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Oral History

Andrew Young
Atlanta, Georgia

Interviewer, Marie Scatena
October 20, 2014

(Approximately 3 minutes of audio precede the interview during which Ambassador Young speaks with his staff and filmmakers)

Q: First I'd like to introduce myself briefly. My name is Marie Scatena and I'm from the University of Illinois in Chicago. I work for the Richard J. Daley Library and I'm collecting interviews about Richard J. Daley and his life and his legacy for the library. We started this project about 10 years ago, so Ambassador Young, thank you so much for giving your time. Thank you.

I'm just a little bit star struck because I have to tell you I used to be a classroom teacher many years ago, and I've known you on TV. I've known you from "Eyes on the Prize." My students know you from that. So this is a big thrill personally for me. I thought we would start with—I'm going to just say the date again and state the project. But we're really

looking for your memories of that time in Chicago, so ’55 to ’76, that’s the time period. So I’m going to start again.

My name is Marie Scatena. It’s Thursday, October 16, 2014. I’m talking with Ambassador Andrew Young in his office, which is a big thrill for me, as I said before, about his memories of Richard J. Daley and Chicago between 1955 and 1976. So thank you again, Ambassador. Where would you like to start?

Young: Well, I think I probably ought to start with 1960, when I was in Chicago visiting an aunt at Lake Meadows apartments. John F. Kennedy was coming out there campaigning for the presidency. And I think Mayor Daley was there with him to introduce him. So I met him in a very, very positive context.

One, I was enamored and overwhelmed by Kennedy’s personality, but also by the fact that they actually had a flatbed truck and sound system in the middle of a totally black—well, it wasn’t totally black, but it was a very well integrated community. And this was one of my introductions to politics that I’ll never forget, because I was from Georgia and Louisiana, and I’d never seen anybody, I think, campaigning on the stump like that. So that was my first introduction.

I became something of an admirer of Mayor Daley because in 1963, when we were in Birmingham and we were completely out of money, and when

Bull Connor and George Wallace had begun to squeeze our supporters who had used the liquidity in their mortgage packages to sign bail bonds, which everybody does, but they were beginning to harass the people who were helping us in the civil rights movement through bonding people out of jail.

Mayor Daley and Mahalia Jackson gathered 60,000 people in Soldier's Field for Martin Luther King. It was perhaps our most successful fundraiser ever because Mahalia wouldn't let any of the performers charge anything, and Daley wouldn't let any of the city charge, so everything that happened there was directly contributed to the civil rights movement. And so I was an admirer.

The other thing was that I grew up in New Orleans and in 1936. I was four years old, and on the corner of my house was the headquarters of the Nazi Party. In my father having to explain to me about racism and white supremacy, he took me to see the 1936 Olympic Games on Movietone News, and he used Jesse Owens and Ralph Metcalfe as role models for me to look up to. Ralph Metcalfe came in second, but he was an alderman in the city of Chicago at that time. Before he went back to Chicago, he was the track coach at Xavier University and one of my father's dental patients. My father was a dentist. So I had nothing but good memories and a good relationship with Mayor Daley.

I saw what came to be called later on in the ‘60s as machine politics as an awareness that you cannot govern without representative government. I wish people in Iraq had understood that you can’t have a party if you don’t have Kurds, Sunni and Shia involved. Mayor Daley’s model of affirmative action—they didn’t call it that—but you had to have somebody Jewish, somebody Polish, somebody Irish, somebody black, somebody Hispanic. I mean, you had to have everybody on the ticket. And because everybody was on the ticket and Mayor Daley always won, people thought there was something bad about that. But it was really representative democracy. People resented his control.

One of the problems we had with Martin Luther King coming into Chicago, that everybody in Chicago was—the black community wanted to be against the Daley machine. And we said wait a minute. These are the people that helped us in Birmingham. We’re not against them. We may have some disagreements, but as far as we’re concerned, these are good folks, and we want to work with them and not against them. Now, that was not really being pragmatic or idealistic, either. It just was.

But the people who brought us in there were—I can’t think of the name of the organization now. It was a coalition of community organizations. And their motto was to try to get rid of Willis, who was then the school superintendent. We didn’t like to personalize our nonviolent protests. We

were not protesting against George Wallace or even against Bull Connor. We were protesting against segregation.

In Atlanta, for instance, people like Ivan Allen and even Lester Maddox, who started out as segregationists, and pretty racist, as we got to know them and work with them, we worked together very well. So going to Chicago and having seen Mayor Daley as a benefactor, we were counting on his support. Now it put him in an awful bind because Chicago is a segregated, segmented city ethnically, and it's not just black and white, but the Irish live together, the Italians live together, and the Greeks live together, and the Polish live together. And we were advocating something different. So that put him in a real bind.

Ultimately, our goal was, in Chicago, to create a movement to end slums. And he ended up cooperating with us on that. When we had rent strikes, when we found people… I can remember I was living in an apartment with Dr. King on Hamlin—I forget the street. Sixteenth and Hamlin, something like that. But it was a four story walkup, and there were no lights in the halls, and there was no heat, and it was 16 degrees below zero. And fortunately, we had blankets.

The next day we went to visit homes in that neighborhood where there were people with no heat and where the babies were wrapped up in newspaper because there were no blankets. And so almost on the spot we decided that we would start a rent strike. We took the rent money and we

added to it, and we fired up the coal furnaces and put heat in the buildings. We bought blankets and food and everything we could for the people in need.

Then we came up with a unique idea which Mayor Daley supported, and that was we condemned all of those apartments that were run by absentee landlords and were being neglected, and we renovated them. That created jobs. And when we finished renovating them, we created condominiums where people could own the apartment completely renovated, with a refrigerator, with a washing machine, with everything contained like a good condo should, and the cost of their mortgage was less than the cost of their rent. So we considered that a really great success.

The other success was that we created jobs programs through the Department of Labor, with the cooperation of the city. We ran into difficulty in two areas. One was voter registration. We wanted more voter registration days. And I'll never forget. It was January 31, 1966. That was the one day that you could register to vote in Chicago, and it snowed 33 inches. And I was trapped—I had to get out of my car and walk several blocks in the snow to a friend's house, and I was camped in there for three days. So we didn't get any voters registered. And he wasn't anxious. You know, we said you ought to vote in the summertime. But he wasn't anxious to expand the vote, and that was, you know, a conflict.

The other was that Jesse Jackson, as our representative, was being pushed by others to have an open housing movement, and so we started marching into areas like Gage Park. I didn't actually go to Cicero, but I forget the suburbs. But all of the inner city suburbs we started having marches, and we never had as big and as vehement an opposition as we found.

I think it was Gage Park where the white opposition was in the thousands. We'd marched in the South and we'd have, you know, 50, a couple hundred Klansmen at most. But this was like the whole city was there against us. And it created quite a problem for Mayor Daley because he had to protect our right to march, but he didn't want to alienate people from those areas that were basically his supporters.

It worked out okay, though, because I remember one hate-filled young lady that screamed at Martin Luther King and called him all kinds of vile names. And he stopped the march and he said, you know, you're much too beautiful to be so filled with hatred and anger. And she just melted. And we kept on marching. And when we came back that way, she came out again and said I'm sorry, Dr. King, you were right, forgive me.

So it was both a tough time and it was a scary time because people were throwing cherry bombs that were exploding. And if you see the films of those days, you can see people ducking when those cherry bombs went off. It was kind of scary, too, because the policemen that were assigned to us made us feel like we were confronting Chicago gangsters.

I remember being particularly upset and just nervous—they took little strips of scotch tape and put it at several places on the hoods, and they said now before you get in your car, check the scotch tape to make sure the seal has not been broken because people have a way of getting under your hood and either planting bombs or cutting your brake lines. And so to have to get up every morning and go down there and see if anybody had disturbed the scotch tape—we didn't have that in the South. Fortunately, we didn't have any such incidents.

I say I grew up in Louisiana, and my wife was from Alabama, and lived in Georgia, and went to camp at the Y in Mississippi, so I was very comfortable in the South everywhere. But I think the most—I wasn't exactly scared, but the most nervous I got in a demonstration in the entire time in the civil rights movement was in Chicago in '66.

But then we had the '68 convention. And that was right after Martin Luther King had been killed. That was a very bad time because I was driving into Chicago and heard on the radio that Mayor Daley had given a shoot to kill order for the demonstrators. And I told the driver to turn around. I said I don't need this. You know, this is the Democratic convention.

I had been a Kennedy candidate, and he was killed, and then McCarthy, and then McGovern, and I was really, that was one of the most difficult times of my life. And then to hear that demonstrators were going to, you

know, the mayor had given a shoot to kill order. But somebody called me before I got back to the airport and asked me to please come down, so I came back. And I was staying downtown at—I forget the name of the hotel. It was right on State Street, on the water, and right across from Grant Park.

Q: Mm-hmm. The Conrad Hilton?

Young: It wasn't the Hilton. It was the other one. It might be a Hilton now. They tear gassed the demonstrators. And I was in the restaurant eating, and people kept running into the restaurant, and they were bringing the tear gas with them. I mean, the tear gas just followed the flow of air. It was a pretty wild time.

But all of my experiences at Democratic conventions had been challenging. In '64 we'd been in Atlantic City. Finally I had a good experience with a Democratic convention when I brought it to Atlanta in 1988. And I don't know whether Mayor Daley was still the mayor then, but I think he supported us coming to Atlanta. And then I don't know where senior and junior switched, but I was invited by Mayor Richard (M.) Daley—by that time I was mayor of Atlanta. And we worked together very closely on the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

I remember coming to Chicago, invited by Mayor Richard Daley—Richie, junior—to speak at a prayer breakfast. And I spoke about my experiences

in Chicago just as I have with you, and I think it was an education for me about the North. But of the problems that we faced—racism, war and poverty—the one that's most difficult is poverty, because, as Dr. King used to say, in integration, everybody's making more money. It doesn't cost anybody anything. That's true in dealing with poverty as well, but most people had a kind of socialist-communist attitude that in order for the poor to have more, the rich had to have less or had to pay more taxes in order for the poor to have more.

We found later on, and we found here in Atlanta, that that's not true. Economies grow from the bottom up, and that the more you bring people into the economy, the bigger the pie gets. And actually, if you want to end poverty—well, a professor at Michigan wrote a book *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid*, and I used to say in those days—and I'd pick on Sears because I said when I was growing up and Sears was dealing with poor people, they were the most powerful company nationwide.

Then they went north and they went to the suburbs, they forgot the poor. They built the tallest building in the world. The next thing you know, they're being bought out by Kmart. Which means that the power economically—right now, if you had to choose between Walmart stock and Neiman Marcus stock, you'd put your bet on Walmart stock.

And so we were right—and still are—on the cusp of understanding how democracy and free enterprise can work together to end poverty. And I

still think that that's one book—another friend of mine, John Bryant, wrote a book *How the Poor Can Save Capitalism*. The richer you are, the more afraid and insecure you are. The middle class is seeing its optimism dwindle with fears of the future because we don't have the kind of economic growth that we had when we had bottom up economics. Trickle down economics has not trickled.

So we find America very anxious right now. I don't think it'll take long. I think this election in November, which is three weeks from now, is going to turn a tide for us in the future, and we will once again have a vision and a sense of confidence that will restore America's leadership in the world. Right now people are scared to death of everything. They're afraid of poverty, they're afraid of Ebola, they're afraid of ISIL. But in a way, all of these are derivatives of poverty, and once America gets its confidence back and restores our efforts to lead the growth of a global economy, we'll really do globally what Mayor Daley did locally.

Mayor Daley grew the economy of Chicago by keeping everybody included in it, and it made democracy work. Now, people didn't have as much freedom as they thought they ought to have and they resented some of his autocratic decision-making, but now we're criticizing President Obama for not being more autocratic. People want a strong leader when they don't have one, and when they have one, they don't want him. [*Laughs.*]

It's interesting that I think with President Obama's background in Chicago, I think he has a concept of leadership which is just as strong as Mayor Daley's, but it's different. Whereas Mayor Daley could focus on Chicago—and Chicago, both from its factories and its universities, could control the thinking of the world. That's not true in an era of globalization. And we've been unable to make the transition from a locally run national economy.

You might say that Chicago and Mayor Daley stabilized the Democratic Party. And the Democratic Party, under Roosevelt and Truman and even under Eisenhower still had a national vision, and the model for a successful city was like a stable Chicago. In a way he did run America. He was sort of one of my role models when I became mayor of Atlanta.

Though I didn't have the ethic complexity—we have it now. But I was very sensitive that as the Hispanic community began to move in, we translated our city documents to Spanish. When the gay community began to move in from the rural areas and concentrate in Atlanta, we were very careful to see that they were included in all appointments, and that there was somebody who was representative of that community on the police force, on the civilian review board, the zoning board.

We created inclusive models. When the Vietnamese came here, we included them, when the Koreans and the Japanese. We ended up really modeling Atlanta, voluntarily, as an international city. Whereas Mayor

Daley was bringing in poor people from Ireland, we were bringing in rich investors from Ireland, or Germany, or Japan. It was just the idea of an inclusive economy, which I think is the Chicago model.

[35:24 *Short break* 37:01]

Q: One of the issues that have been brought up in some of these interviews has been about Mayor Daley's involvement in building this big university, University of Illinois at Chicago, and the fact that he had to change a neighborhood and tear it down, and had to really alienate one of his biggest constituencies to do that. What do you make of that strategy, and how do you assess that?

Young: Well, I think one of the things that have made America great is education. And it's important that we have available education for all our citizens. And I don't remember that neighborhood or what the cost was, but normally when we have relocated large numbers of people, which we've had to do here for our mass transit system and expressways, we almost always see that they end up better off than they were.

But nobody wants change. I remember wanting to build President Carter's library here, which is magnificent. And it's been a tremendous improvement to the neighborhood, and we didn't have to tear down any houses. But it was just the idea that they didn't want any more roads, even if it was a road to the presidential library. And so I got cussed out over and

over again for moving a presidential library right into downtown Atlanta, within walking distance.

The same thing when we developed Georgia 400, the toll road to the suburbs, which we desperately needed. We were a city, when I became mayor, of about a million people. We've grown to six and a half million. And somewhere along in there we knew that we had to have more transportation access, and we didn't have the money, so we opted for a toll road. But the people who have prospered most because of it were the ones who, for a while, thought of me as their worst enemy.

And that's just one of the things you have to do as a mayor. You have to be able to sell social change, and you have to realize that growth is painful. And nobody would want—we wish we could grow without pain. We wish we could expand without change. But the one thing that you have to know about life is that history, the universe is constantly in motion, and the only inevitability in life, beside death—and I don't think death is necessarily an end—is change. There will be change.

The challenge for any politician or any public leader or any business is to stay just ahead of the change, at best, and catch up quickly at worst. Right now we as a nation are way behind in our vision of what the globe ought to be. And it's true what the Bible says, where there is no vision, the people perish. And people are perishing right now because we have a

global economy and we have local and provincial thinking, and we don't have a global vision.

The global vision that came out of the Second World War was something that I think went back to John Maynard Keynes as far as 1913. But it took us to 1941 to '44 to implement the economic stability of the planet, and it took a war where 60 some million people were killed. So change is never easy.

We would have been better off going into Europe and restraining Hitler than destroying Europe and having to rebuild it. And we could have probably accomplished the same thing if we had been a little more visionary. But you don't get elected being a visionary, usually. You get elected for promising people security and stability.

Mayor Daley managed to promise people a chicken in every pot—[*laughs*]—and anything and everything they wanted. And then when it was time to make change, he wasn't afraid to make people mad. That's political courage.

Q: I'm thinking about the stand that Mayor Daley took on the Vietnam War, where he was personally opposed to it, and yet he would always respect the office of whoever was the President, whoever was in charge. And so that sort of—when you talk about politics and that, how does that play out?

Young: No, I think that that's life. I really oppose violence, but when I became mayor of Atlanta, and the crooks had automatic weapons, I had to assume leadership and say that our policemen needed to be well armed, better armed, and introduced automatic weapons. And that's one of those judgment calls that you make. The world is not perfect. Evil does exist. The mayor or the political leader has to be the arbiter of how far you go or how far you let people range who are deranged. And there comes a time when you have to choose between the common good and individual freedom.

I opposed the war in Vietnam, as did Dr. King. But I really don't think we ever opposed President Johnson. Now that's debatable. I heard Martin Luther King and Lyndon Johnson on the phone just about a week before—two weeks before Dr. King was killed, and the following week, before Dr. King was killed, Lyndon Johnson announced he was not going to run.

The week before that when they talked, it was like a pastor and a friend, where Martin Luther King was listening to Lyndon Johnson talking about the burdens of people wanting to use tactical atomic weapons and others wanting to get out, and Martin Luther King made no judgment. He simply said, well, Mr. President, you have our prayers and our support, even though we feel like we have to oppose the war.

It's like me and my wife never agree on anything, but we have to support each other. And nobody ever promised agreement. In fact, my first wife

used to say, look, any important decision there has to be a second opinion, and if there's a man's opinion, there's got to be a woman's opinion. I say the same thing. If there's a white opinion, there's got to be a black opinion.

It's like the Bible looking at Jesus. We're better off because of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Any one of them we would have a less enlightened view of the life of Jesus. And so the diversity of opinion doesn't offend me or bother me whatsoever. Because one of the things democracy has enabled us to do is to disagree without being disagreeable. I thought President Bush was very, very wrong in much of what he did, but he never stopped being my friend, and I never stopped praying for him and with him. And it's been a little harder to forgive Cheney, and I'm not sure that I have.

And maybe that's unfair. I let Bush and Condoleezza Rice and Colin Powell off the hook because I think they knew better and I think they advised the President better. But I think that Vice President Cheney was a country boy from Wyoming that knew very little about the world, but who had a big enough ego to think he knew everything.

Q: I want to come full circle, if that's okay with you, to talk about Mayor Daley and the way national and local come together. You mentioned that you first met Mayor Daley when he was with President Kennedy. So my question is about big city mayors, and national politicians, and that kind of

relationship, and how that works. What was so effective about Mayor Daley in terms of the way he related to national politicians?

Young: Well, the thing that was so effective about Mayor Daley and how he was able to influence national politics was he could control the vote of Illinois. And in those days, if you could carry Illinois, you could carry the nation. It has since moved to Ohio, largely because nobody can control Ohio, and you never know how Ohio is going to go. But the mayors coming together usually have a much easier time relating to the national government because they are more aware of global circumstances.

You've got half the Congress that doesn't have passports. And yet they are pontificating on a world about which they know little or nothing. And that's very dangerous. Power and ignorance don't go together very well. And it happens in high places.

It happened with Kissinger. I mean, we were messed up in Africa because Kissinger did not know any Africans. Jimmy Carter, on the other hand, took the time to get to know Africans, and without firing a single shot solved most of the problems of southern Africa, with no money, and no guns. Nobody was killed, and nobody had to kill anybody.

Knowledge is power. And there's a certain arrogance that goes with intellect and power. I tend to blame Harvard for a lot of the foreign policy disasters, and University of Chicago for a lot of the economic disasters,

because I think that both are operating in a 21st century global economy with a 19th century European intellectual model. And, you know, professors don't talk to other people. They read and write books, and they read and react to each other. More and more, the economy and the global reality is divorced from the real world.

When we appoint somebody who's a great intellect, but no hands-on knowledge—I mean, Mayor Daley used to always say that you really can't figure out what's going on in the world unless you at least run for sheriff. You've got to run for something and get to know people to get one kind of knowledge.

The thing is that we have people who have run for things and who've gotten close to the people and have gotten elected by catering to people's fears. And we've got people who are still arguing about 19th and early 20th century realities. But the guy in the White House, and the Secretary of State, and the ambassadors in the field, and the FBI agents and policemen on the blocks have another reality altogether.

When I was in Congress, we stopped the war in Vietnam, and a lot of people who led that vote were people who had been in the military. And nobody thought of Jimmy Carter as the aid to Admiral Rickover, who was the founder of the nuclear Navy. They think of him as a peanut farmer. But he knew more about nuclear possibilities and dangers than any President we have ever had, because he lived with it from the beginning

and was the President because of his knowledge of the horror of war and the potential for destruction.

For four years we didn't kill anybody and didn't get anybody killed because he knew war and he knew how important it was to make peace. He was willing to sacrifice his presidency. I think that was a similar kind of patriotism that Mayor Daley expressed on local issues. You try to figure out, as best you can, what the problems are and then damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead, go ahead and get it done.

Martin Luther King used to say it's a ten day nation. He said no matter what you say, the first ten days you're wrong, you're crazy, you're self-serving. The second ten days they'll say, well, maybe he had a point, but he went about it in the wrong way and he should have said it this way. The third ten days they will take it over and say this is what we were going to do all along if he hadn't interfered and tried to demagogue it. I think learning to live in those cycles is necessarily for survival in politics.

And Mayor Daley was a survivor. He went through the racketeers and sort of straightened that out. He took on the big farmers and kind of stabilized the Middle West with its trade, and whatever the problem was, that was his opportunity for the day. I don't ever remember seeing him angry. In spite of all of the pressure we put him under, he and Dr. King were always cordial and respectful and friendly when we met.

And he said the same thing in public after we left that we had agreed to in the meeting. There were others, like J. Edgar Hoover, we'd have a perfectly good meeting and then he'd come out and say something completely different from what we'd talked about. But thank goodness we have a different kind of FBI now.

Q: I have two more questions. Mayor Daley—and you kind of touched on this—had a contentious relationship with the media. Do you have any comments about how the media treated him, or the assessment history will make, even though his media presence was criticized?

Young: Well, I had the benefit of learning from Ivan Allen, who was the last White Anglo-Saxon Protestant mayor of Atlanta in recent years. He said, you know, Jack Tarver and I went to school together, our wives played bridge together, but I can't get a decent story out of the *Constitution* unless I go over there and sit down with them, and explain to them what I'm trying to do, and then I get the guys at City Hall on the city beat and I explain it to them, and I answer all of their questions.

He said and still I get attacked in the newspaper. And he said I just realized that as long as they—he said you cannot run a city if people don't understand what you're trying to do, so you have to explain it. He said you can't expect them to agree with you, because if they agreed with you too much, they wouldn't sell newspapers.

So an adversarial relationship with the press in public is absolutely necessary, and you have to expect to be attacked. I learned to enjoy it. And the more hostile an interview, the more it gave me an opportunity to express my diverse views. I think Mayor Daley didn't have to deal with the civil rights movement, and he really did think he was doing right. And most of the time he was. But for the newspapers to say Mayor Daley's doing right, he's a great mayor, nobody buys the newspaper. [*Laughs.*]

And so the job—I guess he realized it and just didn't care, that he got his point across and he prevailed. But he never liked the way that the press is always confronting you, trying to get a story. And it took me—in New York—well, let me take Martin Luther King. We went to visit Ambassador Goldberg at the United Nations, and we talked about the war in Vietnam, and there was a great deal of agreement, though when we came out, we didn't say anything about it.

Dr. King said this was Ambassador Goldberg's meeting, and he should make any comments about the meeting. He said, well, what did you say about Vietnam? He said, I said that this was Ambassador Goldberg's meeting and he should make any report. And he said, well, did you talk about China? He said, no, we didn't. He said, well, what do you think about China?

And he said, well, 800 million people will not disappear just because we refuse to see that they're there. I mean, there's no more simple truth. He

was attacked by every newspaper in the country for that simple truth, because we were trying to deny the existence of China for a long time. But I think his saying that and starting the story actually made it a little easier for Kissinger and Nixon to go to China. Even bad stories sometimes lead to positive change.

I never worried about bad press. Well, I shouldn't say I didn't worry about it. I did worry about it. But I would immediately go to my opponents or the people who opposed what I was saying and give my explanation. I followed the advice of Mayor Ivan Allen, and I went to meet with the press. At least once a month I went to the major newspapers, and at least once a quarter, I went to the TV people and had a cup of coffee and answered any questions. And I found that it's true; keep your friends close and your enemies even closer.

Q: Well, I have one final question for you. How do you think Mayor Daley would like to be remembered?

Young: My first reaction was as the boss. [*Laughs.*] I think he liked the idea of being the boss. And maybe I'm saying something about myself. When people ask me what did you like best, did you like Congress, or the civil rights movement, or the UN, or mayor? I always say mayor, because I was the boss. I could say stupid things, I could try stupid things, and prove that they were right or wrong based on the merits.

But in the Congress I had to have 230 people to agree with me, and in the UN I had to get 160 nations and to stop the Russians and the Chinese veto, or the British and French veto. I was most free, I think, and most in charge as the mayor. And I never won a vote the first time in the City Council.

I remember people making fun of the fact that Atlanta was going to win the Olympics when I said we can win this. The first time I went in to a group of bankers and said that I intended to make Atlanta the next great international city, one of the bankers told my friend who I was visiting, he said, where in the hell did you get that nut from? I like to tell that story because we did become the next great international city.

I've never said anything that wasn't slightly controversial because I've had more experiences and I see things differently. I mean, you can't live as long as I've lived and as difficult and privileged a life as I've lived—I'm 82. I've been in politics officially since I was 20, almost.

Then I realized, when people ask me where did you study to become an ambassador, I realized that in my neighborhood, at four years old when my daddy explained to me about the Nazi Party and talked to me about Jesse Owens and Ralph Metcalfe, and he said white supremacy is a sickness, and you don't get mad with sick people, you figure out a way to help them.

And for the most part, whenever there's a conflict, if you lose your temper in a fight, you lose the fight, so don't get mad, get smart. That got me through kindergarten and elementary school. But in a way the tough fights that I had in an all black elementary school were more difficult than the problems I had in the civil rights movement or at the UN. [*Laughs.*]

I got along very well with the Russians, and the Chinese, and the Israelis and the Africans because I respected them. And I made it my point to know enough about them to let them know that I appreciated who they were and how they got to where they were.

And in a way, it's the way I summarize the whole thing is that I've advocated and sort of lived up to a kind of politics of respect. Even when you disagree with people, you must make an effort enough to show them that you respect their opinion and you try to figure out how and why they got that opinion.

And only when you show them the respect and understanding of their opinions can you get any agreement that you might be able to live and work with them. But the key to any victory is the depth of understanding you have of your opponents. So that's nonviolent power. I think Mayor Daley was—if you crossed him, you paid a price. [*Laughs*]

Q: Is there anything else you'd like to add about Mayor Daley?

Young: No, just that he will always be seen as one of the great mayors, who took a very complex, complicated city in an extremely difficult time and made it a model for the nation and the world.

Q: Well, that's beautiful. Thank you. Thank you so much. I really appreciate your time.

[*End of recording*]