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ADDRESSES AND SPECIAL ORDERS

HELD IN THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE SENATE

PRESENTED IN HONOR OF

Hon. Morris K. "Mo" Udall

A Representative from Arizona



ONE HUNDRED SECOND CONGRESS

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The Honorable Morris K. "Mo" Udall

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FIRST SESSION



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This Fella from Arizona

"Born in a desert hamlet, Mo Udall came to Washington wearing funny suits and cowboy boots. Having lost bids to become Speaker and then majority leader, he tried to lead the whole country ~ and lost again. His fate was simply to become one of the great lawmakers of our time."

*James M. Perry
Audubon Magazine
November 1981*





BIOGRAPHY

MORRIS KING "MO" UDALL, of Tucson, AZ, was born in St. Johns, AZ, on June 15, 1922. He is the grandson of David King Udall, a noted Mormon pioneer, the son of Arizona Supreme Court Chief Justice Levi S. Udall and Louise Lee Udall, and brother of former Congressman and Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Lee Udall.

He attended the public schools of St. Johns, AZ. He was awarded a J.D. degree from the University of Arizona in 1949 (president student body, 1947, cocaptain of basketball team).

He entered the U.S. Army as a private in 1942, and was discharged as a captain in the U.S. Air Force in 1946, having served with the Twentieth Air Force in the Pacific Theater.

He played professional basketball with the Denver Nuggets in the 1948-49 season. In 1980 his portrait was hung in the Basketball Hall of Fame, honoring his year of professional basketball.

He began the practice of law in Tucson, AZ, and served as the county attorney for Pima County, AZ from 1952 to 1954. He was a partner in the law firm of Udall & Udall from 1949 to 1961, and served as vice

president of the Arizona State Bar Association in 1961. He lectured at the University of Arizona on labor law from 1956 to 1957.

During this period, he was the cofounder of the Bank of Tucson and the Catalina Savings and Loan Association, and he served as president of the Tucson YMCA in 1960.

Upon the resignation of his brother, Stewart, from the House of Representatives to serve as the Secretary of the Interior, Morris K. Udall was elected as a Democrat to the 87th Congress, by special election on May 2, 1961. He served in each succeeding Congress until his resignation from the 102d Congress on May 4, 1991.

Congressman Udall served as the chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs from 1977 until 1991. The committee's hearing room has been named by his colleagues as the "Morris K. Udall Room." He was the ranking member on the Committee of the Post Office and Civil Service, and also was the chairman of the Office of Technology Assessment, as well as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

page xi

He was a candidate in the Democratic primaries for President in the 1976 national campaign. He was the keynote speaker at the Democratic National Convention in New York City in 1980. In 1992 a special tribute was given to Morris K. Udall by the Democratic Party at their national convention held in New York City.

He has received numerous awards and commendations from national and state organizations throughout his legislative career, and he has been selected repeatedly by the media and his colleagues as one of the most respected and effective Members of the U.S. Congress.

Among his many publishing credits, Morris K. Udall wrote "Arizona Law of Evidence," which was published by West Publishing Co. in 1960 and still is used today in the University of Arizona School of Law. He also wrote "Job of a Congressman," published by Bobbs-Merrill in 1966, and "Education of a Congressman," published by Bobbs-Merrill in 1972. His best-known work, "Too Funny To Be President," was published by Henry Holt in 1988.

Since 1983, Morris K. Udall has served as the honorary chairman of the American Parkinson's Disease Association. He is the father of six children and was previously married to the former Patricia Emery and

the former Ella Royston. He presently is married to the former Norma Gilbert.

page xii



The Honorable Morris K. Udall of Arizona and his bride, Norma Gilbert Udall, gather with their wedding party in the U.S. Capitol rotunda after marrying in the chapel of the House of Representatives on August 6, 1989. Pictured with the newlyweds are Chaplain of the House, Rev. James David Ford, the Speaker of the House and Mr. Udall's best man, the Honorable Thomas S. Foley of Washington, and Senator Dennis DeConcini of Arizona with his wife, Susan.

***LIFE AND CAREER ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF HON. MORRIS
K.
UDALL***

[From the Arizona Republic]

JUNE 15, 1922

Born in St. Johns, AZ, to Levi Stewart and Louise Lee Udall. Morris was the fourth child in a pioneer Mormon family of three boys and three girls. His father became a chief justice of the Arizona Supreme Court, his mother was active in civic affairs and wrote a book, "Me and Mine," about the life of a Hopi woman.

1929

Loses his right eye after being cut with a knife while playing with another boy. An alcoholic physician botches treatment, causing an infection that almost causes young Udall to lose both eyes.

1931

Contracts a nearly fatal case of spinal meningitis.

page xiii

1938-40

Co-captain of the St. Johns High School Redskins basketball team. He also quarterbacked the football team, acts the lead in the school play, edits the yearbook, plays trumpet in the school band and serves as student body president and valedictorian.

During this time, Morris Udall develops a passion for politics, history and international affairs, and writes a column for the Apache County Independent News.

1940

Enters the University of Arizona on a basketball scholarship.

1942

Drafted and assigned to a limited service, noncombat support unit in Fort Douglas, UT, for those with physical handicaps. He is assigned to Lake Charles, LA, where he spent nearly 2 years.

With only 2 years of pre-law training, defends a black airman accused of killing a white guard while attempting to escape from a stockade. Six white officers sentence the man to death; he later writes, "The case still haunts me."

1945

Shipped to Iwo Jima, he arrives on "D-Day plus 155" with a piano and sporting equipment to entertain troops.

1946

Receives an honorable discharge with the rank of captain. He returns to the University of Arizona.

1947-48

Student body president, cocaptain of a Border Conference championship basketball team and a full-time law student.

1949

Graduates with a bachelor of law degree from the University of Arizona with credits from the University of Denver, where he played professional basketball for the old Denver Nuggets.

He has the highest score on the State bar exam in 1949. That same year, he forms a law partnership with his brother, Stewart.

1950

Named chief deputy Pima County attorney.

1952

At age 30, is elected county attorney.

1954

Loses a bid for Superior Court judge.

1960

Publishes his first book, "Arizona Law of Evidence," still referred to as the Arizona trial lawyer's bible.

page xiv

1961

On May 2, wins a special election to Congress by a narrow margin over Republican Mac Matheson to fill a seat left open after Stewart Udall is named interior secretary. Morris Udall is sworn into office May 17.

Named to the Interior Committee and the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

1965

First wife, Pat, with whom he had six children, calls him at his Tucson office and tells him she wants a divorce.

Also that year, Udall irritates labor by voting Arizona's way on right-to-work legislation.

1967

Udall faces voters in Tucson to announce his opposition to the Vietnam War. The speech makes headlines from the Nogales Herald to The New York Times.

1968

Challenges House Speaker John McCormack, who was then 77, and loses in the Democratic Caucus.

That same year, marries Ella Royston, who was a staff member on the post office panel.

Publishes "The Job of the Congressman," considered a must-read for new Members of Congress.

1970

Runs against Hale Boggs for the post of majority leader. The vote in the Democratic Caucus: Boggs, 140; Udall, 88, and a conservative candidate, 17. Turns his "MO" button upside down so it read "OW" and considers returning to private law practice.

1972

Publishes "Education of a Congressman."

1974

On November 23, 1974, announces in New Hampshire he is a candidate for president.

1976

Enters--and loses -- 22 primaries.

Later, falls off a ladder, breaking both arms. He contracts viral pneumonia, suffers a burst appendix, gets peritonitis and shows sign of Parkinson's disease.

1977

Named chairman of the Interior Committee, becoming Arizona's first House committee chairman since 1952.

1979

Diagnosed as having Parkinson's disease, and incurable and debilitating nerve disorder.

page xv

1980

Delivers keynote address at the Democratic National Convention in New York.

1982

He and his Tucson Democratic allies threaten to take the Arizona Legislature to court over its redistricting plan, which he contends unfairly splinters the Hispanic vote. Lawmakers compromise and place more of Tucson in the 2d Congressional District; runs for re-election there and wins easily.

1984

Announces that he will not seek the Democratic presidential nomination, saying the campaign would become a forum on Parkinson's disease.

1988

Finds the body of his wife, Ella, in the garage of their Virginia home. The death is ruled a suicide.

Later, publishes "Too Funny to be President."

1989

Marries his third wife, Norma Gilbert, a former Interior Committee aide.

1990

Announces his re-election bid will be his last.

1991

January 6, falls in his Arlington, VA, home, breaking four ribs, a shoulder blade and a collarbone. He is transferred to a nursing home at the Veterans Administration Medical Center.

January 24, the House votes to name California Democrat George Miller as acting chairman of the Interior Committee.

April 5, his wife, Norma, sends a letter to Speaker Foley saying her husband may have to resign unless his health makes a "marked improvement."

April 19: his office announces he will resign.

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL'S CAREER IN CONGRESS

[Placed in the Congressional Record by Senator Dennis DeConcini, November 21, 1991)

1964

Acts as floor whip for civil rights legislation.

1965

The legislative fight begins for the Central Arizona Project, and he joins an effort to build two dams in the Grand Canyon as part of the massive water project. Two years

later, after environmentalists balk at the idea, he realizes the CAP will never become a reality with dams in the Grand Canyon.

page xvi

1967

Challenges archaic House seniority system by successfully spearheading an effort to strip Adam Clayton Powell of his chairmanship of the House Committee on Education and Labor.

1968

The CAP bill is signed into law by President Johnson.

1969

Sparks an inquiry that flushes out the secret of the massacre of civilians at My Lai, a Vietnamese hamlet.

1970

Gains passage of the Postal Reform Act, which makes the Postal Service a semiprivate corporation.

1971

Is chief sponsor of the 1971 Campaign Reform Act, which made the first real national rules for campaign finance, limiting expenditures and contributions and providing for voluminous disclosure.

1972

Introduces legislation to put more than 100 million acres of Federal land in Alaska into new national parks, wildlife refuges and national forests.

1977

President Carter signs strip-mining legislation, which for the first time provides direction to the mining industry for reclaiming and restoring coal strip mine land.

1978

Sponsors Indian Child Welfare Act that establishes standards for placement of Indian children in foster or adoptive homes.

Also, plays a major role in passage of Carter's civil service reforms.

1979

Archaeological Research Protection Act passes, setting up a system for safeguarding Indian artifacts and other archaeological resources from vandalism and theft from public lands.

1980

President Carter signs the Alaska Lands bill into law. The bill doubles the size of the National Park System, doubling the size of the National Refuge System and tripling the size of the National Wilderness System.

1984

Arizona Wilderness Act of 1984 passes, protecting more than 1 million acres of State land.

page xvii

1987

Sponsors amendment to the Price-Anderson provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to provide additional money to compensate the public in the event of a nuclear accident.

1989

Wins passage of an Indian gaming act that provides for the first time minimum Federal regulations for gaming activities on reservations.

1990

Wins passage of the Arizona Desert Wilderness Act, which protects more than 2 million acres of Federal land from development. Cosponsors legislation to protect the Grand Canyon from the effects of water flows from Glen Canyon Dam.

Plays a key role in passage of the Tongass Timber Reform Act, ending huge Federal subsidies to two pulp mills that were cutting down the ancient forest in southeast Alaska. The bill also protects more than 1 million acres from logging and road building.

LEGISLATION SPONSORED BY HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

87TH CONGRESS (1961-1962)

H.R. 7240 -- Authorizes an exchange of lands at Wupatki National Monument, AZ, to provide access to certain ruins to add certain federally owned lands. Became Public Law 87-136.

H.R. 10566 -- Provides for the withdrawal and orderly disposition of mineral interests in certain public lands in Pima County, AZ. Became Public law 87-747.

88TH CONGRESS (1963-1964)

H.R. 946 -- Authorizes the establishment of the Fort Bowie National Historic Site, in Arizona. Became Public Law 88-510.

H.R. 7419 -- Authorizes the conclusion of agreements with Mexico for joint construction, operation, and maintenance of flood control works on the lower Colorado River. Became Public Law 88-411.

89TH CONGRESS (1965-1966)

H.R. 1746 -- Defines "child" under the Civil Service Retirement Act to include adopted child but not stepchild for lump sum benefits. Became Public Law 89-407.

H.R. 3320 -- Authorizes the establishment of the Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, in Arizona. Became Public Law 89-148.

H.R. 6845 -- Provides that the basic compensation for teaching positions in overseas schools operated by the Department of Defense be the same as basic compensation for similar positions under the Government of the District of Columbia. Became Public law 89-391.

H.R. 7648 -- Authorizes long-term leases on the Papago Indian Reservation. Became Public Law 89-715.

H.R. 10281 -- Government Employees Salary Comparability Act.

Title 1. Federal Salary Adjustment Act--Provides for an increase in the compensation of Federal employees of approximately 4.5 percent. Provides for the reconsideration and review by the Civil Service Commission of "acceptable level of competence" for purposes of step increases. Increases to GS-10 (now GS-9) the maximum level at which overtime compensation may be paid.

page xviii

Provides for similar increase in the compensation of Postal employees and relocation allowances for such employees who are transferred.

Provides similar increases for employees in Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans' Administration, for officers, and employees in the Foreign Service, employees in the legislative branch, and employees in the judicial branch.

Provides for an additional adjustment of salary rates in 1966 and periodically thereafter to make the Federal salary schedule comparable to the rates paid by private industry.

Provides severance pay, up to 1 year's pay, for employees who are involuntarily (except for cause) separated from the service. Bases such as pay on years of service and age.

Title II. Federal Salary Review Commission Act--Provides for a 10 member Federal Salary Review Commission to review the compensation of Member of Congress, Justices, and salary levels under the Federal Executive Salary Act. Provides for the Commission to submit a report by January 1967, and periodically thereafter.

90TH CONGRESS (1967-1968)

H.R. 2154 -- Provides long term leasing for the Gila River Indian Reservation. Became Public law 90-182.

92D CONGRESS (1971-1972)

H.R. 15869 -- Provides that an action for money damages brought by the United States on behalf of a recognized tribe, band, or group of American Indians shall not be barred unless the complaints filled more than six years and ninety days after the right of action is accrued. Became Public Law 92-353.

H.R. 13825 -- Provides that an action for money damages brought by the United States on behalf of a recognized tribe, band, or group of American Indians, or on behalf of an individual Indian whose land is held in trust or restricted status, shall not be barred unless the complaint is filed more than eleven years after the right of action accrued or more than two years after a final decision has been rendered in applicable administrative proceedings required by contract or by law, whichever is later. Became Public Law 92-485.

93D CONGRESS (1973-1974)

H.R. 7730 -- The Secretary of Interior is authorized and directed to acquire through purchase within the so called San Carlos Mineral Strip as of January 24, 1969, all privately owned real property, taking title there to in the name of the United States in trust for the San Carlos Apache Indian Tribe. Became Public Law 93-530.

H.R. 3180 -- Franked Mail Amendment. The policy of the Congress that the privilege of sending mail as franked mail shall be established under this section in order to assist and expedite the conduct of the official business, activities, and duties of the Congress of the United States.

94TH CONGRESS (1975-1976)

H.R. 14227 -- Directs the Secretary of Agriculture to release the board of regents of the universities and State colleges of Arizona from the requirement that specified lands transferred by the United States for the use of the University of Arizona be used only for research or educational purposes.

page xix

95TH CONGRESS (1977-1978)

H.J. Res. 539 -- A resolution to amend the statute of limitations provisions in section 2415 of title 28, United States Code, relating to claims by the United States on behalf of Indians. Became Public law 95-64.

H.R. 4992 -- A bill to amend the Indian Financing Act of 1974 by revising the appropriations authorization for the Indian Business Development Program. Became Public law 95-68.

H.R. 8397 -- A bill to provide that a certain tract of land in Pinal County, AZ, held in trust by the United States for the Papago Indian Tribe, be declared a part of the Papago Indian Reservation. Became Public Law 95-361.

H.R. 10787 -- A bill to authorize appropriations for activities and programs carried out by the Secretary of the Interior through the Bureau of Land Management. Became Public Law 95-352.

H.R. 13972 -- A bill to designate the Great Bear Wilderness, Flathead National Forest, and enlarge the Bob Marshall Wilderness Flathead and Lewis and Clark National Forests State of Montana. Became Public Law 95-546.

H.R. 2 -- To provide for the cooperation between the Secretary of the Interior and the States with respect to the regulation of surface coal mining operations, and the acquisition and reclamation of abandoned mines, and for other purposes. Became Public law 95-87.

H.R. 3454 -- To designate certain endangered public lands for preservation as wilderness, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 95-237.

H.R. 10532 -- To amend Public Law 95-18, providing for emergency drought relief measures. An act to provide temporary authorities to the Secretary of the Interior to facilitate emergency actions to mitigate the impacts of the 1976-1977 drought. Became Public Law 95-226.

H.R. 13650 -- To authorize appropriations for activities and programs carried out by the Secretary of the Interior through the Bureau of Land Management. Became Public Law 95-352.

96TH CONGRESS (1979-1980)

H.R. 39 -- A bill to provide for the designation and conservation of certain public lands in the state of Alaska, including the designation of units of the National Park, National Wildlife Refuge, National Forest, National Wild and Scenic Rivers, and National Wilderness Preservation Systems, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 96-487.

H.R. 1825 -- A bill to protect archaeological resources owned by the United States, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 96-95.

H.R. 3661 -- A bill to increase the authorization of appropriations under the Act of December 22, 1974. Became Public Law 96-40.

H.R. 1885 -- A bill to amend Civil Service retirement provisions as they apply to certain employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and of the Indian Health Service who are not entitled to Indian employment preference and to modify the application of the Indian employment preference laws as it applies to those agencies. Became Public Law 96-135.

H.R. 5278 -- A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to engage in feasibility investigations of certain water resource developments. Became Public Law 96-375.

97TH CONGRESS (1981-1982)

H.R. 2330 -- A bill to authorize appropriations to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 97-415.

page xx

H.R. 4364 -- A bill to declare that the United States holds in trust for the Pascua Yaqui Tribe of Arizona certain land in Pima County, AZ. Became Public Law 97-386.

H.R. 5553 -- A bill to provide for the use and disposition of Miami Indians judgment funds in Dockets 124-b and 254 before the United States Court of Claims, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 97-376.

H.R. 6403 -- A bill to provide for the use and distribution of funds to the Wayndot Tribe of Indians in Docket 139 before the Indian Claim Commission and Docket 141 before the United States Court of Claims and for other purposes. Became Public Law 97-371.

H.R. 3809 -- A bill to provide for the development of repositories for the disposal of high level radioactive waste and spent nuclear fuel, to establish a program of research, development, and demonstration regarding the disposal of high level radioactive waste and spent nuclear fuel, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 97-425.

H.R. 4707 -- A bill to designate certain National Forest Lands in the State of Arizona as wilderness, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 98-406,

98TH CONGRESS (1983-1984)

H.J. Res. 158 -- A joint resolution to make technical corrections in the Act of January 25, 1983. Became Public Law 98-608.

H.R. 1746 -- A bill to authorize appropriations for the Navajo and Hopi Indian Relocation Commission. Became Public Law 98-48.

H.R. 6206 -- A bill amending the Act of July 28, 1978 (P.L. 95-238) relating to the water rights of the Ak-Chin Indian Community and for other purposes. Became Public Law 98-530.

H.R. 4707 -- A bill to designate certain national forest lands in the State of Arizona as wilderness, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 98-406.

99TH CONGRESS (1985-1986)

H.R. 730 -- A bill to declare that the United States holds in trust for the Cocopah Indian Tribe of Arizona certain land in Yuma County, AZ. Became Public Law 99-23.

H.R. 1185 -- A bill to amend the Act establishing the Petrified Forest National Park. Became Public Law 99-250.

H.R. 2698 -- A bill to designate the United States Courthouse in Tucson, AZ, as the "James A. Walsh United States Courthouse". Became Public Law 99-213.

H.R. 4378 -- A bill to govern the establishment of commemorative works within the National Capital Region of the National Parks System, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 99-652.

H.R. 5430 -- A bill to amend the Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community Judgment Distribution Plan. Became Public Law 99-493.

H.R. 1083 -- A bill to amend the Low-Level Radioactive Waste Policy Act to improve procedures for the Implementation of compacts providing for the establishment and operation of regional disposal for low-level radioactive waste; to grant the consent of the Congress to certain interstate compacts on low level radioactive waste; and for other purposes. Became Public Law 99-240.

H.R. 4216 -- A bill to provide for the replacement of certain lands within the Gila Bend Indian Reservation, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 99-503.

H.R. 4217 -- A bill to provide for the settlement of certain claims of the Papago Tribe of Arizona arising from the construction of Tat Momolik Dam, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 99-469.

100TH CONGRESS (1987-1988)

H.J. Res 284 -- A joint resolution designating the week beginning June 21, 1987, as "National Outward Bound Week". Became Public Law 100-61.

H.R. 1963 -- A bill to amend the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977 to permit States to set aside in a special trust fund up to 10 per centum of the annual State funds from the Abandoned Mine Land Reclamation Fund for expenditure in the future for purposes of abandoned mine reclamation, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 100-34.

H.R. 2937 -- A bill to make miscellaneous technical and minor amendments to laws relating to Indians, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 100-153.

H.R. 3479 -- An Act to provide clarification regarding the royalty payments owed under certain Federal Onshore and Indian oil and gas leases, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 100-234.

H.R. 1414 -- A bill to amend the Price-Anderson provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to extend and improve the procedures for liability and indemnification for nuclear incidents. Became Public law 100-408.

H.R. 4102 -- A bill to provide for the settlement of the water rights claims of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community in Maricopa County, AZ and for other purposes. Became Public Law 100-512.

H.R. 4362 -- A bill to amend Section 3 of the Act of June 14, 1926, as amended (43 U.S.C. 869-2), to authorize the issuance of patents with a limited reverter provision of lands devoted to solid waste disposal, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 100-648.

H.R. 5232 -- A bill to grant the consent of the Congress to the Southwestern Low-Level Radioactive Waste Disposal Compact. Became Public Law 100-712.

H.R. 5261 -- A bill to authorize and amend the Indian Health Care Improvement Act, and for other purposes, Became Public Law 100-713.

H.R. 4754 -- A bill to amend the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation Act of 1972 to authorize appropriations for implementation of the development plan for Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 100-415.

H.R. 1044 -- A bill to establish the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park in the State of California, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 100-348.

H.R. 1223 -- A bill entitled "Indian Self-Determination Amendments of 1987". Became Law 100-472.

101ST CONGRESS (1989-1990)

H.R. 2843 -- A bill to establish the Kino Missions National Monument in the State of Arizona. Became Public Law 101-344.

H.R. 2570 -- A bill to provide for the designation of certain public lands as wilderness in the state of Arizona. (Arizona Desert Wilderness Act of 1990; Fort McDowell Indian Community Water Rights Settlement Act of 1990; Sudbury, Assabet, and Concord Wild and Scenic River Study Act; Camp W.G. Williams Land Exchange Act of 1989; Take Pride in America Act; Civil War Sites Study Act of 1990; Clarks Fork Wild and Scenic River Designation Act of 1990.) Became Public law 101-628.

H.R. 5237 -- A bill to provide for the protection of Native American graves, and for other purposes. Became Public Law 101-601.



page 96

Proceedings in the Senate

Tuesday, April 23, 1991.

Mr. DECONCINI. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Congressman Morris K. Udall who announced this past Friday that he will be resigning from Congress on May 4, 1991, after dedicating 30 years of his life to serving both Arizona and this great Nation.

From California to Massachusetts, Alabama to Wisconsin, all of the messages were similar: Sadness, deep respect, liberal hero, politically

influential environmentalist, and above all, a witty, humorous gentleman who was truly the consummate politician, rising above partisan politics by building coalitions with Members from both sides of the aisle. In fact, it was his ability to use this humor that led him to write, "Humor becomes one of the most formidable tools (one) can wield in pursuit of legislative goals. A savvy pol can use humor to disarm his enemies, to rally his allies, to inform, rebut, educate, console, and convince." Without question, these beliefs enabled Mo to disarm even the most hostile foes and allowed Mo Udall, time and time again, to shepherd through Congress even the most controversial pieces of legislation.

I have known Mo Udall just about all my life. Mo's father, Levi Udall, and my father served on the Arizona Supreme Court together. Mo eventually came to work with his brother, Stewart, in my father's law office, after graduating from the University of Arizona College of Law.

As a high school student in Tucson, I remember supporting one of Mo's first campaigns for county attorney, an office which I was proud to serve a few years later. Even then he was an impressive man -- a top-notch litigator. Although he certainly was someone who commanded respect, more importantly he was someone who really deserved it.

Mo Udall was first elected to represent Arizona's Second Congressional District in 1961 in a special election to fill the seat that his brother Stewart vacated in order to serve as Secretary of the Interior for President Kennedy. Mo has since been reelected and

page 97

sent back to Washington 16 times by this constituents. He came to Washington at a time when Arizona was represented in Congress by influential politicians such as Barry Goldwater, Carl Hayden, and John Rhodes. Following in this tradition, Mo was able to use his position as chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee to protect and promote the interests of Arizona. Conservation and environmental legislation were his specialties. His love, admiration, and respect for the environment were so great he once said, "a nation that does not love and respect its land does not respect itself." What a profound credo.

With this credo, Mo worked tirelessly to pass landmark legislation such as the 1977 strip mining bill, the 1980 Alaska Lands Act, setting aside 100 million acres in Alaska as protected wilderness, and most recently, the Arizona Wilderness Act which now protects more than 2.4 million

acres of Arizona desert wilderness. Mo's influence on water rights also went consistently unchallenged. He was able to help pass legislation creating the central Arizona project, the lifeblood of the future of central Arizona and southern Arizona, which will bring much needed Colorado River water to both Phoenix and Tucson.

Not all of Mo's many legislative accomplishments, however, were environmentally related. As a young Member of Congress, Mo directly challenged the archaic practices of the seniority system in Congress by making a symbolic run for Speaker of the House against John McCormick. Although he was soundly defeated, it brought to the forefront the stifling nature of the seniority system and later led to major reforms in the committee system. Mo was also one of the first Members of Congress to disclose his personal finances, long before it was required, an action which later laid the basis for his leadership in civil service reform and revolutionary campaign finance laws in the early seventies.

When I came to the Senate I learned from Mo to put in every year a complete financial statement far greater than is required by law. That was just one of several things that Mo Udall taught me.

I will remember Mo Udall for many reasons, but most of all, I will remember his decency and his commitment to providing his best effort to everything he undertook. Mo Udall was a fighter. He never allowed any of his personal hardships or his battle with Parkinson's disease to slow him down. Even as Parkinson's began to take its toll, the old Udall charm and wit, for which he will be forever loved, never faded. I think all of us here in Congress and many of us around the country can say without hesitation that we are better for having witnessed and experienced this man's diligent work. He has nobly served his constituents, the State of Arizona, the U.S. Congress, and the people of this land. The entire Nation

page 98

has benefited and will forever remember his visionary thinking. I am saddened with his departure. I will miss his friendship, his counsel, his advice, and his leadership.

I will be introducing legislation soon which hopefully will help educate future generations of environmentalists. This legislation, the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Act, is a tribute to the man who has made a permanent imprint on this Nation's heritage of natural resources and encouraged America's youth

to become involved in its protection and enjoyment. This bill will establish a foundation comprised of representatives from the Department of Education, the Department of the Interior, and appointments by the President, Senate leaders, House leaders, and a representative from the University of Arizona. The foundation will award scholarships, fellowships, and grants from a \$25 million endowment fund for study in fields related to the environment. In addition, the foundation will provide assistance to the Morris K. Udall Archives which will include funding to maintain the current site of the repository for his papers and assures their availability to the public.

Finally, this legislation will also establish a center for environmental conflict resolution as well as work to develop resources to properly train professionals in environmental and environmentally related fields.

In closing, I would like to cite a quotation that Mo Udall hung next to the desk in his office which I believe best represents what this man was all about. The quote is from Will Rogers and reads, "We are here for just a spell and then pass on. So get a few laughs and do the best you can. Live your life so that whenever you lose, you are ahead." There is no doubt in my mind, Morris K. Udall is way ahead.

Thursday, November 26, 1991.

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to our esteemed former colleague, Mo Udall. The 30 years Mo Udall spent in Congress has left a significant mark on the House of Representatives, the Nation, and the State of Arizona. Without his sincere dedication, ability to encourage people to work together and humor, many of the gains made in protecting the environment for future generations may not have materialized.

Throughout his life he took advantage of opportunities to make positive change. As a high school student, Mo Udall participated and excelled in everything from editor of the high school paper and

page 99

first string on the basketball team to serving as the student body president. Even after graduating from the University of Arizona in 1949 with a bachelors of law degree, he excelled by receiving the highest

score on the State bar exam. I understand that his years of practicing law in Arizona left an unmatched legacy for future trial lawyers.

But it is the years Mo Udall spent in the House of Representatives striving for protection of the environment that has inspired my colleagues and I to continue our work toward this goal. Mo Udall's chairmanship of the Interior Committee and his membership on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee will long be remembered.

Mo's appreciation of the land and his attitude toward responsible management of our natural resources was reflected in several major bills that passed during his chairmanship, including legislation on strip mining in 1977, which marked the first time that the mining industry was given guidelines for restoring mined land. Another measure is the Alaska lands bill, which added large tracts of land to the national refuge system and the national wilderness system.

Mo Udall has a unique and special concern for Arizona and its vast wilderness, which was demonstrated by efforts to pass both the Arizona Wilderness Act of 1984, which protected more than 1 million acres of State land, and the Arizona Public Land Wilderness Act, which set aside 2 million acres of Arizona wilderness. This work on the Arizona Public Land Wilderness Act reflected his keen ability to get people with different goals to work together. Without this patience and leadership, the Arizona Public Land Wilderness Act could not have been passed.

Mo's outstanding contribution on environmental protection has set a standard for cooperation and reflects a special insight into our national land conservation needs. This unending determination, and organizational skills helped pass effective legislation to protect our scarce resources. I have for years admired these accomplishments and appreciated his helpfulness.

Mr. Speaker, his presence in the House of Representatives and dedication to this institution is sorely missed. All of us that had the privilege of serving with Chairman Mo Udall, however are far richer for that experience.

Legislation in Congress

Honoring Hon. Morris K. Udall



President George Bush signs legislation designating wilderness lands in Arizona. The bill was the last major piece of legislation sponsored by Congressman Udall before his retirement from the House of Representatives. Pictured from left to right are Senator John McCain of Arizona, Congressman Jim Kolbe of Arizona, President George Bush, Mrs. Norma Udall (representing the Honorable Morris Udall), and Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan.



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

JIM KOLBE
5TH DISTRICT, ARIZONA

26 November 1991

Dear Mo -

It is fitting that one of the last pieces of legislation to bear your imprint should be this bill expanding Saguaro National Monument - a part of Southern Arizona very dear to you, and legislation which enables us to preserve for posterity and all generations this remarkable land.

The only thing missing in this picture is you. But your presence was very much felt that day.

Warmest regards,

Jim Kolbe

Letter written by Congressman Kolbe after the bill-signing ceremony at the White House.



Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in

National Environmental Policy Act

Proceedings in the Senate

Thursday, May 23, 1991.

By Mr. DECONCINI (for himself, Mr. McCain, Mr. Domenici, Mr. Sarbanes, Mr. Burdick, Mr. Harkin, Mr. Baucus, Mr. Wirth, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Bradley, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Reid, Mr. Daschle, Mr. Akaka,

Mr. Bryan, Mr. Bingaman, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Nunn, Mr. Chafee, and Mr. Simpson):

S. 1176. A bill to establish the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Foundation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

Mr. DECONCINI. Mr. President, I am here today with very mixed feelings. On the one hand, I am saddened by the fact that after 30 years of outstanding and distinguished service, Mo Udall is no longer a Member of Congress. Yet, I am heartened by the fact that I had the opportunity to serve with this giant of the legislative branch. He was a mentor and a friend and I shall sorely miss his counsel, his advice, his wit, and friendship.

He will also be missed by all his colleagues. As the Members of the House of Representatives recently demonstrated in their floor tributes, Mo is an irreplaceable Member of that body. His colleagues in the House--liberals, conservatives, Democrats, and Republicans--each had his or her little story about Mo Udall--each from a different perspective--but each pointing out that for 30 years Mo was a shining example of what a Congressman should be.

I am extremely proud that during most of those 30 years Mo Udall was my Congressman. During his long tenure, Mo distinguished himself in many areas--postal reform, campaign finance reform, civil service reform, foreign relations, to name just a few. As one of the founders and the first Chairman of the Office of

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page 105

Technology Assessment, Mo also demonstrated his deep interest in science and mathematics. But I believe Mo's work on behalf of the environment will be his greatest monument.

Protecting our environment presents us with one of the greatest challenges, if not the greatest challenge, now facing our Nation and the world. The legislation I am introducing today, along with 19 of my colleagues, honors the legacy of Morris K. Udall by carrying on his work on the environment in a way in which I think Mo would approve. This legislation creates a foundation with a \$40 million endowment that will award scholarships, fellowships, and internships to outstanding students pursuing environmental studies. From his seat as chairman of the House Interior Committee, Mo focused his legislative agenda on

resolving the problems facing our environment and natural resources. Training young people to solve today's environmental problems and prevent future ones is a fitting tribute to the man who dedicated his entire legislative career to educating the public on the precarious relationship we have with our environment, both individually and collectively.

The Foundation would also fund some of the programs of the Udall Center located on the campus of the University of Arizona, Mo's alma mater. The Udall Center will invite visiting policy makers to share their practical experiences in the environmental area; convene panels of experts to discuss contemporary environmental issues; and develop and implement a program of environmental research and environmental conflict resolution.

The bill will also allow for the funding of a repository for the papers of Morris K. Udall, as well as the papers of other appropriate individuals. This will insure their availability to the public.

Many men and women have had the good fortune to be allowed to serve in the Congress of the United States. Most serve with honor. Many serve with distinction, but only a handful leave the legacy that Morris K. Udall has left during his 30 years in the Congress of the United States.

This bill would both honor Mo and hopefully make a significant contribution to addressing and resolving the environmental problems that lie ahead.

Mr. President, I urge all Members of the U.S. Senate to join with me in honoring Mo Udall by cosponsoring this legislation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements from Senators McCain and Kennedy appear in the record at this point as if read.

Also, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the bill be printed at this point in the record and urge its expeditious consideration.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the record.

Mr. McCain. Mr. President, it's with both great joy and sadness that I rise today to acknowledge the retirement from Congress of our friend and colleague Morris K. Udall.

Much has been said and written about Mo Udall by individuals of far greater eloquence than me, so I will be brief. I would, however, like to submit for the Record some of the editorials and columns which have appeared to honor Mo and his life's work.

I wonder how one finds the words to talk about a man who has achieved so much, who has served with such distinction and who has touched the lives of so many. Only two words keep coming back to me, over and over again--thank you.

Thank you, Mo Udall, for gracing our national and political life with your talent and humor. Thank you for your courage, compassion and integrity. Thank you for exemplifying all that is good and decent in public service. Thank you for devoting your life to your country. Thank you for making our Nation and our world a better place to live.

The imprint of Mo Udall is prominent in the laws of our Nation, his values memorialized in a natural heritage which is richer and healthier because of him. He is a public figure of enormous significance to the history of our Nation. But I'm sure what matters most to Mo Udall, is not his place in legal briefs and history books. Rather, Mo probably sees his legacy in the smiles of the countless souls whose lives he enriches by the fruits of his life's work. What greater legacy can a man leave? When we think of Mo Udall, we should think of the smiles and the joy he brings and will continue to bring to a world very much in need.

The creation of a Morris K. Udall Excellence in National Environmental Policy Foundation and Scholarship is a proper tribute to our friend and colleague. Senator DeConcini is to be congratulated for bringing this initiative together. It will ensure that Mo's passion and commitment to our natural heritage will endure. It is our way of saying thank you.

I know this is a very emotional time for Mo and his family. Our thoughts and prayers are with you. And, once again, thank you Mo Udall.

[Articles and editorials begin on [page 227](#).]

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, it is an honor to join as a sponsor of this measure to establish the Mo Udall scholarship and advance the cause to which he devoted so much of his public career--the preservation of our environment and our magnificent natural resources.

page 107

The retirement of Congressman Udall was a sad day for Congress, the country, and the legions of citizens in America and many other lands whose lives are better today because of his brilliant public service. He will rank as one of the greatest Members of the House of Representatives of all time, and also as one of the most beloved.

As Mo liked to say, the job of leaders is to lead. And lead he did. As chairman of the House Interior Committee, he was "Mr. Environment" in the Congress, urging the Nation to deal more effectively with the increasingly urgent environmental challenges we face. His leadership on these issues was especially courageous in the long battle he led to regulate the strip mining industry, against the vigorous resistance of the industry in his State.

Mo Udall's leadership was equally preeminent on many other issues. Somehow, for 30 years, whenever you probed to the heart of the great concerns of the day, you found Mo Udall in the thick of the battle, championing the rights of average citizens against special interest pressures, defending the highest ideals of America, and always doing it with the special grace and wit that were his trademark and that endeared him to Democrats and Republicans alike.

I think particularly of his influential role in ending the Vietnam war. Mo Udall was one of the first leaders in the Congress in the 1960's to break with the administration and oppose the war. Because of his action, we were able to end the war more quickly.

I also think of his early battles to reform the seniority system and to make the Congress more responsive to the people we serve. In carrying forward these efforts today, we continue to follow the paths he blazed so well throughout his remarkable career.

Above all, I think of the extraordinary courage he has displayed in recent years in battling the cruel disease that finally led to his resignation from the Congress. In this, as in so many other battles, Mo won the respect and admiration and affection of us all.

The legislation we are introducing today is a fitting tribute to Mo Udall's indispensable leadership during the past three decades in the Congress. We will miss him in the years ahead, and so will the country.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an eloquent recent tribute by David Broder to Mo Udall may be printed.

[The article may be found in this volume on [page 229](#).]

page 108

Thursday, November 21, 1991.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Environment and Public Works Committee be discharged from further consideration of S. 1176, the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Act, and that the Senate then proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The committee is discharged.

The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1176) to establish the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and excellence in National Environmental Policy Foundation, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President I am pleased to join with my colleagues Senator Chafee and DeConcini in urging the passage of S. 1176, legislation to authorize the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy at the University of Arizona. For nearly 30 years the gentle giant from Tucson represented his constituents with dedication, intelligence, and above all humor.

It is fitting that Congressman Udall's alma mater, the University of Arizona will be the site of the Udall Center for Environmental Policy. Morris Udall and environmental protection have been synonymous all

his life. Mo Udall stood for environmental protection long before it became part of America's vocabulary. His efforts concerning public land management, wilderness, wild and scenic river designation, surface mining regulation and reclamation are legendary.

Early in my Senate career I served on the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. On numerous occasions I had the pleasure of working with Congressman Udall. We worked on many issues of vital importance to the West. Mo Udall was always fair, he was always a gentleman and his word was his bond.

Senator DeConcini will offer an amendment to add the training of Indian health care professionals to the mission of the foundation. Few in Congress have done more to advance the well being of native Americans than Mo Udall. As a member of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs I strongly support this amendment. The health care problems confronting native Americans are

page 109

varied and cry out for solutions. I look forward to working in the future with native American health care professionals who will be Udall scholars.

Again I commend my colleague from Arizona, Mr. DeConcini, for initiating this legislation. I urge all of my colleagues to support this bill as fitting tribute to a man who served his constituents and the Nation well for nearly 30 years.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I am proud to be a sponsor, along with Senators DeConcini, Burdick, and others, of the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Act.

I can think of no Member of Congress more deserving of this tribute than Mo Udall. He was an environmentalist before it was fashionable. His list of accomplishments on behalf of the environment and the preservation of natural resources is too long to enumerate.

As chairman of the Interior Committee in the House of Representatives, he infused an environmental ethic into our policies governing our national parks, mining and mineral exploration, government land, and Indian Tribes. The Alaska Lands Act and comprehensive laws governing strip mining stand as major accomplishments in the career of one of the most productive legislators of our time.

The Senator from Arizona (Mr. DeConcini) should be commended for crafting this legislation. I am hopeful that all of my colleagues will join with us in honoring Mo Udall with this fitting tribute to his 30 years of service to the Nation.

AMENDMENT NO. 1386

(PURPOSE: TO AMEND THE BILL REGARDING NATIVE AMERICANS AND ALASKA NATIVES)

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of Senator DeConcini and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Michigan (Mr. Levin), for Mr. DeConcini, proposes an amendment numbered 1386.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

page 110

Mr. DeCONCINI. Mr. President, I am pleased that the Senate is today considering the Mo Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Act. This legislation is a fitting tribute to one of the finest individuals who has ever served in Congress. It is sponsored by 23 Senators, including the distinguished chairman and ranking member of the Environment and Public Works Committee.

Mo Udall was first elected to Congress in 1961 by a special election to replace his brother Stewart who was selected by President Kennedy to serve as the Secretary of Interior. During his tenure in Congress, Mo worked tirelessly to serve the people of the Second Congressional District, the State of Arizona, and the Nation. Although he was a leader in a number of areas, Civil Service Reform, Health Care and Campaign Finance Reform among them, he will be especially remembered for his commitment to protecting our precious natural resources. He was the author of landmark legislation such as the strip mining bill of 1977, the Alaska Lands Act of 1980 and most recently the Arizona Desert

Wilderness Act of 1990. Mo often said that, "a nation that does not love and respect its land, does not respect itself."

It is for this reason that I introduced the Mo Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Act. This legislation will establish a national foundation as an independent entity of the executive branch with the express purposes of. First, increasing the awareness of the importance and promoting the benefit and enjoyment of our Nation's natural resources; second, fostering among the American population a greater recognition and understanding of the role of the environment, public lands and resources in the development of the United States; third, identifying critical environmental issues; fourth, establishing a Program for Environmental Policy Research and an Environmental Conflict Resolution Program at the Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy on the campus of the University of Arizona; and fifth, developing resources to properly train professionals in the environment and related fields; and sixth, providing educational outreach on environmental issues.

To accomplish these goals, the legislation establishes a 10-member board of directors comprised of two Members of the House of Representatives, two Members of the Senate, two individuals selected by the President, the Secretaries of Interior and Education and two members from Mo's alma mater, the University of Arizona. The board will award scholarships, fellowships, internships, and grants to deserving individuals to pursue studies related to the environment.

page 111

The Foundation will also support the activities of the Udall Center on the campus of the University of Arizona. The Udall Center was established in 1987 to sponsor research and forums on a variety of critical public policy issues. Among the activities of the Udall Center that will be supported by the Foundation are the establishment of an environmental conflict resolution center, the creation of a repository for the Udall papers, and assembling an annual panel of experts to discuss contemporary environmental issues.

The legislation authorizes the creation of the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy trust fund in the amount of \$40 million which is to be administered by the Foundation. The proceeds of this trust fund will enable the Foundation to carry out the provisions of this legislation.

During consideration of the fiscal year 1992 Interior Appropriations bill, the Mo Udall Foundation was a topic of discussion between the

House and Senate conferees for this legislation. There was unanimous praise for Mo by both his former House colleagues and the Senators on this conference committee. Accordingly, \$5 million was included in this bill as an initial downpayment on the trust fund pending authorization. Also, in recognition of Mo's work on behalf of our native Americans, Chairman Yates suggested that S. 1176 be amended to add the training of Indian health care professionals as a goal of the Foundation. I felt at the time, and still do, that this is an outstanding suggestion and therefore, I am offering an amendment that will do just that.

Also, to build on Mo's work on behalf of Indian self-determination, S. 1176 will also be amended so that the Foundation can provide scholarships to train native Americans in the field of public policy. As chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Mo was largely responsible for the passage of landmark Indian legislation such as the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, the Indian Financing Act, the Indian Self-Determination Act, the American Indian Policy Review Commission Act, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the Indian Child Welfare Act, the Indian Alcohol and Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act, the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act, and the Indian Child Protection and Family Violence Act.

Mr. President, Mo's efforts on behalf of our native American are nothing short of herculean. In the 14 years he was chairman of the House Interior Committee, over 184 Indian bills have been enacted into law. It is only appropriate that S. 1176 be amended to recognize Mo's efforts on behalf of the first Americans.

Mr. President, I want to thank the chairman and ranking member of Environment and Public Works Committee for their ef-

page 112

forts to move this legislation forward. Without their assistance, we would not be here today.

Mr. President, this legislation will not only serve as a monument to one of our truly outstanding colleagues, but it will serve to prepare and train the next generation of leaders such as Mo Udall. I ask that my colleagues join me in supporting this legislation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a list of Public Laws sponsored by Mo Udall be entered into the Record at this point. This

list while not entirely complete, shows how prolific a legislator Mo was.

[This list appears in this volume on [page xvi](#).]

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, today the Senate will honor a great man and a national treasure: Morris K. Udall.

When I last addressed the Senate about Mo it was on the occasion of his retirement. I wondered how to find words to honor one who has achieved so much, who has served his country and his countrymen with such grace and distinction.

I realized words could never fully describe what Mo Udall means to Arizona and our Nation. They ring hollow in tribute to a life which has exemplified action and achievement.

Mo Udall figures prominently in the laws of our Nation, his values memorialized in a natural heritage which is richer and healthier because of him. He is a public figure of enormous significance to our Nation's history. But the true measure of Mo's legacy can be found in the smiles of the countless souls whose lives he has touched.

Above all Mo Udall is a man of talent and humor, courage, compassion and integrity. The only worthy tribute would be to ensure the Nation carries on the work he has so nobly advanced.

Today, the Senate will vote to create the Morris K. Udall Excellence in National Environmental Policy Foundation and Scholarship. Passage of the legislation will ensure that the excellence of Mo Udall, his passion for the responsible stewardship of our natural resources, will endure in the leaders of tomorrow.

I congratulate Senator DeConcini on his leadership and hard work in bringing this initiative before the Senate. Passage of this legislation is our way of saying--thank you Mo Udall, we have learned from you and your work will be carried on.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further debate, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 1386) was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the bill as amended?

Without objection, the bill is engrossed for a third reading, deemed read a third time and passed.

(The text of S. 1176, as passed today by the Senate, will be printed in a future edition of the Record.)

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill as amended, was passed.

Mr. WARNER. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in

National Environmental Policy Act

Proceedings in the House

Monday, November 25, 1991.

Mr. PASTOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the Senate bill (S. 1176) to establish the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Foundation, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would ask the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. Pastor) to explain the program.

Mr. PASTOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODLING. I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. PASTOR. Mr. Speaker, S. 1176 authorizes the establishment of the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy at the University of Arizona in Tucson. The national foundation is an independent entity within the executive branch.

The purposes of the foundation are severalfold:

First, to increase the awareness of the importance of our natural resources;

Second, to foster among all Americans a recognition of the special relationship they have with the environment;

Third, to identify important environmental issues;

page 115

Fourth, to establish a program for environmental policy research and a program for environmental conflict resolution at the Udall Center at the University of Arizona;

Fifth, to develop resources to train professionals in the field of environmental policy and related areas;

Sixth, to disseminate educational information on environmental issues.

Seventh, to develop resources for proper training native American and Alaska native professionals in area of health care and public policy; and,

Eighth, to provide for scholarships and government internships for training native Americans in the field of public policy.

Mr. Speaker, few have spoken more consistently, and fewer still more eloquently, of our obligations to conserve our natural resources and to protect the rights of our first Americans than Mo Udall.

When Mo first entered Congress in 1961 to succeed his brother Stewart, we looked upon our land and water as resources to be developed and exploited. Long before the environmental movement emerged, Mo Udall reminded the country that man has a special relationship with his land, water and air. He made us understand we are a part of nature, not separated from it.

Mo Udall worked to restore dignity to a proud people. He was among the first to recognize that the native American struggle for self-determination be taken seriously. He fought to give native Americans the assistance they needed to develop their internal institutions of self-government and the resources necessary for tribal economic development.

This legislation is a fitting tribute to Mo, and it builds on his record of 30 years of service in Congress. The legislation establishes a 10-member board of directors comprised of two Members of the House of Representatives, two Members of the Senate, two individuals selected by the President, the Secretaries of Interior and Education and two members of the University of Arizona. The board will award scholarships, fellowships, internships, and grants to deserving individuals to pursue studies related to the environment, native American and Alaska native health care, and tribal public policy.

The foundation will support the establishment of an environmental conflict resolution center at the Udall Center on the campus of the University of Arizona, Mo's alma mater. It will create a repository for the Udall papers and will assemble an annual panel of experts to discuss contemporary environmental issues and conduct research on native American and Alaska native health care issues and tribal public policy.

page 116

Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the chairman and ranking member of the Education and Labor Committee for their cooperation in seeing that this legislation received expedited consideration. I also wish to thank my colleagues, Representatives Obey and Rhodes for sponsoring and supporting the House version of this legislation. Without their assistance and the help of their staffs, we would not be discussing this bill today.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to pay tribute to Mo Udall's legacy by joining me in supporting this legislation today. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I shall not object, but I just want to say that, if we had \$5 million to spend, I cannot think of a finer gentleman to honor than Mo Udall.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of S. 1176 and its House companion bill H.R. 3268, the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy. This bill is in the jurisdiction of the Committee on Education and Labor, and is before us today for consideration.

The bill pays tribute to a distinguished statesman, Morris Udall (Mo), with whom I enjoyed working during all the years of my service in the House of Representatives. When I arrived in Congress, I immediately discovered that Mo Udall was a true statesman. He was always well prepared, did his homework, and articulated his beliefs. His physical

stature was a metaphor, representative of his ability as a colleague for he was truly equal to his height. I hope that this bill can honor him as he so admirably deserves.

Again, Mr. Speaker I rise in support of S. 1176 and ask my colleagues to join me in its swift passage.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 1176

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. Short Title

This Act may be cited as the "Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Act".

SEC. 2. Findings.

The Congress finds that--

page 117

(1) For three decades, Congressman Morris K. Udall has served his country with distinction and honor;

(2) Congressman Morris K. Udall has had a lasting impact on this Nation's environment, public lands, and natural resources, and has instilled in this Nation's youth a love of the air, land and water;

(3) Congressman Morris K. Udall has been a champion of the rights of Native Americans and Alaska Natives and has used his leadership in the Congress to strengthen tribal self-governance; and

(4) it is a fitting tribute to the leadership, courage, and vision Congressman Morris K. Udall exemplifies to establish in his name programs to encourage the continued use, enjoyment, education, and exploration of our Nation's rich and bountiful natural resources.

SEC. 3. Definitions

For the purposes of this Act--

- (1) the term "Board" means the Board of Trustees of the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Foundation established under section 4(b);
- (2) the term "Center" means the Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy established at the University of Arizona in 1987;
- (3) the term "eligible individual" means a citizen or national of the United States or a permanent resident alien of the United States;
- (4) the term "Foundation" means the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Foundation established under section 4(a);
- (5) the term "fund" means the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Trust Fund established in section 8;
- (6) the term "institution of higher education" has the same meaning given to such term by section 1201(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965; and
- (7) the term "State" means each of the several States, the District of Columbia, Guam, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Federal States of Micronesia, and the Republic of Palau (until the Compact of Free Association is ratified).

SEC. 4. Establishment of the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Foundation

- (a) ESTABLISHMENT. -- There is established as an independent entity of the executive branch of the United States Government, the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Foundation.
- (b) BOARD OF TRUSTEES. -- The Foundation shall be subject to the supervision and direction of the Board of Trustees. The Board shall be comprised of 10 members, as follows:
 - (1) Two Members, one appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and one appointed by the Minority Leader of the House of Representatives.
 - (2) Two Members, one appointed by the Majority Leader and one appointed by the Minority Leader of the Senate.
 - (3) Two Members, appointed by the President, who have shown leadership and interest in
- (A) the continued use, enjoyment, education, and exploration of our Nation's rich and bountiful natural resources, such as presidents of major foundations involved with the environment; and

(B) in the improvement of the health status of Native Americans and Alaska Natives and in strengthening tribal self-governance, such as tribal leaders involved in health and public policy development affecting Native American and Alaska Native communities.

page 118

(4) One Member, appointed by the President of the University of Arizona after consultation with the Center, who has shown leadership and interest in the continued use, enjoyment, education and exploration of the Nation's rich and bountiful resources.

(5) The Secretary of the Interior, or the Secretary's designee, who shall serve as a voting ex officio member of the Board but shall not be eligible to serve as Chairperson.

(6) The Secretary of Education, or the Secretary's designee, who shall serve as a voting ex officio member of the Board but shall not be eligible to serve as Chairperson.

(7) The President of the University of Arizona shall serve as a nonvoting, ex officio member and shall not be eligible to serve as chairperson.

(c) TERM OF OFFICE.

(1) IN GENERAL.--The term of office of each member of the Board shall be six years, except that

(A) in the case of the Board members first taking offices

(i) members appointed by the President shall serve for 2 years; and

(ii) the Members appointed by the Senate and the member appointed by the President of the University of Arizona shall each serve for 4 years; and

(B) a Member appointed to fill a vacancy shall serve for the remainder of the term for which the member's predecessor was appointed and shall be appointed in the same manner as the original appointment for that vacancy was made.

(d) TRAVEL AND SUBSISTENCE PAY.--Members of the Board shall serve without pay, but shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred in the performance of their duties as members of the Board.

(e) LOCATION OF FOUNDATION. --The Foundation shall be located in Tucson, Arizona.

(f) EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR.

(1) IN GENERAL.--There shall be an Executive Director of the Foundation who shall be appointed by the Board. The Executive Director shall be the chief executive officer of the Foundation and shall carry out the functions of the Foundation subject to the

supervision and direction of the Board. The Executive Director shall carry out such other functions consistent with the provisions of this Act as the Board shall prescribe.

(2) COMPENSATION.--The Executive Director of the Foundation shall be compensated at the rate specified for employees in level IV of the Executive Schedule under section 5315 of title 5, United States Code.

SEC. 5. Purpose of the Foundation

It is the purpose of the Foundation to--

- (1) increase awareness of the importance of and promote the benefit and enjoyment of the Nation's natural resources;
- (2) foster among the American population greater recognition and understanding of the role of the environment, public lands and resources in the development of the United States;
- (3) identify critical environmental issues;
- (4) establish a Program for Environmental Policy Research and an Environmental Conflict Resolution at the Center;
- (5) develop resources to properly train professionals in the environmental and related fields;
- (6) provide educational outreach regarding environmental policy; and
- (7) develop resources to properly train Native American and Alaska Native professionals in health care and public policy.

page 119

SEC. 6. Authority of the Foundation

(a) AUTHORITY OF THE FOUNDATION.--

(1) IN GENERAL. -- (A) The Foundation, in consultation with the Center, is authorized to identify and conduct such programs, activities, and services as the Foundation considers appropriate to carry out the purposes described in section 5. The Foundation shall have the authority to award scholarships, fellowships, internships, and grants and fund the Center to carry out and manage other programs, activities and services.

(B) The Foundation may provide, directly or by contract, for the conduct of national competition for the purpose of selecting recipients of scholarships, fellowships, internships and grants awarded under this Act.

(C) The Foundation may award scholarships, fellowships, internships and grants to eligible individuals in accordance with the provisions of this Act for study in fields related to the environment and Native American and Alaska Native health care and tribal public policy. Such scholarships, fellowships, internships and grants shall be

awarded to eligible individuals who meet the minimum criteria established by the Foundation.

(2) SCHOLARSHIPS. -- Scholarships shall be awarded to outstanding undergraduate students who intend to pursue careers related to the environment and to outstanding Native American and Alaska Native undergraduate students who intend to pursue careers in health care and tribal public policy.

(B) An eligible individual awarded a scholarship under this Act may receive payments under this Act only during such periods as the Foundation finds that the eligible individual is maintaining satisfactory proficiency and devoting full time to study or research and is not engaging in gainful employment other than employment approved by the Foundation pursuant to regulations of the Board.

(C) The Foundation may require reports containing such information, in such form, and to be filed at such times as the Foundation determines to be necessary from any eligible individual awarded a scholarship under this Act. Such reports shall be accompanied by a certificate from an appropriate official at the institution of higher education, approved by the Foundation, stating that such individual is making satisfactory progress in, and is devoting essentially full time to study or research, except as otherwise provided in this subsection.

(3) FELLOWSHIPS. -- Fellowships shall be awarded to

(A) outstanding graduate students who intend to pursue advanced degrees in fields related to the environment and to outstanding Native American and Alaska Native graduate students who intend to pursue advanced degrees in health care and tribal public policy, including law and medicine; and

(B) faculty from a variety of disciplines to bring the expertise of such faculty to the Foundation.

(4) INTERNSHIPS. -- Internships shall be awarded to

(A) deserving and qualified individuals to participate in internships in Federal, State and local agencies or in offices of major environmental organizations pursuant to section 5; and

(B) deserving and qualified Native American and Alaska Native individuals to participate in internships in Federal, State and local agencies or in offices of major public health or public policy organizations pursuant to section 5.

(5) GRANTS.--The Foundation shall award grants to the Center

(A) to provide for an annual panel of experts to discuss contemporary environmental issues;

(B) to conduct environmental policy research;

(C) to conduct research on Native American and Alaska Native health care issues and tribal public policy issues; and

(D) for visiting policymakers to share the practical experiences of such for visiting policymakers with the Foundation.

(6) REPOSITORY.--The Foundation shall provide direct or indirect assistance from the proceeds of the Fund to the Center to maintain the current site of the repository for Morris K. Udall's papers and other such public papers as may be appropriate and assure such papers' availability to the public.

(7) COORDINATION.--The Foundation shall assist in the development and implementation of a Program for Environmental Policy Research and Environmental Conflict Resolution to be located at the Center.

(b) MORRIS K. UDALL SCHOLARS. -- Recipients of scholarships, fellowships, internships and grants under this Act shall be known as "Morris K. Udall Scholars".

(c) PROGRAM PRIORITIES.--The Foundation shall determine the priority of the programs to be carried out under this Act and the amount of funds to be allocated for such programs. However, not less than 50 percent shall be utilized for the programs set forth in section 6(a)(2), section 6(a)(3) and section 6(a)(4), not more than 15 percent shall be used for salaries and other administrative purposes, and not less than 20 percent shall be appropriated to the Center for section 6(a)(5), section 6(a)(6) and section 6(a)(7) conditioned on a 25 percent match from other sources and further conditioned on adequate space at the Center being made available for the Executive Director and other appropriate staff of the Foundation by the Center.

SEC. 7. Establishment of the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Trust Fund

(a) ESTABLISHMENT OF FUND. -- There is established in the Treasury of the United States a trust fund to be known as the "Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Trust Fund" to be administered by a Foundation. The fund shall consist of amounts appropriated to it pursuant to section 10 and amounts credited to it under subsection (d).

(b) INVESTMENT OF FUND ASSETS.

(1) IN GENERAL.--It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to invest, at the direction of the Foundation Board, in full the amounts appropriated to the fund. Such investments shall be in Public Debt Securities with maturities suitable to the needs of the Fund. Investments in Public Debt Securities shall bear "interest at rates determined by the Secretary of the Treasury taking into consideration the current average market yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States" of comparable maturity.

SEC. 8. Expenditures and Audit of Trust Fund

(a) IN GENERAL.--The Foundation shall pay from the interest and earnings of the fund such sums as the Board determines are necessary and appropriate to enable the Foundation to carry out the provisions of this Act.

(b) AUDIT By GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE.--The activities of the Foundation and the Center under this Act may be audited by the General Accounting Office under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Comptroller General of the United States. Representatives of the General Accounting Office shall have access to all books, accounts, records, reports filed and all other papers, things, or property belonging to or in use by the Foundation and the Center, pertaining to such federally assisted activities and necessary to facilitate the audit.

SEC. 9. Administrative Provisions

(a) IN GENERAL.--In order to carry out the provisions of this Act, the Foundation may--

(1) appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act, except that in no case shall employees other

page 121

than the Executive Director be compensated at a rate to exceed the maximum rate for employees in grade GS-15 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of title 5, United States Code;

(2) procure or fund the Center to procure temporary and intermittent services of experts and consultants as are necessary to the extent authorized by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates not to exceed the rate specified at the time of such service for level IV of the Executive Schedule under section 5315 of title 5, United States Code;

(3) prescribe such regulations as the Foundation considers necessary governing the manner in which its functions shall be carried out;

(4) accept, hold, administer and utilize gifts, both real and personal, for the purpose of aiding or facilitating the work of the Foundation.

(5) accept and utilize the services of voluntary and noncompensated personnel and reimburse such personnel for travel expenses, including per diem, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code;

(6) enter into contracts, grants, or other arrangements or modifications thereof, to carry out the provisions of this Act, and such contracts or modifications thereof may, with the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of the Board, be entered into without performance or other bonds, and without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (41 U.S.C. 5); and

(7) make other necessary expenditures.

SEC. 10. Authorization of Appropriations

There are authorized to be appropriated to the fund \$40,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this Act.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

102D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 239

To designate certain lands in Alaska as wilderness.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 30, 1991

Mr. MRAZEK (for himself, Mr. VENTO, Mr. AUCOIN, Mr. OWENS of Utah, Mr. VALENTINE, Mr. OWENS of New York, Mr. FLAKE, Mr. FASCELL, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. RAVENEL, Mr. RUSSO, Mrs. PATTERSON, Mr. COYNE, Mr. BROWN, Mr. KOSTMAYER, Mr. MFUME, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. JONTZ, Mr. OLIN, Mr. PENNY, Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. MOODY, Mr. ATKINS, Mrs. BOXER, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. LEHMAN of California, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. ANDREWS of Maine, Mr. MINETA, Mr. SANDERS, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. RAMSTAD, Mr. FUSTER, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. SIKORSKI, Mr. LANCASTER, Mr. JONES of Georgia, Mr. SABO, Mr. COOPER, Mrs. SCHROEDER, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. DYMALLY, Mr. PANETTA, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. ROEMER, Mr. TORRES, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. REED, Mr. LEHMAN of Florida, Mr. JACOBS, Ms. SLAUGHTER of New York, Mr. BEILENSEN, Mr. DIXON, Mr. YATES, Mr. SWETT, Mr. NEAL of North Carolina, Mr. SKAGGS, Mr. RINALDO, and Mr. KENNEDY) introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

JOINT RESOLUTION

To designate certain lands in Alaska as wilderness.

Whereas, the Congress recognizes the continuing conservation leadership of Morris K. Udall and commends him for his many years of tireless work on behalf of the wildlands of Alaska;

H.R. 2434

100th Congress
1st Session

To designate the westernmost point of Guam as "Point Udall," and to provide for the placement of a plaque on such point, in honor of Morris Udall.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

May 14, 1987

Mr. DENNY SMITH of Oregon (for himself and Mr. BLAZ) introduced the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

A BILL

To designate the westernmost point of Guam as "Point Udall", and to provide for the placement of a plaque on such point, in honor of Morris Udall.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. DESIGNATION.

The westernmost point on the Orote Peninsula of Guam, commonly called Orote Point, is hereby designated as "Point Udall" in honor of Morris Udall, a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of Arizona. Any reference to such point in a law, rule, map, document, record, or other paper of the United States shall be considered to be a reference to "Point Udall".

SEC. 2. PLACEMENT OF PLAQUE.

(a) **PLAQUE REQUIRED.**--The Secretary of the Interior shall place and maintain a plaque on Federal land near "Point Udall" to honor the service and accomplishments of Morris Udall. The Secretary, in

consultation with the Governor of Guam, shall determine the design, inscription, and location of such plaque.

(b) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.--Effective October 1, 1987, there is authorized to be appropriated \$10,000 to carry out subsection (a).

* * * *

[Associated Press]

BILL WOULD NAME GUAM POINT AFTER MORRIS UDALL

Rep. Denny Smith, R-Ore., and Ben Blaz, Guam's nonvoting delegate to Congress, noted in a letter to colleagues that the easternmost tip of the U.S. Virgin Islands is already called Point Udall in honor of Morris' brother, Stewart, who was Interior Secretary under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

"If our legislation is approved, America's day would begin and end at a Point Udall," Smith and Blaz said.

[From the New York Times, February 17, 1989]

THE PILLARS OF UDALL

(By Martin Tolchin and David Binder)

Now the sun not only rises but also sets on "Udall Point."

The westernmost and easternmost parts of the nation have portions of land dedicated to the Udall brothers.

On Monday, the Governor of Guam dedicated a point of land of Orote Peninsula, the westernmost point, in honor of Representative Morris K. Udall, the chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Mr. Udall and Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan have been touring the Pacific territories this month. The peninsula is now named "Udall Point."

The delegation is visiting the territories to review legislation that is proposed for the region.

As a member of the House committee for more than 20 years, Mr. Udall, an Arizona Democrat, has been involved in supporting hurricane disaster relief, in appropriating \$31 million for the island's only civilian-operated hospital and in recommending financing for Guam's power and water system, a Udall spokesman said.

Guam's action came 21 years after the United States Virgin Islands named a peninsula of St. Croix "Udall Point" for the Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall, Morris' brother, as an expression of gratitude for his efforts to help the economy of the islands.



STATE OF ARKANSAS
BILL CLINTON
GOVERNOR

April 29, 1991

The Honorable Morris K. Udall
United States Congressman
Veterans Affairs Medical Center
50 Irving Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20422

Dear Mo:

You have always been one of my favorite public servants because of your unique combination of humor, integrity, courage, and ability.

You have exhibited American politics at its best for over three decades. Your legacy is vibrant, and your leadership will continue to be a shining example for all. Thank you for everything you've done for America.

Sincerely,


Bill Clinton

BC/kg/dr

Barry Goldwater

P.O. BOX 1601
SCOTTSDALE, ARIZONA 85252

February 16, 1993

The Honorable Mo Udall
VA Nursing Home
50 Irving St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20422

Dear Mo:

A week has gone by since we journeyed to Tucson to pay our respects to you, and I just wanted you to know what an honest to God pleasure that was.

Your family, and my family, have been together for many, many years, in the Territory, and the State, and I'm very proud of that. I'm also proud of what your family has done for all of us. Your service to the State, and to the Nation, can never be measured. I can tell you that all Arizonans pray for your quick and complete recovery. I know that God will grant us that desire.

It was a wonderful show, just like you. I know you've seen pictures of it, but to be there and see the respect for you was a real treat to this old guy. I hope this finds you enjoying life, you've given so much.

With affection, and respect,


Barry Goldwater

JERRY F. COSTELLO
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TEL (618) 451-2122
FAX (618) 451-2128
8787 STATE ST., SUITE 207
EAST ST LOUIS IL 62203
TEL (618) 387-8633

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-1321

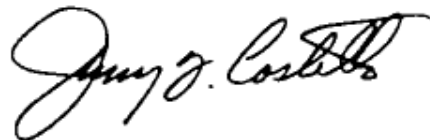
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SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

TRIBUTE TO MO UDALL

MR. SPEAKER, I would like to thank you for this opportunity to honor my friend and colleague, Mo Udall. A dedicated Representative, Mo served in this distinguished institution for the people of Arizona for 30 years. He led the members of this institution through many difficult decisions with his humor, his superior ability to recognize truth, and his integrity.

As chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, his dedication to the preservation of the environment was unequalled. Because of his hard work, millions of acres of land in our country will be forever protected as wilderness. His legislative vision for our country has assured generations of Americans access to wilderness lands for many years to come.

Again, I wish to thank those who made this tribute possible. I wish Mo the best and would like for him to know how much he will be missed in Congress.



PHILIP M. CRANE

MEMBER OF CONGRESS
12TH DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS

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COMMITTEE**

SUBCOMMITTEE:

TRADE
(VICE CHAIRMAN)

SOCIAL SECURITY

REPUBLICAN STUDY COMMITTEE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE



**Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515**

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3718 W. 84th STREET
MCHENRY, IL 60050
815/344-0110
708/223-3030

ROBERT C. COLEMAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

Congressman Philip M. Crane....of Illinois...

TRIBUTE TO FORMER CONGRESSMAN MORRIS (MO) UDALL. . . NOVEMBER 25, 1991

There isn't a Member of this Congress who won't miss our colleague and friend Morris (Mo) Udall.

Mo Udall and I served together for over 21 years. He consistently served with good will and good humor.

You always knew where Mo Udall stood on an issue. He not only stood firmly in support of his position, but often launched a vigorous attack to push his legislation through to passage. It should come as no surprise to hear that on many more times than not his position was in direct opposition to the one which I supported on an issue.

He seriously pursued his duties as Chairman of the House Interior Committee. Some of the legislation which he originated in that committee will serve as a lasting memorial to him.

Before moving to the chairmanship of the Interior Committee, Mo served as Chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee where he was instrumental in many important actions, including an attempt to remove politics from the operation of the U.S. Post Office.

Mo Udall has retired from the U.S. House of Representatives, but he will always be fondly remembered by all of us who served with him.

JULIAN C. DIXON
28th DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

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MEMBER
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
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ANDREA TRACY HOLMES
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

DISTRICT OFFICE

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FAX (213) 878-8028

PATRICIA MILLER
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

November 27, 1991

TRIBUTE TO CHAIRMAN MO UDALL

BY REPRESENTATIVE JULIAN C. DIXON

The 30 years you spent in Congress has left a significant mark on the House of Representatives, the nation and the state of Arizona. Without your sincere dedication, ability to encourage people to work together and humor, many of the gains made in protecting the environment for future generations may not have materialized.

Throughout your life you took advantage of opportunities to make a positive change. As a high school student, you participated and excelled in everything from editor of the high school paper and first string on the basketball team to serving as the student body president. Even after graduating from the University of Arizona in 1949 with a bachelors of law degree, you excelled by receiving the highest score on the state bar exam. I understand that your years of practicing law in Arizona left an unmatched legacy for future trial lawyers.

But it is the years you spent in the House of Representatives striving for protection of the environment that has inspired my colleagues and I to continue our work towards this goal. Mo Udall, your Chairmanship of the Interior Committee and your membership on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee will long be remembered.

Your appreciation of the land and your attitude towards responsible management of our natural resources was reflected in several major bills that passed during your Chairmanship, including legislation on strip mining, which marked the first time that the mining industry was given guidelines for restoring mined land. Another measure is the Alaska lands bill, which added large tracts of land to the national refuge system and the national wilderness system.

Page Two

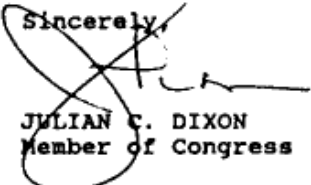
You had a unique and special concern for Arizona and its vast wilderness, which was demonstrated by efforts to pass both the Arizona Wilderness Act of 1984, which protected more than 1 million acres of state land, and the Arizona Public Land Wilderness Act, which set aside 2 million acres of Arizona wilderness. Your work on the Arizona Public Land Wilderness Act reflected your keen ability to get people with different goals to work together. Without your patience and leadership, the Arizona Public Land Wilderness Act could not have been passed.

Mo Udall, your outstanding contribution on environmental protection has set a standard for cooperation and reflects a special insight into our national land conservation needs. This unending determination and friendliness helped pass effective legislation to protect our scarce resources. I have for years admired your accomplishments and appreciated your helpfulness.

Your presence in the House of Representatives and your dedication to this institution is sorely missed. All of us that had the privilege of serving with you, however are far richer for the experience.

With warmest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely,



JULIAN C. DIXON
Member of Congress

JCD:sjj

BILL GOODLING
19TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

TOLL FREE DISTRICT NUMBER
(800) 632-1811

RANKING MINORITY
COMMITTEE ON
EDUCATION AND LABOR

COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN AFFAIRS



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives.
Washington, DC 20515

November 26, 1991

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TELEPHONE (202) 225-5836

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CHAMBER BUILDING
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140 BALTIMORE STREET
ROOM 210
GETTYSBURG, PA 17325-2311

2020 YALE AVENUE
CAMP HILL, PA 17011-5456

44 FREDERICK STREET
HANOVER, PA 17331-3598

The Honorable Wayne Owens
1728 Longworth H.O.B.
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Owens:

Thank you very much for inviting me to contribute comments to be included in a memorial book for our former colleague Morris K. Udall.

When I was first elected to the House, Mo Udall had already been serving his Arizona constituents for over a decade, many of those years were served with my father. It did not take me long to realize that in Mo Udall we had a true statesman. Like my father, I also had the honor and pleasure of serving with Mo for over a decade.

The residents of Arizona for whom he served are very fortunate to have had a representative as Mo Udall. As a representative and chairman of the House Interior Committee, he was always extremely well prepared and had always done his homework well. Mo was very adept at clearly articulating his beliefs and concerns as well as those of his constituents.

Finally, I would like to say that his ability was equal to his height.

Again, I thank you for the opportunity to share my thoughts on our friend and colleague Mo Udall, and I would appreciate if you would include this letter in a memorial for Mo.

Sincerely,

BILL GOODLING
Member of Congress

WFG/pt

BILL GREEN
15TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

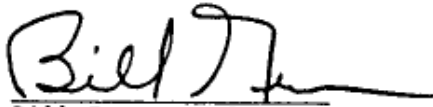
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RANKING MINORITY MEMBER
VA-HUD-INDEPENDENT AGENCIES
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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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Tribute to Morris Udall
November 18, 1991


Bill Green, M.C.

When I first arrived in the House following a Special Election on February 14, 1978, Rep. John Anderson quickly enlisted me as a member of the whip team formed by Rep. Morris Udall on behalf of the Alaska Lands Bill, certainly one of the most important environmental issues to come before the Congress in the second half of the 20th Century. Through our periodic meetings I got to know Mo and the leadership and feeling he brought to environmental causes.

I was never again to have the privilege of working with Mo quite as closely as I did in those opening months of my career in Congress, but I still have fond memories of my participation under his leadership in that endeavor.

STEVE GUNDERSON
3d DISTRICT WISCONSIN
CHIEF DEPUTY WHIP

MEMBER
AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE
EDUCATION AND LABOR
COMMITTEE



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1-800-472-6812
715-284-7431
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November 26, 1991

Mr. Speaker:

I remember walking the halls of Congress as a freshman. As I passed this famous personality, Mo Udall, a former candidate for President, it seemed proper to say a formal "hello," not expecting anything in return. But, to my surprise, this tall, slender, distinguished man immediately said, "Hi Steve, how are you?"

In that moment of astonishment, I knew I had just met a very special man. He had no reason to know me. I was nothing more than a freshman member of the minority party. Yet, he, with all his power and prestige, with all his influence and responsibility, had somehow come to know my name.

Sometime later, I recalled this experience with him. And, he explained it simply and eloquently. He said, "Steve, if I want to ask you for a vote, the least I can do is know your name!"

This experience says a lot about the Mo Udall we have come to know and love. He was to all of us a political and legislative giant. He stood for the principles he believed in, but he did it with a respect for his political colleagues and the system like few can. He brought a special dignity to his work, but he also understood the importance of humor over pretense.

For me, I had the privilege of serving in the same halls of Congress for ten years. Most importantly, I had the privilege of sharing offices near each other. Thus, many a vote were preluded by a joint walk to the Congress and a conversation.

Many of my colleagues will discuss the great legislative contributions Mo Udall gave, especially in the area of the environment. However, in this time of cynicism about government, America has been greatly served by a man with the qualities of Mo Udall. And, I have been uniquely privileged to call him a friend.

Best regards,

Steve Gunderson
Member of Congress

MORRIS UDALL

MR. HAMMERSCHMIDT: EVERY SO OFTEN WE HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO HONOR THOSE WHO HAVE SERVED SO DILIGENTLY IN THIS HOUSE. MORRIS UDALL IS ONE OF THOSE INDIVIDUALS. IT HAS BEEN MY HONOR TO SERVE WITH MO FOR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. ALTHOUGH OUR POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES OFTEN PLACED US ON OPPOSITE SIDES OF AN ISSUE, I CONSIDER HIM A GOOD FRIEND AND ALWAYS ENJOYED OUR CAMARADERIE.

COMING TO CONGRESS THROUGH A SPECIAL ELECTION IN 1961, HE QUICKLY BEGAN HIS LONG AND PRODUCTIVE TENURE ON THE INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE.

TIME AND AGAIN WHEN PEOPLE TRAVEL ACROSS THIS GREAT LAND OF OURS THEY ARE OVERWHELMED BY ITS NATURAL BEAUTY. HOWEVER, FEW OF THEM WILL EVER KNOW HOW MUCH THEY OWE THEIR ENJOYMENT TO MO UDALL'S STEADFAST COMMITMENT TO PRESERVING OUR LAND FOR GENERATIONS TO COME. HE WAS A TIRELESS ADVOCATE FOR OUR NATION'S WILDLIFE AND OUR NATIONAL PARKS AND LANDS. HE WAS ALSO DEEPLY INVOLVED IN ENERGY ISSUES AS WELL AS THE CONCERNS OF NATIVE AMERICANS.

MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT MO'S SELF-DEPRECATING WIT. HIS WONDERFUL SENSE OF HUMOR IS LEGENDARY. WHETHER HE WAS SHARING HIS ENTERTAINING STORIES ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL, IN COMMITTEE MARK-UP, OR WITH CONSTITUENTS IN HIS OFFICE, MO ALWAYS LEFT PEOPLE WITH A SMILE. IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT ONE OF THE REASONS HE WAS SUCH AN EFFECTIVE LEGISLATOR IS THAT HE USED HIS HUMOR TO GET HIS POINT ACROSS IN A WAY THAT WOULD BE REMEMBERED. HE WOULD ALSO USE HIS HUMOR TO EASE THE TENSION DURING HEATED MOMENTS OF DEBATE AND BRING THE PARTIES INVOLVED TO AN AGREEMENT.

WITH MO'S RETIREMENT, THERE IS NOW A LITTLE LESS LAUGHTER IN THIS HOUSE. MO YOU WILL BE MISSED BY THOSE OF US WHO HAD THE FORTUNATE PRIVILEGE TO CALL YOU FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE.

MICHAEL J. KOPETSKI
5TH DISTRICT, OREGON

218 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3705
202-225-5711
FAX 202-225-9477

COMMITTEES
AGRICULTURE
SCIENCE, SPACE, AND
TECHNOLOGY
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

November 25, 1991

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SALEM, OREGON 97301
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FAX 503-588-0963

CLATSOP COUNTY OFFICE
815 HIGH STREET
OREGON CITY, OREGON 97045
503-650-1273

OREGON TOLL FREE 1-800-548-7179

The Honorable Morris K. Udall
c/o Congressman Wayne Owens
1728 Longworth Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mo:

It certainly is a great honor to be able to say I served with Mo Udall, however brief a time it was. As a Member of Congress, one represents all the people, even those who didn't vote for you. I'm sure you will appreciate the following story.

I had the opportunity to vote for you, and I didn't. But some of my best friends and political allies did. They weren't wrong in their vote; I was more right in mine. In 1976, I ran the Frank Church for President campaign in Oregon. You were also on the Oregon ballot. By the time the primary date rolled around, however, you made the wise strategic decision not to participate in the Oregon contest but save yourself for California. It was wise because Senator Church won the Oregon primary, defeating both Jerry Brown and Jimmy Carter.

Our nation would have been well-served with you as president. I'm convinced that many of the environmental issues which continue to scream for attention would have been answered with programs under a Udall presidency. Neither Frank Church nor Mo Udall became president, and the nation is less for that.

The House is better because you served. As a new Member of Congress, I can think of no better role model than Mo Udall. A lot of Oregonians then and now are fervent supporters of you, and the substantial contributions you made through your leadership, wit and charm.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Mike Kopetski
Member of Congress

MJK/pag

JOHN LEWIS
5th DISTRICT GEORGIA
WHIP AT LARGE
COMMITTEES
PUBLIC WORKS AND TRANSPORTATION
SUBCOMMITTEES
AVIATION
PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS
SURFACE TRANSPORTATION
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEES
NATIONAL PARKS AND
PUBLIC LANDS
INSULAR AFFAIRS
SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

WASHINGTON OFFICE
501 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-3801

DISTRICT OFFICE
THE EQUITABLE BUILDING
100 PEACHTREE STREET, N.W.
SUITE 2750
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
(404) 659-3116

TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE MORRIS UDALL

Congressman Mo Udall is a man whom I respect greatly as a leader in Congress and as a friend. Since my election to Congress, I have had the privilege to serve on the Interior Committee, where, until earlier this year, he was chairman.

As chairman, he was a friend of the environment and concerned about the future of our country. He continually worked hard to pass legislation that would protect our nation's natural resources. As a person, he has consistently demonstrated great strength, courage, and a much-welcomed sense of humor.

I have long admired Mo Udall, and I use this opportunity to thank him for his leadership, his compassion, and his friendship.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John Lewis".

John Lewis
Member of Congress

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0302

TRIBUTE TO MORRIS K. UDALL

Mr. Speaker: I'd like to pay tribute to one of our nation's most distinguished statesmen, honored humanitarians, and great humorists... Congressman Mo Udall. I first had the opportunity to work with Mo some 20 years ago as a volunteer for his campaigns, and I was able to see first-hand what has made this man a legend in his own time. His sensitivity toward the people of the Second District of Arizona and his political savvy combined to make him an unstoppable force for improving the quality of life, not only for his own constituents, but for all Americans.

As Chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, Mo Udall wasn't known as Mr. Environment for nothing. During his 30 years of public service on Capitol Hill he made it a priority to protect and expand our national park system, ensuring that future generations will have the opportunity to enjoy our country's natural beauty in an unspoiled environment. Under his direction, the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act was passed, doubling the size of the national park system and tripling the size of the national wilderness system. Mo was also instrumental in securing passage of the landmark Surface and Mining Reclamation Act of 1977, which for the first time required the coal mining industry to reclaim and restore mined land.

Representing a diverse constituency like the Second District of Arizona is no small challenge, yet Mo Udall met it adeptly. He chartered legislation providing basic rights to a population that had long been ignored by this country's leaders: the Native American. His Indian Child Welfare Act provided standards to prevent the breakup of Indian families, to recognize the right of Indian tribes in the protection of Indian families, and to provide funds for Indian child welfare programs. Other legislation he sponsored ensured recognition of traditional Indian religions and protection for those who practice those religions. Mo Udall recognized and responded to a major crisis in the Native American community by enacting legislation to provide for education, prevention, treatment and rehabilitation to fight the problems of alcohol and drug abuse. He also made great strides in furthering reforms in the administration and provisions of Indian health care services.

Mo Udall combined his concern for his constituents and his extensive environmental management knowledge to settle many water rights disputes among the Native American communities, farmers and other users in Arizona. Through his untiring efforts to expand and preserve this precious resource, Mo was able to work out a precedent-setting cost-sharing agreement to provide continued funding for the Central Arizona Project which will bring water to the state for generations to come.

Mo is a man of conviction, a man of principles and ideals. He brought those character traits to Washington in 1961, and kept them as his guiding light for the next 30 years. Mo was never afraid to fight for his beliefs, leading him to take on many challenges others would shunned. I'd like to borrow the words of one journalist who summed up Mo Udall's venerable career in public service this way:

"He came to Capitol Hill wearing cowboy boots, a crewcut and a bow-tie. He took on the Speaker of the House, and failed. He tried to become Majority Leader, and failed. He even set his sights on the presidency, and failed. He then settled down to become what he was destined to be...one of the greatest lawmakers of this century."

Those last few words sum up Mo Udall's inestimable achievements in admirable fashion. Mo, we'll miss your tall, lanky frame walking through the halls of Congress. We'll miss your special brand of humor that made us laugh, even at ourselves. But most of all we'll miss your towering presence as a force to be reckoned with in preserving the democratic principles you love so much.

Best wishes

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Ed Pastor". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large, prominent "E" and "P".



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

DONALD M. PAYNE
TENTH DISTRICT
NEW JERSEY

November 26, 1991

Dear Mo,

It brings me great pleasure to write you and tell you how very much I have enjoyed working with you. I arrived in Washington late in your legacy, and feel fortunate for the time we had together.

"Too Funny To Be President" is a good example of your many talents, and for the record, I supported you in 1976.

The work you did on the Interior Committee was exemplary. The shoes you left are large ones to fill, and I know I speak for many members when I say how much you are missed.

I wish you all the best.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Donald".

Donald M. Payne
Member of Congress

GLENN POSHARD
220 DISTRICT OFFICE

314 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
2075 225 5205

PUBLIC WORKS AND
TRANSPORTATION
COMMITTEE ON
SMALL BUSINESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

1000 NORTH DEARBORN STREET
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(312) 984-1000

201 EAST NICHOLS STREET
WEST FRANKFORT, IL 62886
(312) 937-6412

1330 SWANSON
CHICAGO, IL 60671
(312) 826-3043

6718 MARSHMAN STREET
MILWAUKEE, WI 53224
(414) 242-3700

418 SOUTH PULASKI
CHICAGO, IL 60607
(312) 533-1000

A Tribute to Morris Udall

Hon. Glenn Poshard
Of Illinois

I am pleased to join so many of my colleagues in a tribute to one of the great gentlemen of Congress, and this country, Morris Udall.

Long before I was given the privilege of serving in the United States House of Representatives with people of his stature, I studied his career and legacy of public service. No individual has ever served his constituents and his country with more dedication. Morris Udall was a leading voice for the environment long before it was fashionable. He is a model for those of us who believe in the good that can be accomplished through public service.

Mo, I know we did not spend a great deal of time in concurrent service. That is much to my regret. But I hope I can follow your example of compassion and caring. We are a better country for having the benefit of your years of service, and wish you well in the future.

*Mo, God bless you in your
retirement years...*

*Sincerely,
Glenn Poshard*

RALPH REGULA
18TH DISTRICT, OHIO

RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-3878

DISTRICT OFFICE
4150 BELDEN VILLAGE STREET NW
CANTON, OH 44718
(216) 489-4414
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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

COMMITTEES
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AND JUDICIARY
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING
SUBCOMMITTEE
HEALTH AND LONG TERM CARE

REMARKS OF HONORABLE RALPH REGULA
SPECIAL ORDER HONORING SENATOR MO UDALL

November 20, 1991

The legacy of Mo Udall is a gift of good government to the American people in a great diversity of actions.

I would focus on his leadership in preserving a quality landscape for future generations of Americans while at the same time developing our Nation's energy independence through the use of our greatest energy resource--coal. This was achieved with his landmark mining reclamation law.

We are all indebted to Mo for being a caring legislator.

MO UDALL TRIBUTE

FROM: REP. MARTY RUSSO

These are the words that come to mind when you mention Mo Udall--courage, integrity, humor. And the thoughts you associate with this legislative giant are that it was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to work with such a man, and that this is truly an 'impact person' who has left his mark on people, laws, the nation, and history.

Of course, you also think of basketball. Right, Mo? I take it as a real sign of genius when a man can accommodate the generation gap, on the Floor of the House and the floor of the gym. You insisted on that two-handed set shot as opposed to us newcomers with the one-handed shot, but you always accepted us anyway. You can't help but admire that kind of tolerance.

It's a simple fact, too, that no one can help but admire you, Mo. Not many people in this combative institution end up revered as you are. I always enjoyed our chats, your wit and your guidance. You left us a great legacy to work with and I thank you.

RAY THORNTON
20 DISTRICT ARKANSAS
COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE
SPACE AND TECHNOLOGY
DEMOCRATIC STEERING
AND POLICY COMMITTEE

**Congress of the United States
House of Representatives**

Washington, DC 20515-0402
November 21, 1991

WASHINGTON OFFICE
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WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0402
(202) 225-2508

DISTRICT OFFICE
1527 FEDERAL BUILDING
700 WEST CAPITOL AVE
LITTLE ROCK, AR 72201-3270
(501) 324-5941

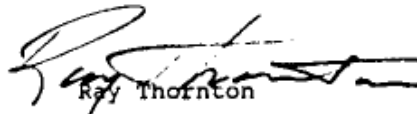
Mr. Speaker:

One of the highlights of my returning to Congress was the opportunity of serving again with Mo Udall, one of the most outstanding members who has ever served in the House of Representatives. His warm greeting to me on my return made me remember his great help in getting me started as a freshman during the 93rd Congress.

His book, The Job of a Congressman, became my textbook, but I gained even more from his personal leadership and example. It was a privilege to be one of his early supporters in his campaign to become President of the United States, and I know that he would have been an outstanding leader of our nation.

Every person who has benefitted from knowing Mo also understands that his total contribution is greater than the sum of its parts.

Our House of Representatives and our country are better because of Mo Udall.


Ray Thornton





HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

JAMES H. SCHEUER
8TH DISTRICT
NEW YORK

November 27, 1991

Dear Mo:

Thank you for all of the wonderful times and memories we shared together.

You have a large and wonderful capacity for friendship as your immense circle of friends¹ can attest.

Your inspiration to me and our colleagues shall never be forgotten. I shall miss your wisdom and counsel.

My very best to you,


Jim Scheuer

ALAN K. SIMPSON
WYOMING



United States Senate
Assistant Republican Leader
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 18, 1991

Honorable Morris Udall
1812 South 24th
Arlington, Virginia 22202

Dear Mo:

I know that these have been some terribly tough "decision times" for you, and I think you made the right one. Knowing you, you are not going to look back, but will just keep plowing straight ahead -- right down the middle of the furrow, too!

I trust that things are going better for you physically, and that you are progressing through the various stages of "good repair" after your fall.

I have been thinking of you, especially since I recently visited with my own dear Dad in Cody. He is 93, and even though the fog of age continues to close in around him, I reflect on how many remarkable years he had with us after that damned Parkinson's malady began. He contracted that at the age of 61. He then went on to serve in the United States Senate, and voluntarily retired (as he said, "before the voters got to him!"). He has led a vital and productive life in Cody, Wyoming, for many, many years. That prospect and fine promise is right there for you, sir!

You are a great person, and I just want you to know that I miss you around this place. Some of these guys are pretty serious -- a little humor sometimes escapes them totally! That is why you were such a marvelous part of this legislative endeavor, with that bright, thoughtful, inquisitive mind, that fine staff -- and always that great levelling agent of humor. I do miss you -- I mean that.

Honorable Morris Udall
Page Two

I would love to come by and say "hello" some day, if that is convenient. I will call ahead to do that. Just list me as a fan -- always so.

Take care, my friend.

Ann joins in sending our love to you and to Norma, along with every good and sincere wish for your recovery and comfort.

Most sincerely,



Alan K. Simpson
United States Senator

AKS/gmm

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Duncan, Weinberg, Miller & Pembroke, P. C.

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FREDERICK L. MILLER, JR.
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Northwest Regional Office

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OF COUNSEL
PARKER, LAMB & ANKUDA, P.C.

April 19, 1991

Hon. Morris K. Udall
6200 Long Meadow Road
McLean, VA 22101

Dear Morris:

It is with a personal sense of sadness that I learned from this morning's Washington Post that you had decided to resign from Congress. That sadness is lightened by the many memories I have of your skill, resoluteness and, most important of all, of your good humor.

It has been a privilege to have worked with you through the years. One of my fondest memories of Morris Udall in action came during one of the interminable hearings on the Central Arizona Project where Northcutt Ely was pontificating on California's right to Colorado River water under the Supreme Court decision in Arizona v. California. I had just finished testifying that Ely's thesis didn't hold water, if you will pardon the expression, in the light of what the Supreme Court had actually decided. You deflated Northcutt by stating, as I recall, "You will have to pardon Mr. Weinberg for he, like some of the rest of us, is laboring under the delusion that Arizona won the lawsuit."

One of my greatest disappointments came when, as a result of the Democratic primary in Wisconsin -- my native state -- you ended your presidential campaign. There has never been any question in my mind and in the minds of millions of others that the voters of Wisconsin had made a terrible mistake.

- 2 -

Anne joins me in wishing you all the best in your retirement. In the words of the ancient Hebrew priestly blessing, "May God cause the light of his countenance to shine on you and to give you peace."

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ed.", is positioned above the printed name.

Edward Weinberg

National Parks and Conservation Association

PAUL C. PRITCHARD
President

April 19, 1991

The Honorable Morris K. Udall
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Congressman Udall,

On behalf of the Board of Trustees, the Staff and the nearly 300,000 members of the National Park and Conservation Association, I want to express our gratitude for the thirty years you've given to protecting and expanding America's crown jewels, her national parks.

Your retirement and the nature of your circumstances come at a particularly sensitive time with the new threat to the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge. Your leadership and support will be sorely missed. However, you must know that we and others will continue the fight you began.

Some flaunt the mantle of leadership like a king's cape while others simply wear it like a familiar old coat. You are of the latter and is part and parcel of your legacy. We respect, indeed, love you for the struggle...it is the way most people get through their lives, winning some, losing more than we'd like, but always grappling to make things better for everyone. There can be no better tribute.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



1015 Thirty-First Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007-4406
Telephone (202) 944-8530 • Fax (202) 944-8535

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

from the office of
Senator Edward M. Kennedy
of Massachusetts

STATEMENT OF SENATOR KENNEDY ON THE
RESIGNATION OF CONGRESSMAN MO UDALL

For Immediate Release
April 19, 1991

This is a sad day for Congress, the country, and the
legions of citizens in America and many other lands whose
lives are better today because of Mo Udall. He will rank as
one of the greatest Congressional leaders of all time, and
also as one of the most beloved.

* * *

PATRICK J. LEAHY
VERMONT



UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

Dear Mo

I've had only
a few real heroes
here in the government -
and with you leaving
the Congress I have
one less.

I'm proud of you
and wish you well

Fate

Daniel P. Moynihan
New York

United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

April 24, 1991

My dear Mo,

Hail, old friend. But not farewell.
The Congress will be a lesser institution
without you, but your leaving has given
the whole nation the occasion to realize
just how much you have enlarged the
place, and in doing so, enlarged our sense
as a people of what we can be when we are
at our best. For you were and are just
that.

Best,



The Honorable Morris K. Udall
1812 South 24th Street
Arlington, VA 22202

AMBASSADOR HENRY L. KIMELMAN

May 7, 1991

Dean "Mo,"

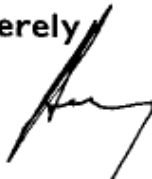
Charlotte and I are truly at a loss for words to express the admiration we feel for a great American and a compassionate, intelligent and witty man. You have given so much of yourself to so many and to the well being of your country. Others in the media have so admirably expressed your contributions made during a stellar 30 year public service career that there is little we can add. Peter Jennings' "Person of the Week" and David Broder's superlative column brought tears to our eyes. We were glued to C-Span for hours last Thursday to view and to hear the tributes and the accolades of your peers.

For us knowing you and counting you as a friend of our family has added immeasurably to all our lives. Both you and Stew had a profound effect in shaping many of the goals I set for myself. And Charlotte, Don and I often talk of that one special evening we spent at our home in St. Thomas and to which you referred in your kind and generous letter on the occasion of my 70th birthday.

We pray that your life in retirement will be peaceful and pleasurable as you contemplate all your past accomplishments and think of the millions of people who inhabit this globe who enjoy a better quality of life because of Mo Udall.

Charlotte and the entire Kimelman family join me in love and best wishes to you, Norma and all the Udalls.

Sincerely,





Executive Office of the Chairman
WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHE TRIBE

RONNIE LUPE
CHAIRMAN

May 17, 1991

Honorable Morris K. Udall
Veterans Administration Hospital
50 Irving Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20422

Dear Congressman Udall:

I would like to add my voice to the legions who praise you for your distinguished career, which has come to an untimely end. Great friendships are to be treasured. Your unwavering support of the White Mountain Apache Tribe certainly makes you a member of this select group.

I have always admired the respect that you have shown toward our Apache people. My family still talks about our meeting on the Black River. The memory of your graciousness will remain forever in our hearts.

I was deeply saddened by your recent illness. I'm sure that your strength of character -- your fighting spirit, your humor, your values -- will see you through.

Congressman Udall, I offer a simple but profound thanks for your service to our country, the State of Arizona, and our White Mountain Apache Tribe. Great men like you can not be replaced. You will be sorely missed.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ronnie Lupe".

Ronnie Lupe, Tribal Chairman
WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHE TRIBE

BEN BLAZ
GUAM

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1130 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-1188
FAX (202) 225-0086

GUAM OFFICE:
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OFFICE
GMI BUILDING, SUITES 4-6
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TAMUNING, GUAM 96911
(671) 846-6900
646-3590
FAX (671) 472-7380



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES
MILITARY INSTALLATIONS AND FACILITIES
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ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS
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AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

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GENERAL OVERSIGHT AND
CALIFORNIA DESERT LANDS
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WATER, POWER AND
OFFSHORE ENERGY RESOURCES

SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING
HOUSING AND CONSUMER INTERESTS
HUMAN SERVICES

Memories of Mo

By Ben Blaz

As I leave the Congress of the United States after eight years, I will be taking with me some of the most wonderful memories of my forty years of public service.

Among the top of these will always be - thoughts of Mo. I am not sufficiently gifted to express adequately my affection for Mo Udall. Although we are of different political parties, I never noticed that it made a difference to him. In fact, I dare say, he was either oblivious to it or was sympathetic!

One thing will always stand out in my mind. As a freshman I was faced with a very difficult vote in the full committee on an issue of importance to Mo. I had told him that I thought I could support his position and, as it turned out, there was a tie when the vote came to me. The pressure from my side was very strong but I finally decided to support Mo. There was immediate anger from my side. I retreated to my office and there was a call from Mo.

He told me that considering the pressure I was receiving he would have understood it if I had not supported him. He then added that in the Congress a man's word is his bond and then said "Welcome to the Congress, Ben Blaz" and promptly hung up.

In the ensuing years we honored Mo Udall on Guam by naming the westernmost piece of American real estate, Udall Point, after him. It was the most we could do; it was the least he deserved.

Thanks for your friendship, Mo. I will never forget you.

Sincerely,

BEN BLAZ
Member of Congress

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

December 4, 1991

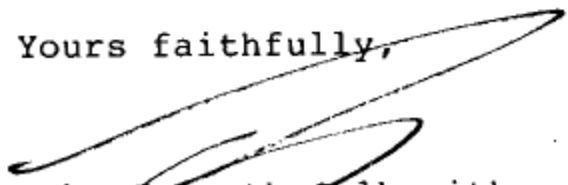
Mr. Morris Udall
1812 South 24th St.
Arlington, VA 22202

Dear Mo:

There aren't many people who have been in the Congress who, while I knew them well while in office, I continue to remember in the years after they leave. You most distinctly are one; I remember with affection and real personal pleasure our many encounters over the years, and even more the occasions when I read of your effort on one important and sometimes unforgiving enterprise or another. Never did I notice anything that was in conflict with the public good. Now that you are out of office, I hope you will have in mind how affectionately you are remembered by all of your old friends. And when I speak of old friends, I can think of no group with which I want more to be identified than with yours.

I am sending this in care of Norma, who also has my affectionate good wishes. I am asking her to carry it to you on some early visit. Again, my warm, affectionate and admiring regards.

Yours faithfully,



John Kenneth Galbraith

Mo: On the front of the
canal are giants in the forest -
when one falls the earth
trembles - we feel your absence
here in the house as you are a
giant among giants - get
better soon!

Pety

BROCK ADAMS

Jan 24 P.M.

Dear Mr

Jan 10, 1991

I was so sorry to hear about
your accident and I hope you
feel better now.

I've missed you and you are
a great voice for the things that
are good in America
Yours
Brock



Edward M. Kennedy

February 27, 1992

Honorable Morris Udall

Dear Mo:

Just a note to tell you that I think of you often. I miss more than I can ever say your wonderful wit and wisdom which brought such a healthy perspective all of us on Capitol Hill.

You are one of the very best, and you've left an indelible mark on many lives, including my own.

Take care, dear friend.

As ever,

E. M. Kennedy
Thinking of you.

JAMES McCLURE CLARKE
HICKORY NUT GAP FARM
ROUTE 1, Box 108
FAIRVIEW, N.C. 28730

January 24th, 1991

Dear Mo -

Elspie and I have been thinking about you
and wishing you an early return to good health.
The House Interior Committee can function without
a member from North Carolina - or even a
Republican one - but it can't hot its ~~same~~ course
without its leader.

You have taught us all the value of patience
and good humor and jokes and, most of all,
integrity. We are better men for it.

With our love and best wishes for your recovery.

As ever,
Jamie

FEB 06 A.M.

David S. Broder

4024 N. 27th Street, Arlington, VA 22207

January 27, 1991

Dear Mo:

This is a note to urge you to get well ~~fast~~ as soon as you possibly can. That is obviously important to you, but it is increasingly important to the world, the nation and your beloved Democratic Party.

Consider this. Since you took your tumble:

1. We have gone to war and damned old Saddam Hussein has turned the Persian Gulf into an oil slick.

2. Billy Graham has reappeared in the White House and Georgetown has started losing a lot of basketball games. Clearly, if George Bush had turned to Cardinal Spellman, as other presidents did, for spiritual counsel on gaining victory, the Hoyas would have been reassured and played their normal winning game.

3. George McGovern and Jesse Jackson have made campaign appearances in New Hampshire and have indicated they may run for president in 1992. Bobbing Carter also has been there. Can Jimmy Carter be far behind?

The evidence is clear that everything has gone to hell without you. Please get back quick.

Ann joins in sending our best for a speedy recovery.

All the best,



Official and Personal Tributes to Hon. Morris
K. Udall

Morris K. Udall Day

Office of the Governor of Arizona

Whereas, on May 2, 1961, Morris K. Udall was elected to the first of his 16 terms representing Arizona's 2d Congressional District in the United States House of Representatives; and
Whereas, his distinguished example in gentle word and historic deed set a standard for public service, and his unsurpassed integrity, decency, love of the land, warm wit and humor have been an inspiration for many generations; and
Whereas, the retirement of Congressman Udall on May 4, 1991, will end a dynamic, 30-year political career of towering legislative achievements; and
Whereas, Mo Udall's accomplishments in protecting our environment are unequaled, as he championed such causes as the Alaska Lands Act, which doubled the size of the national park system and tripled the amount of wilderness area; the massive Central Arizona Project that brought Colorado River water to much of our state; and the regulation of strip-mined land reclamation; and
Whereas, Mo Udall truly is an Arizona legend and has been a crucial part of the political fabric of our state, and his superb leadership and effectiveness in Congress will be deeply missed; and
Whereas, as he retires, Mo Udall carries with him the heartfelt thanks, love and admiration of all Arizonans;
Now, Therefore, I, Fife Symington, Governor of the State of Arizona, do hereby proclaim the 30th Anniversary of Mo Udall's first election to Congress, May 2, 1991, as Morris K. Udall Day in Arizona and extend my deepest gratitude, prayers and best wishes to Mo and his family.

page 165

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be
affixed the Great Seal of the State of Arizona

FIFE SYMINGTON,
Governor.

Done at the Capital in Phoenix on this the twenty-ninth day of April in the Year of
Our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety-One and of the Independence of

the United States of America the Two Hundred and Fifteenth. Attest: Richard Mahoney, Secretary of State.



page 166

[From the Arizona Law Record]

A DAUGHTER'S FOND MEMORIES

(By Anne Udall)

Since Dad's resignation from Congress in early May, I have been asked to share my recollections of him many times. Most requests have been short on-the-spot interviews, requiring quickly crafted answers. I am grateful for this opportunity to write my memories; to have the time to think and compose and refine. Others can write of Dad's numerous and remarkable achievements in law and politics. The story I tell goes beyond the history books, for my view has been the personal one that only a daughter can have. So, if you are a lawyer-type that hates any touchy-feely stuff, you are best to find another column in this magazine to read. This one is full of a daughter's unabashed love (my dad would probably be embarrassed by it).

I knew my dad was special long before the rest of the world found out. He called me Bams. He taught me to ride a bike on Calle la Vela, still a dirt road off of Campbell. He played with me in the park and took all of us to the public library, having to explain why the numerous overdue books were not being returned once again this week. I would go with him to his law office downtown on Court Street and play peek-a-boo with the terra cotta pipes that still adorn the front porch of the building. On weekends, he carried me on his shoulders into the deep end of our swimming pool, until he was totally submerged and I was squealing with delight above the water.

He was elected to Congress when I was six years old. I do not remember the campaign -- I do however remember being awakened at

some god-awful hour in the middle of the night to have our picture taken for the Tucson Citizen. After his election, we moved East for a number of years. He loved his job; he worked long and hard and I saw him less. Yet, I have fond memories of spending Saturdays in his office, with him working while we played with the rather impressive electric typewriters. I particularly remember his gentle irritation the time he discovered the typewriter I had left on during the weekend. That memory is matched only by the one of the evening Dad took us to the Capitol to see Kennedy's coffin lying in the rotunda.

It was during this same time that I went to the White House with my dad to witness the signing of the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964. The rest of the family was out of Washington; we were at Dad's office (yes, he still let me play on the typewriters). The White House called to invite him to the signing and we made a mad dash

page 167

home to procure some suitable attire. We then proceeded at a rapid pace to the White House, arriving with a number of other guests. Dad held my hand, while I gazed up at a number of people he introduced to me: J. Edgar Hoover, Robert Kennedy, Lady Bird Johnson and a number of other rather tall-looking notables. We stood in the very back of the room and Dad held me up so I could see, until finally a man found a chair for me to stand on.

After my parents' divorce we visited Dad regularly during the summers, indulging in the time-honored East Coast tradition of "going to the beach." The July days were full of playing in the sand and learning to body surf. When Dad came to Tucson, there was the inevitable meal at El Minuto, followed most often by one of two activities: bowling or Scrabble. I never beat him until one day I cheated by heisting a blank out of the tile bag in order to have the letters for the word "quizzes" (you Scrabble fans will appreciate the coup--only overshadowed by the cheating necessary to do such a feat). To this day, I can bowl a respectable 145 and score double that on a good Scrabble night, without having to cheat to do so. After he married Tiger, we added a third activity to our times together: jigsaw puzzles. We would sit for hours in their downstairs living room working on some impossibly difficult picture. Over time, we developed our own special vocabulary and I pitied the uninitiated who did not understand what the sub-assemblies, breakthroughs, and "three-legs" were.

People have always admired Dad for his intelligence; as a child, his brilliance was obvious to me as well. Frequently, I would ask him to define a word from my current reading and he would oblige. It became

a challenge to find a word he didn't know -- I never did succeed. His keen mind was most apparent when we would talk (actually I asked questions and he answered them). I loved to listen to him. He had a gift that only the truly intelligent have: to take the most complex subject imaginable and make it understandable even to a 13-year-old (perhaps he had plenty of practice with his Congressional colleagues). My love of intelligent conversation was born during those years.

In my early adolescence, I began to hear from people around me how special my dad was. I can remember the admiration and respect he garnered when we would go places. I was proud of him. He did a number of gutsy things, like opposing the Vietnam War and running for the Speaker of the House and the Majority Whip positions. He got busier and I got older. Times together seemed fewer, but there were still hikes, and Mexican meals together, and the always enjoyable trips to visit with him and Tiger.

I went East for my first two years of college, and then my visits to Washington were more frequent. Their house was always open

page 168

to my friends and me, even if I took some good-natured ribbing from Dad about being a "slob" (a term of endearment I still reserve for my closest friends). Sometimes, at night, we would sit and talk while Dad had his evening treat of vanilla ice cream covered with Welch's grape juice (no, I did not make that up).

With some astonishment, I watched as Dad toyed with his presidential aspirations, and eventually announced his candidacy. I watched in even more amazement as I volunteered to work for him. That time with Dad was very special to me. For the next nine months I had the opportunity to see him at his very best. The same brilliance, the same ability to talk to people, the same common sense I had come to know over the years were fully apparent during the months of 1976. Over that year, I shared Dad's excitement, sadness, and eventual acceptance as he came close, and eventually lost, in numerous primary races. I witnessed, first-hand, the bitter disappointment in Wisconsin when he found out that he had lost that crucial race he went to bed believing he had won. I saw his pride in me as I developed the skills to speak to people about his candidacy. And I sat in a hotel room in New York City, chatting with Rosalynn Carter while Dad and Jimmy Carter went into another room to finalize the words Dad would say to release his delegates so that the Democratic party would be unified.

Someone asked me recently if Dad was funny to be around when I was growing up. Those of you who know Mo know his humor is not full of "throwaway" jokes, told only as an adjunct to the real conversation. No, to Dad, jokes and humor were life. I often think that his philosophy, if summed up, might read: Life is too important to be taken seriously.

The diagnosis of Parkinson's disease marked a major time in Dad's life and in the lives of those of us closest to him. I believed him to be invincible, unmarked by scandal as much as by time. I watched, at first with shock and dismay, as the daily routines of life became more difficult for him. And I wondered if he would give up. He didn't. Admiration replaced my earlier emotions. I never heard him complain; yet, I do remember a story he told once that said more than any of his own words. As always, humor was the medium, but the message was nevertheless bittersweet. The tale goes like this:

"This is a story of a hard-working, God-fearing man. The man was blessed with a lovely wife and several children. But one day things began to go wrong. First, his wife ran off with his best friend. In his humility, he said to God, 'Thy will be done.' Then his daughter took a shiftless husband who ran the family business into the ground. 'Thy will be done,' he repeated. By this time, he was reduced to working with a small plot of land. He suffered through

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page 169

droughts and crop failures, yet he remained faithful. 'Thy will be done,' he would tell God. Finally, while out plowing under the stalks of his dead crops, he slipped and fell into the dirt, and his mule kicked him in the head. The man turned his gaze skyward and said, 'God, Thy will be done. But this shit's got to stop.'"

This patchwork quilt of remembrances is selective--poetic license I believe it's called. My dad, like all dads, did some things that I didn't particularly like OR appreciate. And so what? I too am at an age where I think life is too important to be taken seriously. I care little any more about what he did not give me, and instead, take great joy in recollecting that which he did and still does. People speak of his great legacy, of his accomplishments, of his prolific career but dedicate few lines to his talent as a father. He is a man that loves his children. He gave to me many gifts: a smile I still travel 2,500 miles to see as much as I can and laughter and gentleness. He gives me the belief that honorable people can stay honorable; that not all angels fall. He expresses love for each of his children that transcends both our failures

and successes. I can think of no greater endowment a parent can give a child.

PERSONAL THOUGHTS ABOUT MO

(By Norma Udall)

It seems strange, somehow, to realize that someone close to us--in our immediate family, no less--is a public person, admired and loved by vast numbers of people across our country--many of whom have never even met him. Yet Mo Udall's impact on them is such that they each feel they do know him, and model their lives on his lessons and his inspiration.

Indeed, we who are close to him know that he is only partly ours. For Morris K. Udall is "far more," and the "far more" part belongs to the whole world.

Out there, where the rules are tougher, he has been judged and appraised for what he is, what he has been, what he believes. The universal outpouring of reverence and affection for Mo -- most dramatically demonstrated on his retirement from Congress--is testimony to his legacy. His colleagues acknowledge him as one of the most revered and beloved Members ever to serve in the House. That is the supreme compliment for a man such as Mo.

His gift to each of us has been an understanding of the complex harmony between Man and Nature--and especially, how very beautiful it all is. He has instilled a love for all that is natural and free--and for treating all inhabitants of our planet with tenderness

page 170

and consideration. He has taught us reconciliation with our surroundings.

The strength of his integrity has effortlessly reached across party lines, bypassing dogma and political positions. In doing so, Mo Udall has added a unique human dimension to our political system. His warmth and gentle wit have earned him the respect of leaders regardless of political affiliation, and the gratitude of private citizens who have benefited from his foresight and wisdom.

And his love of the land has resulted in the protection of irreplaceable resources for the enjoyment and spiritual uplifting of generations to come.

As his wife, I feel blessed to share such an extraordinary life and to give him my continued love.

SELECTED TRIBUTES BY FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES

MO UDALL . . . ARIZONA'S NATIONAL RESOURCE

"Morris Udall . . . one of the most legislatively productive members of the House."

--THE ALMANAC OF AMERICAN POLITICS.

". . . giant of our politics and of our public life, he is a gentle man, with steel in his backbone and joy in his soul."

--U.S. SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY.

"Mo Udall is a leader whose good, common sense approach to issues has benefited Arizona in many ways. Not only has he done a great job as our advocate in Congress, but his leadership abilities have been recognized throughout the United States."

--STATE SENATOR LELA ALSTON.

"Mo Udall has made a political career out of always being willing to take a challenge ... not only a great member of Congress, but a great American."

--U.S. SENATOR GARY HART.

"Mo Udall has been, for many years, a friend of mine and a friend of Arizona. He is a man of conviction and integrity, and we are fortunate to have him representing us in Washington."

--TUCSON MAYOR GEORGE MILLER.

"Mo Udall, for all these years, has been a leader of brilliance, of compassion, of good judgment and of courage, not just for one season, but for a lifetime."

--VICE PRESIDENT WALTER MONDALE.

page 171

"When all things are considered, Mo Udall is the very best Congressman in the United States."

--STATE REPRESENTATIVE ART HAMILTON.

"Mo Udall is Arizona's favorite son and is the best representative in the U.S. House of Representatives from Arizona or any other state."

--SOUTH TUCSON MAYOR DAN ECKSTROM.

"In this town (Washington) of loud voices and short memories, Mo has permitted conscience to speak above a whisper."

--U.S. SENATOR JOHN GLENN.

"Mo Udall is one of America's favorite political humorists; Arizona's favorite Congressman; Democrats' favorite Democrat; and my favorite son."

--GOVERNOR BRUCE BABBITT.

"When an elected official at whatever level of government wishes to emulate someone for responsiveness to the people, you don't have to look any further than Mo Udall."

--YUMA CITY COUNCIL MEMBER HARRIETT PINSKER.

"Mo Udall is one of the hardest working and most effective elected officials that this state has ever produced."

--MARICOPA CO. SUPERVISOR ED PASTOR.

"Lifelong public servant, legendary wit, and crusader for the common man ... for many years a source of pride to all Americans."

--GOVERNOR REUBEN ASKEW.

"We are proud to have Mo Udall represent our district. Not only has he done an outstanding job representing the people of Southern Arizona, but he has also been one of the finest Congressmen in the history of the U.S. Congress."

--TUCSON CITY COUNCILMAN TOM VOLGY.

"The fondness and respect I have for Mo is shared by all his colleagues who have repeatedly voted him to the top of the ranks. We should all be proud to have the opportunity to show him our gratitude and support. Arizona's truly favorite son."

--U.S. SENATOR DENNIS DeCONCINI.

page 172

"Mo Udall has my full support and anything that I can do to help him get re-elected I will do. Arizona will be at a great loss if he is not re-elected."

--STATE REPRESENTATIVE CAROLYN WALKER.

"Mo Udall is an Arizona legend who, over the years has become a national legend. He is respected and sought after for his wisdom and leadership abilities."

--STATE REPRESENTATIVE BOB McLendon.

"Mo Udall's career is a model for every public servant in the nation. He has made us proud to be from Arizona."

--STATE REPRESENTATIVE DAVID BARTLETT.

"His courage, his fearlessness and his dedication have made, not only for good citizenship, but better public service."

--SENATOR ERNEST HOLLINGS.

"Mo Udall is a friend of working men and women, a consistent supporter of civil rights and social programs, and committed to protecting our environment.

"Many Democratic officeholders, past and present, were aided by Mo, who has always been there for his fellow Democrats, assisting in fundraising, public appearances and endorsements.

"And, he's been good to the Hispanic community in our state. His record in support of nutritional programs, Head Start, bilingual education and a host of other issues which affect Hispanics is consistent and appreciated."

--STATE REPRESENTATIVE EARL WILCOX.

"Morris Udall is one of Arizona's greatest assets. For two decades, he has toiled hard for Arizona in Congress and achieved major long-term goals in preserving and enhancing our precious water resources. Mo's national presence insures that Arizona and the citizens in Mo Udall's district have about the best representation in the nation."

--PHOENIX MAYOR TERRY GODDARD.

"Few men have had as distinguished a career as Mo Udall, a man who has devoted much of his life in the service of his Country. He is a true national resource."

--STATE REPRESENTATIVE GLENN DAVIS.

"Mo Udall personifies what good public service is all about. He's set an example for all of us who serve the public and who seek change at every level of government.

"His record on minority issues, particularly Hispanic issues, is solid. While the present administration has sought to remove protection for the disadvantaged in our society Mo Udall has been there to lend a hand and his voice in support of social programs which assist minorities.

"He's someone Arizona has depended upon to serve in its best interests and someone we can count on to continue doing so in the years ahead."

--PHOENIX CITY COUNCILMEMBER MARY ROSE WILCOX.

"Born in a desert hamlet, Mo Udall came to Washington wearing funny suits and cowboy boots. Having lost bids to become Speaker and then majority leader, he tried to lead the whole country--and lost again. His fate was simply to become one of the great lawmakers of our time."

--JAMES M. PERRY, AUDUBON MAGAZINE.

MORRIS K. UDALL--ARIZONA SON

(By James McNulty)

When he was born he was named Morris King Udall, named in part after his grandfather, David King Udall, the patriarch. His father was Levi Stewart Udall, and Mo, as he forever will be known, was Levi's middle boy.

Grandfather David King Udall was a pioneer, courageous and committed, certain he was on the cutting edge of a new order. He was a devout Mormon and practiced his faith every waking hour. He came from a culture that was almost Judaic in its reverence for law and respect for justice. So law and order, and a passion for education (which to this day sets the church apart from average American society), plus ambition and ceaseless work, have made the Mormon church the powerful institution it is today.

The moral posture of the early church synthesized law and morality. Law was not a minimum tolerable code of social conduct, but a system and culture hand-in-glove with the church and all its teachings. Mo would say in later years that the "Mormons reconciled law and religion" very well.

When David King Udall was convicted (on trumped-up charges) and sent to a federal prison in Michigan, he was wounded to the quick. Even his subsequent full and deserved pardon, granted by President Grover Cleveland, never wholly eradicated the wound of that incident. In Mo's words, "I kid Barry Goldwater whose family helped get bail for the old man. But there was nothing funny to

page 174

David Udall. He worshipped the courts and the Constitution and to have them find him guilty was worse than anything . . ."

Of course, David King Udall's real offense was a polygamous marriage, (in a Mormon-hating community), which was carefully weighed by the church authorities and only then soberly approved. An Apache County newspaper recommended David King be hanged.

Levi, David's first son, received a high school education in the St. John's area and got interested in law while serving 12 years in the office of the Clerk of the Superior Court. He signed on with LaSalle Institute, a mail-order college. Levi read, passed the bar and was admitted. He then spent his life in, with, and on behalf of the law, a career that took him finally to the Arizona Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, in his shadow grew Stew, Mo and Burr. All three were quizzed about the degree of persuasion exerted on them by their father to the life in the law, a life they all adopted. Mo told the Arizona Historical Society that his father did very little in terms of directing them toward the law, but that he did say that it was a career in which people who cared for other people could achieve some lasting satisfaction.

Mo graduated from the University of Arizona in 1949, after simultaneously taking law courses in Denver and playing professional basketball for a now defunct team. He was first on the bar examination. He began practice in 1949 with his brother, and continued there while serving 2 years as Pima County attorney, from 1952-1954. In those days county attorneys could practice privately.

After that, he went into private practice with an enthusiasm and skill that swiftly made him one of the most powerful advocates at the Bar.

He served as a member of the State Bar Board of Governors from 1960-1964, and attempted to become President of that association. But, after 10 tie votes, he yielded that ambition. In the meantime, he headed the massive overhaul of the state judiciary system, known as the Modern

Courts Initiative, which created appellate courts and revised 35 Sections of Article VI of the Arizona Constitution.

The Modern Courts Initiative was not universally popular. A small group of folk learned in the law felt the change was too great and that the tall skinny guy from Tucson was getting a little bit too big for his britches. The public, however, joined an immense and political consensus and passed the initiative.

A few years earlier Mo had had the effrontery to run for the superior court when he wasn't even 40 years old. He lost, in part because Pima county used old-fashioned voting machines with tiny levers that were pushed to cast a vote. Although the law provided

page 175

(Official and Personal Tributes: Part 2 of 3)

for the rotation of names on paper ballots, it did not require it on the machines, and Mo's name was on the second row rather than the first, from which the winner was chosen. He always believed the loss was a fluke.

In 1961, Mo's career as a lawyer ended and his career as a legislator began. He was elected by a fairly small margin to succeed his brother in the United States House of Representatives, for the seat Stewart Udall vacated to become Secretary of the Interior for President Kennedy.

Mo was often questioned about his committee assignments, which were the Interior Committee and the Post Office and Civil Service Committee but not the Judiciary. He had arrived under the old regime where committee chairmen were responsible to almost no one, where they called meetings when, as and if they cared to do so, and where they brooked no opposition, dissent, or amendments. Mo decided against the Judiciary Committee which was chaired by Howard Smith of Virginia, the most ruthlessly totalitarian chairman of them all.

The nation lost nothing by his forsaking the judiciary. His bills brought the law to apply across the broad sweep of the nation's concerns for energy and environment and even to housekeeping matters within the Congress itself.

Even as law was the core of Mo's life, so humor was the core of his self-esteem. In spring of 1964, Mo was given a small assignment by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. The government was being inundated with insurance claims for deceased civil servants, filed by then-called "illegitimate children." The authorities decided to recognize children as descendants whether the product of a sanctified union or

not. A change in the law was proposed and Udall was given the responsibility to carry it through his own committee, the Rules Committee, and finally, big time, on the floor. He did so and the measure is now the law of this union.

Touring on a campaign swing that summer, Mo and I arrived in Bowie, Arizona, which, wasn't much then and is somewhat less now. The central point of community existence was Skeets Tavern run by irascible Skeets Thomas. We went in and were immediately treated to vintage irascibility, with Thomas pointing his finger in Mo's face and saying, "When are you going to stop giving away all this money and start taking care of old bastards like me?"

Mo said, "Funny you should ask, Skeets, let me tell you what I did for a lot of old bastards this past year."

Mo also claimed to have gone to an American Legion Post in Tombstone and made what he thought was a splendid address. When he finished he asked for questions, and an old gnarled cowboy in the back of the room said, "Son, you said a lot of fine

page 176

things, but I want to ask one question. You're not one of them damned lawyers are you?" Udall gulped and said, "Well, sir, I am, but I'm a damned poor one."

Curiously, the media paid very modest attention to Mo Udall's predilection for peace. That characteristic tested him during the Vietnam War. He was one of the first Americans to denounce the war. He did it while Lyndon Johnson was President and Stewart Udall was Johnson's Secretary of the Interior. Johnson liked to pinch, with his great rough hands, the shoulder muscles of lesser individuals to the point where the victim cringed or cried out. Johnson thought of this as the process of "reasoning together." But with 6'4", 220-pound Mo Udall, the President was not able to pinch or grin the lanky Arizonan down.

Mo's position on Vietnam was initially enormously unpopular, and exposed him to vituperation unparalleled in his earlier political career.

But his penchant for peace would not be dismayed. Over the years he was subject to betrayal of the most egregious kind. His unsuccessful efforts for election as speaker and, subsequently as whip, generated duplicity worthy of the Middle Ages.

A man of peace, he refused to be angry and he would not consider retaliation.

It is little known, and rarely said, that three-fourths of Congressional decisions are made in the spirit of E Pluribus Unum. I mean that almost every vote pivots around the necessity to make one from many, to move us closer together as a nation. That view underlies the whole spectrum of decisions. It was in the best Jeffersonian tradition, which holds the people themselves are the only depository of society's ultimate powers of society. If we think the people not enlightened enough to exercise their control with wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take control from them, but to inform their discretion by education.

In later years, Mo was asked to comment on changes in the law which he approved or disapproved. He said, "I think we're better off because of the Warren Court and that the Court did things that needed doing." He revealed the depth of his feeling saying, "I saw as later as 1954 the Almanac had a listing of lynchings. How many there were. They kept such a God-damned list in 1954. The idea that somebody could come into your house, lift your husband out of his bed, tie him to a tree and shoot him, torture him--that we as a country would stand by and let that happen is incredible. And they always found, in the Supreme Court cases, legalistic reasons why they deplored . . . 'We the Court deplore lynching. Sorry, we don't know what to do about it. It's up to the states.'"

page 177

Mo endured personal misfortunes, none worse than his present physical condition. But beneath his ill gaunt frame, we know a penetrating intelligence lives. We know that he catalogs still further stories to entertain and amuse, but to bruise no one. We are graced by his presence, and in days when Arizonans are feeling their self-esteem slightly sliding, we know that this man distinguished himself and honors us who chose him.

The Congressional Quarterly (actually, a weekly) is the most definitive voice on the subject of the U.S. Congress, and, upon Mo's retirement spoke this judgment of the ages: "The dominant political forces at work today systematically devalue the two traits that made Mo's mark, a willingness to take risks and a commitment to larger institutions than himself." So let it be.

UDALL: AN ACCOMPLISHED LAWYER, POLITICIAN, FIGHTER

(By Senator Dennis DeConcini of Arizona)

To see the prodigious legacy of Representative Morris K. Udall, one need only look about the Nation and State he so passionately loved and so ably served. His public monuments will endure forever.

I could go on forever about Mo's many great accomplishments, but I'd like to offer a different perspective. There is a different side to this man. A side I saw as a young high-school and college student, when, even then, I witnessed firsthand why this man was destined for greatness.

Some of my most lasting memories of Mo Udall occurred after he had graduated from the University of Arizona law school and eventually came to work in my father's law office. I remember sitting in my father's office as a young high school student; Mo and his brother Stewart would meet with my father and strategize about cases on which they were working. Mo had a brilliant legal mind. He was an extremely hard worker, but more importantly, he listened intently to everything that was said.

I was also impressed with Mo's organizational skills. Specializing in personal injury cases, Mo carried a tremendous work load as a young lawyer. He seemed happiest during those times when he was barely keeping his head above water.

In fact, when Mo and Stewart Udall formed their own law firm, they carried three lawyers, including themselves. The firm used one secretary, so Mo and Stewart performed many of the administrative and secretarial tasks themselves.

Even with this busy schedule, Mo always found time after work with his kids to play baseball or participate in the Y-Indian guide

page 178

program. "Big Beaver," his chosen name in Indian guides, always found time to enjoy life.

I was 24 years old when Mo Udall was first elected to Congress. I worked on his first campaign, and as I listened to him speak at various functions throughout his race, I was in awe of his ability to capture and maintain an audience's attention. His ability to communicate with people was not something he had trained himself to do. Rather, he was

blessed with an ability to speak to his audience as if he were having a personal conversation with each individual. Even more impressively, Mo used few or no notes when he addressed an audience.

In addition to Mo's talents as both a lawyer and politician, he was also an accomplished businessman. Mo was concerned that no banks in Tucson were either controlled or owned by Tucsonans. At that time, all the banks in the area were owned and operated by institutions based in California or Phoenix. In order to remedy this problem, Mo became one of the original cofounders of Catalina Savings and Loan.

Mo also showed a great deal of interest in the real-estate market. He invested in real estate not only in Tucson and its outlying areas, but also in the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia.

Mo also loved to fly. He was an accomplished pilot, having served in the U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II. He continued to fly after he was discharged, but he found that flying time proved to be too expensive. In order to soften the financial burden, Mo and his flying partners formed a business. They would fly over the Catalinas and spread the ashes of people's loved ones over the mountains for a fee.

Mo Udall is a fighter. He never allowed any of his personal hardships or his battle with Parkinson's disease to slow him down. Even as Parkinson's began to take its toll, the old Udall charm and wit never faded.

I will dearly miss Mo Udall on Capitol Hill. I will always remember what he has done for Arizona and our Nation, and I will always cherish these memories.

[From the Arizona Daily Star, May 3, 1991]

MO UDALL: TRUE FRIEND OF INDIAN TRIBES

(By Senator John McCain of Arizona)

His legendary wit, his vital hand in landmark environmental legislation and his national political leadership have been the focus of numerous remembrances about Mo Udall as his 30-year House career comes to a close. While all these areas are indeed hallmarks

of his service to Arizona and the nation, they neglect an important aspect of his work that I think it is important to include: his concern, compassion and efforts for Native Americans.

While faddish attention has focused on our first Americans from time to time over the years, Mo was persistent in ensuring that, during the 14 years he chaired the House Interior Committee, the Congress met its responsibility to advocate for and protect the rights and interests of Indians. Even before he attained the powerful chairmanship, Mo labored in an often fruitless vineyard of Indian issues for over a quarter of a century.

DEEP COMMITMENT

He did not work so long and so hard for personal glory or political gain. He did so because he cared for the dignified people in Indian tribes across the land and for the sanctity of the federal commitment memorialized in over 350 treaties with Indian tribes.

The evidence of his concern is spread across the public record. As a member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (and its chairman since 1977), he played a major role in the enactment of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, the Indian Self-Determination Act, the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act, the Indian Child Protection and Family Violence Prevention act and the Indian Health Care Improvement Act. The list of major Indian reform bills he sponsored or supported could go on and on.

His finest work and fondest memories, however, came not in the major legislation but in the smallest problems that he was able to solve by the wise use of his office. Of the 184 Indian bills passed by the committee under his leadership, many were measures of little significance nationally, but of critical importance to one Indian tribe.

NO PROBLEM TOO SMALL

The Cocopah Tribe of Arizona and the Rumsey Rancheria of California are examples of two small tribes that benefited directly from Mo's concern for the Indian people. His efforts on their behalf assured the future stability and well-being of both these tribes. His work on their behalf demonstrates that no Indian problem was too small for his attention and time.

Mo also faithfully worked against legislation or other government action hostile to the treaties, rights, property of other vital interests of Native Americans. Sometimes all alone, he fought to ensure that the

kinds of government action that have historically been bad for Indians were not allowed to go forward on his watch.

page 180

Yet, the public record of his legislation and other actions on behalf of Indians offers only surface testimony to Mo's efforts and accomplishments. You have to go to the Indian reservations and other native communities to see the real impact of his fostering hand.

TOWARD A BETTER LIFE

Life there is still hard. Poverty can be crushing and despair ever-present. But hope has been regenerated in the last 20 years, and slow, steady progress is being made toward a better life for Indian people, in large measure because of the legislative efforts of Mo Udall.

While the nation may not be aware of the role Mo has played in ensuring we meet our obligations to the first Americans, one need only visit his home or office to see that Indians know. On his walls and shelves are emblems of heartfelt appreciation from Indians tribes, Alaskan Native groups and Indian organizations that express love, respect and gratitude to him for a career of work on their behalf. All of this work, and most of the appreciation, occurred before "Dances With Wolves" spawned a bevy of Indian advocates.

It is not this outpouring of recognition that matters to Mo. He is ending His distinguished career with the proud and long-suffering Native American people, knowing he has touched their lives and made their futures brighter by his efforts. This is his most lasting recognition in our nation's history, and why he will be missed first and missed most by the first Americans.

[From the Arizona Law Record, Fall 1991]

LETTER FROM THE DEAN

MORRIS K. UDALL: A TRIBUTE

(By Dean E. Thomas Sullivan)

Leader. Orator. Gracious and dignified. A man with integrity, charm, wit, and compassion. Morris K. Udall, affectionately known as "Mo," graduated from the College of Law in 1949.

His career exemplifies the essence of law as a public profession. He served his clients, colleagues, constituents, and all people with equal respect and candor. For him, practicing law and serving the public were one in the same; the profession, first and foremost, exists to serve people to resolve human problems. In his long and productive career, people always came first. Lawyers, as change

page 181

agents for society, can make a difference in positive ways. Morris Udall always has made a difference.

After graduating from the College of Law, Congressman Udall practiced in Tucson with his brother, Stewart, Class of 1948, and was elected county attorney shortly thereafter. His first election to Congress came in a special election in 1961 to replace his brother Stewart, who had become Secretary of Interior under President John F. Kennedy. In 1976 he launched a presidential campaign, losing to Jimmy Carter in the primary. The University of Arizona College of Law in 1973 awarded Congressman Udall an honorary Doctor of Laws degree. While in Congress, he served more than 13 years as Chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Morris Udall's accomplishments in 30 years in Congress are legendary. He played a major role in the enactment of scores of important Congressional acts, including the Alaska Lands Act; the Indian Child Protection and Family Violence Prevention Act; the Indian Self-Determination Act; Arizona Wilderness Act; a 1977 law requiring strip-mined land to be returned to its original state; and a 1974 law overhauling campaign finance regulations. No problem was too great, no person too small. As House Speaker Thomas Foley observed on May 4 upon the retirement of Congressman Udall, "He carved out a standard of public service, integrity, legislative vision and just plain hard, good-humored work that inspires the colleagues he is leaving."

Although Morris Udall may well have been "Too Funny To Be President," as his delightful book is aptly titled, he in fact was always further ahead than presidents, kings, or lesser mortals. He went further in life and accomplished so much more than others, perhaps because of his keen insights, intelligence, compassion, grace, and wit. His fondest quote is from Will Rogers. It captures the man, Morris Udall: "We are here for just a spell and pass on. So get a few laughs and do the best you can. Live your life so that whenever you lose, you are ahead." Morris Udall always will be ahead of the rest of us. For that we are grateful. He led the way for 30 years in Congress and he leaves a legacy

of distinguished accomplishments demonstrating his commitment to public service.

Reviewing the public record of Morris Udall, one comes to a clear sense of the individual--uncommon integrity. In our profession, no higher accolade is possible. Would that the present and next generation of law students, when they search for heroes, mentors, and role models, will embrace the ideals and integrity of Morris Udall.

In honor and celebration of Congressman Udall's unique contributions to the profession and the public, I am pleased to announce

page 182

that the University of Arizona soon will began a multi-million dollar fundraising campaign to establish The Morris K. Udall Fund for Excellence in Public Policy. This endowment will support two programs highly regarded by Congressman Udall: The College of Law and the Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy.

A significant portion of the Udall Fund, \$1 million, will establish an endowed Chair in the College of Law in honor of Congressman Udall. The Morris K. Udall Professor of Law and Public Policy in the College of Law will be a nationally renowned scholar who will teach and conduct research at the law school. The holder of the endowed chair also will be a Senior Fellow in the University's Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy.

The Udall Center, a research unit created by the Arizona Board of Regents in 1987, is the intended beneficiary of the remainder of the endowment. The Center was established to perpetuate the Udall tradition of excellence in public policy formulation and application. Among the Center programs to be supported by the Fund are an environmental mediation center, a policy maker-in-residence, governmental internships, graduate fellowships, and an annual critical issues conference.

The endowment provides a lasting tribute to Congressman Udall's leadership and vision. Establishing an endowed chair in the College of Law honors him with the University's highest recognition for achievement. Throughout his career he has honored us with his lasting accomplishments. He continues to do so. Morris K. Udall -- a paragon of human dignity.

E. THOMAS SULLIVAN,
Dean.

PERSONAL THOUGHTS ABOUT A GENTLE MAN

(By C. Donald Hatfield)

I had been in Tucson only a few short weeks and was still trying to find out where everything was and who everyone was when my secretary said Mo Udall's office had called and Mo would like to drop by.

Mo Udall? Congressman Udall? "Fine," I said, as if legends dropped into my office every day. But I was impressed and even excited. Mo Udall. A name that had meant something to me for years. I thought of the JFK days. I thought of what he had done in environmental matters before it had even become fashionable. I recalled his campaign for the presidency. I thought of how he always seemed to carry himself with a quiet dignity. I had admired him, living in the East. And now he was on his way to my office.

page 183

And in a little while here he came, this giant of a man, taller than I had expected, and larger in a different way--imposing, one might say. Even though he also seemed somewhat stooped.

There were a couple of aides with him and they handled the introductions, saying the congressman had simply wanted to say hello and welcome me to Tucson.

His struggle with Parkinson's was immediately obvious, and it frankly hurt me to see him like this. I wondered whether his mind might also be affected.

It soon was obvious that it was not.

He asked about West Virginia, whence I had come, and about people he had known and worked with from that state. Soon we were involved in a conversation as if we'd known each other for years and were now sitting in somebody's living room. He was witty, warm, engaging.

When he left, I was even more impressed. He had taken time to drop by the office of this newly transferred newspaper publisher simply to welcome him to his state, his land, and to wish him well.

He had not wanted anything, asked for anything. He never would. There was no need for that. "Good luck," he said, and he meant it.

I've talked with Mo Udall only a few times since. We sat together during a U.A. football game once, and although he seemed very tired, he was also very observant about what was going on out on the field. And there were a few other occasions--dinners, etc. And my personal respect for the man did not change.

In the years since, I have found it somewhat remarkable how common that perception is, no matter what company one is in. In more than 30 years in the newspaper business, I have never come across a public person so universally respected and liked--one is tempted to even say "loved." And that, especially in the world of politics, came as quite surprising.

To be truthful, I have occasionally wondered whether his political foes--surely he must have some--were just fearful of attacking the legend, or whether they genuinely liked and respected him that much. Certainly the people did, keeping him in office for more than 30 years.

And now that comes to an end, purely for reasons of health. The tragedy of the disease that attacked him, which he somehow seemed to publicly ignore or at the most acknowledge as some kind of minor nuisance until a terrible fall a few months ago, finally proved too great an obstacle at this point in his life.

One cannot help but think of that in considering his resignation announcement yesterday.

page 184

But soon, and for long after, we will forget the disease and the tragedy and that he had to leave much too soon, and we will remember the man, this gentle man, who gave so much, and who brought honor and respect to Arizona and the land he loved.

REPRESENTATIVE "MO" UDALL ENDS CAREER WITH DIGNITY AND CLASS

When Arizona congressman Morris "Mo" Udall was running for president in 1976, he asked Iowa voters if they knew the difference between a pigeon and a farmer.

"A pigeon can still make a deposit on a tractor," he said.

Using humor to make a point was Udall's trademark. Some people disagreed with Udall at times, but nearly everyone liked him. In politics, that's quite a tribute.

And unlike many less-loved politicians, Udall won't cling to power that has slipped from his grasp. Yesterday, Udall resigned, ending 30 years of service to Arizona's District 2. Appropriately, his replacement will be chosen in a special election just like the one that sent Udall to Congress in 1961 to replace his brother, Stewart, who had been appointed to President John Kennedy's cabinet.

Mo Udall is most famous for his love and care for Arizona's world famous natural wonders. He was the strongest spokesman in Congress for parks, wildlife and wilderness, and was an "environmentalist" before the term was coined.

His many achievements for Arizona and the nation remain as monuments to the man. The Central Arizona Project should be called the Udall Canal for all the work he did to reclaim Arizona's share of the Colorado River.

MY FRIEND

(Written and Delivered by Cliff Robertson, on the occasion of the dedication of the Udall Center for Public Policy, Tucson, AZ, Spring 1990)

Everyone has one--or did at one time--that idol--that hero--that individual who stands out from the crowd--the commonplace--the ordinary.

That uncommon person on which we gauge our highest marks. That figure of high esteem yet oft-times low profile. That one who seeks the truth--not the gain--the good not the gold. That rare and wonderful human being who enriches our lives--nourishes our soul and inspires us to reach higher--further--to hold closer--our fellow man. To distance ourselves from malice--to reject prejudice--to accept our differences (and) to recognize that we are brothers all. That we share this frail blue marble for such a short time,

page 185

(Official and Personal Tributes: Part 3 of 3)

that to give it life--and (to give) life meaning--we should, we must--share our love.

Everyone has one -- or did at one time--that idol--that hero--that individual who stands out from the crowd--the commonplace--the ordinary--that uncommon person
I did, I still have that hero. He is my friend. His name is Mo Udall.

[From People Magazine, June 10, 1991]

MO'S BIGGEST BATTLE

FOR A LIFE-LOVING CONGRESSMAN, ILLNESS TURNS THE LAUGHTER
TO SILENCE

(Interview with Norma Udall)

During his 3 decades as a Congressman from Arizona, Morris "Mo" Udall kept his colleagues amused. The lanky 6'5" Democrat (and author of the 1988 autobiography "Too Funny to Be President") was quick with a quip on any topic--even his struggle with Parkinson's disease, a nerve disorder that causes progressive loss of muscle control. He once likened his illness to the troubles associated with another Parkinson--Paula, a lobbyist who in 1980 was linked to a sex scandal involving several of his fellow congressmen. "They both cause you to lose sleep," he said. "And they both give you the shakes."

Udall, 68, first experienced symptoms of the disease during his 1976 bid for the Democratic presidential nomination, when he began to feel aches and stiffness in his lower back and legs. After the disease was diagnosed three years later, Udall kept up a normal routine while submitting to standard and experimental drug treatments at the National Institutes of Health.

From age 6, when he lost his right eye after a pal accidentally punctured it with a pocketknife, Udall has endured more than his share of adversity. The most devastating blow came in August 1988 when he found his second wife, Ella 59, dead in the front seat of her car, an apparent suicide.

A year later Udall married Norma Gilbert, now 58, a divorced mother of two grown daughters, who was then a congressional aide. Their hopes for the future were cut short, however, when his health rapidly deteriorated. Last January 6, Udall fell down a flight of stairs at his home in Arlington, VA, suffering a concussion, cracked ribs and a broken shoulder blade. Udall's six children, ages 30 to 40, wanted him to give up his congressional seat soon after the accident. Norma, resisting until it became apparent Udall would have to remain in a convalescent hospital indefinitely, submitted a formal letter of resignation to the House leadership, effective May 4. She spoke with Washington correspondent Jane Sims Podesta about her decision.

Note: Norma Udall's son Robert Gilbert has requested that the information "and one grown son" be appended to this article's reference to "two grown daughters." * * * *

I couldn't bring myself to tell Mo, "You've got to resign." So when his doctors told me there was no way he could get better and go back to Congress, I asked three of his key staff people to come to the hospital with me to deliver the bad news. Mo's eyes filled with tears and he shook his head. He understood completely. After everyone else left the room, I kissed him and said, "I'm sorry, Mo. I don't want to do it either, but we have to."
"I know," he whispered.

Mo is a prisoner of his own body. His heart is strong. His lungs are strong. He is functionally a vital man with a good strong mind, but it is very hard for him to talk and walk. Still, I keep holding on to this hope that he will improve. He is a fighter.

I first met Mo in the '70s, when I was a lobbyist for an electronics corporation. We became good friends in the late '80s, when I worked as a subcommittee staff assistant on the House Interior Committee, which he headed. Mo was diagnosed in 1979 as having Parkinson's, but it was a decade before the effects of the disease were fully visible. His mind was always going full speed ahead, but more and more the messages to his speech muscles were not getting there in time. Sometimes in committee meetings he'd slump or roll his head, a side effect of his medication. It was so painful to watch.

After Ella died in 1988, he seemed lost. He would have a dream of her standing in their house the way she looked in a picture on the wall. The best thing was to get him away from that house. I helped him find a lovely condo in Arlington, got him moved in and then helped him decorate. We enjoyed being together, and he started relying on me to get his life in order. Then one night at dinner he said, "We really ought to get married." Once he said that, it opened the door. After that every other sentence I heard from him was "I love you," We thought this unpredictable disease had reached a plateau, as in so many cases.

Between our engagement in May 1989 and the wedding in August, Mo's health took a turn for the worse. He was more stooped and began to have the Parkinson's mask, that expressionless look. Even getting dressed had become a struggle for him. But I was hoping he would eventually rebound.

We got married in the Capitol building's prayer room (an interdenominational chapel for Members of Congress). At the ceremony, some of the guests worried that they wouldn't be able to hear Mo because his voice was beginning to fade. But he was loud and clear when he said, "I do." Then it came my turn, and I looked up at Mo. I saw a tear trickling down his face, and my voice was filled with tears. The whole room broke up. We were all crying. It was probably the most touching moment of my life.

As the disease got worse, we had to "Mo-proof" the house. I moved pictures that he bumped into when he walked and replaced wicker chairs that he went through when he collapsed into them deadweight. Eventually we had to hire someone to help Mo get dressed and get around. It was always a challenge. Sometimes I'd think, "Gosh, this is

difficult." And it was heartbreaking to watch him go downhill, because he is a man of pride and dignity.

page 187

But he has kept his sense of humor. In the hospital after his fall down the stairs, one of the attendants went into Mo's room and said, "Oh, Senator (I kept saying to her, 'He's a Congressman'), don't worry. God will take care of everything." Mo looked up at her, smiled and said, "Humbug!" He just couldn't resist teasing her.

We used to talk about what we'd do when he left Congress. We wanted to travel around without a lot of hoopla, to a different national park every few weeks and stay in cottages, spend a few days and walk under the trees. Mo especially wanted to see Alaska again. It was so special to him. Under Mo's aegis, the Alaska Lands Act was legislated, doubling the size of our national park system. Mo constantly talked about Alaska. He'd say, "I can't describe it to you, but you can stand up and look out on the land and see for miles. The air is so clear, miles and miles of untouched lands, mountains and streams and not one beer can or fastfood container." We never made it to Alaska, but I'm still hoping we'll go one day.

For now, however, Mo must remain in a convalescent hospital. You can see him fighting this. He will sit there unresponsive, and then suddenly he'll say something clear as a bell. The other night, as I was about to leave his room, he looked at me and said, "I love you." Well, I just cried and cried and hugged him. I kept saying, "Say it again, Mo. Say it again. I love you too." He was silent.

page 188



Morris Udall With Lyndon B. Johnson, 1964



Morris Udall Being Sworn In By Speaker Sam

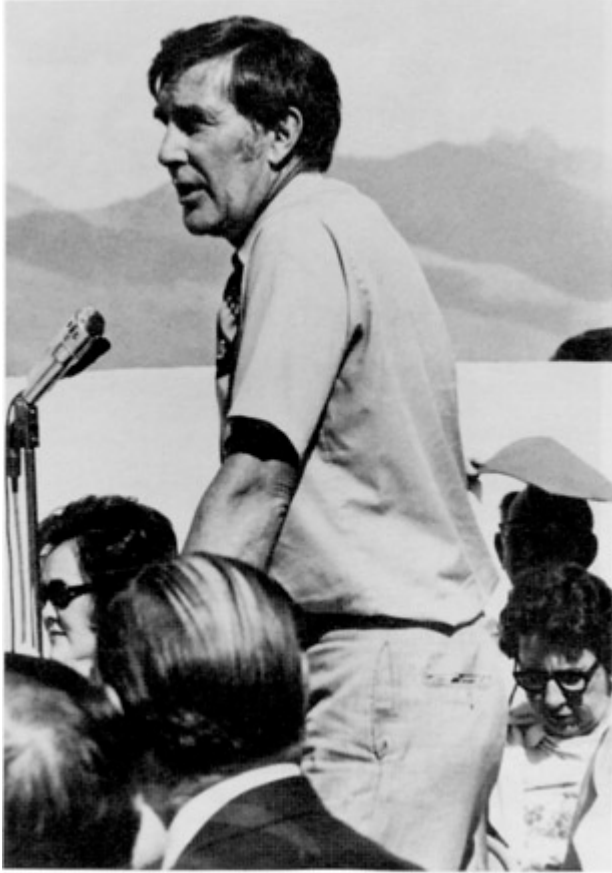
Rayburn, 1962



Morris Udall With President John F. Kennedy



Morris Udall With Speaker Carl Albert

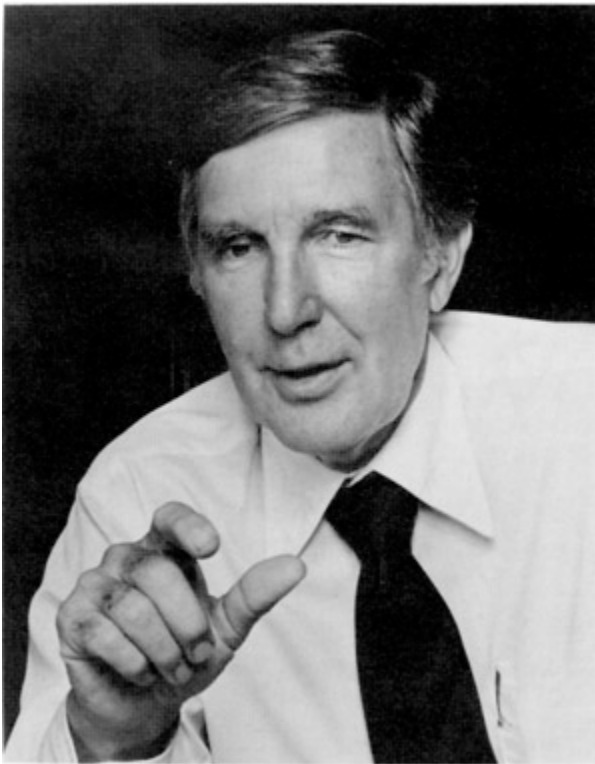


Morris Udall in the Presidential Campaign, 1976



Convention

Keynote Speaker at 1980 Democratic National





PROCEEDINGS OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL
CONVENTION, 1976

**Nomination by Archibald Cox of Morris K. Udall to be President of the United
States**

Mr. Cox. Mr. Chairman, Delegates, and ladies and gentlemen.

This year, there came out of the politically small State of Arizona a candidate beloved among his constituents, admired by his colleagues in the House of Representatives. but little known to the wider public.

He knew that the chief need of the Nation was to restore confidence in the honor of Government, and in the honesty of the political system.

He knew that enduring trust in Government could not be restored by the politics of image. That the responsibility and opportunity of a candidate, like public officials, is not to dictate to us, nor to tell us what the polls say a majority of us want to hear, it is to help us work out together the new meaning amidst the complexity of modern life of the ancient promise of liberty, equality, dignity and opportunity for all men and women, to restate that meaning and to help us find together ways of converting the promise into reality.

The press marked the little-known candidate a loser. By the count of votes, he did come in second, but he succeeded in the larger aim. His defeat was a greater triumph than victory, for he proved that a public figure, even in a long and heated political contest can exemplify the best of the American spirit, that honor need not yield to ambition, that open-mindedness and willingness to listen are not inconsistent with devotion to principle, that civility can accompany tenacity, and that humility should go hand and hand with power.

By example he dissipated the despair and raised the spirits of millions of young men and women wishing to enter politics as an honorable profession.

With graceful humor in the face of defeat, he reminded us all that we are all Americans, and in the end are all engaged in a joint adventure, joint in the sense that even those with whom we most strongly disagree are not enemies, as the Nixon White House erroneously supposed, but fellow voyagers in the same boat, where the

page 199

neglect of anyone is a wound to every other. Joint in the sense that lying, snooping, cheating, deviousness and other breaches of reason and civility which destroy our mutual trust can never be justified, by whomever used and regardless of the objective.

Joint, too, in the sense that none can move very far toward his personal goals unless the vessel moves, and the vessel cannot move if some voyagers pull ahead, others backwater, still others demand a new boat, and others drop out to go fishing.

In honoring this gallant candidate. we rededicate ourselves to his ideals and to this high adventure.

Ladies and gentlemen. I am proud to nominate for the Presidency of the United States. and I present to you now, the Honorable Morris K. Udall of Arizona. [Applause]

[A demonstration occurred on the floor.]

Address of the Honorable Morris K. Udall, A Representative in Congress

from the
State of Arizona

Mr. UDALL. Thank you, thank you very much.

If this goes on much longer, I just might accept the nomination, and I know that -- [Applause]

I am not sure the Georgia folks would appreciate that, and besides, this is a night for peaches and peanuts, and not a very good night for cactus. [Applause]

So let me say just a few things to this Convention. We are a big, brawling political Party, and we fight. Somebody said that when Democrats assemble a firing squad, they always gather in a circle. [General laughter and applause]

But when we get together, watch out, and tonight we are together, and I am up here to see that in this critical next 100 days this Party stays together, and that it deliver a beating to those Republicans that they richly deserve, and we are going to give it to them. [Applause]

Before I say what I came to say, I want to thank that good man Archibald Cox--how proud I am to have him place my name in nomination--because he has a special place in our hearts and in our history, and I want to say how proud I am of that army of Udall campaigners who gave us time and money and votes and dedication and saw us through the most second-place finishes in the history of politics. [Applause]

Down in Boot Hill Cemetery in Tombstone there is a grave-marker and all it says on it is "Johnson, he done his damndest", and I guess that is the story of the Udall campaign.

We thought we had a special campaign, old and young. We did our best, and we hit hard, but we hit fair, and we tried to talk

page 200

issues or to talk about change, and we were not afraid to be gentle with each other, and we tried to laugh a bit at ourselves now and then. [Applause]

But it is all over now, and in a few minutes this Convention will vote, and I want that vote to be one of good will and I want it to be of good conscience.

I've got some Delegates at this Convention. [Applause]

I came here to authorize every Delegate in this hall elected under my banner to cast the vote of his conscience and to vote as they wish, and I release those Delegates to do that now. [Applause]

For myself, those who know me, as I leave this Convention Hall tonight, I'm going to have on one of those green buttons that dogged me all over America -[Applause]

Jimmy, if you are listening tonight, if I can't put your buttons down, I'm going to put them on, I guess. [Applause]

And tomorrow morning, I am enlisting as a soldier in the Carter campaign, and I will do everything I can to have this man elected. [Applause]

We had a big field and we had a lot of tough fights, and I guess sometimes the words got a little loud and a little harsh, but I remembered an old prayer that was written for Democratic primaries, and it said, "Oh Lord, help me to utter words which are gentle and tender, because tomorrow we may have to eat them." [Laughter]

When Jimmy says he'll beat you, he'll beat you, and he beat us fair and square, and I say to America and to all of the delegates here tonight, this is a good man, Jimmy Carter, and he will make a strong President, and I am behind him. [Applause]

Just a few more things, if I may, because what leads us is almost as important as who leads us. We are the oldest political party in the world and we are the oldest party and we survive despite our fights because of two things. In every generation we have to change our country to make it work, and Democrats have always led the change, and in that constant fight between the forces of wealth and privilege and the hopes and needs of our ordinary people, we have been with the people.

And yes, this generation is going to have to build some bridges and climb some mountains as the others have, and in every generation there are the pessimists and the skeptics who say you can't do it, and they are pending a lot of skepticism these days.

They tell those good men, Hubert Humphrey and Congressman Gus Hawkins, it's all right to make speeches about your full employment bill but it costs too much, and it will cause inflation.

They tell us we really can't help our cities, we really can't do tax reform. They tell us that Senator Kennedy's health bill won't fly,

page 201

but we are going to fly the B-1 bomber at a \$40 billion tag. [Applause]

This is nonsense, and it's dangerous and our history rejects it, and our Platform rejects it. [Applause]

So I say let the word go out of this Convention this week, we've got a program and it's in our Platform, and it's supported by our candidate, and we say what we mean and we mean what we say, and we say that the working people of America, you are tired of promises and excuses and welfare checks and you want jobs and you are going to have jobs in the next Administration. [Applause]

We say that our minorities and our women have not had a fair shake in America, and they are going to get a fair shake in the next Administration. [Applause]

We say that our cities are rotting and decaying and it's spreading and it's destroying people's lives and hopes, and I saw these cities in Boston and South Bronx and Philadelphia and Detroit, and they're destroying people's lives. And we're going to make our cities work again.

We are going to help them. They need help and our cities are going to have help, and so are the people who live in them. [Applause]

We say here tonight to these oil companies and giant conglomerates that have dominated our lives and fixed our prices and corrupted our politics and exported our jobs, we've had enough, and we're going to have competition in America for a change. [Applause]

If the Party of Theodore Roosevelt, who busted the trusts, won't help us bust them up again--and it won't--then the Party Franklin Roosevelt is going to do the job alone, starting next year. [Applause]

Yes, we say tonight that we reject that bogus idea that somehow we have to choose between jobs and the environment. This Ford Administration is the worst Administration on the environment since

Warren G. Harding, and you ought to run him out of office for that alone. [Applause]

We're not going to say to our grandchildren 25 years from now, your air is poisoned and your beaches are fouled and your wilderness areas and your fishing streams are gone, we had to have jobs in our generation.

We are going to have jobs, and we are going to have a clean environment to hand on, both. We are going to do both. [Applause]

Because a people which does not respect its land and its mountains and its beaches and its waters does not respect itself, and we respect our environment, and we are going to preserve it. [Applause]

page 202

Finally, we say here in this Platform and this Convention, we are going to get a handle on this bloated Defense budget and this arms race and we are going to slow them down, because -- [Applause]

Because we believe with Harry Truman that the nations that give the most to the Admirals and Generals and the least to the people are the first nations to fail.

And so, my friends, tonight I say to you one final thing, America is a good country and we are a good people. Our country isn't working very well. We have lost our confidence and we lost our way, and with the help of the Independents and the sensible Republicans that go with us when we are right, we are going to win a victory in November. We are going to turn this country around and we are going to make America work again.

This good country is going to work again, and thank you very much.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1980

**Keynote Address: The Honorable Morris K. Udall, U.S. Representative from the
State of Arizona**

Mr. UDALL. I want to thank Geraldine Ferraro who is a great legislator, and a great woman, and a great credit to this country and our party, and after that introduction I can hardly wait to hear what I have to say. And

I guess the first thing to say is that we've got a tough fight on our hands, and we'd better get to work right here and right now. [Applause]

I'm sure that those people at home have already heard the news, and I expect most of you have, but just about half an hour ago Senator Kennedy announced that his name would not be placed in nomination.

So I think we know who the next Presidential nominee for our party is going to be tonight. [Cheers and applause]

It isn't in my speech, but I wanted to say something about Senator Kennedy who is a great American and a great man, and who has dominated -- [Cheers and applause]

For four straight elections the polls have shown that he could beat almost any opponent in his own party or the other party. You know, the rarest thing in politics is a true draft, a real, honest draft. I think you have to say looking back this movement that

page 203

started about a year ago, the draft Kennedy movement was as close to a genuine draft as we come in our political system.

And the second thing I wanted to say is that almost anybody can be a good winner. What takes real class and real gallantry is the kind of performance that Senator Kennedy has put on these last months through disappointment of all kinds. [Applause]

A year ago Congressmen and Governors and party leaders all over the country were saying you've got to run, you've got to save us, and Senator Kennedy was beating everyone in the polls at that time. He picked up his sword and said all right, I'll go into battle, and he got out and put on his armor and picked up his sword, and he looked back and a lot of people who'd been telling him to run weren't there any more.

And so I know that he's disappointed, but he fought a great fight, and we all owe him a debt of gratitude. [Applause]

And I remember with tears quite frequently 1968 when two of his brothers had been killed in a period of 5 years, and Senator Edward Kennedy at the memorial for his slain brother Robert finished up with this tribute to Robert Kennedy, which I think applies to his brother Edward.

He said, "This man saw suffering and tried to stop it; he saw war and tried to end it; and he saw injustice and sought to block it." I think that's the kind of performance we've had from Senator Kennedy, and I'm greatly indebted to him. [Applause]

And I want to say something about President Carter and Vice President Mondale. I think no administration in modern times has received less credit for some pretty solid achievements they've developed in the last 3 years. [Applause]

And we'd better start getting that message out to the country because we've got a tough fight on our hands. You know, back in 1928 Governor Al Smith of New York was the first Catholic to ever be nominated to the presidency, and it was a time of bigotry and not a great deal of tolerance, and some people were saying that the Pope already had his bags packed and was ready to come to the United States and take over this country just as soon as Al Smith was elected.

Well, Smith had a pretty good sense of humor and the night that Herbert Hoover clobbered him for the presidency in 1928 Smith told a rally, he said, "I have just sent a cable to the Pope, His Holiness, at the Vatican," and he said, "It reads 'Unpack.'"

Well, I guess we've got a message for Ronald Reagan out there in Pacific Palisades somewhere tonight: Unpack and stop working on that inaugural address because you may not need it. We're going to win. [Cheers and applause]

page 204

And I guess Governor Reagan feels pretty good about the big lead he has in the polls, but so did Tom Dewey, and Governor Reagan, if you're listening out there, we're coming after you and we're going to win. [Cheers and applause]

You need a sense of humor in this business, and Franklin Roosevelt who was hated by a lot of the big business community, and I think saved the free enterprise system, used to tell of the tycoon in the 1930s who went to his Wall Street office each morning, paid a nickel for a newspaper, glanced at the front page, and threw it in the trash.

After about a week the newsboy said sir, why do you waste your money? You buy a paper, look at the front page, curse and throw it in the trash. And the old man said, son, it's none of your business but to be honest, I'm looking for an obituary. And the boy said, but, sir, the obituaries are not found on the front page; they're in the back of the

paper. And the old man said, listen, kid, the obituary I'm looking for will be on the front page.

Well, a lot of folks are writing Democratic obituaries for 1980, but let me say that this old Democratic mule isn't that easy to get rid of; and if we handle ourselves right in the next 72 hours, we can come out of here with a fighting chance to put this all together.

This is serious business that we're talking about here tonight, but I can't help kidding my Republican friends a little bit and poking fun at them. These candidates they crank up now and then seem to be recycling old ideas and old candidacies.

You remember back in 1964 when they said that Barry Goldwater had said that he could carry all 13 States, all of the States, all 13 of them? And somebody reported the other day that the Reagan plan was if there was a nuclear attack, he would have Michael Landon get the wagons in a circle the first thing around.

And the other old story, that Ronald Reagan has signed a new film contract with that studio called 18th Century Fox. [Laughter and applause]

A few weeks ago I tuned in on that Republican telethon out in Detroit, and most of you won't believe what was going on. I saw Ronald Reagan, I mean the real Ronald Reagan quoting with approval from Franklin Roosevelt. And that was a little like Spiro Agnew quoting from Henry Kissinger on the need to be humble in public office, I thought. [Laughter and applause]

And you won't believe it but Gerald Ford, I mean Gerald Ford, was out there saying that one of his greatest Presidents that he admired was Harry Truman, and that wasn't quite what he was telling the folks out in Grand Rapids back in the 1940s and '50s.

page 205

But old gave-em-hell Harry was my kind of man and our kind of Democrat. You remember back when he retired Truman was asked why he always gave the Republicans hell? He said I didn't give them hell. I just told the truth and it sounded like hell to the Republicans. [Applause]

Everybody in this hall and everybody out in American knows we're behind, and sure we've got a rough road ahead of us for the next 90 days. But as we gather in this hall, some kind of volume, there are

going to be serious things at stake, like the kind of country we're going to have for the next generation, and we'll be selecting the man, the head of the world's most powerful country, the man who will hold in his hand the power of survival or destruction, and not just for the United States but to a larger extent of this entire planet.

Yes, strange things are going on these days in our party, the Democratic Party. We've been chastised by Republicans for as long as I can remember on something called fiscal responsibility. There are great old Republican speeches, you remember about how you can't spend yourself rich, and money doesn't grow on trees, and balance the budget, and reduce the national debt.

The party of Calvin Coolidge has been warning us as long as I can remember that we can't spend ourselves rich and that there no free lunch. And now here in 1980 this party meets out in Detroit, and they tell us that there is a free lunch, that you really can spend yourselves rich.

I held in my hand a few moments ago the Republican platform, this document. It wasn't our platform. It wasn't the libertarians' platform. It wasn't even written by the Trilateral Commission which the John Birch Society is so afraid of. This was the 1980 Republican platform, the party of Harding and Hoover and Coolidge. And it says to Americans, yes, you can spend yourselves rich. This free lunch they're talking about now is this discredited Kemp-Roth-Reagan tax plan, and it's the Republicans' promise to the American people.

Democrats and sensible Republicans and independents, hard-pressed businessmen and every respectable economist, and conservative editors all agree that you can't have \$140 billion in tax cuts and \$100 billion in new defense spending over the next 3 years and a balanced budget.

I'm not making this up. That's what they promised this American people, and we're going to hang this thing around their neck this fall.
[Applause]

Let me give it to you another way, if I can. A fellow knocks on your door and says he wants to manage your finances and he has got a new plan. What he proposes is that he is going to cut down

page 206

your income by 30 percent and you are going to had a lot more money to spend on things you want, and, third, he tells you you are going to balance the family budget and get out of debt. Now, any kind of a

sensible American would laugh this guy off the front porch, but this is what they are peddling.

There is an old story about a Texan back in the thirties in depression time named Pappy Leo Daniel. Pappy was running for Governor of Texas and he would go into a little town with a hillbilly band and he would play and get a crowd together. Then pretty soon he would get up and tell them about his new plan. There is going to be a hundred dollars given to every family every month so that you would have food and clothes for the little kids. Then they would play some more music and then he would tell them more about the plan of a hundred dollars every month.

Finally in a little town a heckler said, "Just a minute, Pappy," he says, "Where is the State of Texas going to get all the money to provide a hundred dollars for every family, a hundred dollars a month, to buy shoes and clothes for little children?"

Pappy stared at the heckler for a while and he said, "Let's play them another tune, boys."

Well, if you believe that this funny-money Kemp-Reagan tax plan will work, you believe that Ronald Reagan really wanted George Bush on his ticket or that John Connally is really humble, truly humble.

We haven't had this kind of economics since Calvin Coolidge's time. You will remember that Coolidge said "When the great masses cannot find work we have unemployment." Well, that is the kind of logic we are getting here today. But if Coolidge were alive, as some famous Republican once said, "He would be turning over in his grave to see what they are doing to Republican economic policies."

Business Week Magazine said 2 years of this same Kemp-Roth magic money tree, and I quote, it said, "It would add a hundred billion dollars to the deficit that is already dangerously swollen. It would touch off an inflationary explosion that would wreck the country and impoverish everyone on fixed incomes."

The big business people have consistently supported the Republican Party and they talk a lot about competition and free enterprise, and the more they talk the less we see of it. The big conglomerates have always been on the side of the Republicans, but in their hearts they know that it is the small business people of America who keep our economy going and they know the truth of the old joke that if you want to live like a Republican you have got to learn to vote democratic.

Democrats don't just preach competition, we practice it. As I said, Franklin Roosevelt, I believe, saved the free enterprise system, and American business has nearly always done better under a Democratic President. Business and government have talked a generation about deregulation, but it was a Democratic Congress working this last year with President Carter and the incumbent Administration that moved to deregulate the airline industry, the trucking industry and we are about to deregulate the railroads.

This party has been for competition, for giving small and medium business a better piece of the action, for letting the new and innovative companies have a chance. Well, we always seem to get too much partisan rhetoric in an election year. The good guys have their convention here and the bad guys out in Detroit, and it is a part of our system that we are all used to, and so on.

But I think the people of America want us to get together. They want to get government and working families of America to get going on making this system of ours work. We ought to lay it straight and talk it through and not just point the finger of blame. The truth is that serious difficulties lie ahead of this country and we should not insult the intelligence of the American people by holding out some famous quick fix for our economy.

I believe that history is going to record that we are in a major period of transition more difficult than we have had in this century. There are no simplistic answers. Progress, change, prosperity, we have always had slow growth and steady prosperity for our country over the last century. It took us 100 years to do the industrial revolution and become the first major industrial nation.

But right after World War II something very different happened to our country. Let's stop and ponder this a minute. In the 20 years between 1948 and 1968 the real income of working families in America doubled, I mean the real income after inflation and after taxes. Inflation was one or two percentage points back in the '50s and '60s. All at once we had the Jet Age and the Space Age and the computers and we went to the moon and we built a hundred million automobiles and the biggest highway system ever constructed and productivity was up every year. My generation in thought we had discovered the Golden Fleece. We all deserved an annual pay raise and dividends had to go up each year or there was something wrong with your company. The watch words were "more" and "bigger" and "better."

It reminded me somewhat of the old song, "Those were the days, my friend, we thought they would never end." But they did end, because between 1968 and 1978 the real incomes of American working families didn't double or go up 50 percent or 25 or 10. The fact

page 208

is they didn't go up at all in that 10-year period. Productivity which had been our strength was actually down in that time.

Oil production peaked in 1971 and we started on a dangerous diet of ever more expensive foreign oil. There is no quick and easy solution. We face problems as we change our lives to use less energy, to rebuild our industrial system and to regain our productivity and get tough and competitive again. Sure we need energy, sure we need coal and more oil and they will play a part in our future and we are going to go out and find them. But along with that we are going to have to conserve. We are going to have to shift to safe, renewable energy sources like solar and wind and geothermal and gasohol and all of the rest.

Let me tell you that this Democratic Congress working with this Democratic Administration have worked together to turn our energy situation around. In 1980, due to the conservation program of the Congress and the Administration, we will be using a million barrels a day of oil less than was the case in 1977. This turn around is permanent, it is important, and we are finally heading in the right direction on energy conservation.

My friends, rumors have it that we will still have a quarrel or two to settle at this convention, and that is nothing new to our Democratic Party. Will Rogers once said, "I belong to no organized political party. I am a Democrat."

Sure we have fights and we kick and yell and scream and maybe even scratch a bit, but we fight because we are big diverse party and because we have always tried to listen up to new ideas. Republicans want to boast, I suppose, of the unity they have this year, but let them boast, because it isn't very difficult to unify a narrow-based political party which the Republicans have become.

When you watched that convention out in Detroit, the kind of people, contrary to the delegates we have here tonight, who are overwhelmingly white, nearly all white, 71 percent were men, and the average person was middle-aged and in the \$45,000 a year income bracket.

I suppose my friend, Barry Goldwater would seem to most Americans a genuine conservative, Mr. Republican he has been to so many people. Yet, 4 years ago this narrow-based political party in Arizona, under control of the Reagan forces, denied this man a delegate a seat at the Republican convention. Mr. Republican wasn't welcome at their convention, and do you know why? The sin Barry Goldwater had committed was to endorse a friend of 30 years, a dangerous liberal by the name of Gerald Ford.

Since Lincoln's time the Republican Party has held an honorable place in our history. Most of the time the Republican Party was broad based. There were strong conservatives, but the Republican

page 209

Party had a welcome out for moderate Easterners like Saltonstall and Javits and Case and George Aiken and all of the others, and for moderate Westerns like the great Earl Warren and Tom Kuchel and Mark Hatfield.

But today we see a Republican Party that is increasingly narrow. It has become a party with no left and no center and it is dominated by the radical right and the Republican Party is urging radical economics at home and dangerously belligerent policies abroad. There is little room in the Republican Party for a Howard Baker or a Bill Scranton or George Romney or Chuck Percy or even for Mary Crisp, a great lady from Arizona.

You know the elephants don't forget old grudges, and I was shocked to find that they barely had room a few minutes in Detroit even in a grudging kind of way for a small tribute to a former Vice President, Nelson Rockefeller.

Harry Truman once said that the differences between Democrats are nothing compared to the differences that we have with Republicans, and Harry Truman was right.

So this week while we are arguing among ourselves all of us should ask that the fight be clean and that it be fair and all of us should remember that the real battle comes in November.

Winston Churchill used to tell about the lady member of Parliament who was very critical of him and finally in exasperation she said, "Sir Winston, if I were your wife I would put poison in your coffee." He said, "Madam, if I were your husband I would drink it."

So we do have our fight, but let none of us poison the well here this week. In this uphill fight we face we need every part of this Democratic coalition. In this media age political parties seem to be losing strength, but this old donkey is the oldest political party in the world and it is alive and respected and let me tell you one more reason why it has survived.

In almost every society like ours people tend to divide into two competing philosophies and both philosophies are honorable and both are needed and both are a part of the mainstream of political lives. It is the ground between the two 35-yard lines that they talk about in football games.

And the conservative philosophy, one of these impulses stop and slow down, we are losing the old values and don't change too fast. But the liberal or progressive philosophy says, yes, but sure we need to keep the old values, that the solutions of yesterday aren't adequate today and we have got to make some changes.

Franklin Roosevelt compared this kind of society of ours with the tree. The tree grows and becomes large and after many years dead branches come out and it looks unhealthy. The radical says "Cut

page 210

(Selected Speeches and Writings: Part 2 of 2)

down that old tree, it is no good." The reactionary says "Don't touch it." The prudent progressive and prudent conservative say, "Well, just a minute, there is a lot of good in that old tree. Let's get in and prune the dead branches so some new shoots will come out, and let's spread some fertilizer around the roots and this old tree will help us for many years to come."

I think this is why when faced with war or depression the working people of America and the solid families of America have chosen Democrats to lead. Our party has made mistakes, but we have made more advances. We have been the party which believes that the job of leaders is to lead. This party of ours has held power for 32 of the last 48 years because we have stood for essentially three things and you can write them on the back of an envelope.

One is that we have been the party of change consistently during war and depression and crises of all kinds. Democrats are optimists and think that problems can be solved, or that at least we ought to try.

Secondly, we have been the party of the disadvantaged in our society. This is the party that cares about the widows in the nursing home with the kids grown up and gone away and cares about sick people and poor people and old people and the teenager on the street corner looking for work trying to find a decent job.

The third thing about this party is that we have been the institution through which the waves of immigration, the blacks, the Hispanics, the Jews, Russians, Germans, Irish and the Poles have all worked their way into full participation in American national lives.

I have got a message for a special group of American people talking about the 51 percent women of this country.

Finally, we had a Republican issue where they had been out in front. Since 1940, equal rights has been in the planks of the Republican Party, and they pulled it out this time around. They are saying to the women of America, we love you and we want to be fair to you, but don't ask us to put it in writing.

We are going to have something to say, the women of America and the people who believe, and you can send them a message on November 4. I want to tell Republicans tonight that ERA doesn't mean Elect Reagan Anyway; it means Equal Rights for Americans. This party is committed to see the ERA through as long as it takes. [Applause]

Somebody once said: if there's a way to lose it, the Democrats will find it. I don't think we are going to do that this year. Someone tells the story of the tourist up in the State of Maine who came to two crossroads. On the one going this way, the sign said "To Augusta." On the one going this way, the sign said "To Augusta."

page 211

The tourist shouted across the fence to an old farmer out there. He said, "Does it make any difference which road I take?" The old farmer yelled back, "Not to me it don't."

Well, our history says that this year we can choose one of two roads in 1980, and the one we choose will make a difference. First we can follow the path of 1968, when that beloved American Hubert Humphrey lost to Richard Nixon, when some said that there wasn't any

difference between Humphrey and Nixon, and when a lot of us here in this room know that if we had done just a little bit more, we could have made the difference in that election.

And how this beloved Hubert Humphrey, this great man, would have made a difference in people's lives, in war and peace, in jobs and all of the rest. [Applause]

That is one road. And the other road, let me tell you about, was in 1948 when Harry Truman was certain to be defeated. He was a joke. His campaign was a joke. There was no way he could win. There were two independent parties running that year; one to the left of him and one to the right.

Yet we rallied around this good, simple and courageous man who knew where he wanted this country to go and who had the leadership to take us there.

So, as we leave this hall this week, let's remember both stories. I suggest the road to follow is the path of forgiveness and magnanimity and the path of Democrats pulling together, putting our differences behind us for the sake of a better country. If we are going to have some fights this week, so be it; but we should insist that there be no low blows, that we fight fair; and we have made a good start today with the kind of debate we had this afternoon.

You know if you don't feel unified by all that goes on here by Thursday, let me recommend Dr. Udall's patent unity medicine. Just take one tablespoon of it, and any thing will do: it can be water or milk or beer or whatever turns you on. But take one tablespoon and close your eyes and say, I want President Ronald Reagan. If that won't unify us, I don't know what will. [Applause]

And another piece of advice. Fellow Democrats, don't let them divide us. Don't let conservationists and labor split off. We have the same interests. Don't let the consumer interests and the farmers get to fighting each other. Don't divide the blacks and whites or let them divide the Sun Belt people from the Snow Belt.

Let's reach out to sensible Republicans and Independents and share our views. Will Rogers once visited the White House, and Calvin Coolidge said, "Will, tell me the latest jokes." Will Rogers said, "I don't have to, Mr. President. You have appointed them."

Well, the Republican nominees are no joke and their platform is no joke. They are deadly serious, and we are talking about the

page 212

future of this country. We are talking about the kind of country we are going to have for our children and about where we are going and whether our sons and daughters will be drafted for another war.

Americans are not ready to wreck this economy with crazy schemes like I talked about earlier. Americans are not ready to give up on a healthy environment. Americans want firm policies against the Soviet Union but no wreckless arms race. The Americans are willing to accept discipline and change. They know we have to change, but they want a fair and compassionate government. They would like to see a balanced budget and waste eliminated.

Alvin Barkley, you remember; the great senator from Kentucky who was Harry Truman's running mate, used to tell the story of the young man who was hitchhiking up in the mountains in moonshine country one night. An old moonshiner came along in a pickup and gave him a ride, and they bounced a ways down the road. The old man said, "Son, there's a jug under the seat; take it out."

The boy took out the bottle and he said, "Have a drink." The boy said, "I really wouldn't care for one; thank you very much." The old man pulled a gun and held it on him and said, "Have a drink." The boy said, "Well, under those circumstances, I don't mind if I do."

He took a big drink out of the bottle, and it felt like his teeth were coming loose and his stomach was unhinged and he gasped a while. The old man handed him the gun and said, "Now you hold the gun on me and will take a drink."

My point is let's point the finger this week at he in our midst who strikes the low blow. Let's learn to be gentle with each other as Democrats, for this November; that could make the difference. Back during the celebration of the Bicentennial, as thousands of people poured into Washington to see the fireworks on the night of our 200th birthday, I drove past one of the family places where they were parked along the river; and an old man had placed on a window a sign, and that sign said "America ain't perfect, but we're not done yet." I think that old man kind of said it all. [Applause]

America is never done, like a painting or a poem. This nation we love will only survive if each generation of loving caring Americans will

care enough to change things to suit the times, and whether each generation has the good sense to carry forward the old values of thrift and hard work and compassion and freedom and family, these values which are just as good now as they were 200 years ago.

page 213

Let's have a great convention. Let's win one this year. Thank you very much. [Applause]

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THE UNITED STATES AND VIETNAM: WHAT LIES AHEAD?

**Speech Given on October 23, 1967, in Tucson, AZ, to Second District
Constituents**

Reproduced in the Published Edition of Congressional Newsletters, "Education of a Congressman"

Tonight I come to talk about war and peace, about presidents, dominoes, commitments, and mistakes. I want to start with some of my own commitments and at least one of my own mistakes.

When I went to Congress 6 years ago I made some commitments to myself. to make the tough and unpleasant decisions as they came; to speak out at times then remaining silent might be easier; to admit my own mistakes; and to advocate new policies when old ones, no matter how dearly held, had failed.

Two years ago, when this country had fewer than 50,000 men in Vietnam, I wrote a newsletter defending the President's Vietnam policy and pleading patience and understanding for what he was trying to do. I have thought about that newsletter many times with increasing dismay and doubt as the limited involvement I supported has grown into a very large Asian land war with a half-million American troops scattered in jungles and hamlets, fighting an enemy who is everywhere and nowhere, seeking to save a country which apparently doesn't want to be saved, with casualties mounting and no end in sight, with more and more troops being asked for and sent, and with the dangers of World War III looming ever larger.

To be fair about it, I presume some progress has resulted from our enormous expenditures in lives and resources. I would hate to think otherwise. But each American escalation has been matched by escalation on the other side. And the grim probability as I speak tonight is that new and bigger escalations lie ahead. Unless we change our

policy predict we will have 750,000 troops committed to Vietnam within the next 18 months. There will be more bombing, more civilian deaths in South and North Vietnam, more American casualties, and great new demands of the American taxpayers to pay for all this.

I have listened to all the arguments of the administration, read all the reports available to me, attended all the briefings, heard all the predictions of an eventual end to hostilities, and I still conclude that we're on a mistaken and dangerous road. In my judgment con-

page 214

tinuing our present policy will require that we send several hundred thousand more American troops to thresh around almost aimlessly in the jungles of Vietnam, thousands more of them dying and many more losing arms and legs and eyes without ever achieving what we know as "victory," all the while the material cost of this war is climbing from the present \$30 billion a year to \$40 or \$50 billion or more.

What's even worse, I increasingly fear that the inevitable result of this policy will be a wider war. Already the major battles along the demilitarized zone are bringing talk of an invasion of the North, and as our bombers get even closer to the Chinese border and Russian ships in Haiphong, one can see the stakes in this contest rising. I know there are those who say Russia and China would be foolish to come in with all the advantages they are enjoying from the present stalemate. But these people and this line of thinking were wrong in Korea, and they may well be wrong again.

Many of the wise old heads in Congress say privately that the best politics in this situation is to remain silent, to fuzz your views on this great issue, and to await developments. I hear few dovish noises in Arizona, and I suspect that silence would be the best personal politics for me. This would be especially true if it should turn out that we are at last starting to "win" this war.

THE OVERRIDING ISSUE

Then why am I here tonight? Vietnam is the overriding issue of this troubled year, and the people of my State are as entitled to my honest views as I am to theirs. I have come here tonight to say as plainly and simply as I can that I was wrong 2 years ago, and I firmly believe President Johnson's advisers are wrong today. Victory may indeed lie ahead; nothing is certain in this life. But life goes on, and men must make decisions based on the best information available to them at the

time. Waiting for things to happen is not leadership, and steering a safe political course is not the highest order of public service.

This speech is not an easy or pleasant task for me. I am of the President's party; I admire him and the great things he has done for America. I have defended him on a great many occasions, including a visit I made to Cambridge University in England last February when my questioners were highly critical of our role in Vietnam. I know from history and from observing two Presidents firsthand what a man-killing job the presidency is. So I take no satisfaction in disagreeing with a policy he feels he must pursue. I respect President Johnson for doing what he firmly believes is right, and it grieves me to add to his burdens. But I would be serving nei-

page 215

ther the President nor the country to pretend to agree when I feel we must modify our national course

The great rationalization for our involvement in Vietnam is that we are there to stop the march of communism, to demonstrate that the United States honors its commitments, to strengthen the free world. We are failing, and I believe we will continue to fail as long as we maintain our present policy of military escalation. Indeed, I believe this policy is strengthening the communist cause, weakening the free world, and raising grave doubts about the capacity of the United States to back up its commitments elsewhere.

I am advocating a change, not out of any fear or love for communism or admiration of Ho Chi Minh, but out of love for America and for its national aspirations. I am convinced our present policy in Vietnam does not serve our interests and in a way it is as though we had designed it to serve our enemies. This may seem too utterly ironic, but let's think about it for a minute.

Let's suppose there had been a world communist meeting in, say July 1964. Everything was in disarray. The once-monolithic Communist movement was in a shambles. The two major Red powers, the Soviet Union and China, were at each others' throats. The Russians had suffered humiliating reverses in Berlin, Cuba, Africa, and elsewhere. I recall *U.S. News and World Report* the previous fall had published an article entitled "Is Russia Losing the Cold War?" that concluded that it was.

Suppose that at this imaginary meeting a brilliant young theorist had come forward with a dramatic plan to reverse the unhappy trend. Let me recite what he might have said.

Comrades, I have a plan. By means of it we can enmesh the United States in the Asian land war its leaders have always warned against. Within 3 years I promise you 500,000 American soldiers will be hopelessly bogged down in jungle fighting, consuming huge amounts of supplies and vast quantities of ammunition while gaining essentially nothing. They will be seen as white men fighting Asiatics, as colonialists burning villages, destroying rice crops, killing and maiming women and children. Their casualties will be heavy--perhaps 100,000 by late 1967. They will have to boost their draft quotas and raise taxes. The war will cost them \$30 billion or more a year. And this will upset their economy, cause inflation, threaten their balance of payments, and play hob with all their domestic programs. There will be great internal dissension and even riots in their cities. And, comrades, in spite of our differences, this is one cause that will bring us together, fighting on the same side. Furthermore, we can achieve all these wonderful results without committing a single Russian or Chinese soldier, sailor or airman, and at a total cost of perhaps \$1 or \$2 billion a year.

This is sheer invention, of course. There was no such meeting and no such plan. But the fact is that a dedicated President, surrounded by advisers with the highest patriotism and aided by a well-meaning but pliant Congress--all with the best of intentions--has achieved essentially these results. We have handed our en-

page 216

emies all of this on a platter, and today many sincere Americans are ready to hand them a lot more of the same.

What we are doing today, as I see it, is essentially engaging in an act of national rationalization. We talk about having no alternatives, but if you boil that down to its essence, what it means is that we're too big and powerful to admit we made a mistake. I refuse any longer to accept a tortured logic which allows little mistakes to be admitted, but requires big ones to be pursued to the bitter end, regardless of their cost in lives and money. As a Nation, let's not adopt the senseless psychology of the compulsive gambler at the race track. If he's lost a whole week's wages on some unfortunate nag, he ought to quit and go home, sadder but wiser. But no, he'll go to the bank, draw out his savings, mortgage his house, and wipe out his children's chances for a college education, all in the vain hope that he can recoup his losses. I think this is the direction we're headed in Vietnam.

WHY PEOPLE ARE TROUBLED

When I talk to people about this war, I find them most troubled by this fundamental question: why is it that the United States, the most

powerful, efficient and successful Nation on earth, can't defeat a little, miserable, backward country like North Vietnam and do it overnight -- or at least in 6 days like the Israelis?

On the face of it, it is ridiculous. But there is logic and reason behind every event if we will only search for it. There are answers to this tough question--and they make sense--if we'll only look the truth in the face. Those answers as I see them come down to four fundamental propositions:

You cannot win a political and guerrilla war in South Vietnam by any amount of bombing in North Vietnam. President Johnson knows this, but I don't think the people do. Too many, I suspect, think that more bombs can win the war.

You cannot win this kind of war when the government you are backing is largely run by wealthy landowners and a military elite who have no real interest in the poor, illiterate peasants over whom the war is being fought. Unless the latter will give their support to that government, any military victory will be short-lived, if it can be achieved at all.

You cannot save a people who do not want to be saved and will not fight for the government which runs their lives.

You cannot win in this deadly poker game when any escalation "bet" on your part can be matched by a much smaller escalation on the part of the enemy. We cannot continue to assume that when we increase our forces the other side will stand still, giving us a clear margin of superiority. Every time the result has been the

page 217

same: stalemate, at an even higher and more dangerous and costly level

THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION

The fundamental question is: how important is Vietnam in the scheme of things? Is this Armageddon? Is this the ultimate test of strength between government by consent and government by coercion, between capitalism and communism? Is the government of South Vietnam the one whose existence will determine the future course of civilization? Is this the showdown for the concept of "wars of national liberation"? Will this really determine whether our grandchildren live under communism? Does it really mean that we'll only have to fight later in Hawaii, Oregon, or Arizona? If the answers to these questions are yes

then we must proceed at all cost to win this war and insulate the government of South Vietnam from all future attack, subversion, or rebellion.

But suppose, as I believe, that this is not Armageddon. Suppose this is just one of many episodes of revolution and turmoil occurring, and about to occur, in a world that is seething with the forces of change. Suppose that our extremely costly and exhausting response to this episode reveals to our enemies that we obviously can't afford to go through this process again soon. Suppose that a very possible result of this fantastically expensive enterprise will be a delay of just a few years in the ultimate success of the National Liberation Front. If this is the case, then I believe we must put greater emphasis upon our goals as a nation and less on the immediate military goals proposed for the conduct of this war.

I have reflected long and hard on what this war is, what significance it holds, and what effects various courses of action would have on our future role in world affairs. And I will tell you frankly I no longer see the war in Vietnam as Munich or Valley Forge. And I'm no longer very interested in hearing how we can capture one more hamlet or rocky hill. I'm interested in hearing how we can cut our losses, reduce our future expenditures in lives and resources, and bring this venture down to scale. I'm convinced our national interest--not Russia's, not China's, not North Vietnam's -- demands that we sharply modify our present policy and that we start doing so now.

A great fallacy of our present policy, as I see it, lies in the assumption that stopping this "war of national liberation" will prevent any and all future wars of this type. Such wars were beaten back in Malaysia and Korea, yet this did not stop Vietnam or Cuba or the Congo. We are only due on, for more frustration and anger in the years ahead if we spend more blood and treasure to get some kind of significant "victory" in Vietnam.

page 218

This brings me to the hard question the President's advisers always put to their critics: "All right, you don't like what we're doing. Precisely what would you do, and what are the likely results of your policy?"

This is a fair question that demands an answer. I'll tell you what I propose, but first let me make clear what I do not propose.

We are in South Vietnam. It was a mistake to get there, but we're there. I am not suggesting any "cut and run" policy or proposing that the

United States now withdraw from this war at once. I am not suggesting that we surrender to Ho Chi Minh. I am not suggesting that we turn our backs on those in South Vietnam who have come to rely on our commitments--people who, if we departed, might be victims in a blood bath of the kind we saw in Indonesia. I am not suggesting that this country violate the limited commitments we originally made. I do not propose that our investment in American blood and money be abandoned without giving the South Vietnamese every reasonable chance to save themselves.

And let me make clear there is another thing I am not doing. I am not breaking with President Johnson, either as Chief Executive or as leader of my party. Nor am I joining that group of anarchists who are marching on Washington, attempting to block the entrances of the Pentagon, counseling defiance of Selective Service, or sending money to the Vietcong.

Furthermore, I am not proposing anything particularly new. I don't pretend to have all the classified information necessary to formulate detailed alternatives. Rather, like Senators Mansfield, Church, Cooper, Morton, Percy, and others who appreciate the President's sincerity and his anguish over the progress of this war, I feel I must try to convince him that our present policy is wrong and should be changed or modified.

Now, what do I propose? I propose that the United States halt all further escalation and Americanization of this war and that it discontinue sending any more Americans to do a job that ought to be done and can only be done by Vietnamese. I am suggesting that we deescalate and de-Americanize this war and that we begin the slow, deliberate, and painful job of extricating ourselves from a hopeless, open-ended commitment we never made. I am suggesting that we start bringing American boys home and start turning this war back to the Vietnamese. I am suggesting that we offer the people of Southeast Asia something better than the prospect of Vietnam-type wars as an answer to threats of subversion or aggression.

I would say to President Johnson: Facing this decision will take the courage and greatness of which you are capable. People will villify you, or accuse you of appeasement. Countless armchair gen-

page 219

erals will tell you victory was just around the corner. But in the end I believe the American people will rally behind you when they realize that this decision will strengthen our country and advance its interests.

* * * *

"TOO FUNNY TO BE PRESIDENT"

PREFACE

There are three things that are real: God, human folly, and laughter. The first two are beyond comprehension. So we must do what we can with the third.

--John F. Kennedy

For years, friends have urged me to publish the storehouse of jokes, tales, and quips I've collected during three decades of public life. And for years, I hesitated, wondering whether it might not seem immodest to do so. Then I recalled Golda Meir's admonition, "Don't be humble, you're not that great." I also considered the tribute Winston Churchill once paid to his arch political foe, Labour Party chairman Clement Attlee: "Attlee is a very modest man . . . who has much to be modest about."

Like Attlee, I've much to be modest about. During my early years in the House of Representatives, I tilted at the seniority system--and got my comeuppance in contests to become Speaker and Majority Leader. During my 1976 campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, I drew more laughter than votes and placed second in seven consecutive primaries. This prompted James J. Kilpatrick to conclude his political obituary of me with the epitaph "Mo's too funny to be President."

After due deliberation and two stiff drinks, I decided to go ahead and write this book because I'm convinced that humor is as necessary to the health of our political discourse as it is in our private lives. Political humor leavens the public dialogue; it invigorates the body politic; it uplifts the national spirit. In a sprawling society where politicians often seem distant from those they represent, political humor is a bridge between the citizens and their government. In times of national strife, humor can bring a diverse society closer together. Once, while struggling to fashion a historic compromise, an exasperated Charles de Gaulle threw up his hands and said, "How can anyone govern a nation that has 246 different kinds of cheese?"

In times of national tragedy, disappointment, or defeat, political humor can assuage the Nation's grief, sadness, or anger, and thus

make bearable that which must be borne. At such times a joke reminds us, "And this too shall pass."

But humor is not only a tonic for the body politic, it is an elixir for the politician as well. For one thing, it helps you roll with the punches--and there are a lot of punches in politics. It was his robust sense of humor that kept Abraham Lincoln sane in the face of personal tragedy and a raging Civil War. Asked how he could tell jokes at a time when the Nation was bleeding, Abe replied, "I laugh because I must not cry."

Humor is also the best antidote for the politician's occupational disease: an inflated, overweening, suffocating sense of self-importance. "A man sufficiently gifted with humor is in small danger of succumbing to flattering delusions about himself," Konrad Lorenz once observed, "because he cannot help perceiving what a pompous ass he would become if he did." Nothing deflates a pompous ass quicker than a well-placed barb; Atlee must have imploded when lampooned by Churchill.

Politics is a people business--and people crave laughter. Other things being equal, a droll politician will have an easier time than a dour one getting elected. Wit is an essential element of charisma, of leadership. "I don't care how great your ideas are or how well you can articulate them, people must like you before they will vote for you," says Senator William Cohen. The fact is, people are drawn to, and reassured by, a politician who can poke fun at others and himself. It is no accident that of our last six Presidents, the two most popular--John Kennedy and Ronald Reagan--have been the two most jocose. Certainly, much of the warmth people still feel for Kennedy is a result of having been charmed by his wit--more than his policies--nearly three decades ago. And much of President Reagan's popularity doubtless rests on his lively sense of humor, best demonstrated when he asked the surgeon who was preparing to remove a bullet from his chest whether he was a Republican. You can even argue that wit won Reagan the presidency: his timely rejoinder -- "There you go again" -- to a criticism leveled by Jimmy Carter in a 1980 debate might have been the margin of victory. In 1984, after stumbling in his first debate with Walter Mondale, Reagan deep-sixed the creeping-senility issue with another anger--"I will not exploit, for political purposes, the youth and inexperience of my opponent."

Once a politician has been elected, humor becomes one of the most formidable tools he or she can wield in pursuit of legislative goals. A savvy pol can use humor to disarm his enemies, to rally his allies, to inform, rebut, educate, console, and convince. Some observers feel

Senator Alan Simpson's recent success in shepherding a controversial immigration bill through Congress was a tribute as

page 221

much to his wit as to his intellect. In my own career, I have used humor to help me get reelected fourteen times, and to attain passage of the 1977 strip-mining bill and the 1980 Alaska Lands bill.

Of course, there are those Scrooges who think that humor and the serious business of politics should never be mixed. One adviser of President James Garfield warned him, "Never make the people laugh. If you would succeed in life you must be solemn, solemn as an ass." Solemn as an ass he was--and somebody shot him 3 months into his term. It is true, however, that the business of Government is serious business, and in politics, as in any other endeavor, wisecracks are no substitute for substance. But, used adroitly, wit is something more than oratorical ornament; rather, it is a gentle pry bar with which to open the minds of your constituents and colleagues. If your speeches have a humorous slant it is less likely that their substance will be rejected out of hand.

In the same way that wit strengthens politicians, a total absence of it can wound. If President Nixon had had a sense of humor, would he have countenanced the Watergate burglary at a time when his reelection seemed assured? I doubt it. One of the reasons Jimmy Carter wore out his welcome with some Americans was that, for all his intelligence, he came to be viewed as humorless. If Gary Hart had been able to parry Mondale's "Where's the beef?" jab with a witty rejoinder he might have won the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984.

I first learned that humor pays nearly 40 years ago, when I began practicing law. Ever since, I've been collecting legal and political jokes, yarns, and saws. I've got jokes my granddad used in frontier Arizona in the late 1800s. I've got jokes that Ben Franklin used in the late 1700s. I've got jokes about bureaucrats, voters, Yasir Arafat, Jesus Christ, Calvin Coolidge, Republicans, Democrats, Indians, animals, Mormons, Jews, blacks, whites, politicians, polygamists, and polygamist politicians ... thousands of them.

Some jokes I've heard in the courtroom or on the floor of the House. Others I've found in old speeches and newspaper articles. Still others I've kidnapped on the rubber-chicken circuit. Many of my best quips have come from constituents, supporters, fan mail, even questionnaires: Question: "Do you support spending \$20 billion to put a man on the moon?" Answer: "Yes--if you go." In the last chapter you'll find my

favorites. If you like them, feel free to use them. After all, I stole them "fair and square," just as that great semanticist and inveterate napper, Senator S.I. Hayakawa, said we did the Panama Canal.

This book is dedicated to the proposition that humor is the saving grace--in our own lives, and in our political life as a great country. It is one politician's view of the human condition and the

page 222

role humor has played in his career. Join me as we stroll the halls of Congress and trek the campaign trail. We'll meet and swap yarns with all kinds of people.

Having read the book, I hope you will feel you've gotten your money's worth. Which reminds me of something Adlai Stevenson once said to an audience of lobbyists: "Now, as I understand our respective roles, I am to contribute a speech--and you are to contribute something more tangible. This is a nice division of labor, much like the relationship of Big Ben to the Leaning Tower of Pisa. That is to say, I've got the time, if you've got the inclination."

MORRIS K. UDALL
Washington, DC

page 223



[From the Washington Post, April 21, 1991]

MR. UDALL RESIGNS

Morris Udall, who has represented the Second District of Arizona in the House for 30 years, announced Friday that he will give up his seat because of ill health. In this town not noted for sentimentality, dismay at this loss is bipartisan. True, he was a formidable legislator, a powerful committee chairman and a nationally respected political figure. But these qualities, shared by a number of his peers, do not explain the response to his resignation. Mo Udall will be missed here because of his unflagging wit, his warm talent for friendship and his simple decency.

His leaving is a blow for Arizona, a state that once counted in its delegation powerhouses like Barry Goldwater, Carl Hayden and John Rhodes. Following in this

tradition, Mr. Udall was able to use his position as chairman for the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee to protect and forward the interests of his state. Conservation and environmental legislation were his specialties, and he remains proud of his work crafting the Alaska Lands Act and the Arizona Wilderness Act. His influence on water rights issues and on Indian affairs was unchallenged. He has been so effective in the House that one Arizona friend, urging him to remain in office, said, "There is absolutely no one who thinks a freshman Congressman can do a better job than Mo Udall in a hospital bed."

When he left the circle of those who knew him best, in Arizona and on the Hill, he did not receive the kind of recognition and support he sought. He finished second in six presidential primaries in 1976 and described the experience with his traditional selfdeprecating humor: When he introduced himself to a barber in New Hampshire as "Mo Udall, running for President," the man responded, "I know. We were laughing about that just this morning."

In fact, because of his unpretentious wit and ability to see humor in political life--his own as well as others'--no one laughed at Mo Udall, but plenty of people laughed with him. When he leaves office next month, he will be praised for his legislative accomplishments and remembered for those personal qualities that have cheered his colleagues and won him friends across the political spectrum.

[From the Washington Post, April 21, 1991]

AS GOOD AS AMERICAN POLITICS CAN BE

(By Jessica Matthews)

I'm not completely clear-eyed about this, I should confess that up front. I worked for Congressman Morris K. Udall for three years and came to feel for him enormous admiration and affection.

It is unpleasant to write like this, in the past tense. But Mo's resignation from Congress due to ill health after 30 years of service marks the end of a political career that deserves to be pondered and celebrated, for it epitomizes just how good American politics can be. He believed, and proved over and over again, that despite public cynicism and apathy, instant polls, sound bites and negative advertising, a politician in the United States can succeed by appealing to the best in his constituents and his colleagues.

This wasn't just a matter of refusing to trash public debate with feel-good slogans or inflammatory red herrings. Rather it was a positive belief that elected officials could raise public understanding through their handling of even the most complex or touchy issues. A liberal from a conservative state, often the only Democrat in the Arizona delegation, he had plenty of opportunities to put these convictions to the test.

page 227

In 1967 Mo became one of the earliest elected opponents of the Vietnam War. At the time, his brother, Stewart, was serving in Lyndon Johnson's cabinet. The speech was

to be delivered in Goldwater's home state in a district to which Udall had barely won election a few years earlier. He was repudiating not only his party and a president who did not easily tolerate disloyalty, but his own prior support of the war. The political risks could hardly have been greater.

He began, "I have come here tonight to say as plainly and simply as I can that I was wrong two years ago, and I firmly believe President Johnson's advisers are wrong today." He went on to detail the reasons for his change of mind and his proposed alternative policy. The audience, which had been skeptical to openly hostile, responded with a standing ovation. The following year he was reelected with 70 percent of the vote.

The speech was published the next day in one of Mo's now famous newsletters. These had no pictures or lists of accomplishments. Each was simply an essay, distilling his understanding of a major issue and nearly always concluding with his proposed policies. In his first decade in Congress he (not his staff) wrote more than 30 of them covering everything from gun control to arms control. He wrote about the connections between economics and energy use (years before anyone else saw them), and about his ideas on tax reform, welfare, the health of the House and of the political system, trade and nuclear first use. He sought out issues on which he and his district might disagree. The newsletter was the vehicle by which he gave himself and his constituents an all-embracing education in public policy.

In an accident of history, Mo was the last member sworn in by Speaker Sam Rayburn, who could not know that Mo's arrival would mean the end of old ways in the House. Believing that there was no good reason for newcomers to spend years just learning the ropes, Udall first co-authored "The Job of the Congressman," a book that quickly became a bible for members and staff. Then he directly challenged the archaic practices that kept congressmen waiting decades before acquiring power by making a symbolic run for speaker. It was a bold, even brash move that later cost him dearly, but, in the words of his friend and frequent ally David Obey (D-WI) "it gave heart to an entire generation" and broke the back of the seniority system. Later came reforms of the committee system, a sunshine rule that opened markup sessions to public scrutiny, creation of an ethics committee and a host of other improvements.

Udall compiled what a later speaker, Carl Albert, called "one of the most remarkable legislative records of all time." It was remarkably broad, but what was most unusual was how he did it: not simply by dealing and coalition building but through his personal example. On being elected, he resigned from his law firm--not then the usual practice--and became one of the first to disclose his personal finances, long before that was required. That laid the basis for his leadership in civil service reform and the break-through campaign finance laws of the early '70s, under which the Watergate abuses were prosecuted. His civility and unfailing decency and his commitment to extracting the best from the political process proved infectious. Colleagues found themselves following his lead out of sheer respect and affection.

He was able, also, to communicate his love for the environment. "A nation that does not love and respect its land," he said over and over, "does not respect itself." The citation to one of his many environmental awards reads "lion of the wilderness, champion of champions," which does not overstate his achievement.

Here is the measure, I think, of Mo's political career. Sit back for a moment and imagine a Congress full of Morris Udalls. Not necessarily those who share his interests or his political persuasion, but 535 men and women who share his faith that

voters will respond to the best that is asked of them, who exemplify the highest in personal ethics and who follow the credo Mo followed without hesitation: "The job of leaders is to lead." Where might this country be today?

page 228

One thing is certain. One of Mo's favorite jokes, an old line of Adlai Stevenson's, would lose its laugh. It tells the story of the little girl who said in her prayers, "God bless mother and father, and sisters and brothers. And now this is goodbye, God. We're moving to Washington."

[From the Washington Post, April 24,1991]

UDALL'S TRIUMPH

(By David S. Broder)

The losing presidential candidates in the past generation who were most cherished by the reporters who covered them were both Arizonans -- Barry Goldwater and Morris Udall. It had nothing to do with ideology and everything to do with character and personality.

Goldwater, a conservative Republican, and Udall, a liberal Democrat, shared traits that made them great friends despite their disagreements. They both had a deep aversion to self-important phonies. And they both knew that politics, like life itself, requires the leavening gift of humor.

Goldwater went home 4 years ago, hobbled by arthritic hips. And now Udall has announced his resignation from Congress because he has been immobilized by the effects of Parkinson's disease and the injuries he suffered in a fall down the stairs at his home.

Goldwater won his party's nomination in a year when no Republican could be elected. Udall lost the nomination in a year when the Democrats could--and did--win. Both had to overcome the frustration they felt; both succeeded, but Udall's was probably the greater triumph.

In his 1976 campaign, he went through a series of agonizingly close, second-place finishes to Jimmy Carter. He was the victim of the tactical amateurism of his own organization and of the cannibalism of the Democratic left. Three other liberals, with less chance of winning, stayed in the race and drained off crucial support. Had he gained the votes of only one of them, former senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma, he would have beaten Carter in New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Michigan--and history would have been different. He also was sold out by liberal trade unions, which used the excuse of Udall's independence on labor issues to rationalize their deal-making with the favored Carter.

All this he bore with remarkable good humor, bouncing back time and again to rejoin the battle. By the end, in Ohio, he was dead-broke, all but exhausted--and adored by the reporters covering him.

In retrospect, it clearly was not the time for a Udall presidency. Two years after Watergate, America wanted an "outsider" as president, not a longtime congressman like Udall or Jerry Ford. And 2 years before Proposition 13 triggered a national tax revolt, it was not the time for a man who told voters that until America is "a just society." government's his home since 1961 and the place where his skills as a legislator, a political conciliator and a reformer were most appreciated. The legacy he left there is imposing and enduring. It ranges from strip mining and Alaskan wilderness legislation to the reform of archaic committee and floor procedures that congressional barons had used to conceal their arbitrary power. For a whole generation of congressmen, Udall became a mentor and a model--and they will miss him as much as the press galleries do.

Few of them, unfortunately, can match him as a teacher. Like his friend, former representative Barber B. Conable Jr., the Rochester, NY, Republican who is retiring now from his job as head of the World Bank, Udall wrote his own newsletters, shar-

page 229

ing with constituents his insights into the issues in the news and the ways of government.

So candid and delightful were these Udall newsletters that they were published in book form back in 1972. The title was appropriate -- "The Education of a Congressman" -- for Udall operated on the belief that representative government really is a continuing dialogue between citizens and their leaders.

Adlai Stevenson's belief that a campaign is a time to "talk sense to the American people" sustained Udall's run for the White House. His aides worried how to "pump Mo up" and "get him mad" at the opposition. He would respond with one of his hundreds of Lincolnian stories about the ridiculousness of overweening ambition.

But it was not a joking Udall who said in the midst of his own 1976 campaign, "Beware of the presidential candidate who has no friends his own age and confidantes who can tell him to go to hell, who has no hobbies and outside interests.... God help us from presidents who can't be a little bit gentle, and who don't have a sense of humor, and who can't gather friends around and play poker and climb a mountain. You know, these intense workaholics really worry me."

Mo Udall was a westerner and a liberal and a skeptic and a man whose humor was rooted in a deep appreciation of the tragedy of human life and the futility of human life and the futility of human striving. For all those reasons--and more -- he was special and precious to many of us.

What Archibald Cox said of him in a symbolic nominating speech at the 1976 Democratic convention was true: "By the count of votes, he did come in second, but he succeeded in the larger aim ... for he proved that a public figure, even in a long and heated political contest, can exemplify the best of the American spirit, that honor need not yield to ambition, that open-mindedness and willingness to listen are not inconsistent with devotion to principle, that civility can accompany tenacity and that humility should go hand in hand with power."

And, besides, he made it much fun.

[From the Washington Post]

MO UDALL'S MONUMENTS

(By Mark Shields)

To see the prodigious legacy of Representative Morris K. Udall (D-AZ) one need only look about the nation he so passionately loved and so ably served--at American hills rescued from the strip miner's scars by his legislative leadership. His public monuments endure: more than 100 million acres protected by the Alaskan Wilderness bill; a campaign finance law which, beginning in 1976, went a long way toward freeing our presidential elections from the millionaires' auction block; civil rights laws and civil service reform.

Mo Udall has been a gentle giant with laughter in his soul and integrity in his bones. He is that rarest of political liberals, a man who loves both humankind and real people, too. Those of us lucky enough to have been part of the 1976 Udall presidential campaign (with seven second-place primary finishes behind Jimmy Carter) will always remember the joy and never forget the frustrations. The easygoing Udall led a campaign more notable for its high spirits and abrupt changes of manager than for its competence and direction. To his credit as a person, but to his detriment as a presidential candidate, Mo lacked that all-consuming conviction that the fate, fortune and future of the planet depended upon his being elected.

How else to explain that year's Wisconsin presidential primary, when, after being declared a winner over Jimmy Carter by both NBC and ABC, Udall woke up the next morning to final returns which left him one-half a percentage point behind the

page 230

Georgian? Masking the hurt and with the kind of perspective we so desperately need in a president, Mo, pointing to a reporter's notebook, had this to say to the press: "I'd like to ask each of you to take those statements I made last night and in every instance where you find the word 'win' strike it out and insert the word 'lose'."

"Humor," according to Udall, remained "the best antidote for the politicians' occupational disease; an inflated, overweening, suffocating sense of self-importance," of which there was never so much as a trace in the rangy Arizonan.

But Mo Udall will always be more than a roster of his greatest stories or a list of his legislative victories. He was a genuine political leader. To read the congressional newsletters he wrote to his Tucson constituents is to understand just how highly he valued the instincts and the intellect of the people he represented.

To his fellow citizens in the election year of 1966, he urged this response to increased federal spending: "Let's do it by tax increase and not by inflation." In 1967 his position on Vietnam was "to say as plainly as I can that I was wrong two years ago, and I firmly believe President Johnson's advisers are wrong today." To him the political leader's first responsibility was always to lead.

That kind of politics is not much in vogue in 1991. Representative David Obey, the Wisconsin Democrat, believes what mattered to his close friend, Udall, was "how a great democracy goes about making up its mind and how its elected political leaders help the country frame those choices." Obey finds irony in the almost simultaneous departure from the political scene of the late GOP chairman Lee Atwater and Democrat Mo Udall. "Their approach to politics was mutually exclusive," he says. "One was scorched-earth, build up your opponent's negatives, and the other said: 'Let's try and raise people's awareness, while remaining friends with our opponents and never suggesting that everybody on the other side is a threat to national security or public safety.'"

There could be no more fitting tribute to the career of Mo Udall than to ask ourselves which kind of politics best serves our children's future and which kind we as voters will reward.

[From the Washington Post, May 4, 1991]

FAREWELL PARTY FOR CONGRESSMAN UDALL

More than 300 well-wishers stopped by Arizona Representative Mo Udall's farewell party in the Rayburn House Office Building Thursday evening. From staffers past and present to environmental lobbyists, they came to pay their respects to the 30-year veteran, who was too ill to attend but who was represented by his wife, Norma. The big surprise guest was President Bush, who arrived early and stayed for a long time, and signed a 3-by-2-foot card "with love and respect from Barbara and me, G. Bush." "He had been invited as a formality," said Udall spokesman Matt James, "but we really didn't expect him to show up. It was a very kind gesture." Once and future presidential contender George McGovern also stopped by, as did dozens of representatives and friends. "It was a real celebration for Udall's years on the Hill. It was a very upbeat occasion," James said.

page 231

[From Roll Call, April 22, 1991]

WITTY AND COURAGEOUS, MO UDALL, 68, TELLS FOLEY THAT HE WILL RESIGN,
EFFECTIVE MAY 4

(By Karen Foerstel)

Ending 30 years of service in the House of Representatives he loved, Representative Mo Udall (D-AZ), 68, announced his resignation last Friday because of an illness that has kept him hospitalized since January.

The resignation, effective May 4, was announced in two letters hand delivered to Speaker Tom Foley's (D-WA) office, one from Udall and one from his wife Norma.

As the letters were being delivered to the Speaker at about 4 p.m., Udall's daughter Anne and his chief of staff, Matt James, held a press conference in Udall's Tucson office announcing his departure.

Arizona Governor Fife Symington (R) has ten days from the date of Udall's resignation to announce a special election to fill the seat, the only Democratic one in the delegation. According to State law, the special primary election must take place 75 to 105 days after the resignation. The general election must then occur within 40 days.

The announcement of Udall's departure follows weeks of speculation about whether the former Presidential candidate and current Interior and Insular Affairs Committee chairman would step down.

On April 5, Norma, his third wife, wrote Foley of a possible resignation (Roll Call, April 11).

In Friday's letter to Foley, Norma Udall said that following discussions with doctors, family, an staff, "Our reluctant conclusion is that any improvement in his condition will be insufficient to allow him to resume his duties and responsibilities."

Norma also included a quote from Will Rogers that Udall kept on his desk:

"We come here for just a spell and then pass on. So get a few laughs and do the best you can. Live your life so that whenever you lose, you are ahead."

Norma included her letter by saying, "I believe my husband surely is 'ahead.'"

Udall's own letter to the Speaker consisted of one sentence: "I hereby resign the office of Representative for the Second Congressional District of Arizona, effective May 4, 1991."

Udall, throughout his life faced adversity. At the age of six, he lost his right eye when he and a friend were tying together a train made of Coke bottles. The two were cutting string with a dull knife when it slipped and landed in Udall's eye.

Despite the disability, Udall went on to star on the University of Arizona Basketball team and eventually played professional ball with the Denver Nuggets.

In 1969, while still a relative newcomer to the House with only 8 years seniority under his belt, Udall decided to challenge 77-year-old Representative John McCormack (D-MA) for the post of Speaker. He was the first Congressman in this century to challenge a sitting Speaker. Two years later, Udall ran for Majority Leader. He lost both races, but Udall's gutsy leadership bids paved the way for serious reform and helped uproot the firmly planted House seniority system.

In 1976, Udall lost the Democratic Presidential nomination to Jimmy Carter. his campaign, however, brought an able legislator who was little known beyond his district and the Hill to the headlines. A year later, Udall became chairman of the Interior Committee.

But a fall down a flight of stairs in his Arlington home on January 6, was one tragedy he could not overcome.

The fall left Udall, who has suffered from Parkinson's disease since 1980, unable to walk on his own and barely able to speak.

page 232

In late January, the House voted to hand over the duties of running Udall's beloved Interior Committee to vice chair George Miller (D-CA). For the past 3 months, Udall has been hospitalized while undergoing physical therapy.

"Mo understood that there were worse things than getting people mad say you," Representative Dave Obey (D-WI) told Roll Call Friday. "He knew that political death is not when you get beat, it's having power and not using it."

Obey and former Representative Henry Reuss (D-WI) first suggested that Udall run for the White House.

"Mo Udall has more guts than anybody else around here," Obey said in 1975. "He violated the cardinal rule of the House: 'Thou shall remain anonymous.' And we all owe him for it."

Former Representative Jim McNulty (D-AZ), who served with Udall from 1983 to 1985, described in longtime friend as a "superb legislator."

McNulty first met Udall in college when he was campaign manager for a student running against Udall for class President. "We got beat," McNulty said. "And I never made the mistake of running against him again." McNulty is one of at least six Democrats who will likely run for the open seat.

During his years on the Hill, Udall became one of the most respected and best-liked Members in Congress. But he almost never made it to the Hill at all.

When Arizona's Second district seat opened up in 1954, Udall, who was then the prosecuting attorney for Pima County, considered running.

"I very much wanted to come to Congress," he said in 1972. "My brother hadn't even been in elective political life. I was the logical candidate."

Udall, however, deferred to his older brother Stewart Udall, who won the seat and held it until 1961. "It looked to me like he would make a career here, he loved it, and that I'd never make it to Congress," Udall said later.

But when his brother was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President John Kennedy in 1961, the younger Udall got his chance.

While in office, Mo Udall was not afraid to label himself a liberal. He was one of the first legislators to speak out against the Vietnam war. In 1967, he told a shocked Tucson forum, "I firmly believe President Johnson's advisers are wrong today.... We are on a mistaken and dangerous road."

Udall was also one of the first Members to push for campaign and congressional reform, supporting spending limits and pay raises for his colleagues.

When first elected to the House, Udall resigned from his law firm to avoid any conflict of interest. He later fought for the creation of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

Udall was also a champion of the environmental movement. One of his proudest achievements was the passage of the Alaska lands bill that set aside 104 million acres as national wilderness.

Along with his legislative abilities, Udall was widely known for his sharp, if not spontaneous, wit.

He was often seen at town meetings and speeches with a weathered loose-leaf notebook packed full of jokes he had collected through the years. More than once, the six-foot, five-inch Congressman with the jokes always in hand was compared to Will Rogers.

One of his favorite stories was about "this politician who went to this little town to make his speech. 'Well, ladies and gentlemen,' he concluded, 'them's my views and if you don't like 'em, well then, I'll change 'em.'"

But Obey warned that those who remember Udall most for his wit don't know the real Mo. "Humor was simply a tool," Obey said last week. "It was just a gracement that added to the flight of a political eagle."

page 233

[From Roll Call, Monday, May 6, 1991]

'MO LOVES CONGRESS'

BITTERSWEET ADIEU TO HILL FOR UDALL

(By Karen Foerstel)

More than 500 Members and staffers gathered last week to pay tribute to one of the most popular legislators on the Hill, Representative Mo Udall (D-AZ), whose resignation from Congress officially took effect Sunday.

During a reception organized by Udall's staff last Thursday night, current and former colleagues, including President (and former Representative) George Bush, came to reminisce and bid farewell to the 15-term Congressman.

While at the reception, Bush signed an enormous, 3-foot tall get-well card for Udall. "To Mo, With love and respect. From Barbara and Me. G. Bush," the President wrote.

Freshman Members such as Representative Bill Brewster (D-OK) shared their memories of Udall, 68, with such old-timers as former Senator George McGovern (D-

SD). McGovern was first elected to the Senate in 1972, 1 year after Udall came to the House.

Udall's resignation announcement came April 19 after more than 3 months of illness that left him hospitalized and unable to walk or speak.

Udall, who is still hospitalized at the Veterans Administration Medical Center, was unable to attend, but his wife Norma stood as his representative, calling the upbeat gathering "bittersweet."

"Mo loves Congress so much," she said to the assembled crowd. "I can't imagine what the House of Representatives will be like without Mo walking in the corridors, casting his vote. When you look at the Capitol dome at night, you just say it will never be the same."

Norma, Udall's third wife, said her husband will likely remain in the hospital for "many more weeks or more" but said that doctors predict he will regain his speech over the next few months.

On January 6, Udall fell down a flight of stairs, fracturing his shoulder bone and several ribs and suffering a concussion.

The fall also exacerbated the Parkinson's disease from which he has been suffering since 1980.

Norma said that Udall, who was renowned for his sense of humor, was keeping in good spirits.

"I've never seen him depressed," she said.

Just before Thursday's reception, more than two dozen House Members took part in an emotional 2-hour special order to pay tribute to Udall.

"We serve with many giants in this House, and we look out on the marble steps we go up and down, and the footprints that have worn down those steps," Representative Louise Slaughter (D-NY) said on the floor. "But no one looms larger, leaves such footprints, and leaves such a space here, and yet so fills our hearts, as Morris Udall. I miss him, and I do not hesitate to say that I love that man."

Said Representative Norm Mineta (D-CA): "We will continue to be inspired by a man who has fought the good fight all his life--for decency, for human values, and for ordinary people. And in that, Mr. Speaker, Mo Udall will hardly be allowed to retire from this Chamber."

page 234

[From the Tucson Citizen, April 19, 1991]

THIRTY YEARS IN CONGRESS ENDS -- MO UDALL'S WIT
AND INTEGRITY TRANSCENDED POLITICAL LINES

(By Norma Coile)

He should have been President.

That's what Tucsonan after Tucsonan is saying on this day that the retirement of Congressman Morris King Udall is to be announced.

Udall's retirement is to be made official this afternoon and become effective early next month. Governor Fife Symington then will call a special election, probably this summer, to replace Udall.

"Mo" Udall is considered one of the two great national figures homegrown in Arizona. And now that he's joining former Senator Barry Goldwater in retirement, an era is passing--one that this lightly populated state so far out of the normal power loop never had a rightful claim to.

One liberal, one conservative, they gave that era to us through sheer force of character.

Udall's role meant that Arizona protected its federal funding for one of the largest public works projects in American history, the \$3.6 billion Central Arizona Project.

It meant that wilderness and parks were preserved throughout the West.

And it meant that Tucson had one of the most respected voices in Congress.

Former Tucson Congressman Jim McNulty remembers a time in the early '80s when he and Udall needed one vote to save an Arizona energy bill.

"He sent me to find a guy from New York, and I went and got the guy. The voting had theoretically ended, but the chairman hadn't hit the gavel. So I said, 'Bob, Mo wants to talk to you right now.' He said 'Yes, Sir' and followed me.

"Mo said, 'Bob, I need a vote in the very worst way on this measure. Let me tell you why this is a good thing.' And he ran through the items, the guy said thank you, walked down and changed his no to aye."

STILL COMMANDS RESPECT

Even at the end of Udall's 30-year career in the House, when Parkinson's disease has all but stilled his stirring voice and slowed his 6-foot-6-inch frame, he commands rare respect.

Representative Jim Kolbe, a Tucson Republican, remembers when they were trying to rescue an Arizona wilderness bill last autumn in the final minutes of the session. Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming, whose Republican politics couldn't be further from Democrat Udall's, didn't like it:

"So we just got a little meeting together off the House floor, because Mo really couldn't walk all the way over to the Senate. Senator Simpson came over and sat down with the Arizona delegation. He just kind of patted Mo on the arm and said,

'Well, I have some real problems with this bill, but my respect for you is so great, we'll work this out.' Mo really didn't say a thing."

Says Tucson environmentalist Priscilla Robinson, "At one time I was told that Mo commanded more votes on the floor than any other congressman--that simply by his saying, 'I'm for this,' about 140 to 150 congressman immediately would go with him.

"In the whole history of the Congress, there haven't been very many people like that."

(Newspaper Tributes: Part 2 of 6)

WIT, HUMOR, INTEGRITY THE KEY

They say he did it all through wit, humor and integrity.

Just when you thought fists might fly between red-faced Democrats and Republicans in some late-night caucus, U.S. Senator John McCain recalls, Udall would disarm them. "Ah," he'd muse, "it reminds me of the politicians' prayer. May the words that I utter today be tender and sweet, because tomorrow I may have to eat them."

He once was voted the congressman that Capitol Hill staffers would most like to be stranded with on a desert island. If they had been, they'd have gotten an earful of his "Apache County sayings," such as, "No. 64: He who throws mud loses ground."

Once they'd heard his famous punchlines a few dozen times, they might have been like Udall's fellow University of Arizona athletic letterman, who, at an alumni breakfast, made the mistake of shouting, "Hey, Udall, we heard that one before."

As McNulty tells it, "Udall looks at him, says, 'Dammit, Marsh, if I was playing Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, would you tell me don't play that because you've heard it before?'"

POWERS OF PERSUASION

"He could charm the bird out of a tree," McNulty says. "I knew a Republican, a goodhearted fellow, and somebody said, 'Well, why don't you just let Mo in to talk to your group?' And the guy says, 'My God, if I did, he'd convert everyone.'"

To recruit campaign workers, Udall told of a preacher whose sign outside the church said, "If you're tired of sin, come in." Underneath, Mo said in delight, somebody had scrawled, "If you're not, call 822-2423."

He said he was from an Arizona town so small "I was in the fifth grade before I learned the town's name wasn't 'Resume Speed.'"

After Udall fell short in a serious run for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976, he quipped, "The voters have spoken, the bastards."

He would later write, in a book with the same title, that he was "Too Funny to be President."

COULD HAVE MADE NATION BETTER

"I always wonder what it would have been like if he had been elected President of the United States," says Ray Clarke of the Tucson Urban League. "He's one of those rare individuals who would have made American much better."

McCain, although he's a conservative who doesn't share Udall's liberal aims, come pretty close to an endorsement. "The less attractive candidate won in '76," he says.

"Jimmy Carter, some of his failures were due to a lack of ability to communicate with the Congress and with his own party. And clearly Mo Udall had that capacity in spades."

Udall "came within a whisper" of being President, McNulty believes, and McCain says he would have gotten the nomination if he had just won the Wisconsin primary.

He could have won Michigan, McNulty adds, but "he was denounced by the mayor of Detroit because he was a member of the Mormons, and the Mormons were, in the eyes of the mayor, anti-black. Of course, Mo had a record on civil rights second to none."

NO STRANGER TO DISCRIMINATION

Growing up in St. Johns, Ariz. (population 83) in Apache County near the New Mexico line, he'd known discrimination. "His grandfather went to prison. It was

page 236

supposed to be for perjury, but it was in fact because he was a Mormon," says McNulty, Udall's friend of 45 years.

Udall lost an eye in a childhood accident but went on to play a season of professional basketball and to pilot small planes, frequently scaring his passengers. Although Udall grew up knowing about risks, he never ran from any, McNulty says.

While his brother Stewart, then Secretary of the Interior, was in Lyndon Johnson's administration, Udall took the huge risk of breaking ranks with LBJ over the Vietnam War.

Robinson remembers the moment, a ringing speech at the old Sunday Evening Forum on the UA campus, then a very influential podium in Tucson. "He came out and said, 'This is wrong.' And it was early. He was ahead of his time."

"His attitude toward Vietnam was always supportive of those who fought it, and very much opposed to the point of all," McNulty says. "There was a time when that was a pretty lonely quest. In time, you prove right. But leaders have to be careful about how far they get out there."

WIT USE TO FIGHT LONELINESS

There is, McNulty suggests, a loneliness in leadership. Certainly, Udall has known his share in what Arizona Secretary of State Richard Mahoney, a former Udall staffer, always believed was a kind of melancholy the public didn't detect.

"Just the sheer loneliness of public life, and the loneliness of Morris Udall in many points in his life," Mahoney offers. "The way he truly dealt with it was just to make himself and his whole profession a matter of unending fun."

Immersed in public service, often fighting poor health, Udall had ups and downs in his relationships with his six children, insiders have said. And he was said to be devastated by the suicide three years ago of his second wife, Ella.

Beneath all that personality and self-deprecating humor was a serious man, who leaves a serious legacy.

"Alaska," says environmentalist Robinson in awe, "Alaska. That is the great monument to him that will be remembered 100 years from now."

CREDIT GIVEN TO CARTER

In 1972, Udall introduced a bill to preserve more than 100 million acres of pristine wilderness in Alaska--an area equal in size to California.

It took eight years, but in 1980 President Carter signed it into law, "With one stroke of his pen," Udall said, "Carter doubled the size of the national park system, doubled the size of the national wildlife refuge system, and tripled the size of the national wilderness system."

It was perhaps Udall's most treasured moment. Yet he gave the credit to Carter, a graciousness that McCain and Kolbe point out has always been one of his political gifts.

Others say his legacy is the CAP, which will divert Colorado River water to Arizona's largest cities. Many state leaders praise it as our "economic lifeline to the future."

Because it will allow continued urban growth in the desert, some environmentalists decry it as the chink in Udall's environmental record. But Robinson sees it the way she believes Mo did: That without economic strength, environmental preservation suffers from low priority, as Eastern Europe today is witness to.

REFORM STANCE WAS COSTLY

Tucson Mayor Thomas Volgy says Udall sacrificed his chances to be speaker of the House when he successfully led the chamber's young turks, some 20 years ago, in reform of the old committee structure and seniority system.

page 237

"I think the House has become much more 'small-d' democratic as a result," says Volgy, a UA political scientist.

Not all his efforts were a success, of course, although not even his political opposites are dwelling on those today. The federal campaign reform he led in the '70s, which resulted in the stifling power of political action committees, probably didn't turn out

the way he'd hoped, colleagues say. And he deeply disappointed many local Hispanic leaders when he supported a clampdown on immigration in 1984.

But overall?

"He was a hero," says state Representative Carmen Cajero.

"Someone to emulate," says Lorraine Lee, Tucson vice president of Chicanos por la Causa. "For us, in working with non-profits and the challenge everyday that we come across -- trying to deal with people's problems and how frustrating that can be--to look at how one person can make a difference gives us inspiration.

"He really loved this state, and he fought for it."

MORRIS K. UDALL

January 15, 1922: Udall is born in St. Johns, Arizona, to a Mormon family with six children.

1940: Graduates from St. Johns High School and enters University of Arizona.

1942-45: Serves in the U.S. Army Air Corps in the Pacific.

1946: Returns to UA and earns his law degree.

1948-49: Plays professional basketball for the Denver Nuggets, is admitted to the Arizona Bar and goes into practice with his brother Stewart. Marries his first wife, Patricia Emery. (The couple had six children and later divorced.)

1950: Is elected to a 3-year term as chief deputy attorney for Pima County. Arizona Supreme Court Justice Stanley Feldman later calls him "one of the state's great trial attorneys."

1953: Elected Pima County attorney.

1954: Fails in his bid for a Superior Court judge position.

1956: Serves as chairman of Arizona Volunteers for Adlai Stevenson and as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention.

1961: In a special election to replace his brother Stewart, who left the position he had held for 6 years to become President John F. Kennedy's secretary of the Interior, Udall is elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

1967: Breaks ranks with President Lyndon Johnson and blasts U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

1968: Marries Ella Royston Ward, known affectionately as "Tiger." Also challenges the entrenched power of House elders by trying to unseat 77-year-old John W. McCormack of Massachusetts. The effort failed.

1972: Introduces bill to put more than 100 million acres of federal land in Alaska into new parks, wildlife refuges and national forests.

1976: Fails in bid for the Democratic presidential nomination, won by Jimmy Carter. He discovers why he was inordinately tired during the presidential campaign: Parkinson's disease, a neurological disorder impairing movement and speech.

1980: Wilderness bill passed: Udall makes his Parkinson's disease public.

1988: Ella Udall commits suicide.

1989: Udall marries Norma Gilbert, a congressional staffer.

January 1991: Udall fractures several bones in a fall at his Virginia home and is hospitalized.

March 29: Norma Udall writes to House Speaker Thomas Foley, saying her husband may have to resign.

April 18: Udall expected to resign.

page 238

[From The Phoenix Gazette, April 20,1991]

MORRIS UDALL

(By Michael Murphy)

WASHINGTON, DC. -- Ten years ago, State Republican Party leaders thought they finally had found a way to get rid of Morris Udall--by forcing the Democrat into retirement through congressional redistricting.

But that was before then-GOP Chairman Tom Pappas encountered Udall's friends, including Arizona Republicans John Rhodes and Barry Goldwater.

"I said no," recalled Rhodes, who was then U.S. House minority leader. "I said we can put the Democrats into one district, and we want Mo Udall's name on it."

A decade later, not even Udall's Republican friends can protect the 30-year Congressman from a tougher opponent--Parkinson's disease, a debilitating nerve disorder that is forcing Udall to cut short what was to be his last term in office.

The picture of Udall today--confined to a wheelchair, his gaunt frame racked by illness -is in sharp contrast to the portrait of a man who spent two grueling years seeking the Presidency and then, after narrowly losing to Jimmy Carter, gaining a reputation as one of the Nation's most effective and respected lawmakers.

Udall's retirement on May 4, also represents the end of an era of Arizona's prominence in Congress. He is the last of a group that included Rhodes, Goldwater and Senator Carl Hayden.

"He really way--and is--the last of that generation," former democratic Governor Bruce Babbitt said. "His clout meant a hell of a lot to Arizona."

The young man who grew up in a small town of St. Johns managed to demolish the House seniority system, act as floor whip for all the civil rights legislation of 1964 and became one of the first Democrats to speak out against Vietnam--at the same time his brother was in President Johnson's Cabinet.

He also is credited for sparking an investigation that exposed one of the bloodiest secrets of the war, the massacre of civilians at My Lai.

But Udall was not considered a radical liberal. Admirers said his strength was to bring diametrically opposing viewpoints together to force compromises such as the Alaska lands legislation that doubled the size of the National Park System and tripled the size of the National Wilderness System.

"He would walk into a room where there would be real sparks and tension, and sometimes within an hour Mo would come out and have people smiling at each other," said House Interior Committee spokesman Ken Burton, who has worked with Udall since 1977.

"He really had a gift for that."

National Audubon magazine called Udall "one of the great lawmakers of our time." He wrote the nation's 1977 strip-mining reclamation act, drafted the Alaska lands act, settled historic Indian water-rights claims and won legislation that set aside millions of Arizona acres as wilderness.

"Probably no one in recent memory has made as many or more significant contributions to environmental matters than Mo Udall," said Charles Babbitt, president of the Maricopa Audubon society. "He will be very hard to replace."

For Arizona, Udall's liberalism was tinged with a Western realism taken from a childhood in a place dubbed "the land that time forgot." His Mormon ancestors took the harsh and unproductive land in eastern Arizona and turned it into a community that still thrives today.

Like his forefathers who irrigated the barren desert, Udall championed the massive Central Arizona Project that brought Colorado River water to the State.

page 239

"He was able to pretty well keep his credentials as an environmentalist but still do the things that were necessary to get the Arizona water situation worked out," said Rhodes, another key player in getting the CAP.

"I considered him a good friend. We didn't agree on lots of things philosophically, but we didn't let that bother us as far as working for the State of Arizona.

Rhodes riled the State's GOP leaders by killing the plan to oust Udall in 1980, but he said the political slight was worth it.

"It would not have been good for the State to have done anything other than try to keep Mo," he said.

Udall once said his favorite movie was "The Way We Were," and that is how his family and admirers like to think of the 68-year-old Congressman these days.

"It's a very sad thing when you think of what my husband has been in his lifetime dynamic human being," Udall's wife, Norma, said. "It just breaks your heart.

"There's no man more loved on the Hill than Morris Udall. I'm very proud of him," she said.

The loss of Udall, the State's only committee chairman in Congress, has saddened colleagues who say they will miss his self-deprecating wit and charm. They also rue Arizona's loss of clout from a man the Almanac of American Politics called "one of the leading and most productive Democratic politicians of his generation."

"You lose Mo Udall, you lose a giant of a man," Said Senator John McCain, R-AZ. "The Nation loses, not just Arizona."

Senator Dennis DeConcini, D-AZ, called Udall's resignation "a real loss to Arizona. He has been a major factor in so much legislation nationally but also for Arizona that has helped us economically, militarily and many, many ways.

"Mo will be missed a great deal. His influence, long-term, will really be missed."

The story of Udall's rise in Arizona is one of great achievement but also one of bitter and frequent disappointment--capped by his inability to finish his final term.

Politically, Udall's biggest disappointment was losing a string of Democratic Presidential primaries to Jimmy Carter in 1976.

"For a year and a half I had trudged through the cornfields of Iowa, the snowdrifts of New Hampshire, the suburbs of Massachusetts, the sidewalks of New York, the bowling alleys of Wisconsin. For 18 hours a day, day after day, I had given it my all," Udall wrote in his book "Too Funny To Be President."

"And yet no matter how hard I worked, it seemed as though I was doomed to come in second to that g'damned peanut plowman from Plains."

After losing to Carter, he fell off a ladder, breaking both arms. He contracted viral pneumonia after his appendix burst. And then he contracted Parkinson's disease.

In 1988, he found the body of his second wife, Ella, in her car, its motor still running, in the garage of their Virginia home. The death was ruled a suicide.

As the Parkinson's worsened, and the effects of Udall's medication became apparent, family members, including his brother, former Interior secretary Stewart Udall, urged him to retire.

But Bruce Babbitt said, "The House of Representatives was 90 percent of his life. He was absolutely consumed by being a committee chairman and a Congressman. He loved every minute of it. I don't think anybody expected he would just walk away from it."

Babbitt likened Udall's final years to that of Hayden, the powerful Arizona senator who was seriously ill at the close of his career.

"It's just like Carl Hayden -- Carl Hayden in his last two terms never even showed up in Arizona," he said. "Arizonans understood that Hayden even in Bethesda Naval Hospital, did more for Arizona than anyone else. And that's essentially Mo's position."

page 240

Udall remarried in 1989 to Noma, his third wife, and then easily sailed through his last reelection bid. He appeared to be headed toward a quiet political exit as one of Arizona's elder statesmen.

But tragedy struck again. He fell while climbing the stairs at his home January 6, breaking a shoulder blade, his collarbone and four ribs. While in the hospital, his Parkinson's worsened, causing a swirl of rumors that would resign.

REPLACED HIS BROTHER

Udall won his seat in 1961 in a special election called for after his brother Stewart left Congress to become John F. Kennedy's Secretary of the Interior.

Novelist Larry King painted a picture of Udall upon his arrival: "He was then a month short of 39 and looked something like a rodeo hand in short burr haircuts, bow ties and a wide leather belt studded with ersatz stones, and a silver buckle; there was something about him, a disconcerting combination of painful country-boy shyness and a bawdy cow lot humor."

In 1969, Udall challenged John McCormack for House Speaker, a race that Udall did not expect to win, but he hoped it would position him to be majority leader 2 years later. But he lost that race badly to Hale Boggs of Louisiana, who had just recovered from a nervous collapse.

Those losses drove Udall deep into the legislative process, ultimately using the Interior Committee chairmanship, which he won in 1977, to make himself the House's leading author of environmental legislation.

Udall counts among his friends former GOP Senator Goldwater.

Goldwater surprised Republicans when he gave \$500 to Udall's last campaign.

And when The Arizona Republic called for Udall to resign in 1989, Goldwater wrote that Udall should tell his detractors to "go to hell."

"I often joke that between the two of us, we've made Arizona the only State in the Union where mothers don't tell their children they can grow up to be President," Udall wrote in his book.

Goldwater was soundly beaten in an 1964 bid.

REMAINED OPTIMISTIC

Amid the political and private setbacks, admirers said, Udall retained his keen wit.

"Since he got his illness, I never heard him complain about it," Burton said. "He has one of the most optimistic natures that I've ever seen in my life.

"I would have been on the floor feeling sorry for myself a long time ago. But he still loved to crack jokes, and he loved to hear new ones.

"He really loved being in the House, and he loved being in Congress, and he really loved the job ... he was a lawyer who loved the making of laws, and that had been almost half of his entire life. He obviously was very reluctant to leave it."

Jim McNulty, a former Arizona Congressman and one of Udall's closest friends, said Udall has "paid terrible prices from time to time ... but through it he has remained a gentle man, a man of peace.

"I think he feels that a sense of humor is right at the core of all life, and he wouldn't have it any other way," McNulty said. "He's a very intelligent man, and he wasn't afraid to go out on a limb to challenge the tree on believing what he felt was right. And he was right far more often than he was wrong."

Udall's self-medication with humor even touched the cause of his downfall.

"When I was first diagnosed as having Parkinson's, another Congressman was having trouble with his own form of Parkinson's," he used to joke. "You remember Paula Parkinson?"

page 241

She was the blond lobbyist who kissed and told about her affairs with several Congressmen.

"I said at the time there three were many similarities between the two. They both cause you to lose sleep--and they both give you the shakes."

[From the Arizona Republic, April 20, 1991]

ARIZONA LOSING A LEGEND

(By Martin van Der Werf)

WASHINGTON.--With the retirement of Representative Morris K. Udall, Arizona will be without something it has gotten used to having.

Arizona will be without a legend in Congress.

Although the remaining members of Arizona's delegation have growing seniority and power in Washington, there is no one whose very name brings about an instant reaction, no one like Carl Hayden, Barry Goldwater or John Rhodes.

Add to that list "Mo" Udall.

His retirement, effective May 4, will mark the end of larger-than-life figures in Arizona politics, at least for this generation.

"It was an era from the beginning of the '50s," said Udall's brother, Stewart, an Arizona congressman from 1955 to 1961 who became interior secretary in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

"Arizona had a group of people in office who not only had power in Washington, two of them ran for president (Goldwater in 1964, Mo Udall in 1976).

"I was the first Arizonan to serve in a president's Cabinet. It's an era; it's an epic that's gone now."

Even though Mo Udall's presence and influence have been curtailed in recent years by serious illnesses and injuries, his name still is revered in Washington, a testament to the grace and wit he has used as powerful political tools.

And, with Udall's run for president in 1976 and his 14-year chairmanship of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee since then, the Democrat has had an outlet at the top of the political power structure.

Yet, a string of astonishing political defeats and physical obstacles also have marked his life, and, after 30 years, he will leave Congress with his agenda unfinished.

ENVIRONMENTAL GOALS

Udall kept running so he could pass environmental bills that were perhaps unachievable.

"You always have an unfinished agenda," Stewart Udall said, but added that his brother might have been able to accomplish more if he hadn't suffered from Parkinson's disease.

"It choked him. It reduced his vitality."

Still, Mo Udall, 68, has been cherished, even in his weakened condition.

"Mo has been the heart and soul of the environmental movement," said Syd Barber, vice president of the Wilderness Society.

"If ever that cliché could be applied to anyone, it would be him. He's intelligent, crafty, but he also has that undeniable level of commitment that is very, very rare."

Representative George Miller, the man who will replace Udall as Interior Committee chairman, agreed.

page 242

DEBTS OF "GRATITUDE" OWED

"Every American who camps in a national park, hikes a trail or enjoys the magnificent scenery and resources of this nation owes a debt of gratitude to Mo Udall," said Miller, (D-CA).

It is difficult to overestimate what Udall has meant to Arizona. Not only has he been chairman since 1977 of the House committee that oversees the state's water projects, national parks, Indian reservations and millions of acres of federal land, he also has developed a national reputation that gives Arizona a prominence it otherwise would not have.

"Mo has more seniority than anybody (from Arizona)," said Rhodes, a Republican and former House minority leader, who retired in 1982.

"If people think seniority doesn't mean anything, they just don't know Washington."

Stewart Udall said his brother looked beyond Arizona in his work.

"Of course, he attended to Arizona's needs, and he was proud of what he did for Arizona," Stewart Udall said.

But, he added, "in environment, his championship of Indians, the way he broke new ground politically, he was a national congressman."

Mo Udall said in 1984 that he could get things done for Arizona because he had been a presidential candidate.

"I think there's a correlation there that maybe I can do more in 10 minutes because I'm known and spend time helping national political figures than if I were totally unknown and spent an hour on the same problem," he said.

LATE CALLS SAVED LEGISLATION

Aides tell stories about how Udall was able to save legislation in the waning hours of legislative sessions through a single phone call and sheer force of personality. Both an agreement to ship low-level nuclear waste from Arizona to California and the

sweeping Arizona Wilderness Act, which protected 2.3 million acres in Arizona from development, were revived by his intervention.

He succeeded at bringing together Indian tribes, cities and other interested in water rights to iron out differences, preventing years of litigation. He is the last remaining officeholder who pushed through Congress the once-preposterous idea of the Central Arizona Project, to divert water from the Colorado River for use in Phoenix and Tucson. He wrote the nation's law requiring reclamation of strip mines.

But, with all of his popularity and accomplishments, Udall's personal and professional lives have been marked by wrenching losses and sadness.

He failed twice in bids for spots in House leadership. He ran a gutsy campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976 but finished second to Jimmy Carter. He never played the role he wanted to in foreign policy or accomplished much in later years on his wide array of campaign-finance-reform ideas.

His first wife divorced him, his second committed suicide. He lost his right eye in a childhood accident and almost die twice--of spinal meningitis as a child and of pneumonia as an adult.

In 1979, he was diagnosed with Parkinson's disease, a debilitating affliction that made in maddeningly and progressively more difficult for him to control his body's movements, probably leading to his fall down a flight of stairs in January that has left him hospitalized ever since.

But Udall had a coping mechanism that made him famous: a sense of humor that has endeared him to Democratic crowds but may have doomed his presidential aspirations.

page 243

It was no mistake that Udall named his 1987 smorgasbord of political wit and memories "Too Funny to be President." Voters, openly wondered whether someone who loved a joke as much as Udall was serious enough to lead the nation.

POKING FUN AT HIMSELF

Throughout his career, Udall has laughed at life's ironies and others' foibles, but mostly he has laughed at himself.

After an unsuccessful run for House majority leader in 1970, he turned his buttons reading "MO" upside down to read "low."

His favorite story is rooted in Manchester, NH, in the early days of his campaign for the presidency.

Udall ducked into a barbershop and announced, "Hi, I'm Mo Udall, and I'm running for president."

"Yeah," the barber said, "we were just laughing about that this morning."

Udall never took himself too seriously and even chastised his fellow lawmakers for not loosening up and telling a few jokes once in a while.

"Politicians who use humor effectively are a declining breed," he wrote in "Too Funny to be President," his most recent of four books.

"I'm mystified by this, especially so because experience suggests that humor is possible the most potent tool a politician can wield."

KEEPS JOKES ON FILE

It might be said that Udall takes humor seriously. He has indexed jokes in stacks of black binders in his office, pulling out exactly the right punch line at exactly the right moment.

It has been Udall's way of doing business, putting people at ease and slipping in his agenda.

In the 30 years Udall has served in Congress, there never has been a hint of scandal. In 1989, U.S. News & World Report named him one of a dozen members of Congress whose integrity is "beyond question."

His personal qualities and almost total lack of enemies are what have gotten Udall by, because, by most yardsticks, this liberal Democrat has been out of step with his state politically.

In 1967, he was one of the first congressman to call for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, reversing his earlier position in favor of the war.

In his 1976 run for the Democratic presidential nomination, Udall presented himself as the liberal alternative to Carter and surprised many observers with his second-place finish.

Although he has been virtually deified in environmental circles, he has incurred their wrath by working for Arizona water projects, particularly the Central Arizona Project.

"On the whole, he has been excellent on all public-lands issues and has worked diligently protecting the nation's natural resources," said Mike Matz, Washington director of the Sierra Club public-lands program.

"If there was any disappointment at all, it was his stand on water projects, sort of a provincial interest that Arizona needed."

ELECTED IN 1961

Udall, the son of a pioneer Mormon family, was elected to Congress in 1961, to fill the spot vacated when his brother was tapped by President Kennedy to be interior secretary. Mo Udall won the 2d Congressional District seat by less than 3,000 votes and has been there ever since. His only serious challenge came in 1978 from a Republican upstart, Tom Richey, and a public that had been rattled by the airing of

Udall's liberal views during his * * * breakthrough victory in any of the presidential primaries would have made him a possible victor over Carter.

His staff concentrated on winning in Wisconsin, and early in the evening, several networks showed him succeeding. But, overnight, as the returns trickled in from rural areas, Udall's slim lead disappeared.

He finished second to Carter in seven primaries.

"The voters have spoken, the bastards," he joked.

Udall considered running for president again in 1984 but decided against it because of his Parkinson's disease.

In interviews, which grew increasingly rare in his later years in office, Udall clearly was frustrated that he was forced to defend his health, and he announced his candidacies early to dispel rumors that he was about to quit.

"It is not a fun illness," Udall wrote of his affliction in 1989, 2 days after The Arizona Republic had called on him to retire.

"It makes me stiff and causes me to lose facial expression. I sometimes think it is a more painful disease for others to witness than it is for me to bear. It is a disease that I will not die from but I will die with."

SUPPORT FROM GOLDWATER

Despite the ravages of Parkinson's and arthritis that left him in recent years stooped, palsied and sometimes able to talk only in an inaudible whisper, Udall fought on, with the encouragement of Goldwater and others.

"This letter just contains a great big prayer for your speedy recovery and a big ,nuts' to those who say to come home," Goldwater wrote to Udall after The Republic's call for his resignation.

"Tell them to go to hell."

In 1990, Goldwater contributed \$55 to Udall's campaign and told him, "I've always supported you, and I think it's time this old Republican quit hiding behind the bush. Good luck to you.

"You've done this State more damn good than anyone I know."

In 1990, Udall said that he would run for one last term, and that in his final 2 years, he hoped to complete two projects: establishment of a trust fund using offshore oil-drilling and gas fees to purchase wilderness areas, and getting "wild and scenic" designations for various Arizona rivers and riparian areas so they would be safe from development.

However, he has not spent a day in his office since this term began. The chances for the trust-fund bill look iffy at best; the legislation concerning wild and scenic rivers hasn't even been written.

Udall once said that he hopes to be remembered as "somebody who cared about the land deeply, who left a legacy of national parks and wilderness areas and resource policies that give future generations some idea of what kind of love of the land and environment that I've always felt."

Though he often said he wanted to step aside early enough to enjoy a rich life after Congress, he always had one more job he wanted to do.

"I will know when the time is right for me to step down," Udall wrote in 1989.

"I've got work to do. The fat lady ain't sung for this congressman."

On Friday, the fat lady sang for Morris King Udall.

LEGISLATIVE SUCCESSES

Here are some of the major accomplishments of Representative Morris K. Udall during his 30 years in Congress:

Sponsored law setting aside more than 100 million acres in Alaska for national parks and wilderness, doubling the size of the national-park system.

page 245

(Newspaper Tributes: Part 3 of 6)

Sponsored law that last year set aside 2.3 million acres of land in Arizona for official designation as wilderness.

Sponsored law requiring mining companies to restore land where they have worked to its previous state after ceasing operations.

Led movement that resulted in the U.S. Postal Service's being made a semiprivate corporation.

Helped write campaign-finance-reform laws that led to the creation of political-action committees.

Negotiated first of what is expected to be many water-rights settlements with Arizona Indian tribes, for the Tohono O'odham Tribe in southern Arizona. The settlements will establish claims to water rights of all communities and landowners in Arizona.

Sponsored an Indian mineral-development act that permits individual tribes to enter negotiations with mining companies and prospectors so a tribe can negotiate the best possible return on its resources.

As chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, was instrumental in getting funding for the Central Arizona Project, which diverts Colorado River water for use in the Valley and Tucson.

Sponsored law recognizing traditional Indian religions and protecting their practice on public lands.

[From the Phoenix Gazette, April 20, 1991]

MO'S DEPARTURE ENDS GLORIOUS CHAPTER

(By John Kolbe)

The last flickering reminder of a bygone era of Arizona politics has finally gone out.

When Morris King Udall, diminished by insidious disease to a shell of the giant who once bestrode Capitol Hill with incomparable dignity, wit and intelligence, called it quits after 30 years in Congress, he brought an end to a long and glorious chapter of Arizona's political history.

The once-lanky, now-stooped, Congressman was a practitioner of the kinder, gentler politics of yesterday. But he was more.

In a very real sense, he was a bridge between the clubby bipartisanship of Arizona's first half-century, when friendship outranked ideology and State preceded party, and the image-oriented, headline-grabbing, get-a-leg-up politics that evolved in the 1960's and 1970's.

His manner--ever gentle, self-effacing and patient -- evoked that earlier time, but his politics--unabashedly liberal, environmentally attuned, socially compassionate, all tinged with the reformer's zeal and an engaging candor--were thoroughly modern.

Gone now are all the other paragons of that old school, who preceded him to the exit.

Barry Goldwater has retired to his mountaintop, joined there by old-politics gurus Paul Fannin, Jack Williams and John Rhodes. Carl Hayden, Ernest MacFarland, Howard Pyle and Wesley Bolin have long since passed on, and legislative giants like Stan Turley and Burton Barr have sought quieter pursuits.

Either natives or decades-ago transplants, these were men (women hardly needed apply) whose leadership was suffused with a palpable love affair with their State, and was seldom sullied by rank partisanship.

page 246

Only Rose Mofford, an accidental leader whose life in Arizona government stretched from Pearl Harbor to Kuwait, remained as a reminder of those ways, and she, too, has quickly faded.

Udall's departure finally closes history's circle.

In their place has grown up an Arizona populated by baby-boomers and refugee snow-shovelers, people who can't remember when Midwesterners flocked here for their sinuses, who have never driven to Tucson on a two-lane highway and who certainly can't envision the stubby Westward Ho as Phoenix's preeminent skyscraper.

It's an Arizona now governed by a man who hadn't even moved in when Udall was already waging his second battle to unseat a House leader (which, like the first, was unsuccessful).

Talk about newcomers. He'd completed 10 terms by the time a retired Navy captain named McCain showed up in Arizona.

But seeing Udall only as a symbol distorts the vision.

Symbols, after all, are icons of a sort, and this most unpretentious of men, who raised humorous self-depreciation to an art form, never got the hang of iconhood.

Of course, he never even tried.

"I got out of the race because of illness," he used to say, after losing a string of 1976 Presidential primaries to Jimmy Carter in the first serious stab at the White House by a House Member in decades. "Voters got sick of me."

What Udall did try, and with stunning success, was legislative and political business.

For all the endless jokes that punctuated his speeches and oiled his uncanny skill at bringing antagonists together, Udall was first and last a man of substance. In an age when politicians point to study committees and pilot projects as evidence of great achievement, he leaves a legislative legacy of prodigious dimensions.

He led a bitter fight (on Carter's behalf, ironically) for the most sweeping civil service reform in a century, and steered major civil rights bills through the House floor in 1964.

Historic legislation regulating the reclamation of strip mines bore his signature, as did a bill--which he counts as his proudest achievement--nearly doubling the National Park System and setting aside 55 million acres for Alaska natives in one fell swoop. He tripled the wilderness system, secured funding for dam safety projects and midwifed the settlement of major Indian water claims.

He restructured the post office into a pseudo-corporate empire, earned undying affection from his colleagues (but not taxpayers) by making it easier to raise congressional pay, rewrote campaign finance laws and led a revolt of House Turks which democratized the rigid seniority system of picking committee chairmen.

And, of course, there was the Central Arizona Project, now nearing completion, the fulfillment of a dream as old as statehood to water the desert with the Colorado River.

Udall was a key player in the 1960's, along with Senator Carl Hayden and Representative John Rhodes, in securing authorization of the project, and was the player in assuring that the Federal money to build it didn't dry up. Many observers doubt the CAP could be passed in today's pro-environmental climate.

Much of this incredible legacy, say friends, is due to his gentility, his bent for peacemaking.

"The Interior Committee was more a forum for accommodation than confrontation," said Mike Rappaport, a utility lobbyist and longtime confidant of Udall's. "The common theme in all his negotiations was fairness. He always saw to it that everyone got a seat at the table, and that nobody went away without getting something."

Not surprisingly, by the 1980's, Udall was showing up regularly in polls of his colleagues as "most respected" and "most effective."

page 247

That's why, according to one old friend, it was so painful in December when 43 colleagues voted "no" on the secret ballot to retain him as chairman. His own reform had returned to bite him.

Once his abortive bid for national office had sated his restless ambition for a larger stage, Udall in 1977 seemed to find peace in the House, assuming the committee gavel for the first time and diving into legislative arcana with a passion few could match.

But that immersion produced more than bills. It brought with it a belief that he was indispensable (indeed, to CAP backers, he was) and an inability to imagine life anywhere else.

As a result, he resisted friendly suggestions to step down, even as the disease sapped his strength and dulled his once-acute mind. "Then what would I do?" he asked a friend plaintively.

"The rhythms of the House were his music," observed Jim McNulty, a close friend of four decades who served there with him for 2 years. "He felt he could play them better than anyone else, and you know, he was probably right." It was perhaps Udall's only concession to vanity.

Luckily for him, and more luckily for those he served so long and faithfully, his awesome legacy of political reform, environmental protection, gentle humor and unfailing decency is beyond the reach of the squabblers to disturb.

The political flame may be gone, but the light it cast will shine.

[From The Phoenix Gazette, April 20, 1991]

FROM THE LIP

MO KNOWN FOR ZINGING POLITICS, SELF WITH WIT

(By Sean Griffin)

Mo Udall has been prone to tell jokes at his own expense.

He has frequently referred to himself as "a legend in my own mind." He has described himself as a one-eyed, divorced ex-Mormon from St. Johns, AZ -- a town so small that it "wasn't quite the end of the Earth, but you sure as hell could see it from there."

To a certain degree, Udall has defined political humor on Capitol Hill since the Kennedy administration.

"He may have invented the parody salutation," political humorist Mark Russell said. "He would link various issues and get that irony in that salutation. He'd say 'My fellow taxpayers, right-to-lifers and other advocates of the death penalty.'"

If Udall was known at all when he arrived in Washington in 1961, it was as the younger brother of Interior Secretary Stewart Udall.

That all changed the following year at the annual dinner of the Radio and Television Correspondents Association.

"Mo was completely unknown. We giggled at his crew and his turquoise belt buckle but didn't know what to expect. He was an overnight success. Immediately, everybody in town knew his name," Russell said.

Washington discovered in 1962, as humorist Erma Bombeck wrote later, that "Mo Udall is one of the fastest wits in the West and shoots straight from the lips."

His wit and family connections combined to open doors in the Kennedy administration when he needed it. And the wit and respect he had garnered prompted party bosses in 1974 to push Udall into challenging Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

page 248

All those experiences, including the pain of coming within a strand of beating Carter in seven key primaries, became grist for the mirth mill. When he wrote his schizophrenic 1988 humor book/memoir, "Too Funny To Be President," he filled its pages with anecdotes from the campaign trail.

After losing the New Hampshire primary, he voiced the view that novelist Thomas Wolfe was wrong. "You can go home again. In fact, the people of New Hampshire insisted on it in my case."

On the morning after a bitterly disappointing defeat to Carter in the 1976 Wisconsin primary -- a defeat so narrow the Milwaukee Sentinel had proclaimed "Carter Upset By Udall" -- the lanky Arizonan pointed to the reporters' notebooks and suggested that they "take those statements I made last night and every instance where you find the word 'win,' strike it and insert the word 'lose.'"

Asked how it felt to come in second for the seventh time, Udall replied: "In the grand scheme of things, not everyone can be first. As you may recall, even George Washington, the Father of our Country, married a widow."

Udall has always thought of humor as a tonic for personal and political setbacks.

"For one thing, it helps you roll with the punches -- and there are a lot of punches in politics," Udall wrote.

He often quoted Abraham Lincoln, who when asked in the face of Civil War and personal tragedy how he could tell jokes, replied, "I laugh because I must not cry."

"Too Funny To Be President" was a 5-year labor of anguish. Like much of Udall's political efforts, the book represented a compromise with an unyielding opponent: his editor at Henry Holt and Co.

The editor wanted a Udall memoir. The equally intransigent Udall, who rigorously guarded his privacy, wanted to write a book of political humor, including the gems from his 40-year collection of jokes and anecdotes.

The impasse finally broke when Udall agreed to let his son Randy interview him about his personal and political lives. The result was a book that is half joke book and the rest autobiography.

"Wit is something more than oratorical ornament," Udall wrote in his 1988 book. "It is a gentle pry bar with which to open the minds of your constituents and colleagues."

Udall was a student of humor as well as a practitioner, and he has often been compared to some of the enduring political humorists of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Russel said Udall "was in the same vein with Will Rogers and Mark Twain. There's no mean-spiritedness with Mo. It's like Will Rogers said: 'Don't get me wrong. I like these politicians. I'm just trying to understand them.'"

Sometimes Udall would tell jokes that might now be considered to have demeaning references to women and ethnic groups. But as often as not, he could carry it off.

"I heard him tell a joke about Irishmen at a dinner that must have had 2,000 people, including the Irish ambassador," said Erik Barnett, Udall's press secretary. "You'd almost be embarrassed about that sort of thing, but the fact of the matter is Mo's the only one who could have done it and gotten away with it."

His ability to do so is evident from reading the jokes in his book. Women or Indians or Catholics or Italians are never the objects of the jokes; they merely set the stage.

One of Udall's favorite stories involved a politician giving a speech on an Indian reservation. Every time the politician made a promise, the Indians would interrupt him, enthusiastically chanting "Goomwah!" After the speech, the tribal leader presents the politician with a pony.

As the politician leads the pony away, the chief calls after him, "Be careful you don't step in the goomwah."

Nothing irritated Udall more than long-winded introductions. As a young lawyer, asked to introduce Democratic Presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson at a Tucson

fund-raiser, Udall told the crowd: "Our guest tonight is, in that time-honored cliché, a man who needs no introduction. And I'll be damned if I'm going to give him one."

Among his favorite collections are introductions that went awry, including one where the speaker was introduced as the virgin of the Governor Islands and another where a Member of Congress was described as a person "who is equal to few and superior to none."

He has surrounded himself with evidence of his foibles. Next to his desk hangs a framed front-page of the 1976 Milwaukee Sentinel proclaiming his victory over Carter. Next to it, but less conspicuous, is a framed quotation from Will Rogers: "We come here for just a spell and then pass on. So get a few laughs and do the best you can. Live your life so that whenever you lose you are ahead."

[From The Phoenix Gazette, April 20, 1991]

ALWAYS A LEADER, ALWAYS A PRANKSTER

(By Clay Thompson)

Morris King Udall was born to a life of public service.

And good humor.

The man who announced his retirement from Congress on Friday is recalled by friends of his youth as a leader, an athlete, a prankster and gifted lawyer.

"He was a leader of his friends," said Charlie Patterson, a retired auto dealer who grew up with Udall in remote St. Johns in eastern Arizona.

"We always had something to do, be it throw rotten eggs together or working on baling crews together. We did a little bit of everything that came up."

"He was a leader. He inspired other kids to work harder."

Patterson and others credit Udall's success to his parents. Udall was born June 15, 1922, in St. Johns, which was founded by his Mormon pioneer grandfather. He was the fourth of six children of Levi Stewart Udall, a correspondence-school lawyer who went on to become chief justice of the Arizona Supreme Court, and Louis Lee Udall, a schoolteacher who installed in her children a will to succeed.

"Someplace early he learned to achieve, and I think that came from his family," Patterson said.

"The big influence on him, and on all of us, was our mom and dad," and Burr Udall, the youngest child and a lawyer in Tucson.

"They were both very strong people. They always taught and prodded and hollered that we had to get an education to succeed.

"If you say anything, say that my dad had a lot of influence on us all, and probably the one who had the most influence was my mom in her own quiet way," Burr Udall said.

"They were our parents. They taught us what they believed in, what they stood for," said Elms. Udall, one of Morris' three sisters.

"One time my mother was complaining about all the things my father was involved in--in church and politics -- and my father said, 'If good men don't run for office and try to make things go, the bad men will,'" said Elma Udall, 73.

"They believed if you want a better world, you should go out and do it," she said.

The Udalls talked. Talked and read. There was no television, of course, and their radios pulled in only two stations.

"We sat around and talked, and we did a lot of that. And we did a lot of reading," Burr Udall said. "The lights went out at 10 p.m., and we each had a flashlight and we'd read in bed."

page 250

A life of public service was more or less a given in the Udall family, Burr Udall said. "Making money was not a goal at all. That never had anything to do with it."

"Our parents taught us to work hard, do what was right and that whatever you did you were supposed to be honest about it," he said.

LOSS OF AN EYE

Morris Udall lost his right eye to a friend's rusty pocketknife when he was 6. Much has been made of the future Congressman overcoming this early adversity, but Burr Udall only recalled his brother taking the loss in stride.

"I don't think it ever had much to do with anything," he said.

Instead, Burr Udall recalls the regular shipments of glass eyes from Salt Lake City and the evenings in the living room when the whole family gathered around young Morris to fit a new eye.

"It was a family job. Everybody would pick out eyes and try them in the socket until they found one that would fit."

MORMON INFLUENCE

Although Morris Udall, like Burr and his older brother, Stewart, would later fall away from the church, the Mormon faith in which they were raised also was a major influence.

"It's a church for everything," said Jim McNulty, a former Arizona Congressman and friend of Udall's since their college days. "It's a church for your religious disposition, your attitude, your education, your social obligations. Their lives revolved around the church."

"He was at odds with the church on a number of things, certainly with the feeling (at the time) that black people were not worthy to share in the experience," McNulty said.

HIGH SCHOOL ATHLETE

Whether it was stuffing rotten eggs in the pipes of a circus calliope or serving as student council president, Morris Udall always seemed to be where the action was in St. Johns, friends recall.

He shook off a childhood bout with spinal meningitis and grew to be a tall, strapping athlete. In high school he played basketball and football, and at halftime, still in uniform, played the trumpet in the school band.

He even commanded the attention of opposing teams.

"I remember when we were seniors in high school and the basketball team went down and played five schools in Mesa, Phoenix, and Tempe and beat them all," Patterson said.

"Our uniforms didn't even match. We were playing Phoenix Union, which was the biggest high school in the State, and they had this fancy little cart that they pulled around to bring water to the players. All we had was a gallon jug. Morris watched this for a while and then he mentioned it to them and they brought that water cart to us."

WWII AND PRO BALL

World War II, which broke out when Morris Udall was 19 and a freshman at the University of Arizona, was, at the time at least, "the most important event of my young life, and I longed to be part of it," he wrote in his book "Too Funny To Be President."

First rejected as a one-eyed 4-F, Udall eventually found his way into the Army Air Force and ended up on Iwo Jima, 155 days after the invasion, "with a piano and an assortment of softball gloves, bats and balls."

page 251

He returned to the University of Arizona in 1946, played center for the Wildcats, graduated in 1948 and spent a year playing professional basketball for the Denver Nuggets, no relation to the present NBA team. During Udall's year with the Nuggets, the team set a league record for most consecutive losses, and folded at the end of the season. Udall returned to Tucson to practice law with Stewart.

"He was very good with a jury," McNulty said. "He was one of the most persuasive people who ever lived."

PRANKSTER ATTORNEY

Charles Ares, a University of Arizona law professor and onetime member of the Udalls' firm, said Morris Udall "could put himself in the shoes of a jury and know exactly what was going to influence them. He was a great lawyer."

He was a great lawyer who was not above a good prank. Ares recalled the Udalls winning a civil lawsuit against the Southern Pacific railroad, which was not prompt in paying the damages their client won.

"Mo and Stewart sat down and faked up a writ of execution that directed the sheriff to proceed to the Southern Pacific depot on such and such a date and such and such a time and seize property of said railroad, to wit, a locomotive called the Sunset Limited.

"They had it delivered to the railroad's lawyers. It virtually blew the top off their building."

FIRST POLITICAL VENTURE

In 1952, Udall, just three years out of University of Arizona law school, successfully ran for Pima County attorney. It was the first political step on the road to Washington.

And it was the beginning of his lifelong collection of stories, jokes and anecdotes.

"One of the first cases I prosecuted involved a man accused of drunk driving." Udall wrote in "Too Funny To Be President."

"The defendant surprised me by hauling in five of his drinking buddies to attest to his sobriety on the night in question. In summation, I told the jury that the defense's argument reminded me of the bartender who shoved the last five patrons out the door at closing time. When the group reached the car, the leader turned to one of the men and said, "Simpson, you drive, you're too drunk to sing."

After he won the case, the judge took Udall aside, told him another joke and complimented him on his skilled use of humor.

"This was an epiphany," Udall wrote. "An apt yam, which took less than a minute to tell, could be more persuasive than an hour of logical argument.

"From that moment on, I began to collect funny stories and use them regularly in opening and closing statements. . . . As I made the transition from attorney to politician, the use of humor came naturally, and over the years it served me when nothing else could."

'HE STALKED IN'

Tom Chandler, a longtime Tucson attorney and a courtroom opponent of Udall's on many occasions, called him "one of the best courtroom lawyers I've ever seen, if not the best."

"He was very bright. He worked hard. He had a great appreciation for the law, and he had a keen understanding of people and how to get them to do what he wanted them to do," Chandler said.

"He didn't amble into the courtroom, he stalked in. When the judge called the case and asked if he was ready, Morris would stand up and say 'I'm ready,' and he meant it. He was ready. He was always prepared. If you weren't careful, he'd have

page 252

the judge and the jury and clerk of court in the wagon and down the road without you.,,

DEFERRED TO STEWART

Udall considered a run for Congress in 1954, but deferred to Stewart. He ran for a county judgeship and blamed his loss on a confusing ballot that made his name virtually impossible to find.

In 1960, President Kennedy named Stewart Udall as Secretary of State, and Morris won a special election to fill his brother's congressional seat.

"Morris always knew what buttons to push, what we had to do to get people to do what he wanted them to do," Burr Udall said.

"Morris and Stewart both were always involved in politics," he said. "Being raised the way we were, that's what they did."

[From the Arizona Republic, April 21, 1991]

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF UDALL STAND THE TEST OF TIME

(By Keven Willey)

I will miss Mo Udall when he leaves Congress next month. So will the rest of Arizona.

Indeed, I have a special place in my heart for Morris King Udall. He was elected to Congress the year before I moved to Arizona. He doesn't know it, but Udall is the first elected official I ever met.

It was at a conference in Tucson, probably in the late 1960s. I wasn't old enough to vote, but I remember shaking hands with the lanky congressman with the quick wit and friendly smile. I forget what he said to me then, but I remember thinking he sounded wise.

I guess what impressed me most about Udall back then was the fact that my father, not normally a fan of liberal Democrats, respected Mo Udall. He probably even voted for him a few times before he moved out of Udall's district. He thought Udall was honest, straightforward and uncommonly constructive in his approach to solving problems.

He was. And is.

Indeed, it's difficult to write a column commemorating a man who has become a beloved Arizona institution, and who is about to retire, without making it sound like an obituary.

Udall isn't dead. He's just stepping aside.

Nevertheless, the prospect of an Arizona congressional delegation without Udall in it for the first time in 30 years is a sad one. That's because Udall's basic human decency, old-fashioned commitment to public service and inviolate inner strength make him a national treasure.

Critics blasted the federal water as a multibillion-dollar boondoggle and almost succeeded several times in killing its funding.

Almost, but not quite.

Probably his proudest achievement is the Alaska Lands Act of 1980. It's appropriate that a man who arrived in Washington shortly after Alaska became a state was the chief architect of an Alaskan measure that doubled the size of the national-park system and tripled the size of the national-wilderness system.

Some call it the most important conservation legislation since Theodore Roosevelt created the national-park system.

More important to Arizona was Udall's winning passage in 1984 of the Wilderness Act. This measure set aside more than a million acres in Arizona for protection as

page 253

wilderness. He has sought to expand those protections to other areas in the state ever since.

In his earlier years, Udall challenged Congress' seniority system and forced through civil-service reforms designed to streamline the federal bureaucracy. He authored a major stripmining law, was a leading force in Indian water-rights settlements and helped steer civil-rights legislation through Congress in 1964.

In short, Udall has come a long way from his birthplace of St. Johns, the tiny hamlet his grandfather, David King Udall, staked out in eastern Arizona when he and 50 other Mormon families settled there from Utah in 1880.

[From the Arizona Republic, April 22, 1991]

POOR HEALTH FORCES UDALL'S RESIGNATION--WILL QUIT IN MAY AFTER 30 YEARS

(By Sam Negri, Mary Jo Pitzi, and Martin Van Der Werf)

TUCSON.--A physically debilitated Representative Morris K. Udall, whose wit and wisdom have been credited with reshaping Congress and the American landscape, announced through his staff Friday that he will resign his 30-year seat in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Udall's resignation, effective May 4, came in a one-sentence letter to House Speaker Thomas Foley. A copy of the letter was sent to Governor Fife Symington, who will call for a special primary election to be held in the dead of summer.

Udall, a liberal Democrat who once ran for president, will step down two days after the 30th anniversary of his election to the first of his 16 terms as the representative from Arizona's 2d Congressional District. Udall won the seat vacated by his brother, Stewart, who resigned in 1961 to serve as Interior Secretary in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

The May 4 resignation date was established "because it was important to 'Mo' -- he always wanted to hit the 30-year mark," said Matt James, Udall's administrative assistant.

During his tenure, Udall spearheaded efforts to pass a number of notable laws in fields ranging from the environment to campaign and civil-service reform. And he led successful efforts to streamline legislative procedures and to overturn strict seniority rules for picking committee chairmen.

Udall's colleagues in Congress were quick to bemoan his departure, focusing primarily on what he has meant to environmental issues.

"I am convinced that for generations now and to come, whenever Americans shoulder a backpack to explore that part of the country where the skies are ever clear and the air is refreshingly cool, Mo Udall will be remembered," said Foley, (D-WA) one of Udall's closest friends.

Senator John McCain, (R-AZ) said, "Thousands of beautiful, natural settings around this country ... offer silent testimony to his commitment to assuring the preservation of our natural heritage for generations to come."

RESIGNATION WAS RUMORED

Friday's announcement put the official stamp on what had become a poorly kept secret. Udall's health, weakened through a 12-year battle with Parkinson's disease, a degenerative disorder, worsened after a January 6 fall at his Virginia home. The fall has left him hospitalized ever since with several broken bones.

In the past month, and with greater fury in the past week, rumors flew that resignation was imminent.

"Mo was probably the most popular person in Congress," Stump said.

page 254

"He was a master at compromise, in keeping people at the meeting table. I just don't think he had an enemy."

"LASTING IMPRINT ON WORLD"

Anne Udall, 36, one of Udall's six children and the only family member who attended the Tucson news conference, said her father has made "a lasting imprint on the world he lives in, and no one could ask for more."

Udall is the senior member of Arizona's congressional delegation. At the helm of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee since 1977, he has been the only current Arizona congressman to hold a committee chairmanship.

Although a date for the election of Udall's successor has not been set, the scramble for succession has begun.

Maricopa County Supervisor Ed Pastor is expected to announce next week, and county officials already are organizing to select Pastor's replacement. Tucson Mayor Tom Volgy has said he will make an announcement by May 4. Former U.S. Representative Jim McNulty also is considered a potential contender. All three are Democrats.

Republicans also are seeking a candidate from the predominantly Democratic district.

State law gives Symington until May 14 to call a special primary election. The election period would fall from July 18 to August 17. The general election must occur 35 to 45 days after that.

Symington said at another Tucson news conference, held two hours after the resignation announcement, that he will meet Monday with Attorney General Grant Woods and Secretary of State Dick Mahoney to work out an election schedule.

Symington, a Republican, described Udall as "an Arizona legend" and said he "has been an inspiration to me personally as well as to my entire generation."

Senator Dennis DeConcini, Arizona's only other Democrat in Washington, said of his colleague, "He will be missed. Udall had no enemies. He was a challenger who was able to take on the system."

POEM SPEAKS OF LAWMAKER'S PLIGHT

Representative Morris K. Udall's brother, Stewart, a former Arizona congressman and secretary of the interior, has been an outspoken voice in his family urging his brother to step down.

After visiting his brother in a Washington hospital last month, Stewart Udall composed a poem, "Elegy at a Brother's Bedside."

The poem, which begins with a quote from Shakespeare's "King Lear," follows:

The eyes are open, but the sense is shut.
Like the hawks he knew as a boy,
His spirit soared and darted here.
And now, crushed, we see him supine,

His face fixed in an empty gaze.
Our vigil is to no avail.
Gone is the wit which sped the dance of laughter,
Gone the lambent lacework of the mind.
What savage civility impels us to prolong "life" when the fight for life is over?
When will we allow loving hands to close lives that have closed?

page 255

(Newspaper Tributes: Part 4 of 6)

[From the Arizona Republic, April 22,1991]

MORRIS K. UDALL

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Here are the political highlights of Representative Morris K. Udall, (D-AZ) who was born June 15, 1922, in St. Johns:

1950-52 -- Serves as Pima County's chief deputy attorney.

1953-54 -- Serves as Pima County attorney.

1956 -- Delegate for the first time to the Democratic National Convention.

May 2, 1961 -- Elected to Congress from the 2d District, filling a seat vacated by his brother, Stewart Udall, who resigned to join the Kennedy administration as secretary of the interior.

1962 -- Re-elected to a full term. Udall has been re-elected every 2 years since.

1967 -- Becomes the first major House Democrat to speak out against the Vietnam War.

1969 -- Loses bid to become House speaker.

1971 -- Loses bid to become House majority leader.

1973-74 -- Sponsors legislation that creates the Federal Election Commission and establishes public funding for presidential races.

1976 -- Finishes second to Jimmy Carter in the race for the Democratic nomination for president.

1977 -- Becomes chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

October 1979 -- Discloses that he has Parkinson's disease but says it will not affect his ability to serve in Congress.

1980 -- Wins passage of major wilderness legislation.

1984 -- Considers a second presidential run but decides against it.

1987 -- Supports construction of astronomical observatory on Mount Graham. Three years later, Udall will move for a probe of the controversial project.

1988 -- Democrats pay tribute to Udall at their party's national convention.

1989 -- Pushes new wilderness bill.

1990 -- Announces that his run for re-election will be his last.

UDALL WIT, WISDOM, HARD ROAD FOR ARIZONANS

Renowned for his story-telling genius and self-mocking humor, Representative Morris K. Udall once lamented that he, former Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt and former Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona all had lost bids for the presidency.

"Arizona," Udall said, "is the only state where mothers don't tell their children they can grow up to be president."

IT'S BETTER THAN NOTHING

"I am often accused of having a sense of humor," Udall once wrote.

"And I always say, 'It's better to have a sense of humor than no sense at all.'"

ENCOUNTER WITH A "VOTER"

At a political reception in Boston during the race for the Democrats' 1976 presidential nomination, Udall stuck out his hand to the nearest gentleman and said, "Hi, I'm Mo Udall, and I'd like your vote."

The man looked up, and Udall realized he was shaking hands with Birch Bayh, an Indiana senator who also was running for the Democratic nomination.

"You're my second choice," Bayh replied, according to Udall.

page 256

DON'T COUNT ON DIGNITY

During the same campaign, Udall made a campaign flight from Phoenix to Los Angeles and on to Sacramento.

"But there was no crowd, no band, no press--hell, there wasn't even an advance man," Udall said.

"We had landed at the wrong airport, for God's sake, and there aren't that many airports in Sacramento.

"The indignity didn't stop there. We wound up at a hotel that night that told me I would be staying in the Gerald R. Ford Suite."

PLEASE TAKE A NUMBER

And there was the tale of another campaign stop in Sacramento.

"I got off the right plane at the right airport this time, and even found my staff and a small group of supporters," Udall said.

At the hotel, he told the clerk who he was.

"Yes," the clerk replied. "Now, if you wouldn't mind, just please take a number and join the rest of the candidates in the lounge."

"MO" UDALL, ANTI-CANDIDATE

When the party liberals urged Udall to challenge then-President Carter for the 1980 presidential nomination, he replied, "If nominated, I will run--for the Mexican border. If elected, I will fight extradition."

"PEOPLE HAVE LAST LAUGH"

Udall told of encountering a 70-year-old Wisconsin farmer during the 1976 campaign. "Where you from, son?" the farmer asked.

"Washington, DC," Udall replied.

"You've got some pretty smart fellas back there, ain't ya?" the farmer said.

"Yes, Sir, I guess we do."

"Got some that ain't so smart, too, ain't ya?"

"Well," Udall replied, "I guess that's true, too."

"Damn hard to tell the difference, ain't it?" the old-timer said with a chuckle.

Udall then concluded, "In a democracy, you see, the people always have the last laugh."

[From the Arizona Republic, May 4, 1991)

UDALL'S COURAGE IN '67 EXAMPLE FOR STATE'S DELEGATION TODAY

(By Joel Nilsson)

Today Morris K. Udall officially takes his leave from a 30-year distinguished career in Congress.

We can all look back upon his many fine moments and accomplishments.

I would like to highlight one.

In his witty book "Too Funny To Be President," Mr. Udall referred to an appearance in 1967 in Tucson as "one of the most difficult speeches of my career."

He knew his words to 2,800 constituents wouldn't be greeted warmly on this Sunday evening in October.

There was campus dissent against the Vietnam War, but it was confined mainly to a small cadre of protesters.

The American people, by and large, were supportive of President Johnson's policies. Representative Udall's brother, Stewart, was in the Cabinet.

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page 257

This wasn't only to be a change of mind, but a break from prevailing public opinion, from his party, from his president, from his brother and from his constituents.

His early support of the war was being supplanted by doubt and dismay, he told his audience. "Many of the wise old heads in Congress say privately that the best politics of this situation is to remain silent, to fuzz your views . . . to await developments . . .," Mr. Udall said.

"But I have come here tonight to say as plainly and simply as I can that I was wrong 2 years ago, and I firmly believe President Johnson's advisers are wrong today. I have listened to all the arguments of the administration, read all the reports available to me, attended all the briefings, heard all the predictions of an eventual end to hostilities, and I still conclude that we're on a mistaken and dangerous road."

Advocating the withdrawal of U.S. forces wasn't mainstream political rhetoric in 1967, yet that's what Mr. Udall did.

I ask you, when was the last time you heard a politician say he was wrong, or that he had had a change of heart?

If your memory is hazy it's probably because such public pronouncements are exceedingly rare.

There are reasons for this.

To fess up to the voters requires an uncommon inner strength, and these days courage isn't a trait that routinely crops up in conversations about the people we choose to represent our views.

To the contrary, great amounts of time and energy are taken to devise means to weasel and sidestep around difficult issues.

Supporters can become unnerved if somebody they've voted for suddenly reverses field. After all, it is far easier to stay the course, or worse, be totally silent.

Then, too, journalists--for the most part uncomfortable with Emerson's view of consistency being the hobgoblin of little minds--are particularly fond of pointing out these shifts in position, as if a reversal somehow isn't permissible.

It's as if circumstances and conditions do not change even though the clock ticks on. Mr. Udall saw the folly in so myopic a view, and he accepted the consequences of admitting he was wrong.

I only wish he had felt so predispose in the Phoenix Indian School controversy. Were he not ravaged by Parkinson's disease (and dependent upon staffs might such a change have been possible?

It's not too late for the rest of the delegation--Messrs. McCain, DeConcini, Kyl, Kolbe, Rhodes and Stump--to rectify so colossal a disgrace.

Why should Phoenicians have to pay the price -- a humongous development larger than all of downtown--so that thousands of acres of swampland can be added to the Everglades National Park in Florida?

"I never dreamed that our present delegation would cave in," former Senator Barry Goldwater wrote to a friend in May 1988, 6 months before the swap became law. "I just blew my stack" upon hearing of the deal, he said, calling the loss of the Indian School property "a crime."

About that same time Representative Bob Stump wrote to a friend that the swap was "a bad deal" concocted by Interior officials just so federal money wouldn't be spent to buy the swampland.

While the delegation sits idly on its thumbs, Phoenix Mayor Paul Johnson fights the best he knows how.

Interior likely will accept the awful land-use plan put forth by a citizens' committee even though it's been rejected by the City Council. Mr. Johnson says the city plans to file suit to block the plan from taking effect, and well it should.

There is a better way. Scrap the law.

page 258

The delegation should admit its error. For the price of 45 Patriot missiles Congress can buy the swampland.

What of the Indian School land?

It may be asking a lot to expect a gift. Don't get me wrong. I'm of the opinion Phoenicians would pay a fair price.

But an 88-acre park in tribute to Mo Udall's stewardship of public lands and his compassion for Indians would be hard to argue against.

It won't happen unless a member of the delegation steps forward. Any takers?

[From the Journal, May 16, 1991]

DISORDER IN A CHANGING HOUSE

(By Janet Hook)

The recent death of former Representative Richard Bolling of Missouri and the resignation of Representative Morris Udall of Arizona mark the departure of two of the most influential architects of the contemporary House as an institution. But in their legacy is a certain irony.

They were towering figures in the group of liberal Democrats who radically restructured power in the House in the 1970s. More than 80 percent of the Democrats now in the House arrived since 1974, a watershed in the multi-year drive to undercut the seniority system.

Most Democrats, in short, have known no House but the one Bolling and Udall helped build.

But that very House and the political system that feeds it now produce and attract few legislators like Bolling and Udall. The dominant political forces at work today systematically devalue two traits that helped these men leave their mark: a willingness to take risks and a commitment to political institutions larger than themselves.

On the face of it, one could hardly find two politicians more different in style and temperament. Udall, with his renowned wit, was one of the House's most affable members. Bolling, with his biting intelligence, was one of its most abrasive. Udall was a national figure, a symbol of liberalism after his unsuccessful run for the presidency in 1976. Bolling was the consummate insider, barely known outside the House and his district.

Both had aspirations to join the House Democratic leadership. Both failed in two attempts. Yet, despite their disappointments, both still managed to wield immense power within the House.

Udall, when he challenged the reelection of John W. McCormack as House speaker in 1969, made one of the first bold forays in the liberal assault on seniority that created the House as we know it today. Bolling opened the floodgates for 1960s social

legislation when he took on the Rules Committee's leadership in the landmark 1961 effort by liberals to expand the committee.

"What distinguished them from a lot of people today is they both were risk takers," says David R. Obey, (D-WI) who regards both men as mentors. "They both understood that political death is not when you lose an election; political death is when you have the power to do something and don't do it."

Their actions also bespeak a relationship with Congress that is far different from most members' today. At a time when Congress was almost as reviled by the public as it is now, Bolling and Udall tried to reform it.

To be sure, the post-1974 generation is not totally devoid of risk-takers and institutionalists, But all the incentives in current political arrangements promote cautious individualism.

page 259

In a system in which political parties are weak, institutional power is dispersed and ideology means little, House members are on their own. They have become skilled at and obsessive about securing their own political survival because they assume, probably rightly, that no one else will do it for them.

Increased individualism in politics has certainly had its advantages. The House Democratic Caucus of yesteryear probably had fewer mid-level members as skilled in particular areas of policy as, say, Henry Waxman of California on health or Stephen Solarz of New York on foreign affairs. But the resulting conglomerate of individuals' legislative accomplishments has not added up to a cohesive Democratic Party or a smoothly run legislature.

At work, says political writer Alan Ehrenhalt, is a "paradox of talent" in Congress over the last generation, as it became increasingly dominated by political careerists: "The membership became more and more competent and the institution more and more inept."

Especially compared with imposing figures such as Udall and Bolling, the post-1974 crowd starts to seem limited by the political equivalent of yuppie materialism. Many are impressive legislators, but most seem preoccupied with a public life devoted to individual achievement.

[From Politics in America, 102d Congress Edition, 1992]

MORRIS K. UDALL, HOUSE SERVICE: 1961-91

IN WASHINGTON: Udall's physical health turned out to be the final and most uncompromising obstacle in a long career marked by unfailing grace, enormous creativity, unstinting humor and frequent and disappointing defeat.

Udall's career came to a melancholy close in early 1991 after a combination of Parkinson's disease and injuries he suffered from a fall in his home barred him from

completing his final term. (He had already announced that he would retire at the end of the 102d Congress). In an April 19 letter to House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, Udall's wife announced that he would resign effective May 4.

Liberal reformer, presidential candidate, distinguished committee chairman, party raconteur: In his 30 years in Congress, Udall evolved from Young Turk to one of the House's most beloved elder statesmen. He used his assignment on the Interior Committee to make himself the chamber's most prolific author of environmental legislation, both before and after he became chairman in 1977.

Udall years ago gave up his House leadership ambitions, but if he had not suffered from Parkinson's disease, he might have become Speaker. No House Democrat could match Udall's combination of affection and respect among colleagues and sprightly wit; a healthy and ambitious Udall would have been the one credible rival to Jim Wright's 1986 accession as Speaker in the wake of the retirement of Thomas P. O'Neill Jr.

There was some irony in Udall's inability to claim the leadership role for which his long tenure in the House had prepared him. For most of his early career, he had the stamina and ambition to be a leader, but the House did not want to elect him.

In 1969, Udall was the Young Turk challenger to John W. McCormack for Speaker. While Udall never expected to oust McCormack, he did expect to become majority leader two years later, and most of his liberal allies expected it as well. But he lost badly to Hale Boggs of Louisiana, a man who had only recently recovered from the effects of a nervous collapse. Boggs offered no threat to the traditional power structure; Udall a critic of seniority, did.

That defeat marked the turning point in Udall's career. It ended his leadership hopes and drove him deeper into the legislative process, in which he had come to excel.

page 260

Udall's legislative career was striking evidence that a member of Congress can find important work to do anywhere in the committee system. For 20 years, Udall never had anything resembling a major assignment--he joined Interior in 1961 to work on Arizona land and mining issues and also went on Post Office at the leadership's request.

But his proficiency at enacting environmental legislation cloaked the difficulty and frustration that the process engendered. The House passed strip-mine control legislation three times, and twice failed to override President Ford's vetoes, before a bill reasonably close to what Udall wanted become law in 1977. It took 4 years for Congress to enact legislation dividing Alaska lands between development and wilderness. Two years of struggle ended in deadlock on the last day of the 95th Congress in 1978; a compromise Alaska bill finally passed in 1980.

The 98th Congress saw enactment, after years of bickering, of a bill designating more than 8 million acres of new federal wilderness in 20 states -- the first major addition to the wilderness system since 1964. The first wilderness bill to pass was for Arizona. In the 101st Congress. Udall ushered through bills designating more than 2 million acres in Arizona as wilderness.

Other major Udall ideas ran out of steam. His scheme to provide federal aid for local land-use planning as a solution to urban sprawl failed on the House floor amid charges that it smacked of socialism. As interest burgeoned in opening up the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling, Udall steered in a resolutely opposite direction, backing a bill to declare ANWR permanently off limits to development.

The 100th Congress dealt a blow to a key Udall accomplishment of the early 1980s. After a 3-year struggle, Congress in 1982 had approved legislation providing for orderly choice of nuclear-waste disposal sites based on safety and scientific criteria, not politics. That legislation was, in essence, reversed in 1987 when Congress voted to place the nuclear-waste dump in Nevada over the state's vociferous objections. Udall had sought unsuccessfully to delay the decision and to empower a high-level negotiator to find a willing state.

In his last few years as Interior chairman, Udall increasingly delegated responsibility for major bills to other senior members--particularly to his heir apparent, ranking Democrat George Miller of California. After Udall's fall, the Democratic Caucus elected Miller vice chairman of Interior, with all the powers of the chairman. When Udall resigned, Miller formally took the chairmanship.

Udall was never the kind of chairman who exacted retribution from members who crossed him. Indeed, he and Miller fought bitterly in 1988--with no apparent long-term effect on their relationship--over a bill of great interest to the Arizona Democrat. The measure made a controversial land swap that gave a developer some downtown Phoenix real estate in exchange for Florida lands needed for a wildlife refuge. Miller said the deal was a bad bargain for the taxpayer.

While working on these issues, Udall was doing what Arizona expected him to do on Interior--protecting the Central Arizona Project, the massive water system for which Udall struggled throughout his career.

Udall had what amounted to a second legislative front on the Post Office Committee. A resting place for many of the less ambitious House members, Post Office turned out to be a perfect vehicle for many of Udall's interests. In his first decade there he worked to revise the federal pay system, including the one for Congress, and to make the Postal Service a semi-private corporation. Much later, he won passage of President Carter's civil service reforms, to promote merit pay and more flexibility for managers.

Outside his committees, Udall spent more than 20 years pushing for changes in the political system, again with mixed results. He was chief sponsor of the 1971 bill that made the first real national rules for campaign finance, limiting expenditures

page 261

and contributions and providing for voluminous disclosure. But he failed repeatedly with legislation to establish public financing of congressional campaigns.

Udall's own campaign for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, as the leading liberal alternative to Jimmy Carter, left a curious record: He gained wide respect within his party and survived through to the convention in New York without ever winning anything.

Udall finished second in seven primaries and was declared the Wisconsin winner prematurely by two networks, but he never had a first-place finish. He would almost certainly have won in New Hampshire had former Senator Fred Harris not attracted liberal votes, but by the time Harris withdrew the next month, Carter was too strong to be headed off.

Udall eventually made his peace with Carter and was not one of the more outspoken critics during Carter's presidential term, but he endorsed Edward M. Kennedy's bid for the Democratic nomination in 1980. Eventually he receded into the elder statesman's role that allowed him to give the convention's keynote address. He thought about one more presidential campaign for himself in 1984, but gave the idea up to the realities of declining health.

Throughout his career, the lanky, soft-spoken Udall was distinguishable as one of the besthumored--and most humorous--figures in American politics. A favorite speaker at Democratic events, Udall wrote a book on political humor, published in 1988, titled "Too Funny to Be President."

"In the political arena," Udall has said, "laughter can be a tremendously powerful thing." He saw humor as a gentle way to disarm the opposition, gain a hearing for his own position and lighten up tense situations; he thought using sarcastic humor to devastate an opponent was a mistake.

"The best political humor, however sharp or pointed, has a little love behind it," he once said. "It's the spirit of the humor that counts.... Over the years it has served me when nothing else could."

AT HOME: Udall came to politics as a member of one of Arizona's best-known families. His father was a justice of the Arizona Supreme Court; his mother was a local Democratic activist.

A professional basketball player for the old Denver Nuggets despite the handicap of a glass eye, Udall entered law practice with his brother Stewart in 1949 and later was Pima County attorney while Stewart served in Congress. When Stewart Udall resigned from Congress in 1961 to become President Kennedy's interior secretary, Morris ran for the seat in a special election that drew attention as a test of Kennedy's first 100 days in office. Udall backed such Kennedy programs as federal aid to education and medical care for the aged. He won, but with only 51 percent. He was hurt by Stewart Udall's call for evacuation of farmers squatting on federal land along the Colorado River.

For years after that, Udall won easily. But in 1976 he drew less than 60 percent for the first time in a decade. His unsuccessful campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination that year had given high visibility to his liberal views. The presidential publicity generated expensive and bitterly fought House campaigns in 1978 and 1980, with Udall having to fight off heavy GOP spending--which he more than matched--and charges of "socialism" by his Republican challengers. In the 1980 campaign he admitted that he was suffering from Parkinson's disease, but still won by nearly 40,000 votes despite the Reagan presidential victory.

In 1982 Udall was faced with a difficult choice. Arizona's Republican Legislature divided his overpopulated 2d District in half, with part of his hometown of Tucson in each half. Udall had the option of running either in the redrawn 2d, which was safely Democratic but extended awkwardly all the way to Phoenix, where he had never run

before; or in the 5th, which kept more of his familiar Tucson precincts but included a strong Republican vote.

page 262

Udall and his Tucson Democratic allies prepared to challenge the Legislature's district map for unfairly splintering the Hispanic vote. The Legislature compromised and placed more of Tucson in the 2d. Udall won there easily.

Udall's 1986 primary challenge had its roots in 1982 redistricting, which made the 2d District Arizona's most heavily Hispanic constituency. State Senator Luis Gonzales decided it was time the district had Hispanic representation.

But he underestimated Udall's political strength. The incumbent, drawing on the strong support of top Hispanic leaders, many of whom regarded Gonzales' attempt merely as an effort to build name recognition for a future campaign, won going away.

No Democrat filed to run against Udall in 1988, and his perennial opponent, Joseph Sweeney, a former administrator of an unaccredited law school in Tucson, did not dent his typically huge general-election margin. Perhaps in deference to Udall's record and popularity, challengers stayed away in 1990. In his campaign swan song, Udall again crushed Sweeney.

[From UpFront, July 1991]

A TALE OF TWO CITIZENS

(By Bob Hulteen)

Most temporary residents of our nation's capital--in other words, elected representatives and their staff people--are eminently unmemorable. Personnel changes on Capitol Hill generally are merely cosmetic. But thus far in 1991, two dramatic changes have taken place, and they are worthy of note.

One of the great legislators and caretakers of the common good, Representative Morris Udall (D-AZ) retired on May 4 after more than 15 full terms in the House of Representatives. The Parkinson's disease that had plagued Udall for more than a decade and was exacerbated by a fall in his home finally took its toll. Udall could no longer fulfill his duties.

Few politicians have held the good of the country--all of it, especially its least protected elements--so close to their heart. Udall's integrity and wit combined to make him one of the most popular and effective members of Congress in memory.

On issues of water conservation, protection of federal lands, campaign finance reform, and the tribal rights of American Indians, Udall championed the well-being of the disempowered, the wilderness, and the future. This did not always bring him popularity in the Arizona district he had represented since 1961. Still, Udall's strong

commitment to principle and integrity brought him the support of many who disagreed with his politics.

"He was willing to take risks that no one else would," said Patty Marks, an attorney with a Washington, DC law firm representing a number of Indian Nations. "And under his leadership on the Interior Committee, Indian issues were not used as leverage to pass anything else in the House. Virtually all of the positive legislation to come out of Congress since his arrival has had Udall's stamp."

Udall is from a humble background, which gave him an attitude toward the Indian community quite different from many of his colleagues, according to Marks. While many Western congressional representatives have run anti-Indian election campaigns in order to get elected, Udall did not. His sensitivity caused him to invite Indians in for early dialogue on any issue that might affect them. Udall valued public discourse.

Reverend Richard Austin, an organizer behind the ground-breaking 1970s legislation to limit strip mining, recalls that Udall "had a level of conscientiousness and

page 263

care that was consistently impressive. He took ordinary people seriously--people who had rocks sliding into their backyards because of bad mining practices."

Udall was more interested in integrity in politics than in the limelight. After his barely unsuccessful run for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976, Udall said, "Beware of the presidential candidate who has no friends his own age and confidants who can tell him to go to hell, who has no hobbies and outside interests. God help us from presidents who can't be a little bit gentle, and who don't have a sense of humor."

One longtime political analyst recently said of Udall, "I wish he was young and just getting started, because we could really use someone as capable and committed as him now."

The other change in the Capital City is the death of Republican National Committee Chair Lee Atwater. After a year of fighting inoperable brain tumors, Atwater, barely 40, died on March 29.

Life magazine printed Atwater's reflections on his life and work shortly before he died. The pain of his struggle was evident in the photos, which presented a barely recognizable Atwater suffering the effects of intensive treatment. Even cynical political minds were moved.

An influential force in conservative ideological circles, Atwater was especially known for his zeal for negative campaign tactics--the attempt to misrepresent and distort facts simply to exploit the vulnerability of an opponent. He provided a down-home face to this negative style. Whereas John Sununu, Roger Ailes, William Bennett, and the rest of the negative ad club could never have popularized this style--they look too mean--Atwater was a young, cleanshaven, home boy from South Carolina.

His image made it possible for him to say in a 1980 South Carolina campaign that the Democratic candidate, who had been treated for depression by electroshock therapy as a teen-ager, should not be trusted since he had been "hooked up to jumper cables." As George Bush's campaign manager in 1988, he said that before the campaign was over,

he was going to make America think that Willie Horton was Michael Dukakis' running mate--racebaiting at its worst. As Bush talked about a kinder, gentler nation, Atwater's "wedge" politics created an uglier and more divided country.

Atwater pulled a page from Founding Father James Madison's blueprint for the nation. Madison had suggested to his peers (other landed, white men) that even in a democracy the elite can rule. If the "common people" can be divided enough, geographically and interest-wise, the privileged can protect their own interests.

Atwater lived by this divisive philosophy in politics. He argued that winning was easier than it seemed, since convincing the opponent's supporters to stay home was as good as convincing the undecided to vote for your candidate. Once "common people" are disempowered, the landed gentry extend their control. Negative advertising is at heart a strategy to undermine any vision for change.

Just before he died, Atwater wrote letters to a handful of people, mostly of his own class and race, apologizing for campaign attacks upon them. But letters to Dukakis and other "landed gentry" don't repair the damage done. Atwater owed apologies to people like Rodney King and other victims of racial, class, and gender violence. Lee Atwater may have been truly sorry for his behavior. But the consequence of divisive politics and policies is a society that is driven by fear and hatred of that which is different.

Of course, many people saw through the veneer and down-home style. When he was selected to be a member of the board of trustees of Howard University, the student body took over campus buildings demanding his ouster. Howard students didn't play the game with the man who tried to make Willie Horton every white person's nightmare.

page 264

In his last months, Atwater added the Bible to the list of his favorite books. He wrote in his Life article that he wished that he had spent more time with his children. The very human feelings that eluded him during his political career emerged at the end of his life. But we, the survivors, are left with his legacy.

Morris Udall spent decades encouraging broader participation in the democratic process and ensuring the security of the future. Atwater spent years trying to separate people from each other and ensuring the consolidation of power into the hands of a few. It is easier to tear down than to build up. If we desire values in our politics, we can only hope that Mo Udall is the model for the next generation of leaders.

[From the Phoenix Gazette]

GOODBYE MO

The highly emotional meeting capped weeks of tension and speculation surrounding Udall's retirement, which ends a 30-year career of towering legislative achievements and devastating personal and political disappointment.

Udall's brother, Stewart, called the resignation "a very emotional experience."

"Mo" Udall took his brother's congressional seat after Stewart Udall was named President Kennedy's Interior secretary in 1961.

"Mo was such a vibrant person in his prime ... it hurts to watch the whole process, and now to have it end this way is painful," Stewart Udall said.

SIGNS OF IMPROVEMENTS

Confined to a nursing home at the Veterans Administration Medical Center in Washington, Mo Udall, 68, is undergoing therapy for multiple injuries he suffered in a fall January 6 and for the worsening effects of Parkinson's disease, a debilitating nerve disorder.

While the decision for Udall to step down was made for him, family members said Udall is showing signs of improvement.

"The good news is that he seems to be comfortable, he doesn't seem to be in much pain. He seems to be peaceful," Udall's son, Mark, said in a telephone interview from Denver.

Mark Udall called Friday's resignation, announced in Washington and Tucson, a "bittersweet time for all of us."

"This is what had to happen," he said. "However, I think all of us wish that Dad had some more years to continue building on all that he's accomplished. At the same time he's very proud, the entire family is very proud, of his outstanding 30 years in public service.

"That's the most important piece of this--is that he go out on top and leave the Congress with his integrity and dignity intact," Mark Udall said.

TIMING OF RESIGNATION

"We don't feel any shame or embarrassment at all. Dad's like anybody who's had a bad fall. It's one of those things that happen in life. The family's charge was to act in what he would think would be the best way."

Mark Udall said family members will devote attention to providing his father long-term care.

"It now enables us to focus on Mo Udall as the person who's had a terrible fall as opposed to Mo Udall the public figure," he said. "It just lets us get on with the final years of my dad's life in a private setting as opposed to a public setting. That's very important to us."

page 265

(Newspaper Tributes: Part 5 of 6)

PROGNOSIS DISCUSSED

Norma Udall on Friday issued a letter to Foley that said she had discussed Mo Udall's medical prognosis with him, his doctors, family members and staff.

"Our reluctant conclusion is that any improvement in his condition will be insufficient to allow him to resume his duties and responsibilities," she wrote.

"Mr. Speaker, for nearly 30 years, Mo's life has been dedicated to the people of Arizona and to the Congress. His integrity and decency, his love of the land, and his warm, selfdeprecating humor are his legacy to his state and to his country."

The clerk of the House, Donald Anderson, will run Udall's Washington and Arizona district offices until a successor is picked in a special election. A Udall aide said that approximately \$70,000 is surplus Udall campaign funds would be donated to the Udall Center for Public Policy at the University of Arizona.

PRAISES FROM CONGRESS

Udall's friends and colleagues in Congress, as well as the environmental community, continued to pour out adulation.

Foley issued a statement saying "it was with sadness and reluctance that I accepted today the decision" of Udall to resign.

"Upon the effective date of his resignation, Mo Udall will have a 30-year legacy of service to his constituents and the nation which is all but impossible to quantify in a brief statement," Foley wrote.

He said Udall, who has headed the House Interior Committee since 1977 and sought the presidency in 1976, carried "out a standard of public service, integrity, legislative vision and just plain hard, good-humored work that will inspire the colleagues that he is leaving."

Senator Bill Bradley, (D-NJ) said that in 30 years, Udall has "represented by people of Arizona with distinction."

"He has worked hard, fighting to protect the environment and improve the quality of their lives, and the example he has set will serve all of us for years to come," Bradley said.

"Even as he fought this tragic illness he served with grace, dignity and a unique sense of humor," he said. "My thoughts and wishes for a healthy, peaceful retirement are with him and Norma."

Democratic Party National Chairman Ron Brown said, "While Morris Udall may be retiring from public service, he will always remain a vital part of the history tradition and spirit of the Democratic Party."

After visiting his brother at the hospital, Stewart Udall composed a poem "Elegy At A Brother's Bedside," that he sent to his friends and friends of the ailing congressman. He wrote:

"Like the hawks he knew as a boy
His spirit soared and darted here.
And now, crushed, we see him supine,
His fact fixed in an empty gaze.
Our vigil is to no avail.
Gone is the wit which sped the dance of laughter.
Gone the lambent lacework of the mind
What savage civility impels us to prolong 'life' when the fight for life is over?
When will we allow loving hands to close lives that have closed?"

FAREWELL, MO--WE'RE REMINDED OF A STORY OR TWO OR THREE

One of Mo Udall's early leadership tasks in Congress was to oversee reorganization of the U.S. Post Office into an independent Postal Service.

page 266

He used to joke after accomplishing that task that his biggest fear in life was that he would be remembered as "the father of the modern postal system."

No problem, Mo.

As the accolades coming forth in the wake of his announced retirement indicate, Morris K. Udall will be remembered for a lot more than that.

He is the man who oversaw vast expansion of the Nation's wilderness system.

He is the man who saved Alaska's wilderness, what he called "the crown jewels" of the country's parks and wilderness.

He is the man who brought the Central Arizona Project to Tucson.

He is the man who worked hard throughout his 30-year career as the Representative from Arizona's Second Congressional District to reform the seniority system in Congress, and the way campaigns are run.

He championed clean air and clean water legislation and restoration of lands destroyed by strip mining. He promoted an environmental ethic that saw its way into scores of bills.

He did it all with a wit and grace that did Arizona proud. No doubt he enjoyed the honors and awards that came his way, but he had a down-to-earth assessment of self. He never became "a legend in his own mind"--the phrase he often used to describe some of his more pumped-up contemporaries.

He came close to being President of the United States. It was emblematic of the Udall style that he turned the disappointing experience of the many narrowly lost primaries in 1976 into more grist for the Udall humor mill.

It became a series of jokes about how "presidentialitis" could be cured only with embalming fluid, and how mothers in Arizona, knowing of his and Barry Goldwater's failed tries, couldn't tell their children that they could grow up to be president.

It became a book title: "Too Funny To Be President."

Year after year, until his recent illness, Udall's House colleagues voted him the most persuasive orator in the House and ranked him among the most effective legislators. The reason was always apparent--he had integrity. He kept his covenant with his colleagues, his district, his country and his conscience.

It would have been fitting to see Mo Udall walk boldly from the House where he served 30 years. It would have been satisfying to see him step to the podium one more time to make his farewell. "I'm reminded of a story," he would begin.

But the manner of his leaving diminishes none of what he did there. It doesn't diminish his earlier career as county attorney, as lawyer for the defense, as professional basketball player, UA student body president, pride of St. Johns, AZ.

He will be missed.

We will not see his equal soon--if ever.

[From the Arizona Republic, April 23, 1991]

MO UDALL'S RETIREMENT--THE END OF AN ERA

Through the years Arizona has enjoyed the services of a number of able and respected politicians. Barry Goldwater, Paul Fannin, John Rhodes, Carl Hayden and Ernest MacFarland left enduring legacies. Those not fortunate enough to live in Arizona have marveled at how a sparsely populated western State could produce political giants who left their mark on America's national life.

Add to that august list the name of Morris Udall, the last of his generation. Reduced by Parkinson's disease to a shadow of his former self, Mr. Udall has decided to hang up his spurs. The decision to retire from Congress on May 4 is the right one for the ailing 68-year-old native Arizonan. He will be missed. His self-deprecating

page 267

wit, quick intelligence and home-spun humility have made him one of the most respected Congressmen.

In 1976 Mr. Udall made a gritty run for the Presidency. He placed second in a series of close primaries, but his dignified campaign never could overtake Jimmy Carter.

The reluctance of other long-shot liberals to withdraw from the race likely sealed the Udall defeat. Mr. Udall frequently joked that the voters simply had grown sick of him, and in 1984 he nixed talk of another run, saying he would not want the campaign to become a forum on Parkinson's disease.

Whatever Mr. Udall's failings in Presidential politics, his success in the legislative arena was remarkable. He was the driving force in campaign finance reform, he helped forge reforms in the House's creaky seniority system and he was the floor whip for the historic 1964 Civil Rights Act.

As chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, Mr. Udall recorded several major environmental achievements, including the regulation of reclamation on strip-mined land and the Alaska lands act that doubled the size of the national park system and tripled the amount of wilderness area. Truly, Mr. Udall was ahead of his time on environmental concerns.

Several years ago, when concern over his health was becoming public, Mr. Udall was asked how he would like to be remembered. I would hope, he said, "that in Arizona people would think of me as somebody who cared about the land deeply, who left a legacy of national parks and wilderness areas and resource policies that give future generations some idea of what kind of love of the land and environment that I've always felt."

Clearly, Mr. Udall achieved that and more. His distinguished example in gentle word and historic deed set a standard for public service. In riding into the sunset Mr. Udall carries the heartfelt admiration of the Arizonans. We wish him Godspeed.

MO GOES--30 YEARS OF WARMTH AND WIT

The last days of Morris K. Udall's service to his country were an embarrassment. But the embarrassing actions were not Udall's; they came from others.

The man from Arizona's Second district, hospitalized with advancing Parkinson's disease, debilitated by severe injuries suffered in a January 6 fall, was withering away--and everyone knew it, it was only a matter of time, as his wife and family and staff put his affairs in order, before the inevitable retirement announcement came. Still, the unnecessary, tasteless calls for his resignation cascaded from editorials and calculating columnists who showed all the emotion of Cleveland pathologists.

The Udall years were pushed to one side, forgotten in the rush to see who would be Arizona's next Congressman. The tawdry display was in the genre of Evan Mecham, the King holiday and AzScam. It was an embarrassment. But now that the inevitable, announcement has come, now that Udall's departure from Congress is official, perhaps the ambitious and the calculating, the impatient and the unsympathetic can join with the rest of Arizona to pay Udall the tribute he is due.

As chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, Udall was an incredibly powerful and influential engine of government. While he served, Udall made the most of his energies and influence for Arizona. He was Arizona's wilderness man, introducing legislation that added to the State's wilderness system, in addition to

shepherding the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, enacted and signed into law in 1980, doubling the size of the National Park System.

Udall was instrumental in securing passage of legislation that provided direction for the mining industry in the reclamation and restoration of land. He was a bold champion for the causes of native Americans. He was a basketball player and a

page 268

presidential candidate, a tall presence wherever his pursuits drew him. He is a good fellow and has been a good colleague--wise, warm and witty.

Were Mo in better health, the embarrassing moments that presaged his farewell to Congress would undoubtedly have been countered by his wit and humor.

"Through their tears," he might have said, "some of those who have been mourning my departure, still managed to pack my bags without missing a pair of socks or pad of paper."

Fortunately, for the rest of us, what Mo Udall did for Arizona and the United States cannot be packed away to make way for his replacement. It is too vast, too wide, too heavy to be put in a box, or ever forgotten.

[From the Tribune Newspapers, April 20, 1991]

UDALL'S CONTRIBUTIONS

Anyone who appreciates the wondrous beauty of America's public lands should share the sadness as one of its most eloquent and powerful protectors steps down.

Morris K. Udall, who rose to within grasp of the Democratic Presidential nomination during three decades as a respected and beloved leader in the U.S. House of Representatives, on Friday resigned his seat. Regardless of political persuasion, all Americans--and particularly Arizonans--should feel the loss of his effective and humane leadership.

Above all, Udall was a strong advocate for protecting wilderness and natural waterways, preserving water quality, improving conditions for native Americans and ensuring the safety of nuclear energy. He also has been an effective team player with the rest of the State's congressional delegation in advancing causes of particular importance to Arizona.

Some people have criticized Udall for not resigning sooner as the ravages of Parkinson's disease steadily withered his once athletic 6-foot-5-inch frame. Only after being hospitalized for more than 3 months following a fall down a flight of stairs at his Arlington, VA, home did he concede his position.

But Udall would have been out of character had he resigned sooner. He is no quitter. And he has pursued his chosen causes as tenaciously as he has waved off those who questioned his physical ability to do the job.

He can be proud of his many accomplishments. After winning the southern Arizona House seat vacated in 1961 by his brother Stewart's appointment to Interior Secretary, Mo was instrumental in winning congressional approval for the Central Arizona Project.

Through his long tenure as head of the House Interior Committee he earned his reputation as protector of America's scenic and recreational assets. When he hasn't been working to add to the Nation's inventory of protected lands, he has fought to broaden the scope of those protections.

A high point in Udall's career came with passage of his Alaska Lands bill, which preserves what he refers to as the "crown jewels" of North America.

He also has been a friend and advocate for the Nation's Indian tribes as they have struggled to improve education, health care and economic conditions on their reservations.

Udall the man has given us as much as has Udall the politician. He never backed down from a tough battle, even if he didn't always win. But he never succumbed to bitterness or personal attacks.

Through the years, Udall's ever-ready sense of humor has endeared him to political friend and foe alike. He has used it as often to publicly poke fun at himself as to disarm his opponents.

Truly, he has earned the rank of statesman when there are precious few around.

page 269

While Udall has relinquished his seat in Congress, he surely hasn't given up the ultimate fight. He will be in our prayers.

[From the Arizona Daily Star, May 5,1991]

MORRIS K. UDALL, A MAN OF INTEGRITY

I'm reminded of a story.

That's the way Mo Udall began every speech I ever saw him make.

But the story I'm reminded of is not one of his. It may seem an odd metaphor for a democrat, but you remember the tale about the blind men who each felt a different part of the elephant and deduced it to be quite different things depending on whether a tusk, a tail, a trunk or a leg was being touched and described.

A lot of Udall yarns have been swapped lately, a lot of the parts and pieces of the Udall legacy have been described.

And it's true that Mo Udall was an effective legislator, a friend of the environment, a witty, Lincolnesque orator, a man who used his powers of persuasion and his personal friendships to get the job done.

But it's also true he was a powerful figure who wielded that power to accomplish what personal persuasion could not. And like every great legislator, he was a creature of compromise, willing to shave off the more extreme edges of a bill or a policy to satisfy critics willing to trade votes.

He was, critics will note, the savior of wilderness who once lobbied for dams at the edges of the Grand Canyon and did little for the Mount Graham red squirrel.

He was the conservationist who spent most of his legislative career pushing a waiver reclamation project that urbanized his native state.

He was the friend of labor who voted to protect his home state's right-to-work law.

And he would be the first to admit, were he able to speak for himself in this Udall lovefest that surrounds his retirement yesterday from Congress, that politics is not a game for the overfastidious.

He was a careful legislator, who researched issues and argued them with friends and foes before making a commitment. He had a reputation for integrity, fairness and kindness, but he was no bloodless saint.

If he could raise that magnificent voice in protest one more time, he would tell us all to end this damn wake---and pour him three fingers of scotch.

"Perfection is the enemy of the merely good," he would say, as his friend Jim McNulty remembers him saying on one particular occasion of comprise.

He wasn't perfect. He was merely better than the rest of us.

DRIVE TO EXCEL

He always excelled at everything he did.

Growing up in St. Johns, where he lost his right eye at age 6 in an accident, he was the center of attention--the center of the community that his grandfather founded as a Mormon settlement in 1880.

He wasn't just the star center of the basketball team, he was the pitcher on the baseball team and the quarterback of the football team. On football Saturdays, he changed quickly at halftime so that he could join the band on the field. He was a top student and one of the town's best poker players.

Tom Chandler, a Tucson lawyer who has known the Udall family since his days at the university was a contemporary of Mo's big brother, Stewart. He remembers being

across the street, says Udall was the finest courtroom lawyer he ever saw. "He didn't try a case, he produced it, he put on a show."

page 270

Udall used every inch of his 6-foot-5 frame and every bit of his no-frills country manner to his advantage. Because he had his own planes, he was fond of using aerial photographs of accident and crime scenes. Chandler remembers losing a lawsuit to Udall when a woman tripped over a step at the Flamingo Hotel despite the fact that the step Udall called hidden was clearly visible. Chandler told the jury, from 1,000 feet in the air.

Udall ran for his first office in 1950--county attorney--and won, becoming, in Chandler's eyes at least, the best county attorney Pima ever had. "There are very few public officials who will ever measure up to that man as far as gut integrity is concerned," Chandler said.

Integrity is a word mentioned often when you ask Udall's friends and colleagues to describe him. It was the only thing that occurred to Prior Pray, Udall's longtime district aide, when asked to sum up the man's career, "Integrity is the word I keep coming back to," he said.

Udall was elected to Congress on May 2, 1961, in a special election to replace his brother Stewart who was named Interior Secretary by President Kennedy.

He began the practice of making his income tax records public because he didn't think the required congressional disclosure was tough enough. He fought for campaign finance reform and reform of the seniority system in Congress.

Over the years, he would lead successful battles for reform of campaign laws and the civil service system.

And he led the battle, of course, for the Central Arizona Project--the State's biggest Federal bonanza--a project originally geared toward the State's farmers that is ending its construction as a lifeline to the State's rapidly growing water-starved cities.

Much, much later, he would concede that it would have been better for Arizona to develop a string of cities along the Colorado instead of bringing the water to Phoenix and Tucson. But that was more regret than admission of mistake. The die had been cast when Udall went to Congress. He simply delivered what the Congressman was supposed to deliver--though many thought he never would do it.

The dams on the Colorado are another story. Had they been developed to supply power to the CAP, they would have further controlled the flow of the Colorado, already a mechanized spigot rather than a river. But while they would have created reservoirs upstream and downstream from the national park, they would also have provided a more even flow than that coming through Glen Canyon Dam, whose fluctuations are now blamed for much environmental damage in Grand Canyon.

And you could argue that those dams would have been better for the State's environment than their replacement--the Navajo Generating Station at Page--blamed for air pollution that obscures canyon views.

Of course, purists can argue that nothing at all would have been the best solution--no dams, no reaction when he walked out of the snow and into a New Hampshire barber shop and introduced himself- "Hi, I'm Mo Udall and I'm running for President."

"We know," answered one of the townsfolk passing time there. "We were just laughin' about that this morning."

Udall lost, in primary after primary, to Jimmy Carter. His delegates learned in turn their "MO" buttons upside-down to read 'low.'

Tom Chandler thinks Udall could have won if a few more influential Arizona friends had believed more strongly in the possibility.

A HERO ABROAD

But Udall always seemed to command more respect on that national level than at home. That's partly because his increasingly conservative district was often out of

page 271

step with Udall's progressive stands. And it's partly because in Tucson he was simply the local Congressman.

Michael McNulty, local lawyer and son of Mo's friend Jim, was a Udall staffer for 4 years and once accompanied him to a speech at the University of Virginia law school. When Mo entered the auditorium, the place erupted in cheers and applause. Udall turned to McNulty and said, "Sometime I wish I could get a reaction like that in Tucson."

Udall's last campaign was first rumored to be in 1980. That was the first year Udall admitted publicly that he had Parkinson's disease. J. Dan O'Neill, a longtime friend, said he went to work running Udall's Tucson office then, figuring on 2 to 4 years max.

But Udall kept running, finally announcing his final campaign in 1990. His physical condition was painful to behold and he made few public appearances, but he did kick off his re-election campaign in April with a speech to the Democrats of greater Tucson.

As always, his own frailties were the brunt of the famous Udall humor. In a voice that was barely audible in the respectfully silent room, Udall told the tale of the Senator who was approaching his 100th birthday and was asked how he felt. "Considering the alternatives, not too bad," was the answer.

"Well, I stand before you with a painful old back, Parkinson's disease, arthritis, one good eye, and I can tell you, considering the alternatives, I feel pretty good," said Udall.

He held hope of being fully involved in his final term. He was investigating fetal-tissue surgery that held some promise for him and was on new medication for Parkinson's. "Some days it seems it really does the job and I can bounce into the car without any help. Then the hoarse voice, all these things assert themselves again."

There is a tendency to make this a sad occasion. But what did Mo Udall wish to be his political legacy?

In 1973, as the Watergate scandal was pulling down a Presidency and the reputation of politics in general, Udall penned one of his famous newsletters, arguing that public servants could still be found practicing the Nation's politics. He mentioned Arizona's Goldwater, John Rhodes and Carl Hayden and his own brother, Stewart.

"I have had Arizona ancestors and relatives in both political parties serve in all kinds of public offices from the President's Cabinet to local school boards. Not one has been touched with a breath of scandal or abuse of public trust. My greatest desire is to retire from public office someday with a record that will enhance that tradition."

Yesterday, Morris K. Udall retired from Congress with a record of integrity in public service that is a credit to his relatives and ancestors and to the people of Arizona whom he served for 30 years.

UDALL'S STYLE DESERVES RESPECT

(By Joseph M. Bauman)

Representative Wayne Ownes, D-UT, had a haunting comment: What would have happened if 15,000 more citizens had voted for Morris Udall in the 1976 Presidential primaries?

"What a lot of people don't know is that with a change of 15,000 votes in five primaries in 1976, he would have won those five primaries.... Those were the key primaries. He ran a razor-thin second in each of five primaries," Owens said.

It's always fun to speculate about what might have been, and in this case, it's rumination on a gargantuan scale. If Udall's campaign had pushed just a little harder; if a few more environmental groups had worked for him; if, if, if. As it hap-

page 272

pened, Udall was the last opponent of Jimmy Carter to drop out of the Democratic primaries.

If the Arizona Congressman had won those critical five races, and assuming he then collected the nomination and went on to defeat Gerald Ford, the world certainly would be different today.

For one thing, Udall had political savvy, while Carter was deficient in that department, leading to this century's only turnover in a President's re-election bid.

So much for what-if's. What really happened is that Udall classically fit John F. Kennedy's definition of courage: grace under pressure.

In the past few years, he has been tormented by Parkinson's disease, deteriorating more fearsomely all the time, until last week his family was forced to announce he was retiring from the House of Representatives.

Throughout a decade and a half of increasing pain and disability, he bravely went about his business, chairing the House Interior Committee with his trademark skill and good humor.

I remember seeing him when he arrived in Salt Lake City for a hearing on the proposal to build a high-level nuclear waste repository on the doorsteps of Canyonlands National Park, around 1982. Udall had just flown over the site. (He had a special interest in Canyonlands, beyond his usual efforts to protect national parks, because his brother, the great conservationist Stewart Udall, was instrumental in establishing Canyonlands.)

Morris Udall exited the plane and shuffled into the airport, and I was shocked by his pained, weary expression and stiff gait. It was terrible to see how he was wracked. He headed for the men's room, not looking right or left.

But as Terri Martin, Utah representative of the National Parks and Conservation Association, said, he then "chaired this hearing with command, humor, direction and clarity."

Brant Calkin, now the director of the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance, Cedar City, ran for state land commissioner in New Mexico several years ago. Udall took time to speak at a fund-raising function in Santa Fe, after working all day.

When he arrived, Udall was clearly suffering from fatigue and the effects of Parkinson's disease, but he still held a press conference for Calkin. Reporters seemed interested in talking to the Representative all night, although Udall was getting extremely tired.

So when a reporter asked Calkin something, and Calkin answered, Udall took the opportunity to close the press conference, saying--as is traditional at the end of a White House meeting with reporters--"Thank you, Mr. President."

Udall had difficulty putting on his jacket because it required reaching painfully behind himself. He chatted about this, perfectly candid.

"Even though he was very ill, if you asked him about it he didn't shy away and he didn't seek any particular pity. He just told how he dealt with it," Calkin said.

Roland Robison, now regional director of the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, knew Udall when Robison worked on the staff of another Congressman, and later as an official with the BLM and then Reclamation.

"Morris Udall always livened up committee meetings," he said. "He always had something witty to say, but it was never mean. It was frequently directed toward himself.

"His humor was the type that made people laugh, but at the same time made them feel good."

Udall used humor to turn aside anger, soothe ruffled feathers, throw light on an issue. "Even though he was totally substantive, he used humor as a tool, and had the quickest wit of anybody that I've ever known," Owens said.

"I'm using superlatives, but it's hard to talk in any other terms."

page 273

Although Udall could turn almost any situation into a telling quip, he was totally substantive, Owens said. In difficult mark-up sessions, when everybody was getting hot and bothered over the wording of some bill, "inevitably he would come up with the language that solved all the problems."

"He was the most creative legislator I ever knew. He saw legislative opportunity and was able to cast chaff aside.... He was really not only unsurpassed, he was really unequaled in the House."

"We held the guy in the highest esteem," said George Nickas of the Utah Wilderness Association. "We had our differences on policy issues at times with Mo Udall. He was always a very strong supporter of the mining interests and the 1872 Mining Law, for example."

He also was an especially strong advocate of the Central Arizona Project, a monstrously big water project in that State. He watched out like a hawk for his constituents, miners, small ranchers, other public-land users.

"Even though he was supporting some things that we environmentalists didn't agree with, you always knew he would deal fairly with you on the issue--and that he was always concerned about the environment," Nickas said.

Let that ideal serve as a beacon in our rough-and-tumble environmental debates; deal fairly and openly, state positions honestly. A clean fighter, regardless of which side he espouses, should win the respect of all.

MO UDALL--"TOO FUNNY TO BE PRESIDENT"

(Compiled by Olivia Olivares)

Morris Udall will be remembered as a man of many talents and achievements, but the most endearing facet of his character and one which will be recalled with fondness for many years is his inimitable sense of humor.

Udall's intelligence, wit and affinity for quips and one-liners combined to produce a man of astonishing warmth and generosity of spirit. Former House of Representatives Speaker Jim Wright described him as a man of "charming grace" and "irresistible good humor," and once called him "the wit emeritus of the Congress." Former Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan, who served on the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, remarked "everybody likes Mo," and the present House Speaker, Tom Foley, has said: "People who oppose him simply cannot dislike him."

His humor occasionally got him in trouble with newspaper editors and other political observers. Many of them wrote that such an irrepressible sense of fun might be a liability to one so constantly under intense scrutiny as a political candidate for high office. Udall was not unaware of this, and true to form, joked about it by titling the last of his three books "Too Funny To Be President."

Udall's humor has proven to be a greater asset than a liability, and it remains the quality his family, friends and the general public alike most cherish and appreciate. Following is a selection of the anecdotes and one-liners Udall so loved.

As a child in St. Johns, Arizona, Udall lost an eye while playing with a friend. He was fitted with a glass prosthesis, and the loss of the eye did not keep him from becoming a star basketball player for the University of Arizona.

During one game, while sitting on the bench, Udall overheard a man behind him in the bleachers remark that Udall must have lied about the loss of his eye: "No one with one eye could shoot that good."

Udall promptly removed his glass eye and, without turning around, raised it over his shoulder and "stared" at the startled man.

page 274

Udall's favorite target was himself, and many of his best one-liners were at his own expense. His favorite sources were his political career and his ill-fated 1976 presidential campaign.

After an unsuccessful bid for the majority leadership of the House in 1970, Udall had his staffers turn their "MO" campaign buttons upside-down: "OW".

At the opening night ceremonies for the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in 1971, Udall accidentally hit the alarm button on a crowded elevator, which triggered the alarm and brought the elevator to a halt, temporarily trapping everyone within. He turned to the irritated passengers and said smoothly: "I called you here today to ask for your support for my candidacy."

Udall's favorite story takes place in Manchester, N.H. during the 1976 presidential campaign. Udall walked into a barbershop and announced to everyone present, "Hi, I'm Mo Udall, and I'm running for president."

Without missing a beat, the barber turned to him and said, "Yes, we know. We were all just laughing about that this morning."

Udall also told a story of a campaign flight from Phoenix to Los Angeles to Sacramento, where they landed at the wrong airport--"and for God's sake, there aren't that many airports in Sacramento.

"The indignity didn't stop there. We wound up at a hotel that night that told me I would be staying in the Gerald R. Ford Suite."

Udall was to finish second to Jimmy Carter in seven primaries.

Joking about his loss, he said, "The voters have spoken ... the bastards."

He later advised reporters: "You know all those times I said 'won' last night? Well, just strike that and insert 'lost'."

Udall supporters urged him to run again for president in 1980. He replied: "If nominated, I will run--for the Mexican border. If elected, I will fight extradition."

Udall once noted with chagrin that he and fellow Arizonans Governor Bruce Babbitt and Senator Barry Goldwater had all lost bids for the presidency.

He said, "Arizona is the only state where mothers don't tell their children they can grow up to be president."

Udall occasionally turned his wit on others, with predictably hilarious results.

In a 1975 campaign speech in which he blasted Democratic rival George Wallace, Udall said of Wallace: "If he's a serious candidate, he ought to be asked to come forward and tell us his program, and not the same old tired speech about pointy-headed professors."

Udall then qualified his speech by saying he liked pointy-headed professors. "Occasionally they have a good idea ... and their mothers love them."

During the Vietnam War, he suggested the Defense Department allow the Postal Service to handle the conflict: "If they can't stop the war, they can at least slow it down."

He also suggested the problems of court-ordered busing and prayer-in-school be solved by having school children pray in buses.

During the past few years, Udall has fought a drawn-out battle with Parkinson's disease. With typical humor and courage, he spoke to a meeting of the Greater Democrats of Tucson in 1990:

"I stand before you today with a painful old back, loaded with arthritis, and one eye.

With perfect timing, he waited a beat, then added: "But considering the alternative, I feel pretty damn good."

Udall wrote, "I am often accused of having a sense of humor. And I always say, 'It's better to have a sense of humor than no sense at all.'"

(Newspaper Tributes: Part 6 of 6)

[From the Arizona Daily Star, July 17, 1992]

DEMOCRATS' UDALL TRIBUTE LEAVES WIFE MISTY, VIEWERS CHUCKLING AT JOKES

(By Steve Meissner)

NEW YORK.--Norma Udall quietly stood in Madison Square Garden last night and watched through misty eyes as Democrats honored her ill husband, former Arizona Representative Morris K. Udall.

"I can feel his presence all over this building, she said, biting her lip as Arizona's congressional delegation waved yellow "Mo" signs, and the Democratic National Convention watched a videotape featuring some of Udall's best political jokes.

Udall, who retired last year because of advanced Parkinson's disease, was not in Madison Square Garden last night as Representative Butler Derrick, (D-SC) lauded Udall's efforts on behalf of campaign finance reform and for the environment, and as House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, (D-WA) said in a tape that "Mo needs no monuments. His monument is his work."

Udall is in a Washington, DC, hospital, so weak from his illness that he is unable to communicate.

Udall was able to watch the tribute from his hospital bed, his wife said.

"I left a note taped to his television," said Mrs. Udall. "I told them to make sure the channel was set on a station that was showing the convention."

Most seats in Madison Square Garden were empty yesterday as the tribute was shown. It was one of the first events scheduled on a very busy night--Tennessee Senator Al Gore was nominated as Vice President, and Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton gave his acceptance speech--and delegates were still trickling in.

But a film clip lauding Udall contained some of Udall's most famous jokes, including the line supplied by a New Hampshire barber.

Udall entered the man's barber shop during his 1976 presidential campaign and explained that he was running for president. "Oh yeah, we were just laughing about that this morning," the barber responded in one of the better known lines of the book on political humor.

Arizona delegates found something else to chuckle about. Giant television screens around the convention hall showed a text of Derrick's tribute to Udall--and Udall's first name repeatedly was spelled "Moe" instead of "Mo."

[From the Phoenix Gazette, September 24, 1991]

MO-MENTOUS

UDALL'S WIT, CHARM RECALLED IN TRIBUTE AT CONVENTION

(By Pat Flannery)

NEW YORK.--The echo of Morris Udall's words through Madison Square Garden on Thursday recalled a time 16 years ago when a legendary prayer became part of the popular political vernacular.

It was July 14, 1976, and Udall had just lost in his primary bid for the Democratic presidential nomination.

As former Udall aide Bob Neuman recalled: "He gave his speech endorsing Jimmy Carter from the podium. It was just a masterpiece!"

The most memorable line was uttered again on tape Thursday for the 1992 Democratic National Convention:

"Lord give us the wisdom to speak tender and gentle words ... for tomorrow we may have to eat them!"

page 276

Thursday night, Udall's grace and wit were recalled in a 10-minute tribute that kicked off the last night of the convention.

"Every time I see it, I want to cry," said Udall's wife, Norma, who sat with the Arizona delegation during the feature.

"It hurts me that he's not here," she said, adding that the "rush of affection and warmth is breathtaking."

Udall, afflicted with Parkinson's disease that is in advanced stages, is confined to a Washington, DC, treatment center.

South Carolina Representative Butler Derrick introduced the tribute to Udall, a St. Johns native who represented District 2 in the House of Representatives for 30 years.

The tribute was the idea of Arizona Senator Dennis DeConcini, who asked Democratic Party Chairman Ron Brown to consider it.

"I was visiting him (Udall) at his hospital room about 2 weeks ago, and it just dawned on me that it would be nice," DeConcini said.

As the Arizona delegation held up yellow "Mo" signs, Derrick told the convention that Udall "fought harder than anyone in Congress for issues he believed in ... and most memorably, he fought for the environment."

"Remember Mo Udall's ability to speak tender and generous words," Derrick said.

Norma Udall said she left instructions for Udall's television to be left on so he might see the tribute Thursday.

"I think the most important thing I'll tell him is how we feel about him," she said afterward.



CONGRESSMAN
Morris K. Udall
2ND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, ARIZONA

CONGRESSMAN Morris K. (Mo) Udall, Chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, has represented Arizona's Second Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives since May 1961. Representative Udall has earned the reputation as one of the leading statesmen in Congress. In annual polls, his Democratic and Republican colleagues repeatedly have voted him one of the "most effective committee chairmen" and "most persuasive in debate." The *National Audubon* magazine cited him as "one of the great lawmakers of our time."

A dedicated conservationist, Mo Udall is a noted authority on the nation's land and energy resources. His active participation in Congressional leadership caucuses and policy committees places him in great demand as a spokesman on a wide range of issues, from nuclear arms reductions to the social concerns of health, education and equal rights to economic and budgetary issues.

In 1976, at the urging of 50 House colleagues, Congressman Udall sought the Democratic Presidential nomination, an effort that won him a national reputation and following. In 1980, he was the keynote speaker at the Democratic National Convention. Throughout his career, Mo has been highly regarded for his Lincolnesque, often self-deprecating wit.

LEGISLATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS

As Chairman of the Interior Committee, Mo Udall is deeply involved with legislation affecting nuclear energy, public lands, national parks and Indian affairs.

He led the fight for the Alaska Lands Bill, considered by many to be the most significant conservation measure of this century. He wrote the nation's 1977 Strip-Mining Reclamation Act. In the 97th Congress, he won passage of the Southern Arizona Water Rights Settlement Act, settling historic Indian water rights claims. In 1982, he successfully guided the landmark Nuclear Waste Management Policy Act into law. In 1984, he wrote the law which designated over one million acres of land in Arizona as wilderness. Udall continues to devote his attention to the completion of the Central Arizona Project.

A concern for the future direction of U.S. foreign policy prompted Congressman Udall to join the House Foreign Affairs Committee at the outset of the 99th Congress. Congressman Udall continues to serve as a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

A leader of the Democratic Party, Congressman Udall sponsored the 1974 Campaign Finance Reform Act adopted by Congress and continues in the forefront of legislation to strengthen and expand these laws. He served on the Hunt Commission that rewrote the rules for the 1984 national election.

Congressman Udall is the alternating chairman of the Office of Technology Assessment, where he oversees studies that are provided to Congress on the complex and highly technical choices that confront our society.

PERSONAL

A native of St. Johns, Arizona, Mo Udall was born on June 15, 1922, one of six children in a pioneer Mormon family. His father, Levi S. Udall, a chief justice of the Arizona Supreme Court, and his mother, Louise Lee Udall, both were active in civic affairs.

After his 1946 discharge as a captain in the U.S. Army Air Corps, Mo Udall became a basketball star for the University of Arizona and was elected student body president. He graduated in 1949 with honors from the University of Arizona School of Law and played professional basketball for a season with the Denver Nuggets. While practicing law in Tucson, he was elected Pima County Attorney, serving 1952-54.

He is author of *Arizona Law of Evidence*, *Education of a Congressman* and *The Job of the Congressman*, the unofficial primer on the inner workings of Congress. Recently, he published his collection of political humor, titled *Too Funny to be President*.

In 1983, he was named honorary chairman of the American Parkinson's Disease Association. Congressman Udall is married to Norma Gilbert Udall.

April, 1991

The following is a compilation of national and Arizona legislation in which Congressman Morris K. Udall was instrumental.

- **Central Arizona Project.** Congressman Udall's relationship with the House Appropriations Committee and his leadership in support of what became the precedent-setting Plan 6 Cost-Sharing Agreement with the Administration are major reasons why the CAP has received record-level funding during times of severe budget constraints and why project construction has remained on schedule.
- **The Ak-Chin Indian Water Rights Settlement of 1978.*** This was the first legislated settlement of a tribe's water rights. Amended in 1984, the Ak-Chin settlement is also the first settlement to be fully and successfully implemented.
- **The Southern Arizona Water Rights Settlement Act of 1982.*** Provided for settlement of the water rights claims of the San Xavier and Shuk Toak Districts of the Tohono O'Odham (formerly Papago) Indian tribe. Participants included the City of Tucson, mines and irrigators in Pima County. Implementation is still in progress.
- **The Gila Bend Indian Lands Replacement Act of 1986.*** Settled the claims of the San Lucy District of the Tohono O'Odham at Gila Bend, principally vis-a-vis the United States. The Act has been fully implemented.
- **The Salt River-Pima-Maricopa Indian Water Rights Settlement Act of 1988.*** Provided for settlement of the claims of the Salt River-Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, with participants including Maricopa County municipalities, Salt River Project, Roosevelt Water Conservation District, the State of Arizona and others. Final actions to finalize the settlement and permit its full implementation should be complete in the spring of 1991.
- **The Fort McDowell Indian Community Water Rights Settlement Act of 1990.*** Quantified the Fort McDowell Indian Community's entitlement to water and settled all claims between the Community and Maricopa County municipalities, Salt River Project, Roosevelt Water Conservation District, the State of Arizona and the United States. Efforts to finalize the settlement are proceeding on schedule.

- **The San Carlos Apache Indian Water Rights Settlement.** * In October, 1990, the House passed legislation providing for settlement of water rights claims of the San Carlos Apache Tribe. Participants include the United States, the State of Arizona, Salt River Project, Roosevelt Water Conservation District, the cities of Chandler, Glendale, Globe, Mesa, Safford, Scottsdale, Tempe, the Town of Gilbert, Buckeye Water Conservation and Drainage District, Buckeye Irrigation Company and the Pehlps-Dodge Corporation. The Senate did not take up the legislation prior to adjournment. Mr. Udall joined Congressmen Rhodes and Kyl in reintroducing the legislation in the 102d Congress; the Interior and Senate Indian Committees held a joint hearing on the legislation in March, 1991, and further House and Senate action is expected.
- **Gila River Indian Water Rights Settlement.*** Negotiations to produce an agreement settling the water rights claims of the Gila River Indian Community -- the largest and most complex in central Arizona -- have been underway for more than two years. Prospects for an oversall agreement appear good and settlement legislation is expected to be ready for introduction in Congress in the spring of 1991.
- **Tohono O'Odham (Papago) Indian Water Rights Settlement.*** Preliminary negotiations are underway to revise the San Xavier portion of the 1982 Southern Arizona Water Rights Settlement Act and to fulfill requirements of that Act, as well as to settle the water rights claims of the Sif Oidak District (Chuichu) of the Sells Reservation. legislation is expected to be introduced some time in 1991.
- **Tohono O'Odham Tat Momlikot Dam Settlement Act of 1986.** Settled claims of the Tohono O'Odham arising from construction of Tat Momolik Dam and secured for the United States appropriate rights to lands for the dam and its reservoir.
- **Divestiture of the Electrical Transmissions and Distribution System of the San Carlos Irrigation Project.** Since 1987 the Gila River Indian community, San Carlos Apache Tribe, San Carlos Irrigation and Drainage District, Arizona Public Service Co., Electrical District No. 2 and Trico Electric Cooperative have sought to take over operation of the system, which has been operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs since 1928, and provide a more rational basis for present and future electric service in Central Arizona. Congressman Udall co-sponsored legislation with Congressman Kolbe and others of the Arizona delegation to authorize and implement divestiture. Committee hearings in the 101st Congress led to refinements in the legislation, which Mr. Udall, Mr. Kolbe and Mr. Rhodes reintroduced in 1991, with hopes for passage in the 102d Congress.

- **Federal Crimes on Indian Reservations.** The Committee concluded extensive oversight hearings, including field hearings, during the 100th and 101st Congresses on the investigation and prosecution of federal crimes on Indian reservations and passed HR 498, providing a firm statutory foundation for BIA law enforcement activities and making reforms in the administration of law enforcement programs by the BIA.
- **Tribal Government Reform.** The Committee staff, at Congressman Udall's direction, undertook planning for a Committee initiative in the field of Tribal Government reform.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

- **Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act.** Enacted and signed into law by President Carter in 1980, this historic measure doubled the size of the national park system and tripled the size of the national wilderness system. It placed America's natural "crown jewels" under federal protection. Hailed as the most important conservation legislation since Theodore Roosevelt created the national park system.
- **General Conservation.** Mr. Udall, as chairman of the House Interior Committee, shepherded scores of bills through the Congress to enlarge, enhance, protect and care for America's parks, wilderness and refuge systems. Mr. Udall is closely identified with the Land and Water Conservation Fund, the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act and many other landmark conservation measures.
- **Surfacing Mining and Reclamation.** Mr. Udall was instrumental in securing passage of this landmark bill in 1977, which for the first time provided direction for the coal mining industry for the reclamation and restoration of mined land. In brief, the law said if you must mine, the land must be put back the way it was.
- **Price-Anderson Amendments Act of 1987.** Mr. Udall introduced this bill with Congressman Phil Sharp of Indiana in March, 1987, and was instrumental in moving the legislation through the Congress. The act ensures that adequate funds will be available to compensate the public in the event of a nuclear accident. It streamlines the claims process to ensure speedy compensation for victims and it provides a mechanism to ensure that these funds are available regardless of the financial health of the responsible party.

- **American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978.** An Act to recognize traditional Indian religions and to protect the practice of traditional Indian religions on public lands.
- **Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978.** An Act to establish standards for the placement of Indian children in foster or adoptive homes, to prevent the breakup of Indian families, to recognize the right of Indian tribes in the protection of Indian families and to provide funds for Indian child welfare programs.
- **Indian Mineral Development Act of 1982.** A bill to permit Indian tribes to enter into different forms of agreements for the development of their mineral resources to enable them to gain the highest rate of return possible.
- **Archeological Resources Protection Act.** Established system of protection for Indian artifacts and other archaeological resources on public lands and curb vandalism, theft and trafficking in stolen artifacts.
- **Indian Alcohol and Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1986.** An Act to provide education, prevention, treatment and rehabilitation and law enforcement assistance to Indian tribes and communities to fight the severe problems of alcohol and drug abuse.
- **Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988.** An Act to provide minimum federal regulatory standards for gambling activities on Indian reservations, to provide the tribal-state agreements for the conduct of certain forms of gambling and to establish a federal Indian Gaming Commission to implement the Act.
- **Indian Health Care Amendments of 1988.** An Act to reauthorize and amend the Indian Health Care Improvement Act and to make further reforms in the administration and provisions of Indian health care services.
- **American Heritage Trust Act.** Introduced bill to reform Land and Water Conservation Fund, the only source of federal money for acquisition of parks, wildlife refuges, forests and rivers by states and the federal government, and construction of recreation facilities by state and local governments. Bill would have made LWCF an endowed trust fund to guarantee a growing and reliable source of funds for LWCF purposes in perpetuity and reversed the shrinkage of LWCF spending in the Reagan-Bush years.
- **Arizona Wilderness Act of 1984.** Designated more than 1 million acres of wilderness in national forest and BLM lands in Arizona.

- **Coal Slurry.** Consumer-oriented bill to reduce the cost of coal transportation, thus eventually reducing the cost of generation of electricity at coal-fired plants. Coal would be shipped in slurry form through pipelines. Pipelines would be built by private sector, but this legislation, introduced by Mr. Udall, would allow same. Bill reported by Committee in 101st Congress.
- **Tongass National Forest.** Enacted Tongass Timber Reform Act, which effectively ended federal subsidies for harvesting of old-growth timber in the only American temperate rain forest, located in Alaska. Taxpayers had paid \$50 million a year to subsidize two Alaskan pulp mills and to underwrite 50-year contracts that allowed the mills to cut federal timber at bargain prices and ship the final product to Japan. The Act ended subsidies, reformed contracts and protected more than a million acres of ancient forest lands from logging, mining and roadbuilding.

* The federal government, as trustee for Indian tribes, is responsible for securing sufficient water supplies to develop and sustain reservations as viable tribal homelands. As an alternative to long and costly litigation, Mr. Udall encouraged negotiated settlements that would quantify tribal rights, settle claims and provide means for tribes to use their water entitlements. The federal government's contracts with Central Arizona tribes to deliver Colorado River water as part of their overall entitlement to water have provided a partial basis for settlements.

MORRIS K. UDALL
26 DISTRICT OF ARIZONA

235 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
202/225-4085

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515

COMMITTEES
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS
CHAIRMAN
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY
ASSESSMENT


April 19, 1991

The Honorable Thomas S. Foley
Speaker of the House
H204, the Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I hereby resign the office of Representative for
the Second Congressional District of Arizona, effective
May 4, 1991.

Sincerely,


Morris K. Udall

cc: Gov. Fife Symington

DISTRICT OFFICES:
□ 373 SOUTH MEYER
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602/820-1385

□ 522 WEST ROOSEVELT STREET
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1-800/458-5547

MORRIS K. UDALL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

April 19, 1991

Honorable Thomas P. Foley, Speaker
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Speaker:

It is with profound sadness that I must inform you that my husband, Morris K. Udall, will resign from the U.S. House of Representatives effective May 4, 1991.

Since my letter to you of April 5, I have discussed Mo's medical prognosis with him, his doctors, other members of the family and his staff. Our reluctant conclusion is that any improvement in his condition will be insufficient to allow him to resume his duties and responsibilities as Representative from the 2nd Congressional District of Arizona, and Chairman of the House Interior Committee.

Mr. Speaker, for nearly 30 years, Mo's life has been dedicated to the people of Arizona and to the Congress. His integrity and decency, his love of the land, and his warm, self-deprecating humor are his legacy to his state and to his country.

More recently, his steadfastness in confronting the effects of a relentless disease holds a lesson for each of us.

For a number of years, Mo kept a quote from Will Rogers next to his desk in his office. It expresses my husband's outlook throughout his life:

"We come here for just a spell and then pass on. So get a few laughs and do the best you can. Live your life so that whenever you lose, you are ahead."

I believe my husband surely is "ahead."

Thank you again for your consideration and your understanding during this difficult time for all of us.

Sincerely,

Norma G. Udall
Norma G. Udall