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Democratic Party Official; Democratic Advisory Committee, 1956 - 1961. In this interview, Tyroler discusses John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign and working on the Democratic Advisory Council, among other issues.

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Oral History Interview

Of

Charles Tyroler II

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Charles Tyroler II – JFK #2

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Oral History Interview

with

CHARLES TYROLER II

June 30, 1970
Washington, D.C.

By Ann M. Campbell

For the John F. Kennedy Library

CAMPBELL: I thought maybe we could begin today with just some bits and pieces again about the [Democratic] Advisory Council operation. In early '60 there were several new committees announced, and I thought it might be instructive to go through the details of the thinking here, the selection of a chairman, even the subject matter of the committees. One was civil rights and Mrs. Roosevelt was announced as the chairman. Foreign policy with Herschel Lovell. Health policy...

TYROLER: Farm policy.

CAMPBELL: Farm policy, yes, with Herschel Loveless; health policy with Dr. De Bakey [Michael E. De Bakey]; natural resources with a man from Oregon, C. Girard Davidson; and social security with Arthur Altmeyer.

TYROLER: Now, those weren't all in '60.

CAMPBELL: They weren't a bundle. Something I read indicated hey....

TYROLER: Some of those were, I think, '59. Well, civil rights, right from the very beginning we concentrated on civil rights, as you know. In fact, I think

the first meeting of the council and subsequent meetings, every time we had a statement on civil rights. We never had a civil rights committee. Mrs. Roosevelt was not a

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member of the advisory council, although she'd been invited to. She decided that she would only be a consultant. She excused this on the grounds that she had some newspaper column contract or something. But the real story was that Mrs. Roosevelt was leery of the council, particularly in the area of civil rights, and didn't know whether we were going to be liberal enough for her. Of course, it turned out that we were plenty liberal. Then she was for us in that area. Then she was also worried about Acheson being the chairman of the foreign policy committee. She took a rather dim view of that, the Truman influence. So she was a little standoffish. But then as the council's work developed, she got much friendlier. And this was finally shown when she agreed to give over her birthday for a fundraising effort for the council, which was our big to-do up at The Waldorf [Astoria]. And by that time she'd gotten friendly. She had had us up to Hyde Park and talked this and that. And since here was the best symbol we could have just short of an election, we said, "Well, we just might as well have a civil rights committee and let her handle it." And she did. We had a couple of meetings up in New York, issued a statement. And that was about the size of it.

CAMPBELL: How about Governor Loveless and the farm policy?

TYROLER: Well, farm policy was something that we fought about for about two or three years. Butler always wanted a farm policy committee. The rest of us were pretty towards it. But our main supporters, the only Democratic supporters we had in the farm area were, of course, the National Farmer's Union and Jim Patton [James G. Patton] who was head of it. And Jim played a usual Patton political role. He'd tell Butler one thing one day and tell me something else an hour later. And he kept telling me he didn't want the committee and to block it. He was an old friend of mine. I've known him for twenty years. Meanwhile, every time I'd see Butler, Butler would say, "I just talked to Jim. And he thinks we ought to have it." Well, the real thing was Patton wanted to be chairman of it and Butler didn't want to have a partisan like that in the farm policy area or it would drive away all of the other organizations. He wanted to make it a broader thing. And so every time Jim would say, sure he was for it, he was holding out until he could get to be chairman. So finally, Butler just said, "No. We've just got to have one before the election." And Loveless was a good hot prospect for it because he was a candidate for the Senate; he'd been a very popular governor; and, he was a fellow of quite some stature at that time. As a matter of fact, he was a favorite son candidate for president, and he had a big deal going with Kennedy, and he thought that he was going to be the vice presidential nominee. I was sitting right up there on the platform when he came. He felt very -- he denies it now -- but he felt very confident he was the one. He went back to the room waiting to hear the word. A lot of people took it seriously at that time. And, of course, he lost his race for the Senate because he got too closely tied to Kennedy.

In any event, so we did have it. We had some meetings. We issued some general policy statements that we'd been following. And in the Galbraith committee, we'd had some before, so there wasn't anything really new about it. But it was part of the proliferation thing, as the election came, just to have as many committees and get as many people participating as you could.

CAMPBELL: And the idea, was it, to sort of consciously influence the platform, or in fact,

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prepare a plank?

TYROLER: Oh, sure.

CAMPBELL: And in the case of the farm policy committee, that's in fact what happened, was it not?

TYROLER: I think so. Most of them had loads of stuff, although in sort of high flown language. Pretty much it was consistent with ours. They didn't have anything new, as I recall.

CAMPBELL: Dr. De Bakey emerges here earlier than you generally think of his having national publicity. How did he come to your attention?

TYROLER: Well, one of our key supporters through Mrs. Roosevelt -- I don't remember whether she gave us a lot of money, but she gave us some, and she also gave us her house for entertaining -- was Mary Lasker. And Mary got all of these people on a strong because she'd been giving them money to help for however long you can count. And, of course, she was a great supporter of Stevenson's. Up in New York, the council was looked upon as a Stevenson project. Stevenson was very helpful all the way, of course. And she just gave us some of our hot names, which included two or three Nobel laureates. We got [our chief?] to call them up on the phone and said how we got this committee and they all turned up here, including Mary. She was on it. De Bakey was already famous.

CAMPBELL: The natural resources committee under Mr. Davidson....

TYROLER: Well, "Jebby" Davidson was former undersecretary of Interior, the assistant secretary or something like that. He was National Committeeman from Oregon and he was a political ally of Butler's, and he had political ambitions. He was married to the daughter of a very rich man. He lobbied for the job and got it. We had a pretty good committee and had some good people on it.

CAMPBELL: And then the last one I have written down here is social security....

TYROLER: Well, there is one thing more to be said on the natural resources committee. They only turned out one report, as I recall. And it was available in approved form about the time of the convention. So it had never come out. And right after the convention when Scoop Jackson [Henry M. Jackson] was named to succeed Butler, he put a lid on the council -- this is anticipating your later question -- and said that he didn't want to hear anything more out of it and from now on all we were to do was to do whatever we would otherwise have done to help in the campaign as individuals; didn't want to hear anything more. And he said this was straight from the candidate.

So that was it. Well, Jebby was mad as the devil because he thought this was his great splash in politics to have this thing come out. And he kept after it. He cornered Jack Kennedy after -- by then he was the nominee -- out in the West someplace. He asked Kennedy

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about it. Because I told him I'd been instructed not to put anything out under any circumstances. So Kennedy, of course, said, "Oh, Jebby, not at all. Not from me. Who would have thought it?" So that came out. That was really our last publication. The last thing we ever _____.

CAMPBELL: I had a note that perhaps another report was in the process someplace, named "Deterrent Policy and Missiles Systems" which also in fact, my note indicates that it was in galleys, ready for the printer and didn't come out. Do you recall that one?

TYROLER: No. I don't think there was anything.... I think it did come out. It was a report of the science and technology committee. Yeah. I think we put that one out. We put out everything that was approved from then until the _____. We had a lot of other manuscripts that were not approved on one occasion or another. For example, one was to ban biological warfare and all the stuff, which Nixon just did this past year and thought this would show goodwill toward peace, moving towards peace and all that. This was the science and technology committee thing, and this didn't go over very well with our foreign policy people or the council itself, so it never saw the light of day. So there were a lot of things like that which we didn't come through. I think the "Deterrent Missile Systems" or whatever did come through....

CAMPBELL: May have finally been printed. In this talk several times you've alluded to certain decision-making that had to go on within the council, the question of whether to publish a controversial report or not. Was it always clear who called the shots in cases like that in the council operation?

TYROLER: Well, at the council level itself everything ever submitted to it came out in one form or another. They revised it somewhat. But basically for the

first two years of the operation, anything that came from Ken Galbriath's [John Kennedy Galbraith] or Dean Acheson's committees was published by the council. They presented it to the council and it got through. The place where you could influence what the council was going to say was in the administrative committee which met every Monday in Butler's office. And you know the membership of that. And there, between meetings of these what became thirteen committees or so, we could pretty much influence what was coming out by saying, well, let's set up a committee to do this. Or let's get so-and-so. And then when we'd come to the meeting with the committee, it would practically be a "fait accompli," that we had a subcommittee that was working and bringing it in. And you had control to that extent.

But these were pretty independent-minded people, and you couldn't always get them to go along. You could give political arguments as to why it should be. Relatively non-political, though. And on the longer reports, had a little Democratic bias and all that, you know, criticize the Republicans. But they were done by fairly respectable guys who didn't want their names associated with stuff that was completely political.

CAMPBELL: I just wondered in the give and take, though, in the decisions to be made, in the end would Mr. Butler's views prevail or was there that much problem in

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getting an agreement between yourself, Finletter for the Stevenson people, Murphy for the Truman people?

TYROLER: Butler didn't have many views on things. I don't want to tear him down because -- well, I just want you to know it -- I didn't like him, had bad personal relations with him almost from the beginning. But Butler was concerned about civil rights. Civil rights was the key to his job. He kept civil rights hot. And he thought it was an important issue, I'm sure of that. This was part of the strategy of the council, was to keep civil rights hot and be sure and lose some southern states. Had to be just hot enough to do that, but not lose them all or take a chance on losing them, and to get the big city vote on it. Besides the matters of principle. I think the principle was the main thing with most of the people on the council. And it was also the key to Butler's own job. He had to keep the Rayburns and the Johnsons from an alliance with Truman and Stevenson and all the rest of it to agree on a replacement. You know, they had all of those meetings that they tried to -- with Jack Arvey running them and bringing people down to Independence. They tried to agree on a successor. And Johnson and Rayburn didn't want their guy. And the North would be -- and the West would be, and the Middle West would be -- sufficiently [het?] up so they couldn't afford to take a guy who would sound like he was anti-civil rights like Hale Boggs [Thomas Hale Boggs, Sr.] or someone like this. Anybody who was vaguely connected with the southern manifesto was out far as we were concerned, as far as our northern group. So they never could get enough votes to replace him.

CAMPBELL: So you had Butler pushing any attempt to exercise civil rights?

TYROLER: Yes. Well, some of the cynical newspaper men around town felt that when ever Butler was really in danger of being tossed out that he would get the council to come out with some strong thing about civil rights. And the council could never -- although there might be majority sentiment at any given time for not playing up civil rights today and waiting until next week because we've just done it the week before last -- when it finally came to a vote, it always had to pass. And you always had Herbert Lehman trotting down from New York. And he wouldn't let up -- these meetings would go on for two or three days -- sitting right here; and just as sure would get out, if we hadn't done any civil rights. At one o'clock right after lunch on Sunday, Herbert Lehman would come up with something that we ought to say on civil rights.

And there'd be a lot of sentiment: "Why we shouldn't say it today?" We always did say it. And if we didn't -- if it was delayed for a couple of days -- then Averell Harriman would trot himself out and leak it to the press. So never a meeting went by without civil rights.

CAMPBELL: Were council members generally pleased with Paul Butler's performance? There was certainly great indication that congressional leadership wasn't pleased, had some trouble with some members of the Democratic National Committee. Was the advisory council....

TYROLER: The members of the advisory council who were Democratic Committee members were largely picked by Butler -- this was the executive committee.

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So those people were beholden to Butler. But they had no influence in the council although they had a majority of votes. Towards the end, they didn't even have that. In the beginning they had a clear majority of the votes. I forget. It was fourteen out of twenty-four or twenty-six. Butler had it. So he always had the votes, theoretically. But of course he didn't have the votes because things never really came to a vote. And the other people were people of such stature that there wasn't any argument. President Truman had come in. I'm sure he hadn't read all the stuff that he claimed he had. But he always came by train since Truman didn't like to fly. He would start off the meeting by saying, "I've read this particular paper on the train." Charlie Murphy, I'm sure would tell him what was in it. And he'd say, "I think it's a good paper. It's basically a good paper and we ought to get it out. And we ought to get it out right away." He'd say, "You take a couple of hours and change it around anyway you people want." He said, "But the basic thing is it's a good paper and it's got to come out." You're not going to take a vote on the paper after Truman said it's all right. And this kind of thing.

Stevenson was not as powerful, actually, in the inner council as the people in New York or outside thought. When it came to foreign policy Acheson was backing Truman and

pretty much dominated. And maybe Soapy Williams didn't like it so much and Averell didn't like it, and -- who was the other fellow -- Herbert Lehman all the time. But Acheson got his way.

CAMPBELL: You mentioned before we turned on the tape recorder the occasions when some foreign policy papers didn't make print, something of Walt Rostow's. Would that have been a decision made within Mr. Acheson's committee, or would it have been a decision made by you people in an executive meeting?

TYROLER: No. That came as a sort of a sense of the meeting thing in Acheson's committee, not dominated by Acheson because Acheson was the one who got Rostow to write it. And it just was such a real mess by the time that he did two or three redrafts that it just fell of its own weight. Benton [William Benton] did a paper along the same lines and he spent a lot of time on it. It just didn't pass muster.

CAMPBELL: Was it a question of subject matter, do you recall the subject matter, or just form?

TYROLER: What the subject matter was?

CAMPBELL: Yes.

TYROLER: Yes. It was about underdeveloped countries and how...

CAMPBELL: And economic growth?

TYROLER: ... and economic growth, and how they'd reached -- what was that point where....

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CAMPBELL: The take-off point.

TYROLER: The take-off point.

CAMPBELL: In fundraising endeavors the council was notably successful sometimes, certainly in comparison with the Committee. What was the secret of success for the council? Who could they draw on that the Committee didn't impress that favorably? Or was that the secret?

TYROLER: Well, it could draw on liberals, big money liberals, particularly in New York, some in California, a little bit in Chicago. But basically in New York, I guess; 85 percent of our money came from New York. We could get more money than the committee could solicit. That was the first thing, various laws that

governed fundraising. We'd raise it on a state basis instead of on a national basis. That was the first thing. The second thing, we could -- in essence we were raising earmarked funds, that this money was going to be used, not for a specific project, but going to be used for the council. And if we gave -- if a fellow gave ten thousand dollars to the Democratic Committee, he was giving it to Paul Butler, maybe, to pay off an old debt or to do something that he didn't happen to like. Some guys didn't like the *Democratic Digest*, I remember. And they had a big deficit on that. We had a nice clean operation. We could appeal to people who wanted to support the kinds of people we had in the council. And, of course, I'm saving for the last the fact that we had Stevenson. And Stevenson went all out for the council even though he disagreed with a lot of the things we did, and was disappointed in a lot of things. But he never voiced this publicly. And he wrote, in fact -- didn't I tell you about the letters that he wrote in the beginning?

CAMPBELL: No.

TYROLER: After we'd been in business for about two months, it became clear we just couldn't live on the whim of Butler. Otherwise, he would have controlled the council completely. And we didn't want that. So Tom Finletter got Stevenson to write letters to his major contributors in the previous two presidential campaigns, in which he said something like -- it was a reasonably short letter. He said, "I've been wanting to see you, Fred, but I'm leaving for Europe on Tuesday." Wrote these just before he left. "I'm going to be gone X weeks. And this matter is so urgent that I'm asking Tom Finletter and Charlie Tyroler to come see you." He wrote about twenty of these. And he said, "But they are speaking for me. It's going to be about the council, and it's about money. I hate to even raise the subject of money after all you've done for me. But I think it's even more important than anything you've ever done for me and so forth. And I hope you'll see them as soon as you can." This is not quoted exactly. But that's about it. I've got carbons of the letters and who he sent them to.

We went around to see these people and asked them for money. We asked them in reasonably large sums. And we did it in August. I remember it was hot, and it was miserable. We operated out of Tom's office. He was in the Look Building there at 51st, 52nd Street, a block above cathedral on the Madison Avenue. We'd just call these guys up -- and they'd, of

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course, see you because Finletter was a pretty well-known fellow, anyway -- and go and ask them for money. And they gave it. They almost all gave it.

CAMPBELL: Did the council ever get involved in making money available for individual campaigns?

TYROLER: Never. Except one. We gave all the money that we had left over to Kennedy.

CAMPBELL: To the Kennedy campaign, yes, in the end.

TYROLER: Not in the end. Right, pretty soon after the convention.

CAMPBELL: Let's talk about the convention. Were you involved in any way in pre-convention planning?

TYROLER: Not very much. Butler had a campaign planning committee which met here. He invited each candidate to send his representatives to this thing so that, not knowing theoretically who the nominee was going to be, they could set up the planning. So you had Kennedy representatives and Johnson representatives. It was Sorensen, to my recollection, for Kennedy; and he'd bring along one or two guys. And Walter Jenkins was Lyndon's man. And I've forgotten the administrative assistant for Symington.

CAMPBELL: Stanley Fike.

TYROLER: Stanley Fike. And they all sat around here in the campaign planning committee. They met two or three times. But it was pretty clear that all of these fellows were just sitting there waiting to see whether or not they were going to get it. They didn't care to be bound by any campaign planning. Butler wanted to have everything: he wanted to pick the advertising agency, wanted to do this and that and the other, and have it all set. And it just never worked out very much.

CAMPBELL: Did the advisory council have any official function at the convention? This was the first and only convention for the advisory council. I wondered if it was worked into plans in any way, or did you feel that was a wise idea?

TYROLER: Well, that so-called administrative committee of the council were the only advisors Butler had. On it were his two closest friends and advisors who were Perlman -- I've probably mentioned it before -- and Charlie Murphy. There just wasn't anybody. But Butler was a loner pretty much. Now, of course, he had his little contacts with the Kennedy people, with Kennedy himself. But he -- I guess he.... Now, with Goldberg, I mentioned that. He worked with Goldberg. That was toward the Kennedy nomination. But the rest of it, I think, was pretty directly with Kennedy himself. Dick Wallace served on Bowles' committee. And I went to a couple of those meetings. I'm sure all

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of our stuff was used. And their positions were consistent. And then, of course, there was the big vote on the council, too, which we were anticipating, a great floor fight on authorizing the council to be a permanent institution. That passed unanimously.

CAMPBELL: And this was something that was supported by Butler at the time and, yourself, the move for the vote?

TYROLER: Oh, we were forcing the vote. Yeah. We forced the vote. That was part of the strategy. And we picked the time when we thought it would get the least attention. And we were very surprised to find that the Johnson people after all had three or four hundred votes, four hundred votes. Not a voice -- it was a voice vote and there wasn't a voice against it. It passed by acclamation.

CAMPBELL: And no problem for the Kennedy people either at that time? What were your general impressions of the Kennedy operation at Los Angeles? It has been characterized by some as well-oiled and tremendously efficient.

TYROLER: Well, I guess you could sum it all up in communications. They had them and the other candidates didn't have them. They had the best -- physically, of course, they had the best headquarters and command centers and this sort of thing. They worked on it more, they had more money, and they also had Butler. And so the timing, to the extent that Butler could control it and everything, was in good shape. And everybody in the Kennedy bandwagon knew what was going on. And Guthman [Edwin O. Guthman] had these walkie-talkies -- were you out there?

CAMPBELL: No, just on the floor.

TYROLER: Well, the others just didn't know what was going on. I mean the Stevenson people had nothing. As a matter of fact, they just barely got into the Biltmore Hotel. Butler had them blocked out so that they were across the street up until after the convention really opened. Then he gave them a little space on the second floor where George Ball and John Sharon, and some other guy -- oh, Mike Monroney [Almer Stillwell Mike Monroney] -- were there. But that was nothing, you see. They couldn't get hold of their people. When you'd have a strategy meeting like they had out at Romanoff's -- Mrs. Roosevelt and thirty or forty people there for lunch, trying to get the troops to stand firm. But then, the word didn't get out. It was just too late. Never got in the papers what was going on. There wasn't any coordination.

On the floor itself there wasn't any communication. You couldn't talk to anybody. The Stevenson people only had one telephone. And that was in the office of LeRoy Collins [Thomas LeRoy Collins] who was the chairman of the committee. It was right up there on the platform. And John Sharon manned that phone. He'd be talking to Stevenson who was sitting at this hotel -- I've forgotten the name of it -- twenty-five or forty minutes away, with all of his people in a hotel room watching television. I didn't see anything of the Symington -- I don't know what the Symington operation was. The Johnson people didn't have anybody running around the floor. They were all there in their own solid delegation. But the Kennedy

people knew what was going on; knew how many votes they need at which place; had a check. Also they knew when they could call for the vote and not let a delay go on. If they hadn't called for the vote that night, let it go overnight, they'd have walked out on the street as we did a half hour after Kennedy was nominated and the headlines of the Los Angeles paper said, "Kennedy Bandwagon Falters as Stevenson Gains." Stuff like that overnight could have been disastrous.

CAMPBELL: Were you able to be active on Stevenson's behalf at the convention or...?

TYROLER: No. I just knew what was going on, just sat up there. Of course, I had a routine behalf at the interest. I was up on the platform because Stevenson had nobody up on the platform except John Sharon. Whether he had a platform badge or not, I don't know, but somehow or other he did get up there. But all the rest of the people -- Johnson had nobody on the platform. The first convention in his lifetime -- well, not his lifetime, certainly since he became Speaker and Minority Leader -- that Sam Rayburn couldn't get on the platform. He was escorted up there to make his nominating speech for Johnson and was escorted off. Every other time, as you recall, Sam would just be sitting there. But nobody from Johnson. You had a lot of movie stars there who were for Kennedy mainly. Frank Sinatra that you saw, which was up above, they couldn't do anything -- but there were several rooms built right behind the platform. In fact, I think there were four rooms.

CAMPBELL: Were you associated in any way with the negotiations that culminated in Mr. Johnson being selected as the vice-presidential....

TYROLER: No. And neither was Butler, which was the source of great resentment. Right after Kennedy came to the platform in order to accept it informally, they were going to have a great big acceptance at some baseball field...

CAMPBELL: Stadium.

TYROLER: ... or stadium or something. But when they told Kennedy he was nominated, he came to say thank you. They said, "Now, everybody wait around because he's going to come say thank you." I didn't wait around, but I heard later that night that Kennedy said to Butler, "Paul, we've got to choose the vice presidential candidate and I want to get your thinking on it." So Butler said, "Fine. I'm available right now." This was after Kennedy had talked. Kennedy said, "No, I can't do it right now. But I'll call you." Said, "Where will you be?" Butler said, "Well, I'm going to be either here or there." And then he said, "No, I'll definitely wait here for you. But by any chance if you can't get me here, you can get me at the other place." Of course, Butler waited and waited, and he never did hear from Kennedy. So I don't know anything about that.

CAMPBELL: What reaction did you observe, for instance, among more liberal

members of the council to that selection?

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TYROLER: They were bitter with the selection. There wasn't any of this foresight, you know, about what a masterstroke this was to get the southern right and -- our people were very bitter about it, the ones I talked to, the Stevenson crowd. Some of them, of course, felt that Stevenson had made a mistake, that he should have, by that time, he should have either gone for Kennedy earlier and nailed down secretary of state or that he should have -- a small minority felt he should have taken the vice presidency. They just assumed he could have gotten it. I don't know that he could have or not. There was a story he could.

CAMPBELL: A story that it was actually offered after the nomination or....

TYROLER: Yes.

CAMPBELL: Is that right?

TYROLER: Not by Kennedy, but by somebody who was speaking for Kennedy. Might not have been a bad ticket.

CAMPBELL: Interesting to think about. Do you have any background on the replacement of Mr. Butler, the selection of Senator Jackson? Let me start by asking if this was a surprise to Butler? Did he really expect to stay on?

TYROLER: Well, I don't know whether he expected to stay on. He'd always said, you know, "I won't accept it," and this and that. But that was when he was trying to hold on through the convention. And he'd been saying that for about a year. And I always thought that he had a minimum, at a minimum, he felt he was going to be one of the key campaign managers for the thing, and maybe that Kennedy would keep him on. Scoop Jackson was a disappointed aspirant for the vice presidency. He thought he had it. He was campaigning in person right at the doors to the convention, at least two or three sessions there, just buttonholing people asking them to help him. And I guess it was some sort of medium pay off. He was attractive, supposed to be good looking. So he'd be all right on television and he wouldn't be divisive like Butler up there. But the basic thing was that Butler then was completely-tossed out of the campaign. And this he was very resentful about.

CAMPBELL: How do you account for this? You've suggested and many other people have suggested that Butler seemed to go to great lengths to favor the Kennedy cause, and yet immediately after the convention there was no compensation in the form of any sort of job, either in the campaign or early in the administration.

TYROLER: I don't know why President Kennedy didn't give him something after he came in. But Butler had a real flock of enemies. And with the kind of support that Butler represented, strong in civil rights and all of that -- Kennedy had Bobby; he had Mrs. Roosevelt; he had Herbert Lehman; and he had Humphrey;

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and he had all of the liberals -- he didn't need Butler. And there were so many people who he did need that didn't like him, so he just made a cold-blooded, and I think a very sound, decision to get Butler out of the thing. He sent him around to Negro wards to make talks and that was all.

Why he didn't give him a job after he got in, that I don't know. And I think that was in the nature of -- I don't want to use these words and mar the President -- sort of a doublecross. I think that Butler felt that he had been promised something for this financial future. But to put it bluntly, he was hoping to open up a new office, decorate it and this and that. He was a man without any means at all. Apparently for the first six months, at least, Kennedy didn't do anything for him. Not only that, they didn't give him one of the assignments in the administration to show that he was in. They finally made him a member of the St. Lawrence Seaway Commission, something like that.

And then I have the story, but not from Butler himself. The last time I saw him was very shortly before he died. We got to be friendly. We talked to each other on the street. He was right across the street and I was still here -- the Commerce Department was right here afterwards. And up until a couple of months before, he had not gotten any help at all, no clients or anything like that. And then, some people have told me since his death, that right at the end that the Kennedys did come through and get him some clients. And whether that's so or not, you'll have to ask Mrs. Butler.

CAMPBELL: I wanted to talk just a few minutes about this Simulmatics project that the council got involved in. Did the council fund the project, sponsor it?

TYROLER: Yeah. In large measure, we did. Well, the council did not. But we had some committee called the New York Committee for Democratic Voters. I've forgotten, I think it was pretty close to that title. And this was a committee that raised money for Democratic projects. Up until that point, as far as I'm aware, all of the money that they raised, they have to us and gave it to us via the Democratic committee. All of our money funneled through Butler and came to us. They could either give it or not. And oftentimes in order to give money to us, they had to give him a cut as it went along. Because he'd be really fired up if that they wouldn't. But not that much, five thousand dollars or so. Then we'd get thirty or forty.

Well, they had quite a bit of money in early 1960, and more than we could use. And Simulmatics told them about this marvelous invention that they had in the social science field which was certainly, on the theoretical basis, very sound. It's later been shown that

everybody uses it. But what they need was X tens of thousands of dollars to create this bank of knowledge based on previous polling material for the past ten years. And the whole story's been told in a book by Ithiel de Sola Pool and some other guy, two other guys I've forgotten. And that book is largely accurate or as far as I know on that, up to the time that they had their association with Bobby Kennedy. Then it gets a little vague. The Kennedy people: O'Brien [Lawrence F. O'Brien], Shriver [R. Sargent Shriver] -- I think Bobby himself would tell a different story than the Simulmatics people.

CAMPBELL: How would it differ?

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TYROLER: Well, the Simulmatics people felt that they had more of a commitment from Bobby than they actually did have. This part of the story, I think I'd be inclined to agree with Bobby's version. Because Shriver was here in my office and I watched some of the negotiations from their end. And I don't think they ever felt that they committed themselves for this big a project. But they had committed themselves for twenty or twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars worth of processing certain questions. They did have this one report which was broken into about four sections. And, yes, copies of it did go to all of the important people in the Kennedy operation. And their analysis based upon an analysis of the actual election returns was correct on major strategy moves which indeed the Kennedy people did follow. But the Kennedy people claimed that they adopted this strategy, religion strategy, for example -- civil rights which was perfectly obvious: you know, talk as liberal as you could up north and then hope that Johnson could hold something in the South. But on the other one, on the religious thing -- most of the Kennedy people I talked with during the campaign felt that he ought to play down the religious issue. This was, I'd say, like September. Now they all say now that they all realized and they all were in favor of this strategy that Kennedy adopted of bringing it out to the fore and embarrassing or shaming a lot of the Protestants into voting for him to show they weren't prejudiced, and to make sure you got the Catholics to vote for you. I think that was their strategy and I think it was a correct one. And it is what the Simulmatics study says. It says you've lost all those votes you're going to lose. Now, you can pick up some and make sure you kept the ones that you'd ordinarily get.

They claim that the Simulmatics report did not influence them at all. The Simulmatics report did say that. And it said a lot of other things. Also anticipated the television debates, that this was a good thing for Kennedy. And a lot of people didn't think so. As I remember, they thought Nixon was a terribly strong debater and that this kid shouldn't expose himself. So there was a lot of second guessing, I think.

CAMPBELL: The name Edward Greenfield was mentioned, I believe, in the beginning of the book to which you've referred, as a man from New York who was a heavy contributor of yours who you sort of...

TYROLER: No. He never contributed anything as far as I know. I couldn't tell every

last person who gave money to one of our needs or another. But he wasn't. He's a fellow I've known for a long time. He was the promoter and continued to be in the company. He headed the company for seven or eight years after that. He was the nonintellectual member of the group. The others were really good people: MIT and Yale and Columbia and Johns Hopkins, they were academics. He got them all together and got them on an exclusive basis. And for a while there, the company was doing pretty well. And it fell on foul times about a year or two ago.

CAMPBELL: Did the advisory council -- you said that Senator Jackson sort of put the lid on -- then serve any official function in the campaign?

TYROLER: None.

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CAMPBELL: How about yourself? Did you play a role in it?

TYROLER: Oh, yeah. I did. But it had nothing to do with the advisory council. I really only did two major things. One, I ran the conference out at Des Moines which was the first thing that Kennedy did. We brought everybody in; made a big play for the farm vote which we didn't get, as you know. We had them all there. Every fellow who had been a candidate for president or vice president -- anybody connected with the farm thing -- and we made quite a to-do. That was Kennedy's first thing in the campaign.

Right after the convention he went up to Hyannis Port and floating around, he sent for Herschel Loveless and made him his farm guy, so to speak, which was a carry over.... Oh, you say the council, did it play a role. What happened was that all of our council people became parts of task forces. Almost any good ones we had, went in. We went over and rated them, you know, as to which ones had made contributions. Shriver was setting up for these here. To that extent, sure, all of our people did play a role. I ran that. And then with Harris Wofford, I ran the civil rights thing in New York, and that I worked on for three or four weeks. That was a real big to-do. We brought in every Negro form all over the country, every state. And we brought in any Democrat that was generally favorable to civil rights. And we had panels and all this, and it was climaxed by Kennedy coming in and addressing them. This took place the very same day that Johnson started on his famous trip through the South. So we had this delicate balance between getting attention up there, but making sure it didn't skip the South. And that was pretty good.

CAMPBELL: Did you feel the Kennedy people made as good an effort for the farm vote as they could have? Were there many people around that seemed to really understand what was necessary?

TYROLER: Well, their main fellow was sort of an academic inclined character by the name of Willard Cochrane, who then went over to work for Orville

Freeman. But I think he was pretty much supplanted very quickly. I think he bored Kennedy. We were out there the morning he was briefing Kennedy in advance on this big farm speech. Farm problems bored Kennedy anyway, you know. But even if they hadn't, this fellow bored him. And I think Kennedy dropped his farm advisor, whoever it was, pretty quickly. I think he did as well as could be expected. I don't remember who got in there and started advising him. He did alright. His speech was good.

CAMPBELL: How was the council involved or -- you've already said, many worthwhile people were absorbed into the campaign operation. Did you get involved in the early recruitment efforts for the administration, recommending...?

TYROLER: Yes. They took over the Democratic Committee's office. And you had three operations going there, as I recall. One was, and the least important I think, was O'Brien. And he was over there in McCloskey's [Matthew H. McCloskey] former office. He was supposed to check on the political clearance for people and what debts there were. And then you had all the things that were under Shriver. And then you had Wofford in between. And Wofford was calling all the good people around the

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country -- academic people, business people, or foundation people, who really didn't want anything particularly -- and asking them for suggestions for the next administration. And then always tossing in a little line -- I heard him make these calls a dozen times -- "Of course, I know it's probably too much to even hope for, but could you personally..." and so forth. Well... And that was it. And then under Shriver he has his close assistants, so to speak, who were assigned various government departments. I remember like Yarmolinsky [Adam Yarmolinsky]. And he was sitting out there in the bull pen. They had about ten guys there. They were working on a department. Yarmolinsky was working on Defense. Then if they were in on picking the Cabinet and arranging for these people to be interviewed over here at Georgetown -- I know you must've heard this a thousand times. Well, with the council we took our whole roster, which was by that time, I guess, well over three hundred, and we went over all of them and rated them.

CAMPBELL: How would this roster have been developed -- excuse me -- three hundred people, members of your committee?

TYROLER: Yes. Just the people who actually had worked there -- how they'd worked and where they would fit into an administration. Well I don't know. It might have been just coincidental or a tribute to the ones that we picked over the period of those three years: I think it was something like a hundred and twenty-seven of them that got presidential appointments. And when you figure that some people thought Kennedy had only three hundred or four hundred the first year available, not to mention whether he did fill them -- I don't remember how many he filled. But there were

very much fewer presidential appointments available than people think. I was in charge of the Humphrey thing in this last campaign. We were working on the Humphrey administration, paying no attention to the Gallup poll, and we did that for two months. We went around trying to see which guys should be kept in the administration, with a prejudice against -- we were prejudiced in favor of keeping them as few as possible, but to show the difference. And we had quite a few of them who came out with that report; so we probably did more on that than Kennedy's people did. As far as I know, they didn't do anything at all. We did work a couple of months. And yet, they looked like they had a good chance to win. We looked like there was no chance. So I think that the council people, because of their participation in the council, did get a better chance of getting an appointment.

CAMPBELL: Were you at all interested in a position for yourself in the administration?

TYROLER: I wasn't. But nobody will believe that. I was asked. So they were perfectly decent towards me. I have no complaints at all. Kennedy never did. But who does he ask, you know, Bob Lovett [Robert A. Lovett] or somebody like that. But I had three definite approaches which I thought was fair enough. They gave everybody a shot at a job if they wanted one.

CAMPBELL: Do you recall the origins of the decision to liquidate the council? Or what was your first indication that it was going to be disestablished?

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TYROLER: Well, my first indication was the morning after Johnson was picked -- I think it was the morning after, yeah, it must've been -- when Kennedy met with the Democratic Committee and chose his successor. Perlman said that he had just -- Perlman asked to have breakfast with who, Charlie Murphy and me and somebody else, I've forgotten -- and said that Butler thought that the council was in bad straits and was about to be knocked out. The time had come and so forth to make a fight for the council at this point. However, as a new nominee I couldn't fight for the council at this point. So then we went over to the meeting. And Butler was indeed replaced with Jackson. And a week or a couple of weeks went by and we never heard anything. We weren't doing anything. Jackson was the new head of the council, so Dick Wallace and I trotted up to see him. And he just flatly said -- I think I've told you before -- "No dice. And don't do anything." So after the election there seemed to be a school of thought that the council would be a valuable thing for the President to keep going because he could use it as the trial balloon and lightning rod; also he could use it to keep people participating in his administration who couldn't take a full-time job or even a part-time job, or that he didn't want to give a job to. Let them come down and meet and give their recommendations, he could do what he pleased with them. So this thought went on for quite a while. Quite a few people thought it was a good idea. But Shriver said -- I assume had had access to him -- that he definitely didn't want the council and it was finished. You could have it. I think they probably were right. This thing could have gotten out of hand. And so they wiped it out. But we had that resolution at

the convention and it was difficult to do it right away. But I think around February or March, the committee met and in essence took an illegal act, as far as I can make out, and abolished the council. It was done with just about two or three lines and it got no attention. But the council itself went out of business officially -- well, not officially -- but in actuality the day after elections.

CAMPBELL: There was no major last ditch effort on the part of anyone to argue for continuance?

TYROLER: Oh, yeah. We argued for it. We argued for it until the word definitely came that the President didn't want it. Of course, he never said he didn't want it.

CAMPBELL: I've come across at least two versions of explanations. One writer, I think, suggests that this was a concession on the part of the committee to the congressional leadership which had continuing grief with the council. And another writer, I think, has suggested that this was John Bailey's idea some time later.

TYROLER: I don't believe it. I think it was the decision by either Kennedy himself or in his name at the highest level that this thing was inconsistent with having a President in the White House; it was unnecessary; and it was potentially dangerous. I didn't get word for at least a week or ten days after the election. Shriver just -- I argued the other side. Shriver said, "I happen to agree that it would" -- "personally agree" I think he said. "But this is the decision. So you just forget it." So we forgot it.

CAMPBELL: Well, that's the end of my questions. Is there -- oh, I just have a little note. I noticed that Earl Mazo characterized the council as America's first shadow

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cabinet. Is that a bit of an exaggeration?

TYROLER: Well, I guess it came as close as anything else. There were a lot of little efforts along the way, of the _____ committees that had ballooned into a whole batch of things. And this was a shadow cabinet because we had a fellow who could fill every cabinet job. Now, some of the guys weren't obviously going to fill them in the next administration. But they had filled them before. Sure it was a shadow cabinet. We spoke always in the name of the Democratic Party which is, of course, one of the things that burned Rayburn and Johnson.

CAMPBELL: Is there anything else?

TYROLER: I can't think of anything.

CAMPBELL: Thank you very much.

[END OF INTERVIEW]

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