been to Canada and to Mexico, but I'd never been to Europe. And for me, at the particular time, I applied, it was almost on a whim, I think. I thought, "Well, this sounds great. Put in the application. I have all my other applications in." And I got in. And then I talked with my parents, and I talked with Allan Cox some more about it, and may have had a phone call with Dr. Nairn. And the next thing I knew, I accepted and I was on the way to Cambridge.

I thought, what a terrific way to, one, see Europe, and have that experience; and secondly, go to study at the roots of common law. All of our law is basically drawn from English law. So it was a way to go all the way back. From what I understood about the program, it wouldn't set me too far back in terms of American legal education. I ended up getting two degrees in four years, rather than one in three years. And I actually could have shortened that somewhat, but for Mo's presidential campaign in 1976.

PS: The Cambridge program went for how long, Tom?

TU: The Cambridge program was two years, so October of '73, and then I was back out here at the University of New Mexico in the fall of '75.

PS: Okay, so then you finished your law degree here at the University of New Mexico?

TU: Right. Yes, I got a bachelor of laws at Cambridge University, and then they—I had been talking with the University of New Mexico and some of the professors out here. One of them had gone to Oxford, a fellow by the name of Al Lutt [phonetic]. And he had told me a lot about their programs here. And they had led me to believe—and it was true when I got here—that they would accept many of my Cambridge courses. Archibald Cox, for example, right after the Saturday Night Massacre, he went to Cambridge, from the school he was at—I think from Harvard, over to Cambridge, for a one-year sabbatical. I took his American constitutional law

course, which is a fascinating course, because a lot of it was about Watergate and the constitution and all of the conflicts.

But the real point there is that Cambridge, being the basis of the common law, there were so many courses that were just like first-year law courses, they could just transfer them straight across: torts, property, and contract law, this American constitutional law course. And so I was able to get about a year-and-a-half of credit towards a three-year degree, by doing two years in Cambridge.

PS: Tom, when you finished law school here at UNM, as you said a minute ago, you were up to the time period where Mo was running for president.

TU: That's right.

PS: Did you become involved in Mo's presidential campaign? And if so, in what way?

TU: Well, I think all of us in the Stewart Udall family were all very interested in Mo's campaign, and we'd been talking about it from very early on—in fact, back into '75. And I think I came home from Cambridge for one Christmas. And at Christmas, there was an old-time friend named Richard Schweitzer, with us at the house at Christmas. We had these long discussions, and Mo was discussing the possibility of running for president. It was very exciting. So when I went back to Cambridge, he had already started gearing up after Christmas, and I knew that I was going to be out and be back in the United States sometime that summer, and start law school in the fall. So I tried to encourage everyone to send me clippings, and tried to follow in whatever newspapers were over there. I'm sure that Christmas when we were back, there were probably a couple of times where I went over with my father and maybe some of the other kids, and some of Mo's kids, and we sat around Mo's house, and they talked strategy about what they were planning.

And Dad, I think, from very early on, was Mo's national campaign manager. He was really—they were like an alter ego situation: if Mo couldn't make it to something, Dad could go and cover for him just as well. And they were very, very close, and plugged-into where they were headed and how the strategy should work, and that kind of thing. And Dad, at one point, I think, in order to help Mo out, he had bought a lot of gold, put some money in some gold, for savings—I think \$15,000 or something—and had to eventually sell it in order to support himself during the period, because he didn't have much going on in the way of income coming in, to keep working for Mo's campaign.

But in any event, I came back. So I tried to follow things as they were developing over in England. I got back that summer, and I remember specifically having a meeting with Mo, and him telling me—he'd just gotten back from New Mexico. By then I knew I was going to New Mexico, and this may have been a meeting at his house, or I may have ran into him down on the Hill or something, and he said, "I just got back from New Mexico. There's this great guy out in New Mexico that's heading things up for me by the name of Gene Gallegos." I think Mo already knew that I was headed out to New Mexico, because he told Gene about me, and he said, "You

make sure and get in touch with him when you get out there. He's my state chair." We had a small group, an organizational planning meeting, we moved things along, people are excited, and "I hope you'll help me out."

So one of the first things I did when I landed here in Albuquerque, New Mexico—I drove a van across the country with all my things—is check in with this lawyer who was Mo's campaign chair, Gene Gallegos. Gene made me the number two person, kind of the assistant state campaign chair for the entire campaign. And in particular, Gene was here in Santa Fe, and I was down at the big university in Albuquerque, and Albuquerque's the biggest city. And so he wanted us to really get going on organizing the campus and getting into the local party organization. And then Gene and I traveled all around the state of New Mexico on weekends when both of us could fit it in, on the presidential campaign. It would be the two of us come into town, interview with the press, meet with volunteers.

We had a caucus system then—New Mexico had a caucus system—so the key was getting to communities, and organizing the local party activists to be for Mo. And since Gene had just run for Congress in 1972, in the McGovern year, he ran a very close race. He was very well-known, especially in northern New Mexico. I think most of the active Democrats knew him all around the state. And so he had a real base on which to build on, and to help Mo out. I traveled with him, we organized the university, and we finally organized a visit when Mo came in, near the end of the campaign, near the caucus. And we ended up, the first rounds of the caucus, which occurred in, I think, about March—it was very early in the process—we won the two biggest cities in the entire state, two-to-one, for Mo in the caucus system. Bernalillo County and Dona Ana County, we won two-to-one.

We had the governor opposed to us. The governor of New Mexico was Jerry Apodaca and he was helping Jimmy Carter. They were very close, because they were governors. So we had some major opposition, but between Gene's contacts, and all of the work we did, and then Mo and Dad just spending so much time in New Mexico, I think they always felt like New Mexico and Arizona were the same state, in a way, and they always used to describe having one leg in each state. As kids, they used to compete against New Mexico basketball teams and all of that.

So anyway, I worked all the way through, and eventually, what I did, when the campaign got more serious, they wouldn't let me take a semester off of law school, so I dreamed up a way where I could take a minimal number of courses, and then drop some courses right near the end of the grade period, where they wouldn't go on my record, and I worked very intensely and then went up to Wisconsin and worked. I spent a week. There was the big race in Wisconsin where we were all very discouraged. We'd done well in New Mexico, but it started turning against Mo. And then by Wisconsin, the word was in the whole family and in Mo's campaign staff was that Wisconsin was going to be the last ditch. Mo was way behind, there was no chance of him winning, and all the family should be up there to just kind of end the campaign. That was the idea, was to go up and the family was all going to be there, and the campaign would be over with. And then there was that miraculous close race, and even the networks called it that night.

It was razor thin. And so I was up there campaigning a little bit, was with Mo that night. Mo and my dad and Stan Kurz and all the other....

PS: Tom, I think I'm going to take a break now. I think my tape's about to run out. So why don't we take a break for a second.

TU: Sounds good.

[END FIRST TAPE (#8), SIDE A; BEGIN SIDE B]