

**SPECIAL
COLLECTIONS
AND
UNIVERSITY
ARCHIVES
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY**



This oral history interview is part of the Richard J. Daley Oral History Collection at the Special Collections and University Archives Department at the University of Illinois at Chicago. It has been used to create content for the online exhibit, Remembering Richard J. Daley, <http://rjd.library.uic.edu> , published on July 20, 2015.

Special Collections & University Archives
Richard J. Daley Library
University of Illinois at Chicago
801 S. Morgan St.
Chicago, IL 60607
3rd Floor
(312) 996-2742

<http://library.uic.edu/special-collections>

Interview with William Daley, Session Two

Date: 12 January 2009

Location: Office of William Daley, Chicago, IL.

Present: William Daley, Dr. Robert V. Remini Ph.D., and Dr. Fred W. Beuttler Ph. D.

(the interview has already begun)

Dr. Robert V. Remini: We're setting up our camera.

Dr. Fred W. Beuttler: We're okay here. With some of the things, I had a chance to take a look at the transcript. There were a number of things that we wanted your insight on, like on how the city kept and expanded economically. Many of the other cities, that very similar, experienced a long term decline, looking at places like New York, Cleveland, and especially Detroit. If you look at 1950 or 1955 when your father became the mayor, Detroit and Chicago were comparable cities, very strong and industrial. But by the time of 20 years later, Detroit was on a tailspin and decline, whereas Chicago wasn't. Chicago was still stable economically.

RVR: It had a double "A" rating.

William Daley: Right.

FWB: How would you explain that?

WD: I think it was a combination of things. One, there is lots of negative often about political organizations and having a strong political strength. And the move at the time in the 1950's was to break up political strength. And the strong mayors, strong political organizations, machines, or whatever you want to call them, were under enormous attack. In Chicago, that organization lasted longer. And you didn't have internal battles in that organization. The mayor was the mayor, period. He was the chairman of the party. There were no serious coup attempts. There was always jealousy and maneuvering. But there

was never a serious internal attempt to take over and take out the leadership. That meant that as a group they kind of hung together, in spite of lots of differences maybe within. I think that was a big piece of that.

So it lasted much longer than other cities. Chicago also had the history of having a more diverse economy. You had the transportation center of the country. And they remained that by my dad's aggressiveness on building O'Hare, expanding O'Hare, and getting Jack Kennedy to help. I think he came out 3 or 4 times to dedicate it. Every time you turned around, he was here, during his very brief administration, to do something at O'Hare. That's because my dad saw that as an important piece. Well, you didn't have that in Detroit, St. Louis, and Kansas City. Detroit was over-dependent on the auto industry. Their manufacturing was overly related to one industry.

It would be as though the stockyards were the whole Chicago. It wasn't. The stockyards came and went. It was the driving piece of the industry in Chicago. But when it went away, it was replaced with other things. And his personality, of viewing the business community as an ally and not as an enemy, and as a Democrat with sort of a different philosophy, I think helped Chicago enormously to avoid what other cities did. You know, even though he was very liberal, he wouldn't like that word probably, as Rich says (RVR laughs). In social ideas and social programs, he was fiscally very conservative, before it was in vogue to talk that way. He probably wouldn't describe himself that way. He'd describe himself as a Democrat, period.

FWB: Right. He didn't make the distinctions within the party. But it seemed clear that he was leaning on a much more fiscally conservative side of the party.

WD: That's right.

FWB: I have a couple of things a little bit further on how your father managed the closing of the stockyards and then, just after he passed away, the closing of some of the major steel industries. Those were the two key industries. I mean, you had others. But the stockyards closed in 1971. And the south works closed soon afterwards.

WD: Well, the stockyards went away in the late 1950's. The reality is that every Sunday night, there would be trucks. We lived at Thirty Fifth and Lowe. All Thirty Ninth Street, Pershing Avenue they called it, was lined on Sunday nights with cattle cars and cars filled with pigs that were coming in for the slaughter. That pretty much went away in 1958, 1959. It ended up officially gone. I think that there's only one slaughterhouse left. And they do lambs, which is Chiappetti's on Thirty-Ninth Street. But the truth is by 1960, at the latest, the stockyards were pretty well gone.

FWB: Okay. So you remember that while you were growing up then?

WD: Yes. I remember one of these cattle cars having an accident. And steers were getting loose at Thirty Fifth and Halsted (RVR laughs). Guys on horseback came down and were trying to lasso them. They were coming down the alley occasionally, pigs or cattle that got loose. And they'd come down on horseback from the stockyards. But that was pretty well by 1959, 1960.

FWB: So, by 1960, it was pretty much gone.

WD: Yes.

FWB: Okay.

WD: As stockyards, it was gone. There were a few slaughtering houses that were left, but not many.

FWB: How did he work with the business community, with the stockyards?

WD: You know, I was too young to really know it. My sense is that there was nothing you could do about it. You know, it was a technology change. They began to slaughter closer to where they raised the cattle. So they saved the cost. You didn't have the transportation cost. You also then began packaging meat and selling it in stores, as

opposed to delivering a big slab of meat to a butcher. There was a butcher near Forty-Third, right near the four brothers who ran it, Watson's Meat Market. It was a great meat market. But they began to go away. Then the Jewels and the Dominicks got packaged meat. That would be sealed, slaughtered, and boom. And the butchers were cut out of it.

FWB: Now, what did he plan and think about how he would replace that kind of industry?

WD: You know, I don't think he looked at it. I don't know because I was way too young. I think he probably saw that as, it wasn't save the stockyards, because you couldn't. As other people came along with other ideas, there was development, whether it was Leo Melamed at the Chicago Mercantile Exchange with the idea of a financial marketplace being built and strengthening that.

FWB: So, in many ways, that's what replaced it. You had a real heavy, industry, blue collar, stockyard, steel work.

WD: But he befriended them. If they wanted to build a building, he was not against zoning changes for that. You know, he always believed that if you kept the core of the apple strong, the apple would stay strong. So the downtown, even though he took a lot of heat for protecting the downtown and keeping that strong, and told always he was ignoring the neighborhoods, he thought that if he didn't keep that core strong, the loop, then the apple would turn bad. And in most of those other major cities, Detroit, St. Louis, and those places, their downtown center went totally dead. Therefore, people not only moved to the suburbs to live, where some jobs were, they would not come back into the core of the cities for entertainment, theater, or any of that. And that ended, once that core went dead. You know, I was in Rochester over the holidays. And that was a great, strong city. You go to downtown Rochester, there's nothing there.

FWB: Yes. So that was one of his key strategies?

WD: Absolutely.

FWB: That was to protect the downtown.

WD: Right. I mean, he took a lot of heat for that. People said, "Oh, you aren't investing in the neighborhoods. You're investing in downtown for the big developers and the business interests. And you're not taking care of the little guy."

RVR: Was UIC part of that?

WD: Absolutely. And the university was part of that. Instead of letting that go somewhere else, he saw that adjacent to downtown, as a way to strengthen, get more people in, and get young people in. You know, his dream was that the neighborhood would change. And there would be dorms and all of that stuff, which was coming, it came. There was strengthening DePaul's downtown facility, and all of those things.

FWB: I have a couple more questions about UIC.

RVR: Go ahead.

FWB: There are a couple of things we're more familiar with, like the controversy over the site of the campus, and all of that. But how closely did your father watch the development of the campus after it opened.

WD: You know, to be honest, I don't know. I was too young. I had other interests in high school. I don't know the answer to that. My guess is, in knowing him, he was probably pretty involved in making sure that...I mean, I don't think anybody liked the design of the place. And so, he obviously didn't have anything to say about that. But there was the coldness of it. My guess is that he probably pretty much said, "My work is done on that. Now, the educators, the university, they're going to go off and do it." And he probably let them alone. He gave them what they needed, as far as probably zoning changes, or

support, however they needed it, in Springfield or whatever, with the political structure. But my guess is that he didn't delve too deep into the university. That's because he knew that wouldn't be accepted.

FWB: Yes. He knew it was kind of a hands off.

WD: Yes.

FWB: That was one of the things that was very interesting during the first several terms of your father. You had him cultivating, not the old political machine for many of the technical jobs, but reaching out to his own team of experts. And he built up a very competent staff, not using political people, but using technical experts in a number of city departments. Did he see UIC, at least, being part of a feeder for that, for the technical expertise needed to run a good city?

WD: I don't know, personally. My guess is yes, knowing kind of how he thought. He probably saw that, as he saw the other schools, DePaul and other universities. I don't know what he envisioned. But I think the basic around UIC from dad was to give kids, like him, in neighborhoods whose parents didn't have the opportunity, to send them away to get a first class education. So they were not viewed as second class citizens, compared to Champaign, Southern Illinois, who had, from the state, an opportunity for an education, for the kids in Chicago. It was as basic as that. There was not a lot of fancy stuff beyond that.

FWB: Okay. How closely was he involved in the west side campus, the medical center, and the relationship between the university hospital, and the university medical center?

WD: I don't know the answer.

FWB: Okay. With Cook County Hospital, how active was he involved in the running and the management of Cook County Hospital?

WD: I don't think he got involved at all in the running, the management, the expansion of it, or whatever. Again, my gut would be that if Rush Presbyterian St. Luke's came to him and said, "We really want to build this new building," great. The more buildings, the more bringing of different level of service to the people in Chicago from great institutions. Whether it was a hospital, or educational institutions, he'd roll over for them. Some people would criticize that. But that, I think, was sort of his philosophy. "They're bringing good here. They're going to treat people."

FWB: Yes. That was one of the things that, especially with Circle Campus, and then the west side campus, the medical center, you had a very compact, ethnically stable neighborhood. But it was also one that, with the siting of it, you could see that eventually those two campuses would come together and it would be a very strong university.

WD: Right. And I think you have to also remember, based on his history, and what he went through, whatever improvements was being done to these neighborhoods compared to what was there, old frames, difficult neighborhoods, blah, blah, blah, in some places, anything was better than what was there. And surely, if it was a hospital, or an educational institution, that was better than slums. That was better than decrepit, rat infested, frame sort of neighborhoods that had difficult crimes or whatever.

RVR: I met him once at a luncheon. When he heard that I was from UIC, he said that he hoped that from our present campus to the medical school, that whole area, a mile, would be one huge complex, of educational, cultural, and athletic activities that would make it a unique place in a great city.

WD: That's logical.

FWB: When we looked at some of this history from the internal university perspective, we saw the early building. You had the university closely involved with the mayor in the siting of the campus, and the early construction. Then, the university itself went into a couple of different directions after 1968. We remembered a couple of times where your

father was on track to be a commencement speaker. The university wasn't sure that that was the wisest thing. And so, there was a different relationship between the mayor and the university campus, and with some of the university professors, after 1968. It appeared that by the mid 1970's, in part, that was healing. We found a very interesting piece of video tape, when your father came out to the campus in 1976. Have you seen that?

WD: No.

FWB: We'll send a copy over. I think that may be interesting to see. He came over to the campus on its tenth anniversary. And he gave a speech, explaining his vision of what he saw the campus was to be, including the connection between the west side. He also mentioned that he also envisioned that there would be a law school on that campus.

WD: Yes. He always wanted to have a law school.

RVR: We still do.

FWB: He did. So you already saw that?

WD: I didn't see that. But I always knew that that was his dream. He wanted it to be complete, like whatever was at Champaign.

RVR: Comprehensive.

WD: He wanted it from top to bottom, as good as, and as complete as. There was no reason that it should have been second fiddle to any other institution.

RVR: Including Urbana.

WD: Oh, primarily Urbana.

FWB: So even growing up you saw that?

WD: Yes.

RVR: We didn't treat him as well as we should have. This was the one man that could do everything for the university. And yet, when he came to the campus....

WD: Yes. But you know, he understood it. I mean, if you look at those 21 years, I don't think there were as many periods as such turmoil culturally and socially in our country's history. In the year of 1968, I still believe it was one of the most challenging years in the history of the United States, and change. And he got that. I mean, the fact that the university people would be mad at him, or disagree with him, that was the educators. That's the way they are. I mean, yes, he probably pissed them off. I'm sure there were moments that I never heard him say, "Oh, I brought that school here. Why are they treating me like that?" He got it. You know, the reason for his success was that he was very adaptable, much different than the profile that people think of him. Had he been that dictator, "This is my way or the highway," he wouldn't have lasted 10 years, much less 21 years, no way.

FWB: Okay. So he was much more flexible, much thicker skinned for criticism in that, too.

WD: And he understood that you had to adapt, as times adapted. Now, he wouldn't admit that. He wouldn't psychologically do some analysis of himself in all of it. But you don't stay in this business 21 years, of politics, especially during the period change that went on during his 21 years, and not be able to be flexible. It just doesn't work.

RVR: We had students who were rebelling. I was the chairman of the History Department.

WD: Everybody rebelled in the 1960's (FWB laughs).

RVR: They came and they wanted to decide the salaries of the faculty (laughs), any increases. They wanted to attend the meetings of the department.

FWB: That was a time thing. And your dad was quite flexible in moving beyond that. He understood that.

WD: Yes. Did he accept it with ease? No. Of course not. You could go to his speeches and look at how he blew up at the anti-war people and attacked the Dan Walkers of the world, or whoever, and lost his cool. But when it got down to it, in the policy decisions that he made, he was a lot more flexible than people think.

FWB: Okay. It didn't seem like he carried grudges or was vindictive on any policy issues. It doesn't appear that way.

WD: No.

FWB: He didn't express that.

WD: No.

FWB: Yes. It's interesting, because it's quite a bit different than the image that he has.

WD: Yes.

FWB: It may be interesting to shift over into some of the political issues, a little bit outside the city. That's because he was also not just a figure in Chicago, but he was also a national figure. And I know that he was very closely involved with the Kennedy Administration. You have some background with that. He was always very, in some ways, cordial to Richard Nixon, after the 1960 campaign. Could you explain a little bit more about the relationship with Richard Nixon?

WD: My dad was old school, in that he was courteous in a personal sense, to everyone. It was a different generation. He always told the story that, when he was a young kid, I forget who the president was. Or was it the governor? He was with his father and the governor went by. He said, "Take off you hat." The governor was going by in some parade or something. I mean, he knew Richard Nixon. And he knew that Richard Nixon hated him in the 1960 campaign, and the whole thing (RVR laughs). But the last time that Richard Nixon came to Chicago, before he was chased out of office, I went to the airport. And my dad was the only elected official that was there to meet him. There was nobody, not the district attorney Jim Thompson, who Nixon had appointed, and no Republican statewide office holder. It was my dad and I in the picture. And my dad said, "Here, you be in the receiving line." The receiving line was Jim Collins, the police commissioner, and me (WD and RVR laugh). Oh, and there was Frank Sullivan, who was his press secretary. Nobody else was there to meet him. My dad said, "I'm here for the office of the president." You know, it was a different generation.

RVR: He wasn't on Nixon's enemy list, as far as you know?

WD: Not as far as I know. I don't know if he was actually, formally on it. By then, no, probably not.

FWB: Nixon became the president in 1969. Do you remember any kind of distinctive urban policy that Nixon had in working with your father about rebuilding some of the cities after 1968?

WD: No. He came out with, what was it, the Office of Economic Opportunity or whatever it was that Don Rumsfeld ran for a while. I think my dad would go down to an event that they would invite him to. But there wasn't much of a relationship there. There were probably a few things that he did that were perfunctory. But I think it was an administration that pretty well ignored him. That's my guess, my gut, for those 7 or 8 years, until Jerry Ford. Jerry Ford then became very aggressive in dealing with him for that brief period, before my dad died. It was Jerry Ford who called up Henry Kissinger.

He tells a great story. He wanted my dad. No major city would let Sadat come and do an official visit. New York said no. L.A. said no. So, Ford wanted somebody to host Sadat. So Kissinger called my dad and said, "If the president called you and asked you to do this, would you do it?" And he said, "If the president asked me, I would do whatever he wants," you know, within reason. And Ford called him and said, "We're going to have Sadat come."

So my dad hosted Sadat. He gave him a grand dinner. The Jewish community boycotted it, except one fellow that came, Leo Marovitz. He said, "I'm coming because my friend Dick invited me to dinner (laughs). That's why I'm coming (RVR laughs)." But New York said no, and Yorty in L.A. So, my dad hosted Sadat, being that Jerry Ford asked. He did a big dinner, with black tie a parade, and all of that stuff. And there were one or two other times that Ford did that and asked him to do something.

FWB: Yes. You talked a little bit about his relationship with Richard Nixon, especially with city policy. I don't really understand the relationship. But one of his big contributors was W. Clement Stone. What was your father's relationship with W. Clement Stone, because he was a big Nixon contributor, and a Chicagoan?

WD: Stone had a major insurance company that he built from the ground up. It was this whole Stone philosophy of, what was his phrase? Whatever it was. Anyway, he respected the fact that he had this major global insurance company, built here and headquartered here in Chicago. He was very successful, and high profile. And he was a big piece of the community. He gave to a lot of charities. So it would be logical. That would be somebody, back to the vein of my dad being the ideologue. You know, there was the fact that he was a good citizen in Chicago, built a company, and was a model citizen in many ways.

RVR: And he was a public figure.

WD: Yes. He was very public. The fact that he was a big Republican, so what? Big deal. He added to the community. And to that, my dad was very appreciative. So he liked him. Maybe he also liked the phony mustache (RVR laughs).

FWB: That was one of the things. He became one of the big contributors to Nixon. And some of the campaign finance issues were targeting Stone's involvement in the Nixon campaign in 1968 and 1972.

WD: Right. As how the financing of campaigns began to change, with him, the guy and from A.D.M., they all got caught of the transfer in the way it used to be in giving money, to giving money in the new campaign reform ethics. Those are changes that still go one today.

FWB: He wasn't a big contributor to your father's campaigns. Was he?

WD: No. I mean, big then, was \$1,000. Today, you can't get a picture taken with somebody with \$1,000 (RVR laughs).

FWB: There was something that came out that Stone was giving hundreds of thousands to Nixon, and over a million to that one.

WD: Right. In those days, you could give unlimited.

FWB: Right. It was a normal experience. What was his relationship on urban policy with Lyndon Johnson? Do you have some specifics?

WD: He was very close to Johnson. And the Johnson tapes give you a great insight into that relationship. He respected Johnson. I think he understood that Johnson, in a strange way, felt like he did. It was that their obligation was to take care of the really poor, to help them, and the urban policies. I think Johnson, for all of his shortcomings around the war and all of that stuff, he honestly did want to try and change the opportunities given to

the really poor, whether they were rural or whatever in America. The war on poverty was all based on that.

So he liked him personally, even though he always used to tell this story. In 1959 or whenever, when Johnson came out to see him, to tell him he wanted to run for president, and asked him to be with him. And my dad said, "No. I'm sorry. I want Jack Kennedy," according to my dad. Johnson said, "Well, you're the first guy who's been honest with me (laughs). Everybody else said yes, they'll think about it, or whatever." My dad said, "No. I'm with Kennedy. I made that up." But they ended up having a very strong relationship.

This will tell you a lot about my dad. 10 days after Johnson became the president after the assassination, John McCormack called up my dad and asked for his help in getting members of the Illinois delegation to vote for the Cotton Bill. It was a big bill for the cotton industry. John McCormack was the Speaker of the House of Representatives. They knew each other well. They referred to each other as Dick and John. McCormack said, "This is really important. It's part of the business interest." Well, my dad said, "Well, where are the business interests on the Civil Rights Bill? Where are they on...?" And he rattled off a number of Democratic sort of bills.

McCormack said, "Well Dick, we can't get a commitment on those." And my dad said, "Well, it doesn't matter. I have no interest to be for what they want." He said, "Well, this is really important, Dick." And my dad said, "Well, I'm just a little guy out here, John, trying to get by (WD, RVR, and FWB laugh)." And McCormack said, "Well Dick, this was important to Jack Kennedy." My dad said, "Well, he never told me that." So they went back and forth with this banter. My dad was trying to hang up, blah, blah, blah. And my dad said, "Well, take care John, blah, blah, blah. No, we're not going to, because they're not going to help us on some of these issues."

So he went to hang up. And McCormack said, "Wait, wait, wait, Dick." So all of a sudden, there was a silence on the phone. Then Johnson got on and said, "Dick, this is Lyndon." He said, "Mr. President, how are you?" He said, "I don't know a lot about this bill, Dick. But they tell me that blah, blah, blah." My dad said, "Mr. President, do you want this? Do you want this?" He said, "Yes." My dad said, "Fine. Oh, I'll be there, no problem." He wanted Johnson to ask him (WD and RVR laugh).

FWB: Not McCormack?

WD: Not McCormack, not the Speaker of the House. It wasn't important to him. And that was like 10 days after the assassination.

RVR: Tell that to Obama (laughs).

WD: Yes. But therein began a very close relationship with Johnson, as a matter of fact, even after Johnson left office. With my dad, it was quite public on his position about the war. But even after he left office, he stayed in touch with him. He went down for the library opening. He went on a trip with him to Florida, I think, or at least met up with him on a yacht and had dinner. He would at least stay in touch with Johnson.

RVR: They were similar, in that they both wanted to improve the society in which they functioned.

WD: Yes. And I think, in some ways, my dad ran again because he saw what happened to Lyndon Johnson after he left office.

FWB: Oh, in 1969?

WD: He died relatively after. Like in 1971, maybe he died.

FWB: He died in 1973. Yes, he didn't last long.

WD: As a matter of fact, my dad brought him out to a dinner. It was one of the big Democratic dinners after he had left office, to honor him. And he had real long hair (laughs).

RVR: Poor man.

FWB: He died at 63 years old.

WD: He was pretty young.

FWB: Yes. He was quite young.

WD: Right. But he had a heart attack, as we know it, at a very young age.

FWB: Right.

WD: So he had a bad heart his whole life. But I think my dad looked at him and said, "Going back to the ranch and sitting at home isn't a good life."

FWB: So he decided, well, he was going to keep running anyway. But that was kind of in the background.

WD: Yes. I think that was one of the things, when everybody tries to figure out whether they should retire or not. Then, if they know of someone who retired and dropped dead, that always scares the hell out of them.

FWB: Yes. One of the things, when Johnson launched the Great Society, he did it in two ways. One, he put through the regular institutional structure, like your father, through regular city agencies. There was another part of the Great Society, that he went at sort of a grass roots level. And this was seen, by a number of people, as a way to go around big city mayors, to go around that. How did your father...?

WD: Right. Well, he didn't like it. And there were plenty of conversations too, about that. It was that he wanted more to come through the establishment. Why wouldn't he? He was in charge of it. And he believed that they handled it better than community groups, or the NGO's, as they're called today. That was a part of the breakdown of the sort of political

establishment. And in some ways, one could interpret it, probably as my dad did, as a lack of respect for the elected structures that are there, and the government structures, that somehow they weren't functioning well. And therefore, we had to go a different route, where my dad's mind was that the city of Chicago functioned well, and we could do these things. We were here. So, why wouldn't they use us?

FWB: There was material on the tapes. But did he express it to you? Or did you see any in the relationship in there?

WD: You saw it that there was always this tension, this struggle. And that was part of the 1960's activism, you know, that people kind of woke up and said, "We can do things on our own. We don't need these political bodies in the anti-structure move of the 1960's."

FWB: Yes. Do you have some specific examples of your father complaining, resistance, for example, that the Great Society was funding the Legal Services Corporation, or some way...?

WD: Well, there was a perception that the federal government then, through Congress, was funding all of these sorts of anti-groups, whether they were anti-war groups, anti-establishment groups, or whatever. I don't have the specifics. But he believed that. And he was probably right. You know, people at the other end thought that there was good reason to. In his mind, there was no way he could accept that. That's because the premise of that was that there was something wrong with those local, elected, established structures. They either went delivering well, they were wrongly motivated, or whatever. So he institutionally couldn't accept that.

FWB: Yes. They hadn't won any elections.

WD: They hadn't won elections. So they weren't responsible. They were private. Who knew who they were? What trees did they plant? It was the line from his movie, after the convention, the title of the movie after the convention. What trees did they plant?

FWB: Do you want to do some more on UIC?

RVR: I have just a couple of questions, one of which goes back to a comment you made last time, when we talked. When there were demonstrations in front of your house, that you remember, what did they consist of, what extent? Were they violent?

WD: No. There was violence at the beginning, in this clash of black and white, the people from the neighborhood, or people from outside of the neighborhood that were taunting the marchers. And it was mostly around the racial stuff, not so much the war. And it ended getting mixed up, as you went later into the 1960's, with the war and Civil Rights. It all became kind of just a mesh. So, there was always some violence around, or always a tension around the marchers that were based on Civil Rights in this neighborhood, that some viewed as all racists. That's because it was all white and all of that.

So, at the beginning, there was violence. Then, he basically used, not only the police. But the political organization of the Eleventh Ward basically supplemented with the police to keep the people you knew in the neighborhood peaceful. "Hey everybody, just calm down. Everybody relax. This is all a big kind of show." So there was a serious attempt to calm people down. But they would start, and we'd get word like, "They'll be here at 6:00 p.m." And they'd march until 10:00 p.m. And they would chant whatever the Civil Rights slogans were. Then they would go through the neighborhood, in some people's mind, to spark some incident.

RVR: Were you frightened, as a child?

WD: No. But it was a pain in the ass because, if we were going out, we'd have to basically go out before and come back after, because the police would shut down streets. And they had all of this security there. No, there was never any fear. I mean, there was fear that there would be incidents around the march, because people were really pissed that they were coming into their neighborhood. People sitting in their homes had this

chanting, the police, and media all over. And then, at a certain hour, they couldn't chant. Then when they came by our house, they would shuffle their feet.

RVR: A local ordinance (laughs).

WD: People would shuffle their feet to make a noise. I think that was around 10:00 p.m. And they'd stay sometimes until 11:00 or 11:30 p.m.

RVR: Was that when security was initiated to protect you?

WD: No. We always had police in front of the house.

RVR: You always had police.

WD: That was from the day he got elected.

RVR: Do you know when that began?

WD: That was in 1955. I don't know Kennelly, wherever he lived, if he had it. I assume that he did.

FWB: He probably had a policeman.

WD: But there was a police car in front and in back, as soon as he was elected.

RVR: They were still there when I interviewed your mother.

WD: There was a guy in front. Yes. Generally, they were for her. She had one or two incidents after my dad died. But they were generally policemen who were on some sort of medical thing (RVR laughs). God forbid if someone tried to wake them up and 2:00 or 3:00 in the morning. They probably would have had a hard time waking him up.

RVR: And that's the other question that I have about your mother, in her role in the life of your father, the running of this city, and the running of the family. How would you describe her and what she did?

WD: She and my dad were real partners. But you know, that was a different generation. She wasn't a partner in the sense that you would think politically today. I say this in all due respect. There's Bill and Hillary Clinton, or even Barrack and Michelle Obama, maybe. My mother had seven kids. And even when my dad won, six of us were still living in the house. I think she viewed her role as someone that commented on things with my dad. And she always did the campaigns, and was active in his campaigns. But she didn't view herself in that role. I think she just viewed it as part of the fact that she was a partner with my dad in life in their marriage. And that was a big piece of his life. Therefore, it went with it. He didn't have to invite her into that life to comment. I don't believe that was it.

RVR: Do you think that she made suggestions to him?

WD: Sure. I mean, he would come home at night. They would sit there and they would talk. They'd talk through things, both personal and professional. If she wanted to give her opinion, she gave her opinion (RVR laughs). I don't think it was at all like, "Do you mind if I give my opinion (RVR laughs)?"

RVR: Even at the age of 90, she was a very extraordinary woman.

WD: Yes.

RVR: Her memory was fantastic at that age.

WD: It was great. She remembered people who were with them in 1955 in that election and who did what. She had a harder time giving up. When Richard ran for state's attorney

in 1980, Ben Adamowski endorsed Richard. A lot of the people who were against my father, or disagreed with him dramatically, were people that Richard needed in 1980 to convey, "This is not my dad. This is a new world. We get it," which was true. You know, a lot of the people you would think, the more liberal part of the establishment, we understood that that was needed to convey that Richard M. Daley was not going to be the old way. And my mother maybe had a little harder time accepting that. But she got with the program and she understood it, from the political sense. And she was very encouraging about that.

FWB: Your dad had a little basement office, didn't he?

WD: Yes.

FWB: Did he spend a lot of time down there in the evenings?

WD: Yes. It was a combination office and den, with a fireplace and a t.v. That's basically the room that we would watch football games in, or have conversations in the evening. He went down there when he did his work.

FWB: So he did a lot of work down there.

WD: He brought tons of paperwork home. He signed all of the letters, no signature machine. And he would bring a stack, in his briefcase, this high, of letters that he would sign. He would sign them all, the documents.

RVR: Did you help, or did the children help, by handing him the next letter and taking the next one away?

WD: No.

FWB: So, he did it all himself down there. But he didn't bring anyone else home?

WD: No. Very rarely did anyone else come home (laughs). There was a period. I forget what year it started. But on his birthday one morning, a mariachi band showed up. This had to be in the late 1960's (RVR laughs). It was a Mexican group. And they started playing outside. It was like 6:00 in the morning on his birthday (WD, RVR, and FWB laugh). And everyone was running around saying, "What the hell is going on? What's this (RVR and FWB laugh)?" And there was a period, as I said, where there used to be marches and demonstrations. So he didn't know what this noise was. And there was a mariachi band standing out on the front sidewalk (laughs). And it was like 6:00 in the morning. So of course, my dad said, "Bring them in." My mother said, "Okay. Bring them in (WD, RVR, and FWB laugh)." So we were all running around. We got dressed quickly. She got dressed quickly. He brought them in. She started making coffee. They had to get donuts (laughs). And they were all down in the basement. Whoever brought them, political or from the community, those guys were from the Mexican community. They all came into the basement. Everybody had coffee, donuts, and coffee cake (laughs). Then they'd come every year.

RVR and FWB: They came every year on his birthday?

WD: Yes. It was every year on his birthday? Then, I think, my mom said, "Hey! Enough! I'm not going to have every Tom, Dick, and Harry come in here."

RVR: Every time I interviewed your mother there was coffee and Danish.

WD: Oh yes. And that was it. It was like, "Oh my gosh!" Now, some would say, "They're entertainers. They were paid to be there." But he brought them all in. Everybody had coffee. Somebody would get some coffee cake from Liwhandt bakery (WD and RVR laugh).

RVR: Who sent them?

WD: Oh, who sent them? I forget who it was. It was some Mexican....

FWB: It was a Mexican community organization or something like that.

WD: Yes, or Latino, I don't know what they were called then. But it was Mexican. They were mariachis. There were probably 10 of them, with the trumpets and everything.

FWB: So it was every year afterwards, but not at 6:00 in the morning.

WD: Yes. Oh, it was at about the same time, because he left early.

FWB: That's true.

WD: But after a couple of years, my mom was like, "Hey! Kill this thing! Enough!"

FWB: Do you remember other political associates coming over?

WD: Oh, it was very, very rare. The only people that came in were for like New Year's Eve. My mother's sisters with their husbands would come over. They'd have dinner, go to the basement, and celebrate New Year's Eve.

FWB: But he wouldn't have an aide or an alderman coming into the basement office?

WD: No. Never.

FWB: That was always private for family.

WD: After the press came in, they had a big crowd on the night he got elected, in 1955. My mother caught some reporter going up the stairs to where we slept in the attic. That was it, never again. That was until she did the interview for Richard running for mayor, I

think, in 1983, in her home. That was the last time that the press were ever allowed in. I mean, with political people, never.

FWB: Okay. So that was always a private office. It was always somewhere where he did his work at home.

WD: Right.

FWB: And then, he watched football games with his family and that kind of thing.

WD: Yes.

FWB: Okay. I'm just trying to figure out where he did some of his business.

WD: Yes. Most of it was down there, his calls, and where he did his work. He would always take his calls down there.

FWB: But there was nobody else in the home, no associates coming in?

WD: No. Very, very late, maybe in 1975 or 1976, I remember Mike Balandic who, at that time, was the alderman of the 11th Ward, coming in for something. I forget what it was. And that was even very strange, because it never happened, never.

FWB: That was very unusual, okay. Let's see. What do you remember about when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. lived, in 1966, in the summer.

WD: Very little. It was just part of the disruptive thing. I was with him when King was assassinated. John and I were home having dinner. I was in college. Colonel Reilly, who ran his Special Events Department, it was kind of an all around thing, called him. We were having dinner, John, myself, and my dad. My dad took the phone call from the dining room and went to his bedroom. He came out and said, "Martin Luther King was

just assassinated. He'd dead." Whew! Then you knew that all hell was growing to break loose.

FWB: Yes. With your dad, after that, what was his reaction? What did he do after that?

WD: Well, there was nothing that happened that night. I went to school. I was at Loyola. They cancelled all of the classes, as of noon. He stayed downtown for like two days and didn't come home.

FWB: So you didn't see him? And you were home?

WD: Yes.

FWB: Were you living at home then, or up in the dorms?

WD: Yes. I was living at home.

FWB: So you didn't even see him for a couple of days, during the rioting.

WD: No. They had police all over the place. Richard and Mike stayed downtown with him. He came home maybe two days later. Then we were with him. He did a helicopter tour of the city on Saturday or Sunday, and the west side. And he was very emotional. He couldn't believe what was happening, and the damage.

FWB: Could you describe some of the emotions.

WD: He teared up, even in the helicopter ride, as to what was happening there.

RVR: And then, there was Bobby Kennedy's assassination.

WD: Yes. Then there was the King thing. And then, there was always the famous shoot to kill thing. But if you go back and look at that, there were two things. I mean, he actually believed that if someone was throwing a Molotov cocktail into a building, you have to remember, those buildings were burning like crazy. Most of the buildings that had a store in them have apartments above them, in those days. It wasn't a mall. Most of them, in that part of the city especially, the stores were small stores that had apartments above them. So in his mind, he really believed that if you were to burn down a building, and there were people living in it, what's the difference? Second of all, that threat worked. The level of violence went way down, right after that. I think most of the people said, "Holy shit! They'll do it! They'll do this (WD and FWB laugh)." So, it kind of worked. Now, it caused him irreparable damage amongst the elites. But he was more concerned about the people there, than Lake Forest, Winnetka, Beverly even, or wherever. That's because people weren't burning down homes in Winnetka. So he really didn't care what they thought, or at the Tribune Tower. Nobody was burning down the Tribune Tower.

FWB: Yes. Were you there when he found out that Bobby Kennedy was assassinated?

WD: Yes. I was still living at home. I went to bed. And I was up in the attic (laughs), sleeping in the attic, where I lived. We went to bed, assuming he had won. That was it. Somebody had called.

FWB: Yes. It was late night in California.

WD: Yes. They called and said he won. I think he may have talked to Bobby Kennedy. I'm not positive of that. But the assumption was that he was going to come to Chicago the next day, on his way from California. That's because, if you remember, his final words were, "On to Chicago." I think it was. I think he was going to come to Chicago, because I think he knew that my dad would endorse him. And then, all of a sudden, I was asleep. And I heard, Wake up! Wake up! Bobby Kennedy has been shot!" I thought I was dreaming. I was like, "What?!" Then I kind of woke up. I went downstairs. Somebody

had called him right after and said, "He's shot! He's shot! He's dead!" And then, we were up for a long time, watching the television. The next day, I was with him. There was great tension. Bobby Kennedy had died around 1:00 p.m. in the afternoon.

FWB: Do you remember some of the things that your father said, in reaction?

WD: He really liked Bobby Kennedy. He also always believed that he was a soft touch. With this tough guy routine, he was a lot more of a soft touch, as my dad would say, than people thought. We went to New York for the funeral. Four of us and my dad were honorary pallbearers for 20 minutes. They had people stand at the casket. We did not go on the train, because my sister Pat had to have a baby. So we flew home. It was her first child. So we flew home after the St. Pat's Cathedral thing.

But he always liked Bobby Kennedy. And there's no question in my mind that he would have been for him. He knew that nobody liked Nixon. Deep down, the American people didn't like Nixon, and couldn't trust him. With Humphrey, they just couldn't warm to him. But he had his problems with Bobby Kennedy on a lot of different things. But my dad knew a winner. And that's what he was about. You win an election, and you figure it out afterwards, rather than loosing.

FWB: What was his relationship with Humphrey, after the assassination?

WD: It was kind of strained. He knew Humphrey's shortcomings. He didn't think he was tough enough, or strong enough. After Kennedy was killed, that was it. He tried to get Teddy into it. And he wouldn't. He told Humphrey, on the night of the nomination. After the last night, we went to the Stockyard Inn, which was right next to the stockyards, next to the Amphitheater. It was a little hotel. So they took us there in the holding room, to let the crowds go, because there was so much tension and all of that stuff. So my dad called. It was my dad, John, myself, and Matt Danaher, who was then an aide to my dad. We were in the room and my dad called Humphrey. And he congratulated him on the nomination. He said, "You be your own man. And that goes for the war, too." I'll never forget it. He said, "That goes for the war too, Hubert. Be your own man." Humphrey

wasn't his own man, until ten days before the election in Salt Lake City. And it was too late, had he listened to him. Now, my dad was a believer, publicly, in the war. But privately, he had his questions. But it just convinced my dad that Hubert didn't have the strength to stand up to Johnson. And he didn't have the strength to be the president. And that bothered him.

FWB: So it wasn't a very active thing?

WD: No. It wasn't a very close relationship, not at all.

FWB: It wasn't close at all.

WD: No.

FWB: What about in 1972, with McGovern, especially with the convention, too?

WD: Well, he got thrown out. And the reason he got thrown out was that, he had an offer, if he would agree to endorse McGovern, then they'd seat him. And he said, "No way." He was in the country, in Michigan. Everybody else went to the convention. I stayed. My wife, at the time, was having our first child. So I said, "I'll stay, unless you go. Then I'll go with you." So he spent the week in Michigan. I'd drive up during the day and come home at night.

He was prepared to go. We had a leer jet, if he got seated. But he wouldn't make the deal. He wouldn't make the deal with McGovern. So they threw him out. But when you went to the general election, McGovern did better in Chicago than he did in Boston, better than he did in New York, percentage wise. My dad did a torchlight parade for him here. It was a modified torchlight parade. I was there. We went back to the hotel, after the Auditorium Theater event, with Adlai Stevenson, my dad, and McGovern. And we watched Nixon give a speech. I forget what it was. It was a major speech that he was giving. It was live on television. He delivered for him.

Fast forward, I was the Commerce Secretary and I was at an event at Sargent Shriver's house in 1997. It was a dinner honoring former Commerce Secretary Mickey Kantor. McGovern was there and he walked up to me. I introduced myself. He said hello. He said, "Contrary to what people think, your dad always treated me well." He got up and gave a speech in honor of Mickey Kantor. And he spent ten minutes talking about my dad and how there was a misunderstanding in his relationship with him. And my friends are like, "What the hell is going on here (WD and FWB laugh)?"

Many times I've seen him. As a matter of fact, he wrote a letter to the New York Times after my dad died, correcting them on something they said about my dad and McGovern in the 1972 election. And he did a long letter praising my dad, their relationship, and how he delivered on the campaign for him. It was very meaningful. And every time I see McGovern, who is now 80 some years old, he always says great things about my dad. It's very interesting.

FWB: Skip ahead four years, in his role in the 1976 campaign. What was his relationship with Carter? I know he had some relationship with Adlai Stevenson.

WD: Carter came to my dad in 1974, in what they called the midterm convention. The Democrats were trying, after 1972. Bob Strauss had this brilliant idea. We were in Kansas City. The Illinois Delegation had a cocktail party and Jimmy Carter showed up. It was his famous line, "I'm Jimmy Carter and I'm running for president." The people were like, "The president of what? What the hell are you talking about?" So he very much courted my dad. He would call him, blah, blah, blah. Now, he wasn't my dad's sort of guy. But he looked at the others, like Humphrey. His attitude was, "Get out there and run, Hubert. We have a new process. Go through the primaries. If the public is for you, I'm for you." He kept it very hands off. And then, when Carter finally won Ohio, there was this, "Anybody but Carter movement" that started. My dad shut it down that day and endorsed Carter. And Jimmy Carter would say that that stopped that sort of old, "This is this." This gets to where I've talked about my dad adapting. You know, the old political bulls would be the types that were going to stop Carter and try to make Humphrey, because he wasn't one of them. And my dad was like, "No. This guy has been out there. He's got the votes.

He's proven it, end of discussion. I'm for Jimmy Carter." And Carter said, at the time, that that ended the game. The air went out of the balloon of the "Stop Jimmy Carter movement." And off he went. Now, there was a great disappointment on election night. My dad really thought that we would win Illinois for him. As a matter of fact, he called him early in the morning and said, "Mr. President, you're going to win Illinois." And the numbers were showing that. Then, late in the evening, downstate really came in. And he lost by a hair, or much closer. And that really disappointed my dad. But when he died, President-elect Jimmy Carter came to the funeral. Nelson Rockefeller was the sitting vice president. So it was a great statement by Carter to come to his funeral.

FWB: I heard that he pushed Adlai Stevenson to be the vice president.

WD: Stevenson didn't want it. No. That was the son.

FWB: Right. It was Stevenson III. That was always kind of strange.

WD: You know, I don't think that Adlai had the ambition, the strong drive, which is somewhat sick. That says a lot for Adlai. That's somewhat sick. I've always said that people running for president have to have a little sort of mental illness.

FWB: What do you think that the part of historical record about your father needs to be corrected or changed?

WD: I think it's the belief of this tough, non-willing to change, ideologue, and machine, corrupt, sort of guy who was evil, that some people have. It's crazy. But he straddled so many different lives in his generation. He very much was, "My government, right or wrong, my government." This was at a time when that philosophy was totally thrown out. And this was, in the 1960's, "If it's your government, there's totally something wrong. Your government is the problem. It's evil. They're liars. You can't trust them. They run the war. They don't tell you the truth." That was so contrary to the way he looked at it,

and the life he came from. That was hard to accept. But he did. He adapted. And he could adapt. Maybe it was not as well as other people did.

RVR: He's been called the boss.

WD: You know, I told this story last time. We were leaving that rally of Jimmy Carter's, at the Medinah Temple, after the torchlight parade. And people were overly effusive about him. I mean, it was embarrassing. He was embarrassed. It was like, "Please (FWB laughs)." And I kind of joked about it. We were on the Dan Ryan, on the turn, right near Thirty First Street. And I said, "Boy, they're getting a little carried away there." I forget who it was. They said, "This is the next best thing to sliced bread." And he said, "Yes. You know, I'd rather be remembered for the stuff I've done in city hall than those political victories. You know, they talk about Kennedy's election and all of that stuff."

FWB: It was more policy than politics.

WD: Yes. It was not the raw politics of election stuff.

FWB: So what do you think was his greatest legacy in the city, his greatest accomplishments?

WD: I think from specifics, obviously the University of Illinois Chicago Campus. He noted before he died that it was the single biggest thing. I think that the other sort of physical thing would be O'Hare Field. As far as things that he saw as enormous game changers for the city, and needed to keep the city vibrant and strong, I think it was keeping us the transportation center of the world, after the trains and trucks, O'Hare for the airports. There was the educational thing with the University of Illinois. I think it was the philosophy of the fiscal conservatism before it was in, and socially liberal, but balancing the two. So the city didn't go bankrupt and didn't spend away. I think that philosophy has carried on. He was a moderate Democrat when you were either a liberal Democrat, or you were a Republican, in urban settings.

RVR: Getting back to your father as boss, Andrew Jackson used to explode at politicians in order to intimidate them. But then, when they left, he'd turn to an aide, laugh, and say, "They thought I was angry." It was faked. But it was done deliberately. We have lots of film of your father exploding before the council. Was any of it play acting? Or was he really angry? When you saw him angry, he really was angry.

WD: Irishmen don't fake their anger.

RVR: Andrew Jackson did. Well, he was Scots Irish.

WD: That's a big difference. Trust me. That ain't an Irishman (laughs).

RVR: Okay. That answers it.

WD: No. It was not faked. He believed it. What you saw was what you got. With my mother, it would scare the heck out of her when she saw him blow up on TV, because she was worried about him. Then, she also worried about the image.

*****END OF INTERVIEW*****