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Biographical Note
Donald W. Rose (1908-2002) was the Democratic county chairman for Los Angeles County from 1954 to 1962, vice chairman of the Kennedy for President campaign in Southern California, and a delegate at the 1960 Democratic National Convention. This interview focuses on the internal operations of the California Democratic Party, the 1960 Democratic National Convention, and John F. Kennedy's 1960 campaign in California, among other topics.

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Oral History Interview

Of

Donald W. Rose

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Oral History Interview

with

DONALD W. ROSE

June 14, 1969
Alta Vista, Laguna Beach, California

By Dennis O'Brien

For the John F. Kennedy Library

O'BRIEN: I guess the logical place to begin is with the question: When did you ever come into contact or when did you first come into contact with John Fitzgerald Kennedy?

ROSE: Well, I'm apt to be a little fuzzy on dates, but -- we established when I was county chairman of Los Angeles County -- in the early part of the time I was county chairman, which went on for eight long years. I was first elected in 1954, after having been two years the secretary of the county committee, and was reelected four times to two-year terms, each time by a unanimous

vote of a 249-member committee, by the way.

We had a series of F.D.R. [Franklin D. Roosevelt] dinners which my committee under my leadership held each spring as fundraisers and general peppers-up for the party. It was in some ways sort of a rival to the traditional Jefferson-Jackson day dinner in that it was aimed at involvement of club level people. Our county committee chartered during those years, from beginning with something like a hundred clubs in the county, up to a high point of well over three hundred. And so we would have these dinners at twenty-five bucks a head, which we considered pretty high even then, rather than the usual hundred-dollar-a-plate fundraisers

that the State committee would put on for those Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners. So in our series of annual F.D.R. dinners the first one was Williams [G. Mennen Williams], in 1955 or something like that, and then Hubert Humphrey.

Anyhow, in 1958, which was a crucial

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year for us, having been the out party for a good long time, we had as our slogan the little cliche of "Sweep the State in '58." We had little silver brooms for lapel ornaments to dramatize that, just as we here in California, I think under the women's chairman … Kennedy, had publicized nationally the Stevenson [Adlai E. Stevenson] shoe as a lapel-ornament -- the little silver shoe that you got a Hollywood silversmith to make and which were sold by the tens of thousands as fundraisers. Well, the same silversmith made the little silver broom.

Okay, so we got Senator Kennedy to come out to speak to our dinner that year. It was a very crowded platform because we had our only political officeholder, Attorney General Pat Brown [Edmund G. Brown], at the head table, running for Governor. We had Clair Engle there running for United States Senator, and we had Alan Cranston, of course, running for controller and Glenn Anderson for Lieutenant Governor, and

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the whole group. For a moment, I have a lapse on who was running for secretary of state -- an office that I contested for a little later myself -- who if he had not had a Mexican-American name would have swept in along with everyone else that year. We did "sweep the state in '58."

Senator Kennedy was not too well-known to that audience, and there hadn't been very much of a groundswell, in California at least, for supporting him in 1960 at that point. I met him at the airport along with my vice chairman for county committee, Jerry Pacht, who is now a superior court judge in Los Angeles, and had quite a series of interesting interviews with him.

We had a press conference which he graciously arranged at the Lawford's [Peter Lawford] oceanside home in Santa Monica. I have some pictures from that I'd like to show you by the way; I think they're very interesting.

We had a hurry-up county convention at the

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Statler Hotel that afternoon at which delegates from all the clubs met to choose their candidates for State senator, Los Angeles County. It was a pushover since we had one State senator at that time, Senator Richards [Richard Richards], who had been the county chairman before I took over and who was State senator on a four-year term from '54 to '58, so he was obviously going to run for reelection. We had the eight southern counties represented to make their choice for the one to run for the Board of Equalization [California State Board of

Equalization]. Dick Nevins [Richard Nevins] was chosen that day and is still the member of the Board of Equalization from Southern California, a constitutional office.

Kennedy spoke to that group in the afternoon and went on through a number of receptions we had all afternoon for different groups. We had all of our club presidents honored and corsages pinned on them with the help of Jackie Kennedy [Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy] who was

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along with the Senator.

We had a crushing reception before the dinner. We had an embarrassing overselling of the house. About three hundred people who had bought tickets and through some foul-up couldn't get into the place were put up on a second stage opposite the speaker's stage where they could watch the rest of us eat and listen to the speeches, but that was the extent of their participation.

There was some quite interesting things that happened then during that contact that, well, I remember with a lot of pleasure. He was very well received and very warmly thought of, in all of his appearances. I had the opportunity to see him through the various paces. As I say, I had the favored position of meeting him at the airport at 5 o'clock in the morning. There were some rather interesting things that happened there and some others that happened at his press conference at his sister's home the

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next day, and before and during and after the dinner.

But for those who just paid their money and got in in time to sit down and eat, it must have been a bit of frustrating evening and not a great opportunity to get to know Senator Kennedy very much better. First of all, and it may have been an error in judgement -- I know it was an error in showmanship on my part -- I ran the dinner on the theory that this had been arranged as an event to honor our Democratic club presidents who were our guests free for charge -- over three hundred of them throughout the hall -- and that they were going to get their recognition, even if it slowed up the program. Pat Brown, when I introduced him, as I did to all the others, I said, "Our time is limited, so you have two minutes Mr. Candidate for Governor." And he said "When your candidate for Governor only has two minutes to speak, there's something mighty funny about the arrangements here."

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Clair Engle later on said, "Well, you know, a United States Senator, or even a candidate for United States Senator can hardly clear his throat in two minutes." [Laughter]

But the thing that I say that perhaps didn't make an exhilarating evening, as far as Kennedy's appearance is concerned, was that this was a right long program, as all of our dinners out here have a tendency to be: and I'm afraid I didn't do anything to correct that --

plus, the large number of candidates at the head table, plus the fact that we had arranged with the Richards committee to use their organization to help put this thing on.

We had worked out the euphemistic co-chairmanship of this particular dinner in order to raise money for his campaign. Now, it just so happened that my wife, who had been his campaign manager since his earliest days, was also involved. So we reserved the next to the highest point on the program -- to hell with candidates for

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Senator and Governor and so on! -- for our own favorite son and close friend and very much loved Senator Richards. So it was already late in the evening when he got up to speak; and anyone that knows California politics of the fifties and a good part of the sixties knows that Senator Richards is a man who can speak and speak well and can raise people up out of their seats, which he proceeded to do. It wasn't lengthy, but when he sat down it must have been 10:30. Senator Kennedy got up and spoke very calmly, it seemed by comparison at least, and very quietly and reasonably and very briefly. And quite a few people were disappointed.

They wouldn't come out and say that Richards and Brown and Engle and the rest -- and me and my Goddamn clubs -- had taken up too much of the program time, but he didn't, you know…. It was a hard guy to follow, and he didn't seem to care to extend himself to try to follow him or top him or even-up with him. However, even

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so…. By taking this much time to play on this particular point which occurred to me then and does in retrospect, I have perhaps overemphasized it, because, even so, the Kennedy personality did come through in fine shape all through those two days he was here. He made a host of friends among all the new acquaintances that he came in contact with.

O'BRIEN: What were some of the other things? You said in coming in and at the time he was there, that there were many little side incidents. Is there anything else that stands out in your mind?

ROSE: Well, one of the first -- I can't remember then whether it was the first time I ever met him or not, but I rather believe it was. He'd been out in '56 to help Dick Richards campaign for United States Senator and had barnstormed with him all through northern California. And so, he and Richards were on a first-name basis and very close friends.

In fact, when I made Richards -- I didn't make him,

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but when I hammered him over the head along with some others -- stick with Stevenson in 1960, he said to me ruefully at one point, "Goddamn it! Here's a man that if he was

President, I'd always know him by his first name, but you say we've got to go with Steveson and you're right, so I'm with you."

Well, when he came off the plane, Jerry Pacht and I went out. We had arranged the press conference the next morning, so we had not announced to anyone when he was coming in. But I noticed there was a photographer standing there and so I went up and said, "Who are you with?" He said, "Well, I'm with this guy, and he's a reporter from the Hearst paper, the *Herald Examiner*. So I said, "There's going to be no interviews here. We're going to have a press conference in the morning." "Well, all right. We're here; we might as well hang around."

So when the people came out of the plane Jerry Pacht and I were standing at the foot of the stairs down

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from the plane. Kennedy stuck his head out, came down a step or two, saw the man standing there with the camera, and he stopped. We walked up to say hello to him, shake hands. He says, "Hey, is there going to be press here? Is there going to be press?" I said, "No, no press, but this guy was here with a camera. There's no use to shoo him away."

"Well, wait a minute." He ducks back into the plane. He says, "Wait a minute," with this hand on this head. And I swear that when he came out a minute later he had his hair mussed up and down over his forehead. It looked perfectly square and nice when he came out of the plane, but if there were going to be photographs, he had to get the original Kennedy hairstyle in shape, get his hair ruffled up ready for the camera. [Laughter] So he came down; and I have the pictures that were taken that morning, by the way. I'll show you the newsclips.

O'BRIEN: Oh, fine.

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ROSE: You know how these political dinners are with the long head table and about twenty people up there. I told you all the people that were there, celebrities that we introduced. Well, there are eight officers of the county committee; they were all at the head table. There were a couple of club presidents, and there was a singer and some other entertainers and George Jessel, the master of ceremonies, you know.

Those things can be an awful mess when you've got twenty people trying to find their places at the head table; you have to have some organization ahead of time. So outside of the ballroom, there at the Statler, we set up twenty chairs. I had my assistant make a little card with the name of everybody who was to sit in which chair in the staging area. There had been a lot of confusion, as I say, with people trying to get in and not enough seats. We'd oversold the house.

It's always hard to

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get people rounded up after a cocktail party to sit down in the chairs so we can all stand up together and march in. You know, you have some political people that are not quite ready to break off their conversation and do even that, but we got them all pretty well in order. It was time to go in because it was time to get the show on the road. Everyone was there but the Senator.

Well, we were looking around madly for him, and George Jessel said, "I know where he is. I'll get him." He's the kind of a take-charge guy, a showman, of course. He says, "I saw him headed for the men's room." So he goes scurrying down the hall and around the corner and he's gone for four or five minutes. Everyone's very restive. So, he comes back; he says, "He's in there arguing with some guy." I said, "Well, you sit down there. I'll go." So I went scurrying down the hall and into the little lobby going into the men's

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room at the Statler.

Here was Loren Miller, who was a longtime leader in the Negro community, lawyer, publisher, appointed to the bench by Pat Brown -- and who died about a year or two ago -- and Senator Kennedy. They were having a very heated argument. Loren was our militant of the late fifties and the sixties -- well, all of the fifties. He'd been active in Democratic politics as long as, I've known it in California, which goes back to 1949.

We didn't know what militants were in those days, but he was a man who was not afraid to stand up in front of a meeting. "You talk about getting the Negro's help and vote, but how is it that you never see any Negroes up there on the stage where all the leaders are? How come you never put any up for any offices in the party if you want them involved in Democratic politics?" He did that at one meeting, and we got Mrs. Spencer [Vaino H. Spencer] to come up out of the audience on the spot to join us, against her will. She was

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the co-chairman of this dinner, by the way, on my appointment. She is now a Superior Court judge, and a very fine, was always a very fine leader in the Negro community, a chamring woman, outstanding young woman.

Alright, here's Loren Miller and the Senator and a lot of people milling around that couldn't get in. So, I barged right in and put a firm hand on Loren's shoulder and said, "Look, Loren, he's going to be here tomorrow." I said, "For God's sake, we've got to get the guy in there. We're very late, and people are getting restive, and they're starting to clap and howl 'where are the speakers at the head table? The food's getting cold.' Now, let's break this off. You'll have a chance to talk later."

He said, "It's not me; it's him! I'm not holding him up." "Well," I said, "Senator, are you ready?" He said, "No, no. Just a minute. Now, I want you to understand here,

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Mr. Miller, that this is my view and…." [Laughter] So I had to stand there helplessly fidgeting for another three or four or five minutes while the Senator was making his views perfectly clear to Miller. And Miller was not holding him up; it was the Senator who was insisting on clarification.

O'BRIEN: What was he telling him?

ROSE: Well, I wish I knew. I really don't know. I don't know. Because I was there at the tail end of the conversation, and I was concerned about getting the show on the road. I presume that he was clarifying his own position or something of that sort. Loren was a man who could cut you with sarcasm and who was not one who would pussyfoot around. He was nobody's Uncle Tom, and that's for sure. By the way, he went to the University of Kansas, too, before I did.

O'BRIEN: Oh, is that right?

ROSE: And you're from Missouri [University of Missouri]. His family were

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slaves in Missouri and they got across the line into Kansas up around Atchison.

One little sidelight about Loren Miller: I used to go in to see him after he was judge down at the municipal court once in a while and talk to him a little bit in his chambers. We talked about K.U. [University of Kansas], and he said -- oh, I mentioned Phog Allen [Dr. Forest C. Allen] who wrote the Bible of Basketball and made Kansas famous for basketball way back in the thirties and forties and who was then athletic director and really put Kansas on the map. He's the guy that discovered Wilt Chamberlain, I believe, I'm not sure. Anyhow, "yes," he says, "That Goddamn Allen," he said, "wouldn't let us go swimming in the pool." And here, "Bleeding Kansas" you know, Democratic Kansas…. I went through the school there, didn't even -- I came from a family that had it's barns burnt by Klu-Kluxers because they were sympathizing with some of the Negro views -- I didn't realize that guys

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like Loren Miller, poor Negroes in that university, weren't allowed to go into the pool with white students. And you can see how a man would remember that all his life long, wouldn't you?

O'BRIEN: Sure. You were on the floor in 1956 in the Convention [Democratic National Convention], weren't you?

ROSE: Yes, I was.

O'BRIEN: California had a real squabble in the delegation that year. What do you recall about that?

ROSE: Well, I was one of the chief squabblers, I'm afraid. [Laughter] I was part of the leadership of that group that felt that -- it really wasn't anti-Kennedy -- in California, and for all we knew, the rest of the country, a Stevenson-Kennedy ticket would not be a strong ticket. As some pointed out, "Those two boys with their Harvard or otherwise elegant accents and expressions campaigning the country are not a balanced team." They

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were overbalanced in that sense.

Then there was a real feeling for the underdog Kefauver [Estes Kefauver]. Here he had gutted it out and had gone through the primaries and done all the other things, and we thought that to elect Stevenson, we needed Kefauver. A lot of us that weren't mad about Kefauver still admired the guts out of the guy and were…. He had the underdog sympathy.

Before I went to the Convention, at my own expense I got out a letter to all the three hundred and forty-nine members of the county committee, another hundred people on the state committee -- a mailing of about a thousand, twelve hundred with return envelopes addressed to me at the headquarters hotel in Chicago -- as to their opinion, their feelings, so that it could be used to present to the California delegation. We knew, of course, that Governor Brown and especially the northern contingents of the leadership

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of the state and national committees were strongly committed to Kennedy for Vice President.

And I got a hell of a lot of mail back there. I got a big armload of letters, which I carried around for a couple of days saying, "Now, I didn't do this for any publicity purposes. I wouldn't release it to the press, but I think that the delegation ought to know what people back home from the most populous county in the state feel," you know. We, Los Angeles County, then and now, have about 43 percent of the total vote of the state in the first state of the union. That's a hell of a lot of voters. Well, these are party leaders, bonafide party leaders.

I wasn't warmly received with this poll, this information, at all. In fact, when the letters were finally opened, why, it was -- and they were about seven or eight-to-one strongly in favor of Kefauver, as I knew they would be. It didn't have much effect on a dozen votes, I don't think, in our

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own delegation. We worked in the delegation and on the floor. It was difficult because Pat Brown with Fred Dutton [Frederick G. Dutton] by his side was sitting there by the California standard, were very much with Ben Swig [Benjamin H. Swig] of San Francisco, the Fairmount [Hotel] owner, and the money leaders from the north and from the south, too, and

Roger Kent and the northern liberals who for good reasons were for Kennedy. It was just that we were for Kefauver because we felt that was the best thing for Stevenson, the best way to elect him in California and the nation.

There were some pretty frantic showdowns on the floor. Congressman Chet Holifield was sitting on the aisle. He and I were sort of self-appointed floor leaders. Congressman Shelley [John F. Shelley] whom I didn't know so well -- I've known Chet for a long time -- was very strongly pro-Kennedy. SO the night or two before the final vote, why, Shelley and I were standing

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in the aisle and having a violent face-to-face argument, both of us very red in the face. He's a real tall guy; he must be six-foot-one. He had to stoop over to get his face down close enough to mine. Chet Holifield began tugging on my jacket, and he says, "Listen, don't you know about his heart?" And I said, "Well, what about his Goddamn heart?" He says, "You know, this man has had heart attacks. Do you want him to drop dead here on the Convention floor?" He says, "ease it off. See if you can calm it down a little bit." Well, Shelley's gone on to be mayor of San Francisco and he's lived a good long life.

Oh, we had many distinguished visitors. Farley [James A. Farley] was over from the New York delegation. And we were being urged from right to left and from our own -- you see, the head of our delegation was our only elected official, the attorney general, Pat Brown, and yet we had to override him in our own delegation. It went

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for Stevenson.

By the way, I have a memento from that. Carl Greenberg of the *Los Angeles Times* caught me red-handed with it. It was my first national Convention, and the California delegation always goes out and caucuses at the height of every crucial period and is pretty apt to miss the vote. It's usually out in caucus with its leaders deciding what should be done. But when I went to my first caucus it was on the civil rights plant, and a very hot one. When it came time to file back on to the Convention floor I was stopped because my floor identification badge had been lifted. And so there I was on the first night of the Convention with no way to get on the floor. So I met somebody, Hugo Fisher I think it was -- he's on the bench in San Diego, now -- and said, "For God's sake, send somebody out with a badge to get me back in."

In the meantime, I had been referred upstairs to some place where you could go for lost credentials and they told

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me to come downtown to the hotel the next day. I wanted to get back on the floor then and there, so after a few minutes out came Dick Tuck [Richard D. Tuck], reached in his pocket and he says, "Well, which would you like to have? You're a delegate, but would you rather

sit in the press for a while?" He had about a dozen forged badges. So I went through the whole Convention with a hand-forged Tuck delegate badge. I never did bother to go back and get a real one, because nobody knew but Carl Greenberg, who came onto the floor one night and said, "Can I take another look at that badge?" [Laughter]

O'BRIEN: In regard to that squabble on the floor: Do you remember anything about the people that broke for Kennedy? Actually, there were some people from southern California, like Rees [Thomas M. Rees], and did Mrs. Wyman [Rosalind W. Wyman] at that point become a supporter?

ROSE: Roz Wyman. I can't remember where she was in '56 on that particular issue. I really can't

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remember.

O'BRIEN: How about Hy Raskin [Hyman B. Raskin]?

ROSE: Well, Hy Raskin, of course, is not from California; but he'd been floor manager for Stevenson, as I recall. Let's see, Paul Ziffren was a Kennedy man, I believe, always was and certainly was in '60. Paul Ziffren was always able to bridge over and keep the loyalty and friendship of those that he didn't always agree with or they didn't always agree with him. For instance, he always had, and has today, the personal loyalty of people like Senator Richards and myself, Congressman Glenn Anderson. The last three mentioned, the three of us are always pretty apt to tend up on the same side. Sometimes Paul would be on the other, but he was an actual and clear supporter of those of us who were trying to broaden the base of the party through the club movement, through CDC [California Democratic Council].

Whereas, as I said earlier -- I don't think

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I said it on tape, but I think I said it -- that the Governor never felt like, or found the time, or had the energy or the drive to get in and build an organization. There were a good many people that were a little alarmed by having this ultra-democratic thing, where just ordinary guys could work a precinct and join a club and get to be a delegate to a convention that would select a candidate for public office. Paul was always with us, but Hy Raskin…. I don't remember exactly where he was in '56, but he was out here in '52 with Stevenson. I thought he was with him in '56 with Stevenson. I thought he was with him in '56, too, but I'm a little fuzzy on that.

O'BRIEN: How did the hard-core -- well, before we get away from the Convention in '56: What was the business with James Roosevelt? Did he physically

restrain someone, or….

ROSE: I don't recall that, either. Again, I don't remember. Oh, I think there was some tussle over the standard, a little California standard,

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or something like that. Yes, I think at some point Jimmy took it, but I don't remember the detail of that either.

It's funny about a Convention. You're trying to keep track of what's going on. If you're just a rank-and-file-delegate, it's a hell of a lot more difficult on a Convention floor than it is if you're sitting home watching your television screen. And this is an actual fact, that during that '56 Convention -- after all, when is that, thirteen years ago? -- the coverage wasn't quite so nose-to-nose and intimate as it is in today's Conventions, but television coverage could tell us more than we could get on the floor.

The actual fact that I'm referring to is that we would, some of us would go from time to time, or sometimes pick somebody to run upstairs and stand outside the Huntley [Chet Huntley]-Brinkley [David Brinkley] glass cage and watch the numbers flashing on the screen there and listen to what they were saying in order to find out what the hell was going on

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at the Convention. And that's exactly where I was during that final, frantic, extremely exciting thing that millions saw on television, but thousands missed in the 1956 Convention -- the down-to-the-wire, vote-by-vote tabulation of Kennedy versus Kefauver, where Kefauver finally nosed Kennedy out.

On the floor the New York delegation was standing en masse in front of the California delegation -- not en masse, but there was Farley, as I've mentioned, and many others. And there were prominent people from all over including our own leaders, Kent and Swig and ex-mayor Shelley exhorting the California delegation to go for Kennedy, which it did not do; it was split. It was at that point of the bedlam, which went on for a good many moments, that I went upstairs and saw the final of the race between Kennedy and Kefauver through the glass wall of the Huntley-Brinkley studio. And they weren't then the famous team that they are now.

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O'BRIEN: Did the hard-core Stevenson people at this point see Kennedy as a possibility as a presidential choice in the future?

ROSE: I didn't see it in those terms. The Stevenson people, the California Stevenson people particularly, were drawn to him for all of the best

reasons in the world because of his true ability and his leadership and his liberalism and the fact that here was the kind of person that we really wanted to rally around and behind.

O'BRIEN: This is Stevenson?

ROSE: This is Stevenson, that's right. This is Stevenson. We'd had a heartbreak situation in '52, and now we were all out to see it not happen again; we got him elected in '56.

You see, it was because of Stevenson that we had a club movement in California. We had people who were inspired by him to get into politics that had never been in it before. After he got licked in 1952, they began

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to look around at each other and say, "Let's not let it happen again." So we had our famous first conference in '53 at Asilomar and established the California Democratic Council. It had all the blessing and support of the official party at that time, the state committee members and county committee members north and south, and our few legislators that we had went along with it. It was an involvement in politics of small "d" and large "d" Democrats all up and down the state. Well, a substantial number of those people were on the delegation that went back in '56.

They were there for Stevenson first, last, and always, and it was because of that that most of us felt -- a small majority of us -- that Kefauver would be the more attractive running mate, the better vote getter, and the way to get Stevenson into the White House. We weren't thinking about anything four years from now. We were thinking about getting out of

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the heat of Chicago and electing Stevenson in November and having the greatest President of our lifetime. But there was never any real anti-Kennedy feeling in the California delegation to my knowledge. I couldn't point at six, three, or at the moment one person who said, "This Kennedy is no good," because he was extremely attractive. He'd made a great impression on the delegates by this filmed presentation at the first of the Convention. He was very highly thought of.

O'BRIEN: Who were the really driving personalities in CDC from, well let's say, '56 to 1960?

ROSE: '56. Well, Alan Cranston was, of course, the first president of it and the guiding light of it all the way along. It was a pretty good working coalition statewide.

Let me try to give you this picture as I see it. We on our county committee in Los Angeles County felt that we'd kind of invented the club movement. We started with just a few clubs back in the

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late forties and early fifties, and then we began to concentrate on the organization of clubs. When the clubs began to really go, after the Stevenson defeat -- '52 was our period of greatest growth. But before that, we'd done a lot of laborious groundwork so that in every one of our thirty-one assembly districts and then twelve congressional districts -- now there are fifteen in Los Angeles' County -- we had strong clubs going.

When Alan Cranston came down to talk to Dick Richard and me to get our support of the statewide club movement, we kind of looked at each other and said, "Well, who needs it here? I mean, we've got a club movement here. What you need, you guys, is to get off your cans and get a club movement going in Bakersfield, Modesto, San Francisco, Sacramento, and up through the rest of the state, in San Diego. What we do is work with clubs all the time. But, yeah, you're right, we do need a statewide deal."

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But from that point on CDC did grow, and grow rapidly and well, under the leadership of Cranston and with a steering committee that included all of the officers, the key officers of the state committee and the executive committee. Our founding group were people like myself as county chairman from Los Angeles County, the state chairman north, the state chairman south, and so on: As it grew, there got to be a tendency -- there was a lot of rivalry and one-upmanship between the county committee -- to talk about ourselves as the official branch of the party; and we welcomed the participation of CDC statewide as the unofficial party. But these were chartered clubs, chartered by the Los Angeles County committee.

Along with other officers of the county committee in Los Angeles County, we spent a lot of time putting out little brush fires where the one-upmanship contest between county committee efforts and CDC efforts were

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beginning to blossom into open warfare. As a county chairman, first of all, and first and last, I was still dedicated to the idea of a statewide club effort. I used to needle these guys about, you know, "You have a state convention. Of course, it's very glamorous to go off to a state convention and hear Hubert Humphrey," or Stevenson spoke, Kefauver spoke, Kennedy spoke, every man who was a key man in politics in the last twenty years spoke to a CDC convention in California at one time or another. "You tax all of these people, but we built the clubs for you. After all, every time you have a convention, half the delegates there are from our clubs." But that was off-the-record stuff; that was never for the press.

CDC had good leadership in Cranston; and it's hard to pinpoint it beyond that. They had good leadership in the south. Bernie Selber [Bernard S. Selber], who is now a

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superior court judge -- it's nice to be able to mention some of the these guys that got to be judges -- was the head of CDC in the south at a crucial time, at the time of the '60 campaign, for instance. It was widespread; it was pretty hard to tell at one time where the official party ended and the unofficial party began. But the delineation, I'll have to come back and say again, became very clear when we did sweep the state in '58. Then, in another year or two, the power of the speaker of the Assembly and those who felt that they didn't really need the clubs and the individual efforts too much any more began to erode away the muscle of the California Democratic Council.

O'BRIEN: How did CDC react towards, not only Kennedy, but the apparent candidacy of people like Stuart Symington, as well as certainly Senator Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, when it became apparent that 1960 was going to be a horserace?

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ROSE: Well, I think there was a greater division at that time and that the reluctant candidate Adlai Stevenson did nothing to give any support to those dieharders or what Don Bradley used to call us, "the strength through joy group." We were still hanging in there fighting for Stevenson in 1960, when the battle was already over because Stevenson would not commit himself or commit anybody to really give him the push he needed, if not to stampede the Convention, at least to get it moving early enough to make him a factor in 1960.

I think I've wandered from your question, "Exactly where was the CDC at that point?" I think they were more divided. I think they were more divided. I think that the people that I was able to influence through the county committee and the clubs were strongly pro-Stevenson. They weren't anti-Kennedy, although… I think that it was demonstrated at the Convention. And those people with the signs out

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front and those that finally got into the galleries inside -- in spite of the fact that the galleries were empty the first two nights under the direction of my good friend Paul Ziffren and others were for Kennedy and not for having any packing of the galleries with Stevenson supporters -- the sentiment was for Stevenson.

O'BRIEN: Well, were you contacted by Governor Stevenson or anyone in behalf of Governor Stevenson prior to the Convention of 1960 in regard to working or at least doing some work in regard to a campaign for Stevenson in California, or organization work for Stevenson in California?

ROSE: No, I don't believe I was, not in those terms. We had a friendly relationship in many ways. Whenever he was out here I was buttonholed by old friends like G. Mennen Williams and one charming lady from the Michigan-Kennedy contingent who was -- I think, more or less, it was agreed -- supposed to keep an eye on

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me for the Kennedy forces. Since she was very pleasant company, I was glad to reciprocate, but at the end we never changed each other's votes.

No, no one asked me to work for Kennedy. You see, in the formative days -- in one of these piles of clippings here some place there's a headline of that Anderson, Richards, and Rose call on support of Stevenson." That was the first notice that the Lieutenant Governor was not going to go along with the Governor, which is tough.

I was executive secretary to the Lieutenant Governor and also county chairman; Dick Richards was the one State senator from Los Angeles County. So, we laid our cards on the table early that we were not only all out for Stevenson, but were raising the rallying banner and asking everybody to come in and get with it, which was obviously to the great displeasure of the head of the party, our Governor, and many others in the party. So there was from that point on no

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reason why Senator Kennedy or anyone in his organization would make any effort to change our minds. They knew me, they knew Richards, they knew Anderson; and they knew that we wouldn't take a position like this unless it was for keeps.

O'BRIEN: Well, how about the Steveson forces? Were you contacted by anyone from the national level to work in behalf of Stevenson for the election or for the Convention in 1960?

ROSE: Before the Convention?

O'BRIEN: Right. For example, did Stevenson ever consider, or did anyone ever consider in behalf of Stevenson, putting him in the primary in California in 1960? Did you ever recommend that to the Governor, to Governor Stevenson? Did anyone else in California recommend that he enter the primary?

ROSE: No. Well, others may have; I did not. I did not. I don't think I have any information on that subject. Of course, once we got nearer the

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Convention and once we got into the Convention time I worked very closely with Senator Mike Monroney [Michael Monroney], who was, I guess, the head of the Stevenson campaign as much as anyone and Mike Monroney, and various others that…. It all kind of worked by osmosis because there was no Stevenson and there was no….

Well, I talked to J. Edward Day who had been, of course, an officer in Stevenson's administration in Illinois and who was out here as the western head of Prudential Life Insurance. He got into California politics at a rather high, somewhat esoteric level as a head of Democratic Associates, something that was never too effective as a political instrument, but has had some nice names in it. And he was a fine and charming gentleman and I talked to him on occasions sometime before the Convention and right up to it and through it. He said, "No, Stevenson's just not going to run. He's not going to be a candidate." He'd been back to the annual Libertyville

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reunion with Stevenson's friends and he just would swear that he wasn't going to be in it. Day was a good Kennedy supporter during the Convention.

And yet, I don't know, I guess it's just Don Quixote die-hardism that some scores and thousands and hundreds of thousands of us wouldn't give up. We thought that he could and should and even would run and we worked like mad throughout the Convention with, as I say, Senator Monroney and others checking on the various delegations. There were some hectic rallies, one of which I chaired -- if that's the word. It was just kind of like a bonfire rally before a football game in the Townhouse, the Sheraton Townhouse, where one night we had, just dropping in to make pep talks, Senator McCarthy [Eugene J. McCarthy], Eleanor Roosevelt, Senator Lehman [Herbert H. Lehman], Senator Mike Monroney, the delegates from Hawaii and God knows how many others, whipping ourselves into a frenzy, a belief that we could influence enough other delegates to

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the point where we could still get the nomination for Stevenson.

O'BRIEN: So, not trying to draw a conclusion, but is it fair to say that you were really trying to persuade Stevenson, rather than any people on the part of Stevenson persuading you, that he was going to be a presidential candidate?

ROSE: Yes, I think that's a fair conclusion. I didn't need any persuading. No, I had no other choice. I felt that this was possible and it was the way to go. Again, you know, when you have -- this is not like '56. This year we had as the head of our delegation the incumbent Governor, and when you organize enough votes in his own delegation to outvote him, why, it's somewhat more abrasive for all parties.

O'BRIEN: Did you ever receive any kind of reciprocal feeling on the part of either

Governor Stevenson or people in his behalf as far as your efforts both in California before the primary

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and at the Convention?

ROSE: Well, yes, I hadn't too many contacts with him, although they did date back to '52. You see, I was the chairman of the Stevenson-Sparkman [John J. Sparkman] fund in southern California in 1952, the old Ruml [Beardsley Ruml] plan where we went out and hustled contributions at five dollars a head. The state chairman then, frankly, I think, thought it was going to be a dud, but someone had to do it, so he handed it to me, and I was able…

[BEGIN SIDE II, TAPE I]

O'BRIEN: Okay, we're on again.

ROSE: You were asking me, I think, if…

O'BRIEN: Right, we're on Stevenson and the Convention of 1960.

ROSE: Well, I think as far as his showing appreciation, of course, he was so much away from the barricades and was the unannounced candidate. I was so busy with other affairs, I was in a sense, from a strict party chain of command organization chart viewpoint, a host, if not the host or one

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of the key hosts of the Convention in Los Angeles County, of which I was the county chairman. I was no Mayor Daley [Richard J. Daley], thank God, but that's his post, too, you know. I was asked to visit him as I did during and after the Convention in his suite at the Townhouse.

One of the times that I saw him most intimately -- well, that's overstating it; it isn't that intimate. But from a different viewpoint, again, I think the world was tuned in to that roaring acclaim as he came onto the Convention floor in 1960. The television was blazing, but I wasn't there. I'd been at our headquarters in Hollywood, and I was hurrying down to the Convention as best one can hurry through the crowds. I had one of those nice limousines with the special license plates that just said "Democratic National Convention," and with that student driver which I had at my disposal during the Convention. The same as we

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gave to heads of delegations and candidates and so on. There were fifty or more of them, maybe seventy-five. But as I got down -- and listening to it on the radio -- to the Convention, Stevenson was coming out the ramp and leaving the Convention Hall. I joined in with those who were with him escorting him out. What you didn't see on television on the inside was the mass excitement, enthusiasm, of all of those outside the Convention Hall who couldn't get in, the non-delegates, the young people with their banners, and so on.

I got on one side of him and it was a thinking that I've been through a number of times with others, including President Kennedy, where people seem to go mad in reaching, pushing, and shoving to touch the person. I was only with him that eighth of a mile that we went across the park to where there was a double deck English bus full of a campaign Stevenson supporter thing.

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Of course, Stevenson climbed up to the upper deck and addressed the crowd of perhaps three or four thousand that was outside the Convention. The next day I was black and blue on my thighs and my back and my belly and my shoulders where those people who couldn't touch Stevenson had bumped into me. Here was a man who was always a little bit shy, and, you know, he's just not one to get out there and maul around and roll on the floor. I've seen Kennedy pommelled that way and others, this is madness that gets into people. So I was with him there for a few minutes at that time.

I saw Bobby [Robert F. Kennedy] during the campaign. He didn't bother me; we spoke -- I meant during the Convention. Kennedy headquarters were in the Biltmore, I believe I never even got down to the Kennedy headquarters. It was a contest, and everybody knew it was, and so we were each striving for certain things. We had our caucuses early in the California delegation and people like Richards, and Anderson, and myself, and George Miller, Jr., had been able to offset Unruh [Jesse M. Unruh] and Congressman Rees

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and Governor Brown, Fred Dutton, and other leaders so that the majority of us were again for Stevenson -- not against Kenendy, but in preference to Kennedy at that point in that time and place.

One of the things that happened during the Convention -- well, see, I"m talking mostly about Stevenson, but I think you say you want some sidelights for the Kennedy Library. The Kennedy people can tell you things that went on in his headquarters at the Biltmore [Hotel] under the direction of Bobby or our people from California, Jesse Unruh and others, that I wasn't privy to. But after it was determined that Stevenson's name would be put in nomination, I was called by I believe his name was Sharon [John Sharon], a young Washington attorney who was close to the Stevenson operation -- rather guiding it, although I looked to Senator Mike Monroney as the leader of it.

He said, "Gene McCarthy is going to nominate Stevenson and we want a second from California." He said, "You meet with your California people and we would like the second to be made by Glenn Anderson, Lieutenant Governor Glenn Anderson,

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Senator Richard Richards, or State senator George Miller, Jr. I said, "I'll get them together and call you back.

We had been caucusing each day and twice a day there at the hotel in Hollywood and on the Convention floor to hold our forces together. I don't think there was any formal caucus leader, but, as a hard-nosed county chairman, whenever there was a gap or a vacuum I would push in and just take over. So, I got these three guys together, and said, "Look, Glenn Anderson deserves this."

There was some things I didn't have to say: we all knew that either Dick Richards or George Miller, Jr., could make a spellbinding speech that could lift delegates off their chairs, and that Glenn, who can do a good job when he's well prepared, is just not in their category as a public speaker. I said, "You guys didn't take the risks that he's taken. He had to go against his own Governor to be at this point, and

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he's earned the right to be the one that does the seconding." There was a little mumbling and grumbling. Each of them, well, each of them said in effect, "Well, I'd be damned if I'd give in for the other, but, I guess, I've got to give in for Glenn." Richards wouldn't give into Miller, and Miller wouldn't give into Richards, but they saw the logic of it. And so we called them back and Carl Desinrot and Glenn sat out in the trailer over there outside the Convention Hall and pounded out a seconding speech which was a damn good one.

O'BRIEN: Well, as long as we're on the Convention. You had a leading role in some of the preparations for that Convention, didn't you, in the arrangements? Is there anything that stands out to mind in the way of…

ROSE: Paul Ziffren as the national committeeman was, as I say, always tremendous in working with us in the county committee and the California Democratic Council. We gave him our complete

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loyalty in return. He was strongly for Kennedy but it was his job and to some degree mine, too, to see that everybody that came out here got a fair shake.

I remember when Hubert Humphrey came out and he and Paul and I walked around the unfinished Sports Arena, which was a year before the showdown Convention. We had a long list of aspirants or possible aspirants who came out to kind of take a look at the lay of the land. The seats were just being put in and we walked around the top. Hubert Humphrey, who was nearly always on the positive side and full of that wonderful juice of life and enthusiasm, was pretty bitter because he was just getting ready to go through his disastrous primary contest with Kennedy. He says, "What can you do? Look at what I've done. I

worked with these people over the years, like this couple in North Dakota" -- or wherever it is. "They just called me this morning. Well, they're both attorneys and

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they've been for me and with me, but they've had a call from the Kennedys. They have their professional lives to think about, too, and so I've lost them; they've gone over to the Kennedys. They called to tell me." And he says, you know, "What can you do when you don't have money to match money?" Well, I've never heard -- that's the only remark of that tenor I've ever heard from Hubert Humphrey, and I've been with him on a score of pretty close intimate conversations.

But, the preparations, one of the preparations that we made through the cooperation of Paul Ziffren. He'd already been undercut by the Governor, cashiered as national committeeman. He was to be through at the end of the Convention, again, with people like George Miller and Glenn Anderson and Dick Richards and myself fighting for Ziffren. But he believed in Kennedy and was close to Kennedy and we knew that; but we

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worked together. He always supported the county committee and built it up, and, as I say, he built up CDC.

One of the things that he arranged was that we would have a good decent distribution of Convention tickets for our county committee members. Actually, not all county committee members could even get in. I think we had three to a district or something like that with seven committee members to a district. But we also had what we called the golden horseshoe, a section of reserved seats in the Los Angeles Colosseum where people could reserve a seat for the acceptance speech of whomever was chosen by the Convention by paying ten dollars. We put some staff people to work and got some volunteers in and we sold a good many hundreds and several thousands of those tickets. It was a fundraiser, pure and simple, for the county committee, with the idea that those

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who wanted to be there -- of course, the Colosseum will hold a hundred thousand -- presumably could get in sooner or later. There are reserved seats for the delegations on either side of the stage, but those who would make the contribution to help the county committee finances would have these reserved seats. So I'm jumping from preparations to the way it finally worked out.

Well, first of all on the Convention floor after we found out -- those of us, the liberals from California still licking our wounds because we'd been soundly licked and yet happy that it had been Kennedy chosen and not Johnson -- we came back to find out that the nominee had selected Johnson for his running mate. We were to sit in our seats and deliver a yea vote for Johnson as Vice President. What's his name, the big automobile man from Santa Monica who Kennedy appointed…

O'BRIEN: Martin [Clarence D. Martin, Jr.]?

ROSE: Martin, yes, Martin, Dan Martin. His father, I believe, was Governor of Oregon at one time, or Washington. Martin, who had been a good friend and helpful to the county committee and a big money contributor heard me -- I've never been one to pull my punches much -- expressing myself in the middle of the California delegation about the selections of Johnson.

He said, "Well, what effect do you think it will have?" And I said, "Well, one thing, the first hurdle we've got to get over is how many people are going to be in that Colosseum tomorrow night since he's made this choice." I said, "This is California," you know. " This might have gone over great in Fort Worth or Boston or someplace else, but you saw what's been going on through this whole week of the Convention. We just might have a hell of a lot of empty seats at the Colosseum." And a few minutes later, Martin, who stands about

six-foot-one, and Teddy [Edward M. Kennedy] who is about the same size, came over and he said, "Say, would you mind telling Teddy what you just told me?" And so I told him again and all over. And we were waiting there to cast our votes because that was our vote; we knew it had to be because that was the choice. Well, thank God, I was wrong. The Colosseum was almost completely jammed.

But to get back to the golden horseshoe and these several thousand people that had paid ten dollars for reserved seats. I have a talent for coming late to great events -- I'm not too impressed by the pomp and circumstance -- so I was busy at something or other and coming down again in my limousine just in time to be there to hear the acceptance speech. It was a warm night, still daylight, and sitting on the grass outside of the Colosseum, I came upon Bob Jeans, my executive secretary and three or four girls who had worked so long and hard

for months selling these tickets. And I said, "Well, how's everything going?" He says, "Oh, they're all in there." And I said, "Well, how did our project work out?" He says, "It didn't. There were all these people standing there waiting to get in, and Bobby said, 'Open the gates.' And so they opened the gates and everybody went in. Reserved tickets didn't have the slightest effect." So I thought, "Oh boy, I'm afraid to even go in there myself."

I did go in and I took a long walk around. I don't know whether anyone else ever had this view at the proceedings. During some of the ceremonies before he spoke and all the time he was speaking -- well, no, I guess I was back in my seat during most of his speech. But I started out from the stage end where he was and walked around the top tier of the whole rim to get the picture of it, the panorama of it, and listening to these voices

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booming out over the microphone in the beginning of his speech and finally back to the north end and nearer the stage. I thought I was going to have several thousand complaints, and I never heard one directly. The people got in and they were able to hear him and they were stirred and excited and the going-forward feeling was just there catching us all up. The fact that we'd made a commitment, had sold thousands of reserved seats and then because -- well, the man in charge was Bobby Kennedy, once John Kennedy was the nominee, and when he told the management to open the gates, that was what happened.

O'BRIEN: Well, how about Paul Ziffren? Ziffren has his difficulties in those years. You say you and Richards and Anderson supported Ziffren, is this where the struggle against Mosk [Stanley Mosk]...

ROSE: Mosk, yes. Well, Mosk was just picked by the Governor. And the Governor had as his allies

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the, well, the power structure, Unruh, and those of the state and national committee from the north, Roger Kent, Libby Smith [Elizabeth R. Gatov], later Treasurer of the United States, a charming, charming woman. They decided that Ziffren must go. They can't seem to get along with him; he's got too much muscle, and so they decided to dump him. Some of us, again, fought our Governor to try to keep him from being dumped, but we were soundly beaten.

We were soundly beaten a little bit later when we wanted to pick a state chairman, but the Governor beat us on that. So it sounds funny; it sounds as though we spent all our time fighting our Governor. It wasn't that at all. Pat Brown was an individualist and a maverick among politicians. He's a warm human being, and he was a great Governor. He put into effect in California some of the most forward-looking things for the state that we've had in our

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history, but his organization views were not those that included building a strong party structure. And as I say, he just never had the stomach nor necessarily the talent for it. He's a great vote getter. He sure knocked the hell out of Nixon [Richard M. Nixon] when he ran against him in '62.

O'BRIEN: Who was responsible for packing the galleries, the so-called packing of the galleries in 1960? Or were they packed with some Stevenson people?

ROSE: I don't think they were packed. Well, I'll tell you, one of the things that

happened was there was an absolute deluge of requests, pleas, fighting demands for tickets to the Convention. And they were denied. I think, if you want to know -- this is just a guess, but I'll make a guess for the benefit of history -- that Bobby Kennedy and Jess Unruh said, and Paul Ziffren went along with it, "Christ, if we let all these people get in there, we'll have a Stevenson stampede."

This is Stevenson country.

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If you go out and pick any ten Democrats, seven of them are going to be for Stevenson. So you don't have to screen it any further than that, packing or not packing, you just open the doors and let them in there; it's going to be a Stevenson crowd. So, for the first two nights, there was a disgraceful array of vacant seats in the galleries. When the television cameras played up there the people that had been frozen out and couldn't get in were really raging mad.

Ziffren called me up on about the third or fourth night, I forget which it was, and said, 'Say, you know, we just happen to have another block of tickets, you know, three hundred or five hundred or whatever it is, and we thought maybe the county committee would use them." So, I very fast got them out. But I think it was, you know, Paul Butler was a Stevenson man -- I mean, excuse me, a Kennedy man, for

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sure -- and so was Paul Ziffren, and Bobby, and Unruh, and our Governor. The forces were there and they were legitimately afraid of a packing of the galleries.

Now, as in any Convention, you know, any dimwit publicity man who knows how to order half-sheets from a printer can be well supplied with the necessary placards. You open the doors and let two thousand people in. Well, as I say, seven out of ten of them would be glad to reach out and take a placard as it is handed to them. And this is no big organized thing; although, there was plenty of organization on that side, too. I saw it. And we tried to do that in Chicago in '56 with some success, getting the doors open, having plenty of students there, and in they come.

O'BRIEN: So Ziffren, though he was for Kennedy, might have been responsible for the fact that he gave you the block of tickets?

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ROSE: Well, I don't think that block of tickets -- as I remember I was a little sarcastic about the gesture coming a little bit late in the day. I said, "I think you would be a little ashamed of the way the galleries looked the first two days." I think it was a little more organized towards the end and the night of the final appearance of Stevenosn and the showdown vote. Well, you see, these tickets were issues on

a basis of each day and all the priority tickets were there at the end. If anyone could maneuver a ticket why, he's going to be there for the end rather than early in the Convention.

O'BRIEN: Let's, for the time being here, …

[Interruption]

ROSE: What were you saying?

O'BRIEN: Oh, backing up from the Convention for a bit here, let's talk about some of the factions

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in not only California politics, but with Los Angeles politics at this time and all. In 1959 or 1960 the north-south split is there, isn't it?

ROSE: Yes.

O'BRIEN: How about Los Angeles politics, what are the factions here in the Los Angeles area at that time? Or are there factions?

ROSE: The factions were, as I think I've outlined, the county committee through my leadership, in part. While it was by no means, unanimous, it was, I think, a strong majority for Stevenson. The factions, well, I don't know how you would say the factions shaped up. You see, we were beginning to feel the onslaught of the legislators, certain of them led by Jess Unruh, and Bill Munnell [William A. Munnell], then state chairman, against CDC. And that rubbed off the county committee, which was very club-oriented. And I don't know whether

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it was factions or what or just a sort of a rolling series of coalitions over a period of a decade with, generally speaking, Unruh and Munnell being on one side of the fence and Ziffren and Rosenthal [William H. Rosenthal], our southern state chairman, now Superior Court judge, myself and Senator Richards being on the other side. Liz Snyder [Elizabeth C. Snyder] -- we were constantly out of step with her, although she had loyal, supporters in among the women's division. I don't know just how to explain it. It's like there were too many schisms and fissures and splinters and splits, and yet it was a kind of rolling, certain amount of changing things. Different legislators were elected, some of the assemblymen that were our closest allies would only need one or two terms, or maybe a half a term in Sacramento to find out where the muscle was and that you were either on the team or you weren't. As Jess used to say, "I

run a tight ship." And he did.

O'BRIEN: Well, how about people like Rees? Where did Rees fit in this at this point?

ROSE: Well, Tom is a little bit hard to figure out at some points, but at the time of 1960, he and Jess Unruh were doing their very best to carry the ball for the Kennedy position within the Democratic delegation. And Tom has been and is to this day successful in having his foot in two camps. He's been an Unruh man, which is a label that he's big enough to carry; and at the same time he's had a close and continuing relationship with the liberals of Beverly Hills where he first represented as an assemblyman -- Cott? Does now as a Congressman -- and has a continuing relationship with Tony Bielenson [Anthony C. Beilenson] the state sensor from that area and Alan Sieroty the senator from that area -- both of them quite liberal and not part of the Unruh team.

O'BRIEN: How about people like Lutton [Bark Lutton] and Kimball [Dan A. Kimball]? Where do they fit into all this?

ROSE: Well, Lytton during all of his years as ascendency in the party was flamboyant and colorful and able to influence some people with major contributions. He was able to fly high in on the national scene with his spectacular inaugural parties for President Kennedy, with President Kennedy's apparent full cooperation. But as a politician in the State of California, he had his vote and that of his wife Beth [Beth Golden Lytton], and that's about it.

Now, he, too, has been a good friend and a fun guy to be with to this day, and I always enjoy being with him, but he's not a politician; he was big money contributor who was colorful and could do and say things that were outrageous and entertaining, unfortunately on about a 50-50 basis. But he was nothing and nowhere on the political scene, except that he helped us in ways where we needed it, financially. You know, it was funny in one of these yearbooks -- and I wouldn't be

surprised if it's the one for Kennedy in '58. It was about the time we first heard of Lytton because he called us -- we didn't call him -- and said, "Would you like to sell me an ad in your program?" And we said, "Yes, but a whole page is five hundred dollars." He said, "Okay, I'll send my check right over for the Canoga Park Savings and Loan." Then he called Bob Jeans my assistant executive secretary and said, "There it is, Canoga Park Savings and Loan." To Mrs. Bartlett chairman of the board he says, "By the way, I've got another savings and loan in Las Vegas." You want to sell me another five hundred dollar page?"

So I'd never laid eyes on the guy -- this takes us right back to 1958 -- and hardly anyone else had in the political scene and among the leadership of the party. But we were having an executive committee of the state central committee meeting in a midtown hotel. It was a pretty miserably

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attended thing with about thirty of us there worrying about our debts and chairman Bill Rosenthal brought Bart Lytton over as a guess. I don't know. He'd seen these ads that Bart had in the thing and thought, "Well, my gosh, we ought to keep track of this fellow." So Bart sat there and listened to the proceedings, which were dull as dishwater.

The treasurer's report was by Tom Carrell. He was our perennial state chairman and his treasurer's reports would make Benchley's [Robert Benchley] treasurer's report seem dull and lifeless. He just bumbled and thumbled around and he never knew where in the hell the money was or where it was coming from. And he finally said, "Well, the long and short of it is, we're just a hundred and eighty-three dollars in the red. And that's where the party of California stands today."

There was shock and dismay all around the room, and no one had any idea what to do about

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it. Bart Lytton reached in his pocket and said, "Well, here's my check for the hundred and eighty-three dollars, or whatever it is." He says, "I just don't like to see my party in debt like this," and he handed that over. So for a hundred and eighty-three dollars, he was suddenly a Democratic leader in California -- and has been ever since.

He's made substantial, substantial contributions to Senators in a dozen states and to candidates in California, including myself, over and over and over again. He's fun and he's colorful and he is down but not out. We'll hear a lot more of him in the future, but he was never a factor politically in any of the executive committee meetings or anything like that. He was one of those guys that I turned to.

One of the reasons we were able to be an effective county committee is, again, thanks to Paul Ziffren and to Jack Spitzer who was my vice chairman -- poor guy -- for the

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eight years that I was chairman of the county committee. We had a sound fundraising event. We had what Jess Unruh…. I hope it's original with Jess; I have no reason to doubt it and I think it's a hell of a phrase, "Money is the mother's milk of politics." Without it, no milk, no mother.

What we had was a chairman's advisory committee, and Paul helped us set it up and was always a member of it. Bart Lytton was a member of it. This grew finally to as high as seventy-five members, each of whom gave us fifty dollars on the first of each month, six hundred dollars a year per person -- and not to any candidate nor any campaign, but for

organizational purposes exclusively. We had a pattern set up where for each three congressional districts we had one paid full-time organizer and two or three part-time and a hell of a lot of volunteers. So, there was a year-round effort to build registration,

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to build organization. We had a budget that ran thirty, thirty-five thousand a year for this one county. We raised it through the help of the chairman's advisory committee and of these FDR dinners and various other events that we put on. Bart Lytton was always there with his checkbook ready and always being noisy and helpful: often outrageous, but never colorless.

O'BRIEN: Well, who were some of the other big financial supporters at this point? In not only Los Angeles politics, but California?

ROSE: Oh, well, that's gone up and down. I think the most consistent one over the years and from about mid-fifties on has been Mark Boyar. Before him, his brother Lou Boyer. Mark is still very much…

O'BRIEN: What are they associated with?

ROSE: Builders, large builders. They built the city of Lakewood over here. I worked for them in a way; I worked as associate managing

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director of Lakewood Center, the big shopping center development, all through its formative years. And they built the big development out in West Canoga Park and the city of Lakewood. Let's see, they built seven thousand, five hundred houses there in two years time just in early fifties, completing twenty-four houses a day. They were the first of the big fast track developers, and still going strong. Well, Mark has been a very -- he's not flamboyant like Lytton, but always there for more money. My good friend Ed Pauley [Edwin W. Pauley], famous for the Pauley Pavillion that he gave to U.C.L.A. [University of California, Los Angeles] and other things….

[Interruption by cat]

ROSE: I'm sorry.

O'BRIEN: Oh, that's quite alright. He doesn't bother me a bit. In fact I didn't even notice him until…. He's friendly, a friendly cat.

ROSE: Well, he doesn't bother me either, but with that wheel going around, he'd

get his paw into it sooner or later. I don't want any of these …. words to

be screwed up by my mean tom cat.

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Paul Butler came out for a dinner. You see, one of the ways we would keep this chairman's advisory committee happy was when the visiting fireman came out from the East or the Midwest, or from wherever. They'd come through the national committeeman Paul Ziffren, Paul was a one-man office and he needed somebody to work through, so he'd call me up. He said, "Can you take care of somebody or other?"

Well, I was always glad to do it. We'd have a little reception for the members of the advisory committee, and then we'd have a larger reception for letting everybody in. We'd have Paul Butler himself. We'd have a no host party outside on the grounds of the Ambassador [Hotel] where maybe two or three hundred people would show up. We'd have people like…. Senator Kennedy would come out. I had the pleasure of introducing J. Edward Day to him, and, as Ed mentioned on a number of occasions, he remembered it very well. The way he met

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the President-to-be was being introduced by me. And Ed had this rival organization, the Democratic Associates, that some of us took a rather dim view of; they were supposedly the big money people.

Well, I mentioned Ed Pauley, because Ed goes way back to the Truman [Harry S. Truman] days. You know, Truman wanted to make him -- what? -- Secretary of the Interior, and got into the oil squabble and so on. In fact, Truman sent his name up, and the Senate rejected it. Then later Truman -- God bless him! -- vetoed the bill to give the oil interest there a toe hold out here. I don't remember the exact position of that offhand, but…. So Ed came to this little dinner that I had. I had the Warschaws [Carmen H. Warschaw] there, too, but I was never able to get a nickel out of them, not for the county committee. They gave to others when they felt like it, but they considered it too much of a rival organization.

So we made a pitch to them of the necessity of keeping the

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organization going in the county, On this chairman's advisory committee everyone was billed on the first of the month; they sent a check for fifty dollars. We told them all the good things I did for the party in building organization. So we had these little forms that we laid at each plate, and Big Ed reached out and signed him up. When we started collecting them around the table, his wife Bobbi [Barbara M. Pauley], who was a few seats away, had also filled one out. He said, "Well, I didn't know that Mrs. Pauley was also going to sign up." I guess our pitch was so good that we got two for one there. So the two of them were members of our chairman's advisory committee, which was then in rather formative stages.

They came through with their checks like little soldiers, both of them, for a few months. Then there was the terrible falling out between Pauley and Ziffren over the fight over tickets for the Convention,

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after they, as a team, had been successful in bringing it to Los Angeles. And so I may have here somewhere in my memoirs a little note from Ed Pauley saying, "Bobbi and I have been thinking about it, and we think that we just will not have enough time to be active in politics in the future. So we're resigning from the chairman's advisory committee. Thank you so much. Personal regards." Of course, he's been pretty damn active in and out ever since, but this was a protest against Ziffren and my close association with him more than against me, I think. Okay, Pauley.

The Warschaws have a wonderful reputation -- and the Harveys [Leo M. Harvey]; that's the big Harvey Aluminum people -- for giving money, but I was never able to get anything out of them for organization work. They're the kind of people that want to put the hot contribution in the hand of the candidate. Believe me, all sophisticated money givers want to do

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that. They want to have a candidate, and they want him to know that they gave it personally. They don't want their efforts dissipated by giving it to something like an amorphous county committee for organization efforts to get people registered to vote. Who's ever going to hear about it? They want it recognized when they need a vote for a Hell's Canyon Dam to make more power for Harvey Aluminum. You don't get that by just giving it to a committee.

O'BRIEN: How about other contributors to both national Democratic politics and…

ROSE: Well, let's see, in that convention setup there was a triumvirate: Nat Dumont [Nathaniel R. Dumont], who had been very helpful to Governor Brown apparently in the '58 campaign, Joe Alperson [Joseph L. Alperson], who had been a KEfauver man in '56 as big money, I don't know; I could go down my list here of some of these programs and put the finger on a lot of them.

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O'BRIEN: How about Kimball?

ROSE: Kimball?

O'BRIEN: Well, not only Kimball, but the aerospace industry. Did they -- did the Democratic Party in California get a good deal of support out of that?

ROSE: Well, Kimball, of course, was Secretary of the Navy as a Truman appointee, or was Under Secretary before that, I believe. He has always been a guy that you could call on for his name, which is a good influential one, to head committee dinners or campaigns, as well as active leadership. Now, he was the chairman of the Kennedy campaign for the State of California in 1960. I was the vice chairman for southern California. Tom Rees -- they called me and asked me to be vice chairman.

This is fairly soon after the Convention, and the wounds weren't healing so rapidly, Joe Wyatt [Joseph L. Wyatt, Jr.], who had been with us on Stevenson, but who was more tuned in to

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the Unruh and Brown leadership, less antagonistic to them, or more acceptable to them, called me and said, "Listen, have you been called?" I said, "No," and he said, "Well, you will be." I was called and asked to be vice chairman. So, as soon as I was made vice chairman for southern California, they immediately appointed Tom Rees as the other vice chairman to balance me out because he was Unruh's vote on any group that we might get together.

Unruh was the paid campaign manager, and I am an old pro. There're not many of them in California that can say "paid" without giving it a slant or a tone, I think for people that are not Lyttons or Boyers to be full-time active in politics they have to have some support for themselves and their family coming from someplace. The fact that Unruh had some such support during the time that he was running the Kennedy campaign only sets him a little apart from the

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volunteers. It wasn't anything munificent to my knowledge, but he was the man hired to coordinate and to spend his full time on the campaign.

The rest of us were volunteers, you know, as county chairman for this county I make it sound like it was a big thing, and in a way it was. It was always a drain on my livelihood; I never had any salary of any kind come to me from politics. Neither do tens of thousands of people who worked actively in politics in California. People from Boston and Chicago and Washington and New York raise their eyebrows and say, "Oh, yes, but didn't you get paid off? Didn't you get your brother-in-law on the sanitation truck driving?" Well, there's no patronage in California; we don't have it here to that extent. I mean, damn poor, whatever there is of it. Where were we?

O'BRIEN: We were talking about Kimball and some of the big contributors, and where they fell in the factions.

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ROSE: I don't believe that Kimball was a big contributor, but he was always the

head of any Richard Richards campaign. Here's Martin Pollard, Cadillac dealer; he's always been a good contributor. The savings and loan people have been there helping out. I'm looking at their ads now, Bart Lyttons, and the various other savings and loan people. Mark Toper for a number of years was quite prominent in Democratic politics as far as helping, generally financially. There's Bill Crawford of Belmont Savings; we always saw him around. Of course, this is just this particular one. This is 1962. I guess that's about the high point of the savings and loan business which was then referred to as "the last license to steal" and has phased out considerably since then.

O'BRIEN: You were talking a bit ago about, you know, the giving of money in campaigns. During the -- now we're getting a little on here into the

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Kennedy Administration. While you were still county chairman, did you feel any real competition once things like the President's Club began to arise? Did you feel any real competition for funds as a result of efforts of the National Democratic Party to be a more effective fundraising organization in '61 and '62? In other words, did they solicit many of the people who had been supporting your organization?

ROSE: Yes, there was a lot of that crossing over and back and forth. My chairman's advisory committee and, of course, the state committee needed whatever help it could get in the way of financial support. And there was a good deal of that from the national committee, too. Let's see, at the time, at this particular time -- I'm up to '62 now; you did say '61 and '62? Yes, you said '61 and '62 -- we had Roger Kent as our state chairman from the north. Always had a

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good working relationship with him, but they're far away. The local rivalry was bound to be more so. For instance, when Bill Rosenthal was state chairman -- this goes back a couple years before that -- and Paul Ziffren was national committeeman and Tom Carvey president of CDC in the south -- or he followed Cranston in that position state-wide -- we had always a pretty healthy competition situation. It never bothered me and I was always ready to cooperate and to pass things back and forth. For instance, I mentioned before that -- and you can see that it's true today. It must be true in every state.

A national committeeman has a very high post and he sounds like he's the kingpin in the state. In many ways he is, but Paul Ziffren without ever spelling it out in these terms, took Dick Richards and me under his wing back in 1952 when I was secretary of the county committee and Dick Richards was the chairman of

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the county committee and told us some of the facts of life about, "The county committee is an important organization, and here's what you can do with it." He was schooled in Chicago, and he knew what a county committee was and what it could do, so he worked along with us in helping us build up our committee.

We did get a strong committee and we had a large staff. We had a staff in our headquarters there on Sunset Boulevard, at the time of the '60 campaign and for a couple of years before, which ranged from twelve to fifteen people including these organizers in the field that I mentioned. There were five of those on full-time. We had a hell of a payroll to meet, and that meant we were always hustling and fundraising.

When they'd find out that somebody's coming out here to visit, why, they'd check out through the national committeeman, and he checks with either…. We'd try to do a joint thing so CDC wouldn't be jealous of the county

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committee or vice versa. Then the state committee had to be brought into it, too. And Bill Munnell did a sort of a caretaker job as state chairman. He was an assemblyman all that time, and he just wasn't that interested in spending all of his evenings stewing around on organizational work, so we were able to be of assistance in carrying out these various functions. A very warm relationship developed over the years between Paul Ziffren and Dick Richards and myself in carrying out some of these events.

There is one of the things that I'd like to flash back on that concerns Senator John Kennedy. It's one of my most delightful reminiscences, and I wish I could pinpoint the date on it. Someday I'll dig in and do so, but, it must have been …. He'd been out here, as I told you, at our dinner in '58. Then that fall we elected Governor Brown and the rest of our slate. I think it was in '59, and he hadn't yet whipped up --

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it was early in the year -- the steam that was to culminate in his nomination a year and a half later in the Sports Arena. So then we found that he was coming out on rather short notice and without any big formal planning. I'm sure here again that Paul Ziffren gave me a call. So what I did -- because I had the staff; I had an executive secretary who was on full-time, and I had a staff of a dozen people. They got on the horn, and within a couple of days we put on a luncheon at the Ambassador, there in the Embassy Room.

It was just what you would call a no host thing. It was five dollars a head, just enough to pay the expenses, right there opposite, you know, a hundred feet from where his brother was killed. I also had, in a private room around the corner, a little meeting room where I had the twenty guys who were able to come from my chairman's advisory committee to sit down around a big table with the Senator and

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ask some questions about his program and his policies and a little give and take for about twenty minutes to a half hour before we went out to the luncheon. So I guess the Embassy Room was full. And there must have been four hundred fifty, five hundred people.

[BEGIN SIDE I, TAPE II]

O'BRIEN: Just back up about a sentence or two, and let's finish that.

ROSE: Are you ready?

O'BRIEN: Yes, right.

ROSE: Well, this luncheon was put on without a lot of preparation. We wanted to be sure to get a good turnout, so it was only five bucks a head. And it was a good turnout. Oh, the Senator not only spoke to my chairman's advisory committee, but they also had a reception for him at the same time and place with Ed Day's group, the Democratic Associates. Ed had only recently been made head

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of the Democratic Associates. So, then, we went into the usual head table setup with about fifteen people to be introduced at the head table. Bill Munnell was never one to do a lot of work, anyhow. He -- like the national committeeman -- had no organization. We had gotten out the notices and so on, but it wasn't a county committee deal; the party was here represented by the national committeeman, the state chairman and the county chairman and other officers.

So, we had our lunch.State Chairman Bill Munnell was sitting on one side of Senator Kennedy and I was sitting on the other. When it came time to introduce the Senator, why, protocol called for the state chairman to make the introduction, so Bill got up and made his introduction. As the applause began after his introduction, why, those of us at the head table stood up and we applauded. I was standing next to Senator Kennedy, of course, and applauding.

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There was one of those strange things that you hear in audiences from time to time where the applause tapers off and it's about to cut off and everyone sits down in their chairs again and then suddenly it swells and wells up again. So at that point -- you know, I have the cheerleader syndrome pretty bad, anywho, I guess -- I began to applaud a little louder, too. And I said -- turned my head a little bit toward the Senator -- "Give them a wave Senator. Give them a wave." He stood there nodding his head forward a little bit in that characteristic way and that restrained smile. And he took a hold of my right elbow and held it while they continued to applaud and he said in my ear, "I'm not a waver." [Laughter] I loved that. "I'm not a waver." He never was a waver. He was a great, great man.

O'BRIEN: Just what were the steps that led up to getting the Convention in Los Angeles in 1960?

ROSE: Well, Los Angeles made its pitch along with

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the other major cities which were pitching for it that year. I didn't have any very important role in the campaign to get it into Los Angeles, so I don't think that my recollection would turn up anything new and startling, except to reiterate that which is well known at the time and is worth, perhaps, reviewing or stating again. A very good job was done, a good selling job was done by two very smooth "snake oil salesmen," national committeeman Paul Ziffren and oil man and long time influential money Democrat Ed Pauley. The two of them apparently did a real fine job. I think they laid their groundwork with Paul Butler.

Those of us in California loved him and really treated him the way that we thought he deserved to be treated. He got short shrift from a lot of people in the East and various places. Well, after all, wasn't he the national chairman that came up with the national advisory committee concept and which was

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distasteful to Truman and to a lot of big city politicians of the Daley stripe, but which Stevenson and Kennedy and Lehman and others went along on, and did a lot of developing of ideas for the party during the Eisenhower years when we were on the outside looking in? I say we loved him in California, and when I say "we", I'm talking for the county committee and for Paul Ziffren and for the rank and file.

He would come to us and meet with us and work with us. And if we wanted him for a reception or if we wanted him to call somebody to get him out here for a speaker, why, he was most cooperative. Some of the big-city-type Democrats didn't think so highly of him, nor he of them, but what I'm saying is that I'm under the impression that while he was charged with a nonpartisan or nonfavoritism responsibility in working with all Democratic leaders in the various cities, he thought it would be good for the party to

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have the Convention in California. He worked well with Paul Ziffren, and Ziffren and Pauley were able to bring it home.

I was on the committee to promote it. We met, oh, on several occasions in the Chamber of Commerce and we had the mayor there and his representatives. And we had the head of the Republican committee and very many businessmen of both parties, because, naturally, a thing as big as a national convention is good for the city, or which is to say good

for business, presumably, wherever it's held. And that's the reason cities will pony up the money they do to get the people there.

I called Ziffren and Pauley "snake oil salesmen." How they ever got the committee to accept their estimate of housing in Los Angeles must have been a superslick suede shoe salesman's job, when you consider that one of the delegations -- from Tennessee, I think it was -- was in the Green Hotel in Pasadena, which has been a firetrap

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for the last thirty years. Some were in Santa Monica and some of them were in Long Beach being bussed a tedious hour and a half on crowded freeways just to get to and from the Convention. We had them scattered all over hell and gone. And those estimates with the number of hotel rooms available in Los Angeles were about as padded as any mattress is ever stuffed. But they came here; and I don't think too many of them were too unhappy. Of course, we from California thought we were given the short end of it in the hotel that we were stuffed into Chicago in 1956, but there are hotels in Chicago. I mean, in Los Angeles, there are one or two or three and then you're all through.

O'BRIEN: Is there anything that stands out to mind about the arrangements or any particular problems you had with any delegations? Were all the candidates satisfied with the treatment and the arrangements that were made for them?

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ROSE: Oh, the candidates, I don't think any of them were given particularly short shrift. I know the Governor of North Carolina wouldn't stay in his hotel, but he had a nephew who was the undersheriff of Los Angeles who got him into another one. No, I think that it was just that we gave them all we had to offer, and that was it. It was quite a thing getting around. You know, it's not like a Convention, I don't think, in any other city. Of course, the only Conventions I've been to are -- besides the one here -- the one in Chicago in 1956 and the one at Atlantic City in 1964.

But I remember we were coming right down to the finale in our hope of lining up enough delegates to keep Stevenson alive. I was in my hotel cubical in Hollywood where our California delegation was -- Hollywood Hotel, another flea trap -- when Mike Monroney, Jr., called me at 3:30 in the morning -- and I'd had about an hour or two sleep by then -- and he says,

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"It's all washed up. The last chance was the Pennsylvania delegation and they've just caucused. Lawrence [David L. Lawrence] says that he's going to go for Stevenson, but his delegation is going to go for Kennedy." He said, "Glenn Anderson should know this and so should George Miller and so should Dick Richards. You call them and tell them because it's

not right that they should wake up in the morning and find it out otherwise." And I said, "Oh, sh… at this hour of the morning?" Somehow or other the hypnotised me into doing it and also said it was most important that Glenn Anderson be there because he was the prime representative. You see, he was the ranking representative of Stevenson in the State of California. Here was the delegation that was for Stevenson, in spite of its Governor, and so its titular head named or unnamed was the Lieutenant Governor, Glenn Anderson.

And so, anyhow, the Pennsylvania delegation at the Sheraton Huntington in Pasadena,

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fifteen, twenty miles east of Los Angeles had just caucused and had an informal vote, and were going to have the formal vote after breakfast. They were going to do the candidates the courtesy of listening to them make their final pitch. So, without sleep, I rousted out Glenn Anderson, and he and his wife Lee [Lee Dutton Anderson] and I went out to the Pennsylvania delegation breakfast.

It was quite impressive. It was a very large delegation and of course, Mayor Lawrence -- I think he was mayor then of Pittsburgh -- and the head of the delegation -- presided, and there to speak for themselves were not only John F. Kennedy, but Lyndon Baines Johnson, and Stuart Symington and speaking for Stevenson, who didn't ever speak for himself, Senator Mike Monroney. They all spoke most charmingly and persuasively. They were all astute politicians and knew that the die had been cast and that they were just going through the motions because with

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Pennsylvania behind Kennedy, there was no way in the world of stopping him. And he was in unless there was a as still some people suspected, the chance of a floor stampede for Johnson. While it didn't materialize, it came frighteningly close there for a while. You know, it just wasn't that big a runway.

So I was delighted to be at that place at that historic moment to hear these four men speak to the delegation. They had a long breakfast table, the delegation, and then it opens out onto a court and a lawn. We were able to stand out there under the mammoth wisteria vines and on the lawn and listen to these very great American leaders each speak their piece.

I heard Johnson tell a story then that I hadn't heard before, nor since, nor have seen in print, that I thought was quite charming. He was doing a very soft sell. You know, if anyone could ever count the votes, Johnson could. And one of the issues

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whispered, and sometimes more than whispered, one of the elements weighing the merits of candidates was that Johnson had had these heart attacks, and one of them rather severe not too long before the Convention. So, he said -- he brought up the subject himself -- "You know, I want you to know I'm feeling very well. There's been some concern about my health. Believe me, I had some concern about it, too, but I think that I'm all right now." And

he said, “Well, my wife was never too concerned, but I remember that when she came to see me when I was there in the hospital she’d come everyday. It so happened before I went in the hospital I’d just been fitted to have a couple of suits made. So, when she’d come in to see me, she’d say, “Lyndon, I’m not worried; I can see you’re getting well, but this little tailor, he’s so concerned and he keeps calling me and he wants to know. He said ‘When are you going or are you going

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to want the suits?’ Shall I tell him to go ahead and make them? He has all the measurements he says. You remember, you’ve got that nice grey one, and then there’s the blue one. So I said, ‘Honey, don’t worry about it anymore. Tell him to go right ahead and make them. We’ve got a good use for the blue one in any case.’” [Laughter] So I thought that was charming and disarming with all this crowd and the… you know. After all, you might elect a President and he’d die in office. For him to bring out that he’s got a blue burying suit ready made….

Well, what else happened at that Convention? Oh, all Conventions are endurance contests, and marathon runners can hang out the three, four, five days and nights and be more places than ordinary mortals. I always considered myself a marathon runner in those cases because I didn’t sleep much. But even if you do, why you only see a fragment of what’s going on depending where you are at the particular

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time.

The campaign, though…. if I may, I’d like to talk a little bit about what happened after the Convention. The Democrats of California, in my opinion, did not miss a step or stroke in shifting from Stevenson to Kennedy after that Convention. There was nothing like the hiatus that we just saw a couple of years ago in Chicago, or last year I mean, after the severe disappointment of the McCarthy and Bobby Kennedy forces and the eclipse of Johnson and the hard pull for Humphrey to pull it out.

The prophetic Dick Tuck was just a little bit wrong when the reporters asked him six weeks before the election, “just what does Humphrey need to win this election?” Dick Tuck said, “Six weeks.” Well, maybe six and a half weeks and he might have.

Here in 1960 I think I couldn’t just offhand point to anybody that was all out for Stevenson, who was the front runner in our group, that wasn’t out there fighting and working for Kennedy and eager to get into

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the thing and go all the way. As a matter of fact, I had worked with Teddy Kennedy for some time immediately after the Convention and he was heading up the Convention in eleven western states -- heading up the Kennedy campaign. He had his office out with the Volunteers for Kennedy who were supposed to be representing both parties with Tom Braden

[Thomas W. Braden] as their head. Some of our best people, some of our best former Stevenson, now Kennedy, people were there with Tom Braden.

I know that Tom Braden came to me, as a county chairman, and said, "I need some funds to get this thing off the ground." We had some funds; we had some of this golden horseshoe money, for instance, and we gave him a short term loan on my approval only, fifteen hundred dollars, which he used primarily to send out about five hundred telegrams to a list of wealthy people who had already been hit by me and by the state committee and by everyone else for money. I think he about

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got his fifteen hundred dollars back and a little bit more. He paid me back, anyhow.

I remember Roz Wyman [Rosalind W. Wyman] whose sharp little tongue came out to cut me up at one of our meetings in the headquarters office of Jess Unruh. She was on the committee and myself and Thelma Thomas of the labor unions and others. "Well, just what did he promise you or give you to loan him that money? Who gave you the authority?" I said it was because he was going to be working for Kennedy and that's all I needed to know. She gave me this knowing "Oh, come off it, Jack, nobody does that just for the love of the candidate or the cause." But that's really how it was.

I went to Teddy in his office there after the campaign had been going on through the summer and told him that I thought it was essential to have it in the forefront of the campaign as a symbol to people who are further down the line away from the leadership, essential for them to know that

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the Stevenson leadership at the Convention was all out for Kennedy, and my specific request -- and I sold it just as hard as I could -- was that Lieutenant Governor Glenn Anderson be made get-out-the-vote chairman. I was able to impress him with the necessity of it and I told him there was a lot of feeling in some circles that those who were with Kennedy before the Convention -- some of our local leadership -- were trying to freeze out the Stevenson people that wanted to work.

He bought it, and Glenn was made get-out-the-vote chairman .I was his executive secretary at the time, and so I traveled with him. He traveled like mad up and down the state from then until election day, holding meetings. We flew out of Sacramento and we drove all through the Mother Lode and went to San Diego. I say "we," I was only there as his number one man, as executive secretary and helped planning the itinerary and carrying it out and driving the damn

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car all night when necessary. But I cite this as something that I think was unique; well, at least it sets itself apart from many campaigns that I've known about, including the most recent one with Humphrey. There was the fastest turn around from Stevenson to Kennedy here in California that you can hope for. It was only because of that, in my opinion, that in

Los Angeles County we were able to carry this county for Kennedy in Nixon's home county and home state.

O'BRIEN: Who in the Convention, outside of yourself and Miller and Anderson and Senator Richards, were some of the other people that were Stevenson backers? For example, where did Clair Engle stand?

ROSE: Clair was tuned in closer on a personal friendship basis to those of us who were red-hots for Stevenson among the Democratic leadership, because we had been red-hots for Engle and had a major part in getting him elected

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Senator and we believed in each other. Because of that, Clair pretty much neutralized himself. He played it very close to the vest, would make no statements, and said, "I'll cast my vote at the California caucus." And so in all the pulling and hauling before our caucus, which was held, the week -- as I think it was before the Convention, Engle's position was never clearly stated. His friends were more with the Stevenson group that I just named, than with the Governor and his group for Kennedy. But when it did come time for the caucus Engle chaired most of the caucus, as I recall. And when it came time to vote, why, he cast his vote. And he stepped out of the chair and voted for Symington, one of a half a dozen votes in the California delegation for Symington.

O'BRIEN: How did that ever come about?

ROSE: I don't know, unless it was a personal friendship basis and admiration for Symington.

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Engle had been in the Congress, as you know, for many years, and then he went back after his election in the '58 as a Senator. I think he and Symington hit it off immediately in the Senate. He'd been there, served with him in the Senate for two years, as he had with Kennedy, too, for that matter.

He was a little stubborn mulehead and what his reasons were, I don't know, but he just held his counsel, I think, because he knew that he couldn't persuade the delegation one way or the other. We were split almost down the middle between Stevenson and Kennedy. He was more oriented to the Stevenson people -- who are more the grass roots people in the state to a degree -- than the musclemen on the Kennedy side. And that was grass roots, too; I'm not trying to categorize them. He just played it close to the vest, and it was a shock to most of us right there in the hall. We didn't know until he opened his mouth -- "Symington."

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O'BRIEN: Who were some of the people that you remember were Stevenson supporters?

ROSE: Well, Rudd Brown: her husband Harrison [Harrison S. Brown]; Goldie Kennedy, women's chairman, who was mad for Stevenson. God, I don't know. It's so long ago.

MRS. ROSE: Millie Selber [Mrs. Bernard S. Selber].

ROSE: Millie Selber, all right, very well, and Bernard Selber, of course, held the office. He was the head of California Democratic Council in the south, and is now a Superior Court judge. Dick Hanna [Richard T. Hanna] I know was there, a lot of the Congressmen. I think Holifield again -- I'm sure he was. Holifield as I told you in '56 was very active along with myself and others in support of Kefauver with Stevenson. I don't know; I don't have total recall on these matters. In fact…

MRS. ROSE: Cranston was very unwilling to commit himself that time, remember?

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ROSE: Cranston?

MRS. ROSE: Got him up in front of the meeting down at Biltmore and everybody was squeezing him.

ROSE: I don't remember. How did Cranston finally go? Probably for Kennedy. You see, he's northern oriented and the north was Kennedy. Roger Kent and Libby Smith and Ben Swig and the former national committee woman up there before LIbby -- I'll think of her name in a minute. But the Central Valley and here in Los Angeles county is where the Stevenson strength was.

O'BRIEN: How about the Johnson support in the Convention? Was that mainly with the Congressmen?

ROSE: Well, from California the outstanding Johnson people I think of were Carmen Warschaw and her father Mr. Harvey, and her brother of the Harvey Aluminum Company. Bill Munnell, I think -- no, Bill Munnell was nominally with us for Stevenson. He turned out the day after the Convention where we had a little farewell thing

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for Stevenson at the downtown headquarters there across from the Pershing Square, across the square from the Biltmore, sort of a farewell thank you at which Stevenson spoke to a lot

of the workers that had kept that headquarters open. He pushed himself to the front and said the gracious words of good-bye, but he hadn't been too prominent at the barricades when we were really fighting it through.

Almost immediately after we got into the campaign, he took up the raising of funds for the Johnson campaign as his responsibility. Of course, it was the Kennedy-Johnson campaign, but the Kennedy people were running the show. The Johnson people were trying to get him around the country, and there was a famous "Corn Pone Special" run through the South that funds had to be raised for. My friend Glenn Wilson I mentioned earlier went on that trip with Johnson as a sort of an advisor and

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expert front man.

Munnell didn't work out of our Stevenson -- our Kennedy headquarters. He holed up over at the Ambassador and got on the phone and called up money people to raise money for Johnson because, well, I don't know. He and Unruh were always falling in and out of bed. They worked together as a team, and then when Unruh was in the ascendency, why, Munnell would pout and go off on his own; and when things got tough, why, there they were, the two of them coming at you again.

O'BRIEN: How about Symington, outside of Clair Engle?

ROSE: Well, Symington was, of course, a charming and persuasive speaker and a delightful person and was always well received out here. But he never had any campaign that ever showed any signs of going anywhere. And so, he was just another name in the hopper to most of us. There was more interest in Humphrey, among Californians of the liberal stripe that I identify with

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and a lot of us identify with.

When, for instance, we came back to the Convention Hall hearing the wild rumor that Kennedy was going to name Johnson as his running mate and we were going to have to vote for him, we were charging around and trying to cook up coalitions to stampede it for Humphrey as Vice President to Kennedy rather than just taking Johnson without a scrap. We in the California delegation were seated right in front of the dais on the right field side as you would face it from home plate or the speakers' deal and just behind us, with an aisle separating, was G. Mennen Williams and the strong Michigan contingent that had been in there doing yeoman work for Kennedy. They had the longest faces in the hall over the naming of Johnson. Some of us had been doing a lot of friendly and energetic sparring with the Michigan delegation, each trying to convince

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the other in a tug of war between Stevenson and Kennedy. We're marching up and down in front of the aisle and making faces at them because of, "Well, so look what you've handed us! How the hell could you let it get so out of hand like this that you've given us…. So you got your Kennedy and now you're going to give us this Johnson."

O'BRIEN: Did you ever attempt to, or did anyone, in particular the CDC type people, try to make contact with the Kennedys and protest or make any kind of complaint about the Johnson candidacy for Vice President?

ROSE: I don't recall that we did. It was somewhat of a turmoil. The time lapse wasn't very great, you know. He called back into the hall and I remember so many of us going to talk to Humphrey and to others that we knew on the Minnesota delegation, just on the floor. They were saying, "No, not a chance." There was nothing to be done about it, no race

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to be run. It was before that vote was taken that I made my views very clear to Teddy Kennedy, as I told you.

When he and Martin came over, they were worried, because it was a calculated risk. Kennedy made one of the great political decisions of his or anyone's career to pick that particular running mate. And as it turned out, I guess, it strengthened the ticket -- well, he won, didn't he? That proves he made the right decision. Roma [?] is over here shaking her head, "No, it wasn't." Well, you didn't want Nixon to be President, did you? You wouldn't want a thing like that to happen to this country? Oh, it did happen, though, didn't it? [Laughter]

O'BRIEN: Well, getting back to the -- first of all the Monterey caucus that took place prior to that Convention. Were you satisfied with the delegate apportionment that came out of that?

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ROSE: The Monterey caucus. I'm trying to remember. The Monterey caucus was presided over by the Governor. He was really the hard worker. The apportionment had been done by Roger Kent as state chairman. I get that confused, though, with the '56. There was a Monterey conference before the '56 Convention.

O'BRIEN: This was at the Carmel Highlands Inn.

ROSE: I wasn't there. Why wasn't I there? I just wasn't there. I guess I was working. Yes -- no, I wasn't there. There was in the city of Monterey,

which is down below Carmel, of course, a conference for the apportionment of delegates before the ‘56 Convention. I was there, and I was well satisfied with the apportionment, because I had a pretty good hand in it. The other one, I did not.

O’BRIEN: Well, of course, as a person who was involved in an attempt to persuade Stevenson to run, did you or did any of the delegates for Stevenson who’d made it known that they

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were for Stevenson prior to the national convention experience anything in the way of pressure or arm-twisting or any attempts to change your mind on the part of the other candidates or people in behalf of other candidates? Did anyone from the Kennedy camp contact you and attempt to persuade you to change your vote?

ROSE: No, not me, nor anyone, so far as I know. I don’t know whether -- Dick Richards, of course, was pretty closely tuned in to them because, as I say, Senator John Kennedy came out and barnstormed for him in the ‘56 campaign. Did you have any contact with him at that time, you know, when he went up north with Richards and Wilson and so on?

MRS. ROSE: No, they were in the north.

ROSE: Yes, that was primarily a northern campaign. No, I can’t say that I was arm-twisted except by other friends, particularly in the Michigan delegation -- Mennen Williams, personally.

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Paul Schrade who was a good friend, you know, the labor leader who got shot along with Bobby, gave me some long, hard arguments in the lobby of the Statler during the deal. And, of course, I ran into people all through the Convention and from other states that were clearly identified with Kennedy. We would argue the merits back and forth; we would each try to convince the other.

You see, one of the things that I did was some barnstorming around the county in those places where mass meetings were set up to hear representatives of the candidates or the candidates themselves. One was in the Santa Monica auditorium, and it was a kind of a slaughter, because -- that house wasn’t packed by anybody -- it was all Stevenson oriented. I mean that’s just where the people were, not the leadership, not the Governor, but a great majority of the club people had

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had two campaigns with Stevenson and had him in the blood. He'd gotten them into politics and this is the last chance, and they wanted him if there was any chance.

So, Mike Monroney and I each had a chance to speak, and poor Mennen Williams was waiting in the wings for his turn to speak for Kennedy. Well, I was on first, as I recall, and I gave it the sort of "We in the clubs" and how "Stevenson has built the party for us" and "Why we believe in him so much." And of course, they were all very glad to be appreciative and full of applause for that kind of approach. Then Mike Monroney, who is a charmer, came out and made a very, very strong speech.

As we came out, why, Mennen Williams was standing in there in the wings with his good natured grin and wagging his head back and forth and said, "Boy, you guys, you've really have got me in a

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corner here." And then he kind of shuffled out on the stage and made a low-key pitch which was allright, but, you know. People listened politely, but there was no way. He was talking to a packed house, and that was true in almost anyplace you'd go in Los Angeles.

So that was the climate of the Convention on the outside. The climate on the inside was the climate that the people from the forty-eight states brought with them. And I think we were only forty-eight then -- no, we had voter delegates from Hawaii, of course, in '60. I don't know whether they had statehood or not, but they were delegates at the Convention.

O'BRIEN: Let me see. Did you have any contact at all during the Convention with Kennedy aides? For example, did you ever meet, or when was the first time you came in contact with people like O'Donnell [Kenneth P. O'Donnell] and

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O'Brien [Lawrence F. O'Brien]?

ROSE: Well, Larry O'Brien had been out on a few occasions, and I remember one. The first time I got to know him a bit was at a dinner and reception at the Lawfords. Senator Kennedy was not here that time but Senator Ribicoff [Abraham A. Ribicoff] was and Paul Butler was here. O'Brien, always very -- my contacts with him -- quiet and gentlemanly and just easy to talk to but never imposing his views or directions or personality on others, was there at that function.

Ribicoff gave us -- it wasn't a dinner. The Lawfords on two or three occasions did have us out for dinner when the Senator was here before the campaign. And in this instance it was drinks on the terrace out on the fenced enclosure which is right up to the gate to the beach. Little goodies were being catered and served and drinks all over the place. There were about, I guess, twenty-five or thirty of

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us there.

Governor Ribicoff spoke and he spoke a little bit like he would've laid down the law to his ward captains back in Bridgeport. There were some there that didn't really like his attitude, thought it was a little bit overbearing and, well, he was just telling us, "This is our chance to get with it." Kennedy was going to be the man and, "We're supposed to be smart party leaders. Now is the time to get on the wagon and go." That was the general tenor of the thing.

I remember Carmen Warschaw was sitting in a lounge chair back by the little barbecue pit and I walked over to her and I said, "Why aren't you up front paying closer attention?" She said, "I don't like him." [Laughter] Well, she was already committed to Johnson. But the rest of us didn't dislike him, I don't think. I mean I better just speak for myself: I don't think that he always behaves too well, although I admire him for his public career. As an

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individual, he's a pretty hardnosed Bailey [John M. Bailey]-type politician.

Afterwards, Ribicoff was there with one or two of his young sons -- young fellows about high school age -- and they just said, "Well, we've got to go now," and took off. Paul Ziffren considered this quite an affront to Paul Butler, who was our ranking guest of honor at this affair, and asked me if I could stay with Paul for the remainder of the evening. I said, "Of course." Were you there, Roma?

MRS. ROSE: Yes.

ROSE: And we went from there to the restaurant on La….. that Peter Lawford and Sammy Davis and somebody else -- it wasn't Dino's [Dean Martin] but I think Dean Martin had a hand in it, too. Anyhow, I had a chance to talk to Larry O'Brien a bit at dinner. Mrs. Lawford, Pat Lawford took us there and I guess Peter Lawford was there, too, and Paul Butler and myself and you, Roma, and Larry O'Brien and

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Joe Cerrell [Joseph Cerrell]. There had blossomed at the time a romance between Joe Cerrell and his present wife who was then my secretary in the county committee.

O'BRIEN: Oh, is that right?

ROSE: I was a little surprised to see her at this gathering, you know; I didn't know that she'd show there. There was always a certain concern since we were in rival organizations. He was either representing the state committee or the national committee or somebody all the time as a pro -- very able guy, too. And so they

were there and very much with O'Brien. Well, I must say that I missed an opportunity to know him better because I've learned since that he had tremendous capability.

Here's a certain perspective you had to put on it: he'd been the successful campaign manager for Kennedy in Massachusetts. Allright, it's a sort of a machine state and if you can get the party nod, there's a certain way

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that they've always done the politics there. The politics of California; we just free-wheeled and did it our own way and learned how to do it as we went along. He wasn't a big time operator in Massachusetts and so he really grew, I think, after he got on the nationwide basis and did a fine job for candidate Kennedy. Then after he was so good for him in his liaison on the Hill [Capitol Hill] and then he did a fine and intelligent job as Postmaster General.

Here's the perspective I'm referring to: Numbers don't count for everything, but there's a lot of difference between running, well, just to carry it to the extreme, for city council and for U.S. Senator in a state. Now, Ted Kennedy had an overwhelming victory when he was elected Senator of Massachusetts. And he got over a million votes in a smashing victory. I ran for the obscure office of Secretary of State of California and got over two million votes,

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twice what Ted Kennedy did, and I got smashingly defeated. So this is big-time, big business out here.

At the time that I first knew Larry O'Brien, he didn't impress me and he didn't try to impress me or anyone else as a big-time operator. He may have had all the talents then that he later showed, but I didn't recognize them, frankly, when I first saw him. I am a great admirer of him and what he did during that first campaign and what he's done ever since.

O'BRIEN: Well, how about Ted Kennedy, when Ted Kennedy became sort of an overseer for the state? Did you have much contact with Ted?

ROSE: Yes, quite a good deal.

O'BRIEN: What were your impressions of him?

ROSE: Well, I thought that he was hardworking and dedicated and tough minded -- all three of those Kennedy's, in my contacts with them, I've been impressed with the fibre of them. They are a race of giants. They are guys that have grown

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up to play it hard and win it, play it like gentleman but to hang tough. Like the old labor song, "Take it easy boys, but take it." I think he was kind of feeling his way at first when he was out here and, of course, he wasn't here all the time.

I was a little bit upset with him a couple of times when he, twice during the fall campaign as I recall, went off for six-to eight-day junkets to campaign in Hawaii. It was my opinion that California, and particularly Los Angeles County, was the capital of the West. Of the eleven states, the other then and a half could go to hell in a hay cart, but the place to win it for Kennedy was right here; never mind campaigning for votes in Hawaii. But, that's….

He was hard working and apparently doing a good job. We had some barnstorming sessions -- I don't mean barnstorming, I don't know a word for it. It was simply a…. Well, yes, she's signaling

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that I should say brainstorming but it wasn't brainstorming either. We just had the session that I referred to briefly earlier. This again was in the Sheraton Townhouse where Bobby Kennedy and Ted Kennedy and Whizzer White [Byron White] and Representative Green [William J. Green] were there to tell us how to get out and work in the wards and get everybody registered and get out the vote.

Green made something of a spectacle of himself to a lot of us because he didn't know his audience. Bobby made a serious and strong talk and there was some brotherly sibling rivalry between the two of them in their remarks about their successes as campaign managers. I think Teddy had been Jack's campaign manager nominally when he was elected Senator, and Bobby was now his campaign manager for President.

It was a pep talk rally. Yes, Whizzer White, you know, the later Supreme Court Justice; he was out to help whip up the troops. Ted didn't show the early strength either. But let's remember,

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boy, that's a long way to count back, the difference between 1960 and 1969. I mean I'm very a strong admirer of the role that Ted Kennedy's playing in the United States Senate right now, the way he has borne up under the family tragedies, the things that he did for Humphrey during the campaign, and -- well, he's just a hell of a guy. I'm so happy we have him; I hope we always do.

O'BRIEN: Did you have any contacts with Bobby Kennedy during that fall?

ROSE: Not very much except that at this meeting I just spoke of. Bobby wasn't out here that much. Teddy was in residence as the western states manager. Well, one time I was invited -- down to see him again at the Townhouse. There was a crucial game in the World Series in October of 1960. Congressman Ed Roybal [Edward R. Roybal] and I and one or two others were waiting to see Bobby. We'd come down on his

invitation to have a little review of the situation just about an even thirty days before the election. We were watching this TV deal; it was right at a crucial moment, and Bobby came walking out. He immediately sized up the situation, and, of course, being a lifelong sportsman, he knew who the players were and he asked a question about so and so was on first and so and so. So, he said, "Well, shall we watch it, or shall we go in and go to work? I think it was just that either way he would have been perfectly happy. He wasn't pushing. So we said, "No, we better go in and go to work." So Ed and I went in, had our talk with him, and we found out, of course, how that crucial moment in the series worked out a little later.

[BEGIN SIDE II, TAPE II]

O'BRIEN: Okay, that brings up an interesting point. Roybal was, of course, the person who was a

member of the Mexican-American community and very close to it.

ROSE: Ed Roybal.

O'BRIEN: Roybal, excuse me. Okay, do you remember what they talked about that time? Was there a, was Kennedy…

ROSE: Well, we had been invited individually and we just happened to hit the outside lobby at the same time. There was somebody else there; I've forgotten who it is at the moment. My conversation with Bobby was fairly brief. He asked me how I thought it was going, and so I told him that I thought it was moving and I thought that it was a good chance our carrying California. I thought that things were really jumping and moving along well in Los Angeles County, which was my beat. He pulled out a little card and said, "Here's the results

of the latest poll we've had taken. How does that look to you? Do you think these results seem fairly reliable?" I looked them over and I said, "Yes, that's about the way I see it. I think that's about the way it's going here."

Bobby I never found in my, oh, maybe six or eight contacts with him to be terribly outgoing. So, I can't say that I ever knew him very well, but I always found him very direct and pleasant and sincere. He was always easy to talk to in that there was never any of the politician's skating around any issue or any point. I don't know why I should ding politicians,

having been one most of my adult life; I don't mean to, but his directness was very sincere and refreshing.

O'BRIEN: Was he concerned at this point about Mexican-Americans?

ROSE: Yes, I'm sure he was. Well, I don't know why I should say that except that…

MRS. ROSE: Registration.

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ROSE: Well. Oh, that's right, in the registration drive. Now, what was Reuther's [Walter P. Reuther] brother? Not Victor [Victor George Reuther] as you mentioned before, not Walter's brother…

O'BRIEN: It's not George?

ROSE: No, Well, anyhow, he was a real nut on registration -- not a nut, just a very clear thinking guy. This was the language that we could talk. You know, the reputation that I built with the county committee and the way I was able to give our people a feeling of esprit and participation that would make them get out and fight like mad was that I threw it up to them at every meeting. Believe me, our meetings were something. You realize that for eight years, the second Tuesday of every month I chaired what was practically a convention in itself with two hundred and forty-nine members out there, and usually another hundred guests and some very hard-talking, hard-pounding views expressed. But the thing that I fed to

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them until they, I'm sure, believed it was that the county committee was the workhorse of the Democratic Party. "If the registration is going to get done, we're the guys that are going to have to do it; no one else is going to do it. We're the workhorse and we are the official party and we're going to move it and see that it's done. We're going to activate these clubs and get more clubs, and we're not going to chop off the heads of any clubs that pop up."

Some incumbent would say, "Oh, we got enough clubs in my district, and after all, I don't need any more clubs because I'm going to get reelected." That incumbent's weakness was something that we suffered from then and still do. I guess this is not anything that is indigenous only to California: if there's a strong incumbent and he doesn't have to have a real contest every two years, why, there's no major grassroots participation. But Ed Roybal

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was and is a living example of what can be done under very difficult circumstances. He started out, about twenty years ago with his CSO [Community Service Organization] and went to the Mexican Community with Mexican workers and persuaded the Mexicans, who had lived here for years and who were eligible to vote but had only Spanish as their language and were frightened to death that something such as deportation to Mexico could happen to them if they showed up at a polling place, that they must get registered. And as a result of that, he was elected to the city council. In the mid-fifties he came within a hair's breath of being elected supervisor. And in 1954, to the dismay of some of the conservatives of this state, we nominated him for Lieutenant Governor of the State of California. So he's been a true and an absolute highest-type representative of the Mexican community here. I'm sure Bobby recognized that. I'm sure that Senator John Kennedy

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recognized that. But what exactly his role was in the campaign for Kennedy, I couldn't spell out in any more specific detail.

O'BRIEN: Was he the inspiration for the Viva Kennedy movement, the so called Viva Kennedy movement where they…

ROSE: Well, he was certainly in the forefront of anything that -- in the Mexican-American leadership, he was the top leadership not only here in southern California, but I would say statewide for the Mexican-American interests in their support of Kennedy.

O'BRIEN: Well, how about the registration drives that you carried on that fall? How active were they? Did you get outside funds for the registration drives that year?

ROSE: Well, I don't know what "outside funds" are.

O'BRIEN: From AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization], COPE [Committee on Political Education], for example.

ROSE: Yes, there was that. But, again on the

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national level it was Reuther and on the local level, the Central Labor Council. The funds, well, I don't remember ever seeing the color of their money. Ours was practically all a volunteer movement. Now there was some funds that came from sources I'm not sure of for help in getting voters registered.

MRS. ROSE: Jesse had funds.

ROSE: Jesse had funds then, I'm sure, and he has more so, since, for state-wide campaigns where the business interests of the state -- we don't always have to say lobbyists just the business interests of the state are interested in having certain assemblymen and State senators and constitutional officers elected. But my beat was working with the official party and the county central committee and the volunteers among the membership of the chartered clubs which represented a good many thousands of people who were active working registrars.

You know, to be a registrar of voters, this is

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a campaign in itself. You have to start early and get your people down to the registrar's office and they have to attend at least two two-hour classes -- they did at that time anyhow -- qualify yourself as a registrar, take your oath of office, and then you're given fifteen or twenty cents per name for registration. When I was first a registrar myself it was a… I think it's gone up to twenty cents or maybe a quarter now. But there was nobody that ever did it for -- well, maybe one in a hundred or five hundred -- for the few pennies or dollars that they would pick up. There were literally hundreds who would go door-to-door into selected areas.

Now, the way we would do it was, like, I live in South Pasadena, which hasn't had a Democrat representing it on any level since the memory of man, and yet we had an active club that was formed by having a Stevenson headquarters opened in that Republican city in 1952. It's been going

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without any real signs of falling apart from 1952 to 1969, and it's still operating. We would raise money, and we would support candidates in other districts.

One of the things that we'd have to teach our people year after year with new ones coming in is, "We get in our cars and we take three or four carloads at a time and we go down to Monterey Park where the Democrats are or over to East Los Angeles and we do our registering there." So that's the technique that we've known about for years and that's the way we did it in Los Angeles County. We, of course, concentrated in the Mexican-American areas, the Negro areas, and we didn't…. Yes, they did do a lot of registering in Beverly Hills, and they were able even in Beverly Hills, and they were able even in Beverly Hills to elect people. But then the Jewish vote there was largely Democratic which made a point, too.

O'BRIEN: Do you ever remember having any conversations

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with Bobby Kennedy or Larry O'Brien or Ted Kennedy or any of these people about registration?

ROSE: Oh, yes. They were very, very shrewd about the importance of registration and they put great emphasis on it at the time that it was necessary, which was early in the summer, not too long after the Convention. They were out here again. They were encouraging it. And as I say, Glenn Anderson in this get-out-the-vote campaign up and down the state as the representative of the Kennedy campaign and the get-out-the-vote, registration was the key thing.

In California we had a goofy setup in that registration closes fifty-four days before you go to the polls on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November. That means that sometime in mid-September registration is all over here. It's shocking to people who come here -- and everyone's come here from someplace else -- people who came

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here as we did after voting in New York for a number of years where, you know, you had the summer doldrums. And then after Labor Day everybody comes home and says, "Oh, boy, we've got to campaign. We better get hot. We've got to get registered, get out the vote."

Well, in this silly state, you start jockeying for the -- oh, you did in the last dozen years. You start jockeying in December or early January for your position to get the nomination of the California Democratic Council's convention in mid-February or the first of March, and then you run like mad in the primary of June and then you run all summer long in get-out-the-registration campaigns which fold up in mid-September. So, to be a Congressman here, you know, you're running for office more time that you are in Congress. You've got to get back and get with it at the first of the year almost a year after you've been elected again.

O'BRIEN: Let's take some of the major issues that fall

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in California, the major issues of the campaign. Which to you stand out as far as important in the California election? Or ones that you either were happy about or had reservations about or apprehensions about? For example, the religious question, did you have much apprehension over this during the campaign?

ROSE: Well, apprehension only in a sense that I knew that it was something that was being stacked against Kennedy very seriously. I was present at the Burbank airport when he came in and at the press conference there gave a sort of a preview of his response to -- what was it? -- the ministerial alliance [Greater Houston Ministerial Association] or something that he spoke to a couple days later in Texas where he really blew them out of the water. I never saw him so serious and so intense. Pat Lawford was with him, seated there at his side. It was a very hot day, and he gave it to them very short and sharp and straight.

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The voters of California had never put any stress on the religious issues as far as our Governor, Pat Brown is concerned. He'd been elected attorney general twice, and then two years before the Convention here he'd been elected Governor. But of course, a first time in for a Catholic as President had been a political concern in the sense that you just wondered how people are going to vote when they get in there and pull the door of the booth shut behind them. But in our working Democrats, I didn't sense anything but fullhearted support of Kennedy and an absolute spurning of the religious issue as being beneath the point of discussion or even of contempt.

O'BRIEN: Did you see any major mistakes by the Kennedy people in running that campaign in California or on the national scale?

ROSE: No major mistakes. No, I can't think of anything that I would fault them on.

O'BRIEN: How about Nixon's campaign that fall? Do you

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have any insights into it here? What were your impressions of it?

ROSE: Well….

MRS. ROSE: Well, we lost it on the absentee ballots, didn't we?

ROSE: I don't know that we did.

MRS. ROSE: They hadn't counted them right.

ROSE: We carried Los Angeles County, but we lost the state by a very small fraction. I don't know that I had very much of a difference of opinion about Nixon in that campaign. I was thrown right into Nixon country the day I moved -- well, the year I came to California. We moved to South Pasadena, which was in Nixon's district. He had represented it in the Congress for what, two terms, I believe. Yes, first he had done his hatchet job on Jerry Voorhis in 1946 when he took a perfectly decent and able man who had for ten years represented the district well and had been voted by the press of Washington D.C. as being the most

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able man in the Congress of the United States -- that's one out of four hundred and thirty-six, or whatever it is. Nixon was able to go up and down that district from Pomona to South Pasadena to El Monte to Whittier and convince the people that this man was a Communist

and the Communists were under every bed. Now, that was in ‘46, and in ‘48 it was more of the same.

I got here in 1950 when he was doing all of that to Helen Gahogan…. and doing it double. As absolutely despicable and unforgivable as down through the centuries; you can not forgive the conduct of this man in 1946, ‘48, and ‘50. I don’t think there was anything so damn great about him in ‘52 through the eight years he was with Eisenhower [Dwight D. Eisenhower], and I despised him when he ran against Pat Brown in 1962.

I ran as the candidate for secretary of state along with the rest of the Democrats who were running for reelection then -- Brown, and Cranston, and Mosk et al, but the

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whole thrust of my campaign, and I traveled from one end of the state to the other for a solid year, was that “The overriding issue of this campaign is to reelect Pat Brown and to defeat Richard Nixon.” I have despised everything I’ve known about this man to this day, not quite to this day. Since he became the President of the United States I have to hold myself in check. I have to admit that there are things that he’s doing that need doing and I’m waiting for that age-old miracle to happen -- it’s happened before -- where the office makes out of the man something that he never was before. But this is the most miserable clay to work with that we ever put in the Presidency.

O’BRIEN: Well, passing on, you had dinner…

ROSE: Yes, we’ll pass on after that.

O’BRIEN: Passing on to the period right after the Convention. You had a dinner out here at the Palladium shortly after the election. What

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do you recall about that?

ROSE: I remember I was at the head table, but the head table was so big I never even got a chance to speak personally with the President. It was a three-tiered head table as I recall. It was a fine dinner and it was a great novelty to a lot of us to be on the inside after having been out for so long. I hadn’t been active enough in politics during the Truman years to really -- except for a couple of years out here before -- have any particular function in the party outside of being, you know, just an interested and active Democrat. But I don’t remember it being anything spectacular. It was a full house. I remember that I sold about ten tables of tickets and I sold them by running my finger down the list of all the postmasters in Los Angeles County, suggesting that it would be nice to see them there. And they came, Republicans and Democrats alike. [Laughter]

O’BRIEN: Well, what contacts did you have with the White House and White House

people, either the President

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or Bobby or Teddy Kennedy or the White House staff, Larry O'Brien, Pierre Salinger, people like this in the period from the election on too -- well, let's say the Governor's election in 1962 in California?

ROSE: Not a great deal, not a great deal. My contact, you see, with the President…. With the Democratic President we began to have some patronage that we never had before, as I mentioned earlier, as county chairman, having a United States Senator, Democratic Senator, and a Democratic President. Having Clair Engle, a United States Senator, who didn't want to get involved in all the intricacies of our hundred and fifty incorporated cities within this county with first class post office, he'd say, "Okay, you fellows in the county committee send me a name -- or three names if we needed to beat around the bush a little bit -- with one underscored and I'll send his name up to the

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President," and that was that.

Clair didn't work that way necessarily in other parts of the state. But he was a wonderful guy, a real corn pone, cowpoke type with a delightful sense of humor. As I told you, it was his feeling that when there are a dozen people, a dozen of his friends, who want to be postmaster in a given city and he picked out one of them to be the postmaster, he immediately had eleven enemies and one ingrate on his hands.

He also used to say about Los Angeles County -- you see, he represented in the Congress, before he was a Senator, the largest congressional district in the state or in the nation, I believe. It was a thousand miles long. It went from San Bernardino County line all the way up to the Oregon line. And he used to campaign by flying his own plane from city to city, you know, a hundred miles here and three hundred miles there. He'd say, you know, "I'd fly down to Los Angeles and I'd go down and I look at

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all those lights, and I just can't comprehend such a big place. I feel like the country boy that stood off and looked at the haystack, took a long hard run at it, whammed into it, and then backed off to see what kind of impression he made on it. And he can't see where he even made a dent in it." He says, "That's the way I feel about Los Angeles County. You take care of Los Angeles County, just keep it out of my hair."

This also applied, to some degree, to Federal judge nominations. And while that was over my head -- I'm not an attorney -- yet there were candidates for Federal judgeships that were calling on me as a county chairman. I wrote letters on their behalf and so on, but postmasters were more in my beat. I, through the county committee and over my signature,

sent twenty-six names to the Senator whose names were approved by President Kennedy and sent up and approved by the Senate from pretty good

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sized cities like Beverly Hills, Pasadena, Long Beach, Pacoima, and many others of that size.

O'BRIEN: Did you ever get into any real conflicts with anyone else, let's say Jesse Unruh, or anyone else over any of these appointments, postmaster appointments?

ROSE: Not on that; no, not on postmasters. I don't know whether Jesse just wasn't interested or Clair Engle made it very clear that that was the procedure that he wanted to operate under and that was it, because there was one Democratic and one Republican Senator from California. The only voice you had to listen to was that of the senator. I got in conflict with him. He appointed a collector of customs that I thought was a disgrace to the party, but he said, "Look…"

O'BRIEN: Who was that? Do you recall the name?

ROSE: What was his name? That great big fat slob?

O'BRIEN: Oh, that fat slob, huh?

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ROSE: He's dead now. Can you still call him a fat slob when he's dead? Well, he was a fat slob politician from Long Beach and Clair said, "Look, I didn't know anyone in this county when I started campaigning down here. I didn't know anyone in Long Beach. This man came to me and wanted to work for me, and he went out and he raised money for me. He put up billboards for me. He wants to be collector of customs and so I said he could be and he's going to be." So I did everything I could to stop it, but I couldn't budge him on that.

MRS. ROSE: Didn't Jesse put Shaw [Stanford C. Shaw] in at the Los Angeles post office?

ROSE: Yes, Jesse had most to do with that. However, that came very late during -- as a matter of fact I think that came during the brief period that Salinger was Senator. I'm not sure, but it was a hell of a good choice. Shaw has since resigned fairly recently,

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but he's a very fine gentleman and great leader in his community, as well as being very successful financially -- he's a Negro -- was the postmaster of Los Angeles.

It was shortly after the election. We had a meeting at the Beverly Hilton and Senator Engle was there and Ed Pauley and myself and some of the other leaders of the party. I can't remember the real reason for it, but it was just before Ed Day had been appointed and Pauley was giving me a hard sell about I should be the next postmaster at Los Angeles. He says, "It's traditional for the county chairman to be the postmaster," and so I said, "Ed, that's very flattering and I appreciate it."

At that time I had not the slightest interest in being a postmaster, although that was a pretty good job. There also was a little technicality that could've been worked out in a matter of some months or a year, that I didn't live in Los Angeles, the city of Los Angeles, but in the

city of South Pasadena.

So that passed by and later -- this is a personal aside to show the vagaries of politics, I guess. A few years later, there was a vacancy in South Pasadena for the office of postmaster, and Congressman George Brown who is an old friend. Up until the time Nixon was elected; where there was a Democratic Congressman, he took over the responsibility of an adjoining congressional district that had only a Republican Congressman, in the matter of post-office patronage. I was asked to be the postmaster of South Pasadena. So I said, "No, I wasn't at all interested in being a postmaster of South Pasadena."

Rome and I immediately zeroed in on the situation, having had a lot of experience in this field, and got our friend Joyce Turney made the postmaster over some objections. But as George and his assistant said, 'Look, we didn't ask you to pick one for us. We just asked you if you wanted it."

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We just put the pressure on George, who, incidentally, is making noises about running for U.S. Senator.

Then two years ago -- this is the end of this personal footnote -- after I'd been living down here for a year or so but working in Los Angeles still and sometimes staying in South Pasadena, someone called and said, "Do you know a Democrat in Laguna Beach that would like to be postmaster?" And I said, "Hell, yes, me." "Well, okay, get cracking. There's going to be a vacancy. There's going to be a retirement." So that was, so help me, two years ago in June, June 1st. So the guy didn't retire all that year. The first of the following year I started working in a post office in Cypress part time and still selling real estate downtown Los Angeles most of the time and living here, got some on-the-job training. So finally last August 19th I was appointed acting postmaster at Laguna Beach, an office which I worked at diligently

and effectively and I must say with great skill and success until March 7th of this year when I was relieved as acting postmaster by President Nixon.

My name had been sent up by the President, by President Johnson, after the Senate, but I got one of Senator Murphy's [George L. Murphy] blue cards as not acceptable for confirmation by the Senate. And so that's three months gone now and there has been no postmaster in Laguna Beach all that time. There's been an officer in charge and, just to hang my hair shirt on the banisters, I've been continuing on and working in the post office. I have career status now. I'm a regular. I was assigned to a regular bid tour; they can't fire me without charges. They are going to work it around so that I won't even have a chance to be considered for the job; I know that, but I'm just not going to make it easy for them. I'm hanging in there selling stamps five days a week at one of our branches and

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waiting to see what happens. [Laughter]

O'BRIEN: Well, how about the Federal judgeships? Were you consulted at all in regard to these?

ROSE: I was consulted, but there weren't that many. Well, I can't say I was consulted really. Those who were going for them were smart enough usually to make the rounds and talk to everybody. They talked to me as county chairman; they talked to the state chairman; they talked to the national committeeman. They'd make their calls on the party leadership, but I had very little to do with that.

O'BRIEN: Any objections against any of those appointments?

ROSE: No, no. There was one that should have been made that couldn't ever quite cut it. And that was Ben Sportz and he couldn't, it was really blocked by Stanley Mosk as national committeeman. But he was Engle's man, and Engle wanted him. But there was just a standoff for years and

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Ben never made it.

O'BRIEN: Well, passing on to the election of '62, did you get any help in your campaign from Washington or from any of the people that you had contact with in the Kennedy organization?

ROSE: Oh, I had very substantial help, I felt, from a member of the Cabinet and an old friend, J. Edward Day, who was Postmaster General then and who

came out for a fundraising dinner for me at the Beverly Hilton, a fifty-dollar-a-plate thing which was my major fund-raiser for the campaign. Ed would have done that for me whether he had been with Kennedy or not, I'm sure, but, of course, but the prestige of his position, having been Postmaster General at that time for not quite two years, was high and it was very helpful. I had help in a way from the Kennedy Administration on this dinner of 1962 where we had Weaver [George L.P. Weaver] as a guest speaker. Well, that dinner was in the spring of '62 and I was already an announced

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candidate for secretary of state and going all out -- I've forgotten the date of this thing -- for the Democratic primary nomination. I called Bobby Kennedy and asked him to come out to speak. I had written him and hadn't gotten an answer. So I picked up the phone and said, "I'd been hoping to hear from you that you'd come out and be our speaker at this dinner. And as you know from our correspondence…." He says, "Well, frankly Don, I don't remember seeing that correspondence." So somebody in his office had already screened it as not something important enough to be on the top of his agenda. But he said that he had felt that it was too soon for him to make a commitment of this sort…

MRS. ROSE: He wasn't making any political speeches.

ROSE: Yes. Now, I don't know how that held as long as '62. I remember this conversation very distinctly but -- well, of course, that's right, because Kennedy wasn't installed in office

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until, what, either January or March of '61. And so he said in so many words that for at least a year he was not accepting any speaking engagements and he didn't. But then we were able to get Weaver. I didn't actually get him; Jack Spitzer, our vice chairman, made the contact.

No, it was just a hometown, home state effort. I had a good cooperation from the incumbents that I was running with as part of the slate. I emphasized the team effort and printed at my own expense one-sheets and two-sheets and all sort of little hand-slates that started with Brown. "Reelect Brown for Governor and Anderson Lieutenant Governor and Cranston controller and Most attorney general and Betts [Bert A. Betts] for treasurer and then sandwiched in, Rose for secretary of state."

There's no way to run in such a mammoth state as this for an office as obscure as secretary of state because no one gives a damn to begin with and there's no

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one ready to explain what it is or why it is. And then I was running against a dynasty. The incumbent to this day -- and mind you, that was in '62 and this is '69 -- had been in that office for thirty years then and his father with the same name had been in it twenty years

before, so running against the name Jordan [Frank M. Jordan] for secretary of state in California when there's been nothing but Jordans in this office and on every official seal at the state for the twenty million times the seal has been stamped since, I don't know, 1902 or something like that. I tell you, Norb Slot ran this last time out and he had a fantastic campaign. He's very personable and made a good run and he had billboards and he indebted himself until he's still up to his ears for television time.

MRS. ROSE: His billboards had Kennedy and Johnson both on them.

ROSE: Yes, and so he ended up with about the same

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vote I got. I ran my campaign in the State of California on thirty-three thousand dollars, thirty thousand of which I raised and three thousand of which came out of my own pocket.

O'BRIEN: Gee, that's…

ROSE: So how do you win one of those?

O'BRIEN: Well, how about Brown? Did Brown get much help from either the White House staff or from Washington in that campaign?

ROSE: Well, I'm sure they all gave him moral support and probably support that I wasn't too personally aware of because….

MRS. ROSE: Came through Jesse a little bit too much.

ROSE: They certainly didn't want to see Nixon as the Governor of California. I'm sure John Kennedy must have despised Nixon almost as much as I do, although that would be hard. I don't know; couldn't say that I had any inside recollection of that at least.

O'BRIEN: Is there anything that stands out about that

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election campaign in '62 that comes to mind?

ROSE: No. Well, it was a strenuous year for a person like myself. The incumbents were in good shape. They'd had four years of the Democratic administration in the state and the state was…. The voters were pretty well pleased with the results. One of the key things of that campaign was the -- I've forgotten the

number of the proposition. Was it the proposition A or the proposition 1? The water bill which was the greatest single governmental sponsored project in the history of the state or the nation or the world, this business of bringing this water from northern California to southern California. The governor was in the forefront of supporting that, and it was one of the things that we were able to take to the people and that we sold them on.

There weren't any of the candidates that didn't campaign vigorously. Some of them didn't have as tough contests as others, and obviously Brown had the major contest

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with a man of Nixon's name and stature and experience, a man who had been Vice President for eight years and who'd just come within a hair of beating Kennedy in 1960. It was a stimulating campaign, and it was very stimulating to be part of it, if only to get in there and take whacks at Nixon day after day.

O'BRIEN: How about the Cuban Missile Crisis? Or did you notice any effect of the Cuban Missile Crisis on that campaign?

ROSE: No, we noticed it in a practical political sense in that it happened on the weekend that we had a major Kennedy dinner planned in Los Angeles. He suddenly cancelled out, first because of a cold, and we found a day or two later because of something a good deal more serious.

O'BRIEN: You didn't have any advanced information on that, did you?

ROSE: No, no. I don't recall the impact in terms of voter impact; there must have

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been some. My personal reaction was that it was extremely tense and one of the hardest decision that anyone could ever be asked to make. I was damned glad that he was the man there to make it, and I was glad to see those pictures of him and Bobby together. I thought the two of them were a terrific team and complemented each other in making tough and intelligent decisions. I thought that he handled it…. well, the President was absolutely great; he didn't panic; he didn't overreact to anything, and he just played a cool poker hand through the whole thing.

O'BRIEN: The one thing that, you know, chronologically comes along here in 1963, that might be worthwhile pursuing, is this current lawsuit. Have you been following this? Where Lytton and Bill Stout, isn't it, are being sued -- have you followed that at all? -- in regard to the attempt to dig up some information on Jesse Unruh and Eugene Wyman.

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ROSE: They're being sued by whom?

O'BRIEN: By a guy by the name of Miller [Maxwell Miller]. I wish I had brought those clippings along.

ROSE: Is that recently? I don't know.

O'BRIEN: Yes, it's been in the Los Angeles papers the last few days.

ROSE: The last few days, I'll be damned. I missed that.

O'BRIEN: At any rate, this fellow -- I believe his name is Miller -- had been hired in 1963 by Stout, or at least the charges had been made or the suit says that he was hired by Stout to do some digging on Jesse Unruh and Eugene Wyman in an attempt to embarrass. The purpose of this was some information for publication purposes in an attempt to unseat Unruh or cause embarrassment to Unruh.

ROSE: I missed that. I wonder what Miller that was. Have you been reading the papers? No, I don't know about that.

O'BRIEN: I wish I had brought the clippings. I've got them in my file. I thought perhaps you'd seen it.

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ROSE: And who has brought the suit?

O'BRIEN: This fellow by the name of Miller.

ROSE: Miller has brought the suit on behalf of himself or…

O'BRIEN: On behalf of himself.

ROSE: I don't know a Miller. I know one Miller who is out in Jess's area, out in Jimmy Roosevelt's district, old district. No, I don't know about that. That's interesting.

O'BRIEN: Well, how about after the election in '62? Did you have any contact with White House people or the President at all after that? Or Bobby Kennedy in more recent years?

ROSE: No, the last actual contact I had with Bobby Kennedy was just after he spoke to the California delegation at the Atlantic City Convention. It was

in ‘64, so that goes back quite a way. That time I was on my way to New York on a business trip and I wasn’t a delegate to the Convention, but I just breezed into town and was able to borrow Dan Kimball’s

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badge to the President’s Club for the down-front seats. Slept in a twin bed in Alan Cranston’s room. Joe Cerrell got me tickets to everything, and so I enjoyed the Convention as a visiting fireman. I was in a kind of a non-political status, and have been pretty much ever since. I was working for the California World’s Fair which was projected for Long Beach, and had to stay out of active politics, but there was a Convention going on and I had a chance to be there so I was there to see Johnson nominated and most of the fireworks.

I didn’t go to the California breakfast but as they came out, Cerrell and Bobby were walking across the lobby and stopped to talk to me. Joe, as the smooth front man said, ‘You remember Don Rose,” in a nice loud voice. Bobby said, “Oh yes, Don, how are you?” and I think he remembered me. He had reason to. We were pretty nose-to-nose antagonists at some points and worked hard

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ROSE: Well, Roma put on a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner for Truman…

MRS. ROSE: Not by myself, I didn’t.

ROSE: …to which Truman didn’t come, right?

MRS. ROSE: Yes, Ed Pauley pulled him out to bring him out to the Truman Library dinner about two months later. And we read in the paper that Truman wasn’t coming. [Laughter]

O’BRIEN: Well, is there anything that you can recall that you’d like to go down on this tape before we run out? We’ve got about, I imagine, five minutes, four minutes or something like that, to judge the tape.

ROSE: Oh, I don’t know. I think it’s been said many times but for the record, for history, I think that in my experience in California politics from 1952 to this point, the two men that have been closest to the hearts of the greatest number have been Stevenson and John Fitzgerald Kennedy. The people here truly loved both of them. Stevenson was first to draw so many of

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them into political activity because of his great charm and his making sense and his beautiful outlook on life and his liberal forward-looking way and the opportunity to have a man like

him. To end up, instead, with the good bumbling general who was the caretaker of our fates for eight long years…. Well, it was a great opportunity and we couldn't bring it off in '52 and we couldn't bring it off in '56 and we worked like hell in the intervening years.

As I say, I think that in 1960 it was a carryover of many of the same people. It had gotten to be a way of life. People had started working for him when they got out of high school and gone through college and were now raising their second baby between 1952 and 1960 and they thought -- had consistently thought all those years -- Stevenson was the greatest.

Well, they were also very aware of the emergence of John Fitzgerald Kennedy and his good showing at the national Convention in

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1956. Then he began to visit us in California in '58 on. And I think that he was truly loved by just great masses of people. Again, he brought new people into the party that were the Kennedy breed like the Stevenson breed of my generation, you might say for the moment. Well, in my lifetime, I don't know anything to touch it; the personal magnetism and the absolute confidence that so many thousands had for those two men -- in those two men. And so now in retrospect, they're both gone and they've been gone for years, and there's no reason to change that in any way except to have it more strongly fortified in our beliefs and our hearts that these were two giants of our day and that the great tragedy of Stevenson was he never had the opportunity to carry out what we believed he had to offer.

The great and greatest tragedy was Kennedy, with his fantastic promise and his carrying out all that we believed that he

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could carry out, was nipped off before he could really carry it all the way. I'm happy to have had a chance to know them. That's all.

O'BRIEN: Well, that's timed beautifully. [Laughter] Thank you, Don Rose, for a very good interview and it's I think explained a lot about Californian politics, which is something that people in Washington and Massachusetts really don't know a great deal about.

[END OF INTERVIEW]

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