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## **Interview with Senator Adlai Stevenson III**

Date: 9 July 2003

Location: UIC Historian's Office, 601 S. Morgan St, Chicago, IL.

Present: Senator Adlai Stevenson, Dr. Robert V. Remini, and Dr. Fred W. Beuttler

Dr. Robert V. Remini: Well sir, let's begin.

Dr. Fred W. Beuttler: I need just to clarify this, going back to the questions. Daley was elected in 1936 as state representative. In 1938, he became a state senator. In 1946, he left the senate to run for sheriff. He lost, but he remained as Deputy Cook County Comptroller, one of his spots where....In 1948, when your father won, he appointed Daley as State Director of Revenue. Then Daley, in 1950, went in as Cook County Clerk.

Senator Adlai Stevenson: Okay. That fits it together very nicely. I'd like to have a look at it.

FWB: Yes, if you want to see that (showing him a document), it's right on the bottom. Now we can begin.

RVR: Yes.

FWB: We wanted to make sure that was there.

RVR: Where would you like to begin, sir, talking about Richard J. Daley and your recollection of him, in connection with your own career, and your father's, if you choose to include it? Why don't we begin at the beginning? When did you first meet Richard J. Daley?

AS: I would have first met him either during the campaign of 1948, when I was my father's driver, or after the campaign at the inauguration, when Richard J. Daley became the Director of the Department of Revenue in my father's cabinet. But he wasn't in the

cabinet long. And I don't have the memories of Daley that I have of others in the cabinet and the staff, some of which are quite vivid. That leaves me to think that he was not very close to my father, although he became quite close later. So I really don't remember when I first met him. But he was kind of a presence, and of course later, a very large one in my own life, starting in 1948 or 1949.

I think I can understand, but this is speculation, how he entered my father's cabinet. Jack Arvey was "the boss" and my father was the reformer. At the time, he was slated to run for governor. They didn't realize that (RVR laughs). And Arvey probably didn't expect to win. They turned down Douglas for governor, who was a recognizable reformer, and said, "You run for the Senate. Get you out of town (RVR laughs). And we'll run this unknown for governor." It's better to take your chances on an unknown candidate than a known reformer. Well, when my father became the governor, he proceeded to put together a most extraordinary cabinet.

He clearly had the most extraordinary collection of brilliant people, public servants, most of them drawn out of academe, business, or law, that this state had ever seen up to that time, or for that matter, and even more clearly, since then (RVR laughs). So Dick, I can't call him "Dick." Richard J. Daley didn't quite fit this pattern. But my father became very close to Arvey, who became a strong supporter and kind of a friend. My mother used to say that he got religion in the Pacific during the war. He came back a different kind of politician. My father made a few accommodations. One was with organized labor, appointing Frank Annunzio, Director of Labor, who later served in the House. That was an exception (AS and RVR laugh).

That was not part of the pattern. It embarrassed him a little later. The other exception I can remember was Richard J. Daley. And Daley had some qualifications. He was the Deputy Comptroller of the City of Chicago and was between jobs. He lost a race. I'm speculating Jack Arvey had a person here who had served in the legislature. He had experience as a comptroller, needed a job, and had potential. I mean, he wouldn't have wasted his influences simply on power.

My father wouldn't have appointed him without a strong endorsement. He wasn't coming from Northwestern. He was coming from (inaudible.) (RVR laughs) That wouldn't have happened, except as a response to a recommendation by Jack Arvey, and

perhaps by other leaders of the Party. There was a way to maintain ties to the organization, doing them a favor, by finding some who had some qualifications for office. As I said, I don't remember my father....

RVR: He turned out pretty well, didn't he?

AS: I think he turned out extremely well. And that was the beginning, despite their differences, of what became a correct, or in some ways, a close relationship over the years that followed. I can remember my father coming back from time to time. We'd be at the home in Libertyville. He might be ambassador, a presidential candidate or whatever. But he was always interested in what was going on at home. And I'd hear him, every weekend, pick up the phone and call Dick Daley. He'd say, "What's going on, Dick?" Dick was his source of information about what was going on locally. But that kind of thing operated in reverse, in a way that was very largely unseen, especially by the liberal, independent, reformed minded wing of the party.

RVR: How do you mean the reverse? Daley would call your father?

AS: Yes (laughs). Well, he would call me, or my father. But it was more so me as this went on. After getting out of law school in 1957, I clerked for one of my father's former associates, who was by then a justice of the Illinois Supreme Court. It was Wally Schaefer. He had been a professor on the faculty at Northwestern law school. He was one of these unusual types that my father would reach out for and bring to state government. I remember asking my father after a vacancy occurred on the Supreme Court why he immediately appointed Wally Schaefer to that vacancy.

I remember asking, "Why did you move so quickly?" He said, "Well, I knew if I didn't, the pressures would mount. It's their job." As it was, he headed them off. And so they'd say, "That sure was a smart appointment, appointing that German Catholic to the court." (RVR laughs) Wally Schaefer was a brilliant jurist and U.S. Supreme Court material. He was one of a few that Dick Daley called regularly for advice. I assume that they met in my father's administration. Daley reached out to me often, over the years.

But the liberal progressive critics rarely reached out to Daley to try and help him. He wasn't perfect. He relied on other types for advice, too. I remember him telling me what a wonderful fellow Chuck Swibel was! But here's another example. We're jumping around. He called me once and said, "What are we going to do about Paddy Bauler?" I said, "Me? He's your problem (AS and RVR laugh). You're the chairman." He said, "No. It's your problem, because you live in the 43<sup>rd</sup> Ward (RVR laughs)." He called me once. This isn't exactly the way he put it. I know what he was saying. "You are always complaining about not having more women on the ticket." I said, "Yes. We need more women on the ticket. Go out and get me one. We've got an opening for metropolitan sanitary district." (RVR laughs).

They used to balance the ticket by always nominating a black female, to run as Clerk of the Illinois Supreme Court. That position has since been abolished. But with that menial position at the state level, you could satisfy women and the blacks. For this position on the Metropolitan Sanitary Commissioner, I called a friend, a liberal activist reformer named Joanne Alter. I said, "Joanne, you're always complaining about not enough women candidates. The women have an opportunity. You can run for Metropolitan Sanitary District." She said, "What? (AS and RVR laugh) I've never heard of it." When I told her, she said, "Never!" I said, "Joanne, this is your opportunity. You're always complaining. Step up to the plate. Your time has come."

Well, one thing led to the next, and she ran and became enormously popular. She did unusual things like getting in a canoe and paddling up the Chicago River and tipping over. She'd demonstrate that her life wasn't in danger (AS, RVR, and FWB laugh). She became known as clean water Alter (RVR laughs). Dick Daley would do that kind of thing, seek advice, rarely volunteered by the reformers. He never wrote a letter. And it wasn't always a telephone call. As I said, it was often meetings. He'd invite me in. His desk was always clear. There was never a piece of paper on his desk. We had, at times, very candid discussions. He'd give me his opinion about an individual. It was, "He's good," or, "Here's someone you better be careful of. Watch out." I think that on the whole, it was pretty straight. I don't think we were dysfunctional.

RVR: Yes. Was there ever any discussion about the two wings of the Democratic Party, the one he represented and, presumably, the one you and your father represented?

AS: No. But there was plenty of interaction between the two.

RVR: There was?

AS: The discussions got very explicit. And I became a bridge. He was really loyal and smart. He could use me. Every 2 to 4 years, I'd get another call from the mayor. "You have to run for this. You have to run for that." They were usually for offices in which I couldn't cause a whole lot of trouble (AS and RVR laugh).

RVR: Like Douglas (laughs).

AS: Like Douglas. I got dumped for governor.

RVR: I know.

AS: I got dumped for governor in 1968.

RVR: Do you remember any of those offices that he did offer you?

AS: Well, the first one was the Illinois House in 1963. The legislature failed to re-district. The Illinois House deadlocked over re-appointments, and the courts ordered to have an at-large election. And a rumor reached the mayor. Well, let me go back. Legislation had been passed to implement the Court's mandate for an at-large election. And each party slated, I think it was 118 candidates, for 177 positions. The reason for that was the expectation was that our party would elect its entire slate, because we had straight ticket voting, and there was much more party loyalty then. Neither party wanted to run the risk of being blanked out entirely. That would have been bad public policy. So rumor had apparently reached the mayor that the Republicans were going to dress up their slate with

so called blue ribbon candidates, prominent citizens. Later, we became known as the blue nose candidates (RVR laughs). And, the Republican blue nose candidates would include Earl Eisenhower, the brother of the former president, President Eisenhower. He called me in and asked me to run.

FWB: Daley called you?

AS: Oh yes. He called me several elections thereafter, and asked me to run. And I was dying to run. I wanted to start at the bottom and work my way up. This was a wonderful opportunity as a young lawyer, and I was ready. Well, you know what the short of that is. In my first election, I led 236 candidates (laughs), including an Eisenhower (AS and RVR laughs).

RVR: Really?

AS: I led the Democratic and Republican tickets. So, it was an auspicious beginning for me. As an aside, I asked a blue nose blue ribbon Republican who I shared rooms with, "Earl Eisenhower, what's this guy like?" He said, "Oh, Earl is a wonderful guy. There's just one thing about him. He has gin with his scrambled eggs every morning." (AS and RVR laugh) That was Earl's only successful election. Well anyway, do you want me to continue with this?

RVR: Sure. Go right ahead.

AS: I won "outstanding legislator" award. I led the anti-crime efforts and the reform efforts. The House passed my Conflicts of Interest legislation and lobbied my reform, most all of which died in the reconstructed Senate (RVR laughs). But anyway, it was a good start. So, a year later, the phone rang again. It was a bad year for the Democrats. This was 1966. Paul Douglas, an aging Paul Douglas was up for re-election. He asked me to run for State Treasurer. I had never even thought of running for State Treasurer.

RVR: Was the trouble because of the Vietnam War?

AS: It was an off year. Part of it was Vietnam. The Republicans were slating a very attractive young candidate, Chuck Percy. I think the war was mounting then, as an issue. It was probably the war more than anything else, plus that cyclical phenomenon.

RVR: Yes. It was an off year.

AS: Off years, especially then, could be difficult for the Democrats because this was before the constitutional changes. There were only 3 statewide races, the Superintendent of Public Construction, Treasurer, and in that case, the United States Senate. This was a prescription for a moderately low turnout, which always was bad news for the Democrats. So, I kind of gulped. He said, "However, Representative, you have to take your opportunities as they come. You can't pick and choose." That was very good advice. I hesitated a little because, I had no thought of running for state treasurer. But I took the advice, ran, and had this wonderful experience of having your own patronage office (RVR laughs). I didn't have to worry about civil service. We slashed the budget every year. So we could hire people and put together a first rate staff.

RVR: You were elected?

AS: I was the only survivor that year. I snuck in by 48,000 votes. That was when Paul Douglas went down. We lost the superintendent's office. I was sworn in to succeed Bill Scott, who subsequently got caught. I was sworn in by a justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, who also got caught (RVR laughs). It was an unreformed office, made it a model for the country, quadrupled the earnings on the investment of state funds, cut the budget every year, and kept the money working in the state. We did things like prohibiting discrimination in employment by banks with state deposits. The Ford Foundation did a study. I ended up advising Mayor John Lindsay of New York. So, it was a satisfying experience to be able to do this.



RVR: Right. Was that a 4 year term?

AS: Yes. But, politically those offices also give you a statewide base. They're wonderful stepping stones. I never recall him asking me for favors.

RVR: I was going to ask you.

AS: I was replacing a Republican. So I had a lot of jobs to fill. He never called. I got plenty of calls from ward committeemen and others. But then, and in the future, no, he never asked for favors. There were 1 or 2 qualifications for that. But I think for one thing, he knew, by then, that he couldn't control me and was smart enough to use me. He put me ahead of the ticket. And year after year, I led the ticket. I swept in others. Should I keep going?

RVR: Keep going. You're doing well (laughs).

AS: Well, the next one was a little more complicated. The next major event was the Libertyville rally.

RVR: That was your picnic.

AS: Yes (laughs).

RVR: That was what, 1968, 1969?

AS: This was 1969. I was newly elected state treasurer. But I was also a member of the reform organization within the Democratic Party. The Committee on Illinois Government was composed of young professionals who volunteered. Some of them had served in my father's administration. They wanted to continue their commitment to improving state government through the Democratic Party. I was also a member of the McGovern Commission of the National Democratic Party. That was the reform commission at the

national level. So I said to George McGovern and to my friends here, “Let’s merge our efforts and have one, last, great rally at the Libertyville farm of my father, to raise money and support reform at both levels.” Over 15,000 gathered on a beautiful fall day. The maples were crimson.

RVR: Did you invite them?

AS: Yes, we did, our groups.

RVR: You didn’t do it individually?

AS: Oh, the Committee on Illinois Government took the lead, and with its support the McGovern Commission. George McGovern was there. Senator Howard Hughes of Iowa was there. Senator Fred Harris from Oklahoma was there.

RVR: Do you remember personally inviting anybody?

AS: Oh, I would have. There was George McGovern, of course. I was the link. But anyway, it was very festive. There were pony rides, balloons, and barbeque stands. It was just a wonderful scene. 15,000 people gathered in a Republican county to celebrate reform to be a part of their politics. I called Jesse Jackson, who nobody knew at that point. But I had befriended him and was working with him when he was the head of Operation Breadbasket. He was holed up in a basement church on the south side. I invited him to come and speak. And he came.

Well, the speaking program started. And all of a sudden, there was kind of a hush. There was an entourage of long black vehicles.

RVR: The president (laughs), not quite.

AS: The boss (laughs).

RVR: Right.

AS: He pulled up. He had arrived. There was the mayor.

RVR: Was he invited?

AS: Oh yes.

RVR: He was?

AS: It was very inclusive. But nobody expected him to come. He arrived with an entourage, with Danny Rostenkowski, ward committeeman, and member of Congress, in the order of protocol (laughs).

RVR: Right (laughs).

AS: He was there, and a phalanx of Cook County leaders, who were not exactly reformers. Well, during the program, somebody whispered to me, "Senator Dirksen has died." And I went to George McGovern and told him. I said, "Don't tell a soul. But at the end of the speaking program, I'd like for you to announce the death of the Senator and eulogize him." And then I went to Jesse Jackson. I said, "Jesse, don't tell anybody, but Senator Dirksen just died. Senator McGovern is going to announce it at the end of the speaking program and eulogize him. When he is finished, I'd be grateful if you would take the platform and pray for the dead senator." Well, it went off without a hitch. George McGovern is a really fine person. He's a very principled man. Then, Jesse took the microphone and prayed. And as he prayed, a beautiful black choir that he had brought with him, began chanting the Battle Hymn of the Republic. There was George McGovern, Dick Daley, Danny Rostenkowski, Fred Harris, Harold Hughes, former truck driver, reformer from Iowa, and vice chairman of the McGovern Commission. Reformers and non-reformers alike, we all held hands and chanted the battle Hymn of the Republic, 15,000 people. Well, from that moment, there wasn't any doubt who the next candidate

for the Senate was going to be. But I overlooked one step. This was 1969. I'm getting my sequence, I'm getting mixed up. I tried to run for governor, while state treasurer. Can we go off the record for one second?

FWB: Sure.

(There is a short pause on the videotape while AS speaks off the record)

RVR: See, it says, "Laying the groundwork early for a future campaign against Dirksen, Stevenson hosted a political rally in September of 1969 at the family farm outside suburban Libertyville."

AS: Okay. You're right, except I was laying a ground work for reform.

RVR: But it was 1969, according to this.

AS: So, this incident, if you want to go back to that dumping incident....

RVR: Yes. That's good (laughs).

AS: So, let's see. In 1967, the Democrats held their traditional slate making session. It was always held late in the year, close to the deadline for filing in the primary, in order to prevent disappointed candidates with the party's endorsement from contesting it.

RVR: Was this a closed meeting?

AS: Definitely. Nominally, the slate makers were members of the State Central Committee. In fact, it was a combined meeting of the State Central Committee and the Cook County Central Committee, with the Cook County Central Committee as the dominator.

RVR: That was with Daley as the chairman.

AS: But I don't recall him ever attending those meetings. I'm a little fuzzy on this. But I think John Touhy, Speaker of the House, probably a Central Committee member and ward committee member, stood in for him. In public meetings, Daley would signify the unity of the party, as between the Poles and the Irish, by always pushing Danny Rostenkowski forward, although privately, he warned me that he didn't have much use for Rostenkowski.

RVR: He didn't?

AS: No. He told me once, "Don't trust him." I didn't ask him what was behind that. Dick was always honest. But maybe he didn't want me to get too close to Danny. So, he didn't have me to be worried about (AS and RVR laugh). Going back to the slate makers, the meeting convened. And I presented my credentials for governor. Dick Daley told me what a wonderful person Sam Shapiro was, and he was. He was really a fine person and a good personal friend. He had been a state senator from Kankakee. But I wanted to be governor. And besides, I wasn't enthusiastic about running against Everett Dirksen. So I went in as candidate for governor. I was asked by Paul Powell, who was the infamous, notorious then Secretary of State I think, former Speaker of the House, and my father's nemesis, as well as mine, who made shoeboxes famous.

RVR: Yes. I remember (AS and RVR laugh), money all over the place.

AS: There was a ritual question always asked, in this case by Paul Powell, who was trying to make trouble for me, whether if denied the endorsement, he would support all of the endorsed candidates. It put you in a terrible spot, because if you failed to pledge your loyalty and support, you got a black mark. I was asked that question and I refused to answer it. I said, "Paul, you have your loyalties and I have mine." And with that, I stormed out of the place. And, much to my surprise, the room broke in applause.

RVR: But you knew the consequence.

AS: I knew I wouldn't take that oath and pledge support to the war in Vietnam. Daley called me immediately. He then met in the Morrison Motel. They had the Cook County Committee suite office there. That's usually where I met with the mayor. You'd meet with him in both places. He was sensitive. He preferred meeting over political functions at the Morrison. He had a wonderful staff. There was Mary Mullen and some others. Anyway, he called me in and said, "Adlai, Shapiro is planning on running for governor. So we want you to run for the senate against Dirksen." I can't remember how this all came about. I'm quite sure I did not say no. I would have been reluctant, no matter what, to say no to the mayor.

An opportunity to run for the United States Senate is nothing to be taken lightly. I know I didn't say no. I can't remember whether I said yes on the spot. As I recall, I went back before the slate making committee. This must have taken more than one meeting. At this time, with the war in Vietnam a big issue, I was asked if I would support the war. And I was already regarded as independent, maybe independent on Vietnam, which was an unpatriotic thing to be doing, at that point. I was asked whether I would pledge support. I refused to pledge support for the war. I went back to the mayor. He called me back. He said, "Adlai, all you have to do is pledge your support. As soon as you get endorsed and you're the candidate, drop the pledge. Just do it before the slate makers. Then, I don't care what you do." I said, "I can't do it. It's wrong. It's bad politics." So, in the words of the Chicago Tribune headline, I was dumped (laughs).

And, every candidate in the Democratic Party, right down to and including our Metropolitan Sanitary District was required to pledge (laughs) their support for the war in Vietnam. Bill Clark, the Attorney General, who was then endorsed for the thankless assignment of taking on Everett Dirksen, took the pledge, and a few days or weeks later, repudiated the pledge (RVR laughs) and lost the race. And of course, it may have been my good fortune, because I might have been defeated. And as it was, Dirksen died not much longer. By then, I was organizing, was putting it together, and was ready.

RVR: All right. That's fine (laughs).

AS: The Democratic national Convention was held in Chicago in 1968. Of course, it was famous. The protestors gathered from around the country. The riots followed in the streets and there was a great revulsion in the country, especially with the Democratic Party, about the way the city and the police responded to the demonstrators. They overreacted. It was calamitous for the party on television. I, by the way, was chairing Hubert Humphrey's campaign in Illinois. I experienced firsthand the bitterness on the campuses, especially over the war, towards Humphrey. But some of us got together and tried to plan a counter demonstration, which never came off. I wrote an article, which was published in the Chicago Sun Times about the virtues of free speech, the right to dissent, and it condemned the police for overreacting. In fact, I over did it (laughs).

RVR: Did you really?

AS: Well, I referred to them as storm troopers in blue (RVR laughs). This did not go down well.

RVR: (laughs) I wouldn't think so.

AS: Especially with the police (laughs).

RVR: Right.

AS: So I got another telephone call. I was in this hotbed of reformers, people who were stirring up trouble. He called me and said, referring to my comments in the press, he said, "You know, you're right. I agree with what you're saying. Now you've said it. So why don't you just drop it? You've made your point." He took all of the wind out of my sails. It was so smart of him. Suddenly, I felt kind of guilty.

Why was I beating up on this man, who had helped support more people like us, instead of criticizing? I shut up in a hurry. But that did precede the Libertyville rally, organizing the forces for reform and my own efforts to organize my own constituencies.

Ironically, that reform movement at the national level in the McGovern Commission, led to the Party rules for the selection of delegate candidates that included all good faith efforts to be inclusive and to bring in the dissenters, minorities, women, and so on.

Those rules became the rules of the Democratic National Convention, which were utilized by reformers, independents who were still feeling angered in 1968 to oust Dick Daley from the 1972 Democratic Convention, at which George McGovern, the principal author of the rules, was nominated for president. And I think partly, as a result, those rules and the eviction of the mayor and his delegates, and their replacement by insurgents in Illinois, George McGovern didn't have much support here.

He was hurt, especially in Illinois, and to some extent, I think nationally, by this spectacle of the Democratic Party, evicting the mayor of Chicago and the leader of one of the party's strongest organizations.

RVR: Then you were elected as senator.

AS: Well, that's what I'm saying. I don't remember now very well....

RVR: He supported you for senator.

AS: Yes. I'm just trying to remember the telephone call (laughs).

RVR: Okay. I'm sorry.

AS: I'm sure I got a call. There must have been conversations, because there was no opposition, or serious opposition. Alan Dixon and others were interested, but they crumbled. Daley supported me. And that was a mean and dirty election. I was running against Ralph Smith, the former Speaker of the House whom I'd served with in Springfield. Nixon and Agnew were riding high. The war riots came back to haunt us. We were radicals, hippies, and so on. Daley gave the organization full support and everything seen and done in 1968. For a time it could get pretty mean. I used to go to party meetings. I had to recruit my own supporters to put in the galleries to counter the



booing. Fist fights would break out. People were taking politics very seriously in those days (AS and RVR laugh). If it wasn't all for reasons of principle, if you didn't carry your precinct, you lost your job. But in the wards, the feelings could be pretty strong.

RVR: I remember.

AS: Yes. So in 1970, he supported me. And that was a very successful campaign.

RVR: Was that for a full term?

AS: That was for the unexpired balance.

RVR: Of Dirksen's term.

AS: It was for more than 4 years. I had to run in 1974. By then, it was automatic. I was pretty popular. I'd been a good senator. I was re-elected by a 2 to 1 majority, a record for a Democrat in Illinois. The whole ticket was swept in, a landslide. During the senate, he'd call me very rarely. I'd meet with him in his office from time to time. But he worked, primarily, on legislative matters with Rostenkowski. And he had some other fellows that were there on public works. Kluczynski was chairman of the Public Works Committee in the House.

(end of video tape one)

AS: He was with public works, grants, projects, and that sort of thing. For me it was almost always about issues. He'd call up and he'd want to talk about transportation issues. That's when he got impatient. He'd say, "Why do they just talk about doing things?" There was housing. Housing was a big concern. I was on the Banking Committee with him, and housing and transportation. He talked to me about the

crosstown expressway, but with one exception. I was nominating federal judges and U.S. attorneys.

RVR: And not a peep from him.

AS: I took the appointed number of judges, unlike Paul Douglass, who wasn't a lawyer. And very seriously, I made a big outreach effort. I wasn't just waiting for recommendations. I was out recruiting. I was twisting their arms and promoting candidates as best as I could. No, I think he knew me (laughs). Well, what I was doing was what my father did back in 1948, reaching out, not just accepting candidates endorsed by campaign contributors and political leaders. So, he may have just known that it probably wouldn't work, though I would have respected his opinion. But it would not have.

There was one exception. There was a U.S. attorney in the northern district of Illinois. Jim Thompson was the outgoing U.S. attorney. He had a deputy named Sam Skinner who he wanted to become his successor as the U.S. attorney. Thus must have been in 1970 (thinking), well, it took a lot of hoopla. But Thompson asked for a meeting with me. And he brought in Sam Skinner to lobby for his appointment. I heard him out. There wasn't a snowball's chance in hell that I was going to appoint this guy (RVR laughs). But this was the outgoing U.S. attorney. I'd show him a courtesy.

Daley got wind of this, that I'd met with Thompson and Sam Skinner (laughs). That was the exception. He called and said something like, "We can't have this guy." He didn't make any recommendation. And I went out and got a first rate U.S. attorney, Tom Sullivan. He was an outstanding U.S. attorney, first rate trial lawyer, and member of a prominent law firm. Again, it was a case of recruiting and persuading him and sacrifice. He is a wonderful person.

Well, these thoughts are interesting. That was a sensitive decision. He was definitely (AS and RVR laugh), he must have been thinking to himself, "Maybe this guy really is crazy (AS and RBR laugh). He should have known better." So, let's see, the next telephone call (laughs) came in 8-75 and was of a political nature. I had just won a sweeping victory in Illinois and was offered the re-election of the senate. And the presidential campaign of

1976 was approaching. So he called me in and asked me to run for president, and pledged his support.

RVR: President?

AS: Why are you so surprised (laughs)?

RVR: I hadn't heard it before (laughs).

AS: I'm quite sure that he had mixed motives. For one, he was definitely serious about it. And why not?

RVR: Why not? That's true.

AS: I was in my prime.

RVR: Sure.

AS: What were the alternatives? Jimmy Carter? Secondly, He wanted to hold together a big block of delegates. They'd be pledged to me, but he'd have more control over some of them with the Cook County delegates. Well, I did make a mistake. I didn't accept the advice he gave me, which was to take my opportunities. I thought it over and thought I wasn't ready for it.

RVR: You would have been elected, I'll bet.

AS: Well, considering Carter, and considering all of those years of Nixon....

RVR: Yes. And there was Watergate. I was surprised when you mentioned it because I wouldn't have thought that he would come to you as a liberal reformer. Here he was, the boss, for president of the United States.

AS: Daley was liberal. He had some blind sides on some things, particularly on civil rights, and issues like education, and to some extent in housing. The public high rises were an example. He was a governmental activist. He was calling me and saying, "Why aren't you doing more on transportation?" So, you say liberal, yes and no. He was the boss. But he was an old time, kind of new deal type of Democrat. He was not a Clinton type, by any means.

You know, he was an administrator. He was not a political scientist. His feelings and attitudes were largely intuitive. And above all, he knew the game. He knew how to utilize the power. And even if he might not agree with me on some questions of civil liberties or something, he knew that I could help him. I'd done it in 4 races running, up to that point, helping myself and the party. I could keep the block together. And who knows, maybe become the president of the United States? I think he would have been willing to accept a few differences (laughs) for that kind of relationship.

RVR: I understand that.

AS: And he was very good. He was very willing to accept, not only his own authority here and utilize it, but the authority of the president, too. In fact, there was a rumor that Johnson called him and said, "You got to get everybody out there in line behind the war." That may have been what led to everybody taking the pledge. But there's something else. I always felt that Daley was not the boss that he was perceived as being. He called me, he called Wally Schaefer, and he called a number of other people. He would take the temperature. He would call his ward committeeman. And he would do it sensitively, at least on political issues.

He would rely on Swibel to get a housing project done. But he would take the temperature on candidates and on appointments. I don't know what all the issues were. But I know from having served in it, he really didn't take a strong position, if he got a telephone call or whatever, without first making a lot of telephone calls and listening. And as it ended up, he was either forming or reflecting a consensus. And that's how he kept his power. They knew, they being the committeemen, that they had somebody to

listen to them. He wasn't just a boss. He was representing them. That's what gave him his power base. His power was derivative, to a large extent.

And of course, the committeemen elected him to work. It was a system that worked. They needed somebody out there. I remember my father questioning whether it was really possible to effectively combine the offices of mayor and county chairman. Why he was so skeptical, I don't know. I think Kelly had not been very successful. But in any event, Daley knew how to bring them together. And he utilized each to the benefit of the other. That kind of merged.

But all of the patronage of the mayor's office, and the derivative that he could get at state level, or from U.S. Senators and so on, from the combined position, gave him a lot of power. But he wouldn't have had it, I don't think, if he hadn't been very responsive and sensitive to his constituents. And he was trying to enlarge it, as I said earlier, by reaching out to the liberals and bringing them in. They were standoffish.

RVR: That's very perceptive, I think, of you, in understanding Daley and his....

AS: I became very fond of him. Nancy, my wife, has some recollections to him. Every conversation would start the same way. "How's the family?" (laughs)

RVR: Yes. He's a big family man.

AS: Anyhow, it was sort of a formality. But I would think, over time, that he was interested in the family. And it may have helped to have some obligation to my father. We skipped some chapters here.

RVR: Well, we want to go back to that. But I'm really curious about his invitation to you to run for president. When you said no, did he try to talk you out of it? If so, what did he say?

AS: No. He didn't make a big effort. He asked me if I would be considered and think about it. I later said, "I've thought about it. It's just that I don't feel ready. And I would

have a hard time in putting this together." And then, he said something about, "Well, I just wondered if that's your decision. Then, what I'd like to do is run candidates committed to you as a favorite son. Would you agree to that?" I said, "Sure." So candidates were slated in 1976, committed on the ballot to Stevenson.

I don't remember the numbers exactly. But outside of Cook County, we didn't win. I mean, the voters were for a real candidate. But we did pick up a group of delegate candidates in Cook County. That's why I said earlier when he asked me to run for president, he had 2 motives. One of them was keeping the delegates together. But I think, I'm convinced, he was sincere enough. Well, how could you lose? I had more power in the convention than I'd gotten in nominations.

RVR: I'm fascinated.

AS: Well, you've given me a really good time (AS and RVR laugh). Politicians love to tell stories and old men love to reminisce.

RVR: I was wondering....

AS: Jimmy Carter was one of the candidates. Who else was seeking the nomination that year? Kennedy? Ed Muskie may have been in 1972.

RVR: Yes. I can't remember, either.

AS: But they would ritualistically call Daley. And he said, "Well, you've got to talk to Senator Stevenson. These delegates here are his." I remember Governor Carter and his wife coming by our home in Chicago, hat in hand (laughs).

RVR: Really?

AS: Daley said, "See Senator Stevenson. They are his delegate candidates, which he controls." He would send Carter off. So, we listened to them make their case. I can't

remember when exactly. But at some point, leading up to that convention, I received another telephone call. He said the time had come. And I agreed that we ought to release the delegates to Carter. And that's what happened. I think they may have waited a little too long. But it helped determine the outcome of that convention. Daley and a block of delegates were supporting Carter.

Incidentally, at some point, Carter had announced that he was considering 5 candidates for vice president. There was John Glenn, Ed Muskie, Mondale, and one other. And there was Senator Stevenson. So I went into that convention in New York, as one of the 5 candidates for vice president. On the face of it, having been elected for the State of Illinois, a big pivotal state, it made some sense. But I always suspected Daley's influence.

I had long talks with people representing Carter in the selection process. He put together an application form, all sorts of consents, and access to your medical records (RVR laughs). I went through it, and I wasn't all that enthusiastic about being the vice president. I remember when Ed Muskie saw all this paperwork (laughs), he said, "Take it and you know what you can do with it. I've been here for umpteen years. You know more about me than anyone knows about you," or something like that. So, I half suspected that Daley might have, during the preliminaries, before we released the delegates, said something like, "Well, we'll release his delegates, but he'd make a good candidate for vice president."

RVR: You know what I wanted to ask you? Did you ever think again of running for governor? Or did you...?

AS: I never stopped thinking about running for governor, including when I voluntarily left the senate in 1981. I got burnt out and didn't know what to do next.

RVR: Is that why you left the senate?

AS: I would have done it anyway. I really was burnt out. I hadn't had a vacation in 16 years. But I was kind of depressed by our politics. And I saw the choice of Carter and

Reagan. I felt that probably nothing was going to happen that I could be a constructive part of, no matter who won. So, why not take a breather and think about running for governor? If Dick Daley were alive, that 1982 campaign (laughs) might have come out differently.

FWB: It was a real loss.

AS: It was a real prelude to the year 2000 presidential election.

RVR: Yes.

AS: There was a tied election, a hung Supreme Court, hanging chads, and the whole bit.

FWB: Let's go back to your father, your father's relationship with him a little bit.

AS: Well yes, there was the organization in 1952 and 1956. The conventions were here. Jack Arvey was the leader and was very strong for my father. Then, of course, he was defeated by Eisenhower in both races. A movement started to persuade him to run for a third time. It developed quite a lot of support across the country, although he did absolutely nothing to encourage it. He felt that as the leader of the party that he should be neutral. He had 2 bites of the apple and he thought that it was somebody else's term.

But on the other hand, he didn't want to say no. And he was under a great deal of pressure from people. So, he did nothing to encourage it, but he didn't say no. And some, like Willard Wirtz, felt that it was the smartest thing he could have done, in order to get it. If he'd gone into a head on contest with his old friend Hubert and Jack Kennedy, he might have gotten bloodied pretty badly.

RVR: Did Daley come...?

AS: There's a Kennedy story here. At the 1956 convention, my father threw open the nomination. Nobody had really heard of Kennedy at that point. He was a young junior



senator. But he had Illinois connections, including Daley, through the family and its ownership of the Merchandise Mart. Sargent Shriver, his brother-in-law, was running it. He was married to Eunice Kennedy. I don't know anything about the relationship between the Kennedy's and the Daley's. The Irish blood is thick. I remember at the convention my father was privately supporting Kennedy. We were all rooting for Kennedy through all of this. In the ballooning relationship between Kennedy and the Kefauver, at one point, Kennedy surged ahead. I ran down, shook hands with the senator, and congratulated him.

RVR: Really?

AS: As Sargent Shriver was pulling up his trousers, Kennedy was guarding the gate, as if to go down to the floor and accept the nomination. We got back to my father's suite just in time to see Kefauver (laughs) win the nomination. But that brought Jack Kennedy to the attention of the country and the party. And it spared him from being implicated in a failed election.

RVR: He said that it was the best thing that ever happened to him.

AS: It was. It was the beginning of a great relationship with my father, but also with Daley. Now, come 1960, the pressure was mounting, not only on my father, but also on Daley. Kennedy came to Illinois, I was there in Libertyville ready, according to Bill Blair and Minow, to offer the secretary of state position to my father, in exchange for his support. That was the one position, next to the presidency, that my father really wanted. But again, he had to be neutral. And he may have had this subconscious hope for a third nomination. So, Blair and Minnow said to Kennedy, "Don't even mention it." That was their advice to Kennedy. And he didn't mention it. He did seek the support and he didn't get it. My father lost the position.

The pressures were really mounting on Daley who I think had a very friendly feeling for this young, Irish Catholic with ties to Illinois. So at the convention in Los Angeles, at the last moment, there was a huge demonstration. Literally, the barriers and

the doors were being broken down. Gene McCarthy delivers a stirring nominating address. Eleanor Roosevelt was supporting him. He went to the floor and created a riot, well not really, but sort of looking like it might be out of control. I think it got to my father.

At the very end, he became tempted and started making telephone calls, one to Richard Daley, who was furious. He was very unhappy. He'd been led down a primrose path. He'd been encouraged to go out and support candidates of his choice. He supported Kennedy. There was no way on earth that he was going to change, after having been led down that path by my father. I think it made him angry and upset because he liked my father. And they had had a very good, if not close, relationship over the years. Well, the bubble burst pretty quickly. Jack squeaked through in Illinois and helped deliver a tight race to him in the country.

RVR: The Daley family think that Richard J. Daley went to your father early in the campaign and asked him if he would, and that your father said no.

AS: I think that's consistent with my recollections.

RVR: So therefore, he went out and found another candidate.

AS: He did that routinely with everybody.

RVR: And then, of course, Daley turned up the pressure. Mrs. Roosevelt was after him to switch (AS and RVR laugh), back to your father. As you said, he was angry that he had been told, "This is not going to happen," and was encouraged to go and find somebody else.

AS: I don't blame him for doing that. But Jack Kennedy was a little nervous.

RVR: Jack Kennedy was nobody compared to your father, really, as far as the nation went.

AS: The nation and the world, but it was totally unrealistic. And my father was a realist. Contrary to rumors, he was very decisive. But he was in a difficult spot, which I tried to describe earlier. There, I think he lost touch with reality. This was not realistic. But he had to honor Roosevelt and all of those supporters. He was loyal to them. Bill Wirtz tells the story about being in the apartment, dad's hotel suite in Los Angeles. He said, "Now, I'm going to go to bed. And when Bobby calls, tell him I've gone to bed." Someone said, "What do you mean?" He said, "You'll get a call. Just tell him. I know what it's about. Just tell him I've gone to bed."

So the phone rang. It was Bobby Kennedy. He had to talk to the governor. He said, "He's in bed." Bobby said, "You'd better get him up. Tell him I'm calling." He said, "Well, he told me that he doesn't want to be woken." Bobby said, "Well, you get him up! If he doesn't get up, you know what that means." And Bill Wirtz tells this better and better. "Yes, thank you for the call. He doesn't want to be woken." He was calling to ask my father to nominate Kennedy, or to give him the invitation. That's all it was at that point. He said, "This is his last chance to become the Secretary of State." Of course, old Joe Kennedy was threatening almost physical violence. He was threatening retaliation. He was a very crude person. That's what happened.

RVR: And your father really knew that, when he went to bed?

AS: That's almost verbatim what Wirtz would tell you.

RVR: That would close out his....

AS: It would close out his chances for secretary of state.

RVR: Right.

AS: I was there when Kennedy called subsequently. Kennedy was a much bigger person than his brother. He put my father in charge of the transition for foreign policy. And of course, my father campaigned aggressively. One of Bobby's first stops was another rally

at Libertyville before the convention. But I was with my father at a dinner in Lake Forest when the call came from the president elect, asking him to serve in the United Nations. My father was furious (laughs).

RVR: Was he? Yes?

AS: "I was qualified to be the secretary of state, in the spring." He didn't say that to Kennedy.

RVR: No, of course not.

AS: To Kennedy, he said, "Well, who's the secretary of state going to be?" And Kennedy would not say. "How can I consider this, without knowing who I will be reporting to?" He didn't want to go there. He'd been there before. It was a death warrant for him. He was very unhappy. But notwithstanding, I think they had a mutually respectful relationship that was not shared by some of the other members of what was called the Irish mafia led by Bobby.

RVR: It was led by who?

AS: It was led by Bobby Kennedy.

RVR: Oh, that's okay.

FWB: I have a question. When you went back to your own experience in 1968 and your work at the convention, what was your relationship to Dan Walker? He was also in the Democratic Party and was a critic of Daley in 1968.

AS: Yes. That got me into a lot of trouble (laughs), especially with Daley. It also reminds me of another Daley story. Dan Walker was part of this reform movement, C.I.G. He was also head of the commission. He was the general counsel of Montgomery Ward and head

of a blue ribbon independent commission to investigate the city's reaction to the convention disturbance. The report of that commission was very critical. So Walker, too, was labeled as one of those rabble-rousing reform types.

FWB: He didn't ask you to be on the commission or anything, or to be involved in it at all?

AS: No. But I knew Dan very well. He was a very bright guy. He ended up in a tragedy. He had enormous talent. But he had some deficiencies. I made him my campaign chairman (laughs), which really didn't help me very much with the Cook County Democrats, the mayor, the police, and so on. But I finessed this by making Tom Foran, the U.S. Attorney who had prosecuted the Chicago 7, the vice chairman. And Tom was a crusty character and a trial lawyer. He got on the stump and started barnstorming for me. That offset Walker.

Oh, I was with Daley. This would have been election night in 1970, watching the election returns. You know, I was going to win. But it wasn't clear that everybody was going to win. "Make sure you keep everybody in their places at the polls. And for heaven's sake, don't claim any premature victory. People will leave their stations," Daley said. So I called Dan and I said, "Spread the word that the state election isn't over. We've got to see this through. And for heaven's sake, Dan, don't claim any victory. I'm going to claim that victory when the time comes." So I went back to watching the returns with the mayor.

And I did this on a number of occasions. The telephone would be ringing. Calls would be coming in from precincts reporting the tallies to the mayor. Then, I don't know what time it was, all of a sudden I see Dan Walker behind the microphones, claiming victory (RVR laughs) for Stevenson. I mean, I was angry and embarrassed. Daley said he was running for governor, to me. It had never occurred to me. Daley, intuitively, I think, knew before anybody what was going on. And sure enough, Dan Walker stole my records and my staff (RVR laughs). On the very day I was sworn in to the Senate, Walker announced his candidacy for governor (RVR laughs). Daley had a sixth sense.

RVR: He really did. How would you rate him as the mayor of Chicago?

AS: Well, it's hard to do it retrospectively, because the times have changed. But, given where he came from, back of the yards, and his time, he was a very good mayor. The city became the city that works. But was he a visionary? I mean, did he understand what was happening in those housing projects? No. And I think he totally missed the school segregation issues. I think, intuitively, he was always in the back of the yards. He was not an integrationist. He was not a civil libertarian. He was a creature of his environment, like we all are. He was a good administrator. He was not a visionary. He was not a theorist. He was a great political leader. And from what I can see, he was totally honest, in the traditional sense. There were favors done, patronage and so on. But those were for the party. I certainly never saw any sign or ever heard of any evidence of him ever doing anything corrupt.

RVR: Evidence keeps coming up, again and again, that he was....

AS: He was totally scrupulous.

RVR: Absolutely.

AS: He was hard working, God fearing, family, church, and the City of Chicago. That was kind of his universe.

RVR: That was his only ambition.

AS: That's right. I never saw another....

RVR: He never wanted to become a senator or anything else. And he was able to maintain a private life that was very private. It's still very private.

AS: You know, he owned a bungalow, never a fancy apartment. Sis was a wonderful wife and mother. As a human being, he was a very fine person. He was a very fine person, with limitations. He knew his environment. I had a feeling that more things might start popping up (laughs). But we've covered a lot of ground.

RVR: We have, in 2 hours. It's almost 12:00.

FWB: I have a couple of questions, especially of someone who fought with Walker. You were in the senate at that time. You knew Walker. You knew Daley. You were on the Transportation Committee. One of the big things that Walker ran against in 1972 was the crosstown. What was the story behind some of that? Were you involved in that?

AS: The other one was the tunnel. Well, first of all, if I ever had to make a decision on the basis of just politics, I'd have been with the mayor (laughs), no question. I don't believe that on the crosstown, I ever took a decision. I don't think I ever reached that point. I think I had reservations. And I didn't want to cross Daley, wholly independent of Dan Walker, who really was for one person, Dan Walker. He was a very flawed governor, personally. I had real reservations about him. And I did not want to oppose Daley prematurely. In other words, I don't think I ever had to get to that point. I think it died, either after I left office or before I ever had to decide what my position was going to be.

On the tunnel, I can't remember whether Dan Walker was involved in that. But that was very controversial, too. And there, I supported the mayor. I did whatever I could to get whatever federal funding there was. But there were very few issues like that. That's one of the advantages of representing Illinois. There aren't many local issues like the crosstown. It really is a cross section of the United States. I found myself, very rarely, having to choose between the national interests and the local interests, when I felt that I would have to take the national interest. As I said earlier, the mayor never put any pressure on me. I can't remember him calling me and talking to me about the crosstown. He talked to Rostenkowski.

RVR: Even though he didn't trust him?

AS: He told me not to. He knew that he could trust Dan because he controlled him. I didn't have any control over Rostenkowski. Daley did. Dan thought that Rostenkowski was important.

FWB: One of the things in 1974 and 1976 was that you were closely involved with a couple of the reform candidates for mayor, because they were coming out of the 43<sup>rd</sup> Ward. There was Singer and then....

AS: Oh yes. That was way back. I supported Frank Fisher for alderman against Paddy Bauler. I mean, there are lots of stories that don't have much to do with Daley. As soon as I got back here from law school in 1957, I immediately lunged into reform politics. And there went Frank Fisher, who was running for alderman. Well, my wife tells the story about how she got caught by (inaudible) (laughs), precinct captains, taking more than 30 seconds to vote a straight Democratic ticket. And her feet had been caught below the curtain, moving laterally (RVR and FWB laugh). The next day, the fire inspector arrived. The plumbing inspector arrived (AS and RVR laugh). And the electrical inspector arrived. They discovered all kinds of violations that had been there since the place was built in late 1895 (AS and RVR laugh). The prior owners must have known how to vote a straight ticket or split in a hurry (AS and RVR laugh). Oh God, that brings back such wonderful politics.

But you know, he put up with that and made it an asset. It didn't cost him anything. You know, in 1966, I think I know how that came about. He didn't care much about the treasurer's office. It was a bad year. He was going to lose it anyway. I think Paul Douglas went to him. This was rumored. Senator Paul Douglas never confirmed this. But he went to Daley and said, "You know, this is really tough. I need Stevenson to help me out." Daley would oblige. That was part of his job. He didn't have any grudges. He hated Walker. But so did I, I mean, with good reason. He didn't let the big picture be obscured by little incidents. He was quite capable of getting kind of floored and angry (laughs). He had a temper. But he was big enough to not be diverted. It didn't cost him



anything to support me or slate me for treasurer. Of course, as it turned out, it wasn't enough to help. But the Democrats picked up a state office from a Republican. And he didn't get any patronage out of it (RVR laughs). In those days, the bank deposits were awarded for political reasons. They never asked....

FWB: They never asked for anything.

AS: There were some others. Parky Cullerton was the first to call. He was knocking at my door the morning after the election, saying he represented a big insurance and casualty company. He wanted to get the bond that I'd have to post for this company. I never heard about a bond requirement (AS and RVR laugh). I checked it out. And I got Marsh McLennan to check it out. This was the way they often operated. He was representing a first rate company. Marsh McLennan, the world's biggest brokerage in the country, said, "You can't find a better proprietor for the state. You ought to do it." And that was often the way it worked. They knew how to profit without necessarily being dishonest, although the appearance was not good.

RVR: Any further questions?

AS: Yes. That's what I was interested in, to take a look at.

RVR: If you think of anything after, later....

AS: Well, yes.

RVR: Or if we do, we can always get in touch with you.

AS: I'd be more than happy to....

RVR: Thank you. Can I invite you to lunch?

AS: It would be a pleasure, if you want to take your chances, because I have another subject to bring up (laughs). I'm going to take advantage of you. I want to talk to you about a book I'm thinking of.

FWB: I'm sorry?

AS: I'd love to get your thoughts and advice for a book I'm working on.

RVR: Oh sure. We can go to a Greek restaurant across the street.

AS: Yes. That's great.

RVR: Okay. Let's do that. That's good. Well, I can't thank you enough. This has been wonderful.

AS: This has been a pleasure. I should have brought Nancy along.

RVR: I wish you had.

AS: She has a few memories.

RVR: It's been a while.

\*\*\*\*\*END OF INTERVIEW\*\*\*\*\*