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Beaty, administrative assistant to Congressman Stewart L. Udall during the late 1950s and assistant to Secretary of Interior Udall from 1961 to 1967, discusses Arizona politics during the 1950s, the extended Udall family, and Stewart L. Udall's service in Congress, among other issues.

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Orren Beaty, Jr.
Orren Beaty

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Orren Beaty, Jr.—JFK#1

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with

Orren Beaty, Jr.

October 10, 1969
Washington, D.C.

By William W. Moss

For the John F. Kennedy Library

MOSS: All right, Mr. Beaty, this morning I would like to take you back to the almost ancient history of the early ‘50’s and ask you what there was about Stewart Udall [Stewart L. Udall], what there was about Arizona and Arizona politics that made it possible for him to be elected congressman in 1954?

BEATY: Well, let me explain my own relationship first. I worked for a newspaper while I was in college, and after the war went back to work on the newspaper and wound up in Phoenix, Arizona in late 1947. At that time there was a member of the city council named Nicholas Udall [J. Nicholas Udall], who is a cousin of Stewart Udall. It also happened that they married sisters, so they're brothers-in-law as well as cousins.

The city government of Phoenix was geared to a population of about fifty or sixty thousand, and at this time the postwar growth was really taking hold. The city government wasn't equipped to cope with the growing city's needs, and there was a charter revision committee in operation at that time, and Nicholas Udall was taking an active part in that. And I, as a newspaper reporter, was covering the meetings of the commission or whatever it was, [Charter Revision Committee]. I got to know him a little bit then. I got to know him much better when this charter revision effort led to a reform movement, and

Nicholas Udall ran for mayor. I covered the campaign and got to know him rather well--covered city hall activities. Through him, I met Stewart. I guess when I first met Nicholas Udall, Stewart was still in college. I think he completed law school in 1948.

MOSS: The newspaper was the [Phoenix] *Arizona Republican*.

BEATY: The *Arizona Republic* at Phoenix, that's right. Stewart was going to the University of Arizona law school at Tucson. There were lots of Udalls in politics in Arizona. Nick was the first one I met. I later got to know Don Udall [Don T. Udall], who was an uncle of Stewart and was at that time a superior court judge in one of the northern counties, Navajo County. Stewart's father [Levi S. Udall] was on the state supreme court at the time I moved to Arizona. I saw him occasionally, but didn't meet him until sometime later. There was another uncle [Jesse A. Udall] in an eastern Arizona county; lived at Thatcher, which is in Graham County and became a Graham County superior court judge, as his brother Don was in the northern part of the state.

So with the Udalls as well known as they were and prominent members of the Mormon Church [Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints], and at that time--I think the ratio probably has shifted quite a bit because of the influx of people from out of state--but at that time the Mormons were a rather potent force in elections. Not that they were organized to the extent that there was a Mormon candidate and a non-Mormon candidate, but the fact that somebody was a Mormon didn't hurt him any; rather helpful, in fact.

A friend of Stewart's, probably a little older, a man named Dix W. Price, whose parents were good friends of Stewart's father and mother, was active on the Charter Government Committee. As I remember it was first a Charter Revision Committee, then became for years a "King Maker" type organization known as the "Charter Government Committee, and he was active in church affairs. In 1954, the year Stewart was elected to Congress, the Democrats also elected a governor after the Republicans had held the office for two terms. The reason I mentioned Price is because I think he's rather a shrewd observer of Arizona political activities, and I asked him at the time how he thought the election for governor would come out. This was a couple of months before the election, and he thought the Democrats would win because the Mormons had become disaffected with the then governor, Howard Pyle [J. Howard Pyle], because of a raid that the state government had conducted on a polygamist community at the border between Arizona and Utah. It was a very small community and probably--I don't know how many polygamist marriages were in existence there, fifty perhaps. But even though the leading Mormons in the state

were opposed to the multiple marriage operations in these remote areas because of the effect it would have on the image of Mormons generally, they were also opposed to the raid or the way it was conducted because it again cast some shadow over their way of life.

And Price said that normally Mormons were Republicans to the extent of about three to two; about three-fifths of them would vote Republican in a normal election, but this time

he felt confident that they'd shift the other way. And the Democratic candidate for governor won that year by about twelve thousand votes, and that's just about the ratio of the Mormon vote. So at that time in that year, the Mormon attitude was a factor in Stewart's election. He won a primary victory, a contest with about four or five candidates. You want me to go on and explain what led up to this campaign?

MOSS: Yes.

BEATY: I met him a year or two before that election. Nicholas Udall and I had driven together to Douglas, Arizona for a meeting of the Arizona Municipal League, now called the Arizona League of Cities and Towns, but it's an organization of city officials. He had some law business that he and Stewart were sharing. Part of the activity was in Tucson, part in Phoenix, so he took care of it in Phoenix and then had Stewart working on it in Tucson. We stopped by to them on the way back from Douglas and the talk was mostly about the law business. Stewart's wife [Ermalee Udall] was in the hospital having just given birth to their third child--their first daughter. There was some talk about that, and then there was some talk about the next election.

Stewart wanted to know if Nick thought Porque Patten--a man named Harold A. Patten but commonly known as Porque, a Spanish word for "why" that he used to use a lot of the time--would Porque Patten run for reelection. There'd been some rumors that he, after three terms in Congress, was tired of it--wasn't making enough money or something that discouraged him from continuing. Nick didn't know. He participated in Phoenix city politics, but hadn't gotten too active in county and partisan politics--the city election was a nonpartisan affair. It's nonpartisan to the extent that when Nick was elected mayor, Barry Goldwater [Barry M. Goldwater] was elected to the city council and took off on his career. Two or three other Republicans have since moved up from that city council job, but it is nonpartisan. But Stewart undoubtedly had been thinking about a congressional race, but I heard no more about it.

And in 1953 and 1954, I was covering the state legislature's activities. There was a rather popular speaker of the house of representatives in the state named John Smith [John C. Smith, Jr.], from Yuma. John was

very popular with his colleagues, obviously, having been elected speaker. And he and some of them felt that he was the logical candidate for Congress from the second district in Arizona. At that time there were only two districts, one district was all of Maricopa County, which is Phoenix, and the rest of the state was in the second district. So I think he was probably the first one to announce, or at least it was the first one that became generally known he'd be a candidate, I think, feeling that his colleagues in the various counties would be very helpful to him in winning the primary. No Republican had been elected to the House from Arizona at that time, so it seemed logical if he could get the nomination, he'd be the congressman.

There were two other candidates that I recall--there may have been a fifth--besides Stewart. The state school superintendent was a man named M. L. Brooks, who wasn't very

well known by anybody, but he always managed to win that particular office by a rather substantial vote. He lived in Phoenix but transferred his residence to Tucson in order not to raise any questions about where he lived. And Congressman Patten's administrative assistant, a man named A. B. Sieh. (I'm not sure how he spells that last name, S-I-E-H, I think. But it made a nice catch phrase in the campaign: "vote for A. B. Sieh." He got the support, naturally, of the established Democratic organization around Patten and the Tucson morning newspaper, which is normally Democratic, *The Arizona Daily Star*.

Stewart didn't get into the race very early. I didn't know this until later, but there was quite a debate raging within the Udall family over whether or not he should run. His brother, Morris [Morris K. Udall], who's now the congressman from that district, was, I believe, county attorney at the time in Pima County--if not the county attorney, he was the deputy county attorney--and he was running for judge in one of the superior court divisions in Tucson, Pima County. He had announced, and there was feeling that there were too many Udalls, or this would be a criticism--too many Udalls on the ballot, and it would hurt one or both of them. In the end he chose to announce, I think against the advice of most of his family.

First time I saw him after this happened there was a Young Democratic convention in Phoenix, and as a newspaper reporter and a political writer, I was covering it. And we got John Smith, who was there, L. S. (Dick) Adams, who was nominally a Young Democrat running for Congress in the first district against John Rhodes [John J. Rhodes], and Stewart together for a picture. This is the reason I happen to remember this. I had three Young Democratic

candidates for Congress there at one time.

I talked to him a bit about his candidacy. It was just beginning to take shape. He wasn't particularly confident about it, but in the end, he won the nomination rather decisively; he carried every county except Yuma, which was John Smith's district. He ran second there. School Superintendent Brooks was still well enough known to run second in most of the other counties and came in second overall, but far behind. There's no runoff in Arizona in the primaries. I'm not sure whether Stewart got a majority or simply outdistanced all of his opponents, but he won with a rather impressive victory at very little expense. I think his total expenditures in both the primary and the general election were less than ten thousand dollars that year. While it wasn't much then, it's infinitesimal compared to what you have to pay now in one of these contests.

MOSS: What kind of organization did he have to win this primary?

BEATY: Well, he had his Mormon family connections in, well, three of the counties I would guess: in Graham County, which is where his uncle--a Republican incidentally, but still a lot of family lived in Graham County, in Apache and Navajo. Stewart and Morris came from Apache County. Their father and mother lived there from their birth until old Judge Udall was elected to the state supreme court. In fact, that was

Stewart's first real campaign. Stewart, incidentally, also helped in the unsuccessful campaign that year against the right-to-work law.

He'd just gotten back from the army; he was in law school. His father was running for the Supreme Court, there had been a vacancy during the previous term. There had been a death, and the Governor--this is one of these things you'd have to get Stewart to tell you to be accurate on. The way I recall it, the then-governor of Arizona debated between appointing Judge Udall from Apache County or another Democratic lawyer from Yavapai County, which is where Prescott is located. He appointed the other one, and I'm not sure whether…. One way or another, there was a misunderstanding and Judge Levi Udall pitched in and ran, and Stewart was his state campaign manager. And they traveled around the state. So Stewart got acquainted with county Democratic workers in all the counties, which I think helped him later.

He also participated as county campaign manager for candidates for governor in 1948 and 1950. I believe those were the two years. He lost them both; his campaign didn't win, but he was taking an active leadership role in the Democratic Party in Pima County. He also got active in civil rights efforts. Arizona doesn't have many Negroes--I suppose they had fewer in those days, but there were still

segregated schools. And by their efforts, the group he was working with helped get Arizona to integrate sometime before the Supreme Court decision. And there is an Indian reservation near Tucson, the Papago Reservation. There's an organization known as Friends of the Papagos or some such thing, in which the downtown people interested in human rights participated to try to remove some of the restrictions against Indians and to help them develop economically. So he was getting active in Indian affairs, he was active in local party affairs and civil rights and also, he served on a school board in Tucson. He was moving around in a lot of areas.

Also, Dix Price, the man I mentioned earlier, had become principal lobbyist for the Arizona Education Association, and I'm sure that some of Stewart's early campaign mailings went to school teachers around the state whose names were provided by Price's office. Stewart worked with school superintendents in the Tucson area. I'm sure he had access on his own without calling to the Phoenix office, but he still, I'm sure, got this kind of help. So he was supported by education people, by organized labor--we're getting quite a bit away from the subject of the political situation in Arizona, but in a way, what he was doing reflects that the situation was.

The copper mining industry has always been a very important factor in Arizona's economic life and also in the political life because if all the legends and myths are true, the copper industry ran the state in the earlier days. I knew an old state senator, who had served in the state House of Representatives from Yavapai County when it was a big copper mining center--it's long since faded out except in one small area now--and he told me how in the old days as the House members would go in each Monday morning, they'd be handed a little book which would be how they were supposed to vote that week on issues. So it was a big factor, and it remains a big factor in that congressional district, because there are copper mines in Greenlee County, Cochise County, Pima County--all of those were in that district at

the time. Cochise County mines around Bisbee were the center of activity--also Pinal County, which lies between those would be to the west of the mining district, but it's in that general area.

The Pinal County and the Cochise County mining communities were kind of the center for the Mines Mill and Smelter Workers union [International Union of Mines, Mill and Smelter Workers], which was being accused periodically of having allegiance to communism. Some of its leaders were indicted, and I suppose some were convicted, but the thing dragged through the courts and up and down on appeals. They refused to take loyalty oaths or oaths that they were not communists. The thing was still dragging on after Stewart became Secretary of the Interior because I recall meeting with some of the…

MOSS: What position did Udall take in all this?

BEATY: Well, he was being supported by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. He wasn't called upon to take a position for them or against them, or were they communist led or not communist led. It's simply if you had their support, the Republicans made it appear that you sympathized with their allegedly communist leanings. This was at the height of the Joseph R. McCarthy era, and the main issue in the campaign, really, as far as his opponent was concerned in the general election, was his (Udall's) pinko, left-wing leaning attitude, to use some of the popular phrases.

MOSS: How did he counter that?

BEATY: Two or three ways: One, by character references. People in communities who had unblemished standings went to bat for him. In other ways, just with what he said and speaking appearances and interviews and things like that.

While he was in college, he and his brother were members of the American Veterans Committee on campus, and they helped…. Stewart, I think, edited their publication which was called the *Ruptured Duck*. And it took some far-out views that Negroes were equal to others and should have the same rights, and they opposed the right-to-work law in Arizona, which had become a big issue with which Republicans beat Democrats to death. So he had established a rather liberal image before he ran for Congress, and of course all this was dug out and displayed in advertising and handbills and things like this to best advantage by the Republicans to show that he was not trustworthy.

His opponent, the Republican candidate, was Barry Goldwater's administrative assistant, a man named Henry Zipf. The Zipf family had been active Republicans in the state, as Henry Zipf's--or Hank they called him--older brother worked on the *Arizona Republic* with me and his wife, who had formerly been married to an editor of the *Arizona Republic*. Both were active in the Republican party, and they periodically took leaves from the newspaper to work on publicity and advertising and that sort of thing for Republican candidates for the Republican party. Hank was a lawyer and came back with Barry when Goldwater was elected to the Senate in 1952.

Goldwater quarterbacked the campaign, and it was a McCarthy-type campaign; it was a smear campaign. I wasn't involved in the campaign except as a reporter; so I don't think my view of what happened is colored by my later association with Stewart, because I had the same feeling before I even got to know him very well. Zipf had a couple of advance men who'd go around the second district two or three days ahead of Stewart's appearances. If he were to appear in Flagstaff, for example, on a Friday, these two would show up on Wednesday.

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And they'd go to the editors and the radio people and particularly the Republican leaders there and give them copies of the *Ruptured Duck*, which illustrated how "way out" Stewart Udall was. They distributed copies of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' endorsement of Stewart and other copies that showed headlines that Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers had been indicted for communism, whatever the situation was.

Well, the reason I mentioned Flagstaff, the editor there didn't know Stewart, but he knew the Udall family. He had worked on newspapers in two or three northern Arizona towns. He was interested in Indian affairs himself, he knew of Stewart's interest in it. His name was Platt Cline. And Platt ran, and still does run, a rather independent newspaper. It isn't lined up with either the Democrats or the Republicans, although I think he is probably more sympathetic to Democrats. But he has supported Goldwater on a couple of occasions--not for president, but earlier when he ran for the Senate. He sent these guys packing and wrote an editorial denouncing this effort and praising Stewart as a member of a fine Arizona family and saying that he deserved better than this kind of back-alley treatment.

MOSS: He did this on his own?

BEATY: Yes. Yes, Stewart didn't inspire it at all, didn't even know it was happening until this happened. In fact, I think that may have been--again this would be something he'd have to confirm--that this is when he first realized the extent of the Goldwater-Zipf campaign tactics in this regard. So with use of the editorials that Platt Cline wrote and news stories being duplicated and run as ads in other papers or at least circulated, Stewart's friends could, by word of mouth, counter the other arguments. I think this helped.

Well, it was a good Democratic year. Republicans had never won that district, and Stewart carried every county, won rather convincingly. I forget by how much, but it's something like twenty-six to twenty-eight thousand votes, his margin was. And he continued to win by roughly that margin until 1960 when he campaigned almost entirely for John Kennedy [John F. Kennedy] and not for himself. He never did campaign for himself much, he usually was out talking for Stevenson [Adlai E. Stevenson] in 1956, Democratic candidate for governor in 1958. But this year particularly, 1960, he went all out for Kennedy.

And Kennedy was not popular in Arizona, as it turned out, and Stewart’s margin dropped from something like thirty thousand to twenty thousand. Whether it was because he had a stronger opponent or the Kennedy effort--whatever it was, that was the first time he'd lost any real strength there.

MOSS: You said that you didn't have any specific role in the campaign, you were still acting as a reporter. How did it come then that you became Udall's administrative assistant?

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BEATY: Well, you know in a campaign a newspaper reporter gets to know the candidates fairly well if he's assigned to them. Since I was covering the governor's campaign more than the congressional campaigns, I traveled part of the time with the Democratic candidate and part of the time with the Republican candidate. The newspaper didn't want the reporters to get too closely aligned with any one candidate. But whenever I was with the Democratic candidate for governor our paths would cross, and I got to know Stewart fairly well from visiting at political rallies. Their rallies, I suppose, have gotten even worse now, but in those days about half the people present were candidates and probably now it's 90 percent because hardly anybody turns out for them. But because of this, once you've been to two or three you've met almost all the candidates and their campaign aides, so you either turn to visiting with the reporters and so on. We had several good visits.

Toward the end of the campaign, I remember talking to him and his one assistant, and he said something about it's too bad I lived in the other district, he'd like to take me back to Washington with him. It seemed to me this was just another candidate buttering up the press; I didn't put a lot of faith in it. But a year later, after he'd been elected and served through his first session of Congress, his administrative assistant quit, wanted to come back to Tucson. And Stewart checked out several people, and of those he approached, I was the most enthusiastic about coming back, and in the end, that's what happened.

I missed one factor in the Arizona political situation--I probably missed others, but I remember right now one very definite factor I missed. The Mexican-Americans in the southern part of the state are an important factor and certainly for the Democratic party--most of them are Democrats. There's an organization known as the Alianza Hispano-Americano, which is a fraternal, social organization that's also tied into a life insurance program of some sort. The man who's president of the organization is also head of the insurance company. Since new organizations involving the Mexican-Americans are being formed in recent years, I suppose it's not nearly as important a factor, but in those days it was the biggest single organization. And the president at that time was a friend of Stewart's; they were both lawyers in Tucson, and he was very helpful to Stewart, particularly in places like Santa Cruz County, which is where Nogales is the county seat, Cochise County, Pima and Pinal. And his son-in-law was just out of law school and was interested in politics, and he became Stewart's assistant, his administrative assistant, after the November victory. But he wasn't particularly taken by Washington and wanted to get back into law practice out there.

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I guess that's about it. I had thought earlier, three or four years earlier, that Nick Udall might run for Congress in the first district and that if I ever came back to Washington as somebody's assistant, it would be a Nicholas Udall deal. But the Democrats had an old war-horse congressman [John Rhodes] a man who had served for a good many years, and people like Nick weren't going to challenge him in the primary. So until he retired, there wasn't an opening there. As it turned out the Republicans beat that particular man in 1952 and there still isn't an opening because he's got a pretty solid seat.

MOSS: Let's move on to Stewart Udall's congressional career. Let me ask you what sort of a representative was he, as a general question, and lead off specifically by how did he keep the folks back home happy with his performance?

BEATY: Well, you know one of the things is getting the right committee assignments. I think he used his father's relationship with Senator Hayden [Carl T. Hayden] and Hayden's relationship with Sam Rayburn [Samuel Taliaferro Rayburn]. Rayburn and Hayden were the two who had been here the longest at that point. I forget when Sam Rayburn came to Congress, but Hayden came at the time of statehood in 1912, and served from then until his retirement last year.

It's very important in Arizona that at least one of their congressmen be on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. The Democrat I talked about in the first district had been chairman of that committee when John Rhodes beat him in 1952. Rhodes took a seat on that committee, and because of Stewart's interest in education and the support he got from labor, I think he felt he ought to serve on the Education and Labor Committee. He got those two assignments. There was some newspaper publicity that he was trying to and that Hayden was helping, and in the end he wound up with them. Well, this kept him active in a great many issues that Arizonans were interested in: Indians, public lands, reclamation--being in the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Those early years were the beginnings of the federal aid to education fight, which I guess didn't reach a successful conclusion until Johnson [Lyndon Baines Johnson] was president when they finally got the first Elementary and Secondary Education Assistance Act passed. But this was a big issue in Arizona. The newspapers generally were opposing it: "You get federal money; you get federal controls." That was a big argument. And as he mentioned, it had support from the educators and the school teachers. He took a leadership role in that. John Rhodes did at first when Eisenhower [Dwight D. Eisenhower] was pushing a school aid bill in 1956 or '57. He later withdrew from it, but Stewart, of course, kept right on and that was the committee's most

active issue, I think, until they got involved a little later in the labor legislation that got him associated with John Kennedy.

MOSS: How did Stewart Udall take to Congress? There are people who take to it very easily; there are people who feel uncomfortable; there are people who feel

they have to follow Mr. Sam's dictum of "To get along, you go along." What was his attitude towards all this?

BEATY: Well, I wasn't with him the first year, but I suspect it was just like it was when I came back. He was really enthusiastic about it; it was something that he liked. I'm not sure that he really liked campaigning. I think he's more introverted than a politician needs to be or should be to really go out and enjoy backslapping and handshaking and baby kissing. But the actual legislative role was something that he gloried in. He reads a lot. He reads a lot that the average Arizonan doesn't: the *Manchester Guardian, New Republic, New Leader, New York Times Sunday Magazine*, you know, things like this that a congressman needs to read just to keep up with what's going on around him. Well, he didn't read it as a chore; he read it because he enjoyed being informed.

He got appointed that first year to represent the House in some interparliamentary meeting in London [Interparliamentary Union Conference] and got acquainted with Denis Healey [Denis W. Healy] who's now the war minister or whatever the title is there. At that time he was--well I won't go into that, I don't know. He was on the shadow cabinet for a while when Labor was out of power and then took over the leadership role when they went in. But whenever he met somebody like that, he maintained correspondence with them and went out of his way to learn what other people were thinking and why they were thinking it. He got associated with the younger, progressive Democrats in the House, who after about one or two terms felt that they had to get new leadership, new rules if they were ever going to do anything and that the old committee chairmen, the old House leadership, was not going to change things much and that there were problems that hadn't been solved and if they were going to earn their place there, they were going to have to do something about it.

MOSS: Speaking of committee chairmen, how did he get along with Graham Barden [Graham A. Barden] and Wayne Aspinall [Wayne N. Aspinall], people like that?

BEATY: Well, this is a good question because it reminds me of two or three things. One, Clair Engle was the chairman of the House Committee [Interior and Insular Affairs] at that time, and he was a Northern Californian. Arizona had been involved in water fights with California for decades, and it was to continue right up to the present. But Engle, representing the northern part of California, was

constructive in recognizing the needs of other states, and he and Stewart worked together rather well.

Aspinall, of course, was taking the lead in reclamation legislation that was pending at the time I came back here. One of the first things I did with Stewart was to go to a strategy meeting one morning in Aspinall's office as they were getting ready to work on the Upper Colorado River Storage Project Act, which got into a lot of conservation issues as well as reclamation.

He, I think, played the right role in looking to them as a student to a schoolmaster on how do you do these things, and I think got along rather well with Aspinall and with Engle in that period. He later cited favorably the organization of the House Interior Committee in which Engle delegated authority. Engle let subcommittee chairmen conduct their own meetings, let them have regular meetings. They moved the legislation rapidly in most cases. And in Stewart's efforts working with other people on the Education and Labor Committee, he used this as an example of what kinds of rules they ought to have in the Educational and Labor Committee. Graham Barden ran things like a typical entrenched chairman would do--as a dictator. He told them what they could do, and he called meetings when he got ready, and he brought up legislation when he got ready, and sometimes he didn't bring it up at all. This went on--I think it was probably in 1958 that Stewart and Frank Thompson [Frank Thompson, Jr.] of New Jersey and Edith Green [Edith S. Green], Oregon, Carl Elliott [Carl A. Elliott] of Alabama, Lee Metcalf [Lee Metcalf] of Montana--I forget the others who were active in a reform at that point.

MOSS: Was Powell [Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.] involved in it?

BEATY: Yeah, I'm sure he was. In those days Powell served on both of Stewart's committees. He became chairman of the Committee on Mines and Mining or something like this.

MOSS: Far removed from his constituency. [Laughter]

BEATY: That's right. That's right. But he liked it because the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee handles territorial matters, and this gave him good reason to go to the Virgin Islands and get him to the Caribbean. I'm talking about Powell now. I don't think Stewart ever went down there while he was on the committee. He may have once--one of their field hearings.

They managed to force Barden to really liberalize the rules of the committee [Education and Labor], and I think this was when they came back in 1959 after the '58 election. This may have been when Jim O'Hara [James G. O'Hara] of Michigan and Brademas [John Brademas] of Indiana came in and joined the committee, and they went out of their way to cultivate these

new people before--to get acquainted with them before they actually took office so that they'd have more strength. And I'm not sure they had the votes to do it, but they were close enough so that Barden himself proposed some liberalized rules and they scored a victory that got them some publicity and got a little more effectiveness on the committee. Lee Metcalf had been on the committee when Stewart first went back there, and Lee had taken the lead in this sort of thing. He also--I'm rambling a bit here, but he also conducted some hearings on mine safety which led, I think, to some of Stewart's attitudes and actions later while he was Secretary of the Interior.

Let's see, I had one other thought there. Well, the Democratic Study Group. By 1958, I guess Eugene McCarthy [Eugene J. McCarthy] was over in the Senate, but it kind of gathered around him and Metcalf and Thompson; to a lesser degree, I think, Wayne Hays [Wayne L. Hays] of Ohio--at least his assistant participated in some of our meetings of assistants in getting ready on that. It was activity in that area that got Stewart some prominence, but also got him in a little less than favored position with the House leadership, Rayburn and so forth. He got along well with Rayburn, I think, but he didn't get any particular favors after they began to revolt.

MOSS: Do you think this affected his relations with Congress later, after he was Secretary?

BEATY: Well, you know, it helped. It helped with the more progressive elements in Congress because they knew that he was sympathetic with what they were trying to do. It caused problems in some other areas, but I think the problems were caused more by other factors than this. Aspinall, who had been tutoring this young man, suddenly found him Secretary of Interior, and I think resented it, and he had to woo Aspinall as Secretary of Interior. He, as Secretary of Interior, had to woo Aspinall a whole lot harder than I think a Republican Secretary of Interior would have had to do, somebody who had never had any role on the committee up to that point. But as far as being active in the Democratic Study Group or in revolts against the committee chairmen, I don't think this really hurt him. He worked well with many of the other chairmen of committees he didn't serve on when he got involved in things. He is very thorough in preparing for testimony before other committees when he wanted to say something, and this makes a good impression on a chairman.

MOSS: How did he develop over time? Did you notice a change in his focus or his interests from when he came in to finally when he became Secretary of the Interior?

BEATY: Well, of course if I knew then and had the experience then that I have now, I'd be in better shape to appraise him. I was kind of wide-eyed in trying to learn myself. I don't

think I could make any objective appraisals of it, but I know that he constantly broadened his relationships. He grew in the job. He read constantly. There was a constant flow of books and periodicals between the Library of Congress and the Legislative Reference Service and our office.

MOSS: What kind of books were…

BEATY: Issue books, political books, anything that had to do with the role of Congress. He wrote articles about Congress; he got some published in the *Reporter*

magazine and *New York Times Magazine, New Republic*. He wrote a weekly newsletter which the staff helped on, but it was his; he usually chose the subject, and he always rewrote it. He edits things very carefully. He's merciless in his editing on even his own; he cuts it to pieces and starts over again two or three times.

It was the first time anybody in Arizona had really written an articulate newsletter. I'm sure it ran too long and only a few papers would use it, but he still got it to…. He had a mailing list of a lot of his supporters and key people in the state so that whether it was published in the papers or not, there were a lot of people reading it. I suppose sometimes it was aimed at catching a headline. A lot of times it was a good intellectual study of an issue and why he thought he was going to vote the way he was planning to vote, or whatever it was.

He read biographies of people who had been active in politics and in government; he read current matters involving inflation, economics, NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization]. I think he read and studied more in Education and Labor Committee activities --activities related to that than he did in Interior. I think he felt he had grown up with the Interior--in Arizona you're surrounded by the things that are handled by Interior--and that he didn't have to work on that as hard. All this is surmise; he's not too communicative with his staff or with anybody else. He's thinking all the time, and he doesn't want to be bothered with talking about it. This is my feeling about it.

MOSS: How did he respond to special interests in Arizona, say, like the mining interests? How did he look after them in Congress?

BEATY: He did the things that a representative of any area with an industry in it would do. When the copper prices rose spectacularly at one period, I think…. I'm guessing, but in 1958, '59, something like that, the standard price was something like thirty-two cents a pound, and it went shooting up to fifty-six or

forty-eight--I forget the figure. And then all of a sudden this brought a lot of production from foreign mines and mines that hadn't been particularly productive in this country. And all of a sudden there was an oversupply, and the prices dropped down into the lower twenties. He and Metcalf of Montana and Baring [Walter S. Baring, Jr.] of Nevada--other states that had copper as one of their principal sources of employment and taxation--got together and did quite a bit of work with the Eisenhower administration, the OEP [Office of Emergence Planning] or whatever it was called then, the stockpile agency, trying to get different kinds of assistance. He worked with the industry, but there weren't any issues, I don't believe, except perhaps labor laws that required legislation. Things like this, where you get some administrative, executive decision--they asked for help and he responded constructively.

The Democratic National Committeeman for a good many years and during the early part of Stewart's career in the Congress was a lawyer from his district, from the Glove-Miami area, named Sam Morris [Sam H. Morris]. Sam was a very urbane man who maintained an office in New York and spent a lot of time in Washington and very little time in Arizona. But he was, if not president of one of the smaller independent mining companies, he was their

leading advisor, he was their man in New York, and he was very friendly. I've been in the congressional office many times when Stewart was in Arizona, and Mr. Morris would come by to say hello, and he'd stop and visit and talk about Stewart's career, thought he'd be a logical man to replace Senator Hayden when Senator Hayden eventually retired. So Stewart had good personal contact with some of the leaders; with some of the others, they're automatically suspicious of a Democrat, and you just don't win their confidence. He didn't go out of his way to alienate them, but it was kind of a standoff.

And there was a man at Bisbee, who had been the lobbyist in the state legislature for Phelps Dodge Corporation [Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corporation] which is the biggest copper operation in Arizona. I hope I'll think of is name in a minute. Folsom Moore (you probably know him as Jack Moore) owned and ran the *Bisbee Morning Daily Review*, which is a little newspaper in Bisbee, Arizona. He was editor of it, but I'm sure he had somebody else running it because he was so busy with the company's activities with county and city and state government. Moore was never on Stewart's side. I've seen correspondence where he was warning somebody that Udall would bring the Democratic party down to defeat and so forth. I don't think they would have actually supported him on anything, but they had no reason to work him over.

He did sponsor some legislation which the small miners opposed, and this was denying them the right to go on the Papago Indian reservation, for example, and file mining claims, to file mining claims in

in forest areas where they weren't really looking for mines but for timber or home sites, summer home developments and that sort of thing. So the small mining operators' organization in the state, I think, probably regarded him as being rather unfriendly. (In truth, the Arizona Small Miner Association looked out for the big Miners and Mining Companies.)

I just recalled something else about the Goldwater-Henry Zipf effort against Stewart in that first campaign, which I think might be of some interest, although probably more to me than it is to you. I was covering the Republican part of the campaign at this time. It was in Yuma one night, and the Republican governor and Barry Goldwater and two or three others were there, and we congregated in a motel suite afterward, after the rally, and there was a lot of general, nonpolitical chitchat. But Stewart's name came up somehow in the conversation, and Barry Goldwater quoted Nicholas Udall's father, John Udall [John H. Udall], who was a leading Republican in the state, who once ran for Congress unsuccessfully; he had been mayor of Phoenix a good many years before Nicholas was mayor of Phoenix. And Goldwater quoted John Udall to this little gathering as saying, in effect, "Barry, old boy, get in there and do what you can to beat Stewart. One bad apple will ruin the barrel, and don't worry about what we think; we'd rather get him out of the way before he ruins the Udall name." This was the kind of stuff that was being spread around the state.

MOSS: Back to constituencies for a moment. How were Indians as a constituency? How did they affect Udall?

BEATY: Well, they don't vote very heavily. They do more now than they did then, but

they generally weren't registered. In some of the counties there was resistance to letting them register. I forget when, but I think probably it was after I moved to Arizona that they actually got the right to vote. There were two things: one, they couldn't buy liquor, and one, they couldn't vote because of their wardship status. And Arizona and New Mexico were the last two states, I think, to let them vote. Seems to me that probably the 1952 election was the first presidential election where they really got the opportunity to register and vote. Now this maybe inaccurate; I'm hazy on it. I was…

MOSS: It can be checked out easily enough.

BEATY: Yes. But the Papagos, which are near Tucson as I mentioned earlier, and the two Apache tribes in Graham, Apache, and Navajo counties generally vote Democratic. The Navajos and Hopis in the northern part of the state vote Republican.

MOSS: Why is that?

BEATY: Well, this gets back to this factor I was talking about where there was resistance against letting them register. Apache and Navajo Counties in Arizona are really where Stewart grew up. And they're rather small in population compared to other parts of the state--the non-Indian population is rather small. The people who were traditionally elected to county offices, I think, feared for loss of the courthouse if the Indians registered and voted in any numbers, because there were enough of them, if they chose to do it, to take over the courthouse, perhaps move it on the reservation. So there was this constant resistance which still exists. And you can see some points on either side when you think about it, because Indians aren't taxable in many ways; you can't go on the reservation and collect for nonpayment of a purchase of a refrigerator or whatever the situation is.

But Glenn Emmons [Glenn L. Emmons] of Gallup, which regards itself as the Indian capital of the world or the Navajo capital, is a banker there, and he had a very sympathetic attitude towards Navajos. He worked with them, and he provided banking assistance to the tribe. He's a Republican, and he became the Indian commissioner under Eisenhower. Barry Goldwater has always taken an interest in Indians, and he had visited on the Navajo reservation frequently, and, obviously, he had some influence on those who took an active part in politics.

We used to check the results in precincts that we could clearly identify as Indian precincts, and it was about three to one for the Republicans in the Navajo reservation except in Stewart's case. He worked with them closely, campaigned on the reservation--he's one of the few candidates who did--and he used to break even up there and win overwhelmingly on the other reservations. But the total vote was no more than five or six thousand Indian votes, if I remember correctly. So it wasn't a big factor, but he worked hard with the Indians whenever they…. He was innovative in finding things that would help them in developing jobs, job opportunities. I don't recall anything that happened during the time he was in

Congress that would have cost him any friendship or support from the Indians. He worked at it rather hard.

MOSS: Did he have any specific reaction to Fred A. Seaton's [Frederick A. Seaton] termination of the wardship status?

BEATY: He was opposed to it. He supported some reorganization. I recall a letter he wrote to Seaton on the transfer of Indian health from the Indian Bureau to the Public Health Service, because he felt that this would provide better treatment, better administration, and it did. But we never really understood where all this termination pressure came from. It wasn't so much Eisenhower and Seaton and Emmons as it was members of Congress--the Democratic members of Congress. When we first came into Interior, Stewart made some statements

against termination and that this was going to end; that they were going to help Indians develop their resources and jobs; and once they were totally self-sufficient, if they wanted to break their ties with the federal government, their special ties, fine.

And we got into some difficulties with members of the Senate Interior Committee. I'm not sure who exactly, but among them, I think, is one of Stewart's good friends there, Senator Anderson [Clinton P. Anderson], New Mexico. Anderson had brought a young man from Albuquerque into the committee, Jim Gamble [James H. Gamble]. (I'm not sure how he spells his name, but, just like it sounds, G-A-M-B-L-E.) Jim is still the principal staff member on that committee for Indian matters, and his attitude is, you know, terminate them, get rid of them. (I don't know what I said, but I did not mean this.) the Indians expect too much protection. I'm not saying he's right or wrong, but the Indians don't like this. Stewart didn't like it, but we were in office for some time before we realized that here was as much of the problem in doing some kind of workable relationship with the Indian leaders as anything particularly….

[Begin SIDE II TAPE I]

I worked with the newspapers off and on.

MOSS: Let me ask if there are any Arizona constituencies or interests that we haven't covered that you feel are important during Udall's tenure as a congressman?

BEATY: Well, there's irrigated agriculture. Cotton is the principal crop, and it's a farm support crop. It figures in any congressman's activities partly because of the price support program, and partly because they grow long staple cotton there and this gets involved in the Egyptian imports and so forth. So we've got cotton. They talk about how Arizona used to be the three C's and then the four C's and now the five C's. Cotton, copper, cattle was the original I think. They added climate because of vacationing,

the winter tourists and that sort of thing. And I forget how they worked the other C in; it has to do with manufacturing or industry, they've got some word that covers this.

But by the time he was a member of Congress, the industrial development that has taken place around Phoenix and Tucson--electronics, aircraft components and that sort of thing--hadn't really developed, wasn't a big factor. The Hughes plant at Tucson was the biggest industry in his district, and it had ups and downs in the postwar period when it had no contracts for a few months and then some big business. It was the source of as much trouble as it was help, and I don't think it was a factor politically.

I've mentioned copper and there's the agricultural business both in Arizona and in the transfer by entrepreneurs of the winter vegetable

growing business in Arizona into Mexico and back and forth across the border; this was a factor. A Democratic county chairman in Santa Cruz County at one time was a man named--his last name was Wolfe [Harry Wolfe], and he was involved in this buying from the fields in Mexico and shipping them into this country. I believe we've pretty well covered the family background.

MOSS: How did he organize his office staff?

BEATY: Well, truthfully, he was not only the congressman, he was the administrative assistant and the press secretary and the legislative secretary. He's the kind of a person that just, in a small operation like that, takes the leading role in each area. I forget how many positions we were authorized in those days. It seems to me it was five with another one added because of districts that had more than a certain level of population, and we had the extra amount as the 1960 census proved when Arizona got a third congressional seat--broke up his old district.

The man who had campaigned with him throughout his first campaign is named Richard L. Schweitzer. Dick stayed with him and came back here with him and was with him the entire time he was in Congress. He had decided on his own to quit and go back to Tucson at the end of 1960 and did; he didn't stay here. He moved to Arizona originally because of a respiratory problem, and the winters here were driving him crazy, and he decided to move back to Tucson. But Dick came back with Stewart and helped set up the office. The Mexican-American administrative assistant I mentioned came back, so he had two men in the office. I can't think of that guy's name, but it will come to me eventually. His name is Alfred or Alfredo, but better known as Fred Marquez [Alfredo Chavez Marquez]. Fred and Dick did most of the work; Stewart let Dick handle personal correspondence--I mean personal political-type with most of the Arizona people that Stewart didn't handle himself, with the exception of the Mexican-American stuff which Fred, of course, worked on.

Mrs. Udall, Stewart's wife had worked back here during the war enough to be a little bit familiar with the area. She came back early and helped find a house for them to move into. They had some friends that she visited with, and they wound up out in the McLean area in Virginia because that's where the friends lived. Another friend of hers that she'd gone to

college with had worked for Senator Ernest McFarland [Earnest W. McFarland], the man that Barry Goldwater beat in 1952, and she'd married somebody back here and settled in the Washington area. She wasn't working at the time, and Lee Udall, Mrs. Udall, talked her into working in the office long enough to help them set up a filing system and learn their way around, and she did. She was still in the office, I think, when I came back. Yeah, she was still here.

She left for a while to have another baby and then she came back again and worked with us briefly, but she was with us only about a year after I came to work here. She was a Mormon with a lot of good Mormon family ties in Arizona, her name was Skousen before she got married. The Skousens are almost as well known a Mormon family as the Udalls or the Lees. Stewart's middle name is Lee and his wife's first name is Lee, so you can see the Lee family name getting into it. He also went to the Navajo Indian tribe leadership and told them he wanted to have an Indian girl in the office and would they recommend a stenographer. And a girl named Tilly Bowman who had been working in the tribal office came back. She was a graduate of Northern Arizona University at Flagstaff or in those days it was known as Arizona State College at Flagstaff. So when I came back here there was Della Skousen Stilmar in one front desk and Tilly Bowman in the other, Stewart in the inner office, and Dick Schweitzer and I in the outer office. This was the size of the operation.

Stewart and I both worked on legislative matters, nobody had the title of legislative assistant, I was administrative assistant, but as I say, Stewart pretty well did this. Dick, theoretically, was handling the press relations, although all my friends in Arizona, because I had worked for a newspaper, assumed that that's all I was doing, and in fact, I did a lot of it because of my acquaintanceship with the press in the state. So I was working as administrative assistant and press assistant.

All three of us lived out in that area, and we drove together the first year or two. I drove or Dick drove, and Stewart read newspapers and magazines; there was very little conversation to and from work. He put in all the time he could reading. We got this extra position in one of the pay raise bills or staff bills a year or two after I came back here and hired somebody in Tucson on a part-time basis and added an extra secretary in the office. But this was a young man from Miami, Arizona, a Spanish-American, Mexican-American background, named Robert Reveles [Robert A. Reveles]. He had just gotten out of the air force, was going to school at Georgetown Foreign Service School [Georgetown University School of Foreign Service] and needed a part-time job to go with his GI bill payments in order to keep going to school. He'd been a clerk typist in the army or the air force and was excellent. He's now administrative assistant to Congressman Frank Thompson of New Jersey.

But that was the extent of the staff. Tilly Bowman got married later and moved out, and we got another girl. But it was a small staff, and Stewart was calling the signals, I think, in almost every area. We'd come up with ideas, and sometimes they're accepted and sometimes they're rejected. But mostly we were doing what he wanted done; specifically, not just what we thought he wanted done.

MOSS: When did the Udall office first encounter John F. Kennedy?

BEATY: I think it was in 1958. At that time one of New York's senators was a man named Irving M. Ives [Irving McNeil Ives], and there was the Kennedy-Ives labor bill, which didn't become law. Barry Goldwater was screaming abort labor and how we had to curb its powers, and both because of this factor in Arizona domestic politics and local politics and because Stewart was on the Education and Labor Committee, he couldn't avoid getting involved in labor matters.

MOSS: Before we get on to that, was there any contact prior to this?

BEATY: Not that I know of.

MOSS: All right, let me ask you if there was any awareness of him as a growing national figure or anything of this sort?

BEATY: Oh yeah. For example, I think--you'll know and I don't know when John Kennedy was in the hospital with his operation, when he was near death and all--you know, the stuff that's been so well publicized. Senator Hayden traditionally made an appearance in Arizona at the end of a session, and it was at the Phoenix Press Club forum. And somebody asked him about Senator Kennedy this particular year, and he said something like, "Fine young chap; it's tragic, but he's dying." And Hayden just doesn't make light remarks, and everybody assumed he was dying. And it seems to me that he implied it was cancer or something like that. It shows he wasn't too well informed. Arizona, even then, was aware that here was somebody with some potential, not just as a member of Congress, but as a national leader of some sort. Stewart certainly knew it. This Hayden comment was made before I went to work for Stewart, so it must have been '54, '55, something like that.

MOSS: Well, '54 I believe was the time when he had the really bad problems with his back because it kept him out of the McCarthy vote.

BEATY: One of my jobs was when constituents came to town--the really good ones, the county officials or the people who had worked in his campaigns giving him support--when they'd come to town on behalf of some legislation or some conference or something, I'd give them a tour of the Hill, the Library of Congress, Senator Hayden's office, stop off and look at the House in action and the Senate in action. I recall his telling somebody, "If the Senate is still in session when you get over there, look for John Kennedy. I think you'll like him." And as it turned out, that was one of the days he was making some statement. It was obviously after that illness, but he stood at his desk rather-well, he was leaning on it. He was

quite thin and…. You know, you can't hear much of what anybody is saying unless they're a real loud talker, and I remember these people straining to hear what he was saying because of what Stewart had said to them. This was probably about 1957.

MOSS: Let me ask about the Democratic Convention in '56. Did you have any role in that that Stewart Udall was in?

BEATY: No, I'm sure he didn't attend. If he did, he didn't have a very active part in it. I was in the air reserve in those days, and I was putting in my active duty because it was between sessions or--maybe they had actually quit that year. I guess they did on time. I was out at Andrews Field [Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland] listening to this on the radio when the balloting went on between Kefauver [Estes Kefauver] and Kennedy. I thought Kennedy was winning. I didn't have any particular preference at that point, but the way the announcer was making it sound, when one state announced a switch to Kennedy, I thought this was it. I was shocked five or ten minutes later to have them announce that Kefauver was the winner.

MOSS: You didn't hear any discussions of this later on as to why it happened?

BEATY: No, I didn't.

MOSS: Arizona was pretty solidly for Kefauver as…

BEATY: I imagine so, yeah.

MOSS: All right, let's go on then into the legislation later on in '58 and '60, and first the labor rackets business and the Kennedy-Ives and Landrum-Griffin [Philip Mitchell Landrum, Robert P. Griffin] bills. How did this affect your office, and how did Udall get into this in relationship with Kennedy and so on?

BEATY: Well, I'm not even sure that I have anything in my files that I could read to refresh my memory. Probably going back and reading newspaper accounts would be the best way--but just what I do remember. As I started to mention a little earlier, Stewart couldn't avoid participating in this because whenever he'd go any place in Arizona he'd be interviewed about the labor situation, particularly because Goldwater was so active in it and because this right-to-work law in Arizona became an issue every time anybody ran for office, any time it's an election. Stewart supported the idea of the Kennedy-Ives bill and…

[Interruption]

MOSS: Okay, you were saying that Stewart Udall had supported the Kennedy-Ives bill as a logical piece of legislation for the time and situation.

BEATY: To provide some reforms without being too restrictive on organized labor. And this was a kind of middle position in Arizona; he could be taking the side of reform without alienating the labor people too much. As it turned out, he later got into some trouble with some of the Arizona labor people because of his willingness to support anything that infringed upon labor's rights at that time. But labor is not a very important factor in Arizona politics--it is in the Democratic primary, but not in the general election. It can cause you as much trouble as it can help. And with the nonlabor voters, I think that this was the right position, and he pursued it all the way. He could see it was going to be a big, big factor in '58 and '60 elections.

MOSS: Do you remember Senator Kennedy coming to the House committee for support on this bill? How did he operate in this respect?

BEATY: Yes. I think his first contact probably was through Frank Thompson. Frank is kind of an Ivy Leaguer himself, although I think he probably went to school in the South; but Princeton is in his district, and he was part of the Eastern organization, Democratic establishment more than Stewart or Edith Green or people like this on the committee were. And I think it probably was through Frank Thompson that Stewart began talking with Kennedy.

And then Kennedy loaned us Ralph Dungan [Ralph A. Dungan] to help the moderate group in the House committee to understand the issues and understand the strategy better than they were getting from their own staff, since the staff was under Barden's control. I think Ralph helped both in 1958 on the Kennedy-Ives bill--or at least on the preliminaries that went on in the House on labor legislation before it actually reached the point of getting a name or a number. The next year when the Landrum-Griffin bill actually became law, we had the help of both Ralph Dungan and Archibald Cox, with Cox spending an awful lot of time there in our office where they'd come around and meet there after the morning sessions in the committee and prepare for the next day's affairs. Stewart and Frank Thompson both met with Senator Kennedy over in his office from time to time. I never participated in any of those meetings so I don't know what happened. They did become acquainted because of that.

MOSS: Do you remember any of Stewart Udall's comments at the time or his reaction to the way that Senator Kennedy was handling the situation?

BEATY: He was very much impressed by it. I never heard any questioning of the strategy on the part of Stewart. As the thing built up to a climax in the House, the meetings were expanded to include

people like Dick Bolling [Richard W. Bolling], who was working with Sam Rayburn at the time, and others. So at this time there may have been some questioning of some of the tactics of what they should do or shouldn't do; but in the whole group that worked on the committee, I think they accepted the Kennedy leadership entirely. When the House finally passed its

version and went into conference, I think probably there were mixed feelings on the part of this group over who'd get to serve on the conference committee. With Barden and the House leadership calling the signals, they couldn't expect to get too many of their group on the conference, and I think as it wound up only Frank Thompson made it.

Thompson was very much disenchanted with Lyndon Johnson during this period because Johnson apparently had quite an influence on the Texas delegation in supporting the Landrum-Griffin version rather than the more moderate version of the bill. And he reported back on a couple of occasions some rather chilly run-ins in Rayburn's office as they were talking about this. I think they regarded Johnson as a stumbling block to getting a Kennedy bill through the House; that if Johnson had really been helping, they could have gotten enough Texas votes to make the difference because this was really a very close vote. Three votes probably would have made the difference. It's hard to tell because of the strategy.

They were holding people off the floor, waiting to do something, and they just didn't quite have the manpower when they got down to it. I think they only got probably five votes out of the Texas delegation, maybe only four, and this they blamed on Lyndon Johnson.

MOSS: Was there any overt attempt to really fight the Landrum-Griffin version? I know that originally Kennedy's name was associated with the basic bill as a sponsor and then when it changed so much, he backed out of it. Was there any attempt to foot drag or to really oppose the Landrum-Griffin version?

BEATY: You mean just to defeat the bill rather than have one that….

MOSS: Right.

BEATY: This was mentioned from time to time, but I don't think anybody seriously regarded this as a solution--I mean the group that I had some connection with -- because they recognized that…. Maybe it's not a fact, but they recognized it as a fact that if they came out with no labor legislation they'd be branded back home as lackeys of labor and they hadn't done their duties and that they had to get some kind of bill. And I don't think that we were ever advised by the Senate committee or through Archibald Cox that the thing should be abandoned. Instead, they tried in conference to work as much of the Senate bill into it as they could, and who knows, unless you're a labor law expert, how valid the claims were. But they went out when the final thing was passed claiming that 75 percent

of the Kennedy bill wound up in the final law. I didn't have an active role in that.

MOSS: How about on other issues such as minimum wage, for instance?

BEATY: Stewart actively supported all of the efforts to liberalize the minimum wage. I don't know that there was any great flow of information or personal

relationships back and forth between the Senate and the House committees during that period. But in Arizona the Republicans in Congress were opposing the liberalization, so Stewart took his stand for the increase, supported it constantly, as I'm sure he would do now if he were back in Congress.

MOSS: And how about federal aid to schools? We touched on this for a moment earlier.

BEATY: Well, this, next to labor, was the biggest single thing going in Arizona, and it reached a point where there was a statewide televised debate involving Stewart and Barry Goldwater--something like the things I mentioned earlier. Stewart prepared for it very well, got all kinds of factual information on how many federal aid programs there already were, federal impact school aid programs [PL 815, PL 874], aid to land grant colleges, GI bill of rights, all the things that were--where federal money was being poured into the schools without the schools being socialized or something equally bad by having the federal government take over control and that the schools needed help. He cited the double sessions and the lack of modern buildings in many places and the need for this kind of help. The debate was held at the University of Arizona, and I'm sure the audience on the one hand with Goldwater supporters and on the other hand with the University of Arizona and the schoolteacher association people on Stewart's side. It was the biggest single news event of the fall as far as politics and government were concerned in Arizona.

I'm prejudiced, but I think Stewart won. But Barry did a great job of waving the flag and talking in generalities, and he got lots of applause, and the Phoenix papers praised him for keeping his balance against those who would try to buy Arizona support by throwing a lot of federal money into the state. I think it helped Stewart. It certainly got him a lot more attention--just like Nixon [Richard Milhous Nixon] letting Kennedy debate him, that sort of thing, the lesser known was getting the advantage of being involved and then showing his knowledge. It was a nice contrast, but I don't think it changed anybody's views.

MOSS: How about civil rights?

BEATY: Stewart took a very active part in that. There are two areas, one, the general civil rights thing and the other, the right to vote in the District of Columbia, which he, in those days,

was fond of citing as the worst example of a large number of qualified voters being denied the right to direct their own affairs. And he participated in all of the organized efforts to bring civil rights bills to the floor, get them out of the Rules Committee and the things that they did. On the other hand, John Rhodes, the other congressman from Arizona, was taking the other point of view because Arizona newspapers were upholding the rights of each school district or each state to direct its own affairs as far as who votes and who goes to what school and this sort of thing. This is local control; they weren't against Negroes, but they were against federal government telling anybody what to do.

Stewart led--we used our office as the headquarters on the Hill for the Home Rule Committee of the District of Columbia, and they got within, I suppose, eight or ten votes of getting enough names on the discharge petition to force it to the floor. The last year or two he was up there, I think he did as much as anybody could do, particularly coming from an area where this doesn't add a lot to your support. It pleased your backers who believe in these things, but it didn't win any points with a large number of people--what they call now the troubled American….

MOSS: Or the forgotten American.

BEATY: The white majority.

MOSS: Did you at this time have any feel for Senator Kennedy's position on these issues and what he was doing?

BEATY: I'm not sure it was an accurate feel. I think that we believed that he was perhaps more liberal than he really was. He was doing the right things, he was taking the right stands, but I personally wasn't watching him any more closely than I was watching a number of other people. Hubert Humphrey [Hubert H. Humphrey] was making a lot of sounds, and Johnson, working with the Eisenhower administration, was providing some leadership in civil rights.

I think Stewart, probably from the time of the 1956 Convention, paid very close attention to what John Kennedy was doing. Partly because we were all so impressed by the power of the press. By "we all," I mean the people who worked in politics in Arizona and particularly in congressional offices. You see how the press out there could determine an election by putting a Democratic candidate's previous career under a microscope and ignoring Republicans except to praise them. I'm sure they were the most important factor in electing Goldwater in '52 and reelecting him in '58 and electing Fannin [Paul Jones Fannin] governor in '58. Who among the leading candidates could command the kind of press attention that would counteract all the press that Nixon and Eisenhower and their people were getting? And it's rather obvious that John Kennedy was the only one there who was even coming close to this. So Stewart, I know, watched him very closely. He read the *Congressional*

Record more thoroughly than anybody else in the office did. He followed all Kennedy was saying and the articles that were written outside the *Record*.

MOSS: Could you point to a specific place and time when you and Stewart Udall began to regard Senator Kennedy as presidential timber? There's some question in the record as to just when he decided or when people began to realize that he was running seriously.

BEATY: I probably can't very accurately pin it down. Again, this is one of those things

that I think Stewart could tell you, and he would know precisely, but it was one of those things that was communicated to the people around him. Looking back on it as I did from '61 or '62 on, just trying to remember, I think Stewart made up his mind probably about the middle of 1959. Kennedy ran for the senate in '58, didn't he? He was reelected rather overwhelmingly. I think probably from maybe that time Stewart regarded him as the most logical candidate and the only one who had a chance to win in 1960.

But I toured the state with Stewart in late 1959, after the session ended here. And he wasn't saying it publicly there; he was simply trying to talk Democrats in the outlying counties into not abandoning--losing a role in Arizona's part in the next national convention by default. Don't let Phoenix and Maricopa County run the whole show. Privately, he may have been getting some of his close friends and telling them that he thought Kennedy was the one. But in meetings involving more than two or three people, he'd simply talk about all of our good candidates, and he didn't show any public preference until early 1960.

MOSS: Okay, we're getting pretty close to the time of your staff meeting so I think I'll break this off now and pick it up next time.

[END OF INTERVIEW #1]

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