

Edwin W. Pauley Oral History Interview – JFK#1,11/12/1970
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Biographical Note

Edwin W. Pauley (1903-1981) was a political figure, businessman, and the founder of Pauley Petroleum, Inc. This interview focuses on Lyndon B. Johnson's nomination as vice president, John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign, and Pauley's work with the Kennedy administration, among other topics.

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Oral History Interview

Of

Edwin W. Pauley

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Oral History Interview

with

EDWIN W. PAULEY

November 12, 1970
Los Angeles, California

By Ann M. Campbell

For the John F. Kennedy Library

CAMPBELL: Mr. Pauley, maybe we could start today by my asking you if you recall when you first met John Kennedy and what your impressions were of him at that time.

PAULEY: I think the first time I met him was at the Waldorf [Waldorf Astoria hotel] in his father's room. But the first time I really got well acquainted with him was at the Potsdam Conference. He was aide to Forrestal [James V. Forrestal], just finished with a very brilliant naval career, and I was ambassador in charge of reparations for both Germany and Japan. We were holding our conferences in Moscow. My wife was there with me and she was the only woman who was allowed to attend the Potsdam Conference. And I think that was more of a "Was she was allowed to attend?" than I just said, "Here she is." [Laughter] In one of our evening get togethers, Bobbie [Barbara M. Pauley] knew Forrestal, I doubt if she had ever met John F. Kennedy at that time, but at any rate, we were talking and she was saying how thrilled she was to be there and she wanted to see as much of Germany as she could. Jim Forrestal said, "Well, so does Jack. He's going to take a car and go out tomorrow while we're having the conference." Then, to Jack, "Maybe you can take Mrs. Pauley with you." He said, "Fine," so they went together on two separate days at least, maybe more. We had a very good driver and escort who took them. So they saw a lot of sights that uninformed people wouldn't have gotten to see.

He was staying in the Forrestal's house at the Potsdam Conference that surrounded a lake, the different cottages and so forth. I had a cottage. Some of my missions were in that some were in a sort of hotel, motel. But Forrestal had all of his group in his own house. It was only one removed from my house. We had gotten to know each other very well then. Later after that, I met him, not immediately after the Conference, but when I would make visits back and forth to Washington, he would be there in his capacity. Not as senator, but as

aide to Forrestal which was a position he kept for a while. Then he left and ran for the United States Senate.

After he became a senator, I at one time saw him at a luncheon on Capitol Hill, and I said, "I've got to go. I've got a four o'clock American Airlines plane to take, and so I have to go get it." And he said, "Well, I'm going to take that same plane." So he said, "I'll see you on it." So we sat together and had quite a talk. He had a car meeting him, in which he invited me to go up to the Waldorf. I always stayed there. He used his father's room which was right across from the room that I had there. His father [Joseph P. Kennedy] was a good friend of mine, and we had had several business deals together which were profitable. In fact, I don't think he ever went into anything that wasn't profitable. And then I kept up my acquaintance with him during that time.

CAMPBELL: Can I ask you--as a young man he was interested in foreign affairs and had a book published, in fact, about England's situation before the war--did he seem to have an appreciation for the reparations problems you were involved with?

PAULEY: Oh, yes. He understood the problem thoroughly, which most senators, I might add, did not. But he did. Yes, he paid a lot of attention to it. He was a very conscientious reader and a good student.

CAMPBELL: Did you have the occasion in the late '40s and early '50s to form any impression of a political philosophy John Kennedy might have held and how, in fact, it might have been contrasted with that of his father's?

PAULEY: Yes, I did. In fact, we discussed it. But he was determined that he knew how to run his affairs and did not intend to change them, not that I asked him to change them, because I didn't. I more or less agreed with him. He, as well as Lyndon Johnson [Lyndon B. Johnson], and Stuart Symington [Stuart W. Symington], each of them asked me to support them for president. And I told John, I told all three this, I said my preference for president is Lyndon Johnson, John F. Kennedy, Stuart Symington in that order. And I'll vote accordingly." And I did, even though the father kept calling me all the time.

CAMPBELL: Did he?

PAULEY: Yes, all the time, incessantly. And I don't know what difference my vote would have made on my first delegation go-around. I'll always remember the look of dismay on, [Edmund G. Brown] Pat's face when the first roll call came around and I voted for Johnson. You'd have thought all was lost.

CAMPBELL: Had you been involved in Governor Edmund Brown's decision, and at time lack of decision, about whether to announce for John Kennedy there before the 1960 convention, whether to release his delegation?

PAULEY: Yes, I was constantly with Brown. And, of course, he was a Kennedy man, as you know. I afterwards, of course, voted for Kennedy. After Kennedy was elected, his father called me and so did Sam Rayburn [Samuel T. Rayburn], and asked me if I'd go see Lyndon Johnson and get Lyndon Johnson to accept the vice presidency, of which I did.

By the way, my room at the Biltmore Hotel was just one floor above an identical suite with the one that Lyndon Johnson had. So I could virtually slide down the banister. So I called them, Lady Bird [Claudia Alta "Lady Bird" Johnson] answered and I said, "I've got to see Lyndon right away." She says, "You'd better see him fast because he just took two sleeping pills." So I said, "I'll be there in one second." And I was, I went right down. Saw him and I gave him the whole story about being only one heart beats difference, you know. And we had just gone through that with Truman [Harry S. Truman] and that was the basis in which we got Truman willing to run and accept. And it, of course, came true, tragically and unfortunately, but it came through as the old omen being true.

CAMPBELL: Did you say that Ambassador Kennedy asked you to contact Lyndon Johnson about the vice presidency?

PAULEY: No, it was Sam Rayburn.

CAMPBELL: Oh, it was Sam Rayburn. That's right. What were Mr. Johnson's reservations about accepting the vice presidency, do you remember?

PAULEY: Well, he said, "Ed, I've got a job as influential as the vice president is. And I don't know why I would be doing that when I've got everything and I've got all my machinery in operation. It's a prestigious job and a good one, one I enjoy and I like." Just a few minutes before John F. had phoned Lyndon, and Lyndon agreed to have breakfast with him. So he was awaiting that breakfast.

And by the way, just to clear the historical facts for all time, Lyndon appeared to be the shy and waiting rose, and so implied that to me as I left the room that night. So just before JFK died I said, "Say, what happened at the breakfast? I'd just like to know for my own history. What did you say when he said, "I want you to be....? He said, "All right." [Laughter]

CAMPBELL: Could you describe your role in bringing the Democratic National Convention to Los Angeles in 1960? You were instrumental in that, weren't you?

PAULEY: Yes. In fact, if I do take a little praise and pat myself on the back, I did it.

CAMPBELL: Okay.

PAULEY: Well, first place, I was proud of Los Angeles and thought at that time we had a Democratic party that was a whole lot more successful, and bore a better reputation than the one we have now. So I knew that there were subversive

forces working not only against John F. Kennedy, but all three of my favorites.

I had run the convention in 1943 when Truman was nominated as vice president. And I knew from that that the director of a convention can almost throw the candidate if he wants to. My experience with the Wallaceites [Henry A. Wallace] was such that I knew that if.... You know, he was the principle opponent to Truman. The night we were to come to vote they broke all the barriers at the gates down, changed the guards and filled the place by six-thirty. Filled the whole convention hall, even though we were not to convene until eight, and took over even the organ in the place and the organist. I can't think of his name but I know he was a hundred percent Petrillo [James C. Petrillo] man. And the only song they played was "Where the Tall Corn Grows in Iowa." [Laughter] So, my assistant called me up—he was out at the stadium--and told me, he said, "You'd better get down here right away." He said, "All hell's broken loose. We'll never get rid of this crowd." So I remember I just threw my clothes on over my pajamas --I was taking a nap--and rushed down there. And he was right. So I immediately got a hold of the mayor and told the mayor that the fire department would have to come down and call the thing off, that the place was a fire menace. It was, but that's not the reason I called [Laughter.]

But I could see one of those things happening in Chicago or one of these other places. And I knew that we would not allow that in, Los Angeles. So after a hard fought battle, we won it, got it for Los Angeles. I don't think John F. wanted it here, frankly. I think he was opposed to it. He wanted it, I believe, in Philadelphia.

CAMPBELL: Is that right? Why did your city prevail? Was it a question of the funds you could guarantee to the Democrats to come here?

PAULEY: Well, that was certainly an important factor, but not the sole one. I think they just liked us, our smiling, beautiful countenance, you know, and were persuaded. We did have more harmony than we do now.

CAMPBELL: When you suggested that you were concerned about some influences that might have affected the convention elsewhere did you mean Mr. Butler [Paul M. Butler]? He managed to have an influence anyway, didn't he?

PAULEY: Yeah. Well, he was only one. Of course, when we had the convention in Chicago, we had one great asset which you should always remember and that is have the mayor because that reaches to the fire department, the police department, every facet. And we had one of the greatest mayors that ever lived, and that was Kelly [Edward J. Kelly]. Many people didn't think so because he had the reputation of not being too careful where he picked up his votes. He didn't particularly care whether he got them by the hundreds or by one at a time. A lot of people didn't approve of those tactics. Nor do I, unless he's my man. [Laughter]

CAMPBELL: There was a dispute that reached the press, about the question of tickets allowed for the convention here. Had you, in fact, gotten a firm promise from somebody at the Democratic National Committee for the five thousand tickets?

PAULEY: Yeah, yeah. [Pause] That's the reason I resigned, or refused to put my name forward. Let's put it that way, as director of the convention because I wasn't going to get the tickets. I didn't want to stack the votes for anybody. I just wanted to get them so nobody else could stack the vote. And it was really disgraceful what people were granted. All these great voids of seats unoccupied. It was terrible management on their part.

CAMPBELL: But then towards the end there were some suggestions that maybe, in fact, the galleries had been stacked for Mr. Stevenson [Adlai E. Stevenson] by.... Is that a fair charge or....?

PAULEY: Well, I'm sure it was. I'm sure that they were. I'm positive that they were.

CAMPBELL: Would it be fair to characterize any particular person as involved in that or....?

PAULEY: Well, I think Brown later became involved in it rather heavily. And while he was for Kennedy, most of all he was for Stevenson. But I didn't at the time we were making the site selection, nor did I afterwards think that Kennedy was a real threat. I never was a Kennedy man, never at any time. And while I had great admiration for his personal charm and personal ability, I felt that he would lead the Democratic party much too far to the left. And he tried to.

CAMPBELL: Did you in your support of Lyndon Johnson feel and did you in fact, advise him to make some open move toward acquiring the nomination sooner? As you recall, he stuck by his guns in the Senate and only very late expressed a desire to run.

PAULEY: Well, I had one real battle and that was Johnson's floor manager, the governor of Texas. What was his name?

CAMPBELL: John Connally [John B. Connally, Jr.]

PAULEY: John claimed we didn't have a battle at all. But I got very mad at him for not coming forward and for releasing so many delegates to Stevenson that had previously pledged to Johnson. He went on the theory that Johnson couldn't get them and if they were going to leave Stevenson--which I agreed was a thing to do, but not in the way that you did it--they should have other places to go other than Lyndon Johnson. So they all ended up back with Stevenson. Stevenson of course had the biggest, at one time he had the biggest vote. But I don't know what the tally score is now on the number of votes or remember what it was then. But in my mind it was 570. That's what we used in Chicago, was.... As long as you don't get that five-seventy you're in pretty good shape. So that's the thing we watched all the time.

CAMPBELL: I'm sure you must have been in contact with President Truman around the time of the 1960 convention--in fact, I think you expected him out here for some sort of party you were going to give in his honor. Do you recall any conversations with him and his reasons for finally deciding not to come to Los Angeles?

PAULEY: Well, actually he had decided long before I let it be known that he wasn't going to come. But I thought it was a good thing to, you know, to dangle for two reasons. One was he wouldn't have to change his mind twice. So if there was any possibility.... The second one was that I didn't want to turn down that big event which was bound to be on my side.

CAMPBELL: You've talked a little bit about your role with Lyndon Johnson and his decision to become a vice presidential candidate. I wonder then what your role was in the subsequent campaign, the Kennedy-Johnson campaign. Did you play an active role in the 1960 campaign.

PAULEY: Yes, yes I did. I gave money, and organized committees, got Johnson out here to campaign for Kennedy, and generally did everything that a person's supposed to do.

CAMPBELL: Earlier there had been an interesting Democratic party sort of problem here in California with your National Committeeman. Paul Ziffren failed to be re-elected and was replaced by Stanley Mosk. I wonder if you were involved in that at all.

PAULEY: I was very much against Ziffren and I was for replacing him with Stanley Mosk. Ziffren and I patched up our quarrel somewhat but I didn't think that he was a good National Committeeman because I thought he looked after Ziffren rather than the party. And I was knowledgeable about that subject matter because I had been National committeeman myself at one time. And he was doing nothing but making a fortune at law, more power to him. But it's still not an aid to the Democratic party.

CAMPBELL: Did this create sort of a split in the party that made the subsequent electioneering sort of difficult for you?

PAULEY: Yes.

CAMPBELL: What are your views of the 1960 presidential campaign in California? President Kennedy lost, I think, by one-tenth of one percent. But most Democratic candidates on the statewide level did a great deal better than the presidential ticket in California. Were there mistakes?

PAULEY: Well, your Democratic party had disintegrated then to a sort of internal slug-it-out affair headed by Jesse Unruh [Jesse M. Unruh] on the one hand and other factions on the other. But it was not an unhealthy situation. One of the

greatest things that can happen to California politics is to have Jesse Unruh removed from the seat of power that he had. Because there again, he put the strong badge of Kennedy on one side but truthfully there was only one person he was for, and that was Unruh, that's all. We were fortunate to get him out.

CAMPBELL: Would it be fair to say that there would have been a much better choice to sort of head the Kennedy campaign in California rather than Mr. Unruh? I suppose he sort of headed it in southern California.

PAULEY: Of course it would've.

CAMPBELL: Do you think that the Kennedy people ever fully understood the nature of California politics? I've decided that's a lifetime's work to understand California politics.

PAULEY: If they did, they did better than I did. [Laughter]

CAMPBELL: Maybe we could recall some of your meetings with President Kennedy. Did you have personal contact with him during the campaign or with his father?

PAULEY: Mostly his father, but some with him. And he would call when he wanted something specifically and I always did it. I became quite annoyed with people who just want you to make blanket endorsements as I was with Reagan [Ronald W. Reagan] this last time. He wanted me to endorse and support him and I told him that I certainly wouldn't be for Unruh, but that I did not propose to give him a general endorsement. I'd been a Democrat all my life and I didn't want to just make a.... They had a bunch of them around here including George Killion you know, and a lot of others who came out with quarter page ads in the newspaper endorsing Reagan. And these were all lifelong Democrats. Even though it was Unruh they were opposing, it didn't seem to me the right thing to do. I told Reagan, I said, "Now listen. Everything you come out with that's good, particularly in fields that I'm supposed to know about, the university and so forth, I'll praise you. And no one can misunderstand that it is an endorsement, but only to the extent that you did a good job." It just happened that day that he asked me, he'd just appointed the former head of an alumni association on the coordinating council of the universities of California, the state colleges and so forth, who was a good man and who had served as a regent in his capacity as president of the alumni association. I praised him, came out.... Well, you have to look at it, that you have a Republican governor for four years and there isn't a damn thing you can do about it. You've got to live with it. And he'll do a whole lot better job for the University of California, as bad as it is, than Unruh would. Geez, I'd like to read Unruh's.... Have you taken that yet?

CAMPBELL: We're in the process of taking it. He's been sort of unavailable for a few months, but we're trying to pin him down...

PAULEY: I'll bet it'll be a dandy.

CAMPBELL: to finish. He's begun. In November of 1961, I think the president visited here right after Mr. Rayburn's funeral and there was a dinner at the Hollywood Palladium. I believe you were chairman of the dinner. Do you have any recollections of that evening off hand?

PAULEY: Now, that you mention it, I have some very vivid ones. He had a fellow that had said that he would attend a cocktail party which was given by Mark Boyer. And Mark Boyer had sent out invitations to this, unbeknown to me, saying that you were admitted to this cocktail party for a thousand dollars, and that when you left you would have had a picture taken with the president and it would be available to you, but only those who contributed the thousand dollars would get their picture taken.

Well, I went up there and like I say, I didn't find out until I was on the elevator about this thousand dollar thing. So I went up to go in, and Boyer and his son were there, said "We didn't get a thousand dollars from you." I said, "No, you won't." He said, "Well, you can't get in." I said, "All right, that's fine." I turned around and walked away and said "Tell John F. I'll get him at the Palladium." And we did. So I was out to meet them. He came down in the car with Governor Brown and I was out in the back parking lot at the appointed time to meet them, to escort him in or tell him what to do. He and Brown were laughing to beat the band over this incident which they found a great deal more humorous than I did. [Laughter]

CAMPBELL: At the time.... [Laughter] You've been involved in a good deal of fund raising for the Democratic party for a great number of years. How have the problems changed from, say, 1940 to 1960? Did they remain essentially the same or were the challenges different in raising funds for the Kennedy ticket as for the Roosevelt [Franklin D. Roosevelt] third term?

PAULEY: No, with this exception that the debts always become greater and greater each year. That's due to two things: the people are more reckless in their spending, and the second one is inflation. All you have to do is to look over the charts of the rates of political time on television, radio, and so forth and you can get some idea about how the amount and.... Even though, it was a tough job when I had it, it's a tougher one now to raise that money, considerably more tough.

CAMPBELL: President Kennedy was with you again here in California in March of 1962 when the University of California at Berkeley granted him an honorary degree. Were you instrumental in arranging that?

PAULEY: Yes, yes. I don't know who else was, if anybody. But as far as I know, I was the sole instigator of it. There may have been other people too but that's the role I thought I played.

CAMPBELL: Could you discuss your recollections of that day? I believe you met him at Alameda and rode with him.

PAULEY: By the way, did you see the picture on the wall in there in that car of his?

CAMPBELL: I did. Mr. van Petten [O.W. van Petten] showed me.

PAULEY: That's the car he was killed in. And we met him there at the Alameda Airport, Governor Brown and I did. I sat up in the jumpseat ahead of the two rear seats. I was a little beamy and so was Brown, so we thought that would distribute the weight a little bit. And so--I don't know whether you've ever been from the Alameda airbase to Oakland?

CAMPBELL: No, I haven't.

PAULEY: Well, you go under the river and through a tunnel under there. So John F. insisted on keeping that glass hood thing down. And I said, "Well, I don't know." I said, "You know, I spent an hour and a half at dinner with Roosevelt one night. He told us all of the attempts that had been made on his life." That was because there was a waiter that Roosevelt didn't recognize. He called the captain, he said, "I don't know the fellow. I'd be much more comfortable if he weren't here." So they removed him. So then he started on the attempts on his life, including the fact that he has the murder pistol that was aimed at him but shot Mayor Cermak [Anton J. Cermak]. You remember that?

CAMPBELL: In Miami?

PAULEY: Yes, and then he told--the rest of them were mostly about food poisoning, you know, where people would send, "Dear Franklin, Here's some pheasant I just killed for you today, signed Harry" or something. And he'd have his professional food people look and, sure, enough, it'd be full of poison. So he said, "As a result, unless somebody comes in with some wild game that they say they've had it ever since they shot it, I just send it away." So I said, "Under those circumstances, please don't send any to me."

CAMPBELL: Did President Kennedy seem to share your concern at all for his safety in that car?

PAULEY: I told him, I said, "You know, these people up here in Oakland, they all have guns, all of them do." You know, it's sort of a hoodlum town. Not what you would call a nice, respectable city, if there are any, anymore. And the streets are very narrow. I said, "Geez, you know a guy could just stand up there on one of those top floors and drop a flatiron on your head. You ought to put that cover on there. Oh," he said. "We'll be alright." I said, "Well, that's all right." But I said, "You know, that's probably what Roosevelt told Cermak. (Cermak was the guy that they took away dead.) And old Pauley's going to be the guy...."

CAMPBELL: [Laughter].... On the jump seat.

PAULEY: Well, but it is a remarkable thing. But that is the car. And you know, even that glass, although I always questioned its vulnerability to bullets, at least they would deflect them, you know. If he'd paid attention to old Pauley, he might be alive,.... [Interruption]

CAMPBELL: Our records indicate that in June of 1962, just several months after that visit at Berkeley, you had a private meeting with the president and Dr. Lilly [Dr. Willard F. Libby]. Do you recall what that meeting was about? Our indications is that it was off the record, at least unannounced to the press at that time.

PAULEY: The president and who?

CAMPBELL: Dr. Lilly.

PAULEY: You sure you've got that name right?

CAMPBELL: It could indeed be wrong. The White House appointments book is not infallible by any means.

PAULEY: No. I think you're thinking of.... You know, our great man, Nobel Prize..... Edward Teller.

VAN PETTEN: Pauling [Linus C. Pauling].

PAULEY: Teller. Teller.

CAMPBELL: Was it Dr. Teller?

PAULEY: Yes.

CAMPBELL: Then the notation was in error.

PAULEY: Dr. Lilly, I know that name.

CAMPBELL: He's also, I think, involved in....

PAULEY: Was he with the university?

CAMPBELL: I'm not certain really....

PAULEY: Does the name Dr. Lilly.... [Interruption]

CAMPBELL: Mr. Pauley, I wondered if you'd like to make any comment about the Kennedy administration and America's oil interests; what you thought of their stewardship of the oil interests of the United States?

PAULEY: Well, I thought he handled his stewardship in a very excellent manner. I don't think that any oil man or group had cause for criticism. He understood the problem. His father before him understood the problem. He, of course, came out at one time against the depletion allowance and that disturbed me. So this was during his campaign. And he came by my house, talked to me about that and other things. But I'm sure that was paramount in his mind because he was leaving the next day for Texas. [Interruption] He wanted to talk about the depletion allowance and how he would treat it in Texas. I said, "Well, now, you and your family, your dad, your trust, and everybody's got the whole mercantile building in Chicago. And the damn thing is crumbled and goes to pieces every year. You've got to fix it up. And the way you do that, you're not able to afford this under depreciation. Now, we've got a lot of assets in the oil business that are just as valuable as that. But they're going to pieces at a greater rate. And when they go, they're dead, they're gone. And we have our method of depletion allowance that takes the place of depreciation." So we talked about that for a long time. And he said, well, he knew that he was going to be put on the spot in Texas on all this. And he wanted to know about intangible drilling and the charge-off there." And I told him all about that. He said, well, he hadn't questioned that. But he wanted to know about it and make sure he was on the right track about it. So, I felt that he was well-informed about the subject. What he didn't understand he went out to find out about.

CAMPBELL: There was some give and take during the administration over the question or oil import quotas. Were you involved in that at all? Do you have a view on that?

PAULEY: I don't believe I ever had a conversation with him about the import quota. I did with people in his administration, but not him.

CAMPBELL: Was John Kelly [John M. Kelly] a good choice for the Interior [Department of the Interior] oil man?

PAULEY: I thought it excellent.

CAMPBELL: He was an independent oil man, too, wasn't he?

PAULEY: Not only an independent oil man, he used to be a geologist for me.

CAMPBELL: [Laughter] That I didn't know. Were you involved in his appointment in any way?

PAULEY: No. I had nothing to do with it.

CAMPBELL: I know that during the Kennedy administration a great deal of authority for setting national oil policy resided in the White House and very shortly after Lyndon Johnson took office he sent that authority back to the Interior Department. I think the Independent Petroleum Association of America hailed that move. Did you have a view on that at the time? Was the White House the appropriate place for that authority or the Interior Department?

PAULEY: Well, even though Lyndon Johnson would give something to the Interior Department, it wouldn't mean that he was relinquishing it. [Laughter]

CAMPBELL: I wonder if you've already suggested that you thought that John Kennedy might attempt to move the Democratic party to the left; do you feel that the Democratic party changed nationally because of his administration, during his administration?

PAULEY: During John F.'s?

CAMPBELL: Yes.

PAULEY: I don't think there's any question but what it did. That's my broad concept of it. I'd have to refresh my memory to break down each particular item that occurred that gave me that overall impression.

CAMPBELL: How about the Democratic party in California? You elected a governor in 1958. You were very instrumental in that. What over those years changed the apparent cohesiveness of the Democratic party in 1958 in this state?

PAULEY: The personnel involved. Let's see, '58 we put Brown in.

CAMPBELL: And very shortly thereafter, I think you were instrumental in founding something called the Democratic Associates. Was that the name?

PAULEY: Yes. It's still in existence.

CAMPBELL: Is it? What was your goal there?

PAULEY: Well, it's always.... Let me get rid of this private phone. It keeps.... [Interruption] The Democratic Associates was formed for the purpose of taking in, actually, people like me who felt that they were being excluded from the ultraliberal side, even though many such as I am, think I am, were pretty genuine liberals. A lot of trouble is, if you don't have a body of people like that you force the Democrat to take one of two positions. One being ultra-conservative, where he gets nowhere. Either that or join the most radical of the labor union movements.

VAN PETTEN: Now, that could include Dr. Libby [Willard F. Libby].

PAULEY: That's what?

VAN PETTEN: That could mean that Dr. Libby [Interruption]

PAULEY: This is where it was.

CAMPBELL: I think our records are in error, perhaps.

PAULEY: Now, Willard Libby, if you know who he is--he's the man that got the Nobel Prize—he's out here at UCLA [University of California Los Angeles]. He got the Nobel Prize for inventing a method of dating the age of things, you know.

CAMPBELL: Carbon 14 or something?

PAULEY: And seems like I had an appointment with.... No, I took him from the airport. He drove in my car, John F. did, and we stopped by UCLA. You see, it's on the way and I think he was staying here at the Hilton. We stopped there and I showed him the laboratory that John French [Dr. John D. French], who by the way is Dorothy Kirsten's husband. He had all these monkeys out there. Chimpanzees and what not. And you know at our University of California campus at Davis, we had more of those than we do students. We raise them. We've got a place up there and we raise them for everybody, you know. We give them to Columbia [Columbia University] or anybody who wants them, simply because we've got the place to do it. And it's a, you know, veterinary school and what not. Well, he's got all these up there and he sends them all over with their trainers and they make all these flights, ballistic missile flights, that nobody knows anything about. It's not any secret, it's just that nobody knows anything about it, that's all. And nobody can ever get close enough to the picture to find out what the hell it's about because the performers can't talk. But I took him by there. It seems to me that.... In fact, I know I did. We saw Willard Libby.

CAMPBELL: Yes. That may indeed be the reference. Were you involved at all or one of your associates from the Democratic Associates;] Ed Day [J. Edward Day], became postmaster general. I wondered if you we're involved in his appointment at all.

PAULEY: No, but I did know before it was made that it was going to be made, but I did not press it.

CAMPBELL: I suppose Hugo Fisher [Hugo M. Fisher], it's been suggested, at least, was recommended at first and then somebody in this state objected to that.

BEGIN SIDE II, TAPE I

CAMPBELL: Mr. Day was selected.

PAULEY: Well, I think the Day appointment was a good one, but I didn't have anything to do with it.

CAMPBELL: I wonder if there are other things that you'd like to put on the record, any other recollections of John Kennedy.

PAULEY: Do you have that list of stuff that you got from me?

VAN PETTEN: Yes, sir. There's the previous tapes. It's not outlined.

PAULEY: Ambassador Kennedy was one of those that called me to get Johnson to take this job. He was one, Sam Rayburn was the other.

CAMPBELL: Oh, I see. You were contacted twice, then, and asked to perform that role?

PAULEY: Twice within five minutes.

CAMPBELL: Ambassador Kennedy was very active, usually always behind the scenes, I think, in his son's career. Was he generally effective in his work?

PAULEY: I think so. You've got your machine off, now, don't you?

CAMPBELL: No. Do you want me to?

PAULEY: Yes. [Interruption]

CAMPBELL: You were saying about President Kennedy's visit to Mexico.

PAULEY: Well, the president came to Mexico and incidentally, they flew the same automobile down there and I was viewing the parade from my hotel. Anybody with a rifle could have just plunked him then, even a pistol. And he was really going through all these things with reckless abandon, which he had a perfect right to do and as other presidents have done. But this was a colossal reception, just enormous, and I attended the luncheon for him. And the thing was all packed with dignitaries, officials and so on and so forth. I was sitting somewhat to the rear. He got up a step or so, I believe to go to the men's room. I guess he did, but he came by and said hello to me.

By the way, speaking of great accomplishments and deeds, the speech that he made, the inaugural speech that he made when we gave him the honorary degree at Berkeley was one of the greatest speeches I ever heard in my life. That's where I told you we met him at the Alameda airport and brought him over. And then we took him directly to John Lawrence laboratory [Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory] on "radiation hill" at Berkeley, that's right in back of the stadium. Took-him up there directly and showed him some of the very, very top secret things that we have. You know, that's the home of the atomic energy source, you know, at Berkeley.

"We were driving down in the same car to the president's house, where we had lunch. From up on this hill you can look down on the Memorial Stadium where he made his talk. You can see a space of about fifty yards when you're driving. So he said, "What's all that going on?" And I asked the driver to stop and I said, "That's your crowd." He said, "Whose crowd?" I said, "Your crowd." "You mean those people are waiting for me?" Well, we hadn't even gone to lunch yet, the place was packed, just absolutely packed. He said, "Well, I'll have to brush up on my speech." Boy, he sure did. He gave the greatest, most magnificent. And I went upstairs with him.

Incidentally, he had given me a chair, one of those rockers, you know. So, I took it and had it sent up and put in his room. I have it at my house now, call it the John F. Kennedy chair. So I watched him, how he went over his speech, not the whole time, but to start with. He just took these papers out of sequence. Started number one, two, three, seven, nine, go back to the fourth. And then when he put them on the podium he had them all scattered like this. [Moves paper in front of him.] As far as I know, and I was sitting right in back of the podium, he never read from one. I mean, audibly from one. He read them you know, by

glancing, note the subject matter, and went on and come on to this one, this one, this one. Terrific speech, just magnificent to me. And at that time, I guess, we did not have the most radical bunch of Republicans on our board, but everyone of them was greatly impressed with that.

CAMPBELL: Did you find the Kennedy rocking chair as comfortable as he seemed to find them?

PAULEY: Too small for me.

CAMPBELL: Too small for you. [Laughter] That's a grand memento to have.

PAULEY: This was the identical one to the one he had. He had sent it to me. Of course, you know, I do have a very bad back. If I do say so myself, it's much worse than his.

CAMPBELL: A problem you shared, huh? We have the rocking chair, from his oval office in Massachusetts now with other library things, and someday it will be exhibited there.

PAULEY: By the way, on that occasion up there, I had a whole... When he was having lunch at the president's house I had a whole model of UCLA. I wanted to get some land from the Veterans Administration, who were coming right up to the university grounds with their cemeteries and so forth, land that we could well use for campus purposes. So I had quite a talk with him about that. I told him, I said, "I think you'd only have to make one telephone call, and you'd give up on it because I worked on it, and I got part of it. I tried to get the rest of it, but there seems to be something sacred about a governmental burial place. Even Catholics, Protestants or Jews don't even know what it is. You just can't get in there that's all. You'll find that out." And I said I thought it was worth the effort. Truman, by the way, gave us the other that we have. That's the stuff across Veteran's Avenue.

VAN PETTEN: Yes, sir. Do you know that area out there?

CAMPBELL: I'm really not familiar with it.

VAN PETTEN: The Veterans Administration comes, really, almost right up to the university property.

CAMPBELL: The university's sort of hemmed in then by the Veterans property.

VAN PETTEN: It's a burial ground there, big cemetery.

CAMPBELL: I think it might be interesting to know at the Kennedy White House who you found most helpful, other than talking with the president himself." Did you have a member of his staff that you contacted and worked through on problems such as the Veterans Administration property?

PAULEY: I would say not a particular one, but I knew them, not intimately as I did with Truman, but I knew them well enough to get whatever I wanted. Were you with him all the time he was in....?

PAULEY: No, I wasn't. I was active here in Los Angeles during the convention, but....

PAULEY: Were you?

CAMPBELL: My husband's duty had us away from Washington. My husband's a naval officer. We were in Key West during the Kennedy Administration.

PAULEY: By the way, you mentioned to me about, this was the first time we had disturbances on the Berkeley campus, when Kennedy came. But we plotted him around so that he didn't get into any of them, none of them.

CAMPBELL: Do you have a recollection of--you probably did see a great deal of Lyndon Johnson during his vice presidency. How did those three years work out for him?

PAULEY: I think he considered them rather inactive years.

CAMPBELL: The relationship between President Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson is something that interests people. Do you sense it was as healthy as it could have been under the circumstances?

PAULEY: No. I think that it was a shotgun marriage in the first place and continued that way. [Laughter]

CAMPBELL: That's a great term. [Laughter]

PAULEY: Well, as far as I know there's nothing that I've given you here today that you can't, if you believe it to be appropriately dignified, to whom you give it to, show it to, or let them use....

[END OF TAPE]

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