

Interview with William Goldberg

AI-A-L-2008-003

January 9, 2008

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DePue: Today is January 9, 2008. This is Mark DePue. I'm the Director of Oral History with the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library. Today it's my great privilege to talk with William Goldberg, who was a very close associate of Dan Walker [former Governor of Illinois] during the time before his administration and through the administration. I know, sir, that you actually served on the administration. We'll get into that as well. I think it's interesting and it's fun. It's certainly appropriate that we're meeting the day after the New Hampshire primary, and politics is in the air. So it's fun to sit down and talk with somebody who was very much a player and had an important role in that. Without further ado, I usually like to start – and I will certainly in your case – when and where you were born.

Goldberg: I was born in Chicago in 1937.

DePue: OK. And you grew up here in Chicago?

Goldberg: Grew up in Chicago, except I went to college and law school in the East, and then I came back to Chicago.

DePue: What were your parents doing?

Goldberg: I'm sorry?

DePue: What did your parents do?

Goldberg: Well, my mother was typical in those days, basically a housewife. You know, she had worked before there were kids. And my dad was a lawyer.

DePue: So are you a second-generation lawyer?

Goldberg: Well, I guess if you count my maternal grandfather, whom I never knew, I'm third.

DePue: OK. You grew up in...

Goldberg: Highland Park.

DePue: OK. So not necessarily one of the ethnic neighborhoods in Chicago at that time?

Goldberg: Not at all. No. Highland Park has become, you know, a large Jewish community. It was not, then.

DePue: OK. Did you go to public schools?

Goldberg: Oh yeah. Yeah. Went to Elm Place School a block and a half away.

DePue: You mentioned Jewish background, ethnic Jew. Did you have any difficulties growing up in Chicago at that time?

Goldberg: In Highland Park? No. None at all. None at all.

DePue: You're too young to remember the Depression, and I would guess, a little bit too young, even, to remember the Second World War?

Goldberg: Well, I don't really remember the Depression, although I think certainly with my parents, particularly my father and people of that generation, that it had a huge impact on their outlook on the world. Economic survival was number one. My father's family had a series of haberdashery stores, and of course they all failed during the Depression. My father used to get – I think it was an emotional thing – if it rained the Sunday before Easter, the weekend before Easter, he would get upset, because that was the weekend when people traditionally went out and bought hats. (both laugh) And if it rained, people didn't come out.

DePue: The kind of thing you never think about until you're in the business.

Goldberg: You're in the business. So that was very real in terms of economic concerns.

DePue: You're a little bit older.

Goldberg: But I do remember World War II.

DePue: That's where I was getting to, especially the news and what your family was hearing out of Germany, and what the Nazis were doing.

Goldberg: You know, I've thought about that a lot, and I don't remember that really being anything that, at least I, was aware of. My first memory of anything, I believe, was Pearl Harbor, when my parents and some of their friends were huddled around the radio. They were not very tolerant of my pulling the usual nonsense that a four-year-old kid pulls, right? They wanted me to be...

DePue: I was going to say, you had to be in preschool.

Goldberg: ...quiet so they could listen.

DePue: And how does a four-year-old understand something like that?

Goldberg: It's just a memory that I have. I had no understanding of that. But I remember we would listen to Clifton Utley [a famous radio newsmen]; I mean, my father would get up in the morning and turn on Clifton Utley and the news. Every morning. And that was the war.

DePue: When did you graduate from high school, then?

Goldberg: '55.

DePue: Did you go straight to college?

Goldberg: Yeah.

DePue: Where did you attend college?

Goldberg: Amherst. In Massachusetts.

DePue: And then from Amherst?

Goldberg: Harvard Law School.

DePue: Did you know when you left home to head out to Amherst that it was law you wanted to pursue?

Goldberg: No. One of the things that drove it was –we forget about this now –but in 1959, when you graduated from college, if you did not continue your education or get married, or have an injury or asthma or something like that, you went in the Army. I think 80% of the people that graduated from Amherst went on to graduate school: medicine, law, something in the humanities. But practically everybody did. A few guys got married.

DePue: So your motivation to go to graduate school, and to end up going to law school was, in part at least, to avoid that?

Goldberg: Sure, I mean if you're going to go to graduate school, it seems like a better time to go than to go into the Army. Knowing that you would have to go into the Army. There was no doubt at that point in time that –at some point it changed –that being married wasn't enough. You had to be married with kids.

DePue: But in 1959 there's a draft, but there's no war. General Hershey and the Administration very deliberately decided to design deferments liberally because you couldn't possibly absorb everybody...

Goldberg: You couldn't take everybody.

DePue: ...in the first place. So there was a wonderful deferment to encourage people to go to higher education.

Goldberg: Go to school. Yeah. Yeah.

DePue: Were you getting any suggestions from your family, from the home front, in terms of what you ought to be doing with your life?

Goldberg: You know, I don't know that that's necessarily it. We had a class of, like, 260 people, and I think 40 or 50 of us went to various law schools. I think there were about five or six guys that went to Harvard. So it was kind of, you know, the people who didn't like science went to law school. (both laugh) We had more people go to medical school. So it wasn't just the home suggestion; it was a peer thing to do, as well.

DePue: But there had to be something that caused you to turn to law versus going to philosophy, or history, or medicine, or engineering, or something else?

Goldberg: Well, it wouldn't have been engineering. Yeah, I just never thought that I wanted to be a professor. So history –the social science kind of things –I always had an interest in history, but it was never anything that I particularly wanted to do.

DePue: Where, again, did you go to law school?

Goldberg: Harvard.

DePue: And was it there that you first ran into Dan Walker?

Goldberg: Yes, I guess in the sense that he came out to recruit. I ran into him in –I guess it would have been –the fall of 1961 or the winter or spring of 1962.

DePue: While you were still a student?

Goldberg: Yeah, while I was a student.

DePue: OK. Once you got into law school, you're getting towards the end of that process. That's certainly one of the most rigorous academic experiences anybody could go through. What were your intentions, your thoughts, getting close to the point where you're finishing school?

Goldberg: Well, one of the things that happened was in the summer of 1961; a bunch of us went camping in New Hampshire. When we came out, the Berlin Wall had gone up. Kennedy [President John F. Kennedy] had activated these units. I spent a good bit of time in my third year, particularly the first half of my third year, applying to get a commission, because at that point it was no joke about going into the Army.

DePue: Did you do that because you thought it was inevitable that you might be called up anyway, and if you're going to serve, you'd prefer to be an officer?

Goldberg: Yeah. Well, that's what I... and then you had to make the decision. So I did that. Then I came back to Chicago and I talked to, I think, every Guard and Reserve unit. You know, when George Bush and Bill Clinton talk about the fact that, Oh, well they weren't really sure what was going on with the draft notices –and Bush was on active duty in Alabama during the Vietnam War –they're lying. I mean, this becomes the dominant thing in your life. There's nothing, nothing else that really is going to impact you the same way. I mean, it's just fundamentally dishonest when it's bipartisan. I was able to get into a Reserve unit in Waukegan with the combat engineers, and so I got a commission. I was offered a Navy commission but I turned it down because I thought four years was a long time.

DePue: So this would be a two-year service?

Goldberg: This was six months, six years in the Reserves.

DePue: And the six-month primarily was in schools and Army officer schools?

Goldberg: No, no, no. This was just as an enlisted man. I mean, I just went in as an enlisted man and went to Fort Leonard Wood and Fort Polk. I was there for the Cuban Missile Crisis, and Vietnam was heating up.

DePue: OK, so late '62?

Goldberg: Late '62, early '63.

DePue: Anything in particular you remember about the Cuban Missile Crisis? The country was paying attention to that as well.

Goldberg: Well, I was at Fort Leonard Wood in basic training, and news, when you were in basic training, was not a priority item. So I didn't know very much about it, but an awful lot of what I learned about it, I learned after I got out of the Army.

DePue: It wasn't like you were going to have an extended conversation with your drill sergeant about it.

Goldberg: Well, yeah.,

DePue: Are you glad you had the experience?

Goldberg: Of the Army? Yes. Basic training is not something that you enjoy, but I think that what you learn in the Army, and I understand why. I mean, after the Vietnam War, we got rid of the draft. But if we had a draft today, we would not be in Iraq for sure.

DePue: Because?

Goldberg: Because if the broad population was affected and you didn't have a volunteer Army, the country would be shut down just the way it was under Johnson. I mean, if you have 75% of the people against it, the country wouldn't function. I've talked to the President of Amherst about this, because I've said, "Why isn't there more agitation on the campuses?" He said, "Because there's no draft." So what you learn in the Army is that there's a lot of people in this country who have never been better fed or better clothed than when they're in the Army.

DePue: So you encountered a completely different type of American then?

Goldberg: Oh, yeah. Sure. Sure, and you also learn that a lot of people are very smart and have never had the opportunity to go to college. A lot of what you see when you go to college is a function—even with all the scholarship programs and everything else—it's a function of who your parents are and what opportunities you had. Whether it was people from inner city, urban neighborhoods, or poor rural areas. Also, it seems hard to believe, but there were guys in our basic training unit from one of the Dakotas—I don't remember which one—they had never seen a black person before. I mean, that's how the country was in 1962. You just can't imagine that today, right? And then, when we were at Fort Polk in the rural areas of Louisiana, there were white drinking fountains and black drinking fountains at the gas stations. There was an African American from Chicago, and we would go into New Orleans together. Before we would leave Fort Polk we'd gas up the car and get sandwiches, because there was really no place to stop safely between.

DePue: Was that something of an eye opener to you? To see that blatant prejudice that was still in existence down there?

Goldberg: Sure, oh sure.

DePue: Let's talk a little bit about your political awakening, if you will. Maybe that's the wrong word to apply to it. What would have been your political views as a law student, and during these years in the military?

Goldberg: Well, as a law student we were very much for Kennedy. We didn't know he was going to take all the faculty to Washington, or a good half of it. (both chuckle) I and most of my friends, I think, were very pro-Kennedy.

DePue: Were you active in political campaigns?

Goldberg: No. Not when Kennedy ran. I mean, if you were in Chicago, they didn't want anybody to be active in politics who wasn't connected to Daley or one of the aldermen. You know, you had to be trusted. You ain't nobody unless somebody sent you.

DePue: So how did you end up coming back to Chicago? You finished law school and then were enlisted in the military? Is that the scenario?

Goldberg: No, I had a job with Hopkins & Sutter [law firm]; I was there over the summer, taking the bar at night. Took the bar, and five days later reported to Fort Leonard Wood.

DePue: OK. Talk a little bit about that trip and the first meeting you had with Dan Walker when he apparently went out to Harvard to do some recruiting for the law firm. Hopkins & Sutter?

Goldberg: It was Hopkins, Sutter, Owen, Mulroy, & Wentz, I think, in those days. Then it became Wentz & Davis. That was in the days before law firms adopted two names.

DePue: OK. Talk about the first time you met Dan.

Goldberg: I was talking to a lot of law firms. I remember I talked with Dan and Tom Mulroy. To say that I remember the meeting would be untrue.

DePue: So it didn't stand out in the group of meetings you had with other law firms?

Goldberg: Well, it stood out enough. I talked with them when I came back, and interviewed here. One of the things – and Dan talks about this some in his book – but Hopkins had never hired a Jewish lawyer before.

DePue: He told me that story himself, as well.

Goldberg: Yeah, and the reasoning is kind of funny: that is, that they had a lot of Jewish clients, and they didn't want conversation in the Jewish community about their matters. I remember saying, I think to Andy Owen, "Well, what about your non-Jewish clients?" (both laugh) But anyway, I talked with them and we had a lot of candid conversations with Owen, with Mulroy, and they said that was a thing of the past. So I said I accept that. And it was.

DePue: Well, Governor Walker makes the point that you were the first Jewish lawyer in a major Chicago law firm. But you mention that your father and your grandfather were both lawyers, and I know there were certainly lots of other Jewish lawyers in the community.

Goldberg: A major firm: certainly Jenner & Block; you know Block. I mean there were Jewish lawyers at Jenner & Block. Winston, I don't know about. I don't know about McDermott.

DePue: But you were the first at Hopkins & Sutter?

Goldberg: I was the first at Hopkins. And Hopkins at that point was a mid-sized... I mean, there was Kirkland & Winston, and Mayer, Brown. Certainly Mayer had a lot of Jewish lawyers. Sonnenschein. So I don't think it would be fair to say that I was the first Jewish lawyer in any major Chicago law firm. My grandfather had a two-person law practice that a lot of high end, at that point, commercial work,

bankruptcy work. My father had a very successful law firm, but it was small. I mean, comparatively speaking it was a small law firm.

DePue: But the Pritzker family roots go back to a lawyer, do they not?

Goldberg: Oh yeah. They're all lawyers. Yeah.

DePue: OK. Talk a little bit about your experience as a brand new lawyer. I'm not sure exactly when you took the bar in this process.

Goldberg: The fall of '62, then I was sworn in. I remember my Ethics and Fitness exam consisted of one question: Where are you serving? I said, "Fort Leonard Wood." But in those days, to get into the Army you had to sign all this stuff, all the loyalty oaths, and "I haven't been a member..." and there was a list of organizations. I mean, when you think back on it, it was really...

DePue: It was the height of the Cold War.

Goldberg: But it was offensive stuff. But I was not going to say I'm not going to sign this stuff, even though I haven't been a member of any of these organizations. But it was really bad stuff.

DePue: OK. Talk about getting out of the military, coming back to working in the law firm, and especially those first few years and your relationship with Dan Walker during that time.

Goldberg: When I came back, the law firm was about 35 people; the idea was, you worked in all areas of the law firm so you got to know something about what the practice of law was about. Dan was involved in a big antitrust case for Consolidated Foods, and the Federal Trade Commission had ruled against Consolidated. I got involved in that case very shortly after I came back from the Army, and helped Dan prepare the record, write the briefs, and work on the argument for the Seventh Circuit, where we won. When the government appealed, the Solicitor General had to decide whether to take it. We went down to Washington and met with my old law professor, Archibald Cox, who was then the Solicitor General. Archie Cox was a very interesting guy. Anyway, I had an Agency class from him in first year, before he ended up going to Washington. I mean, his primary area was labor.

DePue: "His" being Cox?

Goldberg: Cox's primary. We tried to persuade the Solicitor General not to take the case, but we didn't. So it ended up we went to the Supreme Court. That was a thrill even though we were a little bit like Hillary [Clinton] going into New Hampshire, except the pundits were correct on this one. I mean, it was a Section Seven case, and I think, as one of the justices said, "The only thing that I see that's consistent about Section Seven decisions is that the government always wins." (both laugh) So that was a real thrill. I don't know if Dan told you this: arguing in the

Supreme Court, they're very much on time. The Solicitor General argues in tails – at that time – I don't know if he still does. But he was dressed in formal wear. Cox started his argument one afternoon and almost in mid-sentence, stopped because the time ran out and all the justices left, and then picked up the next morning.

DePue: Didn't miss a beat then.

Goldberg: Didn't miss a beat. And I remember, I had actually met Justice Douglas, when I was, like, 10 or 12 years old; he was at some event and I had met him. He sent me a fly.[as in fly casting] I was maybe 15. But anyway, he came late, left early, and wrote the opinion.

DePue: It had to be a thrill for a young lawyer.

Goldberg: Oh, yeah. I mean, I remember. Dan was here; I was next to Dan, and Andy Owen, whose client it was, was to my left. At the end of the argument, Justice Goldberg – no relation – sent Dan a note saying it was the most brilliant argument he'd ever heard. But he still voted against our position. That's what you always worry about, when the judge says, "Mr. Goldberg, that's a brilliant argument." Then you know you're in trouble.

DePue: Well, you have a reputation yourself for being an outstanding trial lawyer.

Goldberg: I do my best.

DePue: And it didn't hurt to be working with Dan Walker, who I assume by that time already, even though he was a fairly young lawyer, was already an outstanding trial lawyer in his own right.

Goldberg: Yes. Well, yeah. Dan had a mind like a steel trap. The other great thing about Dan –and this is in contrast to other people that I've worked with whom I will not name –was that Dan really wanted you to challenge him and to challenge his positions. He wanted to hear, What's wrong with my position? Why shouldn't I do this? Whether it was litigation, or later in politics, Dan never looked for "yes" men, and I think that was one of his great strengths. He was smart enough and confident enough that , the only thing he wanted you to do when you advanced a position was to be able to defend it, and then to recognize, maybe, that there was some weakness or defect in your position.

DePue: What was the nature of the relationship with you and Dan, then, during the time you were both with Hopkins & Sutter? Was it strictly professional?

Goldberg: It was basically professional, although there were times when I would go to Dan's house, maybe on a weekend or something like that, and we'd work on something. I mean, I knew Roberta. I met the kids at his house. The firm in those days would have social events: parties for this, Christmas party, and this, that, and the other thing. Also, a lot of times, like on Friday afternoon,

everybody'd gather in Albert Hopkins' office for a drink. I mean, you can't imagine these things; it's like out of medieval England, that this was the way things were done. So there was more socializing within the firm, I would say, but did Dan and Roberta and Judy and I go out to dinner just the four of us? No, I don't think that ever happened probably.

DePue: Well, I didn't ask you about that. Somewhere along this process, then, you obviously got married. When did that occur?

Goldberg: That happened in 1966.

DePue: OK, so that was after you graduated from law school, after your military experience, now that you're a lawyer.

Goldberg: I was working, yeah.

DePue: OK. And what was your wife's maiden name?

Goldberg: Edelson.

DePue: Judy? And...

Goldberg: E-D-E-L-S-O-N.

DePue: She's from Chicago, too, I would assume. OK. Did you know about Dan's ambitions, especially political ambitions?

Goldberg: Well, I learned it. I mean, you couldn't be in the firm and not learn about them, because at some point in there, Dan, I think, was head of the Public Aid Commission. And then I think he also tried for Attorney General, and he went before the slatemakers. Yeah, but I mean, you know. We had a lot of time on airplanes and over dinners in hotels and stuff like that.

DePue: Did you know Vic deGrazia?

Goldberg: I mean, I didn't know Dan was planning to run for governor. Yeah.

DePue: Did you know of him at that time, perhaps?

Goldberg: You know, I can't remember when I first learned of Vic, or...

DePue: David Green, or some of the others?

Goldberg: I just can't remember when I first met him.

DePue: The reason I'm asking this question is because that relationship between Walker and deGrazia, and increasingly with Green and a few other people, was a very important one to his career. Because as much as he wanted to be the governor, he had political aspirations. I don't want to speak for him, but they seemed to be

encouraging him, I mean, strongly encouraging, almost pushing him in that direction as well. But I'm getting the impression you weren't part of that inner circle of supporters at that time.

Goldberg: Well, not at that time. It's also generational. I mean, Dan and Vic and Dave were all about the same age, and they were basically politically active at that point in time. My relationship with Dan was very – I would say – was independent of Vic and it was independent of Dave. I would say, starting with probably sometime around the time of the primary in '72, I got a lot more involved in the political side. But when he decided to run – the Walk and all of that – by that time, he had gone to Montgomery Ward. We were doing a lot of work for Montgomery Ward – the firm was.

DePue: But again, that's in a professional relationship.

Goldberg: That's in a professional relationship. Then he left Ward's and went on the Walk.[For his campaign, Walker walked the length of Illinois, meeting people.] Norty was part of that and Vic was part of that and Dave was; initially, I was not.

DePue: Norty being Norton Kay.

Goldberg: Norty Kay, yeah.

DePue: Did he solicit your help when he wrote *The Rights and Conflict*, what most people refer to as *The Walker Report*, the report on the 1968 Democratic Convention and the violence that ensued there?

Goldberg: Yes. I got really politically motivated and politically involved as a result of the convention, and ended up working Billy Singer's campaign. But I was involved in some matters at the firm at that time, and I wanted to do more on the report. I remember I had some real battles with Mulroy. I think now that if somebody in my position was arguing with me, I don't think I would have been quite as tolerant as Mulroy was. But in any event, I was involved in some matters, and I just couldn't free up very much time to work on the report, in terms of going out and interviewing people. So I had some minimal involvement in the report. But I had nothing to do with the famous introduction and all that sort of stuff.

DePue: Well, it wasn't too long after –this would have been late 1968 –when that report came out. It amazes me that it came out that quickly.

Goldberg: Was it that quickly that it came out? I just don't remember. Maybe it was.

DePue: He was certainly working on it in the latter part of 1968. A year or so later, in the early 1970s – from the stories I hear from Governor Walker and others – it was Vic deGrazia and Dave Green sitting down with Walker and saying, You know, I think this is your opportunity now to be looking at running for governor. And Walker, always a very ambitious person, having that in his sight, certainly decided that was the time he was going to legitimately pursue that. But outside

The Walker Report and the inner circles of some groups in Chicago, he had to be this great unknown in the rest of the state of Illinois.

Goldberg: You know, I think that's right. I think that he was Adlai Stevenson's campaign manager. He and Foran, I think.

DePue: He's Stevenson III.

Goldberg: Yeah, yeah.

DePue: So he was known in that respect?

Goldberg: Well, I think, in the sense that he launched his campaign for governor when he gave a speech after Adlai won. I remember, going to a wedding at about that time where I met Dick Schultz, who was Tom Foran's partner. And Dick, who I'm good friends with – as a matter of fact we met on a matter yesterday – told me that Foran was going to be the next governor, and I said I kind of doubted it. (both laugh)

DePue: You had already heard about Walker?

Goldberg: Yeah, I mean it was...

DePue: But nobody was giving him a chance to win it, though?

Goldberg: No, no! Nobody gave him a chance to win either the primary or the general. But where I got involved in that campaign initially was in the lawsuit to get rid of the 23-month rule.

DePue: There are some people who've said that had a huge impact on his ability to draw other votes, so could you talk quite a bit more about that for us?

Goldberg: Well, it was really Mary Lee Leahy and Andy Leahy and I put together the suit. There'd been a case somewhere in the Southeast that had thrown out a similar rule on the grounds that you could require somebody to register beforehand, but you couldn't impede somebody's choice afterwards. This rule was, that if you voted in one party's primary, you couldn't vote in the primary of another party for 23 months.

DePue: Now you mentioned somewhere in the Southeast. Southeast of Illinois?

Goldberg: No, no. Southeast of the United States.

DePue: But obviously you're working for a lawsuit in Illinois.

Goldberg: Yeah, but we thought that the... I mean, some of the reasoning came – that's my recollection, maybe I'm wrong – but there was a prior case. Anyway, Andy was very active with the Teachers' Union, and he found a couple of teachers in Lake

County, one at least, and we filed the lawsuit challenging the rule. Up there, we thought we had a friendly defendant in Grace Mary Stern.

DePue: Was it Dan, or was it deGrazia, or together, that they asked the three of you to pursue this lawsuit?

Goldberg: No, I think that lawsuit grew out of discussions. Somebody had to come up with the idea of what lawsuit it was. You know, what could we do? At the time we filed the lawsuit, it was completely stealth; that is, there was no announcement by Dan. As a matter of fact, when the decision came down, I remember a lot of reporters speculating that Don Page Moore was behind this lawsuit.

DePue: Don or Dawn?

Goldberg: Don. Donald Page Moore. He ran for either State's Attorney or Attorney General. I mean, he joined the administration. He was a terrific guy.

DePue: But you were doing this on the behalf of Dan Walker? Looking at this could be an important role in his being able to be elected?

Goldberg: It came out of discussions. Vic and Dave wouldn't have known that there was an avenue here. Dave might have said, You know, this is a problem for us - da, da, da, da, da, da. Then we got together with Andy and Mary Lee, and figured out what we could do. I mean, that had to be the genesis of the case. I learned somebody wrote Dan and said there was a companion case filed in Cook County. I don't remember it. Anyway, I remember we filed an application for a three-judge court. Judge Hoffman just sat on it; he wouldn't act. So we filed a motion with the Executive Committee of the Court - very extraordinary - you wouldn't ordinarily do this. The Executive Committee of the Court took the case away from Hoffman and convened a three-judge court.

DePue: What was Hoffman's position at the time?

Goldberg: He was a District Court Judge. The procedure is, you file a lawsuit and you ask the judge to whom it's assigned to convene a three-judge court, because you're challenging the constitutionality of a state statute. The statutes require that three judges hear that.

DePue: So this is my complete ignorance, and you have to allow me this question here. Was this adjudicated in state court system?

Goldberg: Federal Court. DePue: I guess that's the part I don't understand. How did it get to the Federal system then?

Goldberg: Because we said it was unconstitutional. The statute imposing the 23-month rule was an improper restraint on assembly and right.

DePue: So you weren't arguing a violation of the Illinois State Constitution, but the Federal Constitution.

Goldberg: Federal Constitution.

DePue: OK, I'm sorry for that.

Goldberg: And when you do that, you can't have one federal judge knock out a state statute. This is federalism. You need three judges. So we had Swygart, Bauer and Marovitz. So then the three-judge court got assigned. We went through the briefing. Andy argued the case. Thinking about it now, I can't believe I didn't tell anybody in the firm I was even involved in the case. Now you'd have to have conflict things, and the Executive Committee would meet as to whether this was something we could take on. (laughs)

DePue: That is amazing.

Goldberg: Mulroy was very close to Daley, so he was very conflicted with it.

DePue: That could complicate matters.

Goldberg: Yeah. Well he was very supportive of Dan. But it's a little bit like, oh, Rahm Emmanuel [a key person in both the Clinton and Obama administrations] trying to decide between Hillary and Obama. Paul Powell had a saying, supposedly: on a tough issue he'd say, Some of my friends are for it, some of my friends are against it, and I'm for my friends. (both laugh)

DePue: Another colorful character in Illinois politics.

Goldberg: Yeah. I'd also worked with Dan when he was on the Crime Commission. We did these legislative packages.

DePue: And that was another way that Dan was known among the inner circle, if you will, of Chicago politics?

Goldberg: I think so. And maybe a little bit statewide.

DePue: Yes.

Goldberg: But in any event, then we were waiting for the decision; we had no idea when the decision was going to come down. I remember I was out in California on some matter, and we heard that the court was going to rule the next day in the Ceremonial Courtroom. We knew Marovitz_ was against this because this was not anything that the regular organization wanted. So we're in the Ceremonial Courtroom – I took the red-eye back – and Marovitz walks out. I knew him; I liked him a lot. They threw away the mold with him and he was a unique guy. But anyway, so he walked out and he had copies of the opinion in his hand, and

he threw it down and said, "I don't agree with this." We didn't even have to read it.

DePue: And this was just days before the primary election?

Goldberg: Was it days? It wasn't long before the primary election.

DePue: It was March 9. I'm not sure I know the exact date of the primary election, but it was later in March.

Goldberg: Well, then it was probably within 10 days of the primary election. As Dave Green said, it enabled us to win in '72, but it cost us the election in '76. And I said, "Dave, you didn't tell me you wanted it reversed." (laughs) So then after that I was becoming more involved on the campaign. I think it was...

DePue: This would have been about the general election timeframe?

Goldberg: No, the primary election. I remember it was like the Thursday or Friday before the primary, and for some reason I was going over to Dan's headquarters. On the way out of the office, the switchboard operator, whose name was Bea McElroy, always served as a poll-watcher. And she'd gotten her instructions. She said, I don't know if you've seen this or not, but here's the manual. In the manual, it said that poll-watchers had to be from the ward. I don't think it was the precinct; I think it was the ward. That was contrary to the state statute; a watcher just needed to be a registered voter in Illinois. The idea, obviously, was to keep watchers out of precincts where it was going to be hard to find somebody from the ward to serve as a watcher.

DePue: To avoid the conflict of interest issues?

Goldberg: Well, to avoid being watched. (both chuckle)

DePue: OK.

Goldberg: You know, you have watchers in the precincts to make sure that the voter is really going in the booth by himself and not with the precinct captain. A lot of stuff went on. So we went over and filed a lawsuit that afternoon to enjoin the enforcement of that rule in the book.

DePue: Just days before the primary election.

Goldberg: Yeah. Like the day before the primary election. The case was assigned to Judge McClaren., There'd been a lot of hearings. McClaren was a wonderful guy. I knew him from some antitrust cases when he served as the Attorney General for antitrust. There was something with some ITT case he was involved in, hearings on Capitol Hill. Anyway, he came back. He was a Republican and everything like that, and he came back and we saw him Monday morning. I guess he was the emergency judge. He said, "I can't believe I've got this case." Anyway, I

think he got it because he was the emergency judge over the weekend, and then the case went to Bauer. So we argued before Bauer, I think on Monday morning. So Bauer said, "I'm going to grant the injunction; draft an order, and come back here at two o'clock," or one thirty or whatever it was. So we came back at one thirty or two o'clock. I think we had a draft order. I can't remember who had the draft order. Anyway, the Board of Election Commissioners then filed a motion to recuse Bauer on the ground that, when he had been the U.S. Attorney he had considered filing a suit raising the same issue or a very closely related issue. So you could see Bauer was just **furious**. Because he knew that they knew about this all the time. They were just waiting for him to rule, and then they were taking a second bite at the apple.

DePue: Now, who was it that was arguing the case?

Goldberg: The Board of Election Commissioners.

DePue: So not you directly?

Goldberg: Oh no, no, no. This one I argued directly.

DePue: OK, so the law firm obviously knew about your role by that time? (both laugh)

Goldberg: Well, I told Tom that I was involved in the 23-month rule case. I think about this now, and none of this would happen today. (Laughter.)

DePue: Somehow, I have to get that incredulous look you just gave into the recording itself. But go ahead.

Goldberg: Anyway, the firm was remarkably good and tolerant. So Bauer came back. So we had this big victory, right, and Bauer said, "I'm recusing myself." He said, "Just a minute. I'll be back." He was gone about 15 minutes, and the lawyers are all sitting in the room and we're ready to kill each other. So Bauer comes back, and he says, "Judge Decker will hear your case." Well we had a draft order. That's right, I remember, we had a draft order. By this time the press had gotten around, had heard about it, and there were press waiting out in the courtroom and so on and so forth. I like to win, and I didn't like the idea of having a victory taken away from me. I mean, Judge Decker was an excellent judge, but he was really a stern guy, right? So we walked into Decker's courtroom and his clerk called the case, and I started to argue. And he said, "Counsel, let me see your order." So I handed up the order and he signed it.

DePue: Just like that.

Goldberg: The Board of Election Commissioners was stunned. So you know, it was clear. (both laugh)

DePue: Well, somebody who doesn't pay attention much to politics in Chicago would have thought this was not a big deal.

Goldberg: Well, he pays a lot of attention to politics; I'm sure he paid a lot of attention to politics in Chicago. We had given a copy of the order to Bauer.

DePue: So even more than that other issue of the 23-month rule, this is sticking it in the eye of the Daley machine, is it not?

Goldberg: Yeah. So then we had to get copies of this and we had to get it out. It's now about four o'clock in the afternoon. So there's what, 3,300 precincts? The injunction went to the judges of election from the President of the United States: You are hereby commanded, da, da, da, da. I mean, this was something...

DePue: I can imagine the conversations that are going on in these places.

Goldberg: We needed to get copies of this out, so we ran the photocopy machines at the office. I mean, now you've got to put in codes. So we had people just running the photocopy machines. So we finally got through with this at about two o'clock in the morning, making all these. Because you needed like 15,000 copies, because you needed five copies for each precinct, for each of the judges of election. Five in each. So we have these boxes of documents. The guard won't let us out; we don't have a building pass. So I called the Office Manager – her name was Helen Hicks – and I said, “You tell this guy it's OK, because...”

DePue: What was Helen's last name?

Goldberg: Hicks. And I said, ...otherwise, Helen, we're just simply going to overpower him and take these boxes out.” (both laugh)

DePue: And then it would never have been; it'd never have happened.

Goldberg: Right. So anyway, we had different people going around at the key precincts delivering these things to the election judges, and we gave them to the different watchers and so on and so forth.

DePue: But it certainly was out in the press by that time, too.

Goldberg: Yeah, I'm sure it was out. I was so involved in what we were doing that I hadn't... So anyway, I think Elliot Epstein went out to, I think it was Vito Marzullo's ward, and promptly got arrested for trying to deliver this thing. And I remember Vic calling me up – on election day, we had an operation somewhere to deal with problems – and I remember Vic saying, “Get Elliot out of jail!” (both laugh)

DePue: Well, if nothing else, that gives you an indication of how you're crossing the people who've got the power in the city, perhaps.

Goldberg: So that was a long night. That was a long night. You know, there's nothing – there's litigation –but there's nothing like winning an election, particularly an election that you're not expected to win.

DePue: Well, I want to back up a little bit – I should have asked you this earlier – but in this time when you and Walker were both working in the law firm, and you’re getting to know each other, and working on a lot of different kind of cases, and spending time with each other, did you have conversations with him or did he have conversations with you about his disdain for machine politics?

Goldberg: Well, there was one other thing, and I became aware of it. I don’t know if Dan told you this or not, but Dan was going to be named U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois by Kennedy, [President John F. Kennedy] and then Kennedy was shot and that was over. I think Dan had some plans for how he was going to primarily go after the mob.

DePue: The Chicago mob?

Goldberg: Along the line I became very aware of Dan’s independent streak. There was this real divide. One of the things that Dan and I disagreed about, in all this hot time, and that is a lot of the protest politics then became antiwar politics. You know? Dan, with that Annapolis background, was never antiwar. He tried to keep his views quiet because he knew a lot of his base was. And we talked about that. We never agreed; we just didn’t, you know.

DePue: But my guess is, Dan respected the fact that you had served some time in the military?

Goldberg: Yeah, I mean a little bit of time. Dan was really an expert on military justice. When I was at Fort Polk – there there was actually a base where they were looking for lawyers – I had served on some defense teams. I remember he got offended when I referred to the defendants as the guilty-accused. I mean, nobody ever won a court martial in a criminal case that I saw in the Army. (both laugh)

DePue: I wonder if you could take a little time. Obviously by the time he’s decided to run for the governorship, he’s got this huge uphill battle to win the Democratic Primary. He eventually finds out it’s going to be Paul Simon, who’s also in this group that Mort Kaplan referred to as the Young Turks of Democratic politics at the time. Anyway, I’m getting away from my question. Just give me a thumbnail sketch of what it was that you saw in Dan Walker that made you believe in him and made you support his campaign?

Goldberg: He was smart. Honest. And I thought that this was just exactly the kind of person that we needed. Plus, I had a personal relationship with him, and it’s not often that you will have worked with a guy who has a chance to become the Governor.

DePue: By this time, you certainly knew that his issue was: We need to change the way politics runs, and machine politics.

Goldberg: Oh yeah, oh yeah. And in a funny way, I'd become aware of that when I had wanted to work in –might have been when Johnson ran in '64 against Goldwater. I had tried to get involved in that campaign.

DePue: The Johnson Campaign?

Goldberg: Yeah. Through the city. No one was interested.

DePue: No one, meaning the machine wasn't interested in your involvement?

Goldberg: Yeah. Right.

DePue: OK. You also encountered these other people; we've mentioned a few of them already. I want you to give also a thumbnail sketch, or your opinion of the role and the personality, of people like Victor deGrazia. Let's start with the top of the list.

Goldberg: Well, Vic was a brilliant guy. And very smart about Illinois politics. I always had a very good relationship with Vic. We kind of operated in different areas, but I just thought he was a brilliant guy and probably much maligned.

DePue: What was it about Vic that he preferred to be – I might be misstating here – the power behind the throne? That he had no ambitions personally, for himself, but he was very ambitious for Walker.

Goldberg: Well, I think that's true. Probably of me, too.

DePue: And Dave Green?

Goldberg: Yeah. I mean, because you've got to be realistic about yourself. I mean, Vic was not going to be a candidate and hold office.

DePue: Why?

Goldberg: You know, he wasn't that personality, and appearance, and demeanor. I mean, it just wasn't going to happen. Discipline. I mean, it's one thing to work for a candidate. You know, when I was working then on the campaign – it was like six or nine months – I basically didn't see my family at all during that period of time. But it's different to be the candidate. Or the office holder.

DePue: Yeah. Doing this series of interviews, it really impresses me: the loyalty and dedication that he had from people like yourself, and Vic, and Dave Green, and the whole group of people who were drawn to him, and he couldn't possibly have done it without those folks.

Goldberg: You know. I think that's right. I mean, you look at that picture of all of us sitting around. We had disagreements but it wasn't really ego trips or hidden agendas or all this sort of stuff. The disputes that we had were legitimate disputes.

DePue: And you mentioned before, he wasn't one to avoid hearing those difficult discussions.

Goldberg: No. But when he'd made up his mind, then he'd made up his mind. You don't come back and keep revisiting it: Dan, you should have done this. I told you, you should have done this.

DePue: That's behind us; let's look forward?

Goldberg: Yup.

DePue: How about David Green?

Goldberg: Well, David was an absolutely brilliant political analyst. Vic was kind of the nuts and bolts, and Dave was kind of, Where do you position yourself in order to win? I mean, a lot of the real anti-tax income, that was Dave. Polling, figuring out, that was Dave. Absolutely brilliant. Absolutely brilliant.

DePue: Norty Kay?

Goldberg: Norty had probably the most thankless job of all. He had to deal with the press. I mean, he had that job like Hillary's [Hillary Rodham Clinton] press secretary had over the past weekend, you know? Constantly answering questions, so now then what? Is he going to support Paul Simon? Norty had to deal with these people, a lot of whom liked Paul Simon, da, da, da. They thought Ogilvie was a good governor, and what has Walker done? An upstart and confrontational. Well, if he wasn't confrontational, he wouldn't have gotten anywhere.

DePue: If Walker wasn't confrontational?

Goldberg: Yeah. I mean, if he wasn't willing to...

DePue: Well, I would imagine part of Norty's challenge, and I'm sure something that the inner circle was talking quite a bit about, was, OK, Paul Simon, who has this reputation of being an outsider, he didn't come into the position of being the machine candidate, but he was selected by the slate makers, if you will.

Goldberg: Right, he became the machine candidate. I mean, the question yesterday that they were asking was, "Did Bill Bradley's [a famous basketball player who became a U. S. Senator] endorsement of Obama help him?" (both laugh)

DePue: So these dilemmas don't change over time?

Goldberg: They don't change, you know? And again, they're talking about the union out in Nevada. Well, almost all of the unions endorsed Simon, almost without exception. But that doesn't mean that the people who belong to the union voted for Simon. It means he got money.

DePue: How about the way the press-

Goldberg: And the newspapers! It's the same thing! I mean, people...

DePue: Did they overwhelmingly endorse Simon when it came to that point?

Goldberg: Yeah. Overwhelmingly. Overwhelmingly.

DePue: And yet, we know how it turned out. What was the feeling, then, at campaign headquarters that night?

Goldberg: The establishment was against him. No ifs, no ands, no buts, no cross-town.

DePue: So what was the mood in the campaign headquarters the night when the election returns were coming back?

Goldberg: Well, Andy and Mary Lee and I were doing the election operation, so we were on alert if there were problems in precincts or problems with votes. So we were really not at the headquarters until later on, when it appeared that the votes were in. But I'm sure that there was... I mean, people had to be potentially elated and very nervous, because it was very close.

DePue: What was your mood, your reaction when you heard that he had actually won?

Goldberg: I was ecstatic.

DePue: OK.

Goldberg: I mean, what else? You know, you've worked, you've contributed.

DePue: But at that point there's another mountain to climb.

Goldberg: Oh, yeah.

DePue: The general election. Now, I would assume, you're much more involved.

Goldberg: Well, at that point I took a leave of absence from the law firm, which they were very good to agree to. And I think they paid me. They had to have paid me, because otherwise I couldn't have done it. So I took a leave of absence. I think my title was Director of Research or something like that.

DePue: During the main campaign, then? Which meant what?

Goldberg: Which meant I helped write speeches, looked at stuff that Ogilvie had done. If there were people in the administration who knew stuff who wanted to talk to somebody, they talked to me.

DePue: What were the main issues that defined the Walker Campaign?

Goldberg: I would say it was probably kind of a form of populism. That is, have somebody who will fight for you in Springfield against the establishment.

DePue: So again, echoing the themes of the current campaign, somebody who can bring in change. Who can clean up the mess down in Springfield?

Goldberg: Yeah.

DePue: How much did the new income tax play into the campaign?

Goldberg: You know, I don't know. We said, No more tax increases. My guess is that there were a lot of people out there who were mad about the income tax, but Dan was not saying he was going to repeal the income tax.

DePue: But he did make a pledge: No increase in taxes?

Goldberg: Yup.

DePue: But was Ogilvie saying that he was going to raise it?

Goldberg: Not that I remember.

DePue: Now, Walker has told me himself, that it was because Ogilvie ushered in this new income tax that hadn't existed before that made him vulnerable. And yet, he also said he supported the need for the income tax in the first place.

Goldberg: I think that's right.

DePue: So I mean, what we're describing here is somebody who saw the opportunity. Somebody who was very ambitious, who saw the opportunity, and from everything else I've been able to pick up from him, his real issue was about changing the nature of politics in Illinois, to bust up that machine in Chicago, especially.

Goldberg: Also, as I'm sure Dan talked about probably more, there's a natural rivalry between the mayor of the city of Chicago and the governor, if he's Democratic. Historically, I think that the mayors have been comfortable with Republican governors.

DePue: Because they don't have to pretend that they're going to get along as much?

Goldberg: No. A Republican governor is the top dog in the Republican Party, and the Democratic mayor is the top dog in the [Illinois] Democratic Party. A lot of what we discovered, frankly, was that Ogilvie had basically abandoned governing... (chuckles), state government in Cook County.

DePue: But Ogilvie had otherwise accomplished a lot during his administration. Not only did they have the income tax, which is going to be the albatross he's got to

deal with, but he also got the Constitutional Convention through. I don't know how direct a role he played in that, but that was a very significant incident for his administration. That happened in 1970. But again, I'm doing too much talking here.

Goldberg: He also had a political operation. It was the old patronage game: all the County Chairmen were either in the Highway Department, or here, or there.

DePue: We're talking Ogilvie in this case?

Goldberg: Yeah. Yeah. So you've got a lot of the, you know, the same old politics as usual kind of thing.

DePue: During the general election, was there the sense that it was going to be every bit as tough to beat Ogilvie as it was to beat Simon?

Goldberg: I think tougher. Tougher.

DePue: Historians today look at the election and say that the tough one, the miracle, was beating Simon.

Goldberg: Well, I think probably that they were both miracles. Just shortly before the general election, things did not look good. Ogilvie had a lot of money; he was running a lot of ads. I remember there was one particular ad on what he'd done for old people, elderly, or something like that, that really resonated. You know, a governor who cares or something. Something that we were picking up in our polling and it was really moving people. So Dave was very concerned. Dan put a lot of his own money in. We always had a difficult time raising money. I don't know if Dan told you this or not, this is one thing to Daley's credit. Daley and Dan never really had a close relationship, and Daley never really opened up the Chicago purse strings for Walker. But Bakalis wanted to run as an independent candidate.

DePue: Callus?

Goldberg: Bakalis, who had been the Superintendent of Education. And Daley said, "No. We've had a primary." That would have been the end of Dan.

DePue: So Daley and the Chicago machine didn't...

Goldberg: Politically...

DePue: ...stand in his way.

Goldberg: ... at least, didn't... you know. Daley had a long run interest in that. While, he didn't like the outcome of this primary, he certainly didn't want people negating the primary process.

DePue: Who was the press endorsing in the general election?

Goldberg: I think again, almost overwhelmingly, Ogilvie. He's been a good Governor; I think that was his motto, something like that.

DePue: So that doesn't bode well for Walker when he wins the general election as well, that he's now got to establish this relationship in Springfield, and to a certain extent, the press is already a bit antagonistic.

Goldberg: Yeah, but I'm trying to think. At some point, there was... I know Vic had a concern at one point. And this must have been, that if Ogilvie really went down in the polls, that Ogilvie would resign and the Republican Party would appoint somebody else who wouldn't have all of Ogilvie's baggage. But you know, I've got to tell you, I mean that period of time was so intense. I mean, we were working like 18, 20 hours a day and trying to do a million things, and get out position papers, and answer letters. We also had a situation where there were some students, so-called students. I can't remember where they were from. We realized that we had a mole in the campaign. There were a couple of guys from the Plumbers' Group that had been killed in an automobile accident in Southern Illinois. The Ogilvie Campaign sent somebody into our campaign on the guise that they were volunteers. I mean, I was a little surprised this person wanted to work that hard and so on and so forth. It turned out we caught her photocopying stuff. We were having events cancelled downstate. Dan would be downstate and the room would be cancelled. All sorts of dirty tricks. When we found out about it and we tried to tell the press about it, they couldn't care less. I mean, at that point we had a whole dossier; we'd gotten a lot of information on the people, but nobody was interested. Also, Ogilvie came out with a "20% property tax cut." We analyzed it and it wasn't a 20% property tax cut; he was proposing a cut in the portion of the property tax that supported certain municipal services, which was like about 15% of the typical property tax bill. None of the press would pick that up. We said, You know, you trumpeted all these headlines, *Ogilvie for a Property Tax Cut*. So I had to give a press conference on this which, of course, four people came to and nobody wrote about it. I mean, it was just a lot of phony stuff. And there was no... Fairness requires if you're going to give the story, and it's basically false, talk about it.

DePue: Well, that doesn't seem to have changed in the last 40 years either, has it?

Goldberg: I remember getting a haircut on a Sunday (chuckles) so that I could give this press conference.

DePue: Well, I'm surprised it's you giving the press conference, since Norty Kay was in the...

Goldberg: I think they thought that I really knew this issue. By the time we'd studied it, we'd put together the numbers. You're talking about property tax levies and all

this sort of stuff. I mean, there's some things where it does help to be a lawyer. Not many. But some.

DePue: Mort Kaplan, I'm sure, is the other guy. So Norty and Mort have to deal with all these issues that apparently aren't playing too well in the press.

Goldberg: Yeah. And I think, probably, Mort was more doing it from the advising point of view as opposed to... I mean, you've got to have one operations guy, and that was Norty.

DePue: So you mentioned before that the real message was a populist message. That that's what The Walk was about, to establish that reputation.

Goldberg: Yeah. I'm Dan Walker and give yourself a fighting chance. I still have some of those posters: *Give yourself a fighting chance.*

DePue: So it's the kind of phrase that resonates with people. OK. All set. Want to take a break here?

(Break in audio.)

DePue: OK, let's go ahead and start here. We are recording, once again, after a very quick break. You decided to take a break at a good moment, because I was just about to transition into the actual administration. I read someplace, or heard someplace, that you were part of the transition team. I wonder if you could talk about that.

Goldberg: I can. But I just want to mention one other thing, and that is on election night – Jim Thompson was the U.S. Attorney – and I had been in touch with his office in terms of the election, and difficult precincts, and protecting the process, and so on and so forth. At some point, votes were very slow coming in from DuPage [County]. I tried to track down Thompson; we finally located him, and he was at Ogilvie Headquarters.

DePue: Which, knowing what we know about Jim Thompson now, doesn't surprise me. But it surprised you at the time?

Goldberg: No. But angered me.

DePue: I guess in an official capacity he was supposed to be nonpartisan.

Goldberg: Well, and supposed to be a federal official protecting the election process. (both laugh)

DePue: Something you didn't forget, obviously.

Goldberg: Well, we saw the same thing in the Black trial.

DePue: Now, at this time, help me out. Thompson was involved with the conviction of Otto Kerner, [former Illinois Governor] was he not? Was that prior to this?

Goldberg: Oh yeah. Yeah, that was prior to this. I'm sure it was prior to this.

DePue: OK. I think it was '70 or '71 when that went down.

Goldberg: Yeah, I think so.

DePue: And you knew at the time that Jim Thompson had his own political ambitions?

Goldberg: Yeah. I mean, I assumed so. Other than at that time there was a tradition of U.S. Attorneys doing that. I think it was broken by Tom Sullivan, who was the first U.S. Attorney in a long time who thought it was improper to have a press release on an indictment because they thought it would prejudice the jury pool. Well, I mean, Tom's a great lawyer and a great public servant, and he really did it right.

DePue: OK. So let's get into the transition team. What was specifically your role there?

Goldberg: Well, I was in charge of the transition team. What we were trying to do was to track down Ogilvie's directors and talk to them and find out what was going on, and what were the issues. The biggest transition effort had to do with the budget. There was a fellow named Chuck Woodford, I believe, and I think he worked for one of the banks in Springfield. I don't know if it was Dan, or who recruited him, but he put together almost, like a Bureau of the Budget, outside the Bureau of the Budget to try and deal with the budget issues. Because I remember, early on, a team from the Bureau of the Budget, not including John McCarter, who's now the Head of the Field Museum – and I can't remember who it was – but some of his deputies came up and met with Dan and me and maybe a couple other people to talk about the budget process. They had these sheets about the process, and when the decisions had been made. Basically, at that point, Dan, according to them, got to decide the color of the cover. (both laugh)

DePue: He perhaps wanted to have more of an impact than that.

Goldberg: I think he said, "That's not the way it's going to be." (both laugh)

DePue: I can imagine his saying that.

Goldberg: You can imagine him saying that.

DePue: I was reminded yesterday by Mort Kaplan that Vic deGrazia had a heart attack at this time. That had to be a major hit on this transition team.

Goldberg: Yes, because a lot of what you're dealing with are political issues, and Vic had a lot more of a feel for a lot of those political issues. I mean, the big problem always is, who can you trust? Who can you believe? I remember –it was very refreshing –I met with one of the people from Ogilvie's office. I can't remember

which guy it was. But he said to me, "Bill, put a piece of paper in your pocket, and when people are talking to you about some issue, and they're telling you something, pull it out and read it. And it should say, 'The bastards are lying.'" (both laugh) But that's a big problem. Who do you trust? Vic had a lot more of that history, and it was a big blow for Dan because Dan confided in Vic, consulted with Vic.

DePue: So when you're talking about Vic's having the heart attack, all of a sudden the institutional memory of what was said to whom, and what deals were got...

Goldberg: I mean, some legislator, somebody here, somebody there, what's going on. I don't know these people. Dave Green doesn't know these people. Norty may have known some of them a little.

DePue: Did you know at the time, during the transition period, what your role was going to be once the administration started?

Goldberg: Yes, yes.

DePue: Dan asked you to do what?

Goldberg: Become Counsel to the Governor.

DePue: Which means?

Goldberg: Well, it was a role that was not defined as such. I was certainly in charge of the legal stuff, but because of the way we interacted, it was part of the team: Vic, Dan, Dave, Norty.

DePue: Officially, I would guess, according to the Illinois State Constitution, the state Attorney General is the legal counsel to the governor?

Goldberg: We couldn't represent the governor in court.

DePue: The Attorney General would have to do that?

Goldberg: The Attorney General would have to do that. I think the governor is entitled to, and always has had, somebody who can give him legal advice about bills. We drafted a lot of Executive Orders and that sort of stuff, and what we're doing. So I don't think there's any conflict there. The question of an elected Attorney General raises a lot of problems. What I did was, I established a good working relationship with the Deputy Attorney General. There was Bob O'Rourke, who was the former alderman of the 49th Ward. And then Dean Herzog. We just had an understanding that we would work together; in 98% of the cases you can do the people's business without politics. Where it was something where Scott was not going to represent us, while we got authorization for people to become Special Assistant Attorneys General to handle a case. And you know, hopefully we'd talk and Bob or Dean would say, You've got to be on your own on this one.

We just had a very good working relationship. It worked because it was not out in the public. It was just professional. I respected them; they were first rate. They respected me. And we got it done.

DePue: It makes sense that the governor has somebody who he personally trusts – the relationship with you in particular here – to be his inner circle legal counsel in certain circumstances.

Goldberg: Well, Jerry Marsh had been the legal counsel for Ogilvie. As a matter of fact, when I left, Jerry Marsh joined Hopkins & Sutter. And as a matter of fact, he moved into my old office.

DePue: But you were more than just legal counsel to the governor?

Goldberg: Yeah, I think in an operational sense, yes.

DePue: OK. I was reading an article –a reporter had done an interview with you at the time –where you were stressing that it was more than just legal advice. What specifically were you doing for the governor, then?

Goldberg: Well, I think we were trying to figure out what legislation, and who do we appoint? Problems: How do you deal with problems? And how do you deal with problems in departments. I used to say sometimes that I was the Executive Vice President In Charge of Trouble. (both laugh)

DePue: But that sounds like a role that Vic deGrazia was taking up.

Goldberg: Well, Vic did too. But for example –I think Vic was still sick –there was a prison riot down in Menard. We hadn't been in very long. The guy that we had named to be Director of Prisons had been rejected, so we had an Acting Director who had been the Head of the Juvenile Division. They had taken some hostages; they wanted to meet with Dan.

DePue: That was one of their...

Goldberg: Demands. Was to meet with Dan. The guy who was in charge of juvenile prisons had no idea what to do, and we were trying to direct it from the governor's office. So I got on one of the state planes and flew down there. One of the things that Dan did, the lesson of Attica, [an infamous prison riot] is that he did not send in the prison guards. He mobilized the State Police, and so the State Police were the force.

DePue: This kind of an incident, I would think, plays to his strength. He wasn't shy about confrontation. He was a trial lawyer. He was the son of a Navy...

Goldberg: Yeah, but you want to avoid it. One of the things that he made known was that, if somebody was not involved in organizing the riot and protected the safety of a guard, they would be considered for clemency. So somebody has a motivation to

protect a guard, and the guards got out unharmed. I remember flying down there. It had rained. There'd be thunderstorms. So now it's about five-thirty or six o'clock in the morning and the rain has stopped and it's kind of warm, and there's grass and flowers. It's completely surreal, completely surreal. And then State Police went in, and everybody got out unharmed.

DePue: So a feather in his cap.

Goldberg: So when I say trouble, Vic if it's political trouble or if it's political initiatives to do.

DePue: Others have described the relationship between you and Vic on this administration. It was that Vic was still more in the political arena, and you were more on the policy and issues sides of things.

Goldberg: Yeah, I guess that's probably, generally true. I may have told you this before, but Vic and I had this kind of code thing. There was something that came up one time where Vic was trying to tell me what the legal ramifications of something were; I think it had to do with some charitable organization getting involved in lobbying or something like that. So we came up with this code phrase, which was "501(c)3." Which is what a [charitable] organization can [or can't] do. When I got into Vic's area, he would say, "501(c)3", and when he got into mine, you know. It isn't like there's a sharp boundary; there's overlap.

DePue: A lot of incidents, occasions where you'd be in the governor's office and it'd be you and Vic, and maybe Norty and a couple other people, that trusted inner circle, would talk through issues?

Goldberg: Oh, I'm sure. I mean, Dan would talk to Vic, Dan would talk to me, Dan would talk to Norty. Dan and I would play tennis every morning, so sometimes we'd talk about tennis and sometimes... (both laugh)

DePue: It does give you the opportunity.

Goldberg: Well, I mean we were there every morning, like at six or six-thirty in the morning.

DePue: Where was "there"?

Goldberg: Well, in the summer, we would play outside at the courts. In the winter, there were indoor courts.

DePue: At the mansion?

Goldberg: No! No, no, no! There were public courts.

DePue: Downtown?

Goldberg: In Washington Park.

DePue: Washington Park. OK, that would have been my guess. That's just an inside Springfield question, I guess.

Goldberg: And then there was a place outside somewhere that had indoor courts that we played in the winter. But Dan refused to join the Illini Country Club, because it was discriminatory, and sometimes we'd have to wait for courts. So you know, Dan did the right thing.

DePue: In selecting the governing team, he broke from tradition in that respect and looked outside the borders of Illinois, even, to find the right talent. Do you recall any of that?

Goldberg: Oh yeah. Sure, Jack Foster, who had been involved in HR, [Human Resources] the Vice President in charge for Montgomery Ward came onboard. I think Jack had had experience with the Civil Service Commission; he was a wonderful guy, great gentleman, very knowledgeable. And we looked – you know – some was inside, some was outside.

DePue: What was Walker's rationale for looking outside the state?

Goldberg: Get the best talent we could to make change.

DePue: And that was quite different from the way a lot of different administrations would do it?

Goldberg: That's my understanding. I mean, I think that generally it's not the way that it had been done, except for one case, no.

DePue: That you were trying to pay favors, often times, with your appointees to these positions?

Goldberg: I don't know what Ogilvie's decision-making process was, or Kerner's, or Sam Shapiro's. I mean, I just don't know. I can't say that they didn't have anybody outside the state; I never really studied that. I know that Dan on some things, looked inside, like the Superintendent of the State Police; he wanted somebody who'd been with the State Police. So it varied as to what he wanted to do.

DePue: Talk about his relationship with the legislature.

Goldberg: Well, for the first two years, both houses were controlled by Republicans. In the Republican Caucus I think there were 30 Republican senators and 29 Democratic senators, and it was very rough. Plus you put together, that on certain issues, the Chicago forces were aligned with the Republicans. In the House there was a narrow margin, too. Blair was the Speaker of the House. The guy who can probably give you... I don't know if you've contacted Mike Duncan.

DePue: No.

Goldberg: Probably should talk to Mike. I mean, Mike was in charge of the legislative team. Wonderful guy, very talented guy. Soft-spoken. Patience of a saint or he never would have survived in that job.

DePue: From everything I've heard and read it was a very contentious relationship.

Goldberg: Oh yeah! There's no question about it. There's no question about it.

DePue: Was that a result of Walker's personality, or his leadership style, or his governing style?

Goldberg: I think it was just a result of the numbers: more Republicans than Democrats.

DePue: But so much of what you hear about that administration, once he got into office was, he didn't back away from being confrontational with the machine, with the mayor.

Goldberg: Yeah. But at the same time you talk about it that way, but there was reform of the Racing Board. There was the RTA.[Regional Transportation Authority] I mean, there was a lot of stuff that got done. Part of the problem with the structure is, you had these veto powers built into the constitution: the so-called amendatory veto, the reduction veto, the item veto. So on fiscal matters, you'd hear the legislators say, Well, we'll just pass it, and then if the governor wants to reduce it, he can. Then they'd come back in the hall and override all those vetoes, because in the fall you had something called veto override session. So the thing is structured so that, unless the governor puts something on the table, or he's got some leverage, everybody in the legislature cuts deals, and it's just an avalanche. So I don't know if that's confrontational. You just don't have much leverage to deal with that. You come up here in Chicago, and in arguments about state government, state government is not all that visible unless you have a particular interest. I mean, if you have a particular concern about mental health, or about a particular highway, or something else. But for the average citizen...

DePue: You talked about the challenges of crafting that first budget. One of the first issues to come up would have been some help for the Chicago Transit Authority. Apparently Governor Walker was making decisions that were contrary to the wishes of Daley and Chicago's interest.

Goldberg: Yeah. I think what it was, as I recall – because we learned a lot – I think the deal was two state dollars for every city dollar, and I think Dan wanted it one for one. So he wasn't against it, he just thought more money ought to come from the city. When he vetoed the bill, and then the override, then you see where the cards come in. You learn a lot about relationships that go back 10, 15, 20, 30 years, and cards that can be called.

DePue: The relationships you're referring to here are Walker's relationship with Daley, or with other legislators?

Goldberg: The Daley Machine's relationships with downstate legislators.

DePue: OK. That they were calling in chips to make sure that they could get that two-for-one ratio in?

Goldberg: Yeah, so they could override the veto.

DePue: So the long arm of the Daley Machine, in terms of the legislature in that respect?

Goldberg: Right.

DePue: And as far as your position, and Walker's position, this was principle and that was more important?

Goldberg: Well, this was Dan's decision. But I think Dan's decision was that, this was the first test of battling the entrenched interests, and he thought it ought to be 50/50. I mean, is that the sexiest thing to sell? Not necessarily. But that's what came up.

DePue: That maybe in his mind, this wasn't the time to compromise? Right out of the gate?

Goldberg: Yeah, right out of the gate. You're not going to just roll over and do what everybody else has done.

DePue: I'm not sure exactly when, but Vic deGrazia is quoted at one time as saying that that he and Walker together were better at collecting enemies than in rallying supporters.

Goldberg: Well, I never heard that. I think it depends.

DePue: You don't think that's an accurate statement, that's a fair statement to make?

Goldberg: I think it depends. Certainly on something like on the cross town, [expressway] Dan had a lot of, (chuckles) he had a lot of supporters. I mean, there was a lot of enthusiasm for Dan. I never heard Vic say that. And Vic had a rough job. Vic had a difficult job. I mean, if you would see Dan campaigning, people just loved him. Even afterwards, when he was out of office and we'd go out to dinner or lunch somewhere, people would come up to him.

DePue: So he had that, some call that, charisma. He was uncomfortable when I asked him if he thought he had charisma.

Goldberg: Well, he might have been uncomfortable. But I think that he did have charisma.

DePue: And yet, from most accounts he had a pretty rough going with the legislature. He had a bad relationship with the press. And he wasn't able to accomplish a lot of the things he had hoped to accomplish.

Goldberg: Well, I think we accomplished things, though, in a number of areas, which I think has been lost. Number one, we had the executive order on political contributions that you couldn't collect or solicit contributions from one who reported to you, directly or indirectly. I mean, that was a major reform. Major reform which was then abandoned by subsequent governors. If George Ryan had followed that principle, he'd be enjoying his retirement. [Former Governor Ryan was in prison on this issue at interview time.] I mean, it's very fundamental, and it's vicious. It's a vicious system: you work for me, you make \$20,000 a year; you've got to raise five in order to keep your job? Where are you going to get \$5,000 if you're making \$20,000 or \$25,000 a year? You don't have a lot of friends that can pay you \$200, \$300 for tickets to an event. In private business, that wouldn't work. Not for a minute. And it's still going on. We required members of boards and commissions to file disclosure statements so that you could uncover conflicts of interest. We lost practically the entire Arts Council.

DePue: Because they weren't willing to make those statements.

Goldberg: They weren't willing to make the disclosures. Yeah. They didn't want to make the disclosures. They just wanted to give away state money. I mean, there were two things: they didn't want to make the disclosures and... If it had been the Highway Department, they might have all had a...

DePue: And these are things that he's doing through executive orders?

Goldberg: Through executive orders.

DePue: Why not through legislation?

Goldberg: Never would have passed. He also would not...

DePue: Would that then buy partisan support in defeating such measures?

Goldberg: Sure.

DePue: OK.

Goldberg: Somebody would have come up with some reason for doing it.

DePue: And these things that you're talking about are right at the heart of what we wanted to...

Goldberg: To do.

DePue ...affect change, to do.

Goldberg: Yeah. And he did affect the change. Now the change didn't last beyond his administration, and nobody in the press noticed. I'll bet you could go through the archives, and never find an example, never find an article about *the death of no coercive political contributions*. So he did a lot of things that were the right things to do.

DePue: You mentioned before, the Racing Board. Is that something...

Goldberg: Yeah, there was reform of the Racing Board. I think that was bipartisan. There was the establishment of the RTA.

DePue: Talk a little bit more detail about those two, then?

Goldberg: I think Tony Scariano was appointed to be Chairman of the Racing Board.

DePue: And of course the Racing Board – that that one was notorious because Otto Kerner...

Goldberg: Yeah. There were some things that people did not want to oppose Dan on. He worked hard internally; he worked very hard on the departments under his control to try and implement sound management practices and measurable delivery of services. He spent a lot of time on that. It's an imperfect process, but I think he made... I mean, if you look at his budgets... The old budgets just used to list: how much do you spend for postage. how much did you spend for this? And his budgets attempted to disclose, how much do you spend delivering this service? How much do you spend delivering that service? So it was a totally different way of looking at what bang the taxpayers get?

DePue: I thought I had it written down here. Zero-based budgeting.

Goldberg: Zero-based budgeting and management by objectives. So the idea of zero-based budgeting is, just because you've done it in the past doesn't mean you need to do it in the future. There's obviously some things that you have to do.

DePue: So every single line had to be justified, to a certain extent, as to why that expense was there?

Goldberg: Well, why that program was there. It wasn't a line-by-line expense. The purpose of it was to be programmatic.

DePue: Can you describe a little bit, then, his executive and leadership style as governor?

Goldberg: He had a lot of reliance on the Bureau of the Budget to develop information and to develop alternatives. Then he would meet with the people from the Bureau of the Budget, and the people from the departments. He spent time with the people from the various departments going over what their programs were, how they were going to change, what the new initiatives were going to be and what programs could be abandoned, scaled back, et cetera, et cetera.

DePue: Hands-on executive.

Goldberg: Very much.

DePue: Micromanager?

Goldberg: No. No.

DePue: I mean, that was part of the decision, to find the best people in the first place?

Goldberg: Yeah. I mean, you have confidence in the people, but demand that the people evaluate their programs and do their best to deliver services. A lot of these things are not easy. I mean, you get Children and Family Services, and that's where the Department of Public Aid, where the old Cook County Departments, were absorbed in the State Departments.

DePue: And that's where Mary Lee Leahy ended up?

Goldberg: Mary Lee Leahy ended up. She did a fantastic job, but what an impossible job. I mean, there was this whole thing about sending people out of state because there were no facilities in Illinois. You're dealing with... Well, we've all had kids, right? We have good kids. They're well-behaved. There are times in their lives when they're trouble; I mean, these are good kids, right? So you get kids that are troubled kids, and Katie bar the door. You know?

DePue: Walker's focus was more on governance than on politics during this time?

Goldberg: I think if you asked Dan, he would say that the heart of his politics was good governance. I mean, he would not have that dichotomy because he thought that part of what he was trying to do... I mean, what did Hillary [Rodham Clinton] talk about last night? Let's make government work for you. That's what he wanted to do.

DePue: Talking about how much she cares and wants to do a good job for us.

Goldberg: Right. And make government work better. You did things, like you tried to make local... LeRoy Leavitt – who knew nothing about politics – was from Chicago; he was a psychiatrist and a really smart guy.

DePue: Who was this again?

Goldberg: LeRoy Leavitt. From somebody who knew nothing about politics, he became politically very savvy. But one of the things that Dan wanted to do was to make sure that local mental health clinics did something other than give out aspirin to people who had headaches. I mean, that they really confronted problems and helped people. He got a lot of resistance from people who didn't particularly want to be accountable for how they were spending other people's money. What a surprise!

DePue: He being the governor.

Goldberg: Yeah! And Leavitt. Leavitt really worked on it, and progress was made in that area. But initially, it was a firestorm. "What do you mean? You want me to, you're going to tell me how to, what I have to do and that I have to be. We know what we're doing! We've been doing it for years!"

DePue: Well, all of this stuff that we're talking about here, finding the right people to lead various agencies, doing that efficiently, making progress. None of that's necessarily the kind of thing that gives you good press, though.

Goldberg: Or that excites people. I think one newspaper did run some articles on what he was trying to do. But you know, that doesn't grab anybody. When Dan was up talking about his book on his book tour? I think it was one of the editors from the Sun Times ran the story that there were 30, 40 people there at eight, nine o'clock in the morning – whatever it was – and they wanted to know about The Walk and the campaign. Daley. And jail. And there wasn't a single question about, What did you accomplish as governor?

DePue: It's interesting you say that, because when I sat down, the reason he was willing to talk to me – he jumped at the chance to be interviewed – it wasn't so he could talk again about The Walk. He said, "I've talked about that a lot; I've written at length about that." He wanted to get to the administration.

Goldberg: He worked very hard at that. And, you know, there was a lot of stuff in certain regulatory departments where Dan tried to weed it out. He brought Don Page Moore in, and we had this Office of Special Investigations, and tried to root out corruption. You know? It was there. There was stuff that went on, and Dan tried to root it out. Well, the legislature hated Don Page Moore because I think he had run as an independent, either for State's Attorney or Attorney General. I think it was Cook County State's Attorney. So again, this is one of those things. Somehow we found the money to fund this, and then they talked about ghost payroll or all sorts. Dan was undeterred in doing what he thought.

DePue: Focused?

Goldberg: Focused. Dan was focused.

DePue: Talk about his relationship and the administration's relationship, with the press. Why was that so bumpy? Was there something in particular that started it, that soured it to begin with?

Goldberg: Well, I think Norty – unfortunately Norty is not well – but Mort could probably give you more insight on that than I could. But my perception is that they liked Paul Simon. They liked Ogilvie. They didn't want Dan to win. And they didn't want him particularly to succeed. And there were some opportunities. I mean, you know, you can argue that when he took on the CTA, [Chicago Transit Authority] and took on the Daley administration over the CTA, that gave the

people up here... Floyd Kalber; every time he'd talk about Dan, he'd end it with a snicker. We had a huge battle with CBS and my good friend Walter Jacobson. I say my good friend, because I've known Walter for years. There was also Len O'Connor. CBS had the practice that Walter was the anchor, and he would give opinions. We went after CBS; we said, You can't have the same guy on the same program giving the news and giving opinions.

DePue: In those days, they adhered to that provision much more clearly than they do today.

Goldberg: Well, they did it. They said, Well, [Walter] Cronkite does it.[a very famous newsman in radio and early TV] And we said, Cronkite has a piece on the radio which is opinion. He doesn't give an opinion piece on his newscast. Walter Jacobson said to me, "Why are you going after me?" I said, "We're not going after you. We're going after the practice of mixing delivering the news with giving your opinions. I mean, I think your opinions are a lot of crap, but you're entitled to give them; they're not fact based." The other thing we pointed out is that he would just say these wild things. And we talked to him; there was no secret about it. And I said, "Walter, I don't care if you disagree with us. Just try and get your facts half straight, once!"

DePue: That doesn't sound like too much to ask. So how much of the criticism you were getting from the press dealt with things like, He's unwilling to compromise; he's stubborn?

Goldberg: There was personnel stuff. I think it depended somewhat on the issue. I think the general image was that he was confrontational and wasn't a get-along guy, and knew how to get things done. Maybe it was a mistake, but my focus was not particularly on the press. If I had worried all the time about the press, I wouldn't have had time. I mean, at the end of a legislative session, there would be like 3,000 bills and they would come through on a timetable. Dan, and I used to joke that every time we vetoed a bill, unless it was a repealer, we were saving the taxpayers' money. And some friends of mine – I don't know how much they were aware of it – but they gave me a plaque that said, *Thank God we don't get all the government we paid for.* (both laugh) I mean, if you really enforced all this stuff, people would go absolutely nuts. But a lot of state law deals with the nitty-gritty, and on a lot of it there was cooperation. They would pass things on real estate tax, you know, changes in the real estate tax law. And Jerry Shea, for all his being a Daley lieutenant and everything like that, was a brilliant guy. Jerry, and people from the Bureau of the Budget, and people from the Cook County Assessors office and I would meet, and we would go over these bills. And they would explain these bills. Sometimes you get bills that would be conflicting. You know, you'd get three bills that would pass, and two bills would repeal the same. So when it got to nitty-gritty stuff like that, we would find the brains and work with the people. So it wasn't all war. I mean, there was a lot of it.

DePue: And one of your functions is to review these bills?

Goldberg: I had hired a guy who was in the Bureau of the Budget who would help review them. I would get the Bureau of the Budget and whatever department was involved –if it was transportation, local government services, whatever it was – and also, the legislator who was involved. And sometimes they'd come to us and say, "This is not the bill. I didn't realize what this bill did!" Because they'd pass 240 bills on one vote at the end of the session. But basically, the session then ended in June.

DePue: When it was supposed to end.

Goldberg: Well, unless there was one year when they had the Attorney General's amendments and so on and so forth, which held things up, I think, till practically August. So it was a huge, huge effort. So I would meet with the legislators. Brian Duff was very involved in crime bills. We would meet on those, together with people from the State Police. I mean, there was a lot of stuff that got done that isn't going to be headlines anywhere that was important stuff that needed to get done. You look at it – and I'm sure it's true today – 3,000 bills. It's because the state government deals with a lot of nitty-gritty.

DePue: I wanted to ask you a couple questions about Governor Walker and whether or not you or others were involved with some background discussions on the presidency.

Goldberg: Sure. Did he tell you about that?

DePue: Well, I think you might have mentioned it when we first met. But I knew that he was ambitious. I had read that. And the timing was right in the country. This is 1972; he's elected to governor. 1976, of course, is the year that Jimmy Carter wins, and he came out of nowhere. He's a governor from an obscure state. Walker was positioned better than Carter was in many respects, and he had ambitions in that regard. Although he always emphasized he wasn't interested in being a senator, he was interested in being governor. He liked the idea of being at the state level. That's what he told me.

Goldberg: Dan never would have functioned in a legislative environment. He did not suffer fools gladly. (both laugh)

DePue: But he did have ambitions in the presidency at one time?

Goldberg: Did he talk to you at all about that?

DePue: We didn't talk much. He moved beyond that pretty quickly.

Goldberg: It was a subject of debate.

DePue: Among the inner circle?

Goldberg: Right.

DePue: Can you discuss the nature of the discussion, then? Who was saying what, or the kinds of things?

Goldberg: I want to talk to Dan to make sure he has no problem with it, if you don't mind, before I...

DePue: OK. Well, that would require us to meet again if he did.

Goldberg: Well, or we can do it by phone or whatever, I guess.

DePue: OK. Here's what I would offer to you, that you'll have an opportunity down the road. I wish I could say soon. We've got to find transcribers for this and get it transcribed, and then you'll get an opportunity, perhaps, to add a thing or two at that point.

Goldberg: That's fine, that's fine. I'll be happy to do that. But that's very personal to Dan, and if Dan doesn't want me to talk about it, I don't want to talk about it.

DePue: Well again, some of this dealt with timing. By 1974, I know he's successful in getting some legislators elected who are going to be more sympathetic to the kinds of things that he's doing. Can you talk a little bit about that?

Goldberg: Yeah. I think we got control of both houses and Bill Redmond became the Speaker of the House. I think Phil Rock became the President of the Senate, right? And there was a huge stalemate there because, as I remember, I think it was Justice Goldenhersh presided, and I was the parliamentarian. And that went on for hours. Not days. You know, because there was a split in the Democrats. The Democrats had the votes, and the Republicans weren't weighing in, and I think our candidate, it was either Vince DeMuzio or Don, I can't remember which. And I can't remember who their original candidate was. Anyway, we might still be there, but I think we finally settled on Phil Rock. Whoever. I was just counting the votes. Talking with Goldenhersch for...

DePue: But was it also that there was a very conscious effort for getting the right candidates in the first place?

Goldberg: Oh yeah, I mean in the '74 – was it '74 or '76? – I think it was '74 that we tried to recruit candidates and run them. That was really Vic's operation. I don't know if that was entirely successful.

DePue: Well, but it was successful enough to, you know, that fine line, that shift from Democratic to Republican.

Goldberg: Yeah. But I don't know if a lot of our Democrats got elected. I remember at one Governor's Conference before '74 – or it might have been in '74 before the election – Dan was talking to some governor. I can't remember which one. Dan

said, I'm really looking forward to the '74 election and what follows because I think Democrats are going to take control of both houses. The governor said to him, What makes you think that's going to make it any better? Eliot Spitzer was here – I don't think I'm telling tales out of school – he had kind of an interesting analysis, and that is, you have a governor who comes in who's a force for change. And the legislature is very much an entrenched body that's very much against change, and I don't think that's limited to Illinois or the U.S. Congress, or New York. A lot of those people have been there...

DePue: (Both speaking; unintelligible) human nature.

Goldberg: A lot of those people have been there for a long time, and they've been there for a long time by protecting their interests. And therefore, it's very difficult to accomplish change unless there's some huge crisis. I mean, FDR got change, right, because there was an economic earthquake. He had to fight the Supreme Court to get the change accepted. But you look, you don't have very much of that kind of dramatic change enacted by a legislature. It doesn't happen.

DePue: Going back to the '74 election again, and putting up some candidates that can definitely help in the legislature if they're elected, was there again some friction with the Daley Machine?

Goldberg: Oh yeah. There was a lot.

DePue: Because these candidates weren't necessarily...

Goldberg: Well, because in the primary they were candidates that were running against Daley candidates.

DePue: So the important part of the election process would have been getting the right people through the primaries?

Goldberg: Yeah. And I don't think we got very many of our people through the primaries, certainly not enough to make a material difference. So I think while both became Democratic, I don't think it made a major difference. I think that governor who said to Dan, What makes you think it will make it any better? was probably pretty close to right. I mean, it was obviously a lot better dealing with Bill Redmond than Bob Blair.

DePue: But if you're putting up candidates against the machine candidate, regardless of how it turns out, one of the consequences is there's going to be more animosity with the machine.

Goldberg: Right.

DePue: And that came into play in 1976, obviously.

Goldberg: Right.

DePue: You've downplayed it a little bit, but if somebody who's perceived as a confrontational governor, who's taken on the machine, now the machine is going to get its revenge in 1976.

Goldberg: And they did.

DePue: With putting up Mike Howlett as the primary candidate.

Goldberg: And they did.

DePue: Any more comments beyond that?

Goldberg: Well, I think that was a very nasty campaign. I think Dan had been badly hurt in Chicago, in the suburbs, by the constant media barrage against him. There were just a lot of things that he did that I think were not well understood. I used to come up here and just catch all kinds of flak about everything that Dan was doing wrong from a lot of people that had supported him in 1972, who would say to me, I'm sorry, we shouldn't have supported him, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. We'd get into the facts, and they were just repeating something that had been on the news, and they had no idea of what he had done. So he was certainly weakened in Illinois. Howlett was a good old boy kind of a thing. It's very funny, after the election, later on in years, I had some cases where Mike Jr. and I were on the same side; you know, we got along. There's an understanding that that's politics. Right? I really didn't know Mike Sr., but Mike Jr. certainly was a wonderful guy. We had a good time trying a couple of lawsuits where we happened to represent people on the same...

DePue: This is Mike Howlett?

Goldberg: Junior. Right. I remember running into Richie Daley at one point –he has a remarkable memory –ran into him at a restaurant, and he came up and said, Hi, Bill. Hi, Judy. I think he was running against [Jane] Byrne and he said to me, Now I know what you guys were up against.

DePue: And that was a ways back.

Goldberg: That was a ways back. And I said, Richie, you have no idea, because the machine that was headed by your father was a lot more potent than the team that Jane Byrne puts on the field. Yeah. And I mean, I'm not close to him, but I see him.

DePue: So in that respect, it's politics.

Goldberg: Yeah. And Madigan. I see Madigan, and he said to me, Gee, I miss those days when we used to put on our steel pots and go to work. (both laugh)

DePue: Madigan has a remarkably long career, I think.

Goldberg: He's a brilliant guy. Jerry Shea, Mike Madigan, Richie himself, Phil Rock: these are very smart people. You're not dealing with people who don't know, who can't figure things out.

DePue: Another incident that has been used to explain the animus between Walker and the Daley Machine, if you will, was this putting up a slate of delegates at the Democratic National Convention in 1976 that was contrary to the slate that the mayor wanted. Can you talk about that?

Goldberg: In '76?

DePue: '76. Yeah. I think I'm getting the dates right. Would that have been '72? I thought it was '76. That's not ringing any bells for you?

Goldberg: Well, it wouldn't have been '72. In '72, that was when Daley got thrown out of the convention. Dan was in Eastern Illinois someplace, incommunicado basically.

DePue: Unable to affect that change at all.

Goldberg: Well, didn't want to. Didn't want to, didn't want to comment on it, didn't want to be associated with it. I mean, Dan's victory was amazing. Nixon won –what? – by a million votes?

DePue: In a landslide. Like we haven't seen. Well, Reagan was close to that, too.

Goldberg: But I mean, huge! And Dan overcame that. So that was an absolutely no-win situation. I mean, a lot of Dan's base was trying to throw Daley out, and Dan can't win if the regular Democrats don't vote for him. So, as I say, he was in a cornfield somewhere in Eastern Illinois.

DePue: So you don't recall the specifics of '76?

Goldberg: But I don't recall anything about the delegates in '76. I mean, that rings absolutely no bell with me. That doesn't make sense. That was after Dan lost the primary. And Dan...

DePue: Yeah, you're right. You're right.

Goldberg: And then Dan bit his lip and campaigned for Carter and Howlett and said, Bring the party together, and elect Jimmy Carter. They knew each other, I guess, or they'd both gone to the Naval Academy. I remember Carter and [Fritz] Mondale came to Springfield and... I'll say one thing: the Republicans take care of their defeated office holders. Carter could have made Dan Secretary of the Navy, and it would have been better than anybody he appointed to be Secretary of the Navy, and it would have totally changed Dan's life after Springfield.

DePue: Yes, it surely would have.

Goldberg: And Carter let him chase rabbits or whatever. It's probably anti-Dan to say, This is the way the game is played. But he couldn't have gotten a more competent person, a Naval Academy graduate, you know. Dan bit his lip and campaigned for him, and made amends with Howlett.

DePue: What was your reaction? What was the mood inside that inner circle when he lost the primary against Howlett?

Goldberg: Winning beats losing every time. (both laugh) I remember we tried to order a plane or something like that – I can't remember who was the Director of Aviation – and couldn't even get a plane, arrange a plane for Dan, or whoever it was. You know, your power just slips away. It's a terrible thing, to have a March primary and to be around till January, to be a lame duck for 10 months. It was a bad scene. I mean, just in terms of, hey, the fun is gone. You're not going to accomplish anything. People are going to be leaving. You know you're going to be holding on.

DePue: So would it be fair to say that one of the high points of your life was winning the election, and this would obviously be one of the low points?

Goldberg: Sure.

DePue: Did you start, then, looking at, OK, what's going to happen to me after this is done?

Goldberg: Oh sure. Yeah. Well, I didn't think that either Thompson or Howlett was going to hire me, and I'm not sure I would have gone to work for them. No. As a matter of fact, for economic reasons, I had decided that in all probability, even if Dan won again, I would probably go back to private practice. It would have been nice to go back to private practice knowing the governor.

DePue: But I'm sure you had some clout, since you worked so closely in the administration. No?

Goldberg: You know, there were some people that I knew as a result that I wouldn't otherwise have known. For the most part, being associated with Dan is not necessarily a plus in the business community. So I don't think it helped my practice. I got to know a lot of people. You know, funny things. Bill Harrison [President of the Senate '73-'74] and I used to go to lunch together maybe once every six months or something like that. I ran into him somewhere and he said, "Oh, you did a terrific job!" Then he became Commissioner, I think of Banks and Trusts, or something like that. So we would go to lunch every six months or once a year. So you have all these people with whom you were in these intense battles, that when it ended, you would see them. But did that translate into anything? No. Other than chit-chat and a pleasant lunch.

DePue: Yeah. So what did you end up doing after you were out of office?

Goldberg: I went back to private practice. Actually, I went to the same law firm that Don Page Moore was with.

DePue: Which was...

Goldberg: Antonow and Fink.

DePue: What was that again?

Goldberg: Antonow and Fink_. Like most law firms, they're not around anymore.

DePue: OK. What were your thoughts about Dan's future at that time? And you, and Vic, and again, the inner circle? Did you see any possibility of his getting back into politics?

Goldberg: I didn't. What's he going to do? Run for governor again? I don't think so. I mean, I just didn't see it.

DePue: I think in retrospect, he's made the comment that he probably should have done something like you did: go find himself a law firm to join. Instead, he decided to try to do something that was very typical for him: Let's do something completely different and open up a statewide law firm.

Goldberg: Yeah. He wanted me to join him, and I didn't choose to do that.

DePue: Before I get too far beyond his administration, I also wanted to ask you about Roberta, and what it was like for Roberta. Because I know that she wasn't nearly as enthusiastic about public life as Dan was.

Goldberg: I think that's probably a fair statement.

DePue: Can you describe her a little bit?

Goldberg: Well, my first introduction to Roberta was as a mother and a wife with a bunch of kids. I remember being at Dan's one time – I think like a weekend afternoon – and she brought three pies out of the oven and they were gone in about seven seconds. (both laugh)

DePue: And it wasn't the adults necessarily, who...

Goldberg: Well, we each had a piece, but the kids just... (whoosh sound). I don't know how big a family you come from, but seven kids is a lot of kids. A lot of energy, a lot of, you know, some conflict, a lot of different personalities. So I mean, I really didn't have a lot of dealings with Roberta, but I think your statement is... I don't think Roberta was an Elizabeth Edwards or a Michelle Obama, or a Bill Clinton. (both chuckle) I mean, she was always basically a person who was focused on her kids and her family. That was Dan's issue to work out; I didn't get involved in that.

DePue: This might be an unfair question for you, but did you see any tensions in the marriage from where you were in the administration?

Goldberg: Well, it was not hard to tell that Roberta was not excited about public life. Among other things I think there were some concerns about the kids, and what the exposure, you know... It isn't easy to be a 10-year-old kid in Springfield and the son of the Governor, right? So I think she had a lot of concerns about that. In terms of tensions in the marriage, I guess in retrospect they were there. But at the time, it was not my issue. I was not particularly into that.

DePue: So you played tennis with Dan most workday mornings; otherwise there wasn't a lot of socializing with the family?

Goldberg: I would say that's right.

DePue: Out of office, did you stay in touch with Dan?

Goldberg: Oh yeah.

DePue: So you knew Roberta Nelson as well?

Goldberg: Yeah. I'm so naïve. There was once, a story back in the days when you had no-fraternization rules. A memo came around from the office manager reminding everybody that lawyers and secretaries and so forth were not supposed to be seeing each other socially. So I said to my secretary in Springfield – we worked together for over 25 years till she retired – “Sharon, who's this aimed at?” So she named about four couples.

DePue: She was up on the office politics and you were not.

Goldberg: So what do I know? I mean, I sit in my office and write briefs. But yeah, at one point, I even met the second Roberta. I think at the time she was introduced she was lobbying for some mental health center out in DuPage County. So I met her. OK, so here's somebody else who wants money. So what else is new?

DePue: I've heard, and I think reading this in either the Governor's book or the other book I read on the Governor's life, that there were those in the inner circle who were strongly lobbying him against marrying her after he was out of office. You weren't one of those, I take it?

Goldberg: I don't remember. I mean, I was not at the wedding; that was not my... I never would have told Dan one way or the other. If Dan was my age, I might say to somebody my age, You're nuts; don't do this. But Dan is half a generation older. We were very close about a lot of things, but I didn't get into his personal life.

DePue: How often did you see Dan after he was out of office, for those first few years?

Goldberg: I would see him. After he married Roberta, we'd be invited to parties at the house. We'd go to dinner once in a while. I'd see him. Vic had a picnic every year; I'd see him at Vic's picnic. So I probably saw him two, three times a year and we'd talk.

DePue: So not a lot?

Goldberg: Not a lot. But you know, it's one of those we can pick up the phone and talk. It's like sometimes you go back to a college reunion, you haven't seen somebody in five years or something, and you start talking and it's as though you talked every day.

DePue: Well, you were in the pits together with each other for four years or more. I want to get your reaction to what happened to the Governor when he got in some serious financial straits. Just your personal view of all of that.

Goldberg: Well my personal view is that it's tragic, and that he was excessively punished for what he did. I mean, look at Neil Bush, who did essentially the same thing but cost his investors millions of dollars and walked away. I mean, nobody in Dan's position got hammered the way Dan did. I think Dan talks about this in his...

DePue: He's quite candid about this.

Goldberg: I remember one time meeting with Thompson and some others, and they told me they were going to get Vic. We were trying to find out what the hell was going on. They said they were going to get Vic. And then I think they wanted to flip Vic and try and get Dan. Now, what he ultimately was nailed for had nothing to do with government, but I think there was an effort to try and neutralize Dan. I mean, the prosecution of Elliot Epstein and John Filan and these other people. They destroyed Eliot personally even though he was acquitted; I mean, there was a directed verdict of acquittal. There was a lot of stuff that went on that as far as I'm concerned showed he was targeted. Dan left himself open.

DePue: Well, he ultimately pled guilty; I'm sure (he's) thinking that he was going to get a much lighter sentence.

Goldberg: Well. If he didn't tell you why, it's not my place to tell you why. (laughter)

DePue: OK. Did you visit him while he was in prison?

Goldberg: I did not, but we talked fairly frequently. He would call me.

DePue: He would call you?

Goldberg: Well, I couldn't call him.

DePue: So what was the nature of the discussions?

Goldberg: Just what was going on. I was involved in some of the efforts. We were trying to get parole; we were trying to develop the case. And then, boom! Lo and behold, the sentence is reduced to time served.

DePue: So were you actively working toward that end?

Goldberg: Well, that was Tom Foran's office doing that. But there was a group of people who were in and out of it, working on trying to figure out how to get him paroled. I think parole was still available then. And then he'd been out for like two days or something like that and I met with him. It was pretty awful.

DePue: He looked awful, you're saying?

Goldberg: Well, he looked awful. And just his whole demeanor was that he was so skittish and jumpy. You know, prison ain't fun. He was obviously very badly treated in prison.

DePue: So a different man coming out of that experience.

Goldberg: Oh, very definitely.

DePue: Have you seen the old Dan Walker emerge afterwards?

Goldberg: Well, I think there's an age factor. I mean, I've seen Dan at a number of different events when he's come to Chicago. Very often we've had dinner, or lunch, or breakfast, or whatever. I talked to him over the weekend, as a matter of fact. I mean, his mind is very sharp. His body is falling apart. It's very sad.

DePue: Well, he was certainly a fun person to interview, and he couldn't have been more gracious in how he dealt with me, how he treated me.

Goldberg: That's Dan.

DePue: And what I found interesting in talking to him, and reading – he certainly didn't contradict this – is that he said he wasn't – probably using the wrong phrase here – he wasn't a people person. He didn't feel comfortable in crowds, and doing that kind of thing. But he apparently mastered all of that when he was on the Walk.

Goldberg: Yeah, I guess he's not a people person in the sense that Bill Clinton was a...

DePue: A glad-hander.

Goldberg: A glad-hander and stuff like that. But certainly during the first campaign –they used to have these town meetings –he was terrific with people. I mean, he listened, he related, he answered.

DePue: He connected to them.

Goldberg: I think he did connect with people. I think he obviously connected with people or he wouldn't have won. But Dan loved to campaign. Even when we were dealing with governmental programs, it was a campaign. It was, Go out to the people. One of the things that he tried to do, I think one of the things that you say, What annoyed the press? I think that on the first budget, if I recall, he didn't release it to the press in advance.

DePue: He did mention that.

Goldberg: He gave a talk. I don't know if he got TV time or what it was, but he announced it and the press was just, How are we going to deal with this big budget? And so on and so forth. He was always trying to figure out ways to communicate with the people and bypass the press because he didn't want his message edited. Not easy to do. I mean, I think at one point we tried to do some issue advertising, and the stations wouldn't take it.

DePue: Well, I'm sure you're not surprised. You read the historical accounts of the administration now, and it's generally chalked up to be a failed administration. What is your opinion? How do you feel about what that administration represents?

Goldberg: I think it represents a breath of fresh air, and an effort to fundamentally change some things. Once we left, they went back to the old ways of doing things. In the sense of permanent change—I guess we didn't achieve permanent change—in terms of changing fundraising practices, disclosure of people on boards, on commissions, all those sort of things, ultimately, that went back to the old way.

DePue: But are you proud about what you did accomplish?

Goldberg: Yes. Oh yeah. Very proud of what I did.

DePue: And what especially makes you look back and be proud about it today?

Goldberg: The participatory politics. You know, the fact that we won and that we achieved some things, and we brought some good people into government. And I think we made things better for people in many respects while we were there. What's happened since then? Because I'm sure there's been a lot of slippage. But Dan was very concerned about trying to make things work better and about trying to battle some of the entrenched interests, so we did what we could.

DePue: Being happy certainly would be the inappropriate thing, but it's certainly ironic in terms of what has happened in Illinois government, in Illinois administrations since that time, that you can look back with even greater pride.

Goldberg: Well, yeah, by historical contrast.

DePue: But you realize that the public in Illinois now, looking back at his administration, says, OK, here's another governor who ended up in jail for what he did while he was in office. That's how many people would see it.

Goldberg: You think people think it's for what he did in office? I'm not sure.

DePue: The average person on the street, yes.

Goldberg: That could be. I just don't know. It seems to me that people, even people that I know that didn't like him, understand that what he ended up in jail for had nothing to do with what he did in office. You know, I think it's tragic that he went to jail. I mean Dan, he's a really remarkable guy. You look at what he accomplished. I mean, he went to Annapolis, got in on competitive exams, clerked for the Chief Justice of the United States. I mean, he's just a very smart, determined guy.

DePue: Well, that's kind of my next question anyway. What were his greatest strengths? What was the foundation of his success?

Goldberg: Smart. Honest. Determined. And he had confidence in the people around him. He didn't try and do it all himself.

DePue: And on the flip side, his flaws? The tragic flaws? Because you mentioned the term that always comes up with his life is, it's tragic.

Goldberg: Well, it is. It is tragic. Far be it from me to judge his personal life after Springfield. But I think he himself said, when he was giving his book interview, that the biggest mistake that he made was divorcing Roberta I and marrying Roberta II. I think it got Dan off on a lifestyle that, number one, wasn't Dan, and number two, he couldn't afford.

DePue: But he clearly loved Roberta II.

Goldberg: Well. They had something going. (chuckles) He made no bones about it, you know? But most guys that age aren't into that kind of conversation. I sometimes say Dan lived his life upside down. (laughs)

DePue: You mean that kind of infatuation should have come earlier in his life?

Goldberg: Yeah, you know, when you're 18 or 20 or something like that. In retrospect it's easy to say, but I think the state-wide law firm and the hunting clubs and all that sort of stuff. Dan at that point, had invested his personal fortune in his campaign. I don't mean... fortune is the wrong word. But whatever savings he had was all gone. He should have said, I've got to make a living. He had to go a more traditional route, but Dan was never one to go a traditional route. So you're saying that he would have changed.

DePue: He would have been a different person entirely.

Goldberg: He would have been a different person. To say that Dan should have gone a traditional route and gone to work for a big Chicago law firm and become a successful trial lawyer, and you know.

DePue: That's not who he was.

Goldberg: But he could have been who he was at Hopkins, Sutter, and he could have been very successful at it. He opted not to do it. And that was his choice,

DePue: Well, the thing that strikes me in listening to him and listening to those of you who knew him so well, and studying him, is that he risked everything. He put it all on the line to run for governor when nobody gave him a chance in the world.

Goldberg: Dave Green gave him a chance.

DePue: Yeah. There you go. The guy who had calculated, done the numbers-crunching...

Goldberg: If Dave Green had said, "Dan, it's hopeless," he wouldn't have done it.

DePue: But everybody else was saying, You've got no chance. And he was successful.

Goldberg: Well, all the people that said Hillary was going to lose didn't give her a chance.

DePue: Yeah, there you go. Because he had faith in himself. He gets out of office, OK, and that would have been a tragic failure for everybody looking back on it. He obviously moved on; he got into some financial ventures, took some chances. Now, I think in his mind, he wasn't taking big chances when he got into the oil change business or when he got into the S & L's [Savings and Loan Associations.]. Certainly he just had bad luck in a couple occasions there. But I'm wondering, OK, here's the same risk-taker willing to put it all on the line, and that led to his downfall in the financial sense. The same thing that led to his success in politics. Is that an unfair assessment of things?

Goldberg: Well, I think it's different. He also bought a huge boat. (laughs) So I'm just saying, his lifestyle at that point – I think Dan would agree with this – his lifestyle didn't match his income. He was pushed, I think, by the second Roberta. Because it's not the Dan... I mean, what did Dan and I used to do? Like for when we wanted to go and talk or something like that? One of the people, the Director of Mines and Minerals, had this real estate over in Taylorville, and Dan put up a trailer, a doublewide trailer, on his lake. We used to go out there and fish, and talk, and play cards, and cook steaks. That's Dan. Dan is not the yachts. Dan was never a yachts guy. He had bigger boats in the Navy. (both laugh) So that's how he got in...

DePue: But by his own admission, he loved that new environment that he was in for a while, until it came back to bite him.

Goldberg: Well, maybe he did. I mean, I would go to parties and Judy and I would say, Who are these people? Who are these people? Maybe we'd see Jack Foster or somebody, maybe one other couple that we knew. But other than that...

DePue: And you're saying going to parties after he was out of office and while he was enjoying that high life?

Goldberg: Yeah. And there it was. They were all nice bankers.

DePue: This is kind of going over the same territory here, but how would you like his administration and your involvement in it to be remembered today?

Goldberg: Well, I think his administration was really an effort to change the way things were done, to bring more honesty and integrity and openness to government, and to try and make sure that tax dollars are spent appropriately. I'd like my involvement to be that I contributed to that effort, and I contributed to some of the successes in terms of the executive orders, and just the overall tone of the administration. And the excellent people, many of whom had not been in government including myself, that we got involved in government.

DePue: That that was one of the really satisfying things, to be working with those kinds of folks?

Goldberg: Oh sure! Terrific, terrific people. Terrific people. Leavitt, Langhorn Bond. You know, Mary Lee. Just all throughout the administration.

DePue: I'd like to read a quote from Taylor Pensoneau's book and get your reaction to that, and then allow you to say a few words in closing, if you will, because we are at that point in the interview. Here's what Pensoneau and Ellis wrote: "Walker's followers knew that they were part of something special when they signed up and embarked on their improbable drive to capture Springfield from those entrenched interests. And they did, and for most of them, it was the time of their lives. God, was it exciting."

Goldberg: That's true.

DePue: Would you look back and say this certainly was the highlight of your life?

Goldberg: Oh, absolutely, absolutely. In 1976, after we lost, it got less exciting. But no, it was very exciting. I'd just say... My dad, who grew up on the west side of Chicago, used to say to me, "You know, you grew up in Highland Park," I mean, that was not my fault. (both laugh) "You went to these fancy schools. You came back and you're practicing antitrust law. And you don't know anything." So I'd been in Springfield about a month, and I said, "You're right. But I'm learning."

DePue: Any final comments then?

Goldberg: Yeah. Well, I think it was an exciting time. I think we see that in politics today, that it's kind of, to some extent, dreamers versus entrenched interests. Although I think both the key Democratic candidates are inspirational at this point. I think that's an exciting thing about politics. Because I think you've got to keep striving to make things better, and to try and reach out so that people feel that government is working for them. You know, I used to have these discussions with Roland when he became Attorney General.

DePue: Roland Burriss?

Goldberg: Roland Burriss. I worked with him. The Attorney General has a very unique position because he can represent the state or he can represent the people.

DePue: As an outsider, I wouldn't think about it in that respect, but it makes good sense.

Goldberg: Yeah. I mean, if you want, if you're trying to get public aid, if you're trying to get mental health benefits, if you're trying to get your... a kid needs special education. Who's your enemy? And I said, "Roland, if you want to be governor, stop representing the state. Represent the people."

DePue: Well, with that, this has been...

Goldberg: He didn't follow my advice either.

DePue: Well, they don't have to listen, right?

Goldberg: They don't have to listen. So that's what I think, and I think it's a constant struggle and it always will be.

DePue: This has been a wonderful interview. I thank you very much for taking the time out to do this. I know your time is precious. But I think it's worth it. This is something that we'll definitely want to keep for posterity and let other people understand the important administration that was Dan Walker's for those four years. Thank you very much.

Goldberg: You're very welcome. It was my pleasure.

END OF AUDIO FILE William Goldberg