

California State Archives  
State Government Oral History Program

Oral History Interview

with

**FRANK CULLEN SR.**

Assistant Legislative Secretary, Governor's Office, 1963-1966  
Chief of Staff, Governor Edmund G. Brown, 1967-1996

May 6, 13, June 3, 9, 30 2003  
Los Angeles, California

By Susan Douglass Yates  
Oral History Program  
University of California, Los Angeles

## RESTRICTIONS ON THIS INTERVIEW

None.

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SECRETARY OF STATE  
**KEVIN SHELLEY**  
STATE OF CALIFORNIA

**PREFACE**

On September 25, 1985, Governor George Deukmejian signed into law A.B. 2104 (Chapter 965 of the Statutes of 1985). This legislation established, under the administration of the California State Archives, a State Government Oral History Program "to provide through the use of oral history a continuing documentation of state policy development as reflected in California's legislative and executive history."

The following interview is one of a series of oral histories undertaken for inclusion in the state program. These interviews offer insights into the actual workings of both the legislative and executive processes and policy mechanisms. They also offer an increased understanding of the men and women who create legislation and implement state policy. Further, they provide an overview of issue development in California state government and of how both the legislative and executive branches of government deal with issues and problems facing the state.

Interviewees are chosen primarily on the basis of their contributions to and influence on the policy process of the state of California. They include members of the legislative and executive branches of the state government as well as legislative staff, advocates, members of the media, and other people who played significant roles in specific issue areas of major and continuing importance to California.

By authorizing the California State Archives to work cooperatively with oral history units at California colleges and universities to conduct interviews, this program is structured to take advantage of the resources and expertise in oral history available through California's several institutionally based programs.

Participating as cooperation institutions in the State Government Oral History Program are:

Oral History Program  
History Department  
California State University, Fullerton

Oral History Program  
Center for California Studies  
California State University, Sacramento

Oral History Program  
Claremont Graduate School

Regional Oral History Office  
The Bancroft Library  
University of California, Berkeley

Oral History Program  
University of California, Los Angeles

The establishment of the California State Archives State Government Oral History Program marks one of the most significant commitments made by any state toward the preservation and documentation of its governmental history. It supplements the often fragmentary historical written record by adding an organized primary source, enriching the historical information available on given topics and allowing for more thorough historical analysis. As such, the program, through the preservation and publication of interviews such as the one which follows, will be of lasting value to current and future generations of scholars, citizens, and leaders.

John F. Burns  
State Archivist

July 27, 1988

This interview is printed on acid-free paper.

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## INTERVIEW HISTORY

### Interviewer:

Susan Douglass Yates  
Senior Writer, UCLA Oral History Program  
B.A., University of California, Santa Cruz [History]  
M.A., California State University, Sacramento [History]

### Interview Time and Place:

May 6, 2003  
Cullen's home in Los Angeles, California  
Session of one and three-quarters hours

May 13, 2003  
Cullen's home in Los Angeles, California  
Session of two and one-quarter hours

June 3, 2003  
Cullen's home in Los Angeles, California  
Session of two hours

June 9, 2003  
Cullen's home in Los Angeles, California  
Session of two and one-quarter hours

June 30, 2003  
Cullen's home in Los Angeles, California  
Session of two and one-half hours

### Editing

Yates edited for punctuation, paragraphing, and spellings, verified proper names, and prepared the table of contents, biographical summary, and interview history.

Cullen reviewed the edited transcript and returned it with only minor corrections.

### Interview Preparation

In preparing for the interview, Yates conducted research in periodicals and consulted interviews conducted by the University of California, Berkeley Regional Oral History

Office for the Goodwin Knight-Edmund G. Brown Sr., Gubernatorial Eras, 1953-1966 oral history series as well as interviews conducted for the State Government Oral History Program. Cullen loaned Yates several files of material from his personal collection.

### Papers

There exist no private papers which the interviewer was able to consult for this interview.

### Tapes and Interview Records

The original tape recordings of the interview are in the university archives at UCLA along with the records relating to the interview. Master tapes are preserved at the California State Archives.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

Frank Cullen Sr. was born June 29, 1926 in Brooklyn, New York. He was educated at parochial schools in Brooklyn, first attending St. Brendan's Elementary School and then St. Francis Preparatory School. At an early age he planned to become a priest and attended St. Francis part time while studying at St. Anthony's Novitiate, OFS seminary located in Smithtown, New York. Gradually he lost interest in joining the priesthood and instead decided to join the war effort, enlisting in the United States Army Air Force in November of 1943. He was sent to Santa Monica, California, to study to be a flight engineer for the A-26 airplane. Once he completed training he helped transport A-26 airplanes overseas. He was discharged in 1946.

From 1946 to 1952 Cullen attended the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts. While attending Holy Cross he met his future wife Mary Anne White, the daughter of a prominent New York City Democrat. She enlisted Cullen's help in John F. Kennedy's 1948 congressional campaign and despite the fact that Cullen was a registered Republican he agreed. Cullen's involvement in JFK's 1948 campaign as well as his 1952 U.S. Senate campaign led to his changing his party affiliation to Democrat.

In 1951 he married Mary Anne White and in 1952 graduated from Holy Cross with a B.S. in economics and administration. Cullen continued to be politically active during the 1950s, participating in Adlai Stevenson's presidential campaign in 1952 and 1956. In the early 1950s he began his own business Frank Cullen Associates (FCA) to help train insurance salesman. His business success led to his expanding FCA and moving his family to California in 1958.

In 1959 Cullen became active in politics again when he was contacted by Robert F. Kennedy asking him to serve as advance man for JFK's presidential bid in 1960. While attending the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles in 1960, Cullen met Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown Sr. as well as Elizabeth Snyder, chairwoman of the California Democratic Party. Cullen became involved in state politics when he learned that Richard Nixon was going to be running for governor in the 1962 election. He immediately volunteered to work on the campaign. During the 1962 election he was assigned campaign duties in San Diego, Orange, and Imperial counties although he focused primarily on San Diego. After the 1962 election, Cullen first served as a consultant to Governor Brown before joining the staff as assistant to the legislative secretary and then assistant legislative secretary under Frank Mesplé.

Cullen took a leave of absence in 1964 to work on Pierre Salinger's campaign for the U.S. Senate and serve as Salinger's aide after he was appointed by Governor Brown to fill the unexpired term of Senator Clair Engle. He also joined Governor Brown's campaign team when Brown ran for an unsuccessful third term in 1966.

When Brown left office he asked Cullen to form two companies, one to do public relations and press work, the other to carry out legislative, public affairs, and political operations. From 1967 until 1996 when Governor Brown passed away, Cullen served as Brown's chief of staff. Cullen participated in a number of political activities including serving as executive director of the National Commission on the Reform of the Federal Penal Code, working on Hubert H. Humphrey's 1968 presidential campaign, and helping to found the Edmund G. "Pat" Brown Institute for Public Affairs in 1979.

The Institute is now part of California State University, Los Angeles.

Cullen served for nine years on the State of California Economic Development Commission as a commissioner appointed by Democratic governor Jerry Brown in 1982 and reappointed by Republican governor George Deukmejian in 1987.

Cullen was also extremely active on behalf of the United States Senate Democratic Campaign Committee (DSCC) from 1979 through 1992. He reactivated his interest for the 1996 campaign and has recently reactivated for the 2004 campaign.

[Session 1, May 5, 2003]

[Begin Tape 1, Side A]

YATES: More formally, thank you for agreeing to meet, and let's start with early life history, is what we call it. We always start at the beginning, which is when and where were you born?

CULLEN: OK. I was born on June 29, 1926, in Brooklyn, New York. I was one of four boys born to my mother and father. My father was Robert J.F. Cullen, and he was educated in Brooklyn, left school at the seventh grade, yet he went on to become one of the first Irish Catholic vice presidents of the General Electric Company. And you can't do that today, but in those days. . . . He went to work for General Electric in 1906.

My mother was Maye [E.] Branigan Cullen, and she was born in New York City, but brought up in Brooklyn. My mother and father were married in 1921. I was the third of a family of four boys.

My oldest brother, Robert [J. Cullen], went on to become a lieutenant in the army during World War II, then went into finance, first with General

Electric Company, then with Chemical Bank of New York, and then for thirty years he was treasurer of Sony Corporation of America. He's now still alive.

He'll be celebrating his eighty-second birthday June 22 of this year.

Unfortunately, he's in an Alzheimer's facility, with advanced Alzheimer's.

YATES: That's too bad.

CULLEN: Yes, it is. My second brother, Stephen Edward Cullen, is two years older than I am. He left school, as a matter of fact, like my father did, only he left high school and he joined the marines and he served a very hard war in the Pacific. He did the island-hopping with the 1<sup>st</sup> Marine Division. He was on many of the big battles. He holds the Silver Star, the Bronze Star, and five Purple Hearts, so he fought a very hard war.

Then there's myself, and I went to St. Francis Prep[aratory], which was. . . I was educated at St. Brendan's Elementary School, a Catholic parochial school, and then went on to St. Francis Preparatory School, both in Brooklyn. I became interested in the Franciscan Order, the OFMs, Order of Friars Minor, and studied for a while to become a priest, and divided my time between seminary and St. Francis Prep, depending upon courses and what have you.

During that time, in the summertime, I worked in my uncle's pawnshop as a runner and learned a little bit about jewelry. Then the summer before I joined the air force in 1943, I worked as an usher at Ebbets Field and ended

up babysitting Dolph Camilli's children.

YATES: You said you have a youngest brother.

CULLEN: Yes. My youngest brother is five years younger than I am. His name is James Austin Cullen, known as "Jimmy." He worked for thirty years for New York Life and became the midwestern general manager of New York Life Insurance Company Claims Division. Then he retired, got bored, and he now, for the past ten years, has been working as a greeter at Sam's in Wal-Mart, Sam's Club in Wal-Mart in St. Louis, Missouri.

My older brother lost his wife back in 1969. He has two children. My second brother, Steve, has four children, and lost his wife just last year. They were married fifty-four years. I lost my wife [Mary Anne White Cullen] in 1995, and fortunately, Jim's wife is still alive—Lillian [Fees Cullen]—and they have five children.

YATES: Well, it sounds like, from the names of your parents, that there's an Irish background.

CULLEN: On both sides. My father's family, the Cullens, came to America during the potato famine.

YATES: So that's 1848?

CULLEN: Eighteen forty-two. They came in 1842. We have the records of my great-grandfather arriving in 1842. His name was also Robert Cullen, and he had two sisters. One married a man named Flanigan and I don't remember. . . . I

used to know. My mother's family came much later. My father's family came in through New York.

My mother's family came from Ireland. Their name was Branigan, and they came to Nova Scotia in the 1850s and then to Boston. My grandfather [Stephen E. Branigan] became a policeman in Boston and then didn't like Boston, and they moved to New York and he became a policeman in New York.

YATES: When did they come to New York, do you know?

CULLEN: I believe it was in the 1880s. I believe it was the late 1880s.

YATES: So your mother was born in New York, you said?

CULLEN: My mother was born in New York, yes. My mother was born in New York.

YATES: Do you know how your parents met?

CULLEN: How my parents met? Yes, they belonged to a Catholic youth group at St. Mark's Church in Brooklyn. My mother worked as a stenographer for a large corporation. I forget which corporation. My father actually always worked for. . . . His first job was with General Electric. He went to work for them on August 11, 1906, and worked until August 11, 1957. So fifty-one years he spent with General Electric.

YATES: Now, what was your mother's educational background?

CULLEN: My mother's education, she graduated from Erasmus Hall, which was a high school in Brooklyn, a city high school. Many noted actors, singers, and

business leaders went to Erasmus over the years.

She was one of a large family. My father was an only child. His father, Robert Cullen, died six weeks after my father was born. He never knew his father. And my grandmother, her name was Hannah Josephine [Casey] Cullen—everybody called her Aunt Josie—and she brought my father up, really, alone. A real single mother back at the end of the 1800s.

YATES: You mentioned your mother was a stenographer. Did she go to school for that?

CULLEN: Yes, she did. Well, after she graduated from Erasmus Hall, she did go to stenography school. Yes, both she and her sister. Her sister also went to . . . But her sister [Rose Branigan Ketcham] worked in one of the big department stores in New York. I forget whether it was either a company called B. Altman [and Company], I believe it was, which now been out of business for years. But my mother worked. . . . And I really don't remember the name of the corporation, because after my mother married, she was busy raising a family.

YATES: Of four boys.

CULLEN: She gave up working when she was married. But interestingly enough, my grandmother lived with us until she died. I mean she lived with us. And it's interesting because she was in failing health during the war, but she kept alive, kept herself alive, until all three of us came back. All three of us came

back. My other younger brother was too young to go in the service. He was in the Korean War.

YATES: Now, I'm sorry, I can't remember if you mentioned, what did your father do when he went to GE—started working for GE?

CULLEN: He started working at GE as a messenger. He started out as a messenger at 120 Broadway, which was then the General Electric offices, and he ended up his career at 570 Lexington Avenue, which was the headquarters of General Electric.

YATES: Working his way up to. . . .

CULLEN: He worked his way up. As a matter of fact, I have a plaque over there, which you can't see. I'll show it to you. In World War I, he was not in the army, but he was doing some kind of government work with General Electric up in Schenectady, New York. They were trying to perfect some kind of a faster engine and I think it was for tanks, not for airplanes.

But after the war, he stayed up in Schenectady and he was what they called "on test" and it was to teach how the General Electric products were made, and they even worked on the big turbines. There were classes of like eight to ten men in a class. No women in those days.

He worked for a man named Dr. [Charles P.] Steinmetz, who was a world-famous electrical engineer and very famous. Dr. Steinmetz was a severely deformed individual. He was only about four-feet-six tall and he had

a spinal problem, but he was a genius, an absolute genius.

My father learned a lot from him and sort of took to what Dr. Steinmetz was teaching. And the one who was most proficient in giving the instructions of the particular turbines they were working on would get the GE plaque from the turbine, and my father won for the year. He got the plaque in 1919.

Then he left Schenectady, came back to New York, and began his work in New York. . . . Back to his work in New York, but he started with a different company, General Electric Supply Corporation, which was a division of GE, and he stayed with that company until he left, until retirement.

YATES: So what was it like growing up in Brooklyn?

CULLEN: Well, it was rather strange, because we were one of the few Republican families in an Irish-Catholic area. As I say, St. Brendan's. . . . There were very few Republicans in the Irish Catholic area. Either you were an Irish or Italian who was a Democrat, Irish or Italian who were Democrats, or you were Jewish and you were Democratic, so the three groups were mostly Democrats.

It was great growing up. I mean, we had a very integrated group. I grew up with kids whose family came from Czechoslovakia, from Italy, from Ireland, from England. A lot from the Middle East. We had a lot of Jewish refugees who were living in our area. It was a part of Flatbush. It was called

Central Flatbush. It was, as I say, St. Brendan's parish was mostly a Catholic area.

YATES: I was going to say, was there one group that predominated?

CULLEN: Yes, mostly Catholic, but we would play at the PSAL Park, which was the [Public Schools] Athletic League, and everybody played, whether you were Catholic, Irishman, or a Jew. It didn't really matter.

YATES: When you say *Catholic*, was it. . . . You mentioned Italian and Irish.

CULLEN: Right, but when I say Catholic, the Irish. . . . I had a lot of kids in my class. I had mostly Irish. The second group would be Italian, then Czechoslovakian, and some Russian Catholics.

YATES: This is at St. Brendan's?

CULLEN: St. Brendan's. St. Brendan's. As a matter of fact, my eighth grade teacher was a lady, a nun, but I was terribly impressed with her name, it was Sister Romuold, from Romuold and Remus, the founders of Rome. And when I went in the seminary, I took the name as Brother Romuold, after her, because I was so impressed with her.

YATES: I'm sorry, what grade did she teach?

CULLEN: She taught seventh and eighth. Then she became the principal. A very, very smart lady.

YATES: You mentioned your interest in the seminary, becoming a priest. When did that develop?

CULLEN: I think it always developed. . . . I was an altar boy at St. Brendan's. I was very close to a number of the priests. We had Monsignor [ ] Hickey, I thought was a very bright man, and we had Father [ ] Sheridan that I liked very much and I thought he was a very smart man. He was a marvelous speaker and, you know, I always sort of went toward public speaking. I did almost all the plays in school. I was a part of the plays in school. I was on the debating team. I was, you know, very. . . . It was hard to shut me up. [Laughter] So it was sort of a natural bent.

Then my grandmother really wanted a priest in the family, and so, as I said, I divided my time between St. Francis Prep, where I went to school, and the seminary, and half the time I'd spend out in the seminary and half the time at prep.

YATES: At what age were you at that point?

CULLEN: From the time I was fourteen until I was seventeen, so fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, and I was seventeen. Then I left in June. But I ultimately graduated from St. Francis Prep not until 1945, but I finished by correspondence class because I was already in service. They were very liberal, let me put it that way, with anybody who was in the service. You got your diploma, but you had to know. . . . You had to take a test and what have you, and I passed the test.

YATES: Describe a little bit what your family life was like.

CULLEN: Family life was really great. By that time, my father. . . . In the thirties, my father was. . . . Because you've got to realize, this was in the middle of the Depression, and my father was a very hard worker. He was, at the time, a manager of a division of General Electric Supply Corporation that handled appliances. Things like. . . . A new thing came in the late twenties, just about the time I was born, a little after, the refrigerator came on the scene. Then the radio became popular, and then electric ovens became popular, and vacuum cleaners, and all the things you think about that run with electricity. And my father turned out to be a very, very successful salesman, and he devised a plan that all the appliance companies were having a terrible time, a terrible time, because nobody had any money, and the Depression was very, very serious. It hit New York very hard. It hit the United States very hard, but it hit the big cities terribly, terribly, and it really was a very depressing time.

We were fortunate because my father had had so many years with General Electric by that time—he had almost thirty years with General Electric by that time—he was not in danger of being fired. He got his check, but what happened beginning in 1933, I believe it was, maybe '34, they'd only pay him half his salary in the check. The rest he got in stock, which was terrible at the time, but it turned out to be very beneficial in later years.

[Laughter]

YATES: The long run.

CULLEN: Anyway, but what he did, he came up with an idea....And in those days, General Electric had no stores. They sold through the department stores. There were no big box stores like there are today. Everything was sold through department stores. Sears, Roebuck [and Company] or a company called Abraham and Strauss or RH Macy [and Company] or Bloomingdale's; they all had an appliance department. And my father went around and he got all these appliance people and he started a contest. The guy who, every six months, sold the most General Electric appliances would get a cachet that would allow him to go on a cruise, and my father would organize the cruise.

YATES: That sounds quite luxurious.

CULLEN: It turned out to be greatly luxurious. As a matter of fact, that's why I'm a great cook, if I may say so myself, because when my father and mother would go on the cruise on the SS *Vilendam* or the SS *Rotterdam* or the SS *Voltzdam*, all these damn Dutch ships, they would cruise the Caribbean and my father would take maybe 200 people. General Electric would foot the bill and take all these people who'd never been on a boat before, including my parents when they first went, and it turned out it was one of the most popular things. That's why my father ascended so quickly in General Electric, because he came up with this idea of this contest. And it just spread throughout, and by the end of the forties, or the middle of the forties, he was the general manager from the entire eastern seaboard from the Atlantic Ocean to Illinois, from the

Canadian border to Washington, D.C. This vast area.

And then little things like the guy who sold the most General Electric light bulbs. You don't even think, but when you're selling thousands of light bulbs. My father also got the contract to light the Holland Tunnel and to light the George Washington Bridge, so I mean, he was just a very, very great salesman.

Now, how that reflected to our life growing up in the Depression, we had food on the table all the time. My mother and father were away. We had an Irish lady who worked for us, Mrs. [Mary] Hill. Mrs. Hill was about four-foot-nothing, but she was a great cook, so when my father and mother would leave—and my father couldn't boil water—but he would say, “Now, Mrs. Hill, when I come back, I want Francis to know this, I want Stephen to know this, I want Robert to know this.” And she said, “What do you mean ‘this’?” And he said, “Well, how do you cook an egg? How do you make a loaf of bread? How do you bake a cake? How do you cook a chicken?” And we got specific instructions, and at twelve years old, you knew how to cook.

YATES: That sounds unusual for boys of that age, that era.

CULLEN: Oh yes. There were no girls in our house. So that's how it happened and it was marvelous. And we all learned to cook. My brother Jimmy is a marvelous cook, although he wasn't part of that. He was too young. But because we were all good cooks, he became a cook. And my father, later on,

he became a great barbecuer.

Also, the same year I was born, my mother and father bought a bungalow down at a place called Rockaway Point. Rockaway Point was a real closed area. I mean, you talk about the area . . .

YATES: That's still in New York?

CULLEN: It's still in New York. It's in Queens County. As a matter of fact, I used to go to school by boat.

YATES: Really.

CULLEN: Yes. I used to go to school by boat when I was at St. Brendan's. We would move from the house we had in Brooklyn and we would load the car. . . . That's the other thing. My father always, from the mid-twenties, always had a car. And a lot of people in those days did not have cars, but all during the Depression, my father used to have. . . The first car he had was a LaSalle. Then he had Buicks. We always had Buicks. We had Buicks. . . . I think my father never had anything other than a Buick, that I remember, except the LaSalle, that I don't remember.

YATES: What time of year would you go to Rockaway Point?

CULLEN: We'd go to Rockaway Point around the beginning of May, maybe the first week in May, and we'd stay over there, and my mother would stay over there, and my Aunt Rose, my mother's sister, would very often come down when my mother and father were traveling. My grandmother would move over.

And the bungalow, we were right on the ocean. We were physically on the ocean. It was 110 Oceanside, as a matter of fact.

It was a wonderful way to grow up. From May until probably the last week in September, first week in October, we lived there. We had to go across Sheep's Head Bay, which was the bay between Coney Island and Rockaway and Breezy Point. Coney Island is in Brooklyn. Sheep's Head Bay divides the west end of Long Island. People don't realize, but Brooklyn and Queens are both on the island of Long Island, as opposed to Manhattan and the Bronx—the Bronx is on the U.S. mainland—and Staten Island, which are separate islands.

But what we would do very often as young children, my father would take us on his. . . . He'd take us a day away from school, take us all out of school and load us in the car and we'd drive out to Riverhead or we'd drive out to Montauk Point, while he would make his business calls along the way to hardware stores and department stores and what have you. We did that for years and years and years, so you got to know things.

Then on Sundays, we would go to museums. My father was a great museum-goer and a great zoo-goer. So Saturday and Sunday were family days, and we'd go to the museum or we'd go to a ball game or we'd go to the park. Brooklyn had a series of wonderful parks. The Battle of Brooklyn, as a matter of fact, during the Revolutionary War, was fought on what is now

Prospect Park, a very, very popular park, a beautiful park.

YATES: How would you say you compared economically to your neighbors and friends?

CULLEN: We were upper income.

YATES: It sounds like your father was doing quite well.

CULLEN: My father was doing quite well. During the Depression, he was doing extremely well, as a matter of fact. And my father was a very gregarious man. He was very outgoing. As I say, he was a crackerjack salesman and he was a good businessman, but he was devoted to General Electric. General Electric's big competitor was a company called Westinghouse Electric.

YATES: Yes. I remember Westinghouse.

CULLEN: Do you? Well, the mantra of General Electric salesmen was "Every louse needs Westinghouse. Every louse buys Westinghouse. Buy GE. Buy GE. It's a better brand." [Laughter]

Anyway, but, yes, we were in good shape. We weren't rich, but we doing well. You know, we certainly weren't rich, although once I got into St. Francis Prep, I started going out with a different group of people rather than the St. Brendan's group and became very friendly. . . . A classmate of mine went to a school called Brooklyn Prep[aratory], which was a Jesuit school. I went to St. Francis Prep, which was a Franciscan school. But they were sort of the upper echelon because you had to pay tuition to go there. Most of the

people went to city high schools. You went to Erasmus Hall or [James] Madison High School. We, as I say, were a little more fortunate in terms that we went to private schools. As a matter of fact, it even cost me to go to the seminary. It cost my family; it didn't cost me anything. It cost the family to go to seminary. But it was very good.

Then the other thing that happened after I left the seminary, I discovered girls. [Laughter] I used to travel around with this fellow who was in my class, [P. Richard] Dick Egner. He went on to go to Georgetown [University] and become a very, very successful investment banker. He now has a twelve-room apartment on Park Avenue and Sixty-third Street, and every time I go to New York, I'm pledged to stay with him. Doesn't cost me anything to stay there.

YATES: You've mentioned quite a bit about your father. How do you think your mother influenced you and your siblings?

CULLEN: Very much. I think my mother had a very. . . . I think my mother was typical time-of-the-era. . . . I guess the era of the time leant to homemakers and my mother was. . . . She was very, very interested in. . . . She had a bridge group. My grandmother was blind, and she would take her up to play bingo every Friday night and, you know, that was a big thing in those days. You didn't win any money, but you won things, because nobody had any money.

But my mother was very, very influential. And my family all called me

Francis. I didn't turn to use Frank until after I got out of the seminary. Everybody called me Francis until I was probably sixteen or seventeen. My mother still called me Francis till she died. She lived to be ninety-four.

My father, unfortunately, like many energetic people of the era, was a terrible, terrible chain-smoker. He smoked four or five packs of Camels a day for probably fifty or sixty years. He died at seventy-seven from emphysema and lung cancer. He went from 170 pounds to 90 pounds, and just a terrible, terrible death.

But my mother lived to be ninety-four, was never in a hospital. Had all four children at home. She was very active, sort of with the church community, but she wasn't like one of the ladies who went up and dressed the altar, was not what she did, but she was very active in trying to raise money for the church and she worked in the bazaars and those kinds of things.

And she was active in taking groups of us from school. We'd need parents to accompany. Of course, the nuns at that time couldn't travel with their long habits. Nuns used to have these habits down to their ankles and what have you. And they had these bibs that they wore and they didn't like to travel on the subways. So the mothers would take us on a lot of these field trips. We went up to the Frick [Art] Museum or we went to the Cloisters or we went to the Metropolitan Museum [of Art]. If it was a school trip, the mothers would take us. The nuns would not accompany us.

YATES: Is there anything specific you can identify with your mother in terms of how she influenced you?

CULLEN: Well, she was very proud of the fact that I was going to become a priest. She thought that was a great idea and she liked it very much. And my grandmother liked it very much, and I think I probably stayed a year there longer than I would have because of their interest. But I sort of lost interest, I think in the second year.

YATES: What about your dad? How did he feel about your . . .

CULLEN: He was not too happy about it. He thought it was a waste of everybody's time. He thought that I should get out. . . . And you've got to understand, by the time I was in the seminary, World War II was started and I felt that I didn't belong there. I felt that I wanted to get in the action, see what's going on.

YATES: Now, what year was this?

CULLEN: Nineteen forty-two, '43.

YATES: But you were pretty young.

CULLEN: Oh yes. I went in at fourteen, and I was seventeen, and I went into the service on November 17, 1943. So I was just seventeen. Of course, the air force and the navy would take you when you were seventeen and a half. The army would not. You had to be eighteen.

YATES: That's what I thought.

CULLEN: So I wouldn't be eighteen until my next birthday, but you see, until June 29 of the following year. But of course, right after I went in on the 17 of November, pushing it just a little bit. [Laughter] You see, they were so desperate to get people to join the air force, everybody. . . . A lot of people didn't want to enlist; they waited to be drafted. People who enlisted wanted to join the navy because the navy had a better PR [public relations] program. Very few people wanted to join the air force, for a number of reasons. They didn't know enough about it. The air force had only really. . . . It was still part of the army. It was the army air force. There was no real air force. It was the army air force. My discharge says United States Army Air Force.

I went in on November 17 of '43 and I was discharged December 12, 1946. Then I stayed in the reserves till 1949, and then I didn't re-enlist in the reserves.

YATES: Well, let me ask you, because I want to ask you some more specific questions about your military experience, you mentioned earlier that you family was one of the few Irish Republican families in your neighborhood.

CULLEN: Most of them were Irish Democrats. Right.

YATES: Now, I assume you mean both your parents were Republicans? Were both of them Republicans?

CULLEN: Both of them. Well, I would not say how my mother voted when she got in the booth, but General Electric was a very. . . . All major corporations of the

United States, and I say this as a general terms, the Eastern establishment and the Midwest corporations were primarily run by Masons. The Masons really. . . . It was a WASP area. Jews and Catholics need not apply in the early part of this century. That's why you'll find a lot of Jews went into the medical business or became lawyers, because they couldn't get into big business or government. A lot of the Irish people become policemen or went in the military or became priests. [Laughter]

YATES: So when you mention . . .

CULLEN: It was economic.

YATES: . . . that your dad became the first Catholic, that was very unusual.

CULLEN: It was very unusual at the time. Now, it was beginning. There was a man who never got to be a vice president. His name was Harry Mulligan. He was my father's very close friend, worked for General Electric almost as long as my father, had a college degree and he never became a vice president. My father left during seventh grade.

YATES: So his career at GE. . . . I'm just trying to think. . . . The influence of being Republican was part of being part of GE?

CULLEN: Everybody he worked with was pretty much a Republican. I mean, all the management people, all the people he looked up to, were Republicans, and so that's really why. And I was a Republican and my two older brothers. As a matter of fact, my two brothers are still very, very. . . . My older brothers are

rock-ribbed, and my younger brother is a raving lunatic Republican. I mean, they kept the faith. I probably would have kept it, too, but I met this girl. I told you that story. [Laughter]

YATES: Right. We'll come to that, too.

CULLEN: We'll come to that later on.

YATES: But to what extent were your parents interested in politics, like local or. . . .

CULLEN: None at all.

YATES: No New York politics?

CULLEN: They were not interested. My mother, she never missed voting, but she was not active politically. My father was too busy working. And part of the time in the late thirties, when my father was transferred from the New York office to Newark, and he had to travel to Newark every day, and he ran. . . . From Newark, New Jersey, he ran the New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut states for all of General Electric. They just happened to have the headquarters in Newark.

YATES: It sounds like he must have been gone a lot.

CULLEN: He was gone a great deal. He was gone a great deal. But he would always be home on weekends.

Then he had a party, which we all would work on as kids. He would have a party the last weekend of September at our bungalow, and he would invite all the people who. . . . All the men who worked for him. No women

allowed. We, as kids, would go down and we would cook the lobsters and we would shuck the corn and we would cook the corn and the clams, and we'd have a big clambake on the beach in front of the house, and he'd have as many as fifty, sixty people there. I've got pictures of it here.

YATES: Sounds delicious.

CULLEN: Oh, it was wonderful. Each year he'd have a different hat. One year they'd have a derby hat. Next year they'd have a cap. Next year they'd have a high hat. It was all drinking, eating, and having fun with the guys.

Then as things wore on, we got sent to the friends next door while they went on and they played cards and what have you.

YATES: So did you have any discussions at home around the dinner table about politics?

CULLEN: I would say on Sunday was probably the one time. . . . Now, very often my father would not get home until seven or eight o'clock, and my mother liked to eat at six-thirty. Then when the kids were in school, so we got our homework done. My mother was very, very tough. Now, you've got to remember, these were the days before television. It was radio. You had the Lux Radio Theater that my mother always listened to. Then my grandmother, who was blind, would listen to these soap operas all day long, these radio soap operas, Pepper Young and all these just. . . . And you'd walk in and Grandma would have this thing on and she'd say, "Who's that?" I'd say, "It's

Francis.” “Sit down and hear this. It’s wonderful.” [Laughter] It would drive me nuts.

Anyway, I was not into sports growing up, so I used to play. . . . We played roller hockey and we played stickball and we played softball, but I was really not. . . I was more interested in fishing. We’d always go down to Sheep’s Head Bay and I loved to fish. I used to spend a lot of time fishing. And reading. I was a great. . . . Sir Walter Scott and those kinds of things. I loved to read and I spent more time reading and preparing for debates. I loved to talk.

YATES: What about your own interest in politics? Did you have. . . . I mean, even though it was the Depression and then leading into World War II. . . .

CULLEN: No, I had no interest whatsoever in politics. I had very little interest in sports. Occasionally, my father would take us all to see a [New York] Ranger game, the hockey game, or he’d take us to a baseball game, go up to see the [New York] Yankees, or we’d go to Ebbets Field and see the Brooklyn Dodgers, but he was not a real sports fan either. He was just taking the kids to an outing.

YATES: So even though there was a Democratic president, there wasn’t discussion about Roosevelt?

CULLEN: Oh, there was a lot of discussion. As a matter of fact, when the president died, my father and my uncle decided that they had to devise a way to pay off

the national debt, and that was to put a privy on the tomb of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. [Laughter] So that gives you an idea of their political bent.

No, they were really committed Republicans, but they didn't work at it, except in 1948. My father was in a high enough—vice president of General Electric—where he got involved in working for [Thomas E.] Dewey, fund-raising for Dewey. He had a quota, so he was fund-raising for Dewey and what have you. Other than that. . . . But growing up, no, politics was really not a part of our life.

I think it also had to do with my mother [who] was somewhat. . . . She always voted, but her father was a police captain in the New York City Police Department, based in Brooklyn. As I say, she came from a very large family. While my father was an only child, my mother had two sisters and five brothers. There were eight children. Her older sister died—Alice [Branigan]. I think she died at like seven or eight. Why, I don't know. And one of her brothers was killed in World War I—Frankie [Branigan]. I think I was named after him, but I was also named after my Uncle Frank, who was not really my uncle. He was my great-uncle. I beg your pardon. He was my grandmother's brother. My Grandmother Hannah Josie was [Francis M.] Frank Casey's sister, so he was my great-uncle. Uncle Frank. And he lived to be ninety-six.

YATES: So longevity on your mother's side, it sounds like.

CULLEN: No, that was my father's side.

YATES: Oh, I'm sorry.

CULLEN: That was my father's side. My grandmother died at eighty-six and her brother died at ninety-six.

YATES: Oh, that's incredible.

CULLEN: Yes, and Aunt Alice [Grimmond], who was a cousin of my grandmother's, she lived to be ninety-three. My mother lived to be ninety-four. So there's a lot of longevity in my family. If my father hadn't smoked as much, I think he'd be. . . . You know.

YATES: OK, so you're attending Catholic school. You go to St. Francis and then you're also studying at the seminary.

CULLEN: Right. St. Anthony's [Novitiate, OFS] seminary.

YATES: So how does that work in terms of your school and your schedule, you life, at that point?

CULLEN: Well, I would go out and spend several months out in St. Anthony's, which was in Smithtown. Then I'd take the train out, a group of us would go out, and then we'd come back and we'd spend two months at St. Francis and then we'd go back. It was a way that the Franciscans wanted their students not to be isolated, but to have more of a general. . . . So they put us back in the general population about. . . . Probably you'd do three months, one month, then three months more, then one month, and by that time your semester, you

know. . . . And I did that for three years.

YATES: That's a long time at that young an age.

CULLEN: Yes, but it was fun. Riding on the train. You go out, it was two hours and a half to ride out on the train because it made all the damn stops.

YATES: But you said you kind of lost interest after the first year?

CULLEN: After the second year. Well, I'll tell you, I was hearing all these tales—when I'd get back to school—about these guys and the parties they were having and the girls they were going with and what have you. I think I got interested in girls. [Laughter] I mean, I didn't want to live a celibate life, and I think that as much as everything. . . .

Then I think the trigger thing that really did it was a telegram that my mother and father got when my brother got this eye wound. I believe it was on Iwo Jima. I'm not sure. But they got a telegram, you know, "We regret to inform you your son Stephen has been seriously wounded and is being taken care of at hospital so-and-so in Palau," or some place we couldn't even pronounce. And he didn't come home. . . . Steve didn't come home until. . . . He never came home from the time he joined until right after. . . . But he was in the Pacific the whole war from. . . . And that, I just decided, when that telegram came, "I've got to get out of here. I've got to join up."

YATES: So your interest in going into the army air force was because you could get in at your age?

CULLEN: Well, I could get in easily and also, my father had some friends at Mitchell Field, who were in the army, who were, like, ranks of majors and what have you. There was one lieutenant colonel that my father had sold motors to and engines, that he knew in the thirties. He knew them. And he wanted me to join, too, at that point in time.

YATES: Your father did.

CULLEN: My father did. He thought it was a great idea, a way to get me out of the seminary, number one, and number two. . . . As I say, he wasn't very much interested in my going in the seminary. And my mother really was not opposed to it. She really felt, you know, she had two stars up. Why not put three? So she did.

YATES: So your two older brothers—you mentioned Stephen—and Robert was also serving?

CULLEN: Robert was serving. He was in the army. He was in college at the time, so he was invited to go to officer candidate school. He went to officer candidate school, then they found out he knew how to play baseball. He was quite a baseball player.

YATES: Oh, really.

CULLEN: So he was the star pitcher for the officers' candidate class that he was in, and they kept him on as a teacher for six months to finish the baseball thing. They were somewhere down in Florida.

Anyway, then he went over. . . . Also, he never went to the European war; he went to the Pacific and he ended up in the Philippines. He spent about a year, and somehow he got into the adjutant general's office. He was not a lawyer, but how he got in there, I have no idea. But he was on Luzon and. . . .

YATES: Well, remind me again. Now, you enlisted, you said, in November?

CULLEN: November of 1943.

YATES: And you had not finished high school.

CULLEN: I had not finished high school. I had not finished high school. I left the seminary in June of '43. I gave them notice.

YATES: And when would you have finished high school?

CULLEN: Ordinarily, in 1944. I would have finished in 1944.

YATES: Why not just finish high school and then enlist?

CULLEN: Well. . . . Turn that off.

[Interruption]

YATES: We just took a brief pause. OK, so you joined early.

CULLEN: OK. I joined early, because technically I would have to wait six months from June 29, so you would have had July, August, September, October, November. So it was November 29 was the earliest, OK? But they usually waited an extra month, to give you that time to decide, so it really would be December 29. Well, I didn't want to wait, so I joined and we got special

dispensation, if I can use that term, to be accepted. I went to Fort Dix, New Jersey, for orientation. Then I was sent down to Kiessler Field in Mississippi for my basic training.

I had an IQ. that was sufficient enough to become an officer, so they sent me to the basic schools to become. . . . Because you had to be either a flight officer or a. . . . What do they call those guys? I don't remember. Warrant officer. Either a flight officer or a warrant officer and you had to have a certain IQ. Well, I had the IQ, so I started out in pilot school. I didn't make it because of the math. They then sent me to navigator school. I didn't make it because of the math. Then they sent me to bombardier school. Again, I didn't make it for the math.

So they gave me another option to come to California and go to a newly opened training program to train flight engineers for the A-26 airplane. It was really the hottest airplane coming out at the time. So I accepted that assignment and I traveled by train to Santa Monica. . . . Actually to Los Angeles.

YATES: Hold on a second. That's a good place. I'm going to turn the tape over.

[End Tape 1, Side A]

[Begin Tape 1, Side B]

YATES: So you said you took the train out. You arrived in Santa Monica.

CULLEN: I arrived in Los Angeles.

YATES: Oh, sorry. Los Angeles.

CULLEN: Right. And then they met the train at Union Station and they met us at the bus and then they took us to Santa Monica and gave us orientation at the Douglas [Aircraft Company] plant in Santa Monica. Then we were billeted in a barracks, really, in El Segundo. So I had to go from El Segundo to Santa Monica. They took us by bus every day.

YATES: Now, when was this?

CULLEN: This was early 1944.

YATES: Pardon my ignorance. What does a flight engineer do?

CULLEN: Well, what a flight engineer does is he's the airplane's mechanic. And I had no mechanical training or knowledge whatsoever. However, you learn. And we were all excited about the airplane. It was just absolutely. . . . They sold us a bill of goods on this airplane. It was incredible. It was a two-engine attack bomber called the Invader, the A-26. And it went on. . . . Not only did it do incredible service in the end of World War II, but all through Korea and all through Vietnam. They made a navy version, an army version, and even a coast guard version. I mean, it was just an incredible airplane. It had two 2800 Pratt and Whitney engines that are giant, giant engines.

What the flight engineer does is make sure those engines run like a top. It had special tri-blade Hamilton propellers. It was the first radar-operated gun system in an airplane. It was the first airplane that was all aluminum, but

also had armor plating around the canon. It could fire a twenty-millimeter cannon from the nose, or you could put a bomb sight and a bombardier in there. In other words, so you could do any configuration.

We could fire eight fifty-caliber guns forward and eight aft, without shaking the plane apart. I mean, it was just absolutely awesome.

YATES: How many people would be on the plane?

CULLEN: Three. There would be. . . . Well, I only flew in. . . . Most of the flights I was on, was two. We had a pilot and a flight engineer. Ordinarily, in combat, the plane would have a radar gunner, and he controlled all the armory on the plane, except the bomb. The bombs would be dropped by the pilot or the flight engineer, as the case may be. Sometimes the flight engineer was also a navigator. I did not have that distinction.

YATES: It sounds like you had to learn a lot.

CULLEN: I had to learn a lot in a very short time.

YATES: And you did this at Douglas.

CULLEN: At Douglas.

YATES: You got your training.

CULLEN: Got my training at Douglas here in Santa Monica, and it was marvelous. It was just very, very . . .

YATES: What did that involve?

CULLEN: Well, it would involve. . . . We'd get up at five o'clock and have breakfast at

six and then be here at seven, start at seven. Sometimes we'd work till seven, eight at night. They'd feed us lunch here at the Douglas plant. And it was incredible orientation. I mean, you learned everything about the engine, you learned how the aircraft operation system worked. You really. . . . You had to know how to pilot the plane on the ground. You couldn't take it off the ground, but you had to know how to start the engines, how to stop the engines, you know, how to maneuver the plane on the ground. So very extensive training and very exciting for a kid that age, I mean. And all of us were. . . . I mean, there were few transfers. By that time, the air force was getting popular, mid-1944.

I have a great distinction here. In 1944, I won the Hollywood Canteen jitterbug contest. [Laughter] Really. With a lady by the name of Joan Young from Long Beach. She was one of the hostesses, volunteers up there, and I got a . . .

YATES: In your spare time, you got to jitterbug.

CULLEN: On Saturday night, they had the Saturday night dance every Saturday night and all the servicemen were welcome, and I won the Saturday night contest. Maybe that was January '45 or February '45.

YATES: How many hours did you have to dance?

CULLEN: Oh, you just. . . .

YATES: It was just whoever was the best?

CULLEN: Yes. We won the Lindy-Hop. I guess it was 1945, and we each got a twenty-five dollar war bond, signed and delivered to us by Bette Davis and John Garfield. And I still have it in a safe deposit box—never cashed it in.

YATES: How many of you were involved in the training for being a flight engineer?

CULLEN: Hundreds. I mean I probably. . . .

YATES: And would they break you down into smaller groups?

CULLEN: Oh yes. We would be in smaller groups. We would be in classes of about twenty to twenty-one.

YATES: But they were obviously trying to get as many trained. . . .

CULLEN: They were trying to get as many. . . . Because this plane was a hot plane. It was redlined, which means it couldn't go any faster, although it could, at 475 miles an hour. Well, in those days, this was before jets. . . . I mean, this is a propeller-driven plane, with two engines that weighed a lot, that really could go 475 miles an hour, with all this armament on it. It was incredible. I mean, it was one of Douglas' greatest inventions. It was absolutely an awesome airplane.

YATES: How long did you do the training for?

CULLEN: We did it until late '44, probably the fall of '44. Then we kept training. We always kept training, even though then we would start delivering them. I made six flights, six trips to Europe and one to the. . . . And that was very exciting. I mean, it was just marvelous.

YATES: So once you did, sounds like, initial training, what was the first trip that you took, or leaving. . . .

CULLEN: The first trip we took was to deliver a flight of A-26s to Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, which was an A-26 base, pretty much—Myrtle Beach air force base. Then they flew us back, and then the second trip was the first trip I took overseas. We would fly cross country to Miami, then from Miami to Recife in Brazil, and then from Recife in Brazil to Dakar in North Africa. We would leave the planes in North Africa, in Dakar. We'd spend a day resting, what have you. Then they'd fly us back on what they called an OA-10, or the Catalina, which was a twin-engine seaplane. And there were tankers. By that time, the threat of the U-boats was pretty much gone in the South Atlantic. It was still very much alive in the North Atlantic, but it wasn't so much in the South Atlantic. So they stationed. . . . As a way to get the planes across to the European theater, they used this. . . .

YATES: They did this route that you're describing?

CULLEN: They did this route. Absolutely. Now, it was different. Say a plane was built. . . . To give you an example, take the Grumman plant, where they built B-26s. Well, the B-26 had a much longer range than the A-26—and the B-24 the same way, or the B-17. A lot of those were built on the East Coast or in the Midwest, so they would fly directly to New York and then they'd go up to Gander. And they'd go from Gander, Newfoundland, across to Great Britain.

Then they'd get in the war that way. So it was only the southern belt that went the route we went, and one of the reasons we went the route was because this seemed the most practical way because the A-26 couldn't carry as much fuel as the big bombers could.

YATES: But you said at that point they were still. . . . You were delivering planes for the European theater.

CULLEN: Right. Up until May of. . . . The last flight of that was in May. Then we'd come back and we'd have. . . . I spent, all in all, probably eight weeks of that time interspersed with these trips, at Myrtle Beach.

I mean, that was our base there and that's where I met another Catholic chaplain by the name. . . . The first Catholic chaplain, a man named J. Bryan Connors [S.J.], who was an incredible man. I mean, they should have written a book about J. Bryan. He was a Jesuit teacher from the College of the Holy Cross, and he convinced me that when I got out of the army and was going to go to school, that I should go to Holy Cross. And I really liked him. He was just a character, just a marvelous, marvelous man. He had headed the Department of English at Holy Cross. He had an incredible vocabulary, and like many Jesuits, he came from a very, very wealthy family. And even though he was in the army and he was a captain, he had his own car and he had a dog and his own apartment off base. But because of my religious background, I became his chaplain's assistant while I was in basic training.

YATES: Oh, I see.

CULLEN: And I got to learn to ride a motorcycle, and we would ride around the base.

He'd go visit the troops and I'd drive the motorcycle and he'd sit on the back and he'd carry the host with him and he'd give communion in the morning. It was hysterical. Anyway, he was just a great guy.

YATES: Were you planning to go to college? Had that entered your mind, what you were going to do once you got out?

CULLEN: Oh yes. All of us, we all were going to go to college. I mean, that was my father. . . . Since my father never had a real education he wanted us all to go to college. My brother was already at. . . . He joined the army from Saint John's University. He was a pitcher at Saint John's University. He was on the. . . .

YATES: This was Robert?

CULLEN: Robert, yes. Stephen never went to college. He was going to go. He started Brooklyn College, but didn't like it, so he went to Alaska. This was after the war, after he came back from the marines.

YATES: So this meeting J. Bryan Connors had a big impact on you, it sounds like.

CULLEN: Terribly big impact on me, and then we corresponded all the time, or we'd be on the phone and what have you, and talk. He was very interested in my career and what have you, and wanted to make sure that he was very much. . . . The Franciscans are good, but the Jesuits are better—that kind of thing. So

we did this dog and pony show and we got to be just very close friends.

And it turned out, when I would stop off at Myrtle Beach, the chaplain there happened to be another Jesuit priest from Holy Cross, whose name was John Francis Devlin [S.J.], and he and I became very good friends, and he was an amateur cook. And at the time, they were having trouble with cooks at the base. So I volunteered. I said, "I can cook." Stupid me. So I ended up cooking for hundreds of people. I mean, learning how to cook with these big vats and making soup with ten turkeys. I mean, it was just incredible, but it was fun.

When you're that age and the war is on, you just have a different outlook on things. You have a different. . . . And the other thing, and this, I think, also had to do with my religious training, a lot of the guys who were away from home for the first time. . . . I was not really away from home for the first time, but I had a more structured family life and a more structured educational life because of my religious bent. So a lot of the guys would go out and all they wanted to do was meet girls and have sex over the weekend, and that just didn't interest me. So I sort of stayed on base and got to know a lot of the guys and I played a lot of cards and did a lot of cooking. It was fun. And I got to know this other priest.

So then. . . . Go ahead.

YATES: I was going to ask you, you said you made six trips altogether?

CULLEN: I made six trips altogether, to Europe, and the last trip I made, we got back in May. As a matter of fact, we were going to spend a week in Myrtle Beach, got back and then we went delivering to the Pacific. And what we did was to fly to Hawaii and spend a day in Hawaii. Then from Hawaii, we went to Midway, and from Midway then to Guam. That flight, we only had three airplanes. We used to do flights of six.

YATES: I was wondering how many you would take over.

CULLEN: We'd fly six at a time. We wouldn't fly in formation. This would be the group. You didn't fly in formation, you know.

YATES: That was how many you were delivering.

CULLEN: Exactly. Exactly.

YATES: So I'm sorry, this last trip you said was three planes?

CULLEN: It was three planes. Right. We ended up. . . . We got to Guam and we got orders that they needed the planes further on. So at the time, the Battle of Okinawa was going on, and we, without knowing it, got into the Battle of Okinawa and that was exciting.

YATES: What does it mean when you say you got into the battle? What exactly happened?

CULLEN: What exactly happened? We would take off and fly over Okinawa and drop bombs. Then we would strafe the Japanese troops. I only did that for about a week, seven, eight days. Then the atomic bomb happened, so it was a

surprise to all of us.

YATES: You had no idea, obviously, that that's what was going to happen.

CULLEN: None of us. No, none of us had any idea. As a matter of fact, we were all scared to death. It was absolutely. . . . I mean, it was very, very. . . . We knew we had a good airplane and we knew that we'd pretty much knocked out the Japanese air force. We weren't concerned. But flak was terrible. I mean flak was really. . . . The Japanese had a lot of anti-aircraft guns all over the area.

I'll let you read a chapter in my book about that.<sup>1</sup> But the other side of the coin was that when you got there, you stayed because they wanted to get the troops that had been there the longest out, and so. . . .

YATES: I'm sorry. Remind me of the timing. Of course I know when the bomb was dropped.

CULLEN: I got to the island of Okinawa, landing in Okinawa, in late September of 1945, and I stayed through. . . .

YATES: But you'd been on the bombing before the. . . . You said for a week, week and a half or so.

CULLEN: We were about eight days, I think, really in fighting. When I say fighting, we were dropping bombs and we were strafing the islands around the. . . .

Okinawa is not just an island. It's the Ryukyu chain of islands. Okinawa is the central island, but there's a whole archipelago. If you look at a map, if

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1. Mr. Cullen is working on a book, "Governor Pat and the Presidents".

you figure. . . . You come down from Japan, there's a tremendous maybe a thousand miles, maybe eight hundred miles of water, and then the Ryukyu chain begins, and Ryukyu is where Okinawa is. And I didn't leave there until. . . . How long was I there? Jesus, I was there. . . .

YATES: Well, I mean after the bomb was dropped and you were at Okinawa starting in September, you said?

CULLEN: We were transferred there in September. Actually, we went there right after we went to Australia. We were in Australia for, I guess, maybe three weeks, four weeks. Then we were assigned to Naha Air Base, and that's where I was all the time I was at Okinawa. In fact, by November, I had 110 Japanese prisoners of war working for me.

YATES: Doing what?

CULLEN: Cleaning the runway—which didn't need to be cleaned. We requisitioned all of these big brooms and we would have these guys in two rows, twenty across, with brooms, sweeping the runway this way, then sweeping it that way, just to keep them busy, because we didn't know what was going to happen. It was dangerous if you were going to the mess hall. You go to the mess hall for breakfast in the morning and the road you were on might be blown up, because a lot of the Japanese didn't believe the war was over, didn't believe they'd lost. So they would come in and they'd put hand grenades, and when you stepped on the thing, the hand grenade would go off.

A lot of our guys lost their legs and what have you. Oh, it was really. . . .  
They were still shooting until February, March of 1946.

YATES: What were your responsibilities at that point, once you were assigned at Okinawa?

CULLEN: Unfortunately, there was so little to do, that you just had to find ways of. . . .  
Turn that off for a minute.

[Interruption]

YATES: OK. You were just showing me a box that was made. . . .

CULLEN: It was made by the prisoners of war on Okinawa, and I showed you a ring that's made of aircraft aluminum, all hand-done by Japanese prisoners of war. Very often they would give us gifts as a token. . . . By that time, probably I'm talking now into 1946, the prisoners understood that they'd lost the war and they were much more docile, to use that term, and a lot of them were very defeated.

A lot of them. . . . We had a number of suicides. As a matter of fact, there was a terrible suicide attack—not an attack, but a suicide—that happened on Okinawa just in the last days of July, where hundreds of Japanese literally jumped off a cliff into the ocean, and the cliff was really pretty high, like 500 feet. So I mean, there was numbers of that, and that happened all over the islands. I mean, there were many. . . . And many committing ritual suicide. And that was throughout Southeast Asia. It was

not just confined to the islands. I mean, it happened in Malaysia, it happened in Indonesia, it happened all over Southeast Asia, where the Japanese were so devastated that they had lost, that there was a tremendous amount of suicide.

YATES: What did you learn from interacting with the Japanese prisoners of war?

CULLEN: Very, very little. I'll be honest with you. I'm sure you've seen it sometime in your life, the show *Sargent Bilko*?

YATES: Yes. I'm not really familiar with it. I know of it.

CULLEN: Well, Sargent Bilko was a con artist sergeant who really just got. . . . And a lot of that went on, because people had nothing to do. I had one good friend literally who had a traveling whorehouse in an American ambulance and made a bloody fortune. Came back to Brooklyn—his name was Herb Goldberg—and Herb had this operation going and he would recruit American nurses, he would recruit. . . . I'm serious. It was just absolutely. . . . And they all made tremendous amounts of money.

YATES: It sounds like it was a weird period.

CULLEN: It was a terrible period. I mean, it was a terrible period. And we would do. . . . We would very often what you call RON, which was called “[radio] over night,” and I got to see almost all of Southeast Asia. I got to Christchurch, New Zealand. I got to Wellington. I got to Perth, to Sydney. I got to Shanghai, to Peking. I flew over Tokyo, and then decided the next weekend we went back and we walked through Tokyo. I mean, it was just incredible.

But we had gasoline, we had airplanes that flew, we had pilots that knew how to fly, who were bored silly and needed to put the time on to show they were flying, so we would go along. And we had a couple of really good airplanes.

Then we had another thing that was very strange. We had beautiful airplanes, but there was a war going on, as you know, in China between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung. And the British and Americans had both decided that they would help Chiang Kai-shek, so the Russians got very upset about that. So there was a team. . . . Now, I was not part of this and just heard this. I didn't see it happen, so I can't be first-hand, but people I know were part of it, at least said they were part of it. There was a Chinese, an American, a Frenchman, a Russian, British too. Did I say British? There were five. . . . Anyway, the five main players. And we were giving these airplanes to the Chinese, to Chiang Kai-shek's air force. And the Russians said, "No, you can't do that. The war is over now," and what have you. And they insisted that the tails of the airplanes be cut off and then you could give them away. [Laughter] It was so bizarre.

But I was witness to planes being taken out and sunk or bombed for no reason at all, because, "We didn't need these things anymore." You couldn't believe the waste.

YATES: Now, you mentioned to me when we were planning for the taping, that on one

of the trips you took, you saw. . . . Was it Hiroshima?

CULLEN: Hiroshima. That was in late October. It was actually. . . . You weren't supposed to fly over it, and we managed to do it. I did not get to Nagasaki, but we did fly, and there really wasn't much control. There really was not much control.

YATES: To keep you from flying over.

CULLEN: Yes.

YATES: And what did you see?

CULLEN: Well, it was just devastating. I mean, it was just absolutely. . . . The amount of destruction was nothing like we'd ever imagined it would be. I mean, the city was just blackened, and there wasn't any steam or smoke coming up from it because it was over a month earlier, but it was just complete desolation, just areas where there were no buildings, where there had been buildings, and it was just nothing but rubble, rubble, rubble everywhere.

And you saw very little movement because, you know, it was a contaminated area. People just got the hell out of there. It was just, I would say, devastation and complete destruction of an awesome, awesome kind. It was just. . . . Imagine. As a matter of fact, we flew over this way then we turned around and went the other way. Then we decided we'd spent too much time and got out of there. We were concerned about radiation, but we didn't know much about radiation then, so we didn't know where it was.

YATES: I was going to say, that's a later. . . . I mean, people didn't know much.

CULLEN: Nobody knew anything. You know, what's an atomic bomb do? Well, we saw what it did, so let's get the hell out of here.

YATES: So what you saw. . . . I mean, what you heard versus what you saw were. . . . You couldn't imagine what you were seeing, is what I'm trying to say, basically.

CULLEN: Yes, I would say that you're exactly right. I mean, I could not believe that so much could be destroyed by one bomb. I mean, it was just "Boom!" I mean, you're taking a giant foot or something like this and just destroyed everything underneath. The rubble. . . . There were very, very few discernable things you could say, yes, that was a building. I mean, there were some superstructures left, but very, very little. And the amount, the size of the thing was massive. I mean, it was just absolutely massive. So it was scary. It was very scary.

But I had one very comic thing happen to me. It wasn't very comic at the time. When you asked me about the interaction with the Japanese. Saturday mornings we would have inspection, and I had charge of 110 Japanese prisoners whose assignment was to keep the flight deck area clean, the runway and the hangars and everything. And I had an office in one of the hangars that was sort of on a raised pedestal. The hangars were just made out of tin. And I had this gigantic desk. I have no idea where it came from. I think it came from some university.

But every Saturday morning we had this inspection, and the colonel, who was in charge of Naha Air Base, and sometimes General [Robin] Oldes, this general who was also. . . . And a Lieutenant [ ] Lewis, who was the bane of my existence. Anyway, they would do this inspection thing and they would do a walk-through, and you had to have everybody squared away. And one of the things they did is you had to. . . . At the time, because we were guarding prisoners and what have you, we had side arms. So I had a .45, United States Army issue .45 Colt Automatic sidearm. So you had to have your weapon ready for inspection, and then the guys that worked with me, they all had M-16 carbines. So you had to clean your guns on Saturday, and what have you, before the inspection.

And what we would do, we would say, "Post four," and we would post four points and then we'd bring the prisoners in, and they'd stand up and they'd be all dressed and clean and make sure they were all nice, and smile. Then the officers would walk through and say, "Yes. Fine. Thanks. Goodnight." Boom, get out of here. And they would go off their merry way and go drinking.

Anyway, while I was getting my weapon ready for the inspection, I finished it and cleaned the weapon and I go to put it in my holster, and it missed my holster and it hit this raised thing that I was in, and it made a sound, because the raised thing was hollow underneath, and when this .45,

which weighs about three pounds, hit this piece of wood, it just resounded. And I was sort of surprised, and all of a sudden, dead silence. So I reached down and picked up my gun and looked at it. It wasn't broken. So I put the clip on it and put it back in the holster. So, "Oh, too bad, sergeant. Too bad, sergeant. Don't worry about it."—said a prisoner.

So about four days later, I walk into my office. My office was four times the size of this apartment. I mean, it was just a big open space with a desk in it. And these guys were up there and these Japanese guys are going, "Boom! Oh, ho, ho, ho," and they're all mimicking me dropping my gun. [Laughter] And I walk in. Well, boy, you couldn't hear a pin drop. I mean, talk about "Ho, ho, h. . . ." I mean, the looks on their faces. I mean, I don't think they knew what was going to happen.

YATES: Yes, you caught them.

CULLEN: I had caught them making fun of their captor. So I just gave this very stern. . . . You know, I was a kid. I wasn't even twenty, you know. I gave this very stern look around at them like that, and I take my gun out of my holster like this and go, "Ho, ho, ho, ho." And they all started to laugh. [Laughter]

YATES: It was the right way to handle it.

CULLEN: It was the only way. It was the only way. But those kinds of experiences you never forget. I mean, those things are just. . . . Another thing, I was in Christchurch, New Zealand, at a USO [United Service Organization] dance. .

. . Not a USO dance, a Red Cross dance that was put on by the girls at. . . .  
And I loved to dance at that time. In those days I think weighed about 160 [pounds], so it was a lot different. So I was dancing with this girl and we were dancing this jitterbug thing, and all of a sudden she turns to me and, “Oh, I’ve got to stop. You’ve got me all knocked up.” [Laughter] And that kind of had a little surprise.

YATES: Yes.

CULLEN: But that was just. . . .

YATES: Their expression.

CULLEN: Their expression, you know, for just “I’m tired.” [Laughter] It really scared me.

YATES: Well, when you were discharged, remind me what month it was.

CULLEN: December of 1946, I was discharged.

YATES: So what happened next then?

CULLEN: Then I decided where I’d go to school, so I applied to Holy Cross. I applied to Fordham [University]. I applied to Georgetown. I just decided I’d go to a Jesuit school because of these two priests I’d met. I was accepted at Fordham and at Holy Cross. I was not accepted at Georgetown, although the fellow I mentioned earlier, Dick Egner, who’d been in grammar school with me and we were friends, he’s still my oldest friend. I’ve known him since the third grade and he’s one of the few people from that era that I still keep in contact

with. We see each other maybe once every two years or so. He has a magnificent home out in Southampton. He has a beautiful place on Park Avenue, and he's come out here occasionally. Anyway, I used to have a big house down in Palm Desert and he used to come down there.

Anyway, he decided he was going to go to Georgetown and I wasn't accepted at Georgetown, so I called Father Connors up, and he said, "Oh, Francis, you've got to come up here. You've got to come up here." Incidentally, then everybody called me Frank, except Father Connors always called me Francis, and my mother and father did too.

So I went up in the spring of 1947—each weekend before I actually enrolled in the fall—and went to Holy Cross.

YATES: What were you planning to study, or did you know at that point?

CULLEN: I had no idea, but I took a course. . . . I started taking English. I was going to be an English major, and then my father said, "No, no." He said, "Switch and take economics." He said, "It's going to be important after the war." So I majored in economics. I've got a B.A. in economics. Economics, history, and English are my three main. . . . And I was in the Debating Society, very active. I was president of the Outing Club, president of the Metropolitan Club, which is the New York group. I was very, very active.

And I had a roommate whose stepfather was president of J.C. Penney, and his name was Arthur Kelley. His stepfather, Buster Mills, was president

of J.C. Penney. And I wanted to buy a car, and I was talking. . . . My other roommate was a guy named George Dagher, who still is a very close friend. I don't see Artie Kelly much anymore, but I see a lot of George Dagher, although he lives on Long Island.

Anyway, Artie said, "Hey, you know, my stepfather's got a great car he wants to sell. Would you be interested in it?" I said, "What kind of a car is it?" He said, "It's a 1941 Packard." And I said, "Well, that sounds great." I said, "Is it two-door or four-door?" He said, "Oh, it's a two-door. It's a convertible." I said, "Oh, a convertible. I'd like to see that."

So anyway, these people, they lived at the Westchester Country Club, which is really posh New York. I mean, talk about WASPs. Wow. Anyway, that was it. So we went down to the Westchester Country Club and go into the garage, and here this Packard is up on blocks. It hadn't been driven since 1942 because you couldn't get gas for it. It only got six miles to a gallon. It was a twelve-cylinder Packard with an aluminum body that was built specially for this guy. So I said, "Mr. Mills, how much are you asking for this car?"

And he said, "I'll take \$1,000 for it." And I thought my heart had stopped. I mean, \$1,000. I mean, Jesus, I thought he was going to ask me for \$10,000, you know. And cars weren't that expensive then, but this was a gem.

YATES: It sounds like a really nice car.

CULLEN: It was gorgeous. It was gorgeous. So I said, "Well, Mr. Mills," I said, "I'm sorry." I said, "I don't have that much money that I can spare. I'll give you \$750 for it."

He said, "OK." [Laughter] So I bought this twelve-cylinder Packard convertible that was just a knockout, and that's what I courted my bride in. And that was a historic car at Holy Cross, because in those days, if you lived on campus, only veterans were allowed to have cars. Nobody else could have a car because the kids were a lot younger, see. We were four years older than the freshman. I was a freshman. Everyone in my class was four years younger than I was, or three years.

So I bought that car, and it was just incredible.

YATES: I'll bet you stood out.

CULLEN: It stood out. It was two-toned green with a black top, and it was just incredible.

YATES: You started college in 1947 or. . . .

CULLEN: Yes.

YATES: Right. 'Forty-seven, because you. . . .

CULLEN: September of '47. Now, I'd gone up there. Once I decided to go to Holy Cross, I spent a lot of time up there. I spent a lot of time at Holy Cross, as I wanted to play football, so I went to the football scrimmages and I went to,

you know. . . . In the spring of 1947. It was really just a marvelous experience.

I worked part-time at my uncle's pawn shop in Brooklyn. [Arthur J.] AJ Heaney and Company was the only Irish Catholic pawn shop in that area. There was another Irish Catholic thing called JJ Friall. All the rest of the pawn shops were Jewish. And we got to work very, very closely. As a matter of fact, I worked my way through Holy Cross selling diamonds.

YATES: Oh, at the pawn shop?

CULLEN: From the pawn shop. My second year, I made \$50,000 in my sophomore year in college.

YATES: Oh, my gosh.

CULLEN: I mean I made a lot of money.

YATES: You were rolling in money.

CULLEN: Oh yes. That was the biggest year I ever had, because, see, all these guys were back from the army, a lot of the veterans. They all wanted to get married. They all wanted to start families. And so I just made out like a bandit. I think the worst year I had up there I made \$37,000 one year, the first year I was there.

YATES: Well, I was going to ask you, I know in 1948 you started working on [John F.] Kennedy's congressional campaign. Is that right? Tell me how that happened. You're an Irish Republican.

CULLEN: Yes. Well, that is true. I was an Irish Republican. How it happened was, I was at Holy Cross all of a couple of weeks, when the school en masse got an invitation from a Catholic college, Newton College of the Sacred Heart in Newton Center, Massachusetts, for a Sunday afternoon tea dance. And evidently. . . . I didn't know it at the time, but they did this routinely. They would invite other Catholic schools around to go to these tea dances. It was so that you'd kept the faith. You'd marry a Catholic. That was what it was all about. I didn't tumble for that at the time, but in any event, my roommates and I decided we'd go, and since I had a car, we went. It was a forty-mile drive from Worcester, Massachusetts, where Holy Cross is, to Newton.

So we're at this Newton College of the Sacred Heart, and I saw this girl dancing, and I just really was just taken with her. She was just beautiful. So I arranged to get introduced to her and I asked her to dance. So we danced, and we struck up a great conversation, and it turned out that her father was very active in New York politics, and she came from Long Island and she knew some of the people I knew, and what have you. Where she lived on Long Island, Long Beach, was about twenty miles from where we lived in Rockaway.

So we knew mutual people, so I made a date for the following week. So that turned into every weekend I drove to Boston and took her out and developed a close relationship. We dated all during '47, '48.

YATES: This is your wife—[she] became your wife.

CULLEN: This lady. . . Her name is Mary Anne White. Her name is Mary Anne White. They used to call her Wary. Why, I have no idea. Anyway, the kids did.

But Newton College was a very, very small college. It only had thirty-two people in the graduating class when she graduated. I think there was like 200 people in the whole school. And Holy Cross was a very small college as colleges go. We had only 1,800 people when I was there. Now it has about 3,000, I think.

But in any event, this got me going to Boston a lot and learning a little bit about Boston. I didn't know much about Boston, although my grandparents had lived there, but I'd never been there. Anyway, so I spent a lot of time with Mary Anne, going out, and we loved the. . . The restaurants were good and there were cliques, there were groups that hung out together, as I guess there are always.

So in August, I guess, Mary Anne called me and said. . . It was the summer. We were not in school. But she said, "Frank, I'd like you to come up and help a young congressman who's running for re-election."

I said, "Sure. Fine." So I didn't ask whether he was a Democrat or a Republican. I wanted to be with Mary Anne. I didn't care about what we were going to do. So I went up, and we went up before school started.

School didn't start till the weekend after Labor Day, our school didn't. But we went up in early August to meet the group, and what have you.

So then we went up for the next couple of weekends and met the people who were working. And what they were doing, they were recruiting Catholic kids to work as volunteers, handing out leaflets and, you know, doing precinct work and that kind of stuff, which we did. I met [Robert F.] Bob Kennedy, I met the senator—then he was a congressman—but you'd think a strong wind would blow him away. I mean he was a very unimposing man. He was terribly thin. I would say he was almost frail, but he had a great laugh. And I met his mother [Rose F. Kennedy] and I met his sisters and, you know, blah, blah, blah, blah.

So when school started, Mary Anne convinced me that I should bring a bunch of guys from Holy Cross up for the weekend, you know, and they'd put them up, and so that's what we did. And I did that all during from September and October, all during the campaign, and worked on the campaign strictly as a volunteer. I got to know all the people.

Finally, Mary Anne was saying, "Really, you've got to become a Democrat. You've got to become a Democrat." And I said, "What do you mean, become a Democrat? That's ridiculous. I don't want to become a Democrat."

So George Dagher, my other roommate, and I were driving down with

Mary Anne, because she was going to vote for election, so we each bet her ten dollars that Dewey was going to win. And we were convinced that Dewey was going to win. And she said, "I'll take that bet." I said, "You're throwing money away." She said, "No, no, no."

So anyway, what happened was. . . . But I didn't become a Democrat then. I mean, that was just too early. But then when [Harry S] Truman won. . . . And by that time, I'd met Mary Anne's father and got involved with his politics, and he was just a giant of a man. He was about six foot maybe three, but he was just big and he had this aura about him. He was the chief law assistant to the New York State Supreme Court and goddamn it, you ought to know it. He just had this real forceful. . . . And he was just a real Tammany Hall politician. He was at one time the sachem of Tammany Hall. Sachem is . . .

YATES: I don't know what that . . .

CULLEN: . . . the Iroquois word for chief.

YATES: Right. Right. Of course.

CULLEN: The Iroquois word for chief. His name was Peter J. White. So he kept taking us to the New York Democratic Club on Thirty-seventh Street.

So anyway, so I decided that I'd become a Democrat. There wasn't any election. It was just a decision. I figured if I'm going to marry this lady, I'd better do what I'm told. So I became a Democrat.

Then we got more involved, and then the '50 campaign came along, but that was the year Mary Anne graduated from college, and I was busy, literally busy, selling diamonds. I mean, I was doing a blockbuster business and I didn't really work in that campaign. I think I may have worked one or two weekends, but I really didn't do anything and Mary Anne didn't do that much. . . . I wouldn't say not that much, but she worked on the campaign, but. . . .

YATES: But you didn't.

CULLEN: I didn't work on the '50 campaign. Maybe two weekends is all. I really just wasn't interested I guess is the way to put it.

Then in '52, I graduated. I had taken some time off. I took six months off when Mary Anne and I got married in '51. I took six months off and then I went back to Holy Cross and finished. So when I finished, it was '52 and it was graduation day, June 8, and the guy comes up to me from the administrator's office and he said, "Frank, there's a phone call for you." And he said, "The guy says it's very important he speak to you today." And I said, "Hey, I can't. I'm just graduating." I said, "What are you talking about? We just had the ceremony. My parents and I are going out with my wife." And he said, "Please talk to this guy." I said, "Who is it?" He said, "It's some guy named Kennedy." So I said, "OK." So I really didn't think of Bobby Kennedy, but it turned out it was Bobby Kennedy. And Bobby Kennedy said to me, he said, "Frank," he said, "we understand. . . . We need somebody in

western Massachusetts. We want you to work western Massachusetts for us. You know Worcester, you know that area,” which is central Massachusetts. So he said, “Yeah, we need people. So, would you help us?” And I said, “Well, what do you want me to do?” So he said, “We want you to do. . . .,” blah, blah, blah.

YATES: Hold on one second.

[End Tape 1, Side B]

[Begin Tape 2, Side A]

YATES: OK. I’m sorry. The tape was coming to an end. So you were talking about Bobby Kennedy.

CULLEN: OK. So Bob Kennedy was at the other end of the phone, as I say, and he said, “Frank, we really need help up here,” and he said, “Don’t go back to New York. Stay up here and help us in the western part of the state.” He said, “We’re a little weak there.”

So anyway, one thing led to another and I was now a Democrat and I decided. . . . So Mary Anne and I talked it over. So I said, “Bob, I’ll call you back.” I said, “I can’t give you an answer now.” So Mary Anne and I talked it over, and about four days later I called him back and I guess we made the decision. I said, “Look, I’m going back to take a vacation. I’m going to take a week off and I’ll come back.” I kept my apartment in Worcester, which Mary Anne and I were living in. We weren’t living on campus then, because

ladies weren't allowed on campus in those days. Or they couldn't go above the lobby, you know. Anyway, it as an all-male school.

So I kept my apartment up there and I worked the [U.S.] Senate campaign.

Learned a lot about [Henry Cabot] Lodge [Jr.], much more than I ever wanted to know, and learned a lot about Jack Kennedy and really became a great fan of Jack Kennedy's and felt that he really would be a great senator. And at that point in time, we wanted to get more Catholics into the Senate and. . . .

Now, I don't know why, you know. . . . I'm not a practicing Catholic. I don't know why, but at that time I was very, very involved in the church, very much involved. As a matter of fact, when Mary Anne and I were married, we were married at the Jesuit church at Eighty-fourth Street and Park Avenue in Manhattan because her father lived at Madison Avenue and Eighty-first Street, which is the hoi polloi part of New York, and St. [Francis] Xavier is a Jesuit church is where [Jacqueline] Jackie Kennedy was buried from. So really it's the sort of hoi polloi Catholic church, and that's where we were married from. We had one of those small weddings, you know. Eleven bridesmaids and eight groomsmen and two bishops on the altar and about five Monsignors and. . . .

YATES: And how long was the ceremony?

CULLEN: It was long. It was long. So we were going out of the church, leaving out of the church, and one of the groomsmen, a fellow who'd been on Okinawa with

me, a fellow by the name of [Alvin] Al [Baker] Berry, he turned to me and he said, “Frank, that was something else.” And I said, “Hey, Al, how’d you really like it?” He said, “Frank, it was tremendous, but where were the trapeze artists?” I thought my wife would kill him. [Laughter] She turned to him and. . . . But it was just one of those just real big, big weddings. Then we had our reception at Sherry’s, which was right across the street—it’s no longer there—from the Waldorf-Astoria, and we were staying at the Waldorf-Astoria. So in order to keep my idiot friends from locking our door or something, we took a limousine around Central Park for an hour and a half while we threw off the scent. They didn’t know where we . . . . We told everybody we were staying at the Sherry Netherlands. But anyway . . .

YATES: How well did you know Bobby Kennedy by the time he calls you for the ’52 .

..

CULLEN: Oh, I knew him very well by that time, because he was going out with Ethel Skakel at the time, and Mary Anne’s high school roommate. . . . Mary Anne also went to the Madams of the Sacred Heart School at Ninety-first Street, and her roommate there was a lady by the name of Margaret Fuller. Margaret Fuller went to Manhattanville [College] and roomed next door to Ethel Skakel. So we all used to hang out at a place called the Stork Club on Friday and Saturday nights. It was a group of college kids, mostly the Ivy League kids and Georgetown, Fordham, Holy Cross, Manhattanville, Mount Saint

Mary's [College], Mount Holyoke [College], Wellesley [College], they all converged, and Friday night was college night there. Used to drive the regular patrons nuts, but it was a great place to dance. The man who owned it was a guy named Sherman Billingsley, and he was very, very. . . . He liked to get the young kids in there because he knew he was making customers. It was an old speakeasy and it was called the Stork Club. It was very famous, very famous.

Anyway, so Bobby and Ethel and Mary Anne and I used to be at the table together and so we got to be very good friends, and Margaret Fuller was part of it. So from I would say 1948 to 1950, spent a lot of time together.

They got married in '50, Ethel and Bobby. We were invited to the wedding, but not to the reception. [Laughter]

YATES: Well, I have to ask, of course, did you talk politics at that point?

CULLEN: Yes, by that time, we were talking a lot of politics.

YATES: So you were getting interested.

CULLEN: I was very much interested. As a matter of fact, that's where those buttons come up. I started. . . .

YATES: Yes, you're pointing. . . . Just for the sake of the tape, you're pointing to a great collection of different political campaign buttons.

CULLEN: Of campaign buttons, beginning with [Adlai E.] Stevenson-[John] Sparkman, which was the '52 campaign, which I worked in Massachusetts and in New

York. Then the next one, of course, is the other [Adlai E.] Stevenson-[C. Estes] Kefauver campaign in '56, which I worked on Long Island. Then the other is the [John F.] Kennedy-[Lyndon B.] Johnson campaign, which I worked on in California. And that's a marvelous story. Did I ever tell you that story?

YATES: No, but why don't we. . . . Do you mind? We'll save it for later.

CULLEN: Sure. By all means.

YATES: We'll try to work chronologically. Do you want to take a break or stop now?

[End Tape 2, Side A]

[Session 2, May 13, 2003]

[Begin Tape 3, Side A]

YATES: This is our second session, and it is May 13.

CULLEN: It is.

YATES: And what I wanted to do was ask you a couple of follow-up questions.

CULLEN: OK.

YATES: One was, you mentioned how, when you first were getting to know Bobby Kennedy that you and Mary Anne and Bobby and Ethel Skakel would get together at the Stork Club. I asked you whether you talked politics, and you said you did. I was curious, what were you talking about at that point? This was, I guess, late fifties. . . . I mean late forties.

CULLEN: Late forties. It was the late forties.

YATES: Early fifties?

CULLEN: It was actually '47, '48, '49, and '50, and Bobby and Ethel got married in '50 and they sort of left the group at that point in time. But you've got to remember, Bob was going to law school. But the Stork Club was a gathering place for sort of the college crowd as well as sort of the Upper East Side of

New York social group. I mean, it was the kind of a place where a lot of Park Avenue people hung out, and it was a marvelous restaurant, a great bar, had a marvelous band, and it was welcoming to young people, college people.

Billingsley had a certain aura about him. He would walk around the place and look, and then he'd go sit down, and then he'd call people over, and he'd give the girl perfume and he'd give the guy a tie. He never wore the same tie twice. Or he'd give you a silk handkerchief with his initials on it that he would take out of his pocket. He was a real showman. I mean, he was just an absolute showman—a con artist in many ways, because his prices were incredible.

We wouldn't go every week, but we would go at least once or twice a month, and there were a number of other places. Then we also spent some time in the. . . . Mary Anne's father was very active in the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the New York Democratic Club, and they had a marvelous facility. It was an old mansion on Thirty-seventh Street or Thirty-ninth Street. I forget now. But it was just a fabulous place with great food and very inexpensive prices, so we used to go there. Bob Kennedy and I had lunch there a couple of times. A very, very good menu.

YATES: So what political discussions would you have at that point?

CULLEN: Mostly we would talk about the state of things, how we wanted things to change. You know, we were all very exuberant and very excited. The war

was over, we were finishing our educations, and I guess really, in the final analysis, Truman was still president and so we had a Democratic president, but as you may recall, or maybe you wouldn't. . . . I guess you wouldn't recall, but Truman made a very, very tough remark on the Congress. He called the Eightieth Congress the "do-nothing" Congress. And the "do-nothing" Congress really was the way we felt. We've got to change things. We've got to really make things happen. And we talked about that.

We talked about New York politics. The mayor was a man named [William] O'Dwyer. And there was a great. . . . We were all very proud that the Irish Catholics were finally getting listened to and progressing. That was pretty much. . . . I'm not into sports very much, but we used to talk sports. We used to dance a lot.

YATES: Sounds like fun.

CULLEN: It was. It was great. A lot of camaraderie, a lot of the same people that you got to know. There was a Jersey group, there was a Westchester group, there was a Long Island group, there was a Brooklyn group, and they all sort of interacted, and it gave you a very broad range, and made a lot of friends and acquaintances over the years, and some of them have helped me. Two of them are still friends today, Dick Egner and George Dagher.

I was not a close friend of Bob Kennedy's. I was just one of the group, but we knew each other. I think we respected each other. Bob was a very,

very. . . . His own person. At the time, he was just starting law school. He just finished Harvard [University]. He was really preoccupied, I think, with a lot of things.

I don't think at the time there was any thought, at least to any of us, that Jack Kennedy was going to be who Jack Kennedy became. I mean, it was just not a. . . . The Kennedys were just another rich Catholic New England family. They were both in New York and Boston. But they were not any significance at the time.

YATES: You mentioned a couple of characteristics of Bob Kennedy at that point. What other impressions did you have of him, at least when you were first getting to know him?

CULLEN: Well, I thought he was fun. He had a very, very sly wit. I mean, he really did. He was very acerbic and he was very judgmental. Very, very judgmental. I did not know Ethel well. As I say, we. . . . There may be a table of six or a table of eight of us that we'd be at. I really got more involved in the '48 campaign. [Lawrence F.] Larry O'Brien was not involved in those days, but there was an awful lot of. . . . [Kenneth P.] Kenny O'Donnell was very, very much involved, and he was a remarkable man, Kenny O'Donnell was.

YATES: So he was, even at that point, hooked up with the Kennedy . . .

CULLEN: Kenny O'Donnell?

YATES: Yes.

CULLEN: Oh, Kenny O'Donnell sort of ran the show.

YATES: I know the name, of course.

CULLEN: Kenny O'Donnell sort of ran the show, and then there's another fellow that did everything for the congressman. His name was [David F.] Dave Powers. Wonderful guy. I think Dave is still alive. Kenny is not, unfortunately.

There were a lot of people that. . . . A fellow by the name of Charlie Winchester, who went to Holy Cross, who was very, very active in the campaign. A fellow named Jack Riordan. It's hard to remember some of the names. But I got involved. Really, at the time I was a Democrat. I think I told you that.

YATES: You mean a Republican?

CULLEN: I mean, I was a Republican. I became a Democrat later on.

YATES: Right. And you said that was. . . . What year was that, do you remember?

CULLEN: Well, I didn't become actually a Democrat, I think, until 1950, I think I switched.

YATES: So it was in between the '48 and the '50 campaigns.

CULLEN: Yes. But how I even got involved in the campaign. . . . I had no interest in the campaign—I had really not too great an interest in politics at the time. I was just having a good time and busy working my way through Holy Cross selling diamonds. I was also on the GI Bill, so I think I got seventy-five

dollars a month, plus they paid most of my tuition.

YATES: I remember you mentioning that it was because of Mary Anne that you first hooked up in the '48 campaign.

CULLEN: Right.

YATES: I wanted to ask you, too, a follow-up question about something you mentioned in connection to the '52 campaign, which is that you said you learned a lot about John F. Kennedy at that point, and that you really became a big fan and thought he would be a great senator. So, of course, my next question is why did you come to that conclusion?

CULLEN: Well, I think one of the things that I guess. . . . I like to get interested in things that I like, and in switching, in becoming a Democrat, it was really an act of choice.

I'll go back to the '48 campaign for a minute. It was really my first involvement in politics, and the lady I was dating, who later became my wife, Mary Anne White, she asked me if I'd help in '48. She called me to go up and work on the campaign as a volunteer in August of 1948. I had no reason not to, but I was more interested in spending time with her than working on the campaign.

But a group of us got together and went up and we spent every weekend in August up there working on the campaign and just doing precinct work and making telephone calls, doing the things that. . . . We worked in the

headquarters and we walked precincts. It was a typical. . . . That style of campaign which isn't done anymore because of television.

The bottom line is that the more you got involved and saw the Kennedys and saw this family unity that was almost incredible, I mean it was absolutely. . . . It was truly an all for one and one for all, and the focus was getting Jack re-elected.

And when I first met the congressman, I was really not very struck with him. I mean, although he was tall, he looked slight.

YATES: I remember you saying, I think, he looked like a wind could blow him away.

CULLEN: Right. Exactly. A strong wind could blow him away. That's exactly. . . .

And he walked very strangely. He really did.

YATES: Was that, do you think, because of his back?

CULLEN: I think it was because of his back.

YATES: In retrospect.

CULLEN: Yes.

YATES: You didn't know that at the time?

CULLEN: We didn't know it at the time. And he almost seemed frail in that campaign.

YATES: This is '48 you're talking about.

CULLEN: 'Forty-eight. In '48. I went to a number of the teas that they had. They would have teas throughout Boston as both fund-raisers and as getting to know the candidate kind of thing, and very often Mary Anne and I would go

to those. And I met a number of the sisters, and they were just very interesting people.

I met Rose Kennedy. She was a remarkable lady. I was always impressed with her religiosity. She went to mass a lot and she was very close to the cardinal and she was really an active Catholic, and that sort of surprised me. At the time, I was still an active Catholic.

YATES: Did you meet [Joseph P.] Joe Kennedy?

CULLEN: I never did meet Joe Kennedy.

YATES: So he wasn't around so much.

CULLEN: He was around, but he stayed in the background, purposely, I understand.

But I never met him. I did not get to know him.

YATES: So it was really Rose Kennedy and the rest of the family?

CULLEN: Rose Kennedy and mostly the sisters. [Edward M.] Ted [Kennedy] was a very minor part of it. I really never got to know Ted. Even today, I don't know Ted. I mean, the timing was just not there. Bobby was very, very active, although he was, I think, still in law school, or just starting law school.

He was very active in that campaign. He was the manager.

YATES: This was '48?

CULLEN: This was '48. He was the manager and you knew he was the manager. But he was a young kid and, you know, we all were about the same age. It was fun. It was fun.

YATES: When you said you knew he was the manager, what were you thinking?

CULLEN: Well, I was thinking that Bob, you know, you did what he told you to do. He ran the show.

YATES: He had a presence?

CULLEN: He very definitely had a presence, and everybody knew he was the boss.

YATES: Even at that young age.

CULLEN: Yes. Yes. He was just. . . . He could be very taciturn and what have you. I don't ever remember Bob being a jokester. He was always a very serious person, a very serious person.

YATES: So by the '52 campaign, what . . .

CULLEN: Let me just interrupt you there.

YATES: Yes. Sorry.

CULLEN: The '50 campaign, we did not work on the '50 campaign because that was the year Mary Anne was graduating and she was leaving the area. So we did a little, some volunteer work on the '50 campaign in the primary, but we didn't do anything in the general, because Mary Anne graduated from Newton College of the Sacred Heart, moved back to New York. So I went back. As a matter of fact, I worked in the pawn shop that summer, the summer of '50. So really, we weren't in Massachusetts to be involved.

When I went back to school, a lot of my friends had graduated. My roommate, George Dagher, and Arthur Kelly, my other roommate, they had

graduated. They graduated the same year Mary Anne did.

Anyway, I sort of lost my interest in politics. I guess you'd put it that way. So I wasn't a dedicated believer at the time. But as I started reading about things and really getting more involved, and my father, as I mentioned to you, was a Republican, and he and I got into discussions now. It was something we would never do when talking about politics. He felt that Democrats were mostly crooks. He was a businessman. He was an executive at General Electric and he had that mindset. By that time, he'd worked for General Electric for forty-odd years, so he had that business attitude.

But as I got into more things both philosophically and economically, I really felt that the Democrats really had more to do and more to say. I thought that the Republicans were much more WASPish, I guess, and "take care of business" kind of thing and really didn't give a damn about the public.

Having been in World War II, you have a different attitude, I think, toward housing and feeding people and what have you, and I think that you saw the things that could be done. What America did during World War II was absolutely incredible. I mean, we went from an isolationist country that had no interest in the world, to . . .

YATES: And minimal military.

CULLEN: Yes, with next to no. . . . I mean, when you see what happened at Pearl Harbor. I mean, thank God there weren't more planes that were there and

what have you. We had a lousy air force, we had an ancient navy. Probably one of the best things that happened to us was Pearl Harbor, in retrospect, because it showed us our vulnerability.

[Interruption]

YATES: OK. Anyway, we were talking about. . . . Well, I had originally asked you about JFK and what really was the turning point for you in terms of becoming a big fan of his.

CULLEN: Well, I think what happened, as I say, in the '50 campaign, we were not very active, especially in the general election. But as things progressed, because I had worked for him, I watched what he was doing in Congress. I read his speeches. Very often somebody would send me copies of his speeches. And I really thought, gee, I backed the right guy here. This man is going to go somewhere.

By that time, there was talk about—and I'm talking now in '51 and early '52—there was talk about his running for the Senate. By that time, I had become, due largely to then my wife—Mary Anne and I were married September 8, 1951—and I took six months off. I didn't go back to Holy Cross that semester. I took that six months off. Then I went back in January to finish up so I'd get my degree and what have you. And I did the semester at Fordham, because we were just newly married. We were married and so I did a semester at Fordham, another Jesuit school, and there were a lot of

things and I was able to take similar courses, so it didn't interrupt my graduation. And I ultimately graduated in the class of 1952.

But while I was up there, I would very often go into Boston and I'd talk to some of my friends and what have you, and I was tempted to really get involved in the campaigns, you know, and talking to a number of the people. It was really, I guess. . . . I really hadn't thought about it that much.

Of course, we had decided to go back. We had an apartment in Kew Gardens, Queens, at the time and we would actually commute. We also had an apartment in Worcester, and we lived in Worcester most of the time, but we'd go back every other weekend, we'd come back to the apartment.

But I had a real interest in Massachusetts and I had a real interest in Kennedy's running for the Senate, but I really didn't think about it. In other words, it was sort of ethereal. It was sort of, gee, it'd be nice to . . .

YATES: Well, you're newly married and you're finishing college. It sounds like you had plenty to do.

CULLEN: Yes. Exactly. Did. But anyway, on graduation day, I got a call, out of nowhere, and the administrator came up and said to me, he said, "Frank, there's a very important call for you in the office. The man is waiting on the phone for you." I asked him who it was, and he said, "Well, his name is Kennedy." Well, for some reason I never. . . . I knew about six Kennedys at the time and not just that family. It didn't register who it was and what have

you.

It turned out it was Bob Kennedy calling to ask me if I'd stay up and volunteer and work on the campaign. He said they needed people in the western state and he wanted me to meet a man named Larry O'Brien. So I said I'd get back to him, and I went back to my family. It was graduation day. I mean, my mother and father, my brother-in-law [Peter J. White Jr.], my wife, were all . . . . It was really not a . . .

YATES: You were focused on graduating.

CULLEN: Yes. Right. So anyway, a couple of days later I called him back and said, yes, I'd be very happy to work. So I did stay up. I kept the apartment. Mary Anne went back to New York to do things, because she was pregnant with our first son, so she didn't want to stay up and she didn't feel like working on the campaign, although she was so. . . . Anyway, that's pretty much what happened, and so I worked the western part of the state.

YATES: What does that mean exactly? Describe . . .

CULLEN: Well, from Worcester, Springfield, Northampton, Williamstown, Pittsfield. I mean. . . .

YATES: Did you have an official title?

CULLEN: No, I was just a volunteer. I went around and I would meet with the local Democrats and I would arrange speaking engagements for people. It was a regular thing. I worked mostly on the weekends through Thursday. Then I'd

take Friday and Saturday and come home and then go back up on Sunday.

YATES: Who did you work most closely with?

CULLEN: Larry O'Brien. Larry O'Brien was the man who really directed me and what have you. And I might tell you, I did this all at my own expense.

YATES: You mentioned volunteering, so you felt really committed.

CULLEN: Well, I could afford to do it. I had the money and I'd had a very successful year.

YATES: Selling diamonds?

CULLEN: That year I made over \$50,000, so a lot of my classmates and a lot of classmates. . . . Yes, I would say that during the forties and fifties, I was one of the wealthiest men on campus, but it as just a stroke of luck because of my association with the pawn shop and my Uncle Edmund. My Uncle Jimmy had died, but my Uncle Edmund was in partnership with a man named Saul Solomon, who was an importer of diamonds. We also took diamonds out of the pawn shop and had them reset in Tiffany settings, which were very popular at the time.

YATES: Still popular.

CULLEN: Is it really?

YATES: Tiffany settings.

CULLEN: Tiffany settings, yes. It's a very popular setting. So anyway, I made a good deal of money and I had the time, I had a car, and so . . .

YATES: You said some of the activities you were involved with were setting up . . .

CULLEN: Setting up speaking engagements . . .

YATES: For Kennedy?

CULLEN: For the senator—for the congressman at the time—and for a lot of. . . Like Larry O'Brien would speak at things, at events. Kenny O'Donnell used to come and speak. There was another man, [R.] Sargent Shriver came up. I mean, it was really a very active. . . . And it was a tough fight. I mean, Lodge had a lot of support. At the time, western Massachusetts was very Republican, which it still is today, but we did very well and he won.

YATES: What did you learn from that experience, if you can capsulize it?

CULLEN: I think I learned that it's worth working for what you believe in. I knew I couldn't afford to continue and I didn't want to be in politics myself. I didn't have the demeanor for it. I didn't want to run for office myself.

I liked to sort of be a part of the action and to participate, to give ideas, to go out and talk to people. I did a lot of public speaking. I did a lot of speaking myself. I had been in the Holy Cross Debating Society, so I was used to public speaking. I probably spoke in twenty towns in Massachusetts over that period of time, urging people to look at Congressman Kennedy as a senator and that he'd be the better choice. He knows Massachusetts, he has a much more effective way of getting things done than Mr. Lodge does.

Henry Cabot Lodge was a Brahmin, very much a different social class,

and I guess. . . . I won't say he was anti-Catholic, but he was anti-Irish. I think that had a lot to do with it. That's one of the reasons I think I stayed up.

YATES: So the Catholic aspect did make a difference.

CULLEN: The Catholic aspect of it, the Irish aspect of it, had a very definite thing. By that time, we were doing. . . . As the Jews at the same time were having. . . . "Let's get more Jews in Congress." Well, we were doing "Let's get more Catholics in Congress." So there was very definitely an ethnic and religious fervor, if I can use that term, both in the Jewish community and the Catholic community. It was becoming nationwide. I mean, you'll see. . . . As a matter of fact, it's really funny, if you look at the roster of California congresspeople, two of our senators happen to be Jewish, but of the fifty-two members of the delegation, seventeen are Catholics, which is really a pretty surprising thing. Most of the rest are either Mormons or various shades of Protestants.

And I know this only because I'm interested in it. I'm no longer a practicing Catholic, but that's a choice. And I think that has a lot to do, really, with the kind of life I've led. I've kept my Catholic roots, but I don't really think the church is doing. . . . I'm not a great fan of Cardinal [Roger] Mahoney. I think his spending \$186 million building this cathedral [The Cathedral of Our Lady of Los Angeles] is an insult to the starving people in California. I mean, the church can do so much more than build cathedrals.

No question that we needed a new cathedral, but to spend that kind of money.

I mean, we could have done with one half the size and not quite as grand.

YATES: Well, how overt was the issue of Catholicism or being a Catholic during that campaign, during '52?

CULLEN: Oh, I think it was a very overt thing. It was one of the hardest things I had to fight in western Massachusetts because it was pretty much Republican, pretty WASPish. There were a few enclaves around Williamstown that had large Catholic populations, Northampton did, but . . .

YATES: So for that voting population, that was really a critical issue, the fact that Kennedy was Catholic.

CULLEN: Very definitely. Very definitely. And you had to persuade, and we were trying to persuade the Catholic people to go out and get their WASP friends to vote for Kennedy because they'd be better off. That was sort of our mantra. And it worked.

YATES: I was going to say, what strategies did you use? So that was one.

CULLEN: One of the strategies that we used, that Kennedy knew the legislative process. He had spent from 1947 in the Congress. He knew how the thing worked, and Lodge was much more a businessman. I mean, he had a good record and what have you, but, I don't know, his whole thing was sort of anathema to me. It was just something that. . . I just didn't want to see him elected. I wanted Kennedy to be elected.

[My goal was to get people to state “I’m for Jack Kennedy” to their friends and neighbors. We got little help from the state Democratic Party—very little. Kennedy was not a “regular” Democrat in the party sense. He was a rich intruder. All they wanted was to re-elect Governor Paul [A.] Dever.

While Bob Kennedy was the 1952 campaign manager it was Larry O’Brien who wrote the plan and came up with the great idea of the local “campaign secretary” title so as not to offend the area chairman of the Democratic Party. The second most important aspect of the Senate campaign was the “Kennedy Tea” or reception. Hundreds were held across the state from the summer until election day. That’s how Congressman Jack Kennedy became Senator Kennedy. Lodge also helped by being “out of state” a good deal of the time campaigning for General Eisenhower for the president of the United States. He gave up Massachusetts and lost to Kennedy. I’m proud to have been a small part of that almost five month effort—all at my own expense.]<sup>1</sup>

YATES: Where were you on election night?

CULLEN: Where was I? I was back home in New York, because my wife was expecting our first child and the week after the election, our son Peter [J. Cullen] was born. So I was home where I should have been. [Laughter]

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1. Mr. Cullen added the preceding bracketed material during his review of the draft transcript.

YATES: But it must have been an exciting night.

CULLEN: It was a very exciting night. Oh, really, it was great. But I did not participate in the. . . . It was a very strange night, too, because I also was a great fan, by that time, of Adlai Stevenson's, because I thought that. . . . And that was a great bittersweet thing. Kennedy won, but Adlai really got trimmed.

But I think there, again, Mr. [Dwight D.] Eisenhower was the right man at the right time. I think that Eisenhower was an internationalist. I mean, when you look at his record, he traveled all over the world in the army; he was the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe. He really won the war. I say he won the war because he was able to work closely with [Winston] Churchill and a man like [Charles] De Gaulle, who, you know, De Gaulle thought he was the fourth person of the Blessed Trinity, so he was a very difficult man to work with. And Eisenhower was able to do that, although later in life he said that De Gaulle was the gall of his life. [Laughter]

YATES: Well, you were convinced enough to be involved in the Stevenson campaign in 1956.

CULLEN: Yes. Really, once I started my business, and I had a rather unusual business at the time. . . . People don't realize this, but what had happened was, after the war, there was this tremendous rush to the altar. All of these guys and girls who had grown up or reached maturity during the war, they wanted to get out, they wanted to start families, they wanted to have children, they

wanted to have jobs and what have you.

So one of the things that they all decided, there was a thing called GI life insurance that you could take with you. It was a \$10,000 policy, and almost everybody had it, but there was a question as how good was it going to be, and it didn't really pay dividends and what have you, so it was like a term life insurance policy. Then they converted it—and I'm getting off the thing here, but. . . . So I got involved in the insurance business, and I found one of the problems that the insurance companies all had was that a lot of the people they were hiring didn't know how to sell insurance in terms of. . . . Not because of the product, because the image changed. You had this husband and wife partnership that was beginning, that was sort of new to America, where you had the mother and father of the young children sort of working jointly. It used to be the man would go out to work and the woman would take care of the house and what have you. The man would take care of the money and what have you. Well, now, after World War II, that changed to a certain degree, and the woman had more of a participatory part in what kind of a car they were going to buy, what kind of a house they were going to buy, and what they were going to do with their investments and what have you.

So the big insurance companies, New York Life, Equitable, Guardian, Mutual of New York, they all went out and hired all these insurance salesmen, and they were doing well, but they weren't doing as well as they

could, because most of them would go to these people's homes and they didn't take care of the basics. First of all, they didn't know enough about insurance. Secondly, they didn't know how to dress. They didn't know how to clean their fingernails. They didn't know how to comb their hair. They didn't know when you walk into somebody's house, and they say, "Can I give you a cup of coffee? Would you like . . .," you say yes, whether you like it or not, because they're being generous to you. You're coming, trying to get them to buy something you're trying to sell, so you want to become part of that family, sort of. And you want to become a friend.

So I came up with a scheme, if I can use that term, to teach people how to sell insurance, and it became very, very successful. And there's three rules of selling insurance: see the people, see the people, see more people. And that's all it is. But, to see the people, you have to go into their homes. You have to get the husband and the wife, because everybody can buy term insurance, but what you want to do is you want to sell whole life insurance, where you get a big commission and they're going to get an equity growing up with the policy.

Now, that scenario would not work in today's economy, but I'm going back in the fifties, and it worked very, very well in the fifties.

YATES: This is what you were doing . . .

CULLEN: I started a thing for the insurance companies and had a company called FCA

Company, which meant Frank Cullen Associates, and what I did, I would go around to the various insurance companies and I would hold a class on telling people how to dress, how to talk, what to do in a person's home, what not to do in a person's home, make sure your shoes were shined and your nails were clean and your tie was up. You don't take your jacket off when somebody asks you if you want to take your jacket off. You don't ask for anything, and if they offer you, don't say no. Little simple things, and it worked.

And that's how I came to California, because it worked so well that I had five different insurance companies as clients and they sent me to California.

YATES: Now, that was 1958, you came to California.

CULLEN: I came in '58, California. Then in '59, I brought my family out. I wasn't sure it was going to work, so I really wasn't sure. I loved California. I wanted to come back because I'd been stationed here during World War II.

YATES: But you wanted to make sure everything was working.

CULLEN: Right. And at the time I started a company that worked very, very well.

YATES: Let me just interject then, the '56. . . . You said you did get involved in the '56 presidential campaign.

CULLEN: I did get involved in the '56 presidential campaign in New York, on Long Island. I belonged to the North Shore Democratic Club, and we were very active working for Stevenson and Kefauver. Again, I made speeches, I went to the veterans' organizations and got them involved. I spoke at the local

hospitals in Glen Cove and Manhasset and in Queens. And I was, again, a volunteer.

YATES: How much of your time were you spending on it?

CULLEN: I would say a fair amount of time. I probably would speak maybe three, four times a night and always on Saturday. So probably four days a week I'd be making a speech, trying to convince people.

And I had my roommate, who was a rabid Republican, my roommate from college, George Dagher, and he thought I was crazy. He said, "What are you doing? You're wasting your time." So anyway, he said, "Nobody's going to beat Eisenhower," and he was right. Nobody beat Eisenhower.

So Stevenson. . . . And I met a lot of his staff. I never met him, but I did meet him in the '60 campaign, but I never met him during . . .

YATES: But not during the '56 . . .

CULLEN: Not during the '56 campaign. But I was convinced that he was the right man. I thought that Eisenhower was the right man in '52. Not that I voted for him; I didn't. I voted for Stevenson. But as I say, I worked to a lesser degree for Stevenson because when you work for a senatorial campaign, you have to push the top of the ticket as well.

YATES: What about Stevenson? I mean, Stevenson's always an interesting person because you hear so much what an impact he had on people who heard him or knew something about him or were supporting him. What about him did you

like or convinced you to support him?

CULLEN: They would send the campaign headquarters tapes of his speeches, and I was just fascinated by them. I was enthralled by them. Television was just coming in then, and sometimes you'd see a clip of his talking on television, and I just thought. . . . He'd been governor of Illinois. You know, he was divorced, and that was a big thing at the time. No divorced man had ever been elected to the presidency, and I think that hurt him. But of course, now it doesn't really matter.

But I think that the four years of Eisenhower were enough and I thought we were ready for a change. And I was excited. I was excited about the Kennedy vice presidential candidate at the [Democratic National] Convention. You know, there was a lot of. . . . And I was not involved in that at all in any way, matter, shape, or form.

YATES: I was going to say, you didn't attend the convention, did you? Would you have watched it?

CULLEN: I saw it. Yes, I watched it. Very definitely. And I also thought [Lyndon B.] Johnson was a very, very great, great man. I thought Johnson probably. . . . And history, I think, will go down, in the history of the Senate, he's probably. . . . There's a book over there somewhere called [*The*] *Master of the Senate*[: *The Years of Lyndon Johnson*],<sup>1</sup> but he really was master of the Senate.

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1. By Robert A. Caro.

What he did in the fifties, with Eisenhower, I mean, he got all these Democratic bills passed.

And a lot of people don't realize, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is an offshoot of the Civil Rights Act of 195[7], and Johnson got that done. He was the first person to do it. He did it for two reasons, or he got it accomplished for two reasons. Number one, he was a southerner from Texas, and he was carrying a bill that was going to be signed by a Republican president. If a Democrat had signed that bill, it would never have gotten anywhere. I mean, he would have signed it, but it never would have gotten passed because there would have been too much opposition to it.

So he had this Republican. . . . And he was a master at coalitions. The thing I learned. . . . The thing I learned when I went to work for [Edmund G.] "Pat" Brown is that good government is a willingness to compromise. You cannot have the right and the left extremists carrying the ball. And that's what's happening today. That's what's happening today.

YATES: I was going to say, that characterizes the last ten or fifteen years, wouldn't you say?

CULLEN: Exactly. There must be a sense of compromise. I learned that from my boss, Frank Mesplé, who was the legislative secretary.

YATES: So there wasn't a feeling that you're giving up on your principles by compromising?

CULLEN: You don't. You're not giving up on your principles. You're accomplishing something. You're not giving up on your principles. And the old story that he who fights and runs away, lives to fight another day. So you can always come back and bring this stuff back. So you're not going to get a whole loaf, but you get half a loaf, or a third of a loaf. You get something, rather than confrontation.

When my friend Paul [M.] Simon left the United States Senate, he called me and he said, "Frank, I need to talk to you. Will you be coming to Washington soon?" I said, "Yes, Senator, I'll be there. Why?" He said, "Well, when are you going to be here?" I said, "I'll be there next week." But this time I didn't know what he wanted to talk to me about. This is 1994. And I had been very helpful to his elections, going back to 1983, '82. Anyway, he went from the Congress to the Senate in '84. But he took me in his private office and he said, "Frank, I've got something to tell you."

And I said, "What is it, Senator?" And I waited for this dramatic thing. And he said, "I've decided not to run for re-election." Well, you could have hit me with a mallet, because I really thought that this was one of the most honorable, the most sensible, the most compromising man, who had never compromised his principles, but he would compromise on legislation.

I said, "Senator," I said, "we need you. You've got to stay." He said, "Frank, I can't stay." I said, "Why, Senator?" He said, "Frank, comity has

left this house.” I said, “Comedy?” He said, “No, comity.” And I said, “Oh.” And then I got it. He said, “There’s too much vitriol, there’s too much hatred here. I can’t stand it. I’ve got to leave.” And that just. . . . You know, it stunned me, but I understood why. But what a great loss that was.

Another man—his picture’s up there—Donald [W.] Riegle. He left the same time. A great man.

YATES: A number of people left at that time.

CULLEN: Yes. They just felt. . . . Claiborne [de Borda] Pell didn’t run again.

Claiborne was an incredible, incredible man. There’s his picture over there. A fantastic, fantastic man. The Pell Grants that educated so many people all over this country go to that man. Claiborne Pell. But he’d just had it. Then he got sick, unfortunately. I don’t even know if Claiborne’s still alive, but he had Alzheimer’s, then he got Parkinson’s Disease. I really haven’t followed it, and I should. He was a good friend. Anyway . . .

I’m going to stop for a minute, OK?

YATES: Sure.

[Interruption]

YATES: OK. I’m going to get you back to 1959. You’re now out in California with your family.

CULLEN: Right. We took one of the last trains of the *Twentieth Century Limited* from New York to Chicago. Then we changed to the *Super Chief*, and the kids

loved it. The boys [Peter and Frank W. Cullen Jr.] were then, I think. . . . I forget. Probably seven and nine, and they just had a ball. It was three days on these trains and they just loved it, my wife loved it, and it was just really great.

YATES: And where did you move to?

CULLEN: We moved here to the Westside. We got an apartment on Eastborne Avenue and lived there. It was a nice apartment, two stories, and had a little garden in back. It was just a very nice apartment. And I had an office in Alhambra, out in the San Gabriel Valley.

YATES: Now, you became involved in the 1960 presidential campaign.

CULLEN: Well, what happened was, I came out and I really had had no contact, really, with the Kennedys since 1952. I hadn't even corresponded with any of them. I hadn't had any. . . . You know, just you're living your own lives and what have you. I followed the career. I was very excited about Jack Kennedy's vice presidential run at the '56 convention, but I think it was fortunate that he didn't win, because he would have then been a loser in the vice presidential slot, because. . . . Anyway, even though I had worked on the Stevenson-Kefauver campaign, you sort of knew it was a tough battle to win, and ultimately we didn't win it.

YATES: Hold on. I'm sorry. I'm going to turn the tape over.

[End Tape 3, Side A]

[Begin Tape 3, Side B]

YATES: OK. I interrupted you because the tape was coming to an end.

CULLEN: OK. What was I saying?

YATES: We were talking about your getting involved in the 1960 presidential campaign.

CULLEN: OK. Well, what happened is I hadn't been in touch with the Kennedys at all and really hadn't been involved politically since '56, and I really knew nobody in California from a political standpoint. I mean, we had social friends here. A fellow by the name of Wesley Lau and Mary Anne's close friend, Mary Louise Metcalf-Lau, lived here. Wes was an actor. Very famous show he was on for many years called the *Perry Mason* show, he played Lieutenant Anderson on *Perry Mason*, and Mary Lou was a very successful advertising copywriter.

So we had friends here, but they were really not political. They were very political but they weren't politically active. And they were both Democrats.

And we developed a group in church and I was really. . . . We were getting the boys involved in a number of things, really. They originally went to Blessed Sacrament [Catholic] Church in Hollywood for a year. Then we moved to Eastborne Avenue. We originally lived in Hollywood. I completely forgot about that.

YATES: That's where you lived first?

CULLEN: Yes, when we first moved to California, but we only lived there for about eight months. We lived in the Cahuenga Pass in Hollywood. As a matter of fact, the first six months, they went to Cherimoya School. Frank was in kindergarten and Peter was, I think, in the second grade. Then we decided that we'd put them in a Catholic school, so we put them in Blessed Sacrament School for the spring semester.

Then I guess it was 1960, we moved to West Los Angeles, to Eastborne Avenue, and we put them in St. Paul the Apostle School, which was a Catholic school run by the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet. A very interesting group. Anyway, the Paulist fathers are very, very liberal and a very bright group of priests. They're very different than the Jesuits. And St. Paul is a beautiful church on Ohio Avenue in Westwood.

Anyway, so I was involved in the church. The boys were just getting into Cub Scouts. I got involved heavily into Cub Scouts and ended up. . . . By 1964, I was the neighborhood commissioner for Westside for the Crescent Bay Area Council. I had like five Cub Scout dens and a bunch of troops. I think I had three troops that I had to go. . . . And I was sort of the major domo of the Boy Scouts [of America] from the parents' side, called the neighborhood commissioner.

But what happened was, in '59, going back to politics, I was in my office

in Alhambra, and my secretary [Sheila O'Hara] came in and said, "Frank," she said, "there's a man on the phone that says he needs to talk to you. He said you know him. He said his name is Kennedy."

YATES: Sounds familiar.

CULLEN: Yes, but it never occurred to me that it was . . .

YATES: But I mean, it sounds like the 1952 . . .

CULLEN: Exactly. The same thing. I mean, you just don't. . . . So I pick up the phone and it turned out to be Bob Kennedy. He said, "Frank," he said. . . . And I don't even know how he found out where I was. I mean, I had no idea under God's green earth how he found out, how he ever got my phone number. I mean, I just still to this day don't know.

Anyway, I got this call out of nowhere and he said that his brother was going to run for the presidency, and would I help. I really tried to beg off and I said, "Bob," I said, "I really don't know anybody here. I've only been here a little over a year and." I said, "I don't know anybody," and I said that "I've been out of politics. I haven't done anything."

He said, "Well," he said, "We need all the help we can get," and what have you. So anyway . . .

YATES: I'm sorry. What was the time? It was '59?

CULLEN: It was '59. It was probably, I would say August of '59. I know it was August of '59.

YATES: OK. I'm just trying to get a time frame.

CULLEN: August of '59. And he said that the senator was coming out and that he was going to tour California, and would I help with the advance, and I said yes.

YATES: Now, is this the whistle stop?

CULLEN: No, no, no, no, no, no. That's much later.

YATES: That's later. OK.

CULLEN: No, this was everything. . . .

YATES: Oh, I'm sorry. This is the advance.

CULLEN: Yes, this was when I did. . . . This was in October of 1959. His visit was in October of 1959. He started in San Diego, went all the way up to Chico, through Sacramento. I don't know whether he ever got to Chico or not, but anyway, I did the advance. I never saw any of the Kennedys. I was just working with the group. I was working, actually, again, for Larry O'Brien, who was planning the trip.

YATES: So what would you do, exactly?

CULLEN: I would go and we would have an itinerary. We'd have an itinerary and I would go and arrange either a meeting hall or a union hall, or talk to a local police chief, tell them the senator was coming through, routinely what the advance man does. You prepare the way. That's what the advance man. . . . You look out for. . . . You hire a hall if you need it, you get a caterer if you need it, and all that kind of stuff. I did it. . . . Actually, I did it in San

Bernardino, where we didn't go to, but that was one of the stops that we were going to go to and didn't.

But I never went to any of the events, because as he was coming up, I was always just a town ahead of him, or the city ahead of him.

YATES: You were in advance. You were ahead of him.

CULLEN: Right. Then when it was over, I had a gout attack, and so I never got to come down to Sacramento, where they were having a thing at the governor's thing, so I never got to go to that, because I had a gout attack and I was in a motel. Anyway, that's a whole other story that's not really important. But I didn't participate.

Again, I never heard a word. I never even got a thank you.

YATES: For all the work you'd done?

CULLEN: For what I did. Never heard from anybody. And fast forward now to May of 1960, and again I get a call from Bob Kennedy. Now he knew where I was. And he said, "Frank," he said, "we want you to help in the [Democratic National] Convention. I said, "Bob," I said, "as I told you before," I said, "I really don't have any connections." He said, "Well, we need bodies. We need people. We need people to work the hall. We need people we know." So I said, "OK. I'll help." So we made arrangements that we'd meet the first day of the convention—actually, the day before the convention began—at the Biltmore Hotel. We set a place to meet. We did. We met. And he said,

“Come on, let’s go up and see Jack.” So I said, “Fine. Let’s go.” I hadn’t seen or spoken to the senator since he was a congressman, so I was really anxious, and I was really getting the bug again, and “Boy, now I’m really going to be a part of something now,” you know.

So we’re standing in this really crowded elevator foyer. If you know anything about the Biltmore Hotel, there’s a giant walkway corridor that goes from Fifth Street to a . . . It’s sort of an alley, private parking approach, and it probably runs half the block, if not more, and it’s a giant thing, but right in the middle of it is this bank of elevators that’s in a little side corridor. Then there’s a staircase going down into the lobby.

So we’re standing in this crowded, smoke-filled, literally stinking place, because everybody was smoking or drinking, and we’re standing right in front of the elevator doors, and there’s Bob Kennedy to my right and myself and there’s mobs of people around us, pushing, waiting for those doors to open so they can all rush in. And the doors open, and this mob scene is there, and the two people standing in front of the doors as they open are Pat Brown and Adlai Stevenson. So I’d worked for Stevenson, but never met him, so Governor Stevenson, sort of in unison, both governors say, “Bob!” And Bob was surprised, and so he said, “Governor Brown. Governor Stevenson.” And he turns to me and he said, “Make some room, Frank, make some room.” So Bob said, “Governors, can I talk to both of you for a

minute? Can I talk to both of you for a minute?" So we go sort of over to the side, and most of the people go into the elevator, and there's like a little balcony up where the two staircases overlook the lobby, and the four of us are standing there, and Bob reaches in his pocket and he takes out an envelope. And he says, "Frank, here are your tickets for the convention. I'll get back to you and we'll go and see the senator later." He said, "I need to speak to the governors alone, if you don't mind." I said, "Certainly not, Bob." I said, "I don't mind at all." Well, that was the last I ever saw of Bob Kennedy during the entire convention. [Laughter]

YATES: Did he actually introduce you to Stevenson and Brown?

CULLEN: Oh yes. He introduced me to Governor Brown and Governor Stevenson. Oh yes. He was very, very. . . . As a matter of fact, he was very generous. He said I was very helpful to his brother, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. It was a nice introduction. It was very nice. Neither Pat nor Adlai Stevenson could care less. They were just meeting another. . . . [Laughter]

YATES: Of course. I'm sorry to interrupt your flow for a minute, but what did you know about Pat Brown at that point? How observant were you of . . .

CULLEN: Almost nothing. I know that he had just gone through a terrible, terrible trauma with the famous [Caryl] Chessman case, and really that he'd gotten a lot of bad press. And there had been a debacle in the year I came out, and I wasn't here long enough to vote, or I didn't have any interest in it, really,

where the Republicans really caused their own defeat.

YATES: You're talking about the '58 election?

CULLEN: The '58 campaign. Right. The '58 election. What happened was the sitting governor, Goodwin [J.] Knight, was persuaded not to run for re-election, although he could have run for re-election because there were no term limits in those days, and his predecessor had been elected three times. Earl Warren. So there was no reason why he couldn't run for governor again.

However, the minority leader of the United States Senate was a man named [William F.] Bill Knowland, William Knowland, whose family owned the *Oakland Tribune*. And Knowland was a very wealthy man and a very arrogant man and very handsome man, and he decided he wanted to be governor of California. He didn't like it in the Senate. So he convinced Goodie Knight somehow, with a hammerlock, hit him on the head, I don't know how he did it, but he convinced Goodie Knight that Goodie should run for his Senate seat and he'd run for governor.

Well, I really don't know anything about the politics of it, but it turned out to be a disaster. Republicans just left the party in droves in the booth. They didn't leave the party in droves by registration, but when they voted, Pat won that election, Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, won that election by almost a million votes.

YATES: How much of this were you aware of when you first moved here?

CULLEN: None. None.

YATES: So this you learned later.

CULLEN: None. Just what I read in the paper. I knew nothing about it.

YATES: What did you know about Democratic politics, party politics in California?

CULLEN: None. Nothing. Nothing. Absolutely nothing. I was completely apolitical at that point in time. I was here to establish my company, to make money. I was in a new state in terms of business. I was establishing a new business. That was my focus.

YATES: And your family, I take it.

CULLEN: And my family. I mean, exactly. Well, my family was why I was working.

[Laughter]

YATES: Right. Funny how that goes that way. What was your role at the convention, the '60 convention?

CULLEN: I had no role at the convention, although there was evidently a role for me. But everything got so confused. The one thing I did have, I had these tickets, and I had tickets for every day. Nowadays you can't do that. Nowadays you get. . . . Hanging over there is a daily convention badge—I'll show it to you later—from the 1996 convention.

YATES: So you were able to go every day?

CULLEN: I went every day to the convention and kept trying to see Bob Kennedy or Larry O'Brien, and none of them. . . . They were all too busy. I never got to

see any of them. I did see Larry O'Brien a couple of times. He said, "Yeah, Frank, we'll get back to you."

YATES: I'm sorry, you said Bob Kennedy originally asked you to help at the convention and you couldn't get a hold of him.

CULLEN: Couldn't get a hold of him. I left messages for him. I might as well have been Joe Monarache, the midget. I mean. . . . [Laughter] It was useless. I did speak. . . . I talked to Larry O'Brien. I spoke to him. He said, "Frank, we'll get back to you." He took my phone number. I never heard from anybody.

But I went to the convention every day and it was great. And I met Governor Stevenson again outside the Biltmore and we spoke for about maybe eight minutes. It was a wonderful conversation, and it was funny because it was July and he was wearing a wool suit.

YATES: And I take it, it was characteristically hot.

CULLEN: Yes, it was.

YATES: What did you talk about?

CULLEN: We talked about his possible nomination and the opposition. We talked about Johnson. And that's the first time I met Senator Johnson.

YATES: How did you meet Johnson?

CULLEN: Well, I was looking for something to do and I was going from room to room to room off the corridor, and Johnson had this big. . . . I believe it was the

Crystal [Ball]room that Johnson had or maybe. . . . No, it was the Gold Room. It was the Gold Room that he had, and he happened to be there, just finishing a speech, and walking out, and I shook his hand and I said, “Senator, I just want to introduce myself. I’m here from California. I wish you well,” and blah, blah, blah, and he was just. . . . He’s a massive man. I mean, he’s a very, very big man. He reached in his pocket and he took out and he gave me a pair. . . . “Here, wear these.” And he gave me a pair of LBJ Stetson cufflinks, which I still have somewhere. [Laughter]

YATES: I was going to say I bet you have them.

CULLEN: Oh, I do. I do. They’re probably in that box, or one of these boxes.

YATES: Well, what was it like on the convention floor?

CULLEN: It was a madhouse. It was absolute chaos, but I tell you, it was very hot. It was in the [Los Angeles Memorial] Sports Arena. And I also got tickets to hear Kennedy speak at the [Los Angeles Memorial] Coliseum. You know, I went to everything, I mean, but I didn’t know anybody. I introduced myself to Senator Johnson as he was going out. But at that time, he was glad-handing everybody. I mean, you know, he was a candidate then. But I still have those cufflinks.

YATES: What was it like at the speech at the Coliseum?

CULLEN: It was wonderful. It was really. . . . It was a marvelous. . . . He was a great speaker. I mean, he just was an engaging speaker. As a matter of fact, I have

a copy of the speech here somewhere.

[Interruption]

YATES: Kind of wrapping up the '60 convention.

CULLEN: OK. Right. Well, the '60 convention, as I say, I did meet a couple of people.

I met a lady by the name of Elizabeth Snyder, who was the first woman chairman of the California Democratic Party, and she was very proud of that.

YATES: How did you end up meeting her?

CULLEN: Well, I was at a reception for Kennedy. I mean, and it was just one of those mob scenes, and she happened to be standing next to me and she introduced herself to me and, you know, what did I do and why was I here, and what have you, and what did I think of Kennedy and blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. So we just started talking. So she gave me her card and she said that she's going to be very active in the campaign, regardless of who wins. And this was even before Kennedy was. . . . What do you call it?

YATES: Nominated?

CULLEN: Nominated. So that was my first introduction, quite by accident, to a Democratic Party official. So probably, I guess, it was the middle of August, I called her up and I said I'd very much like to work on the campaign. I said, "As a volunteer. I have no ulterior motives." I told her my background. That I'd worked on the other campaigns. She said, "Great, great, great."

So I went to see her, and they had a little campaign headquarters on

Wilshire Boulevard in what's called MacArthur Park. Are you familiar with MacArthur Park?

YATES: Yes.

CULLEN: Well, the headquarters was on the south side of the street, on the second floor of. . . . It wasn't quite as far down as Bixel [Street], but it was like. . . . I forget the name of the street, but it was on Wilshire Boulevard just east of MacArthur Park, maybe two blocks. And that was the Kennedy headquarters.

So she had an office there, and she introduced me to a lady by the name of Dorothy Colton, and I met another lady by the name of Carmen Warschaw. Then I met a man by the name of Manning [J.] Post.

YATES: Oh, all well-known names.

CULLEN: So Manning sort of. . . . When he heard I'd worked for the Kennedys, he put his arm around me and he said, "We need you." So anyway, I really became pretty much a thirty. . . . I forget how old I was at the time, but I was in my early thirties. I became a glorified gofer, running around picking up people at the airport and taking them out and arranging. . . . I'm a good arranger. I've done a lot of. . . . And I would put fund-raisers together and little dinner parties and that kind of stuff, either at Manning Post's home or at a fellow named Allan [K.] Jonas. Have you ever heard of Allan and Dorothy Jonas?

YATES: I don't think so, but . . .

CULLEN: Don't forget them. They're very, very important in politics in California.

Allan and Dorothy Jonas.

I also met Jesse [M.] Unruh and I met a young man by the name of  
[Joseph R.] Joe Cerrell.

YATES: I know that name, too.

CULLEN: Oh, do you?

YATES: Now, my understanding is Jesse Unruh was managing the southern . . .

CULLEN: Yes, the southern campaign. And at that time, the Kennedy. . . . Now, I know  
I'm on tape and this may not be true. This is my perception of it.

YATES: OK.

CULLEN: OK? But I think there was a . . . Pat Brown thought he was a friend of the  
Kennedys because he did not run for vice president. He ran as a favorite son  
for president and it was agreed by Jack Kennedy that that would be blah,  
blah, blah, and I've heard this story from the governor, so I know that's. . . .

YATES: And he talks about it in his oral history interview, too.<sup>1</sup>

CULLEN: So I know this was the case. Jesse, on the other hand, I think the Brown-  
Unruh feud began in this campaign, because Jesse made it a point to see that  
he got more face time with the senator than Pat did. He was the Southern  
California chairman. Pat was busy running the state, but Jesse was also

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1. Edmund G. Brown, "Years of Growth, 1939-1966: Law Enforcement, Politics, and the Governor's Office," an oral history conducted 1977-1981 by Malca Chall, Amelia R. Fry, Gabrielle Morris, and James Rowland, Regional Oral History Office, the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1982.

running the state. He was the Speaker of the [California State] Assembly. At least I think he was at that time. Maybe he wasn't, but he was a very important factor, let me tell you. He went to the legislature, I believe, in '54, if my memory serves me correctly, although I wasn't here. And I think he became speaker in '60.

YATES: I believe that's right. I should have it all on the top of my head, but I don't.

CULLEN: I should, too, but I think he was the speaker at the time. If he wasn't, it was immediately thereafter.

Anyway, he really kept Pat out, kept Governor Brown out of the Kennedy sort of milieu, the people that mattered to the Kennedys.

YATES: Now, let me clarify. You're saying that that's what you understand or do you know that?

CULLEN: Oh, I know that as a fact. I know that as a fact. Jesse was definitely doing that, but whether or not. . . . My perception is that I think that was the beginning of the Brown-Unruh feud, and on election night—and I was there election night. Pat. . . . And again, I did not know him that well. I didn't know him at all other than I'd been introduced to him. But he came in and he did this thing in San Francisco, then he flew down here [Los Angeles] and what have you. But Jesse was really the center of the attraction down here. He was the. . . . And the governor was still carrying the baggage of the Chessman thing, and he had worked very, very hard for Kennedy and he'd

worked very, very hard for the [State] Water Project.<sup>1</sup>

When he went to bed that night—and he tells this story, and I was there and I sort of believe it, because they were having the returns on a tape. [The Democratic Victory Party was at the Hollywood Palladium.] It was like a teletype thing, and all the press was there, what have you. And Kennedy was winning California and the Water Project was losing. And Pat went to bed that night at the Sheraton Townhouse [Hotel] here, and he said—and I've heard him say this any number of times and any number of speeches and privately—that when he went he went to bed, he was convinced that Kennedy had won and the Water Project had lost.

He was awakened like at six o'clock in the morning and told that the Water Project had won and Kennedy is losing. So he was just devastated that we'd lost California for Kennedy, but he was elated that we'd won the Water Project.

So that sort of set a pattern, that the president didn't get California. The newly elected president didn't get California, and maybe Pat should have worked harder for Kennedy and not as hard on the Water Project.

YATES: I see.

CULLEN: And Jesse sold that bill of goods to Kennedy. Now, the next thing, as soon as

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1. Proposition 1 (November 8, 1960), the California Water Resources Development Bond Act.

the president took office, the first thing he did was recruit the governor's executive secretary, [Frederick G.] Fred Dutton, to become the cabinet secretary to the president, and Pat very graciously gave up his smartest right-hand man, but he wasn't happy about it. [Laughter] Because Fred Dutton was the brains of the '58 campaign and had a great deal to do on Pat Brown's part of the Kennedy campaign in California.

YATES: What did you observe about Unruh at the time, leading up to election night, that led you to believe that he was excluding Pat Brown?

CULLEN: Because I've heard him say that we don't need the governor here.

YATES: You heard him say that specifically.

CULLEN: Well, I have heard him say it on one occasion, so I know. And as a matter of fact, that was in a restaurant whose name escapes me, but it was on Wilshire Boulevard, diagonally across from the . . . It was right opposite the Ambassador Hotel, just a little bit west on the north side of Wilshire. I think it's where the St. Basil's [Catholic] Church is now, or a few streets east of it. I think the name of the restaurant was Dinesadales on Wilshire.

Go ahead.

YATES: I was just going to ask a little bit more about some of these individuals that you were meeting and getting to know for the first time by getting involved in the campaign. How much interaction did you have with Unruh, if any?

CULLEN: None. Very little. Very little.

YATES: OK. But you were at things where he would have been also.

CULLEN: I was at things where he was, and I was really mostly working for Liz Snyder.

She was the one. . . . By that time, the political bug had really bitten me and I would do anything I was asked to do. I was only a volunteer, but I drove a couple of congressmen around, you know, I did the usual things. I met the press. I handed out leaflets. I worked the copy machine. Then we had. . . . What do they call those things? They were not Xeroxes.

YATES: Oh, like a Mimeograph?

CULLEN: Mimeograph machine. It had another name. It had a gelatin base.

YATES: Oh, I know what you're talking about, but I can't think of the name of it.

So what did you learn at that point about these different kind of key people who were involved in Democratic politics?

CULLEN: Well, I learned that there was an Unruh wing of the Democratic Party and a Brown wing of the Democratic Party and a [Alan] Cranston wing of the Democratic Party called the CDC [California Democratic Council], and Pat was sort of more partial to the CDC.

It was really. . . . Oh, it was a learning process, I guess, more than anything else. Then keep in mind, I was just doing this when I could take time off. I had my business to run and I was running it. So, you know, I worked in the campaign, but I was a volunteer. I didn't have any kind of high-echelon anything. I worked mostly in southern California. I know on

one occasion I drove some press people down to a rally they were having in Orange County. Then I went down and I did advance work for Peter Lawford in San Diego, but I didn't even get to meet him. I mean, I just did the advance. And I went to a couple of parties and I spent a couple of bucks and went to a few events. I went to a Palladium event. As a matter of fact, I planned one, helped plan one Palladium event.

But I got interested in it. And by this time, Mary Anne was not interested in politics at all. At this point in time, she just had changed. . . . Because we had the two boys. She wanted to go to work. She felt that the boys were in school, she didn't have anything to do, so decided that she'd go to work. She'd never worked a day in her life, literally. She decided that she wanted to do something worthwhile, so she became a social worker for the County of Los Angeles. I think that was in 1961, when she became a social worker.

YATES: Did she have to go to school or take courses for that?

CULLEN: Well, she had her B.A. degree from Newton College of the Sacred Heart and she had a year of law school. She went to New York Law School. She had a year of law school. So she decided not to be a lawyer. She didn't want to be a lawyer. Her father was a lawyer. Her brother was a lawyer, and she wanted to be a lawyer, but we got married and then she had the child, so she just decided not to continue law school. She graduated in '50, went to school for

that semester, then we got married in that September, so she didn't go back to law school. She just spent that one year in law school and she decided, well, let's try married life for a while.

So anyway, she took a job with the L.A. [Los Angeles] County as a social worker. She took a test and passed it, and then within three years she was a social worker supervisor. Very smart. My wife had an IQ of 167. So a very, very smart lady, really. She was once going to a psychiatrist when we were having some crazy difficulties with one of my clients. She went to this psychiatrist, and the psychiatrist called me up and he said, "You know, Mr. Cullen," he said, "I'm having a very difficult time with your wife." And I said, "Well, Doc, I can't help you with that. Why are you having . . .?" "Well, she's smarter than I am." [Laughter] She was really. . . . Mary Anne was a delightful person and very, very smart and very savvy. She was always doing things. When she left the. . . . She got bored. Social work just got so horrendous, so horrendous, that she really had to give it up, and that's why she was going to the psychiatrist. I mean, she couldn't believe the degradation, the poverty. I mean, she grew up in really. . . . I mean, when she grew up, they had a fifteen-room apartment on Thirty-fourth Street. They had a Pierce-Arrow limousine with a chauffeur and all that nonsense. The family was very, very wealthy, but then they lost it all in the Depression. Then her mother [Mary Kelly White] and father had a very, very bitter, bitter divorce in

1936. Very bitter. She was like eight or something, but a really bitter, bitter divorce. Anyway . . .

YATES: I was going to ask you then, how did you get involved? The next thing you do politically is get involved in the '62 campaign?

CULLEN: Well, what happened was, I really had a very, very successful 1961. I signed up five different companies. I'd had this company going now for almost ten years. I still had an operation going in New York, run by a friend of mine that worked for me. So we had one going on in New York and we had one going on out here.

Then the insurance companies wised up, and they decided what are they paying me for? So they bought me out and so they, I guess. . . . I got a lot of money in those days. I mean, it was a lot of money. It was almost \$200,000. Today that wouldn't be anything, but in those days, it was. . . . The fall of 1961.

So Mary Anne said, "Look. I want to go back and see the family and I want the boys to have some. . . . I'm not sure I want to stay in California. You sold the company and now you don't have to stay in California."

I said, "I like California." So anyway, she decided she'd go back and take the boys back to New York and stay with her aunts in Long Beach and visit her mother and my father and mother so the boys would know and remember their grandparents. Her parents never spoke again from the time

they were divorced.

YATES: Incredible.

CULLEN: Oh, it really was vicious, vicious, vicious.

YATES: You said Long Beach. Did you mean Long Island?

CULLEN: Long Beach, Long Island. Long Beach is a city on Long Island, on the south shore of Long Island. It's about twenty-five miles east of Brooklyn.

YATES: I obviously don't know Long Island that well. So that's where she had family.

CULLEN: On the South Shore, yes. Her aunts lived there. Her father's two sisters, two maiden aunts, Aunt Julia [White] and Aunt Alice [White].

She went back with the boys and put the boys in school in Long Beach, in the Catholic school there. She really was not satisfied. She was not sure. . . . Actually, she took. . . . I beg your pardon. She took the social work exam and she took it and she passed it, but she decided not to take it at that time. That's right. She took the boys back. It's hard for me to. . . . There's so many things going around in my head.

YATES: So she took the exam, but she wasn't actually working as a social worker yet?

CULLEN: No, she hadn't started yet. She passed the exam, was accepted, and what have you, but she decided that rather than doing that, since I sold the company, she wanted me to go back to New York, too, and I said, "No, I want to stay here. I've got to find something else to do, because this money

isn't going to last long."

So what I did, I started doing something else with a thing called Aerostairs and put some money in that. Aerostairs was an invention by a man named [John] White, same as my wife's name, but no relation. He invented a portable variable-height escalator. What do you need a portable variable-height escalator for? Very simple. To get on and off airplanes, because you can wheel it up and instead of walking up those stairs, you just plug this thing in, crank it up and it goes up, and the people go down the escalator and go up the escalator. Genius. Brilliant. Except at the same time they invented the Aerostairs, some guy invented something called the jetway. [Laughter] I lost about \$25,000.

YATES: So you invested in it.

CULLEN: Yes, I invested in it. I was the patsy. I was the patsy. And that's one of the things Mary Anne was furious about, my investing \$25,000 in this Aerostairs thing, because "It'll never work." And it worked. It worked beautifully, but. . . . We finally sold some in India. The only place we sold them was in India. Anyway, so Mary Anne went back and I'm working on this Aerostairs thing.

So I took the train back and spent Christmas with them and then came back. By that time, Aerostairs was deciding it wasn't going to go so far, since these people came up with the jetway. It just so happened that the man who ran LAX [Los Angeles International Airport] was a man named Francis [T.]

Fox, who was a graduate of Holy Cross about ten years ahead of me, so I used that Holy Cross connection to get into see him and try and sell him these escalators. He's the one that told me about the jetways and they were going to go the jetway route, and that these may be good for something, but not there.

So anyway, when I came back from the East, I was reading the paper, and maybe it was the second week in January or something like that, and it said that Richard [M.] Nixon was going to run for governor of California. And I got mad. I mean, I thought Richard Nixon. . . . That guy. . . . What does he know about California? He hasn't lived here in years. He may have been born here, but he's. . . . I really hated Richard Nixon. I mean, I really disliked this guy. I thought what he did to Helen Gahagan Douglas and what he did to [Jeremiah H.] Jerry Voorhis was terrible. And I only knew this by reading, you know, by . . .

YATES: So you did know about all of that? You were familiar with it?

CULLEN: Oh, well, a lot of my education came from Liz Snyder and Dorothy Colton. I mean, these were two really active Democratic women. I became very friendly with them both.

YATES: So even before Nixon was a possibility, discussions about him came up?

CULLEN: Oh, absolutely. I mean, everybody was. . . . Nixon was a big, big. . . . You know, because he was living out here. He had a house out here. He had this

house in Trousdale [Estates]. You know, “What’s that son of a bitch coming back here for?” I mean, there was a lot of. . . . I’m serious. Oh, I mean, really. He was not a very popular guy here. This is a pretty much Democratic. . . . The west side of L.A. is a very Democratic area, and that’s where he chose to live, in Trousdale. So a lot of people took issue with that.

So anyway, I all of a sudden decided, well, Mary Anne’s not coming back till June. I’ve got all this free time. Aerostairs is going belly-up. And I had enough income. So I said, “I’m going to go and see if I can work for Governor Brown.”

So I tried to call Governor Brown. Well, I might as well have been. . . . You know, “Who are you?” [Laughter] So I asked Liz Snyder if she’d call the governor for me, and she said, “Yeah, but, you know,” she said, “you know those Kennedys. Why don’t you call one of the Kennedys? After all, he’s president of the United States.” And I said, “Well, I couldn’t call the president, but I could probably call Bob.” She said, “He’s the sitting attorney general. Call him.”

So I did. Out of the blue. I just called him. And he took the call. I said, “Bob,” I said, “I have a favor to ask you.” He said, “What?” I said, “I want to remind you that you introduced me to Pat Brown.” He said, “Yeah, I did.”

So I said, “Mr. Nixon is running for governor of California.” “I heard that. Stupid, isn’t it,” and you know, some words to that effect. He was just very. .

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YATES: He was blunt. Is that what you're trying to say?

CULLEN: Yes. He hated Nixon with a vengeance. I mean, with a vengeance, and so did I.

So anyway, that created a little bond again, so he said, "What can I do for you?" You know, "What are you calling for?" I said, "Well, I want you to call Governor Brown. I've been trying to get to him. I can't get to him. I want to volunteer my time. I want to work against Nixon, and I want to see that Pat Brown. . . . From every thing I've heard and everything, he's been a good governor, and I think he should be reelected."

So he said, "Fine. I'll call him." So he did, and he arranged a meeting for me. I got a call from the governor's secretary to come down, and I went down. His secretary was a lady by the name of Judy Royer, very important name, and I went down. I must say I was overwhelmed, because Judy kept me waiting maybe five minutes and said, "The governor will see you now," and she opened this door, these big, big oak doors into this palatial, palatial governor's office. It was in the old State Building. It does not exist anymore, unfortunately, but it was one of the biggest rooms I was ever in. It had the largest Persian carpet I've ever seen in my life. And at the end of this long corridor, room, was the governor with his owl glasses on, and he says, "What can I do for you, Mr. Cullen?" And I walk up and get in front of the desk and

I said, “Well, Governor, I’m here to do something for you.” He said, “What?” And he screamed at me, “What?” [Laughter] And he said, “What do you mean?” So I said, “Well, Governor Brown, I really want to say I’d like to volunteer my services, because I want to work for your campaign.”

So we went into this whole thing, and I won’t bore you with the details, but finally he said, “Your history sounds pretty good.” He said, “If you’ve worked in campaigns before, I guess we can use you.” He said, “Now, you’re a volunteer, right?” I said, “Yes, I’m a volunteer, Governor.” He said, “Well, I have one more question.” I said, “What is it, Governor?” He said, “How do I know I can trust you? Maybe you’re a spy.” I said, “Governor,” I said, “that may be true, but,” I said, “but I’d like to remind you, the man who set this interview up is the sitting attorney general of the United States, your friend Bob Kennedy.”

“Oh, you’re *that* Frank Cullen.” [Laughter] As if there were seventeen Frank Cullens around then. “Well, just a minute, then.” And he picks up the phone and he said, “Judy, get me Bradley.” I didn’t know who Bradley was. It turned out he was the campaign manager.

YATES: Yes, this is Don Bradley.

CULLEN: Don Bradley. Right. So he gets on the phone and he said, “Don, I’m sending a man over to you. I’ve interviewed him. He’s worked in campaigns before. Knows the Kennedys. They know him. Matter of fact, Bob recommended

him.” He said, “He can do whatever you want him to do, but one thing.

Don’t pay him!” he screamed. “He’s a volunteer.” [Laughter] So he hangs the phone up and he said, “Well, I straightened that out.”

So I said, “Well, thank you, Governor. I really appreciate that.” I said, “I hope I’ll see you again.”

YATES: Just for a second here, I’m interested that you wanted to go to him directly rather than work through. . . . Like you had gone and talked to Liz Snyder, obviously . . .

CULLEN: But it got nowhere. I mean, the campaign . . .

YATES: You wanted to do more than what you would do at that level.

CULLEN: Oh yes. I wanted to be a player. Mary Anne and the kids are not here in L.A.

They were in New York. I got all this time in the world. I got a brand-new car. I’ve got . . .

YATES: Hold on a second.

[End Tape 3, Side B]

[Begin Tape 4, Side A]

YATES: OK. I was asking you about your desire to be more involved in the campaign.

CULLEN: Right. I really decided that the convention was such a real disaster as far as being involved. I mean, I enjoyed it, had a lot of fun, but didn’t accomplish anything. And I didn’t have a significant role in the Kennedy campaign, and I did nothing on the Water Project. I didn’t work on that at all. I just worked

on the Kennedy campaign, and again, as a volunteer. I got to some great meetings and I did a few substantial things, but nothing really of great note, but things that had to be done.

Anyway, I wanted to be a better player and I wanted to sort of get involved, and I was sort of deciding what I wanted to do. Did I want to start another company? I was very disappointed in Aerostairs and I thought, gee, maybe I'll get into government. So I was thinking very pragmatically this might be something I want to do. I didn't know how to do it and I didn't have any special skills. I wasn't a lawyer, I wasn't an accountant. My business was mostly PR [public relations]. I mean, that's pretty much what I did. So I figured, well, maybe I can be a responsible party. I know how to do advance work and maybe I can do some stuff.

So when I met Bradley, we had a very nice conversation, and he said that he couldn't put me on the payroll because the governor told him not to pay me. [Laughter] So I said, "I don't want to be on the payroll. I just want to sort of get an in, learn about if this is something I want to do. I'm available. I've got a car." You know, blah, blah, blah. And you'd be surprised how many people didn't have cars in those days, I mean, that used to take the bus to go to the campaign headquarters and what have you.

YATES: I didn't ask you about the timing on this.

CULLEN: This was February. This is February of 1962.

YATES: So it's before the primary, then?

CULLEN: Oh yes. Yes. And I met a man who worked for the governor at the campaign office, and his name was Frank Mesplé. He was the legislative secretary.

YATES: But then he took time off to work on the campaign.

CULLEN: Well, this was the thing, but he was there just visiting.

YATES: Gotcha.

CULLEN: He was just visiting, see. He was not working in the campaign. OK? The fact that he taught political science at Fresno State [College] had no bearing on the fact that he. . . . [Laughter]

YATES: I'm saying this because I just looked at his interview and he says he went to work on the campaign, so that's . . .

CULLEN: Well, he did, but at that time, this was a little early on. He didn't. . . . OK. He did, but . . .

YATES: I jumped the gun there.

CULLEN: Anyway, he was just so helpful to me. We went out and we had dinner and we had a couple of drinks—we were at the Brown Derby—and we just had a marvelous time. He introduced me to a man named Bernard Titlebaum. And Titlebaum sounds Jewish, but he was not. He was Mormon. But an incredible guy, incredible guy.

YATES: And who was he? I'm sorry.

CULLEN: Well, Bernard was just a young campaign. . . . A young guy who was

probably in his twenties then, but he came out of San Francisco, out of the political group up there. There was a group of them. A fellow named Don Muir and Cyr [Mullins] Copertini. I met Joe Cerrell and I met Lee Bullock. I met all of these people and what have you. So, in short, they really didn't have a place for me. This was all sort of set in stone. I mean, there were all these people and they all. . . . They'd worked together in the '58 campaign and I was sort of an interloper. They didn't know who the hell I was and . . .

YATES: Whether you could be trusted.

CULLEN: Exactly. I was a Kennedy guy and Kennedy's a Jesse guy, and, you know, so it was very . . .

YATES: Well, I was wondering about that dynamic.

CULLEN: Yes.

YATES: Because so much of it you read. . . . And Brown mentions it, too,<sup>1</sup> but what exactly the relationship was, Pat Brown with the Kennedys versus Jesse Unruh.

CULLEN: Well, it's very difficult. It's very, very difficult. Pat really liked Jack Kennedy. I think Jack Kennedy really liked Pat Brown. They were two sort of birds of a feather. Pat was a better politician. Jack Kennedy was a smarter man. Not that Pat wasn't smart, but Jack Kennedy was a brilliant man. He really was. He also had his own agenda. Pat never had an agenda. Pat

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1. In Edmund G. Brown's oral history interview.

wanted to work for the people. Jack Kennedy wanted to work the Kennedy way, and if it wasn't the Kennedy way, you didn't work that way. I mean, they were very difficult people to work for, let me tell you. Very difficult.

YATES: That's why I was wondering if your introduction is through Bob Kennedy . . .

CULLEN: It gave me a false start, yes, but I didn't realize it at the time. I thought that was the way to go. I wouldn't say it was a mistake. It was more powerful than had I insisted that Liz Snyder do the introduction. OK? And you've got to understand, there became this. . . . And this was just the beginning, the roiling of the waters, if you will, in '62. That's when the real split became. . . . Now, let me tell you, we wouldn't have what we have today in California without the three governors, Warren, Knight, and Brown, *and* Jesse Unruh.

Jesse was so smart. He was a street-fighting politician. He graduated from USC [University of Southern California] though. I mean, he was no dummy. A very, very smart man. He was a great treasurer of California. He became probably the best treasurer we ever had to date. Kathleen Brown outdid him, but she outdid him on his program. He brought it in, but she made it work. He did, too.

YATES: So you're talking about those dynamics were just starting to kind of build.

CULLEN: Yes. So I ended up mostly being assigned to Orange, San Diego, and Imperial counties, which is . . .

YATES: What did that mean?

CULLEN: Well, it means that you got all Republican constituencies and the governor's not going to go there that often, and you're going to have a hard time.

[Laughter] And I had to drive down and sometimes I'd go down and I'd stay in a motel for a week working on stuff. It was all at my own expense. I got no expense money. I got zero, zilch, nothing.

YATES: He meant it when he said don't pay you.

CULLEN: Yes. Exactly.

YATES: Now, what were you doing exactly in those counties?

CULLEN: Oh, I was going to press conferences, setting press conferences. There was a guy named Peter Kaye, who was a reporter for the *San Diego Union*. He and I struck up a friendship. So I'd spend so much down time there and I didn't have anything to do. [Laughter] And then they got to know me, and a man I met there who became infamous later on, who owned the Del Coronado hotel, and he put me up for nothing. His name was [M.] Larry Lawrence. Do you know who Larry Lawrence is?

YATES: No.

CULLEN: OK.

YATES: Obviously I should.

CULLEN: Well, yes, you should.

YATES: So tell me.

CULLEN: Number one, he was a very, very generous and aggressive Democrat.

Number two, he's the only person in history ever disinterred from Arlington National Cemetery for fraudulently giving a wrong, lying background about his merchant marine service. Larry Lawrence. OK?

YATES: I get the picture. But he put you up.

CULLEN: Oh, he was great. As a matter of fact, sometime remind me to tell you about the William Howard Taft story. It's a fantastic story. It's not part of this agenda.

But in any event, yes, Larry would put me up there. I got to stay there for nothing all of the time.

YATES: So were you basically trying to network with Democrats?

CULLEN: I was networking with the Democrats. There was a guy named Hy Good[rich] and his brother Murray, big San Diego Democrats, very wealthy men, and Larry Lawrence.

YATES: Are these fund-raising attempts?

CULLEN: Mostly fund-raising attempts, yes. Mostly fund-raising attempts. Murray Goodrich and his brother Hy were very, very involved in the campaign, as was Larry Lawrence, as was Saul Price. Have you ever been to a Price Club? It's now called Costco. Well, he founded it. He would lend us his bus. He had a bus that had a bar and a toilet and the whole thing, one of these executive buses. He had it built at Fleetwood Enterprises. It's a giant thing. He would use it to take people to the ball game and we used it as a campaign

thing. We'd take the governor around in it. It was great. We would go from stop to stop to stop.

YATES: So the governor did visit the counties?

CULLEN: Oh yes. Oh yes. Well, he didn't do Imperial. I don't think he ever went to Imperial during the campaign, but he did go to San Diego a lot. Not a lot, I wouldn't say. I shouldn't say that, but I guess at least four times, and I advanced each one of those trips. So that's how I got to know the governor, because when he'd go down. . . . And Bernice [Layne Brown] and I hit it off. When she would come there, she always looked upon. . . . She looked sort of down on the campaign staff. She's very charming and very nice, but she really didn't think much of them was worth the powder to blow them to hell.

[Laughter]

YATES: Why was that?

CULLEN: She just . . .

YATES: That was just her?

CULLEN: It was her outlook on things. She loved being first lady. She was a great first lady. She was very gracious and very. . . . A wonderful wife, a great political wife, but. . . . And so very often I'd end up driving her places. So that also got me sort of involved a little bit.

YATES: When did you first meet her?

CULLEN: July of '62, or maybe June. I didn't meet her during the primary. Right after

the primary. I think it was probably sometime in July, in San Diego, as a matter of fact. No, it was up here. It was at the Sheraton Hotel they call the Town House in Lafayette Park. We were planning the San Diego trip and I came up to meet with them. So that's the first time I met her. By that time, the governor knew me and called me by my first name.

YATES: How much direction were you getting, if any at all?

CULLEN: I got direction from Frank Mesplé and a lot of direction from Bernard. Bernard really knew what he was doing. Bernard was very savvy and he helped me a great deal. I couldn't have done what I did without Frank Mesplé and Bernard Titlebaum. They were just wonderful.

Bernard brought me up for a week in San Francisco and I met a lot of people, and I spent time with a man named Harry Lerner, who's a very, very famous writer. He was very active in the San Francisco Press Club, an ultra, ultra liberal. Very, very, very scary guy. I mean, he really was scary, but a brilliant writer, but also had a lot of Edgar Allen Poe in his prose. [Laughter]

But he came out of the labor movement, press labor movement. But he was devoted to Pat Brown.

YATES: You said you volunteered your time beginning February in '62, and I'm thinking between then and, for example, to use as a point, the primary. What were you specifically trying to accomplish at that point, or what were you doing?

CULLEN: What I was doing was setting up fund-raisers mostly in La Jolla and San Diego and El Cajon, in those areas. I even did one in Orange County. And feeling my way around, really, and trying to. . . . I would go to the Democratic Club meetings. I'd also go to the CDC meetings, which were different than the Democratic Club meetings, and so introducing myself, bringing supplies. I would bring the bumper stickers, I would bring Pat Brown buttons, I would bring. . . . You know. That's the kind of. . . . I was a gofer. [Laughter]

YATES: And how often would you actually meet, for example, with Frank Mesplé or Bernard Titlebaum?

CULLEN: Oh, at least once every two weeks. I mean, Mesplé saw to that. By that time, he was into the campaign, and he and I just hit it off. So very often he'd call me up and say, "Frank, you doing anything? Let's have dinner." Then he'd talk about Pat Brown. And I learned so much from Frank and from Bernard. I mean, they were just so helpful.

Then there was another guy. Bernard brought me up to San Francisco to meet sort of the troops. I met Don Bradley's son [Vernon Bradley] and I met Don Muir. I met Cyr Copertini and Van [Dempsey]. I mean, Van [Dempsey] was just one of the greatest persons I ever met. A brilliant man. And he was great. But he was a Christian Scientist. He got cancer of the nose and he wouldn't go to a doctor, and he died. A wonderful, wonderful guy. Smart as hell. Smart as hell.

YATES: You were mentioning the *San Diego Union*, or Peter Kaye. How closely would you work with the newspapers?

CULLEN: Oh, I would bring them the press releases. In other words, in those days they didn't have fax machines, so they would teletype me down to the. . . . We had a small office. We had an office in Corona del Mar in Orange County and we had one down in San Diego in the [U.S.] Grant Hotel, and they had teletypes down there. They'd teletype the things and then I'd walk it over and I'd take it to the television stations. I would take it to the television stations. I'd take it to the radio stations. I'd hand-deliver these things. And I'd try to get in contact and conversation with the reporters if they were there, you know, and try and. . . . In San Diego it was hard. Talking against Nixon was very, very hard to do, so I would not talk against Nixon. I'd try and say all the great things Pat Brown has done. And we had a book. . . . I had a book.<sup>1</sup> It's probably around here somewhere.

YATES: Well, I was wondering, because I was thinking '62, as I remember, being sort of the turning point for the L.A. [*Los Angeles Times*], right, which had been very conservative.

CULLEN: Well, it was '60, because. . . . You're right. In '62 was the turning point, because what happened in '60, Otis [Chandler] took over, and Otis was the new publisher. His was from 1960 to 1980. Twenty years. And Otis was an

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1. Mr. Cullen is referring to an outline of the first four Brown years.

incredible publisher and he was also very, very liberal. Drove his father [Norman Chandler] nuts. Drove him crazy. But he changed the paper. And he started very slowly, but he didn't accomplish it till '62.

YATES: And what made me think that was then the *San Diego Union*, what kind of coverage they were giving.

CULLEN: We got front-page coverage, but we didn't get support, see.

YATES: Was it critical reporting of Brown?

CULLEN: Well, yes, it was more that "Hey, the governor is visiting us now," and that was sort of. . . . They would treat it as government information rather than as a campaign thing, because the Copleys. . . . Although Pat and Bernice Brown were very close to Helen Copley. They really liked her. They were very close friends. And Helen Copley is Lynn Schenk's closest friend. You know who Lynn Schenk is?

YATES: Yes.

CULLEN: OK. She's counsel to Governor Davis. And Lynn's other close friend was Joan [B.] Kroc, who is McDonalds largest shareholder.

YATES: I don't know that name.

CULLEN: Her husband [Ray Kroc] founded a place called McDonald's.

YATES: Oh, of course. [Laughter] I just can't retain all that information, I'm afraid.

CULLEN: No reason why you should.

YATES: I'm getting there. I'm getting there.

CULLEN: No. No reason why you should. My father said I was vaccinated with a phonograph needle.

YATES: You have an incredible memory, I have to say.

So in terms of your meetings with, for example, Frank Mesplé and Bernard Titlebaum, and I'm thinking, again, leading up to the primary, what were the concerns or how did you feel about what was going on with Nixon and Joe Shell, for example, in their race?

CULLEN: You know, I didn't pay much attention to that, to be honest with you. That was not my concern. That was a bigger thing. My concern was to get Pat Brown's name and image out in southern Orange County, San Diego County, and Imperial County. Now, I didn't spend much time in Imperial County because there weren't that many voters there.

YATES: I was going to say, the population probably wasn't that great.

CULLEN: You know, I mean, I did go to El Centro, you know. Seriously. I drove to El Centro and I set up a headquarters in El Centro and I worked with a guy named [ ] Rodriguez in El Centro, who was really. . . . And he was head of the Pat Brown operation in El Centro, and we won El Centro.

So you know, it wasn't a complete loss. But again, I was the purveyor of the press releases, the bumper stickers, the quarter cards, all the stuff. I mean, you want to see something? Just try carrying your trunkful of quarter cards and sticks and then have to staple the damn things or nail them together with

little nails, when the staples didn't work.

YATES: You know, I'm embarrassed. What is a quarter card?

CULLEN: What is a quarter card!

YATES: You're going to show me one.

[Interruption]

CULLEN: One thing I was thinking when I went in the kitchen, I used to put little events together at the del Coronado. Larry would give me a room and I'd invite. . . . I love to cook, so I would invite people in and I'd make a little thing. . . . They'd give me a brazier and what have you. And I'd say, "Come to a Pat Brown feast," and I'd invite the guys from the Native Sons of the Golden West, the Elks Club. I mean, seriously. I'd go visit them, talk to them, and say, "Come on, hear about Pat Brown," you know. "Free food, free drinks," and so we'd have coffee and tea and sodas, and I'd make hamburgers or hotdogs or I'd do something else.

YATES: Now, were these people who were pretty much Republican, I take it?

CULLEN: They were Republicans mostly. Most of them were Republicans, but they came to listen. I did a fair amount of public speaking. I mean, I spoke in El Centro, as a matter of fact.

YATES: Do you think you were able to convince them to vote for Pat Brown?

CULLEN: I couldn't tell you. I mean, I really don't know. I'd get into discussions with them about, you know. . . . You got to remember, this is '62 and everybody

would bring up the Chessman case. I wasn't that familiar with the Chessman case, but I made myself familiar with the Chessman case. And I must say that it's a very difficult, difficult subject, because the death penalty, you're either for it or you're against it. And if you're for it, you don't care why you're for it. But if you're against it, why you're against it, there's a lot of. . . . And I happened to have been against it for as long as I can remember.

YATES: How would you deal with communicating about that?

CULLEN: Well, at the time, I didn't. . . . The numbers. . . . But I had a stock answer. I would say, to answer a question when they'd bring up the death penalty, I would say, "Well, keep in mind . . ." This is 1962. I said, "To date, Governor Brown has let go to execution more people than he's commuted." And that was true. It was true all through his whole governorship. He actually let thirty-six go to the death chamber, and twenty-three he exonerated. He only had one bad one, but that was . . .

YATES: Would you say that was the number one issue with people?

CULLEN: I think it was the number one issue because of the Chessman case, not because they were so. . . . You had a lot of military people down in San Diego. You had a lot of people who were very structured in their thinking. You had a lot of people that really thought that Nixon was a great man. He'd been all over the world. I mean, he was a great vice president and what have you, and, you know, certainly he could be governor of California.

Well, I gave the argument that he really didn't have. . . . I said, "Yes, he has great international experience, and," I said, "that's really his forte, but he hasn't had the executive experience that his boss, the president of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, had. He's the man who made the decisions." I said, "Mr. Nixon was the number two man. He didn't have to make those decisions." I said, "Now you're going to try and take him from an internationalist and make him run what's going to be the largest state." Because we weren't. . . . So it's going to be the largest state in the United States. I said, "We're number two. We're going to be number one maybe next year, maybe the year after." Turned out, it was the year after. And New York was the biggest population state.

I would try to segue into what Pat had done in terms of the parks, about saving the redwoods, and the fisheries. San Diego was very much involved in fishery at the time. Although they were both native Californians, Pat stayed in California; Richard Nixon went to find his rainbow somewhere else, in Washington [D.C.].

So that's sort of the things that I would say. You never know how many people you. . . . A lot of people would say, "Oh, I'm going to vote for Pat," but you never know whether they did or not. So you don't know.

YATES: I was just wondering if you had a sense of kind of how this was going in terms of communicating.

CULLEN: No. In fairness, I don't think I did have a sense, except with a few people. Like I remember Murray Goodrich said to me one day, he said, "You know, Frank, I want you to come to my temple. I want you to speak at my temple, because we've got some rock-ribbed Republicans, but I think what you're saying is right."

So I spoke at the temple, and I think I did convince a few people, and using that same argument, that Richard Nixon was really an internationalist and he was the number two guy. He'd never had the management. He was, yes, a congressman, but that's 435 people. Yes, he was a senator, but that's 100 people. I said, "He's never had the executive experience. How do you know he's going to be a good governor? How do you know he'll have the ability to put aside all he's learned in Washington and doing his international material? Yes," I said, "it's great to be a congressman and a senator and a vice president of the United States, but that doesn't give you the executive training you need to run the State of California."

And I said, "Hey, we're almost 16 million people here. That's an awful lot of people. We're the third largest state in the United States from a geographic standpoint." I said, "We've got a thousand miles of coastline." I said, "You know, he may have been doing a great job avoiding rocks in Venezuela, but," I said, "that does nothing to put housing in East Los Angeles." So that's the kind of stuff I would . . .

YATES: Once the primary happened, between the primary and the general election, did your role change at all in terms of what you were doing?

CULLEN: Only in terms of I spent more time. . . . I got to know some of Jesse's people. I got to know Carmen Warschaw very well. You know who Carmen is?

YATES: Yes.

CULLEN: OK. I got to know Carmen very well. Several years later I had a run-in with her that was of historic proportions.

YATES: Seven years later you said?

CULLEN: No, several. It was '65. That was that CDC convention that I put together for the governor. I seated it and did the whole thing. I've told you that story.

YATES: Yes, we'll come back to that. I don't want to cut you off, but why don't we come back to that. So you said you started interacting more with Jesse's people.

CULLEN: Well, I started interacting more with Don Bradley, and Don Bradley got to realize that, you know, I was not some nut case, that I really knew a little more about what I was doing, that my education, you know, gave me a little bit. I was a good writer. I was a good speaker. So he had me doing position papers and things of that nature. Fred Dutton came out a couple of times from the White House, where he was the cabinet secretary, but just to put his two cents in the campaign, and Pat really appreciated that.

I got to know Bernice, and I think that somehow, in the few times I got to

see the governor and he started associating me with the Kennedys, he opened up to me a little more and occasionally. . . . He would never let me drive. He always had his highway patrolmen drive. But very often, he would say, "Come on back, sit with me, Frank. We can talk." So that happened a couple of times. So that was really. . . . That was what I was trying to accomplish and I accomplished it. That made me feel very, very good.

YATES: Getting to know him?

CULLEN: Getting to know him as a person. And I really didn't get to know him as a person until '64, really. But as I say, I worked with the campaign through November. Then the governor invited me to join the governor's office, which I agreed to do, because that was my goal, or to get into government at some point in time.

I ran into some serious difficulties getting into the governor's office because there wasn't a slot. There was nowhere. . . . So I got a temporary assignment as assistant to the legislative secretary, meaning Frank Mesplé, but I was paid by the Department of General Services. That only lasted for a very, very short time, from November through, I think, February.

YATES: November '62 to February '63.

CULLEN: To February of '63, and then I ran into a wall because the slot I had ran out of money. In other words, there was a thing. . . . So I still. . . . I had access to the governor's office and I became a consultant to the governor, which we don't

talk about much. . . . [Laughter] Because I did pretty much the same things I was doing, but I was paid from a separate fund, and it was a fund made up of a number of close friends of the governors. [Eugene L.] Gene Wyman. . . . No, Gene Wyman was not in that group. Gene Klein, Manning Post, [Robert F.] Bob Six. And they paid about six of us. They paid Don Muir, they paid Bernard Titlebaum, and they paid me.

And we were sort of getting ready for whatever was going to happen in '64. That's what we were doing. And my office was in the governor's office and what have you, but I didn't have any specific title and I was not . . .

YATES: When you say getting ready for whatever was going to happen in '64, what do you mean?

CULLEN: Well, what I mean was that they were preparing for the '64 campaign because John Kennedy had told Pat Brown that Clair Engle's brain tumor was inoperable and that he would not live to run. If he ran and won, he would not live for maybe a month into his term. So they were planning for this incredible trauma, because Clair Engle took Bill Knowland's seat. Bill Knowland was a Republican.

YATES: This was a critical seat.

CULLEN: Oh, this was an absolute. . . . And if you go back in history, California has had very, very few Democratic senators, except [William G.] McAdoo. It's been pretty much a Republican state. I mean, even with cross-filing. I mean,

it's been pretty much . . .

YATES: Well, historically . . .

CULLEN: Historically. I mean, when you look at it.

YATES: Because I know we should wrap up, let me just ask you a couple more questions. I want to go back to the campaign, which, as you said, after the primary you started interacting more with people connected to Unruh. What does that mean? What do you mean by that, exactly?

CULLEN: Well, it means that there was a . . . The Brown-Unruh split was then in full. . . It had started to become a real serious thing, although we got a lot of legislation passed. And very often there was not much camaraderie between the two factions. I mean, a man I mentioned to you, Frank Burns, another fellow by the name of Steve Smith, they were the Jesse people. Joe Cerrell. They were all pretty much Jesse people.

I was talking to Joe on the phone the other day and he made a comment about Pat's appointment of Judge [Bernard S.] Bernie Selber, and he said, "Frank, I can't understand it." He said, "Bernie Selber comes into the mansion," meaning the southern mansion down here, "and he castigates Pat. He tells him everything he's doing wrong and he should change." He said, "And next month, he makes the [Inaudible] guy a judge." [Laughter] But that was Pat. He believed in the guy's integrity. Pat was like that. Joe thought that was terrible, because Joe's very partisan.

YATES: So how did you start working with him? What were you doing? You said you started working more with people connected to Unruh.

CULLEN: Then I'm saying too much. That's not what I mean. I'm saying that I knew there was the split. I was not part of that split. I was not either with the Brown campaign or the Unruh campaign. I was working with Pat Brown to get him re-elected. I was not at that point a Pat Brown partisan. So they were trying to get me into the Jesse part. They'd invite me out to drinks and I'd invite them, so it was that . . .

YATES: I didn't understand what you were . . .

CULLEN: No, it was a political. . . . It was a recruiting thing on their part. OK? "This guy, he's just started out here. Let's get him on our side."

YATES: And how did you take this?

CULLEN: That's fine. I mean, I didn't know enough about it. Ignorance is bliss. Believe me, ignorance is bliss. I knew zilch from Sacramento. I didn't know anything about Sacramento. I knew nothing about government in the State of California.

YATES: So nobody like Frank Mesplé or whoever wasn't saying like, "Watch out for the . . ."

CULLEN: Oh yes, all the time. I mean, Bernard Titlebaum, oh, absolutely. When I told Bernard Titlebaum I was meeting with Steve Smith, he said, "What are you seeing that son of a bitch for?" I mean, seriously. I would get my marching

orders, but I didn't pay attention because I didn't care. I was there to try and help Pat Brown get elected. Not because I thought Pat Brown was great. I did, but that wasn't. . . . I didn't want Nixon to become the governor. That was what I was trying to do. That was my motivation. So my participation in the campaign had a different genre, if you will. My genre was working to keep Nixon out.

YATES: Well, it sounds like you didn't have preconceived ideas of what the Democratic Party structure was in California.

CULLEN: None. No, I didn't know and didn't care.

YATES: And who the players were.

CULLEN: I didn't care. I knew—and I believe today—that Richard Nixon was an evil man. I really believe that. Pat got to like Richard Nixon and got to be very friendly with him.

YATES: Oh really.

CULLEN: Oh yes. They became, not very good friends, but they trusted each other . . .

YATES: When was that? At what point?

CULLEN: Right after Watergate. No, actually, before Watergate. Well, we shouldn't go into this now because that's a whole other story.

YATES: OK. We'll come back to that.

CULLEN: That's the Chinese table tennis thing. That's the FDR [Franklin D. Roosevelt] Memorial Commission.

YATES: I just wanted to get a sense of the timing. So later, later on.

CULLEN: Yes. That happened in the seventies, see, and we're talking now in the sixties.

YATES: Because I got the impression, from reading Pat Brown's interview, that he didn't think too highly of Nixon.

CULLEN: He didn't think highly of him. He never thought he was evil. He thought that he was not a good man, but . . .

YATES: But you thought he was evil?

CULLEN: Yes. But Pat felt sorry for him after Watergate. OK? And Pat respected him, that Nixon had the guts—pardon my French—“the balls,” is what Pat said, to call him up and ask him to become the chairman of something that the president wouldn't identify to him what it was about. Just, “Will you do it for me if I ask?”

And Pat said, “Yes, because you're president of the United States, not because you're Richard Nixon.” OK? And that got Pat's attention that the president of the United States called him and asked him to do something and trusting him to say yes without telling him what he was going to ask him to do. That was very important to Pat.

YATES: I'm sorry to keep kind of going back, but to finish up, because we've been going a long time, to finish up the campaign, what were your feelings about how everything was going towards the end?

CULLEN: Oh, I thought we'd win. I really did. I thought we'd win. I mean, I always thought we'd win. I saw no way that Richard Nixon would be elected. I thought that the carpetbagger strategy that was used very effectively against Pierre Salinger two years later should have been used against Nixon, even though he was a native son. Pierre Salinger was a native son, born in San Francisco. That strategy should have been used then, and I tried to tell Don Bradley at the time, I said, "Hey, this guy's an interloper. He's from outside. He's an internationalist. He doesn't know from zilch about California. This is what we should stress."

YATES: And why didn't they want to do that?

CULLEN: I have no idea. Well, they did do it partially. They did. Harry Lerner did it very well. Harry kept writing speeches for the governor. Sometimes the governor wouldn't use them.

But I was peripheral to that campaign. I mean, let's face it. However, it gave me the opportunity for the governor to know my work and for me to know the governor, so much so that he invited me to join the governor's staff, and that, to me, was a great accomplishment.

My wife hated it. She was livid. I mean, she was so mad, she didn't come back.

YATES: Oh, dear.

CULLEN: She stayed until the spring was over and brought the boys back, and she

didn't bring the boys back until September to start school. She was just livid.

She said, "I don't want you in government. How much money can you make in government?" I was making an average of \$9,000 a month, OK? Just an average of \$9,000 a month in my own business.

YATES: That's a lot of money.

CULLEN: I went to work for the State of California at \$1,600 a month, \$1,600 a month as opposed to \$9,000 a month. So you can understand why my wife was a little upset? [Laughter]

YATES: Well, on that note, how about we end it for today and we'll pick up with your joining the Brown administration.

CULLEN: OK.

[End Tape 4, Side A]

[Session 3, June 3, 2003]

[Begin Tape 5, Side A]

YATES: Good morning again.

CULLEN: Good morning, Susan.

YATES: It's sort of a gray, dismal day out, but I think the sun's going to come out.

We were just chatting for a few minutes and I wanted to remind you, when we met last time, [when] we finished up, you were talking about joining Governor [Edmund G. "Pat"] Brown's office, and you said Governor Brown invited you to join the governor's office at the end of the campaign, and I wanted to start there, even though you talked about it a little bit. What happened, or exactly how did he end up asking you to join his staff?

CULLEN: We were at a party in Los Angeles, a small party in Los Angeles, at the home of a man named Mark Boyer. The governor came over to me—there was probably, oh, thirty people there—and the governor came over to me and he said, "Frank, what are you going to do after the campaign?" I said, "Really, Governor, I haven't decided." I said, "I may start my business up again or I may not." He said, "Did you like what you're doing?" I said, "Yes,

Governor, I loved it.” He said, “Well, would you be interested in doing some work for me?” Or words to that effect. I don’t remember exactly. I said, “What do you mean?” He said, “Well, would you be interested in moving to Sacramento?” I said, “Not right now, Governor, but.” I said, “I really just loved being involved in what we were doing and I’m so glad that you won,” and, you know, that sort of a conversation.

So it went on, and then I really didn’t think too much about it. Then about, I don’t know, maybe early December, I got a phone call from him saying could he have lunch with me. So I said, “Governor, I’d be happy to have lunch with you.” So anyway, there was a hotel down in. . . . It may still be there, but at the time it was called the Sheraton Town House, and the governor used to stay there a lot and he liked the people there, so we had lunch, actually, in the dining room in the Sheraton Town House. And he said, “Would you reconsider moving to Sacramento?” I said, “Well, Governor, what would I do?” He said, “Well, we’ll find things for you to do.” He said, “I think you have a good way with people.” And he said, “We need all the people we can get who have communication skills.”

So one thing led to another, and I really was undecided, I guess is the best way to say it. Then I had a conversation with my wife, and she was not too interested in my getting into politics full-time. She had just come back from New York with the children, our two boys, Peter and Frank, where she

had them there for actually almost a year, from the beginning of '62 until November. So we talked about it, and Mary Anne said, no, she didn't really think I should do that.

So I called the governor up and I told him, I said, "Governor, I just can't move to Sacramento right now." He said, "Well, would you be a consultant to me?" I said, "Sure, I'd be very happy to be a consultant. What do you want me to do?" He said, "I don't know yet, but we'll find something." So, you know, we went on, and it was sort of a thing over the holidays. He called me at Christmastime, which really surprised me, and he made an active effort, really.

So now it was 1963 and I was really debating, and I really wanted to move to Sacramento and Mary Anne was sort of adamantly opposed to it. So he put me on a payroll that I'd rather not say where it came from. OK? There was nothing illegal about it, but it was a business payroll. It was not State of California payroll. And he asked me to do certain things. I met with people. I started raising money for him for. . . .

[Interruption]

CULLEN: So anyway, I had a meeting in the governor's office, which was then in the old State Building, which unfortunately no longer exists. It was a beautiful, beautiful office.

YATES: I remember you mentioning the first time you met him and it was in his office

and you said that it was huge.

CULLEN: Yes, it really was. It was a really big office and it was beautifully done. I believe the building was built in the early nineteen. . . . Like 1921, 1922, right after World War I, and it was a gorgeous building and it had all these architectural details that were marvelous. And the governor had this great desk. I think I may have mentioned that to you.

So anyway, I had a meeting with him down at his office and we discussed really sort of. . . . I'll use the word *operative* rather than anything else. He would hear about somebody who was either against him or supporting him, and he'd ask me to go out and find out what I could about him. I had access to a lot of interesting people, let's put it that way. And I think that's how I became. . . . I won't say important to him, but of a certain value, that I had contacts in San Francisco and I had contacts in San Diego and I had contacts here in Los Angeles, and I'd made a lot of other contacts in the campaign, so especially in the San Diego area.

He'd ask me to go up and talk to people up in Bakersfield and to Fresno, just to go interview people that he couldn't get to and he didn't want to send somebody who was actually working for the state. This was really political work. It was not state work.

YATES: Just to get a time frame then, this was early in his second term?

CULLEN: This was early in the second term. I started in January. As a matter of fact, I

went on the payroll January 16 of. . . Not the state payroll.

YATES: Right.

CULLEN: OK. Not the state payroll. I went on the payroll January 16 and I continued on that till February of. . . January 16 of 1963 to February 1964. And what I really did was I met with a lot of press people, I met with a lot of either current or potential donors. I, in some cases, did what's called a "Dick Tuck." Have you ever heard of [Richard] Dick Tuck?

YATES: Now, I'm not sure. I think so.

CULLEN: Well, you should have. Dick Tuck was one of Pat Brown's close friends. He was the most imaginative political operative I've ever met. He's the gentleman who, during the Nixon-Brown campaign, President Nixon decided to do a campaign stop in Los Angeles Chinatown, so the former vice president was down in Chinatown at this great gathering of Chinese people, and all these people had these signs that said, "Nixon" in English and then all of these Chinese characters. He thanked everybody for their support and what have you.

Well, it turned out that fifty of the banners and fifty of the cardboard cards said, "Welcome, Nixon. What about the Hughes loan?" in Chinese.

[Laughs] And what had happened is that Howard [R.] Hughes [Jr.] had loaned \$50,000 to Nixon's brother [F. Donald] Don [Nixon].

YATES: Right.

CULLEN: So Nixon got so upset when he found out what they actually said, that he walked off the platform. But Dick Tuck arranged the whole thing.

Then there's an apocryphal story that may or may not be true. This is God's honest truth it's true. Nixon was taking a train ride going from one place to another, and Dick Tuck put six prostitutes on the train, all attempting to get Mr. Nixon to talk to them. [Laughter] That's the kind of things he would do. He was just absolutely. . . .

And then he did an incredible thing, also during the Brown campaign. When Nixon was speaking from the back of the train, Dick Tuck took a conductor's uniform on and a red lantern and swung the red lantern, telling the engineer to move ahead, and Nixon is talking from the back of the train, the train is pulling away. He's yelling, "Stop! Stop!" [Laughter] And of course the engineer couldn't hear him. We're all standing there. It was just beautiful. But that was Dick Tuck.

YATES: Explain how that translated into what you were doing.

CULLEN: Well, I wouldn't say I was a Dick Tuck, but in some of the things that I was doing, we were trying to find out who might be running against the governor *if* he chose to. He had not even thought of a third term. He didn't know what he was going to do. Actually, he wanted to run for president and I think that's the real reason he hired me, to be honest with you. I think that that's what he wanted.

He wanted to make sure. . . . He was so bitter about the way that the entire American public treated him at the Chessman case. I mean, most people don't understand the impact of the Chessman case. Governor Pat had no way to stop the Chessman execution, because the way the constitution reads, it would take a majority vote of the California State Supreme Court to stop that execution if the felon had three strikes. And this is way before a three-strikes law. Nobody was even talking about a three-strikes law. If you had three felony convictions, only a combination of the governor's clemency *and* the agreement of the California State Supreme Court. . . . Well, that story never got out, so everybody . . .

YATES: It sounds like the Chessman case really had a significant impact on him for the rest of his life.

CULLEN: I think it changed his life. That's exactly what I was going to say.

YATES: I mean I knew it had a big impact, but I'm getting the sense that it really had much more of an impact than . . .

CULLEN: Nothing in Governor Brown's career affected him as much or his career. But it was both his career and himself. The Chessman case was devastating.

I think I've told you about the episode at Candlestick Park, have I not?

YATES: I don't remember. I don't think so.

CULLEN: Well, I was not there. I've heard the governor tell the story thousands of time, literally. At least hundreds. No, thousands probably. It was the

opening of Candlestick Park in the 1960 session, just after the Chessman decision. Richard Nixon, who was the vice president of the United States and had run and won California against [John F.] Kennedy in the 1960 election. . . . Oh, no. He was sitting. I beg your pardon. It was 1960. He was sitting. I beg your pardon. I'm wrong. He was the sitting vice president of the United States. This was 1960.

As I say, I wasn't there, so my timing is off here. But Nixon and Pat were sitting next to each other as the governor of the state and the vice president of the United States, and the governor had his daughter Kathleen with him, who was then—well, she was born in 1945, so it's now 1960—so she's fifteen or sixteen, somewhere in that era. I think she was born in '45. In that era. But she was about fifteen or sixteen.

The team is on the field, as the governor said, and then the announcer got on and he said, "We have two special guests with us today, and it's my pleasure to introduce Richard Nixon, the vice president of the United States." Now, as I say, I wasn't there. This is how the governor tells the story. And there's tremendous clapping, support, blah, blah, blah, you know, it was just marvelous. And he said, "And also our governor, Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, is here with his family." The boos just. . . . There was very simple clapping and the entire place booed. People got up and screamed, "Down with Brown! Down with Brown! Down with Brown!"

YATES: Wow.

CULLEN: I mean, it was devastating. And he didn't care as much for himself as he did for his daughter. His daughter started to cry, and it was a terrible, terrible thing for him to think that here he'd won by a million votes and here, less than two years later he's being booed by the people who elected him. And Nixon, who he had no great love for, gets this tremendous applause.

So that was a very, very. . . . And he would tell that story. And sometimes he'd tell that story and tears would come to his eyes. I mean, you have no idea how the Chessman case affected him. In some of the correspondence which I gave you, did you read Cecil [F.] Poole's letter?

YATES: I believe so. The file you've loaned me that was Governor Brown's Chessman file.

CULLEN: Right. But Cecil Poole had a great deal to do with the Chessman case. Now federal Judge Arthur [L.] Alarcon was then the governor's chief of staff. Hale Champion was involved. [Edmund G.] "Jerry" Brown [Jr.] was involved, who had just left the . . .

YATES: I know Governor Brown said in his interview that he felt like it really caused a rift with him and Fred Dutton.

CULLEN: Oh, terrible. Very, very . . .

YATES: Over the decisions made regarding the Chessman case.

CULLEN: Absolutely. Absolutely. What people don't realize, Fred Dutton was Pat's

closest, closest political friend, and brilliant man. Went on to become. . . .

Was a good lawyer then. But that was really the break. Then Kennedy, who was the sitting president, invited Fred to come to Washington and he became the cabinet secretary to the president.

But that rift was healed later on in the mid-sixties, probably '64, '65, because Pat spent a lot of time going to Washington trying to get the president and the Congress to support more money for the Water Project, more money for the highway system, more money for education. I mean, that was his mantra.

YATES: When we started, you were mentioning that you were serving in this capacity as consultant and feeling things out. Your take is that Governor Brown was interested in running for president, but I take it he never told you that specifically.

CULLEN: No, he never did. He never did tell me that. No, he never did tell me that. He would joke about it. He said, "Maybe some day I'll run for president," or something like that, but he never. . . . That was never the agenda. He really wanted to be. . . . He was very close to Earl Warren and he really. . . . I'll almost use the word *idolized* Earl Warren.

I mean, I don't know whether you know it or not, but when he took over the. . . . And here, again, I wasn't there. I came to California in '58 and then brought my family out in '59—from New York. So I was not here when he

was district attorney of San Francisco. But he talked about, many, many times. . . . Not only did I help write his speeches after he left office—I never wrote a speech for him when he was governor—but after he. . . . A man named [Lucian L.] Lu Haas from the press department and [John F.] “Jack” Burby and John MacDonald, those three people mostly wrote his speeches while he was governor.

After he was governor, Lu Haas continued to write a lot of his speeches, Jack Burby to a lesser degree, and then I would write maybe. . . . I wouldn’t say a third of them, but maybe a quarter of them, until Jack Burby moved to Washington. He became editor of the *National Journal*, and Lu got involved in other things. In 1970, he was the press secretary for the Jesse Unruh campaign for governor. So during that era, from ’70 on, I wrote a lot of Pat’s speeches, or worked on them. There was another man who worked. . . . A former *Los Angeles News*. . . . Which is the *Los Angeles [Daily] News*. It was owned by the *Los Angeles Times*. They closed it down in the mid-fifties. But his name was Roy Ringer. Roy wrote a lot of Pat’s speeches.

If he was going to speak at a college, he’d very often ask me to write it. If he was going to speak at a labor thing, he’d ask Lu to write it. If he was going to speak at some highfalutin event, he’d ask Roy Ringer to write it.

YATES: Well, just back to this initial period. . . . Well, initial, it’s about a year, it sounds like—a little more than a year—where you’re working as a consultant.

Who else did you interact with in terms of Governor Brown's office?

CULLEN: Frank Mesplé was sort of my mentor. He was the guy that I worked with, and a man by the name of Bernard Titlebaum, but he wasn't working with the governor's office.

YATES: I remember you mentioning him with the campaigning.

CULLEN: Right. Very active in the campaign and he was out of San Francisco. He actually came from Salt Lake [City]. Interesting, with a name like Titlebaum, a lot of people think he was Jewish. He wasn't. He was Mormon.

YATES: Yes, I remember you saying that.

CULLEN: But a fascinating guy and one of the nicest men I've ever met and one of the smartest and just a great. . . .

YATES: So were you getting basically your direction or assignments directly from Governor Brown?

CULLEN: Mostly from Governor Brown and from Frank Mesplé. In other words, that's where we started. To give you a sample, there were some things going on at the time with Korea and the. . . . Well, you know, my memory isn't that good.

YATES: Can you give an example of something that you would have been doing?

CULLEN: Yes. That's what I was going to say, there were some things going on with Korea about steel, and the governor had a very close friend who was a big financial supporter, who later became his business partner, a man named [Joseph] Joe Alperson. So I got a call from the governor and he said, "Would

you please go see Joe Alperson and find out what his problem is with the Koreans.”

So I met with Joe Alperson and he outlined this problem about steel and scrap and what have you, and he wanted the governor’s involvement and what have you. And I made a decision that the governor should really get involved in this thing, and it was my decision. I didn’t really go to the governor on a lot of these things; I went to Frank Mesplé. I discussed it with Frank Mesplé, and Frank said, “Frank, we’re not going to touch that with a pole.” [Laughter] He said, “That’s not our role.” He said, “That’s a federal government role, not a State of California role.” And he said, “We’re in the midst of the situation in Japan.” I don’t know whether you know it or not, but Governor Brown was one of the first states to open a state office of business in Japan.

YATES: No, I didn’t know that.

CULLEN: Yes. And the man who ran it was a man named Jack Tomlinson. He’s somebody you should interview, let me tell you. Anyway, Jack spoke fluent Japanese, he spoke some Indonesian, some Chinese, but he was great for the State of California.

There was a real tug of war going between Japan and Korea and steel and Mr. Alperson. So my recommendation in this thing was, yes, to go ahead with this. When Frank Mesplé said no, he said, ‘This is a federal matter. We

should stay out of it and just go tell Joe that we'll support him where we can, but he should go to the federal government." Then Frank gave me some names of people that I should call in the Department of Commerce, which I did. But in a way, we helped Joe in redirecting his problem to the federal government, but the State of California was not a party to it. So that's an example of some of the things I did.

Another thing, there was a man in San Diego named Murray Goodrich, and he had some problems. I was sort of the problem guy, where you couldn't have a state official, or going down to some of these requests.

Another example that I can give you was, the governor was not really interested in horse racing, but the horse racing industry was very interested in California. And there is a thing in California called the California Horse Racing Board. And one of the best appointments that the governor can make, after the Board of Regents and the community colleges and the state colleges and what have you, in that era, if you're appointed to the [California State] Athletic Commission or the Horse Racing Commission, boy, that's a great coup, and a lot of donors donored because they wanted to be on various commissions. I mean, if you look at the makeup, even today, of the Board of Regents of the University of California, you will find that they are icons of business. And the thing about the Board of Regents, the term was sixteen

years. I don't know whether it still is or not.<sup>1</sup>

YATES: No, I believe it's twelve now, which is still a long time.

CULLEN: Yes, maybe it was twelve. I don't know.

YATES: I can't remember. Later on, I think the term period changed.

CULLEN: I think it was sixteen years and then it went down to twelve. Now, it may have been twelve then. I don't know. But it was just forever, because, you know, a sitting governor only has four years, and then if he's re-elected, he's got eight years. So you're talking about an infinity in terms of openings on the Board of Regents and the state colleges in that era. It was not the state university; it was the state college system.

And that's another thing I got involved in, appointments to boards. Even things like fair boards. People don't understand the power of a fair board. The fair board is usually a bunch of businesspeople, mostly Republicans, who are farmers, who really control a good part of the economy in the county that they're in. Los Angeles County has an incredible fair. From where you live, you know about . . .

YATES: Yes. I know about the Pomona [fairgrounds].

CULLEN: Yes. And you take the Orange County Fair. And every one of the fifty-eight counties has a fair and they have a fair board. So I would be asked to go to talk to some guy up in Colusa County. Well, why Colusa County? Because

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1. The current term is twelve years.

the governor's family came from Colusa County and they felt that Pat Brown owed his allegiance to Colusa County. His mother [Ida Schuckman Brown] was born there. So, I mean, I got to do really strange things that I was . . .

YATES: So you were reporting, it sounds like, both to Governor Brown and . . .

CULLEN: Depending on who called me to do it, or if the governor would say to me, "Get back to me on this," I would get back to him on it. If he didn't say that, I would routinely report back to Frank Mesplé.

YATES: You know, I think we touched on this before, but maybe in the context of your role at this point. You mentioned what it's like to come in part way through somebody's governorship, i.e., that he'd had certain people with him through the first term.

CULLEN: Right.

YATES: And now some people have left, but some people have been with him a long time. And how did that help or hinder you or was that a problem?

CULLEN: Yes, well, let me explain that, if I can. I didn't actually go on the government payroll until November of 1964. Then I went on the California state payroll, but not for the governor's office. I went to work for the Department of Industrial Relations and loaned to the governor's office. Loaned to the governor's office. And my title at the time was assistant to the legislative secretary, who was then Frank Mesplé. And Frank Mesplé had a lot to do with my getting that title and getting actually a desk and a chair in the

governor's office. OK? Because Frank and I got along like Siamese twins. I mean, we really understood each other. He knew what I could do, and blah, blah, blah, and he thought I would be good as one of the governor's lobbyists in Sacramento. That's what he wanted me up there for.

So it was toward the end of November, and I went up and I was doing all this stuff in December, sort of getting ready and having a very, very difficult time, I might tell you, with my wife and children, because they had no more interest in moving to Sacramento than moving to Canton, China. I mean, it was just not going to happen. So they decided they would stay here. We had a house in Westwood, and they decided they would stay here and I would commute.

So I really didn't start in the governor's office from an actual working thing. I was up there sort of learning what was going on and I had not spent much time in Sacramento at all. So I spent a good part of early December sort of finding my way.

YATES: This is 1964?

CULLEN: This is '64. This is December of '64. But an interesting thing happened. Right after . . .

YATES: OK. Go ahead. Go ahead. I'm just thinking about the timing again. Go ahead, though.

CULLEN: Tell me which question you have. I'll answer it.

YATES: No, you go on and we'll . . .

CULLEN: Well, what happened was right after. . . . In the interim, see, there's another block here that we need to talk about, and that's from March of 1964 until November of '64, when I really worked on the [Pierre] Salinger campaign.

YATES: That's what I was suddenly thinking about.

CULLEN: Well, this block is where it's terribly important. OK? Terribly important. The stories here are really very vital to the history of California. I mean, I'm not kidding.

YATES: Yes. Well, let's talk about that.

CULLEN: Well, let me finish this one other thing because it's terribly important. I think it's terribly important. Well, let's go back. We'll take it your way and remind me about the . . .

YATES: No, no. Go ahead. Go with the way you want to go.

CULLEN: OK.

YATES: Let's do it.

CULLEN: Well, we will go back to the Salinger campaign, but right after the Salinger campaign, and the man running against Pierre Salinger was running for the United States Senate from California, to replace really a very, very. . . . I have a picture of him around here somewhere.

YATES: Clair Engle you're talking about?

CULLEN: Clair Engle, yes. I'm talking about Clair. But I just say, I have a picture

around. As a matter of fact, your friend from the Senate office sent it to me. I called them and told them I needed this picture. What's the name? Don. . . . The guy in the United States Senate history department. [Senate Historical Office]

YATES: [Donald A.] Don Ritchie.

CULLEN: Don Ritchie.

Yes. Anyway, but what happened was after the Salinger campaign and George [L.] Murphy, who had about as much right of being United States senator as the man in the moon, he had no knowledge of government, he had no knowledge of politics, he had no knowledge of Washington, D.C. Here Pierre Salinger had been the press secretary to two United States presidents. He had access to picking up the phone and he could get to every member of the president's cabinet. He could get to every member, head of department. A lot of people loved him. He was just one of these just incredible characters. But because of his attitude, he was perceived as a carpetbagger, even though he was born in California, raised in California, and he didn't leave California to go to Washington until 1957, so it was only six years he was out of California. His whole life was spent here. He was a fantastic reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Went to California schools. His whole education was here. Anyway, his whole growing up was here.

Anyway, Pierre lost on the basis that he was a carpetbagger, and George

Murphy won. Pierre had had an apartment in San Francisco and he had a little place in Sacramento, and he had a big, not a big, but he had a very nice apartment here on Manhattan Avenue in Los Angeles, right around the corner from our headquarters. The headquarters, incidentally, were on Western [Avenue] and Fifth Street.

Anyway, I was assigned by Don Bradley, the campaign chairman, at Pierre's request, to go to these various places and pick up all of his material because he was leaving California—this was his idea—and he was moving to France. He was just so embittered. So I'd borrowed a car from. . . . I did not want to use my own car at the time. I borrowed a brand new Buick Skylark from a company called Bill Murphy Buick in Culver City, who were big Democratic supporters at the time. And in those days you could do that. There was no political onerous of somebody helping you, loaning you a car. I mean, [Thomas] Tom Bradley's first campaign for mayor here, I put together a motor pool of twelve sedans, two stake trucks, and a flatbed truck with a loudspeaker system on it, all donated by Arrow Chevrolet.

So that's the kind of things I did. I mean, I did that in '62 too. I had that capacity. I can't tell you why. I mean, I just would go to. . . . Sometimes a case I'd hear about this automobile dealer who happened to be a Democrat, and I'd go see him, and I got to be very friendly with them. I would schmooze with them and I'd say, "Hey, you've got to help Pat." "You've got

to help, whoever.

YATES: You were persuasive, apparently.

CULLEN: Well, it worked. OK? It worked. So anyway, going back to this thing. So I went to get all of this stuff for Pierre, to San Francisco and Sacramento. So I drive up and I was looking at it as sort of a lark, but at the same time as a very important thing, because there were important papers there, there were personal effects, there were things that belonged to his wife. So I thought this was a very important job I was doing.

I went and did the stuff. I did Sacramento. I did San Francisco first, then I did Sacramento, and that wasn't big. Then I'm driving down from Sacramento. No, I'm sorry. I did Sacramento first and then San Francisco. Yes, because San Francisco had the biggest stuff.

And this is a brand new car. I'm coming down the 101 through the area just south of Santa Maria. It's two o'clock in the morning, and I was on a deadline. Pierre wanted this stuff to take back on an airplane the next day. All of a sudden, my headlights go out, and I'm on the 101 Freeway with no headlights and the engine isn't running. It's two o'clock in the morning, and I'm wondering what the hell am I going to do now. And all of a sudden, I put the car in neutral and it just sort of rolled along. I, thank God, got off the freeway and ended up sort of in nowhere. There was nothing around. There wasn't a light to be seen anywhere. I had no idea under God's green earth

where I was, and I was thinking, "I have all of this stuff." The trunk was full. The seat next to me was full. The entire back seat of the car was full, and I thought, "Holy God, this is Pierre's stuff. If I'm held up here and this stuff is gone. . . ." I had no concept of where I was or what have you. And there were no cell phones in those days: I had no way to communicate with anybody. So it was, "What am I going to do? Pierre's going to leave. He's going to be furious as hell."

So one thing led to another, and I just decided there was nothing I could do. So I just locked the car and went to sleep. I woke up around six o'clock in the morning and I'm on a deserted road. I mean, there was nothing. It was an offshoot off an off ramp and it was not quite a dirt road, but it wasn't much better than a gravel road. I was just overwhelmed. I'd never seen this kind of scenery. Anyway, I locked the car and I got out and I walked. I had to walk about a mile and a half to this little town, Los Osos. Antique places. It was about 6:15, 6:30 in the morning. Nobody around anywhere. Finally, there's a gas station. So I said, well, at least somebody will help me. So I go. . . . The gas station wasn't open yet, but there was a phone.

I'm trying to figure out what I'm going to tell Pierre. I'm stuck up here, and he wanted this stuff by noon because he was going to fly out, on somebody's plane, incidentally. He wasn't going commercial. It was one of Bob Six's planes, as a matter of fact. Bob Six owns Continental Airlines, so

it was Bob Six's plane, as a matter of fact.

So anyway, it took me about three hours to get somebody to drive me back to the car, who was a quasi mechanic, who got the damn thing going. Then by that time I had not spoken to Pierre. I waited. I decided I'm not going to call him, because he liked to sleep in the morning. I called him about 8:15, and he was very sanguine about it, and Pierre was not ordinarily very sanguine. I mean, he had a really low tolerance for things that didn't happen the way he wanted them to happen.

So I just said, "Pierre," I said, "it's a brand-new car." I said, "I have no idea what happened." He said, "Well, OK. We'll work it out. You're going to pay for it." [Laughter] So anyway, that was my. . . . It's sort of a silly story, but I got the car fixed. I drove back there and I delivered the stuff to Continental Airlines, and I never saw Pierre for probably three days, so I don't know what. . . . By that time, he . . .

YATES: Well, remind me. I know when we talked last time, when you were talking about this early period, where the campaign's over, you are working in various capacities, it sounds like, for Governor Brown. You did mention about gearing up for what was going to happen, which was this election in 1964. Now, you actually got involved fairly early on in that campaign, is that right? I think you used the word you were loaned?

CULLEN: No, no. That's a little different.

YATES: OK.

CULLEN: That's a little different. I didn't get involved then. At the time, frankly, I'd never met Pierre Salinger. I had never. . . . Well, let me . . .

YATES: OK. I had misunderstood, then.

CULLEN: What I was doing, when I say we were gearing up for the campaign, because. . . . And this is not secret, but we're now in. . . . I'm not exactly sure, but it's probably in some other oral history from somebody else. And if you don't, I'll get the dates, if it isn't.

What happened was, Lyndon Johnson, President Johnson, called Pat Brown and he said, "Pat, Clair has an inoperable brain tumor. He's not going to live." He said, "But Clair won't admit that and he is going to say he's running for a second term."

YATES: So this is LBJ, not Kennedy.

CULLEN: This is LBJ.

YATES: It's LBJ, so it's after JFK was assassinated.

CULLEN: No, no. I beg your pardon. It's Kennedy. You're right.

YATES: I was just thinking, because I did look at an interview and . . .

CULLEN: It is Kennedy. You're entirely right. You know, I'm trying to think about nine thousand things here.

It was Kennedy who called and told him that. That's correct. I'm trying to think. And I don't know the month it happened. OK? But it was sort of

early on. So the thing was, who. . . . We didn't want to lose that seat. "We" being the Democrats, did not want to lose that seat. So we wanted to find the most electable person that would . . .

YATES: To hold on to that seat.

CULLEN: To keep the seat. Now, a number of people wanted the governor, if Clair died, to appoint himself. A number of people wanted the governor to appoint himself, which he had the legal power to do. A number of other people said, well, if Clair is still alive. . . . A lot of people knew about Clair's inoperable brain tumor. OK? But it wasn't public knowledge. To our knowledge, the press didn't know, and if they knew, they didn't say about it. They didn't mention it.

YATES: Yes, I got that sense from looking at a couple of interviews, that it was known, but it was . . .

CULLEN: Yes, it was kept as secret as you could keep a secret in Washington, and it was pretty hard. OK? So you had this mantra, if you will, that we've got to keep that seat. So one of the things I was doing was talking to people to say, what. . . . And I mean, when I say talking to people, I'm not just talking to the guy on the street. I'm talking to the people like Gene Wyman, like Joe Alperson, like Mark and [Louis] Lou Boyer. I mean, Lou Boyer was a big, big supporter of the governor, the two brothers, Lou and Mark Boyer.

At that time, there was a lot of. . . . [Louis] Lew Warschaw was

somebody else—Carmen Warschaw's husband. I mean, these are people that I met with and tried to get their reaction to what would happen and who would be a good candidate and what have you.

Now, there was also the thing to consider at the time, the CDC, the California Democratic Council, was in its heyday. It was founded by Alan Cranston and a guy named Zetterberg.

YATES: [Stephen] Steve Zetterberg.

CULLEN: Steve Zetterberg, who came from your area, right? Yes. Steve Zetterberg. And there was big talk about either one of them running. They also talk about there was a question of you're also in the middle of the Pat and Jesse feud. So I mean, it was chaos. Nobody trusted anybody and yet everybody trusted who they talked to.

YATES: Well, the little that I've read about it, it does sound incredibly complicated because you had all these different factions . . .

CULLEN: Oh, it was.

YATES: . . . aligning themselves with either Unruh or Pat Brown, and there are various personalities involved. So that's why I was interested in your take on it.

CULLEN: Well, it was a very, you know, like. . . . This is before the Pat Brown-Carmen Warschaw split, now. And in fairness, Pat had given Carmen his assurance that he would support her.

YATES: This is for national . . .

CULLEN: Well, there's two things. One is the state chair south, one is the state chair, and one is the national committeewoman. So there were three things here, and Pat gave Carmen his assurance on all three things. Because Carmen, number one, she was rich as Croesus. She was a smart, smart lady, I mean really smart, and a damn hard worker. I mean, without Carmen Warschaw and Liz Snyder, I don't think Pat Brown would have won in '62. I mean, those two women really. . . . And Dorothy Colton was another one. And Georgia Van de Kamp. I mean, these people were really. . . . The women's division of the Democratic Party was a powerhouse in those days. I mean, it was a powerhouse, but it was also a conflicted powerhouse. Then you had [Rosalind] Roz Wyman, Gene Wyman's wife. I mean, let me tell you.

YATES: Hold on one second. This is just at the end.

[End Tape 5, Side A]

[Begin Tape 5, Side B]

YATES: You were talking about the strength of the women in the Democratic Party, the state.

CULLEN: Yes, the women in the Democratic Party. And there were very strong women in the Republican Party, people like Ivy Baker Priest, you know. But these Democrats were really. . . . They had smarts. They were aggressive. Most of them were very wealthy. And there were people. . . . You know, forgive me.

We're going back forty years now. And there are people that I worked with in San Diego, women, that. . . . Larry Lawrence's first wife, or second wife, I forget which wife. I mean, I think he had four. Anyway, it's difficult to think.

And then there was a guy named Bob Driver. His wife and his daughter were very helpful. [Sandra] Sandy Driver [Gordon] was just. . . .

YATES: So help me understand. So you're basically talking to these people at various points, and it sounds like this is around the fall of '63, about?

CULLEN: No, this would be the fall of '63. It could be anytime in '63, because I forget when the news got to Pat Brown. I'll be honest with you. My memory . . .

YATES: The one thing I know is that Clair Engle. . . . Because, like I said, I read a few interviews in preparing, and they mention that he had surgery in August of '63 and that he did announce, or his wife [Lucretia Engle] helped him to announce, that he would run again in December of '63. So somewhere in that period obviously people started learning . . .

CULLEN: That's correct.

YATES: Or it may have been before that.

CULLEN: This was before then. I think that the president called Pat Brown in the spring. It may have been as late as May or June. I think, to my recollection, that's when it was, when Pat Brown found out about it. It's one of the few times that I went to Sacramento, as a matter of fact. He called me and wanted

me to come up there and he told me what was going on. He said this is what he wanted me to do. He wanted to get the reaction of these people if Clair is unable to run, who they think should. . . . So I was going around talking to people, what might happen if Clair Engle, you know. . . . Because everybody knew he was sick. I mean, there was not a secret. I mean, that was in the press. They didn't say he had a brain tumor and they didn't say it was inoperable, so then the thing of the brain tumor came out. That came out, but the inoperable thing didn't come out till very, very late.

Now, as a matter of fact, if you look, and I believe this is true and factual, his wife stated after the operation, "Oh, Clair is fine. He's going to be able to run, and if he doesn't run, you know, he'll support the Democratic candidate, but I'm sure he'll be well enough to run." And she carried that on into 1964. Then she wanted to run.

YATES: She wanted to run?

CULLEN: Oh yes, but that got nowhere because she was an idiot. She was a jackass, I mean, [Inaudible]. [Laughter]

YATES: Yes, that seemed to be the common opinion was that she was, publicly at least, saying that he was fine and it was going to . . .

CULLEN: Yes, exactly. There was no question about it. As a matter of fact, she argued very vehemently both with the Kennedy staff and with the Johnson staff, and I know. . . . And one of the benefits—and we'll get to this later—but one of

the benefits and one of the things that really got me involved in this thing and got me where I became somewhat, not a powerhouse, but got to be known by people, was that during the Salinger campaign, we had the benefit of the president of the United States and/or the vice president, then a senator who was going to be his vice presidential candidate [Hubert Humphrey] and then in the latter part of the campaign, after the August convention, was his candidate, he was the vice presidential candidate, coming out to California to campaign for themselves and always Pierre Salinger, and I'm the guy who happened to be assigned to work with the presidential party, just by luck. Just by luck. I mean, it was no. . . . Well, I'll tell you a funny story in a minute.

But going back to this era so we close off '63, the '63 work for the governor was nongovernmental. It was informational and opinions. He wanted to know what I thought. I was paid a very fair salary, much more, I might add, than I was paid when I went to work for the State of California. I went from making \$48,000 a year to making \$16,000 a year, so that was a big surprise. OK? And I had an expense account and I had a brand-new car that they gave me. And not one cent came out of the Democratic Party. It was all privately funded.

YATES: So financially, it just went downhill, basically.

CULLEN: Oh, absolutely. I mean, if I hadn't sold my company back in '61, if I hadn't sold my company, I could never have afforded to go into the state service.

Never. I mean, I never could have.

YATES: You were saying about wrapping up '63 and your role in terms of how you were functioning and in what capacity. Going back to what leads up to the '64 race, what did you come away with from these conversations with all these people about the kind of information you would pass along to Governor Brown?

CULLEN: What I felt was that there was really tremendous divisiveness within the Democratic Party, and that's really what I told him. There was a man, maybe still alive and maybe he's made an oral history, but if he is still alive, you should talk to him. His name is Leon Cooper. Leon was very involved. Another guy, who I want to interview myself for my book, is a guy named [Joseph L.] Joe Wyatt, and he's right here in . . .

Joe is very smart. As a matter of fact, I just happened to see him at the Pat Brown dinner.

[Interruption]

YATES: OK, just a brief interruption. So I was asking you about what kind of advice or what could you tell the governor from all these conversations.

CULLEN: Basically, that the Democratic Party was in great disarray, that there were a lot of opinions that didn't jibe with the governor's opinion, and that essentially it might be a good idea, if something happened to Clair Engle, if he either appointed himself or ran. He didn't give me any kind of a yes or a

no on that, but he didn't say he'd consider it or anything else. He didn't comment on that.

The other thing that I think is important is that the attitude, the attitude that you got was that we've got to have representation, we've got to hold this seat, we've got to be a voice in Washington, you know. We're now the largest state, we're going to have. . . . And this whole attitude was that we've got to protect California's interests and it has to be Democratic. We can't have another Republican.

Now, the funny thing is that the Republican at the time was a very, very good moderate Republican, a fellow by the name of [Thomas H.] Tom Kuchel, who was a really good senator, very, very fine senator. But they felt they could never get another Tom Kuchel. I mean, if you look at the history of the Republican Party and their candidates for Senate, most of them have been from the ultra conservative wing of the party going back to George Murphy. I mean, it's absolutely bizarre.

YATES: Yes, there seems to be a turning point around—isn't that what you're saying—the mid-sixties, from that point on, of very conservative . . .

CULLEN: Yes, the Barry [M.] Goldwater term and that era and the Max Raffertys and these people that just absolutely were right of Attila the Hun, I mean, and they were very narrow-minded. They didn't believe in welfare for people. They didn't believe in spending excess money, "excess money," they called, on

education. And they didn't believe. . . . And they were very, very anti-immigration. I mean, very, very ultra, ultra conservative people. And the consequence is they'd win the primary and lose in the general, which was great for us. But they kept this pattern going for a period of almost twenty years. Almost twenty years.

Anyway, going back to finish '63. I would report to Mesplé. I would report to the governor. And in terms of the kinds of things, as I say, I would go interview people who wanted themselves or their brother or their cousin or somebody, or their wife, to be on the Horse Racing Board or the Athletic Commission.

There was another woman I should mention, who was a Republican, but of tremendous help to Pat Brown. Her name was Alieen Eaton, and she owned the Olympic Auditorium. That's why we named her to the Athletic Commission. She and her husband, Cal Eaton. Again, a pair of wealthy entrepreneurs and what have you. Her son got involved in a murder situation. I forget his name, but that's a whole other different story. Has nothing to do with politics. But Alieen Eaton was another mentor of mine in the '64 campaign. She gave me a tremendous amount of help. And I'll tell you a story in a minute, when we get to that point, I'll tell you why . . .

YATES: I want to talk a little bit more about what leads to the actual candidate for the '64 campaign. So you said you were talking in terms of just getting

information to pass along. You talked with people affiliated with the CDC.

CULLEN: Right.

YATES: People affiliated with the state Democratic Party and all its permutations down to . . .

CULLEN: And people who were not politically active. In other words, some of my role would be to talk to people. To be honest with you, I can mention names that wouldn't mean a thing to you and don't really mean much to me. A guy like Neil Curry. Take a man like Neil Curry. Neil Curry was an active Democrat. He was one of the biggest truckers in California. He had a vast. . . . I forget the name of the trucking company he had. I would call up and say, you know, who I was. I said, "I'm calling at the request of Governor Pat Brown. May I come and talk to you?" and what have you. "What's this about?" you know and what have you. Or sometimes the governor would make a call, or Mesplé would make a call.

YATES: Well, what about. . . . What I'm leading to . . .

CULLEN: Tell me what you want to get.

YATES: Maybe this is not the appropriate thing to do at this point, but who would talk to, for example, Jesse Unruh or Hugh [M.] Burns? Were their opinions gathered on . . .

CULLEN: Not from me. I have no idea. I mean, I can only tell you. . . . See, you've got to realize, my situation in '62 and '63, I was sort of an unknown person. I

mean, I'm not kidding.

YATES: Well, that's what I just wanted to get clarified so I understand.

CULLEN: I had no contact with Jesse Unruh, no contact with any of. . . . And the other thing, that's why. . . . I'll tell you in a minute, that'll probably clarify a little of this. OK?

YATES: OK.

CULLEN: But I just wanted to give you an overview. The governor was really interested in protecting that seat. And now, that didn't start until. . . . I can tell you this. Kennedy had to call either May or June, because I didn't start doing that until right after July 4. I know that.

Now, prior to that, I was doing other things in terms of. . . . I was talking about these board appointments, the fair boards. And also a little. . . . The water problems. I mean, that's when I first got involved with water. I mean, I went up to people at the Westland's Water District. I mean, who ever heard of the Westland's Water District? All of these. . . . I went up to Butte County. I got to see the state. How many Californians have been to both Eureka and Yreka? I mean, I'm serious. I've been to Shasta County and Amador County. Now, how many have ever heard of Amador County? You get a thousand Californians to name the fifty-eight counties of California—few will be able to do so.

YATES: It'd be hard.

CULLEN: It's next to impossible. And then put them on a map. Forget it. But, you know, Pat Brown knew every. . . . He knew somebody in every one of those counties. And from 1950 on, every two years he would visit every one of those fifty-eight counties. I mean, he was a shrewd politician. And he taught me that and believe me, I have done. . . . I'm not an investigator, but I would meet with reporters or newspaper publishers in places like Fort Bragg, when nobody knew what Fort Bragg was. Or as I say, Eureka. Or I'd go to. . . . How many people go to Redding? But those are some of the things that I did. And the most, I think, I had an ability to talk to people. It's worked. And that's what the governor saw and that's what he had me doing.

Now, I had no status in the State of California or with the Democratic Party. I was told to stay away from the Democratic Party, specifically to stay away from the Democratic Party.

YATES: By who? Who told you that?

CULLEN: The governor and Frank Mesplé told me, "Forget the structure. We know what they're doing, or we hope we know what they're doing. Stay away from them. We don't want them to know that we have somebody out there getting our intelligence." OK? So this was a role that. . . . Gene Wyman, I think, was the state chairman at the time . . .

YATES: You did mention, I think, though, you did talk to him and Carmen Warschaw.

CULLEN: Oh, absolutely.

YATES: I see what you're saying.

CULLEN: But the thing is, they had no idea I was working for Pat Brown. Not at all. I was getting information, to say, "What is your opinion on this thing?" you know. I had a spiel. [Laughter]

YATES: I was going to say, they didn't ask you why did you want to know?

CULLEN: Oh yes. And I had a very pattern thing that we're trying to find out. . . . I was an easterner at that point in time. Some of them knew who I was. I mean, they'd met me and what have you. I worked with Joe Cerrell. Joe Cerrell, at the time, I was specifically told to stay away from him because he was the executive director of the Democratic Party. So they want me to be involved in the workings. I mean, nobody knew who was a Jesse guy and who was a Pat guy at that point in time.

Nobody knew who was going to shift their alliances, and people were looking at. . . . Here's a mid-term election for the governor. I mean, he's got a free ride. He's not running. He was elected in '62 for four years, so nobody thinks he's. . . . So what I was doing was gathering information for him, but not telling people that's who I was working for or why I was doing it. OK?

Now, having done all that, having said that, there were other reasons. Now, in certain instances, like with a man like Joe Alperson, who was a very active Democrat, but he had nothing to do with the political machinery. . . . Larry Lawrence, who I mentioned, owned the del Coronado Hotel, I worked

closely with him because he was sort of a big *macher*. Are you familiar with what a *macher* is?

YATES: No.

CULLEN: It's a Yiddish word for powerhouse. OK? He was a big *macher* in San Diego County, and he owned the del Coronado Hotel, which was an icon of the State of the California, and still is. I mean, it's still going. It was built in the 1880s.

YATES: So they were more the component of the fund-raising to support Democrats.

CULLEN: Not only fund-raising, but I would also meet with businesspeople. I mentioned Neil Curry. I would call people up and introduce myself, or I'd write them a letter—I have copies of all these letters.

YATES: Let me ask you, on a personal note, before we leave 1963, of course JFK is assassinated, and I just wanted to get your take on where you were when that happened and what your thoughts were.

CULLEN: OK. I was driving down Rodeo Road. Not Rodeo Drive. Rodeo Road just north of South Central Los Angeles. I'd been on Firestone Boulevard. I was at a meeting down there in sort of the Bell Gardens, Bell [Gardens]-Cudahy area down there, and had the radio on in the car. And I didn't even remember what the announcer was saying, "There's been an attempt made on President Kennedy's life in Dallas," and what have you.

I pulled over to the curb right away, "What the hell is this?" So I pulled

over to the curb and I just parked and kept the radio on, and then they announced that he was dead. I think the first thing was disbelief. I mean, I just . . .

[Interruption]

YATES: OK. We took a moment. I was asking about JFK and the assassination.

CULLEN: Right. And it reminded me of something that happened in the '52 campaign.

And what people don't realize, most people don't realize, that, you know, here you had a United States senator, his name was Henry Cabot Lodge, who. . . . There's poems, you know. The Saltonstalls so to speak only to somebody and the Cabots speak only to God. So here he was, Henry Cabot Lodge, he was a Cabot and a Lodge. I mean, these are two of the most prestigious families in Massachusetts, went back to the *Mayflower*. I mean, his father [Henry Cabot Lodge] had been a senator, he was a senator, and he's got fourteen years of great service to the State of Massachusetts, and here this young congressman out of nowhere, an Irish Catholic to boot, is running. What nobody realized is that even though Henry Cabot Lodge would have been a good senator, he did something that alienated the western Massachusetts wing of the Republican Party, because instead of supporting a good conservative candidate like Robert Taft, Mr. Republican, for president, Henry Cabot Lodge was managing Dwight D. Eisenhower's campaign for president. How could this great conservative leave Bob Taft and work for a

general, an army guy, a military man? What are we doing making a military man president? That's terrible. Separation of the army and the navy, blah, blah, blah.

So anyway, that little nuance in conservative Republican people in western Massachusetts was what the Kennedys wanted to blow up. That's why I was out making speeches in North Adams, in Pittsfield . . .

YATES: Yes, I remember you saying the conservative part of Massachusetts.

CULLEN: Absolutely. Because this is the people I was telling them, "How can you support a man like Lodge, who gave up his conservative heritage to do this military man as president of the United States, and turn his back on Mr. Republican, Robert A. Taft?" That was my mantra. That was my speech. And then I'd go into this Kennedy thing, why they should elect Jack Kennedy. And thank God, that had. . . . So that's where I really got involved in the Kennedy campaigns.

YATES: A true believer, it sounds like.

CULLEN: Yes, and that's the. . . . So it was. . . . Excuse me. Would you turn it off again?

YATES: Yes.

[Interruption]

OK. You were remembering something.

CULLEN: I was remembering I pulled over to the side of the road, and when I heard that

he was dead, I just couldn't believe it. I had met Congressman Kennedy and I'd worked in his campaign for Congress. I'd worked on his campaign for the Senate. As a volunteer, I might add. But here's a man I knew, who was a beloved president, who. . . . I was at his inauguration.

YATES: Oh, were you?

CULLEN: Oh yes. Oh yes. Oh, what a cold day that was. I think I showed you my license plate. I've got one of Governor Brown's and one of mine.

YATES: Yes, I know you showed me one, but now I can't remember.

CULLEN: I've got them both. I've got Governor Brown's license plate and my license plate from the. . . . But it was so cold.

And it hit me, you know, this great tragedy, and I didn't know that much about Lyndon Baines Johnson. I really didn't. I knew that he'd been a great, great success as majority leader of the Senate. I knew that he was made the vice presidential candidate because Jack Kennedy felt he could get the southern vote, which is true and it happened. Kennedy was a brilliant politician. He was a great strategist, and he had good people around him. I mean, really. Larry O'Brien was probably the smartest political operative of that era. Then he had people like Schlesinger. . . . I mean like. . . . What's his name? Arthur [M.] Schlesinger. Junior, not senior.

YATES: Right.

CULLEN: Anyway, I was just overwhelmed by it. As a matter of fact, I didn't continue

the rest of the day. I went home, and Mary Anne and I just sat around drinking all night. It was just unbelievable. Then like everybody else, I guess, we turned on the television and we watched the proceedings. It was just sort of overwhelming. Overwhelming.

YATES: Well, that was not exactly a side note, but obviously such an important event, both for personal reasons as well as what happens in terms of the Democratic Party. I'm just wondering, then, maybe to get back to what you were doing for Governor Brown then. So what happens next, when you get into '64?

CULLEN: Well, a lot happens in terms of. . . . It was really, I think chaos happened in terms of the country. Oh, I'm sorry. Chaos didn't happen because there was a smooth succession. Johnson handled the transition very, very well. And I must say, Jacqueline [Bouvier] Kennedy just outdid herself. I mean, she really outdid herself, and she and Bobby planned that entire funeral. I mean, nobody had anything to say without their permission. She engineered that magnificently, and it was a great tribute to a president. It was just a marvelous tribute.

Anyway, fast forward, I made a couple of trips up to Sacramento, two trips that I remember, in '63, to Sacramento. Then in January of '64, we had a meeting. The governor. . . . I'm not sure if he'd been to Hawaii. He was somewhere for Christmas. I don't remember where, whether he went to Hawaii that Christmas or not, but he was away somewhere.

Anyway, in probably the second week of January, I was called to Sacramento and there was a meeting of, again, the governor, Hale Champion, Mesplé, Don Bradley, Don Muir, Bernard Titlebaum, myself. I don't think Joe Cerrell was there. He may have been. No, no, he was not there. He was not there. And we talked about what was going to happen in the Senate campaign. That was the crux of the whole thing. And the decision wasn't really made to back anybody at that point in time.

Then again fast forward and we're in February. I don't remember exactly when, but anyway, I got a call at my house in Westwood from Bob Kennedy, who was then the sitting attorney general. He said, "Frank, I'd like to ask your help." I said, "Bob, you've asked my help a number of times, but I haven't had much to do. What do you need?" He said, "Well," he said, "you've got to keep this under your hat for right now, but," he said, "Pierre Salinger is going to run for the Senate in California, and I want you to work for him."

So I said, "Well, Bob," I said, "I don't know. I'm doing some work for Governor Brown right now." And he said, "Frank, this is important." He said, "I'm going to have Pierre get in touch with you when he comes out there." So I said, "Fine." So anyway, he asked me to keep it a secret, but I had an obligation to Pat Brown, and I was really torn. I spent about a week. .

..

YATES: Yes, that's an awkward situation to be in, it sounds like.

CULLEN: So what I did was not tell the governor about the call, but what I did is put together my list of people that I asked the governor what he thought about these people. One was a guy named Dick Graves, Richard Graves, who'd run for governor, and another one was a guy named [Richard] Dick Richards, and another one was a guy was a guy who happened to be named Pierre Salinger.

YATES: This was your list of possible candidates.

CULLEN: Yes, my list of possible candidates. And to muddy the waters up a little more, I mentioned somebody who was not even considered, who was currently thinking of running for Congress, had announced for Congress in the Riverside area, but had never been in politics, but he came from a very wealthy family and he had a very magic name. His name was John [V.] Tunney. So I put this list together. [Laughter]

YATES: But Alan Cranston wasn't on the list?

CULLEN: Yes, he was.

YATES: Oh, he was.

CULLEN: Yes, but I capped the list with the sitting controller of the State of California.

YATES: Oh, I see. OK.

CULLEN: Who I know that had already said, back in '58, that when the opening came, he wanted to run for the Senate. I did a lot of history reading myself, see. I did a lot of. . . I'm talking, in those days, I had to know what I was dealing

with and who I was talking to and what I . . . And I had met Alan Cranston and I had talked to Alan Cranston.

I went into Alan Cranston's office, out of nowhere. I mean, I just called up and said that I was writing a book and that I wanted to talk to him about his view on California politics; would he give me an interview. [Laughter] And he did. He was marvelous. I mean, he told me all sorts of things. He gave me his view of where. . . . You know, some of the things that Pat is doing wrong with Jesse, and a lot of things Jesse is doing wrong with Pat.

YATES: So this is when he was controller?

CULLEN: He was controller. So anyway, I had a nexus here to work with. So Pierre was sort of. . . .

YATES: So you gave this list to Governor Brown?

CULLEN: I met with Governor Brown, I told. . . .

YATES: Sometime in February, then.

CULLEN: This is late February. It was late February. Late February.

YATES: OK. Then what happened?

CULLEN: Well, I said, "Governor," I said. . . . Because there was a question, there was another thing that happened at the time that coincided with this, and that is that my mentor had only agreed to do this thing for a year. The guy was paying me \$48,000 a year and gave me a car. OK? To do Pat's work.

YATES: You're talking about Frank Mesplé?

CULLEN: No, I'm talking about the man who paid my salary. [Laughter]

YATES: Sorry. OK. You said mentor, so I . . .

CULLEN: OK. I used the wrong term. No, the mentor was Mesplé. I used the wrong term. OK?

YATES: That's why I jumped to him.

CULLEN: No, no. You're right. No, no. Frank didn't have four cents to rub together. He was a great mentor, but he had a hard time. I mean, the poor man. . . . I don't think Frank was making \$26,000 a year. He had a wife and three kids. Of course, in those days that wasn't chopped liver, but it was not any good.

YATES: And he probably worked constantly.

CULLEN: Worked constantly and he also taught. He needed extra income. He taught down to Fresno. He taught at [University of California] Davis. He taught at Sac[ramento] State [College]. I mean, he was doing anywhere he could get extra income.

YATES: So I'm sorry. So back to what you were talking about.

CULLEN: So I had a cutoff all of a sudden that I was losing my support.

YATES: That was supposed to last for a year, you said.

CULLEN: Yes, it was for a year, and the year was up, and the people—it was a father and son team—owned an insurance company and they supported the efforts.

OK?

YATES: OK.

CULLEN: They were known to the party because they were big contributors, but they would have nothing to do with Democratic politics as such. They just wanted to be close to the governor and that's what they were. OK? And they were from here in Los Angeles. If you want to look and try and find out who they are, fine. I'm not going to tell you. OK? No, I'm serious. To me, it's nobody's business. I mean, it was an era that these things were perfectly legal. I was not working for the state. I was gathering information and, yes, I was getting my marching orders from the governor and his legislative secretary, but. . . . I also—let me tell you—I also did some work for this company, this life insurance company, because I had had a long history in life insurance. I used to sell. . . . I mean, I had my company. And that's really the guise that they hired me under, but I was doing other things for them.

YATES: So this coincides the ending of the financial support for this period.

CULLEN: For this period for my work. OK?

YATES: We'll leave it at that.

CULLEN: Right. OK. Through this list with the governor, I went to the governor's office. I sat down with this list and we went through it, and he said, "Oh, Pierre will never give up his job in the White House. That's ridiculous." Then he gave me all the reasons why these people wouldn't. . . . Except Alan Cranston. He said, "Alan probably will take a shot at it." I mean, he's got a free ride.

YATES: So you were saying that he went through the list and basically everybody else he didn't think . . .

CULLEN: The only one he thought was worth . . .

YATES: Would be a serious . . .

CULLEN: Would be electable because of either name identification, financial support, what have you. You know, are you familiar with inheritance tax appraisers? Do you know what that term means?

YATES: I have a vague understanding.

CULLEN: OK. Well, inheritance tax appraisers were a division of the. . . . Thank God it's been done away with now, but they were civilian people who worked for the controller of the State of California, by appointment, and their duty was to appraise inheritance taxes for the State of California. And they got a fee. And some of those guys made \$200,000 a year. I mean, they were just absolutely. . . . And they were all big contributors to the controller.

[Laughter]

YATES: Yes, I know. This is mentioned . . .

CULLEN: OK. So it wasn't illegal, but it wasn't proper.

YATES: So are you saying, then, that Governor Brown felt like he had the financial support to run?

CULLEN: Felt that Alan Cranston had the financial support or could get the financial support to mount a campaign and he had a free ride. He was the sitting

controller. So what the hell? If he lost, what difference did it make? He was still going to be controller. So that was the governor's thought and he thought Alan's going to run.

YATES: So this is the end of February.

CULLEN: This is the end of February. So then I get a call from Pierre Salinger saying that he was calling at the suggestion of Bob Kennedy—he didn't know me from a hole in the ground—and would I go to work for him. So I said, "Mr. Salinger, I'd love to meet you and love to talk to you." And I said, "Right now," I said, "I've been doing some work here in California," and I said, "I know a little bit about the political situation and I worked in Governor Brown's campaign as a volunteer in '62." I said, "If there's any way that I can help you, I'll be happy to. But let's talk."

So he came out and he met with Don Bradley, I know, and he met with me. I don't know who he met with. He met with Bob Six. He was very close to Bob Six. He met with Gene Klein. He met with Gene Wyman. He met with Jesse. I mean, he and Jesse were very good friends, incidentally, because as you know, that era, Jesse was closer to Kennedy than Pat was.

YATES: Right. Right.

CULLEN: So anyway. And see, I was not a part of that cabal at all. I mean, I was an outsider. I mean really an outsider.

So anyway, he asked me to go to work for him, and I said, "Well, what

will you do?” And he said, “Well, the first thing you do, you don’t get involved with the party.” He said, “I want you to come in there and we’ll pay you, but,” he said, “you’re not a part of anything.” He said, “You’re just a guy that I recommended.” And he said, “I want you to keep your eyes and ears open and let me know what’s going on.” [Laughter]

YATES: I see a pattern here.

CULLEN: Yes. So that’s what I did. So I became the headquarters manager for the Salinger campaign. I was the guy who set up all the headquarters all over the state.

YATES: Now, when did you start doing that?

CULLEN: In March of 1964.

YATES: So once he’s actually officially . . .

CULLEN: Well, he announced, I think, March. . . . I was going to say 18 or 19, but I forget. My meeting with him was actually late February. Then he came out in. . . . March 3 was the first time, when he was meeting with everybody, before he came out. He met with me in late February. I think 27, 28. It was toward the end of February. And I gave him a commitment.

Then I called the governor up and I said, “Governor, do you mind if I go to work for Pierre Salinger?” And frankly, I was tired of doing what I was doing.

So he said, “No, I have no objection.” He said, “Do you think he can

win?" Of course, the rumor was out and what have you. Anyway, so he said, "No." He said, "But Alan Cranston is going to run," and he said, "I may have to support Alan Cranston."

I said, "Governor, whatever you do, you do, but," I said, "I've been asked . . ." And I didn't tell him about the Bobby Kennedy call. I said, "What I want to do is I want to work for Pierre Salinger."

He said, "Fine. So we'll talk when it's over." The primary.

So that happened, and as I say, I was the headquarters manager and I did everything from. . . . In those days, you know, I bought all the material, put in the teletype machine, put in the phones. I mean, I knew how to do all that stuff. And my boss was Joe Cerrell.

YATES: I was going to ask you who you were working with most closely.

CULLEN: I worked with Joe Cerrell and Don Bradley. And I'd worked for Bradley before in the '62 campaign, because he was the campaign manager of that campaign. So Bradley knew me and he knew Pierre very well.

YATES: And I'm sorry, what was Joe Cerrell's function?

CULLEN: He was the deputy campaign manager of the Salinger campaign.

YATES: OK. And Don Bradley was the . . .

CULLEN: Campaign manager.

YATES: . . . campaign manager. OK.

CULLEN: He was the main honcho. But the thing is that Bradley had run the Brown

campaign and he also was deputy campaign manger in the '58 campaign, so he has a long history and he was the premier Democratic campaign manager in California. He was the star. I mean, they paid him \$100,000 a year. I mean, that was unheard of in those days, but that's the kind of clout he had. And he and Pierre were good friends. They were both from San Francisco. They'd known each other for twenty-five years. I mean, it was a natural, natural thing.

And one of my other roles was I got to be the deputy director, if you will, of the field staff. Joe Cerrell ran the field staff. Joe's assistant was a guy by the name of Chuck Winner, who later went to work for the governor. He and I both went to work for the governor at the same time. He became the southern California secretary to the governor.

Chuck is now a multi, multi millionaire. He has 320 ballot campaigns internationally. He runs ballot campaigns all over the world and in I don't know how many languages. He's got his own Berlitz school. But Chuck is a great guy. He's an old friend.

YATES: So you worked with these people.

CULLEN: I worked with Joe Cerrell, Chuck Winner. One of the guys who's famous now who used to work for me is Harvey Englander. Another guy is Corey Bush. Another guy is the former assemblyman Dave Elder. They all worked for me. [Kenneth] Ken Cory. Ken Cory worked for me. So I mean, we had

an incredible staff. Bernard was working that campaign. I mean, we just had an incredible. . . .

YATES: So you basically went gung-ho once Salinger announces March whatever, 19, around. . . . You just go full bore.

CULLEN: Full bore. As a matter of fact, I worked twelve, sixteen hours a day from, I would say, the end of March, probably just before the end of March, until election day. I mean, again, I supplied all the motor pools. I mean, I had, I don't know, Arrow Chevrolet. . . . I got every field deputy a car. I got every field deputy a gas card. Union Oil 76 card, as a matter of fact. At one time—this is God's honest truth—at one time, I had the largest single bill on my 76 credit card that you could imagine, because my credit card on the Salinger campaign in August of 1964 paid for the fuel for a DC-9 to fly back and forth to—God's honest truth—to Washington.

YATES: How much was it?

CULLEN: I forget. I have no idea.

YATES: It was huge?

CULLEN: Oh, it was huge. It was thousands of dollars. I mean thousands of dollars. I mean, it was just. . . . But you know how they did it? I called up the president of Union Oil and I said—to Fred Hartley—and I said, "Fred," I said, "We don't have the money to pay for the gas. The campaign doesn't have it. Can I put it on my credit card?" He said, "What are you filling up?" I said, "A

DC-9.” [Laughter] And he started to laugh. He said, “You’re bullshitting me.” I said, “No, I’m not.” [Laughter] So Fred approved it.

YATES: Hold that thought.

[End Tape 5, Side B]

[Begin Tape 6, Side A]

CULLEN: So anyway, the bottom line is we won the primary, and the primary. . . . There were three other candidates, but the real candidate was Alan Cranston. What’s important to note here is that I personally know, today, families, Democratic families in California, who were split in that campaign and still do not speak to each other, brothers and sisters and mothers and fathers who just literally do not speak to each other because of that campaign it was so vicious and so—within the Democratic Party. Forget the Republican. Forget George Murphy and anybody else.

YATES: We’re just talking about. . . .

CULLEN: We’re just talking about the in. . . . It was so vicious. Also, both sides had spies planted in the other campaign, literally. One of the people—I will not mention this lady’s name, but she was absolutely a true Mata Hari. She was incredibly beautiful. She could have been Miss World. I mean, she was absolutely the most beautiful woman you’d ever want to see. And she became one of Don Bradley’s personal secretaries. And she was working for the Cranston campaign. [Laughter]

YATES: When did you find that out?

CULLEN: Day after the election. [Laughter] No, actually we found that out about a week before, and we fired her. We fired her.

YATES: But it sounds like you guys were doing the same thing.

CULLEN: Yes, we were. Yes, we were, but we didn't have the sophistication they had, though. Pierre had a friend, actually, from San Francisco, who was working in the San Francisco office of the campaign, but the stuff was really done down here, the Cranston campaign. Cyr Copertini and I worked very, very closely on this campaign, and you may want to look at her. . . . She may have alluded to this.

YATES: I did look at her interview,<sup>1</sup> but now I don't remember that specifically. I'll have to look at it again.

CULLEN: OK. And there are wonderful stories about the Salinger campaign  
[Interruption]

YATES: So you mentioned the primary happens. Salinger wins.

CULLEN: Primary happens. Salinger wins.

YATES: People felt very divided within the Democratic Party about this.

CULLEN: There was a tremendous schism within the party, and I can say, without fear

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1. Cyr Copertini, "Campaign Housekeeping, 1940-1965," an oral history conducted 1986 by Gabrielle Morris, in *California Democrats' Golden Era, 1958-1966*, Regional Oral History Office, the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1987.

of contradiction or retribution, that Pierre lost because a large segment of liberal Democrats walked away and didn't vote. And if they'd voted. . . .

YATES: How quickly did you get a sense that this was. . . .

CULLEN: Oh, immediately. I mean, immediately. Also we got a sense of trying to set up. . . . One of the things I also did through the women's division, through Carmen Warschaw and Dorothy Colton and Aliene Eton and Trudy Owens—I mean, these were wonderful women—we would work with them to put on events for Pierre. Well, forget it. I mean, not much of those people did it, but so many other people did not. I mean, some of the other people that were stalwart party members, and they said, “Well, we just don't have time right now.” They just gave all excuses. They didn't say they weren't going to vote. They didn't say they weren't going to support him. But they weren't there. They didn't come to organization meetings. They didn't support. . . .

So you saw this thing growing and growing and growing. And then a lot of the media people, guys like Bill—oh, what the hell was his name?—Bill, Bill, Bill, Bill, Bill, Bill, Bill, the media director. Well, Harry Lerner. I mean, these guys were saying, “Pierre, put that goddamn cigar away. Don't smoke a cigar in public. You're giving a bad. . . .” He'd smoke these Cuban cigars that were that long [gestures], I mean. And he'd throw ashes everywhere. He was indifferent to people.

[Interruption]

YATES: OK, so Salinger wins the primary, but it's clear right off that he's not going to get the support from the Democratic. . . .

CULLEN: Of a lot of people. Well, he got the support of the Democratic establishment, and he got very strong support from Jesse Unruh, because Jesse Unruh was very much a Kennedy man, and the Kennedy family urged Jesse's support. And that was one of the few times, from mid-June until the first week in November, that the Brown contingent and the Unruh contingent worked in harness, and I mean together, and I mean day by day.

YATES: To try to get Salinger elected.

CULLEN: To try to elect Pierre Salinger. And Jesse and Frank Burns and Steve Smith and a lot of the . . . And the Dragon Lady, Carmen Warschaw, and, you know, Trudy Owens, and all sorts of. . . . The people who were sort of in the middle came in, and really it was a joint effort and a very, very dedicated effort. On the same token, there was a large segment of the population who were Democrats, who voted for the controller, who decided that he was undone by Salinger coming in as a carpetbagger period and a Washingtonian, which he really wasn't.

He grew up in California, was a famous *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter, but he went to Washington to work for, actually, for Bobby Kennedy, who hired him to work on the Senate Labor [and Public Welfare] Committee, and then he worked for Jack Kennedy in the campaign. He was

the press secretary of the presidential campaign, and then became press secretary of the White House.

YATES: What did people like Don Bradley and Joe Cerrell do to try to counter that carpetbagger image?

CULLEN: Oh, we did a lot. We did a lot of speechifying. Matter of fact, we were all out. They put us in. . . . My first political speech was . . . Pierre Salinger was supposed to speak in 1964 in Van Nuys for a young assemblyman who was a young man running for the assembly, who was a staff member of Jesse Unruh's. His name was Robert Moretti, Bob Moretti. And Bob and I appeared on stage. Bob was running for assembly in the San Fernando Valley district, and I was there representing Pierre Salinger, because Pierre had to cancel his appointment. It was in late August. Pierre, by that time, had been appointed [to] the Senate. Let me go back to that for a minute.

YATES: Yes, would you? I wanted to ask you about that.

CULLEN: This is a very, very important part of the era. This division. . . . I think to answer your one question, why did Pierre lose. Number one, he had a bad personal image. It was reported he was a womanizer. It was reported that he couldn't keep his hands off women. I say, "It was reported." I have no first-hand knowledge of that.

However, he also did something that offended a lot of people. We had the Cuban embargo full in place. We've had the Cuban Missile Crisis only

two years before that. Three years—I forget when it was—three years before that. ‘Sixty-two, I believe, was the Cuban Missile Crisis.

YATES: Yes, it was. October. Yes.

CULLEN: So we’re now in ‘64, so it’s not quite two years. But Pierre went around smoking Cuban cigars and telling people they were Cuban cigars. And they were Jack Kennedy’s Cuban cigars. And they were. I mean, Jackie Kennedy gave every one of the president’s cigars to Pierre Salinger, and he had boxes of them. I still have some in my storage locker. I swear to God, I do. And so I got about six of Pierre’s cigars that were Jack Kennedy’s cigars. I wouldn’t give them up if my life depended on it. I mean, those are part of history. But Pierre went on, and he would go, and people [would] say, “Oh, put out that cigar, Mr. [Salinger].” And he’d say, “Well, this cigar can’t be replaced, and I don’t want to put it out.” Said, “What do you mean, it can’t be replaced?” “Well, it’s a Cuban cigar. You can’t get cigars from Cuba now. This came from President Kennedy.” And he’d tell this out in the public, and it offended people. And Pierre was very arrogant. I think Pierre had the idea that he was really the fourth person of the Blessed Trinity. I mean, he had that feeling about him.

YATES: Well, I’m curious, not that you can answer this specifically, and as I remember, the race was pretty close between Cranston and Salinger, in terms of the number of votes.

CULLEN: Very close.

YATES: And so do you have any sense of why at that point he was able to be the successful Democratic candidate?

CULLEN: But he wasn't the successful Democratic. . . .

YATES: No, for the primary, I mean.

CULLEN: Oh, for the primary.

YATES: At that point. . . .

CULLEN: Yes, because he had the Kennedy image. Number one, he had the Kennedy image. Alan Cranston had gotten tremendous votes in '58 and in '62. I mean wonderful votes. Alan had his own network, and Alan was assured that he would win. I mean, Alan was confident that he would win that campaign.

But frankly, I think we—and I'm not being facetious here—outsmarted them by working harder than they did. We established more rallies. We went to more American Legion Halls. We went to more PTA [Parent-Teacher Association] meetings. We went out. We had a field staff that wouldn't stop.

You had Ken Cory. You had Harvey Englander. You had Corey Bush. You had Dave Elder, who went on to be in the assembly. You had Chuck Winner running that operation. You had Joe Cerrell, who probably knew more about the workings of the Democratic Party than anyone else.

Now, he, at that time, now, he took a leave of absence, or maybe he didn't. I don't remember this, because there was another man, a Jesse guy,

who worked, by the name of Larry Fisher. Larry Fisher, I think, at that time was the executive director of the Democratic Party. So we had the official party support sub rosa.

In other words, they were actively working for Alan Cranston, but a lot of them voted for Pierre Salinger, because they either had a Kennedy connection. . . . So, I mean, that's how I feel . . . and it was very close. But we won. We won. And we surprised everybody by winning, and especially we surprised Alan Cranston. I mean, Alan couldn't believe he lost. Could not believe he lost.

So, anyway, does that answer your question?

YATES: Yes, it does. So, OK, so there's this period, June to November. . . .

CULLEN: Well, what happened is, the June to November, Bradley took a small vacation afterwards. Pierre took a vacation. We saw this as the doldrums. We wanted to get ready to go, and then ready. We started work back again right after July 4, although I worked all through that whole time.

YATES: And I know Salinger was appointed August 4.

CULLEN: August 4, that is correct. So what happened was. . . . This is important, because this is the great transition. The governor of the State of California has the authority and the duty to appoint a senator if a senator dies in office or resigns or becomes terminally ill and unable to operate, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. So he had that opportunity; he had that power. This illness of Clair

Engle's gave him the opportunity, because, I believe it was July 30 that Clair Engle died. It was the 29th or 30th of July.

YATES: Yes. I don't have that date.

CULLEN: Yes, but I think it was July 30 that he died. But it was predictable, because Kennedy had told the governor, and Johnson had told the governor, and it was just the time.

As a matter of fact, I think the world would have been different had he died before the primary, because I think Pat Brown would have appointed Alan Cranston to the United States Senate. That's my thinking; I don't know that that's the case. Pat never said that to me. But Alan has said it to me, and Alan has always felt that, "That SOB should have died six months earlier."

[Laughter]

YATES: Well, you do get the sense, as you mentioned earlier, that Pat Brown was supportive of Alan Cranston as a candidate.

CULLEN: Absolutely. And not only that, he was actively supporting. I mean, Pat made speeches for Alan Cranston. He never lifted a finger to help Pierre Salinger. But once Pierre won, he rushed to Pierre's aid, and there was a private dinner, as a matter of fact, that I helped set up. So there was a private dinner two days after the primary election, with all of the powers that be, and I mean, you're talking about Jesse Unruh; you're talking about Pat Brown; you're talking about Lou and Carmen Warschaw; you're talking about Gene Klein

and his wife Frances; you're talking about Gene Wyman and Roz.

A lot of these people, incidentally, didn't speak to each other. [Laughter]

But they were all there, and everybody got behind Pierre. And I say everybody in that group is another group of Democrats who just said no, and they walked away, or if they didn't say no, they didn't cast their vote and never gave a nickel. So, you know, that's a reality.

The other problem we had is that we sort of ran out of money toward the end. I mean, we didn't have enough money because there was a feeling. . . . The motion picture community is very, very tight, and the man we were running against, George Murphy, who won the Republican primary, was not known politically, but he was sure as hell known in the movie industry.

And there was a man who was a senior vice president, or maybe even vice chairman, I forget which, of MCA at the time. His name was Taft Schreiber, and Taft Schreiber was like the number two man to Lew Wasserman. Well, Lew Wasserman was the Democratic icon, and Taft Schreiber was the Republican icon in the movie industry, and I mean the whole movie industry. They replaced the Louie B. Mayers and Harry Cohens of that world.

So you had this tremendous support, even from Democrats in the movie industry who supported George Murphy because he was one of theirs. We didn't tumble to that. Even Lew Wasserman never thought of that. I mean,

Lew Wasserman thought that what he asked people to do, they would do, and for the most part, they did. But they thought, “Oh, it’ll be great to have one of our in.”

Well, a lot of people, even union people who belonged to IATSE [International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the U.S. And Canada], were voting for George Murphy, without our knowledge. They were giving us lip service, but when you look at the precincts and where the votes were and where these people lived, you know damn well they voted for the other guy.

So, I mean, these are the nuances of politics. It’s very hard, and you can spend time, as probably you do, going over what the count is in each one of these races. Whether it be a primary or general, you want to know what happened, and then you want to know why. And you know, the whys are sometimes very, very difficult to find.

But I can tell you why we lost a good part of Santa Barbara, because Pierre made an ass of himself up there at a dinner. He almost got drunk, and he almost burned a woman with his cigar. I mean, he was a jackass. I’ll say that. He made a real. . . .

YATES: Why do you think he wanted to run for the U.S. Senate? Did you get a sense of his real commitment or why?

CULLEN: Yes, I really believe that Pierre thought that. . . . Pierre looked upon

himself—and I’m not kidding in this—as the fourth person of the Blessed Trinity. I say that to give you the power he thought he had. You’ve got to realize that the press secretary of the president of the United States is the spokesman of the United States of America. Here he’s had almost three years of unalterable power. He’s the guy. . . . Nobody, nobody can keep him out of the Oval Office. Nobody, except the president.

I mean, Kenny O’Donnell could say, “No, Pierre, you can’t come in.” And Kenny’s going to stand there with his arms up and two Secret Service guys, and Pierre says, “The president wants to see me.” And those guys move out of the way.

Or they pick up the phone and say, “Mr. President, can Pierre come in?” And if the president said yes, that’s the access Pierre Salinger had. I mean, I’m telling you, this guy was power, and it went to his head, in my opinion.

YATES: It gave him a sense of confidence?

CULLEN: It gave him a sense of. . . . There’s an interesting thing, and this has been alluded to, that other people said it at other times, and maybe they did. I have no idea. But the day after Pierre lost, Don called a meeting of the senior staff in the conference room of the headquarters, which was at Fifth and Western. We went in, and there on the chalkboard in blue and white chalk, both together, “The people have spoken. The stupid bastards. Don Bradley.”

And the “stupid bastards” were because here’s a man who had open

sesame in the whole Washington area. There was not a cabinet secretary he couldn't pick up the phone and say to [Robert S.] Bob McNamara, "Hey, Bob, this is Pierre. I need your view on this." Or he could get to every one of President Johnson's senior officers, from his chief of staff to his valet. I mean, Pierre had that . . . And George Murphy didn't even know where Washington was. I mean, he knew it was there on the map; he'd never been there in his life. I mean, this was incredulous. To me, it was incredulous that here was a man with this unbelievable access, with this knowledge of not only politics, but government, because Pierre was the guy who had helped the president write his speeches and help in passing the bills for Congress.

Pierre did an awful lot in sending the president's message to the Congress of what he wanted to do. So he knew the speaker. He knew the majority leader. He knew everybody who was anybody. George Murphy didn't know anybody under God's green earth.

YATES: So he should have won.

CULLEN: Of course he should have won. And California would have been a different state had Pierre won. There's no question. Because we lost, California lost the power of that Senate seat, because Lyndon Johnson paid absolutely no attention to Murphy at all. He may have been Joe Monarache, the midget. I mean, there was no way that Lyndon Johnson was going to listen to George Murphy. I mean, it just doesn't happen.

I mean, it's an impossibility, and as a matter of fact, it was known—and you've got to look at this. In Riverside County—and I helped set this up—in 1964, President Johnson appeared in Riverside, and it was one of the biggest rallies we ever put together. And he said just what I said to you. President Johnson said, “You Californians,”—and I'm paraphrasing him; I don't have a copy of the speech. “You Californians have to realize, Pierre Salinger knows everything about Washington, knows everybody in Washington, and is a close personal friend of the president's. The man who's running against him,”—and that's why I quoted him—“doesn't even know where Washington is, and probably doesn't know how to get there.”

So here's the president of the United States saying . . . But we lost that area for Pierre, but we won it for John Tunney. Figure that out. The president won it. Tunney won it. Pierre lost it. Why? Because Pierre alienated people. There was a family out there . . .

[Interruption]

YATES: Because we're getting near the end of the time, [why don't we] wrap up this part of your, should I say, career, working on the Salinger campaign. And you were going to say something?

CULLEN: As I going to say, the most important thing I think I did for the Salinger campaign is that Don Bradley asked me to help engineer a flight. What had happened is, as we were saying, Clair Engle died either on the 29th or 30th of

July, which immediately gave Governor Brown the opportunity to appoint his successor. Well, naturally, the people had spoken, and nominated . . .

[Interruption]

YATES: You were saying, the most important thing you did on the Salinger campaign.

. . .

CULLEN: Was help put together the excursion, I'll call it, to Washington, D.C., for people to go, to be a party to the swearing in of Pierre Salinger as a United States Senator. And that was scheduled for August 4th or 5th; I forget the exact date. But anyway, Joe Cerrell was very close to a man named [J. Floyd] "Andy" [Andrews], who was chairman of the board of Pacific Southwest Airlines, which was the premier state airline at the time. And Joe was very close to PSA. As a matter of fact, he did their public relations up here and what have you, and did a lot of work for them in Sacramento. So we borrowed a PSA plane, and it was one of the first off the line from Douglas Aircraft. It was a DC-9. So it was a combination of Douglas Aircraft and Floyd Andrews giving us an airplane.

Then the problem was, we've got to fill it with gasoline. So we used my credit card, a Union 76 credit card, and I personally called Fred Hartley, who was chairman of the board of Union Oil, to get his permission to fill up this airplane with enough gas to go from L.A. to Washington, and from Washington to L.A. back.

YATES: I bet that was a lot.

CULLEN: I bet it was. I know it was thousands and thousands and thousands of dollars.

I don't recall how much, because I didn't even get the bill. It went to the campaign, and I thank God I didn't have to pay it. But that was amazing. My credit went up tremendously because. . . . [Laughter]

This is the crux of the whole thing. We then went into an energizing campaign. Why do we need a DC-9? Because we were proselytizing among the wealthy people who were either friends of Pierre's or big Democratic supporters or big supporters of Governor Pat Brown or big supporters of Lyndon Baines Johnson, and we were going to have a White House meeting. So we'd go to the swearing in in Washington and then have a meeting with the White House and then. . . . All of these things didn't happen, but. . . . And then we were getting a part of the Gallery put aside for the group, and you know, it was a big, big undertaking, of which I was only a small part.

But we decided we would charge \$5,000 a seat to join this little party, and there were 160 seats on a DC-9, so you're looking at beaucoup bucks. Well, of course, you had staff who weren't going to pay, like myself [Laughter] and Joe Cerrell and Don Bradley and Pierre and his wife, Nancy, you know. So anyway, we figured we got maybe 150 seats we can sell at \$5,000 each. And we did. And all of us got on the phone, and all of us . . . and we sold every one of those seats.

YATES: Incredible.

CULLEN: It was incredible. Nobody had ever done this before. We used an airplane as a fund-raising vehicle. Then we got a man named Al Hart, who owned a big liquor distributing company, as well as owning City National Bank here in Beverly Hills, to donate cases of liquor. And then we got Conrad [N.] Hilton's son, [W.] Barron Hilton—I don't know which one of them; it was either Conrad or Barron, I forget which one—donated all the food, so we had a party, going from L.A. I mean, the drinks never stopped. The food never stopped. It was just a . . . I don't think there was a movie on the flight, but Pierre walked down and visited with everybody. Pat and Bernice walked and visited with. . . . It was one of the most successful political fund-raisers ever put on anywhere in the world, and the first one using an airplane as a fundraiser. So, I mean, it was a piece of American political history.

Then we got to Washington, and we had these VIP buses with plush seats and even—in those days, television was, yes, around, but you didn't have television in buses in those days—these buses had television. I mean, it was just. . . . And then we were driven to where we had. . . . People had to make their own accommodations, but then we had events staged all around. It was a two-day visit.

Now, the one thing that didn't happen, the president didn't hold the White House event for everybody, but he did have a small gathering for a

small coterie of people, people like Lew Wasserman, you know. But it was an incredible experience, and it was the first major event that I was deeply involved in, and it gave me a whole sense of what you could do with politics, and it just energized me that, “Boy, I like this. I want to stay in this thing.” I was really, you know. . . . And we won, which I think, you know. . . . We won the primary, and then we lost the general, so there was a tremendous deflation in the general, but a tremendous euphoria from the primary, and then this particular event, where we. . . .

And then we went on, and we had three visits from the president of the United States in 1964. And then I got to go—as a result of this, was invited because of this successful, my successful part of it—to the Democratic [National] Convention in Atlantic City. So I was there when Lyndon Johnson made his speech and when he appointed Hubert [H.] Humphrey. So then the second part of that, the vice presidential candidate would come out here, and I was assigned to him, as the Salinger campaign. . . .

So that was my first meeting with Hubert Humphrey, which went on to turn into a terribly close friendship, and then later on, four years later, Governor Brown loaned me to Vice President Humphrey when he was running for president, and I was on his personal advance team staff for the western states. I mean, so these things, this was the beginnings, really, of my true political career. Everything up to then. . . .

YATES: Was sort of setting the stage?

CULLEN: . . . was sort of setting the stage. Then the other thing that happened is that after the Salinger campaign, Pierre called the governor, and said, "Governor, I'd like a couple of people to go to the governor's office." And the governor said, "Who?"

And he said, "Frank Cullen and Chuck Winner." He said, "It's done."  
So that's how I went to the governor's office. But it was not Pat's invitation.  
Pat's invitation had been two years or a year and a half earlier, see.

YATES: Oh, I see.

CULLEN: It was Pierre's calling and saying. . . . Because you've got to remember, I didn't speak to Pat from February until June. Then I saw a lot of him, and we worked very closely.

YATES: Was that once it was determined who was the Democratic candidate?

CULLEN: Right. And Pierre, you know, was the candidate then. And so, I'm a good organizer, and so I put on a lot of these things that would involve the governor, and wherever the president was, or the vice presidential candidate, the governor was there. So that reinforced that area. So he was, he said, delighted to have me back, and delighted to have me as part of his. . . . So I then went in in November, late November, just before Thanksgiving, I became part of the Senate. . . .

YATES: And that's when you officially went on the government payroll.

CULLEN: Went on the state payroll. Again, I was with the. . . I forget whether I was with [Department of] General Services. Yes, I was either on the General Services payroll or the [Department] of Industrial Relations, I'm not sure which.

YATES: And that's when you became. . . The title was assistant to the legislative secretary.

CULLEN: My title was assistant to the legislative secretary, and then in March of 1965, at a meeting with Frank Mesplé and Pat Brown and myself, Frank Mesplé said, "Governor, I'd like to ask you to raise Frank to be assistant legislative secretary. I need him and you need him," and what have you. So the governor said, "Will it cost us more money?" [Laughter] And Frank said, "Governor," he says, "that's up to you." So he not only paid me, but he gave me a raise. He gave me a \$500-a-month raise. That was how I became assistant legislative secretary, from assistant to the legislative secretary. So that was really the beginning, so if you want to end here. . . .

YATES: Yes, why don't we? Oh, it's a quarter to one. So why don't we end here. We can pick up there next time.

CULLEN: OK. Fine. That sounds great.

[End Tape 6, Side A]

[Session 4, June 9, 2003]

[Begin Tape 7, Side A]

YATES: So last time we met, which was just last Tuesday, we basically wrapped things up. It was November of 1964, and we'd finished up the Salinger campaign, if I can put it that way. [Laughter]

CULLEN: Yes, that was a finish.

YATES: And you had talked about going on the state payroll in November of 1964 and joining the governor's staff.

CULLEN: That is correct.

YATES: So let's pick up there with how that happened.

CULLEN: OK. Well, there's a number of ways. As I said, the governor already knew me and I'd done work for him, and there was a lot of animosity on everybody's part because of the Salinger-Cranston primary. The governor, because he'd made a—people called it a pledge, a promise. Whether it was or not, I have no idea. I was not there. But he had agreed to support Alan Cranston for the [U.S.] Senate. And he did, so instead of being in the Salinger campaign, he was on the Cranston campaign and was the statewide

chairman of it—honorary. I forget who the actual chairman was.

In any event, so there was a tremendous amount of animosity. Luckily, it didn't boil over to me, so that I saw the governor several times during the summer of 1964. He enthusiastically supported Pierre, once Pierre had won. Then, of course, with the death of Clair Engle, Pat appointed, as rightly he should have, because he had won the primary, Pierre Salinger to the Senate. I think I told you about the great trip we took back in a DC-9.

YATES: Yes, you did.

CULLEN: OK. To Washington for. . . .

YATES: That was for his swearing in.

CULLEN: Swearing in. Right. One of the interesting parts about that, if I can digress just for a minute, which I unfortunately do too often, but it was my first trip to Washington other than as a tourist, and we were escorted around, I mean. . . .

YATES: So you mean in an official capacity?

CULLEN: In an official capacity. Well, I wasn't an official, but everybody treated us, treated the whole group, because it is not a common occurrence for this to happen in any of the fifty states. I mean, it does happen, but it's not common.

YATES: It's rare.

CULLEN: It's a rare thing. And the thing that struck me is that Pierre was sworn in by the president pro tem of the Senate, and he [Carl Trumbull Hayden] was a very, very frail ninety-one-year-old senator from Arizona. He had to be

escorted up to the dais by two people [who] had to literally, not carry him, but sort of get him up, just to swear Pierre in. Everybody was sort of surprised at here the man who, sort of, we thought ran the Senate. Of course, the president pro tem is more of a ceremonial thing. The president of the Senate, of course, is the vice president of the United States, but he's ordinarily not there, so the president pro tem is the one who sort of runs the Senate, but he doesn't do it, either. He assigns it to other people. So it's usually a rotating thing, with senators of both sides of the aisle and what have you. I know that now; I didn't know that then.

And so a lot of us who were unfamiliar were very surprised at the simplicity of the Senate and the simplicity of the swearing in, and the age of the man who did the swearing in. So I just mention that.

And I was with the governor. The governor was on that trip and was very much. . . . He flew back with us and what have you. Although he had his own plane, the *Grizzly*, it couldn't keep up with a jet. The *Grizzly* was a Convair 440, turboprop plane. Anyway, really, I took a couple of weeks off after that, and then we went on with the campaign.

Campaign ended in defeat in November, and George Murphy beat Pierre Salinger, and a lot of us didn't know what we were going to do. I didn't really think seriously of staying in government, of going into government officially. I thought more of going back into my business.

When Pierre Salinger spoke to me, he said, "Frank, how would you like to go to the governor's office?" So I said, "What are you talking about?" So he said, "Well, we really want to thank you for what you've done, and I've spoken to the governor, and the governor said he'd love to have you."

YATES: That's right, I remember now. You did mention that he had made a phone call to Governor Brown.

CULLEN: Right. Right. And so did Don Bradley. And since the governor already knew me, so then I went in as assistant to the legislative secretary. It was before Thanksgiving. I can tell you, I was not greeted with open arms by the executive secretary and chief of staff to the governor, a man named Winslow Christian, who's a very doctrinaire, brilliant, brilliant man. Matter of fact, Pat Brown appointed him to the District Court of Appeals, either the first or second district. And he served on it, and he may still be serving emeritus on it, I'm not sure. But I think [Winslow] is still alive.

YATES: When you say you weren't welcome with open arms by. . . .

CULLEN: Well, he looked upon me as a politician. He didn't want any politicians. He wanted career people, and if they weren't career people, he wanted temporary people who had a government background.

YATES: And, I'm sorry, what was his role in the cabinet, or in the governor's office?

CULLEN: His name was Winslow Christian, and he was the executive secretary and chief of staff to the governor, and spoke for the governor. I mean, he wasn't

the press secretary; that was Jack Burby. But he was the man who ran the governor's office, and a lot of other things.

YATES: OK. I know the name.

CULLEN: Yes. And a lot of other things in California. So I was really somewhat, as I say. . . . And it took me from the middle of November, and of course, there was a holiday season, and there was all sorts of things going on, and I had to find an apartment and what have you. So I went up in December, and I got an apartment, because my wife was horrified that I was going to go back into government, or to get into government, for real. She felt that it was bad enough that I was in politics. I mean, I was in and out of politics for years, but. . . .

YATES: This was more permanent, seemingly.

CULLEN: Plus the fact that she didn't want to take the children out of school down here.

We had a house in Westwood, and the children were at St. Paul the Apostle School, where she wanted them, and I wanted them, too. It's a good school.

And I was also very active in Boy Scouts at the time. I was the neighborhood commissioner of the Crescent Bay Area Council of Boy Scouts. So, I mean, I had, I think, five Boy Scout troops, and I think five or six Cub Scout dens, and so I was really doing that, and she was afraid I was going to have to give that up.

So what I did was made a deal with the governor that I would come up

on Sunday night, stay until either Thursday night or midday Friday, and then fly back or what have you. And in those days, I think I may have told you, round trip government rate on PSA was \$12.86, so it was really not a hardship. What was a hardship was my salary, which was ludicrous, because I'd given up. . . . I used to make a lot of money. I gave up a two to three thousand-a-month job for \$16,000 a year. It doesn't really make much sense, and Mary Anne was not too pleased with it, but I did it.

YATES: I want to ask you one question, talking about the overall structure, because you mentioned Winslow Christian. And when I was looking through the rosters, which, of course, were printed at a certain time and only show so many of the staff members, I noticed that Frank Mesplé was listed in '63 as being the secretary to the governor's cabinet.

CULLEN: That is correct.

YATES: And then in '64 he's listed as the legislative secretary. So can you tell me just a little bit about what that meant?

CULLEN: Yes. I don't know whether you're familiar or not, but historically, there was a tremendous—and I was not there at the time, but I was a part of it, listening to the governor, on and on and on. What happened was there was a restructuring of the government in 1961.

YATES: That's right.

CULLEN: Very, very severe restructuring. As a matter of fact, I just gave Nancy

Zimmelman [at the California State Archives], about a year ago, a marvelous Newton Pratt cartoon from the *Sacramento Bee*, of the governor in a gas station. [He] was being waited on by about sixteen different people, and the basis for the cartoon was, he was ordering the state thing like he was ordering his car, and having everything fixed at once.

What you had was you had a very, very amorphous government with directors and deputy directors who were like little kings or fiefs. It was just terrible. And the governor reorganized that. I believe he said—and the exact number may be incorrect, but it's close enough—there were 362 or 367 agencies within the state government of California.

Well, what people don't realize, California had just become the largest state in the United States, and we had almost 17 million people, and we just eclipsed New York. The only bigger political entity was the government of the United States. So it's not unusual to have 360 agencies, because when you look at all of the different parts of . . . Just take the welfare department, or you take the motor vehicle department, or you take Caltrans [Department of Transportation]. Caltrans, that book, yes, the directory [of California state government], it's got five pages of Caltrans operations. So, I mean, state government is a massive. You know, it's a giant gorilla.

So what the governor did was change that from an agency situation to superagencies, and he developed four superagencies—I forget what they

were—through the legislature. Then he did four more through executive order, so we had eight divisions of the government, and there was a lot of shuffling all during that period. Frank's predecessor as the legislative secretary was a man named Paul [D.] Ward, and he transferred over to be head of public welfare. Then you had a man named Hugo Fisher, who'd been a state senator. He was made chairman of the Resources Agency.

Now, those superagencies are still in existence today, and the chart is not very different as it was. And it was between 1961 and 1966, it was being adjusted, and blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. Every governor comes in and makes changes, but most of them have kept the cabinet status, and Governor Brown raised the bar by making these eight agencies with a secretary.

Now there's a new one. I just was on the phone to try to set up a thing with Winston [H.] Hickox, who is secretary of the EPA, which means [California] Environmental Protection Agency. In 1966 that did not exist. It was part of the resources department and had an entirely different title. So in any kind of really good government structure, it's always changing, always changing.

YATES: So what did it mean, then, that Frank Mesplé's title was secretary to the governor's cabinet?

CULLEN: Well, secretary to the governor's cabinet meant that the governor had eight separate cabinet offices. And so as secretary to the cabinet, Frank was the

liaison between the governor and the cabinet office of the secretary of resources, the secretary of business and transportation, the secretary of welfare. Frank would go, because the governor didn't have the time to do it, so Frank or whoever took his place did the same thing, and they kept the governor alerted to what the secretaries and that agency was doing. By the same token, Frank kept them alerted to what the governor wanted done. So that's what he did.

Now, Frank was a marvelous. . . . He was just one of the greatest individuals I've ever met in my entire life. I mean, the man was absolutely a political genius, a marvelous professor. He was a professor of political science at California State College, Fresno, at California State College, Sacramento. He went on to become professor at [UC] Davis.

And so he was remarkable. And one of the things that Frank had that very, very, very few of the governor's people had, were friendships with a wide variety of legislators. He knew [Randolph] Randy Collier very well. Randy Collier was the senator from the largest geographic unit in the state. The entire northern part of California, almost from the Oregon border down to Sacramento, was Randy Collier's territory. And when the United States Supreme Court, in 1965, put one man, one vote<sup>1</sup> in, that changed, and we all of a sudden had twenty senators down here in Los Angeles County, going

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1. *Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962).

from one.

When I first went to Sacramento, on the staff we had one senator from my district, and that was [Thomas M.] Tom Rees, and he had the entire county of Los Angeles. After reapportionment, we had eighteen to twenty senators in Los Angeles County, because the people were here. It was one man, one vote, so it was where the population ruled.

Frank Mesplé, to answer your question more directly, had this incredible relationship with guys like [Joseph A.] Joe Rattigan, with [Stephen P.] Steve Teale, with [Charles B.] Garrigus. You can go on and on and on. And he was just a marvelous raconteur, very bright. Everybody wanted to have lunch with him, to talk to him. He was just a charming, delightful guy.

The governor wanted somebody who could talk to the legislators, and we all thought that—I say “we all thought.” We all thought that we’d keep the Democratic edge; but if you needed a two-thirds vote, you needed Republicans. So Frank brought that entity, that ability, into the governor’s office, and that’s why he was made legislative secretary. And I had had a relationship with Frank Mesplé going back to 1992—1962, I’m sorry. So I first met Frank during the campaign in ’62, and he was very much a part of that. He was responsible, I think directly, in getting my new job with Governor Brown, like we talked about last time. And I think Frank was very . . . I know Frank was very much involved in that, and it was a very good job.

YATES: Tell me, when you joined as assistant to the legislative secretary, what was the structure at that point? There's Frank Mesplé. You're joining. Who else was part of that?

CULLEN: Well, every agency, every. . . . I'm sorry, I used the wrong term. Every section of the governor's office was divided with. . . . The cabinet secretary at that time was a man named [Ronald A.] Ron Clark, and then there was another man who had that role was a man named Sherrill Luke. Jeez, you know, I really should have taken that out, and I have that paper for you with the staff and what their roles were, and it would be better if I could have that in front of me.

YATES: Well, do what you can, and then if you find it, we can add some.

CULLEN: Right, right, right. OK. Basically what happened, my orientation to this happened really in the first week of January of 1965, and I was assigned to an office with two men. Three of us shared a secretary. Her name was Mary Anne [ ]. We were on the other side of the hall. There was the governor's office, which is called the corner office, which is on the east side of the Capitol Building in the new wing. Ours was on the west side of the Capitol, and there's a corridor goes down in between, if you're familiar with the governor's office. So we were on the other side of the corridor, and that office was a sort of a bull pen.

The main man was a man named [Robert] Bob Williams, and Bob

Williams had worked for Goodwin Knight. I think he'd also worked for Earl Warren. I'm not sure of that, but I know he worked for Goodwin Knight. And he was the governor's legal governor's office person who made sure that all the i's were dotted and the t's were crossed in the legislation that was going to the legislature. If we were going to send material to an assemblyman or to a senator that we wanted carried, Bob would go over that before, and then he'd monitor through what have you, the process. And then he would really go over the bill when it came back out of the legislature, before it went to the governor for signature, to make sure that it was legally correct and germane. He was an assistant legislative secretary.

The other man in the office was a man named Gino Lera. Gino Lera did sort of the analysis work. When a bill would come down and a legislator would want that we didn't generate, it was not a governor's office bill, it came out, somebody wanted a new water system, or they wanted access to a waterway, or they wanted to do something environmentally or culturally, what have you, and they put a bill in, that bill would go to Gino as soon as it was introduced, so he could analyze it for the governor and give the governor an analysis.

And then there was myself. I was the third part, and we shared that office for almost a year, probably eight months, and we had this one secretary. Then we all, however, would be called in to a legislative meeting.

We had a weekly legislative conference, usually on Tuesday mornings. That would be the governor; occasionally Hale Champion, who was the director of finance at the time; sometimes Winslow Christian; always Bob Williams; Gino Lera; and myself. Frank Mesplé would then go over with the governor what the legislative situation was and what have you.

Now, I had another role other than. . . . I was assistant to the legislative secretary, but I became sort of an emissary of the governor's to his financial supporters, to his economic supporters, to the business community. He would send me out to do what they thought of with various legislation. So I was away from the Capitol a lot, but I was also up there a lot, because, as I say, my family stayed on here.

I had a small apartment in north Sacramento off Arden Way, and I'd ordinarily go up on Sunday night and spend the time through on Monday through Thursday, and usually go back either Thursday night or Friday night. Sometimes if there was a crush going on, I'd work weekends. I mean, sometimes I didn't get home for two weeks at a time. I mean, that was not unusual. It just depended what the governor's needs were.

I also very often would go in when the governor's mother would come and visit him. Very often I would ride back from Sacramento to San Francisco, where her home was, for things the governor wanted me to cover in San Francisco. He had very close friends in his home town. A man by the

name of [Benjamin] Ben Swig was his main mentor in San Francisco, and Ben Swig was very, very active politically, an extremely wealthy man. He owned the chain of Fairmont hotels. And so I would go, and I would meet with him to find out what was going on in San Francisco. I would do the same thing; I would go down and meet with the mayor of San Diego, or I'd meet with Larry Lawrence down in San Diego. I was really an information gatherer as to what was going on, right, wrong, or indifferent.

And so then as I got more involved into the core of legislation, and Frank decided that I had a good personality for legislative work, so he suggested that I work the senate side, and he would bring me to lunches, or we'd go out after. . . . In those days, there was a lot of eating and drinking in Sacramento, and a lot of camaraderie between the Democrats and the Republicans. There wasn't this antipathy that's going on now.

YATES: So they socialized together more? Is that what you mean?

CULLEN: Socialized together. They would fight each other tooth and nail on the floor of the assembly and the senate, and you'd think they were vicious enemies. Then you'd see them two hours later with their arm around each other, getting drunk at Frank Fat's—I'm serious—or at Posey's. So I spent a lot of time at Posey's and at Frank Fat's, I mean, literally, at the bar.

YATES: You mentioned working the senate side or being in connection with Frank Mesplé. At what point was that?

CULLEN: That was right after. . . . What happened was, probably in March of 1965, or April—I forget when . . .

YATES: Is this when you got your title changed and a raise?

CULLEN: Yes, Frank said to me one day, he said, “Frank,” he said, “I want you to start hobnobbing with the guys,” he said, “but I’m going to recommend the governor make you assistant legislative secretary so you’ll have the same status as guys like John Fourt and Bob Williams.”

Now, John Fourt is a name in there, also. He had a quasi-title of assistant legislative secretary, but he was not. He was actually the attorney for the Office of the Attorney General, to make sure that there were no legal problems with legislation. I mean, Bob was making sure it would conform to the constitution.

YATES: I see.

CULLEN: That was Bob’s job, and also that it read well and that it was in proper English and what have you. John Fourt was to see there was no criminal intent anywhere, or it didn’t violate any of the statutes in the code of the State of California. So you had these two guys. And I was sort of overwhelmed by this, because I was a businessman. I didn’t have anything to do with. . . . I mean, this minutia made very little sense to me. But I understand it. I mean, I knew it had to be done, but I didn’t want to do it.

YATES: Well, just to make sure I understand these very early few months where

you're the assistant to the legislative secretary. You were just going through, which is very helpful, what the structure was. There's Bob Williams, there's Gino Lera, and then you. And I think you said part of your job, or part of your time, was in this sort of emissary role. Within this structure, what were you doing? What else? Anything that Frank needed?

CULLEN: Oh, whatever. Anything. Frank Mesplé would call me in, and he'd say, "Frank, we need copies of this bill. Call down and get it, and I want you to review it and tell me what you see wrong with it, or what you see," you know. "Shall we support it?"

So I reviewed bills, and I would then, after I reviewed them, give them to Bob and to Gino. In other words, these were bills that were specifically asked for by Frank Mesplé. In other words, he had a reason for asking for that, and I was sort of a different. . . . I didn't have any government history or didn't have any knowledge. So he was getting sort of a layman's view, I think, of did this make sense; would the people understand it. That's sort of the kind of thing I was doing. That was another role.

Another thing that I had, I prepared the bill jackets, along with Bob Williams, who'd give me the bill jackets and say, "OK." And then I would then be the—*emissary's* too wrong a word, but I would then go up and meet with the author's legislative aide, and make sure that the. . . . If we wanted to make a change in a bill, for example, I'd be the guy who'd go up and talk to,

say, the senator or the assemblyman's aide and say, "The governor would like. . . . Can you change this this way? Can we use these wordings?" I mean, that's another role that I had.

And I was also, after hours, doing some fund-raising for the governor and making calls, not on state phones. I mean, we had a private line in there that I was making phone calls.

YATES: Pardon my naïveté about this, but, for example, in the legislative secretary's role, he, Frank Mesplé, is basically keeping track of all the legislation being authored or produced by the legislature, as well as working with the governor on what his legislative programs were.

CULLEN: Absolutely.

YATES: OK. So you're keeping track of a lot of this.

CULLEN: Oh yes. It's a very demanding job. I mean, I would be there sometimes till ten o'clock at night, and I would come in at seven in the morning. And you know, Bob Williams would come in early, like about eight o'clock, and sometimes he'd be there till eight, nine, ten o'clock at night. And he had a small family up there. I mean a young family up there, not a small family, a young family up there.

But people don't understand the demands of the governor's office. I mean, here you have one man, who is the governor of now the largest state in the United States. We would get thousands of letters a day, a day, on a

particular bill.

There was a very famous bill called the anchovy bill, 1965. Well, the anchovy bill was a fight between the sports fishermen and the commercial fishermen, and it was a tremendous, tremendous. . . . We would get ten thousand letters a week—I mean this is not an exaggeration—on this one bill.

And who's going to read those things, I mean—and they're all addressed to Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown. So they were divided out, and this would take tremendous amounts of time. All those letters had to be answered, so I would also write answers.

I was a pretty good letter-writer. So I would devise letters, and I would bring them in, and I'd say, "Frank, what do you think of this one?" And we'd write one for the consumer. We'd write one for the fishermen, the sports fishermen, and we'd write another one to the commercial fishermen. And then the environmentalists would come in, and so you had to tailor each of these answers with the same thought, but in different language. In other words, you had to say what the governor is going to do, and, yes, the governor appreciates your call. That's the other thing, I mean, and that's what I also got to do. I started writing the governor's letters, as did Ron Clark, as did Wes Barker.

Wes Barker was another guy had nothing to do with the governor's office, but Wes Barker was one of the greatest assets Pat Brown had. He

worked for a man named Frank [A. Chambers]. Now, Frank [Chambers] was a sort of ex officio assistant governor, by his own reckoning. But he did incredible things, and he was very well liked, and he had this coterie of senators and assemblymen that he could go to and put his arm around and make things happen.

Frank Chambers was incredible, and there was a man right under Frank Chambers by the name of George Normington. George Normington ran the program and policy division of the governor's office. Wes Barker was in the program and policy division. He was probably the smartest person in that division, including Frank Chambers and George Normington. And he would come up with ideas and solutions to problems, and then we would all have this. . . . We would have a staff meeting once a week. Other than the legislative meeting, we would have a staff meeting once a week where we'd have participants . . . Every department head within the governor's office would participate, and I'll give you that list.

[James] Jim Gregg was. . . . I'm thinking of names now I hadn't thought of in years. Dr. Jim Gregg. Jim Alexander. Jim Alexander was—put his name down—an incredible part of our administration. He went on to become an undersecretary, or maybe even a secretary, in the [James E.] Carter administration, as did Hale Champion. Hale Champion went on to become undersecretary of [the U.S. Department of] Health, [Education] and Welfare

in the Carter administration, and then he went on to become president of the [John F.] Kennedy School of Government, and he's still alive and kicking, and he's still emeritus executive vice president of the Kennedy School of Government. Great man, brilliant man, one of the brightest men I ever met.

He started out as a reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle*. But he was probably Pat's closest aide, I would say, as far as. . . . If you took that eight years Pat was governor, Hale Champion was probably the most single important man in his administration. There were others who shared the star roles on and off, but Hale was constant.

YATES: Fairly consistent.

CULLEN: Really consistent. And so we would have a staff meeting, usually in the cabinet room, once a week; sometimes every two weeks. That would be run by Winslow Christian, and then he had an executive assistant by the name of John Billett. I don't know whether John is still alive. I think he's still alive. That's the other thing, a lot of people, you know, as we get on, we pass on.  
[Laughter]

YATES: You described Frank Mesplé's characteristics or his abilities to work with different people, like Randy Collier. How successful was he in being able to push Governor Brown's agenda in terms of the legislature?

CULLEN: Very successful. The other thing you've got to realize, which we haven't brought up yet, you were in the height of the Pat Brown-Jesse Unruh standoff

at this point in time.

YATES: Yes. That's why I'm wondering—about the dynamics.

CULLEN: And the dynamics were really quite. . . . We could never go around Jesse. We could never go around Jesse. We had to work with Jesse, and we did. And we did. I think I've told you, Pat Brown stated that Jesse Unruh made his reputation on Pat Brown's legislation. He said, "I," being Pat Brown, "made my reputation on Jesse Unruh being able to get it all passed." So without that confluence, these two really great intellects and great forward-thinking people, they had their own agendas, and they became really quite—never bitter enemies, but they lost trust in each other, and they lost their friendship.

They got it back. I was lucky to be at a meeting with them back when Jesse was dying, about a month before he died, at Pat Brown's house, and it was one of the most extraordinary meetings I was ever at, with these two giants of California history, making up. It was really fascinating, fascinating. But that's what happened in the eighties.

You know, going back to the sixties, during my Frank Mesplé . . . Frank had an ability to sort of. . . . He transcended politics, although he was an avid, avid, avid Democrat and a smart man. He developed friendships and respect for an awful lot of Republican legislators, and he would try to see their point, and when he didn't see their point, he would still go along and try and listen, and say, "I don't understand why you don't want to do it this way, but, you

know, let me take it to the governor and see if he understands it. I don't." And we would do this. So these are the kinds of things he would do, and people were respectful of him because he would do that. He would take a thing he didn't agree with to the governor for a legislator, and that was not that common. It was not common.

YATES: What did he do to work with Jesse Unruh, considering that there was this, sounds like banging of heads, almost, between Brown and Unruh?

CULLEN: Well, the remarkable thing is, Jesse always respected, loved Frank Mesplé, and Frank was probably one of the few people that could get into the Jesse Unruh cabal in the speaker's office, and knowing he's there representing the governor, and Jesse wouldn't argue with it, I mean. And so we knew what was going on a lot of the times, because Jesse said, "Hey." There are no secrets in Sacramento. You try and keep secrets, but there aren't any. And Frank was someone, if Jesse needed a Republican vote, he'd go to Frank to get it sometimes. Frank, even though everybody knew Frank was an ardent Democrat, he just had this capacity, this marvelous way of doing things.

YATES: Because I was looking through, again, Governor Brown's second inaugural speech, which I unfortunately forgot to bring with me today.

CULLEN: I have it here. It's over there.

YATES: I don't know how critical it is, but I was looking at the agenda he set out in that second term, and then I did notice it seemed that he was successful in

getting some of the things that he set out to do. There were the parks. There was primary education, I believe. There were a couple of others.

CULLEN: K through twelve, he was very interested in.

YATES: Right. And I was wondering if you had any knowledge or an example of any of the governor's legislative goals that you know Frank Mesplé worked on specifically, and how he did that.

CULLEN: I can't tell you how. I can only tell you that Frank had this tremendous ability, and I would say I worked on that, too. I mean, I did the senate side for the latter part of 1965 and the beginnings of 1966.

YATES: And was Frank Mesplé basically working directly with the assembly side? Was there somebody else? He sort of did everything.

CULLEN: He did everything, and Gina Lera sometimes handled the. . . . And I handled certain. . . . It would depend. . . . We would sit down in our legislative meeting and decide who would go see who, and you wanted to deal with the author, and you wanted to talk to the author and find out who is for it, so we just write them off; we don't need them. Who's against it, so we needed to go sit down and educate these people.

Sometimes, whether it was the governor's bill or not, if it was a bill important to the author that the governor agreed to support, we'd go in and throw our weight behind that. I mean, that it was not a governor's bill; it was somebody, somebody, and they wanted to put in something to do with a

racetrack, or something to do with the. . . . The variety of legislation. You know, you've got to understand how many bills are introduced every. . . . There are thousands of bills introduced every year. And you have to see whether this is going to go anywhere or not. I mean, and that's one of the main things Frank Mesplé would do to the governor, he'd say. . . . And we would go in with a list, and Frank, and we'd sit there, Gino Lera, Bob Williams, John Fourt, myself, and the governor, and we'd go through these things, and Frank would put, "We'll support this. We'll not support this."

Then the governor would say, "No, I want to do that." So, you know, and he'd come up, but. . . . Conservation was very big with the governor, the parks. I mean, he was just at it, you know. He never forgave himself, as a teenager, for helping to built Hetch Hetchy reservoir and flooding part of Yosemite. He never forgave himself for that. He was doing it for the money, and he didn't realize the consequence, that we were taking a giant part of Yosemite forever and flooding it with water. You know, it was just. . . . And he and his brothers [Harold and Francis Marshall Brown] both worked on building that Hetch Hetchy reservoir, so people don't understand that.

And Pat loved Yosemite. I mean, his goal was always to get to the mountains. He and the family, they all hiked up there. They just loved it. And the governor would take trip after trip. That's another thing I would do. . . . [Laughter]

YATES: Give an example of a piece of legislation that you worked on specifically, or use that as an example of how this whole system works.

CULLEN: Well, I think that it's not a convoluted process. It just takes a lot of time. But it's difficult for me to take a bill number or a bill. . . .

YATES: Well, if you can think of certain subject areas.

CULLEN: Well, I can tell you right now. I'll take the anchovy bill. It is probably one of the. . . . This was a tremendous bill of local, state, and national significance, because what happened, and it may have been due to what we now call El Niño. We didn't even know the term "El Niño" in those days. But there was a tremendous shift in the anchovy population off the coast of California during the sixties, and it started, really, a war between sports fishermen and commercial fishermen. They both had good things to do and good things to say. They both wanted legislation. And so we had to ameliorate both sides.

Then you had the local interests. You had the mayors of Long Beach and the councilmen from Los Angeles that handle the harbor area. You had the same thing in San Diego. You had the same thing in San Francisco, where either the mayor or the assembly or senate person for that area would inundate the governor's office with reasons why you've got to vote this way on the anchovy bill; you've got to support it this way. And they all had their different agendas, and this was an incredible. . . . I mean, you had to either meet with these people. . . . Hell, I had one meeting in the cabinet office

where you couldn't get another person in the room, where I was trying to explain to these desperate people why we couldn't make this solution to everybody's satisfaction.

We believed in conservation of the species of the anchovy, and both sides are going to get gored, both the sports side and the commercial side. And it was not a popular decision, but we crafted that bill for the best environmental thing for the damn anchovy. OK? It sounds silly, but it's true, and so I had to. . . . I mean, I remember I flew down in a special trip to the mayor of San Diego [Frank Curran], because he was up in arms. He was going to, you know, fight. He was a good Democrat.

And then there was another guy. What's his name? [Charles C.] Dail. I forget his role, but anyway, he may have. . . . I forget whether he was a congressman or . . . But anyway, he just drove us crazy with. . . . He wanted a completely different bill than we were putting in, and he would call us seven, eight, nine times a day, and have other people call us.

And then, you've got to remember, there were no fax machines in those days. Everything was done by teletype or by telephone or by telegram, and we would have carried in to the governor's office baskets full of telegrams and letters divided pro anchovy, con anchovy. Then we'd speak to the legislators. We'd go to the senators. We'd go to the assemblymen who were impacted by this, and any coastal assemblyman or senator was impacted. So

it was a never-ending thing.

We finally came up with a bill that nobody was pleased with, but it did the most environmentally sound thing we could. It was the best deal we could make. That's about the only thing.

YATES: Who carried that bill, do you happen to remember? Out of curiosity.

CULLEN: Shoot, I don't, but I'll get it for you.

YATES: That's OK.

CULLEN: No, no, I'll get it for you.

YATES: But one reason I mention that, it's because I assume you worked with that person pretty closely, then.

CULLEN: You know, I really didn't. I worked with their assistants mostly.

YATES: I see. Of course. OK.

CULLEN: I work with mostly. . . . See, when you say to work the senate side, I didn't really work with the senators and such.

YATES: It was with their aides.

CULLEN: It was with their aides. I mean, we were not allowed on the senate floor. See, we were the governor's office. We were not allowed on the assembly floor without the. . . . Now, very often we'd get permission, and they'd meet us in the back of the room, in the back of the assembly chamber. Or we'd meet very often in their offices, but I . . .

YATES: Hold on one second, I'm sorry.

[End Tape 7, Side A]

[Begin Tape 7, Side B]

YATES: OK. You were saying you were working basically with their aides.

CULLEN: Mostly you work with their legislative assistant or their constituent assistant, sometime which was more important, because all these guys were thinking about getting re-elected, and you've got to remember, any elected official has one thing in mind. "How am I going to get re-elected?" And that's their prime concern. It was then; it's still today, even with term limits, because now they have another thing. "How to get elected till I finish my term limits, and what I'm going to run for after that?" Which I think is ridiculous.

There never should be term limits. I think it's an abridgement of the Constitution of the United States. I mean, the Congress is elected every two years. If you don't like that guy, you can vote him out every two years. The senators, every six years. If you don't like him, vote him out. You don't need term limits. It's ridiculous. And now term limits has put the lobbyists and the staff in charge of what's going on.

YATES: When supposedly the whole point was that this was to get more new blood. . . . I mean, that the knowledge base is now being shifted exactly where you don't want it.

CULLEN: Exactly. You know, and that's why, you know, it's ludicrous. I mean, I've got a book in there. Turn it off just for one minute.

YATES: OK.

[Interruption]

YATES: You were just showing me the thickness of the *2001-2002 Lobbyist Directory*.

CULLEN: Which, you know, the *Lobbyist Directory* in our era, back in the sixties, was probably a third of the size of this. Don't you think that's an inch and a half big?

YATES: Oh, yes, at least.

CULLEN: At least. I mean, it's ludicrous.

YATES: It's close to two inches.

CULLEN: And it has thousands of people listed. Now, we had hundreds of lobbyists, and I worked a lot with lobbyists. That's another thing you've got to do.

YATES: I was wondering. First, before we forget, that you think maybe the author was [Joseph M.] Joe Kennick? Just to get it on the record

CULLEN: One of the authors, I know was Joe Kennick. Whether or not he was the lead author, I don't remember, but Joe Kennick was involved. Jim Mills from San Diego was involved; he was in the assembly in that time. I know Tom Rees was involved; he was the senator from Los Angeles. I'm trying to think. I cannot think of his name. He was the assemblyman from Fort Bragg, and I cannot think of his name. It just escapes me. But he was a very, very important part of it.

And then also we had another thing. When you talk about the anchovy bill, I had to deal with the Resources Agency. Hugo Fisher was head of the Resources Agency at the time. And this was, you know. . . . Everybody was calling it. . . . It was a calamity, and you know, the over fishing was causing the depletion of the anchovy, and the anchovy. . . . And then you had also the canning companies were coming in, I mean, the sardine companies, literally, were coming in. I mention this bill because it had such a variety of constituencies.

YATES: You just mentioned lobbyists. Talk about the role of the lobbyist, either on this bill or in general, in terms of their strength.

CULLEN: Well, this is a good example. I mean, here you had the lobbyists for the sports fishermen. You had the lobbyists for the canning industry. You had the lobbyists for the commercial fishermen joining with the canning industry. And they were all coming up, insisting the governor support their agenda on this particular bill. And as I say, it may seem silly to talk about the anchovy bill, but it was a major distraction. Although it was an important issue, it was a major distraction in the '65 legislative session because of the sheer volume of calls, letters, telegrams, visits.

YATES: When you say distraction, for the governor?

CULLEN: For the governor. For the governor. He was just beside himself, I mean, because he would say to us, "Solve this problem. Solve this problem,

because I can't. . . ." He said, "Everywhere I go, people are talking anchovies." He said, "I want it behind me."

And that's the other thing. And then the other thing that people don't understand, and this is not my role as assistant legislative secretary, but it's my role for the governor in terms of—and I'll use probably a crass term, but they used to call me Governor Brown's "go-to person." [Laughter] So when you wanted something done, you went to Frank Cullen, and he would see that legislation would be put in, if it was possible; or if it wasn't, he'd tell you why.

So that's sort of the role I played in most of '65 and '66, and it used to drive poor. . . . [Laughter] The chief of staff would go nuts. He'd get crazy when I drove a state car. I mean, even though I was a state employee, he would be sure I was going out on political business, and Winslow Christian was just absolutely. . . . He was one of these very, very doctrinaire. . . . Brilliant man, a brilliant man, and a nice man, a nice man, but he was so concerned that I was more politician than government official, which was really not true. I think Frank [Chambers] was much more of a politician than I was.

YATES: So he was worried that you were crossing the line between what was appropriate . . .

CULLEN: Crossing the line . . . And inappropriate. He thought that I may have been

crossing the line while I was on state time, you see. What I did after hours, he didn't care what I did, as long as I was hobnobbing with the senators and the assemblymen in the bars afterwards, doing my job, on my time.

YATES: Well, then when you say "go-to person for the governor," are you getting direction from Governor Brown then directly versus directly from Frank Mesplé on legislation?

CULLEN: Oh, nothing ever happened. You know, Frank Mesplé was the governor's man. If Frank Mesplé gave me an order, or Hale Champion gave me an order, that came from the governor. I mean, that's doctrinaire. There's no question about that. And any head of department, any secretary in our administration, if they chose a way to go, that was the way the governor wanted to go. There was tremendous loyalty to Pat Brown's liberal agenda, tremendous loyalty to his liberal agenda.

When I said I was the go-to person, because I had been out doing this stuff earlier, because I'd been in the '62 campaign, because I had been sort of being an emissary for the governor in that '63 year, a lot of people knew me, and when they needed something or they wanted to get something from the governor, they would call me. So whether it be Gene Wyman or. . . . It's immaterial who it was. Or Ben Swig, even.

YATES: So you were that link between the governor's . . .

CULLEN: Political people, his financial people, his social people, his family.

YATES: So if a piece of legislation came up, for example, that they thought you would particularly be able to [help pass or stop] [Inaudible] at.

CULLEN: I would give the governor a note. Like, for example, I'd mentioned San Diego; there was a housing problem. I'm sure you're familiar with the Rumford [Fair] Housing plan.<sup>1</sup> There was a housing problem in. . . .

YATES: Yes. In fact, we haven't even touched on Prop[osition] 14<sup>2</sup> and the fallout from that.

CULLEN: No. Prop 14, yes. Right. And you know, which really split the Democratic party. I mean, it was just an incredible. There's so many avenues you can go down, I mean. And [William B.] Byron Rumford was a very smart man and a very wonderful man. Byron was just a. . . .

YATES: Well, talk about San Diego. You were starting; I interrupted you.

CULLEN: In San Diego, to talk about, there was a housing problem that somebody wanted to build a housing thing on Coronado.

[Interruption]

YATES: OK, you were starting to talk about San Diego.

CULLEN: The Rumford housing project. But there was a housing project that was designed for a very small part of San Diego called Coronado Island. Well, Coronado Island, as you may or may not know, is dominated by the del

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1. A.B. 1240, 1963 Reg. Sess., Cal. Stat., ch. 1853.

2. Proposition 14 (November 1964), sales and rentals of residential property.

Coronado Hotel, a marvelous hotel built in the 1870s, I believe, and I think there's like eleven presidents have stayed there, and it's a very historic place. Anyway, the man who owned the thing was a man named Larry Lawrence, and he was quite a character, and he was very, very much involved in the Democratic Party in the sixties. I mean, he was a visceral part of the Democratic Party, and I forget the name of his wife at the time, I think it was Jane, but I'm not sure. Anyway, she called me, Larry Lawrence's wife called me, about Larry being very upset about something that's going to infringe upon the view of the people looking north from the hotel, a housing project that was going to be put up, and he wanted legislation put in that would prohibit that.

Well, we were not about to go into local zoning and putting laws in, and so this was an example where a constituent who was a big financial supporter of the governor, a very active Democrat, wanted legislation put in to prohibit building in a particular area, because they were afraid this developer was going to build this condominium, high-rises, right on the coast. Well, first of all, there are local zoning laws. There are all sorts of things that adhere to that. So we didn't think that we should get involved, and so it was my job to fly down and tell Larry why we couldn't do it. So those are the kinds of roles that I had.

Now, other kinds of things, we had a conservation bill that was actually

put in in 1964 that actually President Kennedy was supporting in 1963. It's a fascinating thing, and I got deeply involved in that, meeting with the people from the California [State] Parks Foundation, meeting with environmentalists—meeting with environmentalists and also meeting with developers—and so the ongoing battle between the conservationists, the environmentalists, and the developers are just. . . . It's probably gotten worse now than it was then. But it was really just beginning then.

And then you had the other problem about the farmers, I mean where cities that you don't even think about, like Fresno and Santa Cruz, I mean, just were going out and infringing upon the local agricultural areas. I mean, they were building, building. But as the governor used to say, "We can't put up a wall and stop these people from coming in. They're American citizens. They have a right to come here. They have a right to be here. They have a right to live here. They need housing. They need jobs. We have to prepare for that. And we're going to grow. We have to grow in the best way we can grow."

He wanted to listen to everybody, but Pat Brown looked to the future. He knew. . . . That's why we have the road system we have today, because he went back and lobbied Jack Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson and got the money. He lobbied them first before he lobbied the Congress. Then he lobbied the Congress, and I was lucky enough to go back with him a couple

of times and do that.

YATES: Oh, really.

CULLEN: It was really exciting. Oh yes, it was really exciting.

YATES: On that specifically or . . .

CULLEN: I took that picture in the Oval Office of the White House.

YATES: Oh, right. You're pointing to the one, I remember, of Johnson and Pat Brown.

CULLEN: Of Lyndon Johnson and Pat Brown.

YATES: And why were they meeting on that occasion?

CULLEN: They were meeting on that occasion to discuss federal funding for the California highway system, and Lyndon Johnson brought up the problem that, "Like every other state, you should put in toll roads."

And the governor countered with, "Mr. President, we have freeways. We call them freeways because they're free." And he said, "You want to complete this from the Atlantic to the Pacific. We've got the Pacific side. You've got to help us." [Laughter]

YATES: So what was your role, for example, on a visit like that, that Governor Brown was making?

CULLEN: I would carry back a briefcase with all of the material that would be given to the president's staff, and the governor would say he has it and would he have permission to give it to the staff, so the president's staff could evaluate it, see,

and get his support for the legislation that we're having carried in Congress.

YATES: So you basically made sure he had what he needed to have his discussions with the key people.

CULLEN: Exactly, exactly, exactly—with the key people. That's all. I was a briefcase-carrier. [Laughter] Literally, you know, literally. And sometimes we'd have these big drawings and what have you. That was all my responsibility to carry. I didn't do it all the time, but . . .

YATES: But that was one time that you did it.

CULLEN: I did it on three separate occasions.

YATES: Now, you mentioned another role, the after-hours role. This is when you were talking about Winslow Christian worrying about the line of what was appropriate and not appropriate. So what were you doing when you hobnobbed with people?

CULLEN: And you use a good word, hobnob.

YATES: Is that an OK word to use?

CULLEN: Yes, it is, because what you're doing, you're familiarizing yourself with the personalities. You see, you've got to go back here. You have a different era. Jet travel had just come in. Most planes were still propeller-driven. This is the mid-sixties, and the jet age was here, without question. In those days, the Sacramento airport didn't exist. It was the Metropolitan Airport, and you flew into this little . . . Which is now an executive airport, a little municipal

airport, and I think they were just starting to build. Maybe they hadn't even started yet. I don't even recall.

YATES: The current airport?

CULLEN: The current airport, the Sacramento Metropolitan Airport. We used the Sacramento Municipal Airport at the time, and I think it's now . . . Anyway. But to answer your question, these guys were up there, and they would rent rooms, or they would rent apartments, or they would stay in the hotels.

YATES: You're talking about legislators?

CULLEN: Legislators, yes, and their staffs. If they came from anywhere south of the Tehachapis, it was a trial to go home. I mean, you're looking at about at least a four-hour drive or more, maybe an eight-hour drive, even, San Diego. There was no 5 Freeway then. You had the 99 [Freeway], and it was fog. You had the Tule fog. I mean, you know, it's a different era. You still have the fog, but you've got 5, which is a whole different story.

YATES: And you have more airline capabilities.

CULLEN: Absolutely. So there was a lot of camaraderie there, because people stayed overnight. And even the northern California senators, they didn't go back up. I mean, people don't realize, it's 200 miles up to the Oregon border. So I mean the man from Del Norte County, in the assembly, is not going to rush home. Travel was a lot more complicated. It was a lot easier than the covered-wagon days, but it was still hard. So a lot of people stayed in town,

and what did they do after the sessions ended, and they usually ended five or six o'clock; sometimes, if there was something going on, maybe seven o'clock. And then they'd disperse.

And where do they go? They went to a place called Posey's, another place called Frank Fat's. Another place, I forget the name of it then, but ultimately during the Jerry Brown administration, called David's. It was called something else, but it was a bar on L Street and Twelfth Street. And so they didn't leave the area very much. I mean, they stayed around the Capitol area. The Senator Hotel was a big place. The El Mirador Hotel was a big place. So we'd say, "Hey, Frank, where should I go tonight?" He'd say, "Ah, you go to the El Mirador. I'll go to the Senator." And so we would go, on a very limited budget, I might add, but not provided by the governor. On our own funds. We would buy people drinks. We would buy ourselves drinks, and we'd have dinner, and you'd get to know the legislators. You'd get to know their staffs. You know, and then Democratically, I got to know a lot of people who had been in either the '62 campaign or the Salinger campaign, and they were up there. They were staff guys.

So I mean, and those people from '62 and '64 got me into . . . Because they were very often working for Democratic assemblymen or senators; they had taken a leave of absence to work on the Salinger campaign. Or we would work with them. They would still be on state payroll, but after hours or on

weekends, they'd work in their districts. Of course, Pierre was the Senate candidate, so I would very often be a liaison to that . . . You know. And as I mentioned, I put all the headquarters in. I know I had fifty-eight headquarters, probably had sixty-two, I think—sixty-two or sixty-three headquarters—and I did all that for the Salinger campaign. I put every headquarter in.

YATES: Yes, I remember you saying.

CULLEN: So by doing that, I would know the assemblymen and the senators from that area's staff people, because I worked for them, because we were going into their headquarters.

YATES: So the staff and the legislators socialized together fairly regularly?

CULLEN: Oh, very often, very often, although mostly. . . . I shouldn't say. . . . There would be the chief of staff or one of the key staffs would usually. . . . Usually a senator or assemblyman would usually have one of his persons with him, or . . .

[Interruption]

YATES: Well, let me ask you. OK. You said that Frank Mesplé and you. Was there anybody else in the office who. . . .

CULLEN: Yes, Gino Lera would join. Bob would never come. Bob Williams was really strictly office, and he never would socialize. But then other people within the administration, Ron Clark, Wes Barker, who I mentioned earlier.

Wes was very active. He was a member of the program and policy division of the governor's office, and he would often come with us, and he knew everybody, and he was very helpful to me. He introduced me to. . . . He knew a lot of. . . .

Because in program and policy, a lot of people wanted to know what the governor's next policy was going to be, or next program was going to be, so they wanted to talk to Wes. So he had an entrée to a lot of people, and he would give hints, but he would not give away any secrets, but he'd give hints, and so he was welcome a lot of places.

And then poker dice was big. I mean, we played poker dice on the bars, and then we'd go out, and maybe an assemblyman or a senator, depending on where he came from, what have you, would join us for dinner or something like that.

YATES: And you said that the Republicans and Democrats interacted fairly well.

CULLEN: Oh, very definitely. As a matter of fact, there was. . . .

YATES: Like you went to Frank Fat's, and that was mostly x group of people versus Posey's?

CULLEN: No, I would say. . . . No, they were mostly evenly divided. Except, now, the Sutter Club, which is still in existence—it's a private club—a lot of the Republicans attended, and some of the very conservative Democrats attended, like Hugh Burns, of the Democratic. . . . You know. He would be at the Sutter

Club. Or Randy Collier, he would be at the Sutter Club. Joe Rattigan, Luther [E.] Gibson, they'd be at Posey's or Frank Fat's with Jesse. Pretty much, Jesse held court in Frank Fat's, and it was a marvelous atmosphere. It was really just great.

And there was another place called [Sam's] Hofbrau we used to go to, and a lot of staff hung out there in the Hofbrau. And then there were coffee shops, Eppie's [Restaurant], which is still there, and what have you. And there was a couple of Greek restaurants that we used to go to, and sometimes they'd go across to West Sacramento, but it was mostly in that thing, On an excursion, ten or twenty of us might drive down to the Nut Tree [restaurant] down off the 80 [Freeway], and we'd sort of have a party down there. Or we'd go out to Arden Fair, which was sort of new; had just been built.

YATES: That was the hinterlands, probably.

CULLEN: Yes, really, it was.

YATES: Well, you just touched a little bit with. . . . I think you mentioned Wes Barker and not revealing too much, but obviously, I assume you socialized and talked some office politics or . . .

CULLEN: We talked mostly politics and legislation. I mean, it was an ongoing thing. This is what you did. This is what you. . . . And Frank Mesplé had a way of kidding people. He'd go up to a senator, and he'd say, "Hey, Jack, you're not going to get that goddamn bill passed. That's the most ridiculous thing I ever

heard. You tell me why you're doing it," you know, and that's when he would loosen the guy up and then the guy would give him a boom, boom, boom, boom, boom. And that was a knack Mesplé had, and then he'd go up to a guy, somebody very seriously, and he said, "Gee, George, I understand your legislation on school lunches might be in trouble." [Laughter]

And the guy, "What are you talking about, it's in trouble?" So Frank had this just incredible way of getting people to tell people they weren't going to tell anybody. I mean, he just had this, and the governor just depended on him so much. He was just absolutely . . .

YATES: And what about you? How did you interact with people?

CULLEN: I learned a little. I learned a little, and I got a reputation that sort of. . . . I'd be seen with Ben Swig, or I'd be seen with Mark Boyer, and these were the big Democratic givers. Or I'd be seen with Gene Wyman. Because when they came up to the governor's office, they stopped in to see me before they went to see the governor, to see what he's like, what he's feeling like today, and that kind of stuff.

So maybe then we'd go out, and the governor would maybe go out with them once, and then maybe they'd invite me; they may stay there for two or three days, doing their own lobbying their own way, or trying to find out things. Most of these big guys, even guys like Neil Curry, who was a very, very. . . . Probably one of the richest men in California at the time, had his big

trucking company. Guys like Ed Hills, they would come up. And so I got to be seen with those people, and so that spelled money, so all the legislators wanted to be with me so I can get them to the money.

YATES: I see.

CULLEN: See, so there's little nuances that you don't understand—but I learned.

YATES: And did it help them get to the money?

CULLEN: On occasion. I mean, yes, if they wanted me to introduce them. If they said, "Hey, can you introduce me to Mark Boyer?" or you know.

And then there was also a whole other thing here that we're not even addressing, and that's the administrative office of the governor's office were guys like [Charles] Chuck Rickershauser. Chuck Rickershauser was the commissioner of corporations. He handled business. Chuck was another go-to person, much more important than I was, because he had an official capacity. Anybody in banking, in business, in insurance, what have you, wanted to get to Chuck Rickershauser, because he influenced the governor, because he wrote the governor's agenda on insurance, on business, on banking, on savings and loan. I mean, this was all his.

And then there was a guy named [Richard] Dick McGee, who was head of prisons and head of corrections. And so everybody had these little agendas, and I don't think at any time in all the years that I was there, that the whole governor's office ever got together at one time. I mean, you'd need a

ball field to do it. I mean, it's just incredible.

Another person terribly, terribly important in this is Nancy Sloss. She was a favorite of the governor's. She came from the Fleischaker family from San Francisco, extremely, extremely wealthy Jewish merchants.

YATES: What was her role?

CULLEN: She was the appointment secretary to the governor after the governor's first appointment secretary, May [Layne] Bonnell, another very, very important name.

YATES: Right. I do recognize both names, but May Bonnell . . .

CULLEN: May Bonnell was also Pat's sister-in-law—was Bernice's sister. And Pat was highly criticized for that, but I can tell you from personal experience, May Bonnell was one of the best people he ever had in the governor's office. Very smart, very savvy, cut right to the quick. Nancy Sloss was very businesslike, very. . . . Nancy's still alive. Nancy's younger than I am. She's probably seventy now.

Another wonderful person that was one of the governor's big supporters was Louise Ringwalt. She was one of his personal administrative assistants. Very powerful woman, because she could get right to him. He believed what she said. Nancy could get right to him. I'd always go through Mary Alice Lemon. Unless he called me, I had to go through Mary Alice Lemon. Hale Champion could walk in. Winslow Christian could walk in. Nancy Sloss,

Louise Ringwalt, they could all walk in.

Another person you should talk to, if you haven't, is [Patricia] Pat Sikes.

Do you know Pat?

YATES: I know the name.

CULLEN: Yes. She was his chief speechwriter, and also did a lot of his analysis. After we'd get a bill analysis, we'd go talk to Pat, and she'd sort of write how the governor would want it, and then she would then give that to the press secretary. So there was a lot of, you know, chain reaction in our office. In other words, if one of us, if Frank or Gino or myself or West Barker or Frank [Chambers], heard something from a legislator that we were not aware of and we thought the governor should know of, we'd go right away, and we'd say, "Mary Alice, we have to see the governor on this," because we didn't want anybody else to know, except the governor, what we were telling him. So we wouldn't tell Mary Alice what we were telling him.

YATES: How much would. . . . I'm just thinking, because you named several women, and at that point, of course, it wasn't terribly typical to have a lot of women in any official capacity.

CULLEN: Pat was the first governor to open government at the high level to women, to minorities, and to the Hispanic community. And I say his second chief of staff was Arthur Alarcon. He used to call him his "Mexican conscience." And Arthur is now sitting senior judge in a United States District Court in

Los Angeles. No, it's on the Ninth Circuit. Arthur's on the Ninth Circuit.

YATES: I'm thinking of the socializing aspects, whether it's official or not, outside of the office, whether the women who worked for the governor or . . .

CULLEN: There was a great deal of social. . . . I know very often you'd see. . . .

YATES: Did they also interact with . . .

CULLEN: They also interacted. As a matter of fact . . .

YATES: So it wasn't just the white men going out together?

CULLEN: No, no. You'd find very often Nancy Sloss and Louise Ringwalt together, maybe having dinner with four or five guys. I mean, very often. That was not unusual at all. And dinners we used as a way to socialize, but also gather information, they from you, and you from them. And it's probably still going on today, I'm sure.

YATES: Sure.

CULLEN: But the chief two hangouts were really—there were a lot of others, but . . .

YATES: Were Frank Fat's and Posey's?

CULLEN: Were Frank Fat's and the Torch Club, and Posey's was really where. . . . And then, of course, there was the Derby Club, which was another. Are you familiar with the Derby Club?

YATES: I think so. I've heard of it.

CULLEN: Well, the Derby Club was an organization of legislators and other people, and they met once a week. They had the Derby Room at Posey's. And they all

wore derbies, derby hats, and it was a convivial group of people, and a lot of them had to be carried home after dinner. But it was also a very select group, and a lot of people were angry because they were never invited to join. But it was mostly legislators, lobbyists, and some high flyers. I'd been to a few of their events; I was never a member of the Derby Club.

YATES: You weren't part of that special cadre.

CULLEN: Wasn't part of that social. . . . No, no, I. . . .

YATES: Well, mentioning again just the lobbyists, and, of course, you always hear them referred to as the Third House, and the strength that they had at that point. What's your view on their influence on the legislature?

CULLEN: Oh, I think it was very profound. There's no question about that, then and now. But you see we had a terrible situation here in California way before I came. It was during the forties and fifties. There was a man named [Arthur H.] Artie Samish, who I'm sure you've heard of, who really was a pretty. . . . I mean, he really controlled. . . . There's a famous cartoon. I think I showed it to you, or you looked at it showing the legislature on Artie Samish's knee. But he was so venal, that he went to jail, and gave lobbyists a bad name, and so for most of the latter part of the fifties and the early part of the sixties, the Goodie Knight waning years and the beginning years of Pat Brown, the lobbyists sort of were under a black cloud. But most of them got over it and did very well.

But you see, the other thing, every constituency of any power has their own lobbying agenda. Just look. You've got the hospitals. You've got the doctors. You've got the nurses. You've got the anesthesiologists. That's just part of this medical group. Then you have the horse-racing board. Then you have the horse breeders. Then you have the racetrack owners. They all have their different agendas. They all have their own lobbyists.

Then you have the Grange. Then you have the California Farm Bureau Federation. There were probably twenty kinds of lobbyists for the farm area. Then you have the manufacturing, the California Manufacturers Association. Then you have a little thing, the group of twenty-five. Sometimes it's called the roundtable, which is the senior executives, the guys who think they run the State of California. And this has been going on for years and years and years and years.

YATES: Of course, later on there were—quote—“controls” placed on the influence.

CULLEN: I mean, yes, there were controls . . .

YATES: Well, but that's what I'm asking you is that, you look at this earlier period of the sixties, pre . . .

CULLEN: After Artie Samish, the lobbyists started to come back, especially, and. . . .

YATES: And what was their strength?

CULLEN: Very, very strong. Very, very strong.

[Interruption]

YATES: OK, go ahead.

CULLEN: Let's take the '66 campaign. Midway through the campaign, probably just before the primary, I took a leave of absence from the governor's office as assistant legislative secretary, to work on the campaign. I had to do that to cut the thing, because Winslow Christian was going crazy. [Laughter] So I had to do that, and I did that.

So the day after I did that, I got a call from Don Bradley to get down to L.A. as quickly as I could. So I flew down and I met Don. He was one of the triumvirate, if I will, of the people running the campaign. There was Hale Champion, there was Fred Dutton, and there was Don Bradley. And, you know, really, without a personal criticism on any of them, a committee is a horse that looks like a camel. It's crazy, and you can't have. . . . You've got to have somebody making decisions. You can't have three different things. Then you've got the governor outthinking them.

So Bradley calls me. His title is campaign manager. OK? And he said, "Frank, I need you to run an errand." And he said, "Take this down, and see Judge Garibaldi, and Judge Garibaldi will give you a package, and bring it back to me."

So I said, "OK." So I get in my car, which I had left at the airport, and I drive back down to downtown to Garibaldi's law office. And I go up and see the judge, and the judge had been a sitting judge, but he was now a lobbyist,

and probably, at the time, the most powerful lobbyist in California. Jim Garibaldi. And he's a very close friend of the governor's.

So I walk in, and he said, "Frank, did Don send you?" Well, I knew him. I said, "Yes, Judge, he did." "OK. Just a minute." And he pulls out his desk, and he starts counting out packages of money. And he gives me \$50,000 in hundred dollar bills, which I put in the briefcase. [Laughter] And he said, "Now, this is all going to be reported."

And I said, "Absolutely, it's going to be reported." I knew nothing about it. I just said that, because Don didn't tell me anything about it, so I said, "Of course it will be reported." I mean, you know.

"OK. I'll tell you who's going to be giving it to you." I said, "Well, isn't it you?" "I don't have \$50,000 to give away." [Laughter] "I'll tell you who's giving it. I'll tell you where it's coming from." So I said, "Thank you, Judge," and I take my \$50,000 in cash.

YATES: Do you know who it is who's giving you the money?

CULLEN: Well, at the time I didn't. No. I know Judge Garibaldi gave me. . . . So I came back.

YATES: Yes. He didn't name a name. He just said it wasn't him.

CULLEN: No, he said it wasn't him. So then I come back and give the money to Don Bradley, and Don takes it out and he says, "How much is there?" I said, "I think he said it was \$50,000, Don. You'd better count it," I said. "I haven't

opened the suitcase.” So he just goes over and counts the packets and said, “Well, who’s it from?” I said, “Well, I asked Judge Garibaldi that, and he said he’d let you know.” He says, “Goddamn that son of a bitch.” So he picks up the phone, and he calls Judge Garibaldi. And so they evidently couldn’t determine who the money was from yet.

So finally, finally, about two o’clock in the afternoon, Don has a list. There’s twenty people on the list. Dividing, and they divided the twenty thing. Now, I don’t know if that money came from one source, and they just came up with a list. Whether it was. . . . I have no idea. So you know, am I venal for doing that? Is Don venal for doing this? Now, in those days, all you had to do was report it. You didn’t have to say . . .

YATES: There wasn’t a limit?

CULLEN: There was no limit, no. And there’s still no limit. [Joseph Graham] “Gray” Davis [Jr.] can go out and get a million dollars from anybody he wants, and there’s still no limit. But the thing is it has to be reported. The gimmick was those guys didn’t want to report it. They didn’t want to tell you who it was from. And that’s why, then, they broke it up into all these things.

Now, I’m sure the statute of limitations is gone, but I’ll call you and let you know before you print that, OK? But those are the kinds of things that I used to do, OK?

Turn it off for a minute.

[Interruption]

YATES: [I was] asking you about lobbying, lobbyist influence.

CULLEN: Lobbyist influence is really very, very . . . Was very good today. Lobbyists have an ability, if I can say that, if they're good, to know their topic, to be able to explain their topic to both the administration that has to sign the bill and legislators who are carrying the bill. In other words, a lot of the legislation in our period was generated by lobbyists.

In other words, let's assume that. . . . Take an example—Home Savings and Loan Association. There is a limit. They're no longer in existence now, so I can talk about them, OK? Home Savings and Loan Association was founded by a man named Howard Edgerton. It was actually taken over by Howard Edgerton; it was actually founded probably in the 1890s or 1880s. And he took it over. He was a tremendous builder and a great financier, and he built the largest chain of savings and loan branches in the State of California.

Well, there was a limit put on how many branches that a savings and loan could have. So we were continually putting in legislation that would allow them, because there may be a new community that started outside of Corona, or a new community starting outside of Riverside, or a new community starting outside of Pomona. So that gave a reasonable reason why another bank or another savings and loan could expand to that area. So you needed

legislation to do that, so specifically, and we would do that. So the lobbyist would go, and he would sort of walk that through. He would make sure that.

...

And then you had other people. The banks didn't want the savings and loans coming into their territory, and the savings and loans didn't want the banks coming in, so these two lobbyists were fighting each other, going to the same people. So it just depended, who was most persuasive.

And when the bill got to the governor's office, they would lobby us, Frank Mesplé, myself, Bob Williams, Gino Lera, before they could get to the governor, because very often the governor wouldn't see lobbyists. I mean, on rare occasions, where a lobbyist may have been a friend of his from when he was attorney general, he would see lobbyists. But generally speaking, he did not see lobbyists. The lobbyists either saw Frank Mesplé—and Bob Williams wouldn't give them any time at all. I mean, unless he really needed to hear something, he'd listen to them.

So the lobbying process got to be very, very powerful. But lobbyists are a necessary evil. They're not even evil—they can become evil. But lobbyists have a lot of very valued information, and very often may have expertise. There's a man by the name of Terry McGann who represents the healthcare industry in Sacramento. He's a lobbyist, very highly paid—represents five or six HMOs and a couple of hospitals. He is one of the foremost . . . But he's

so knowledgeable, he's so smart, that people really call him and, "Terry, tell me about this." And they trust him. That's the other thing. When a lobbyist is trusted, then he has a cachet that's beyond anyone else's.

YATES: So your experience was basically there wasn't any undue influence, do you think, at that point?

CULLEN: I wouldn't say there wasn't any, and sure, there was all sorts of undue influence.

[Interruption]

YATES: I was asking about undue influence.

CULLEN: I think that there's no undue influence, except there's little nuances. For example, Disney was a very, very, very potent lobbying force, because every year, and I have it somewhere here, Walt Disney would personally sign a gold pass to the governor to take six people to Disneyland, and he could give it to any family member or. . . . I used it all the time. That's one thing. Every legislator got one of those. It wasn't signed by Walt Disney; it was signed by somebody else. But Pat's was always signed by Walt Disney personally. So that's worth about \$1,700 today, and it's in that cabinet right there.

YATES: Behind me.

CULLEN: So anyway, you see, the governor was not a saver, so he would, you know. . . . So I have his 1963 pass, anyway.

YATES: So, those types of things you don't feel, though, that had undue influence on .

..

CULLEN: Well, you can go back to Jesse Unruh's statements. I mean, seriously, you've got to be able to accept their gifts, or not, as you choose, but do what we feel is right. I mean, they're going to give you this, anyway. They want you. . . .

I mean, I could go to any racetrack in California with a gold pass and sit in the [Del Mar] Turf Club and never pay for my dinner or any drinks or anything else because I was the assistant legislative secretary. I rarely ever did it, but I could. And so could anyone else, a legislative aide to somebody carrying an important racing bill. Believe me, they were pointed out, they were invited to Tanforan [Race Track] or Golden [Gate] Fields or Hollywood Park or Santa Anita, and that's it.

Or those people who own the Dodgers. I mean, Walter O'Malley. I've got a thing in there from Walter O'Malley that's just. . . . I'll show it to you after we get up. I don't want to disturb the thing right now. It's just a postcard from Walter O'Malley. It's saying, "Gee, we won. Hope you do," kind of thing when they won the pennant. So there's a lot of little things like that. But Pat always got free passes to the Dodgers, to the Angels, I mean, and so did almost every legislator.

[End Tape 7, Side B]

[Begin Tape 8, Side A]

YATES: I was asking you about the influence of lobbyists.

CULLEN: As I just said, I think the influence of a lobbyist can be as persuasive as you allow it to be, and if they have good information and it helps what you're doing in terms of getting a bill clarified or making the bill more signable, yes, we'd go along with it. But don't forget, where you have a lobbyist for a program, you've probably got a lobbyist against it, so which lobbyist do you listen to? So that's something people don't. . . .

“Oh, all those lobbyists are alike.” Well, they are all alike in they're trying to accomplish their ends, but their ends on a single piece of legislation might be totally opposed, diametrically opposed. So that's what people don't understand. I mean, people don't think about that. But if there's a lobbyist protagonist, there's an antagonist. It just is going to happen.

YATES: Well, your role as assistant to the legislative secretary, that. . . . Well, you started as assistant to, and then [became] assistant in March of '65.

CULLEN: Right.

YATES: How long did that go on, that title?

CULLEN: That went on until May of 1966, when I took a leave of absence until November, and I worked on the campaign from May through election day. Then when we lost, the very next day I went back on state payroll, but I only stayed on it until the end of December. And then. . . . I don't know whether you know the story of my being appointed to. . . . I was a deathbed appointment of the governor's.

YATES: No. What does that mean?

CULLEN: Well, the governor who loses an election may have appointments available to him, available.

YATES: Oh, of course. Yes.

CULLEN: So I was appointed to be deputy director of the Department of General Services, because the governor came to me one day, and he said, "Frank, you'll like it up here." He said, "I know your family's down south, but," he said, "I'd very much like to appoint you."

Because I had another appointment earlier on, that I think when I first went on the state payroll, I think I was the planning officer for the Department of General Services. And even though I was assigned to the governor's office, the Department of General Services paid my salary and loaned me to the governor's office. I was actually titled planning officer. I've got a sheet around here giving me that. . . . You know. It's like one of those things on the wall there.

Anyway, so the problem was that Governor. . . . I said, "Yes, Governor, I'd like to do that."

I called Mary Anne and told her, and I said, "Look," I said, "this is a tremendous appointment. It pays \$33,000 a year. It's the political side of the Department of General Services," I said. "There's a civil service side and a political side. Civil service is not an appointment; it's statutory. This is

appointed, so it's political." I said, "It's a four-year term." And I said, "It has an office in Sacramento, but," I said, "it also has an office in Los Angeles, plus an apartment, plus a car, one in San Diego and one in San Francisco. So it's a very, very good post. I want to take it." So my wife said, "If you want to take it, OK. Go do it." So I did it.

And then when I went to my office the day after [Ronald W.] Reagan was sworn in, I was stopped by security, and they said that I wasn't welcome. And I said, "Who told you I wasn't welcome?" He said, "Well, haven't you heard?" I said, "Heard what?" And he said, "[Edmund G. 'Pat'] Brown has given your appointment to Governor Reagan." I said, "He's done what?"

He said, "He's given your appointment to Governor Reagan." I said, "Well, nobody told me that. I've got a piece of paper here." And he said, "Sir, that piece of paper is not worth anything now. It's been preempted."

So I tried to get hold of the governor; couldn't get him, and so I flew down, flew home, and I couldn't figure out what the hell was going on. So I think it was either the 11th or the 13th of January, eleven o'clock at night, the phone rings, and it's Governor Brown. He said, "Frank, this is Pat." Well, I'd never called him "Pat" in my life. I didn't know who the hell "Pat" was, I mean. But I recognized the voice, you know. And I said, "Governor." I said, "I've been trying to reach you."

"Yeah, I know that. I apologize," he said. "Meet me at the coffee shop

in the Beverly-Wilshire [Hotel] tomorrow morning at seven o'clock, and we'll settle this thing." So I said, "Thanks, Governor," and hung up the phone and told Mary Anne. I said, "Boy, I just don't think. . . ." So she said, "Well, I want an answer to this thing. Either you're up there or you're not." You know, she was really. . . .

So I said, "OK, fine." So I go to the officè—not the office. I go to meet the governor at seven o'clock. So he said, "Frank," he said, "I'm awfully sorry," he said, "but Governor Reagan wanted four of my deathbed appointments." Deathbed means it's done after you've lost the election. And he said, "One he particularly wanted was yours." And he said, "I'll tell you what. You can come work for me."

And I said, "Well, Governor," I said, "I'm not a lawyer. What would I do for you?" He said, "Well, you were my legislative assistant, weren't you?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Well, you do the legislation." He said, "Everybody's going to come and kind of throw things over the transom to me, want me to do things in Sacramento. I don't go to Sacramento. I'm down here in Beverly Hills, and I want to start my law practice. You go up. You can do that." And he said, "You had a PR company once, didn't you?" I said, "Yes." "Well, you do my PR." He said, "Set up two companies. Set up one company that's a PR company, and one company that's a government relations company. You can't be a lobbyist, and you can't lobby, so it's a

government relations company. Is that OK?"

I said, "Yes, Governor." I said, "That's fine." I said, "Governor," I said, "what about pay?" I said, "You've got to start your law practice. I'm not a lawyer. Who's going to pay me?" "I'll pay you \$100 a month." I said, "Governor, I'm giving up a \$33,000-a-year job, and you're going to pay me \$100 a month? That's \$12,000 a year."

He said, "Well, don't worry about it. You know, people come in to me." And he said, "We'll split everything I get." He said, "I'll do the law work and you do the government work, and you keep everything you make, and really all I'm paying you for is the public relations part of it."

I said, "Governor, all right. That's OK with me, if you think it'll work." So I did it. First year, Governor Brown made \$107,000, which he thought was manna from heaven, because his salary was \$44,500 a year as governor. I made \$168,000 that year, and he was furious. [Laughter] The only year that happened. The only year that happened. So I asked him, I said, "Governor," I said, "can I ask you a personal question?" He said, "Yeah, what is it?" I said, "Why did you give my appointment away and not one of the others?" He said, "Well, the only important other one that was any good was Adrienne Sausset's appointment." He said, "Frank, you've worked for me since '62. She's worked for me for twenty-three years. I owe her more than I owe you. And besides, she's sixty-three years old; you're still in your thirties. And I

need you; I don't need Adrienne."

So I said, "Well, what does Adrienne do?" "Oh, she's going to be chairman of the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board." [Laughter] Have you ever heard of Adrienne Sausset?

YATES: You've mentioned her name.

CULLEN: No, has she ever been interviewed?

YATES: I don't know. I'd have to check.

CULLEN: Boy, there is an interview, because she was with him from district attorney on.

YATES: Yes, I remember you mentioning that, and now I can't . . .

CULLEN: She was the gatekeeper, and she was his personal assistant for years and years and years and years.

YATES: Well, we jumped ahead. I inadvertently jumped ahead chronologically.

So tell me now if this seems like the best place to jump into the campaign, or if you want to touch on anything else that happened during the time you were working as the assistant to the legislative secretary.

CULLEN: Well, one of the things I started then doing, Frank Mesplé had me going making speeches to people. I'd speak at schools and talk about legislation, and when he was invited to go and couldn't go, he'd send me. I spoke in Bakersfield; I spoke in Fresno; I spoke in Sacramento, at high schools and junior colleges and what have you, saying, you know, trying to. . . .And I've

kept it up; I still speak. As a matter of fact, I'm speaking next month in. . . . I'm sorry, next semester at Loyola Marymount [University] law school. I speak there every year, usually in the beginning of the term and the end of the term. I speak at UCLA [University of California, Los Angeles]. I've spoken at UC Davis. So, I try to do that.

But that started it, and it got me into it while I was working for Frank. Frank did it all the time. He was just tremendous. He loved working with schools.

YATES: You had mentioned to me, and I think I've got the time frame correct, about the meeting of the Democratic State Central Committee and the CDC that you were involved in.

CULLEN: That was in 1965. That was in 1965, and one of the other roles I had, that had nothing whatsoever to do with the legislative secretary's office, was in assisting the governor, in his role as governor, in helping the Democratic Party in their state convention, and it was a role that whoever was sitting governor would do that, and what have you. Both the Republican and Democratic Party, if they were meeting in Sacramento, the governor would usually be a participant. And I did the seating chart and I did a lot of the things that. . . .And there was also a big CDC contingent at the state convention.

You've got to understand, the state party is a legal entity. The CDC is

not—the California Democratic Council. The California Democratic Council is not even a part of the Democratic State Central Committee. They're two entirely different things.

And the party looked upon the Democratic Council as sort of an ultraliberal, elitist group, which is somewhat true. It was mostly the people from West Los Angeles or Berkeley or upscale Sacramento and upscale San Diego. It was mostly urban areas—very few of the farm or outlanders involved in CDC. They had very high goals and some good agendas, but a lot of times it didn't mesh with the party policy, so there was an ongoing fight, which I came to realize in '62, that this thing was going to. . . . It was like oil and water. I mean, you really had to keep them apart if you could, because once they got together. . . .

Well, this was the thing where, at the State Central Committee, there are a lot of urban areas that were represented by CDC representatives who are pushing their agenda. And I think I told you the story about there was a big fight at the time between the CDC-backed nominee for state chair, a sitting assemblyman named [Charles] Charlie Warren, and a lady that said that Governor Brown had promised to support her, a lady by the name of Carmen Warschaw.

And as it happened, Carmen Warschaw was defeated, and Charlie Warren did become the state chair, and Carmen never forgave the governor

for that, for many, many, many years. But here again, Carmen was backed by the Jesse [Unruh] organization, and most of Pat's supporters were on the Charlie Warren side, although Carmen says that Pat had pledged his support to her. And it may be true. Sometimes Pat was overly gregarious and said, "Yes, I'll support you," but when push comes to shove, generally he did that, but if there was other persuasions in a situation like this. . . . And in fairness, he didn't really take part in it. He really didn't.

YATES: This '65 meeting, then, maybe you could talk a little bit about that in terms of setting the stage for the election.

CULLEN: Well, it did set the stage for the election, and it continued the real Jesse Unruh-Pat Brown political split. Up to that, it was sort of a philosophical split, whereas now it became a war, I mean. And I really think that even if Jesse had gotten his way and Pat did not run and Jesse ran, he would never have beaten Reagan, either.

I mean, I think Reagan. . . . When you look at the vote, it was a million votes. I mean, just a million votes separated them. And it was the same way that Pat won in '58, by a million votes. I mean, there was dissension within the Republican Party in '58. There was dissension among the Democratic Party in '66, but that was really generated and exacerbated by the happenings at the state convention. There were an awful lot of small county districts that left that convention very bitter.

YATES: This is the '65 that you're talking about?

CULLEN: So '65 convention. Yes, '65 convention. That there were people who left there and felt that Pat had given up his support of Carmen and he shouldn't have done it, and that the CDC was running rampant over the state party. And really, when you look at the state party, as I, you know, late coming to the state. . . . I only came in '58, so I was a latecomer. I had only been in the state, you know, from '58 to '65. I didn't know all the intricacies or even the people. I knew the Democrats, but I didn't know any of the Republicans, except the people I had met in my legislative work.

So I didn't really know much, but basically both Republicans and Democrats were somewhat. . . . It was the candidates who ran things, not the parties. The parties were an adjunct in the history of California, as you look at it. And this became very, very true, and you had, like Don Bradley, who was an excellent campaign manager, he didn't give a flying jump at the moon about the party. I mean, he could care less what the party did or what they didn't do. He wanted them to set up phone banks and do mailers and what have you, but he wanted to do it his way, not their way, and I saw that in every campaign I was ever in.

The campaign manager always wanted to tell the state party what to do, and the county chairman of the state party wanted to do it their way. And so you had this, "Yes, we're all Democrats, but we're marching to two different

drummers.”

YATES: So what happened or didn't happen at that particular meeting?

CULLEN: Well, at that particular meeting, the convention . . .

[Interruption]

The '65 state meeting was held at the Memorial Auditorium, which has just been refurbished and looks great, at J Street and Sixteenth [Street]. It was a mob scene, and there were two different, divisive groups. You had the CDC elements within. . . . I mean, they were all part of the state party, but the urban people, as I said, represented the CDC, and the rural people and a lot of the other county people didn't want the CDC in, even here in Los Angeles. I mean, it was only the West Los Angeles group and the Beverly Hills group that were pushing the CDC. Except Carmen Warschaw was a resident of Beverly Hills, but she was backed by the state party, the official state party. Charlie Warren, also from Los Angeles, but a little further down, he came from the Hancock Park area, he and his wife.

YATES: When you said Charlie Warren, I thought it was Gene Wyman.

CULLEN: No, no, Charlie Warren.

YATES: OK.

CULLEN: Charlie Warren was the candidate. Gene Wyman was the backer of that candidate. It was Gene Wyman. Against Jesse Unruh and Carmen Warschaw was Charlie Warren and Gene Wyman. Joe Cerrell and Charlie

Winner putting together. . . . I mean, I don't know how they decided on Charlie Warren. I was not part of that, but they decided it would not be appropriate to have Carmen to be the state chair, because she was too close to Jesse. That was the real decision that was made, not by Pat Brown, but by Pat's handlers, if I can use that term, Don Bradley, Gene Wyman, Mark Boyer.

Fred Dutton was not involved in that; he was still in Washington. Yes, he was still working for Johnson. No, he had left Johnson, but then he had a private law practice. Van Dempsey. I mean, there were these people. You had the. . . . Gene Klein. All of the big Pat Brown financial backers—Bob Six—felt it would be a mistake to back Carmen Warschaw, because she was so close to Jesse, and they thought that that would be less support for the governor's race in '66.

Now, at that time, the governor had not decided whether he'd run again for a third term, because only one governor had ever been elected for a third term, and that was Earl Warren. So even though Earl Warren was a protégé. . . . I mean, Pat Brown was a protégé of Earl Warren's. You didn't have that ten years of governorship that Earl Warren had, and you didn't have the power that Warren had.

YATES: But the feeling then, was still, at that point, though, even though Governor Brown hadn't officially said anything, that . . .

CULLEN: He hadn't even made a decision, and everybody knew that, but they thought if he did run or his candidate would run, they didn't want Jesse. That was the [Inaudible]. Whether Pat ran as Pat Brown, or someone else ran with his endorsement, then it wouldn't be Jesse.

YATES: So then clearly you've got two divisions within the Democratic Party.

CULLEN: Right. You had this schism, this schism that was just. . . . And it became really. . . . And also that was an outgrowth, too, of the Salinger campaign, because you had this. . . . The first real break in the Democratic Party, such as it is and was, was that Salinger campaign, and that held over. It was only a year later, and this animosity and this hatred were still there. And I mean hatred. I know families today—I swear, they say this—don't speak today, the brother and sister, mother and father—and the father and mother are dead now, and they never reconciled—because of the Salinger campaign.

YATES: Yes, I remember you mentioning that it caused a great rift.

CULLEN: Yes, it did. It was a terrible rift, a terrible rift. But that decision was made to back Charlie Warren, and it just turned off the whole Unruh organization, and it became much harder for us to pass our legislation. I must say that.

YATES: Oh, OK.

CULLEN: Oh, it really did. It had that serious an effect. Jesse was furious. Jesse was livid, and Carmen was just absolutely . . .

YATES: So in terms of working with Jesse Unruh, that's . . .

CULLEN: It became much more difficult, much more difficult. And none of his people trusted us, because we didn't tell them until late. And I say "we didn't," because I was not a part of this, except I was the messenger. I was the guy who . . .

YATES: You were helping set the thing . . .

CULLEN: Set the thing up, right.

YATES: I mean physically set the thing up.

CULLEN: Physically, right. I did all of that stuff, actually.

YATES: OK. But the immediate impact was an increase in this feud, or I don't know what you want to call it.

CULLEN: Well, it was a feud. It was a feud. It was a dissidence between these two people that just grew and grew and grew. And really, there was very little conversation between Pat and Jesse after that time. I mean, Pat just wrote Jesse off, and Jesse wrote Pat off. I mean, it was just one of those things that happened. Now, they did meet and they did talk legislation, but they never . . . . As a matter of fact, there were a couple of times when Pat invited Jesse over to the mansion for dinner, and Jesse refused, after that. So Pat had a legislative dinner every year, and at the beginning of the session, '66, Jesse came and left. He didn't stay. So, I mean, it was a bitter deck of cards being dealt.

YATES: Well, when did you learn that Governor Brown was going to run for a third

term?

CULLEN: I don't think he really decided until probably January of 1966, in his own mind. I know he and Bernice. . . . Bernice didn't really want him to run for a third term. Bernice was somewhat ambivalent about it. She loved being first lady. She was a great first lady. She was very gracious. She looked like a first lady. I mean, she really did. She enjoyed her role, but she was also a very family person.

I guess January he announced to the staff that he was going to run for a third term. He had a meeting in the cabinet room, which, incidentally, he never, hardly ever, uses the cabinet room. It was more of a reception room, anyway, but they called it a cabinet room. We did a lot of speechifying there.

YATES: What was your sense when you heard him tell you that he was planning to run for a third term?

CULLEN: My reaction was, I thought it was great. By that time, I really idolized Pat Brown. I really thought that he was probably on a peer with Hubert Humphrey. I had gotten to know the vice president a lot better during the term, that two years from '64 till '66. I mean, every time he came to California, he specifically asked for me to be assigned to him. So I mean I got involved with him whenever. . . . And so I was the liaison between the vice president and the governor, and it was really a marvelous thing. And then later on, when the vice president ran in '68, Pat loaned me to him from

March of '68 until the day after election day, and Pat paid my salary, too.

YATES: What does it mean to be the liaison between the vice president and the governor?

CULLEN: Well, they have a personal relationship, and sometimes he would use Hubert Humphrey to get messages to the president that he didn't want to go through Jack Valenti or Marvin Watson or what have you, and I would deliver those messages. The governor and I had established early on sort of a unique relationship where he had trust in my confidence, that I wouldn't let anybody else know what was going on except the person I was delivering the message to. And sometimes there would be a handwritten message; sometimes it would be a verbal message.

And the person that I would deal with—not with the vice president directly—was a man named Marty McNamera, who was the vice president's number two guy. So it was an aide-to-aide kind of a relationship. But whenever the vice president came here, he was always very welcoming and always asked for me and what have you, so I was at all of those things. It was great.

But coming back to . . . The governor told the staff that he was considering running, and he wanted opinions from people, what they thought. And then he made his decision toward the end of January. I don't think he went public then. I think he went public in February.

YATES: Yes, I'm confused, because I wrote a date down that doesn't seem right. I had written down he had actually announced it in November of '65.

CULLEN: No, that he may run.

YATES: That he may run.

CULLEN: May run, not that he would run. He may run.

YATES: Right. OK. That must have been . . .

CULLEN: No, no, that was very, very different, see. And that was really because he was so goddamn mad at Jesse. He didn't want Jesse to run, and that's why he was saying he was thinking of running for re-election.

YATES: OK, I wrote it wrong.

CULLEN: No, he said he may run. He's thinking of running, but he didn't really decide, because there was a big question in the family. I mean, there were big family councils. I mean, Joe Kelly would come up to Sacramento and say, "You know, Pat, you gotta run. Pat, you gotta run."

YATES: So he did ask the staff's opinion on what they thought.

CULLEN: Yes, he did ask the staff what the reaction would be if he ran again. He didn't say whether he should run or not, but what he thought the public reactions would be from your segment or your segment. He always was a great question-asker. He always wanted more information.

YATES: And when he asked you that, what did you tell him?

CULLEN: "Go for it."

YATES: Your sense, though, from who you'd communicated with. . . .

CULLEN: My feeling was that we thought that George Christopher, the mayor of San Francisco, would likely be the candidate. Nobody had seriously, seriously said Ronald Reagan was going to be the candidate. I mean, it was a rumor, but everybody laughed at it. I mean, George Murphy was a fluke. They're not going to have another actor. I mean, that's ridiculous.

You wouldn't believe the. . . . See, the Republicans knew what they were doing with Ronald Reagan, because they understood the power of the media. We were on cloud nine. Our main technical media person on the campaign was an old-time pencil-pusher, vicious, vicious reporter by the name of Harry Lerner. Harry Lerner wrote with blooded ink.

YATES: Yes, that Dutton interview<sup>1</sup> I mentioned to you, he talks about negative campaigning in connection with Harry Lerner.

CULLEN: Oh, Lord. I mean, Harry Lerner was vicious, and his wife, Cissy Lerner, was worse.

YATES: So he was the point person in terms of media exposure?

CULLEN: Well, not exposure, no. They had Roy Ringer, and there was a guy named [James] Jim Keene. Jim Keene was the media maven of both the Salinger campaign in '64 and also. . . . Jim Keene was a southern California public

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1. Frederick G. Dutton, "Democratic Campaigns and Controversies, 1954-1966," an oral history conducted 1977-1978 by Amelia R. Fray, Regional Oral History Office, the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1981.

relations and printer combined.

Also, another name we should mention is a guy—talking about public relations—a man named Walter Leftwich. Walter Leftwich. He was a Salinger guy and a Brown guy, both campaigns. Another thing we did. . . . One of the great things we did was bring in a guy who was one of the foremost documentary makers [Charles Guggenheim Productions] in the world at the time, and his name just escapes me. [Charles] Charlie [Guggenheim]. He came from Washington, D.C., and he was just incredible.

YATES: But you were saying one of the main things that, I guess, became clear—maybe it's later—was the media savvy aspect of it.

CULLEN: Oh, the media savvy was just a disaster, because, as I say, I'm trying to remember these. . . . Jim Keene and Walter Leftwich were sort of the Democratic media cabal in southern California, and I forget who was doing it up north. Cyr Copertini is very, very important in this thing, but she's been interviewed already.

YATES: She has been, yes.

CULLEN: She's an ace. She's a real pro, real pro. She's a real Bradley person now. But she was great. We were living in a world that no longer existed. We were not paying attention to television. I'm telling you this from hindsight now.

YATES: You didn't realize this, obviously, at the time.

CULLEN: No, I had no idea. I mean no idea. I still don't have a television set here. I mean, I've got three televisions down in the desert, you know. I've never brought one up here. As a matter of fact, I don't think I've had a television set since I left the desert. I mean, it doesn't interest me. I've never thought much of television. I mean, I'd rather be there; rather be a part of it.

But Harry Lerner was a very negative guy, very vitriolic, and he really was a thirties writer. He was a very famous writer, very, very, very. . . . He worked for the [*San Francisco*] *Chronicle*; he worked for the [*San Francisco*] *Examiner*. He was a founder of the San Francisco Press Club. But he lived in a different era, and he was thinking small-time. . . . He was thinking San Francisco politics rather than statewide politics. He didn't understand, and we believed him, and the governor liked him. The governor knew him. Since he was a kid, the governor knew Harry. Harry was about ten years older than Pat, and Pat thought a lot of him.

I would say that we made just so many mistakes. We really thought that George Christopher would be the thing. When Ronald Reagan got in, we never thought Reagan would even win the. . . . So we targeted. . . . Instead of targeting Reagan in the primary. . . . We probably could have defeated Reagan in the primary, but we went out and we put out salacious things about George Christopher that had modicum of truth to them. It was true his family was in the dairy business, and you know that story, during the war. . . .

But, you know, he was not . . .

YATES: You're talking about the story about the milk.

CULLEN: The milk. Right. But George Christopher wasn't part of it. His family was. It wasn't George. George Christopher was a damn good mayor. He was a friend of Pat's. I mean, they. . . . You know. He was a Republican.

YATES: What other mistakes do you think were made early on?

CULLEN: Oh, in retrospect, I think, early on, knowing what we know now, the great mistake was running against Ronald Reagan. But we didn't know that at the time, because we weren't thinking of running against Ronald Reagan. We were thinking of running against George Christopher. And there were other idiots running. If you look at that. . . . I happen to have it around here somewhere.

YATES: The list of candidates.

CULLEN: Yes, there were other candidates, but it wouldn't go anywhere. It was a two-man race. And we thought ours was a one-man race. Yorty ran against us. And there's a piece of work. I mean, no, he's really an evil man. The only two people I really felt were evil in this business were the vice president, who became president and had to leave under a little duress, Mr. Nixon, and Yorty. I mean, I've met bad people, but I've never met really evil people, except these two people. A lot of people think that. . . . And Governor Brown forgave Nixon for everything, and by the time Nixon died, Pat, you know,

thought Nixon was misunderstood.

Yorty he never thought was great. Pat also felt. . . . Yorty was a louse and a crook and a thief and a liar. You can quote me. [Laughter] No, he did a terrible thing to us after the campaign, after he lost the primary. And he invited the governor to dinner. . . . I mean, for lunch, sort of a makeup. We had invited him to lunch, and he said no. Finally he called the governor up personally, and he said, "Pat, I'd like to have lunch with you. I'd like to straighten this thing out. If you answer a couple of my questions, I'll support you." And Pat said, "Sam, I'll do it on one condition. No press." And so Sam thought about that for a minute, and he said, "OK, Pat. No press." Pat said, "I mean no press. Not before, during or after. I don't want to see press anywhere. This is just a meeting between you and I. No staff, no anything." So Yorty says, "OK. I'll meet you at the top of the Transamerica Tower for lunch late, so we're not in the luncheon crowd. We'll meet about five to one. No press." He said, "Fine."

So Pat, instead of going in a limousine, took an unmarked state car, and it was just Pat's travel secretary, [A. Thomas] Tom Hickey, myself, and Pat. And Yorty had Joe Quinn with him. Now, just the two of them had lunch, nobody else. We ate at a separate table. We don't know what was discussed and what have you.

They were no sooner finished their coffee when all the press appears.

“Thanks, Sam, for telling us.” [Laughter] I thought the governor would kill him. I mean, that was Sam Yorty. You couldn’t trust the son of a gun as far as you could throw him. You know, his word was useless. He was no good as a congressman; he was no good as a mayor. Well, I’ve got something signed from him over there, but I had no choice; he was the mayor.

YATES: Well, you said you joined the campaign, I guess in an official capacity, in May.

CULLEN: In May. I resigned from the state. You know, I may be wrong on this, but. . .

YATES: Around then.

CULLEN: It was either late April, early May, I resigned from the state.

YATES: And what was your role in the campaign?

CULLEN: Pretty much sort of the go-to guy. Also I had the headquarters built down on Wilshire Boulevard. I had to design these three offices where there were three centers of power. Then you had a fourth center of power here with Joe Cerrell and Chuck Winner.

Chuck also resigned from the governor’s office. He was the southern California secretary. He resigned, and he was an assistant campaign manager, and so Joe Cerrell was an assistant campaign manager. And, you know, I was the procurement guy. I had the headquarters built. I rented the headquarters. I did the whole thing. I mean, I actually did the whole thing in January, on

time off, on my vacation. No, it was February, I guess, we built that headquarters.

YATES: So prior to actually officially moving.

CULLEN: Yes. I took two weeks' vacation, which I had coming from the state, and I took it, and I built the headquarters, which was on Wilshire Boulevard—it wasn't Harvard—and Oxford [Avenue], I think. It was right diagonally across from what's now Saint Basil's Cathedral. It's in, I think, the 3800 block of Wilshire Boulevard, and a beautiful building owned by a guy named [Mike] O'Leary, that a friend of the governor's got, and we had these beautiful offices. I had the whole thing built. I'm a doer.

YATES: Well, when you joined, roughly, May or whatever, now, had Fred Dutton come on board at that point?

CULLEN: No, Fred Dutton didn't come on board until probably near the summer.

YATES: Oh, it was after the primary.

CULLEN: Now, he was an adviser. The governor depended so much on Fred Dutton by then, and it was the governor's fault. The governor brought Fred Dutton out here, much to Hale Champion and Don Bradley's duress. I mean, they were just. . . . And Fred came out thinking he was going to run the show, and Hale Champion wasn't. . . . They weren't friends, but they weren't enemies, but they became. . . .

YATES: Yes, they need each other.

CULLEN: Very, very well. See, Fred was basically a lawyer, and Fred had a lot to do. These guys all worked together in the '58 campaign, the '62 campaign, and the '66 campaign. I mean, they knew each other very, very well, and they played golf together, they ate dinner together. But none of them trusted each other. Not because they didn't trust. . . . They all thought that they were smarter than the other two. And that was all three. I mean, it was a triangle of. . . . You know, I could tell you stories that are just horrendous, horrendous.

But the other thing that really hurt us was the governor had no sense of television. He was not good on television. Ronald Reagan was a master of television. And against all our suggestions, the governor was doing a thing in a park. Walked away from the crowd, and these two little boys were playing by a tree, and he stopped to talk to them. He asked if they knew who we were, and he said—and I don't remember the exact words, it's all on tape, so I can be. . . . But the bottom line was, he said, "Do you know who I am?" And I'm paraphrasing now. And they said, "No, we don't." And he said, "I'm the governor of California." And one of the kids said, "Oh, we're going to vote for Reagan." And he said, "Well, remember, it was an actor who shot Lincoln." Now, that's the essence of it; it's not exactly the way it happened. But it's on the film.

And that night, when that was shown on television news shows—and we

called all the stations around to try and get it pulled, and the governor said, “No, you can’t pull it. I want that on the air.” He insisted that go on the air, because it was true.

Well, every campaign headquarters telephone from Yreka to San Diego went off the boards. The phones wouldn’t stop, people complaining about how dare anybody compare Reagan to John Wilkes Booth. It was a terrible, terrible mistake, and it cost us a lot of votes.

YATES: Do you think he understood that?

CULLEN: He did afterwards, but he didn’t. . . .

YATES: Afterward. He really didn’t understand. Obviously, he didn’t understand it.

CULLEN: No, he dismissed Reagan. And he wasn’t saying Reagan was a murderer. He was just saying an actor, you know. He was being generic, OK? He wasn’t saying Reagan was a murderer, but that was the way it came over. And it was a terrible thing to do, and it hurt us terribly, hurt us terribly.

You know, Pat was a very gregarious, wonderful man, the greatest man I ever knew. I mean, without question, the greatest man I ever knew, and I’ve known a lot of great men personally. I mean, I got very close to Hubert Humphrey. I thought he was really the second most important man I ever met, and greatest. And Mesplé is the third. I mean, those three people.

There’s a few other people that I hold in terribly high regard. That guy up there, Don Riegle, was tarred by the [Charles] Keating brush, which was

ridiculous. I mean, an honest, brilliant, brilliant senator, brilliant congressman. That was a tremendous waste. Of course, he's making five times now what he ever made in the Congress, you know. But that's not what really does it.

YATES: Well, I think we've been going a long time, so maybe this is a good point to stop.

[End Tape 8, Side A]

[Session 5, June 30, 2003]

[Begin Tape 9, Side A]

YATES: So, good morning.

CULLEN: Good morning. And how are you, Susan?

YATES: I'm pretty good. How about you?

CULLEN: I'm well, thank you.

YATES: OK. Last time when we met, you had started to talk about the 1966 gubernatorial campaign. So before we come back to that, I wanted to follow up with a couple of questions, and one was. . . . Well, a couple of major events, but the big event is, of course, the Watts riots, which is in August of 1965, and I wanted to ask you about that, since I know you were spending quite a bit of time, at that point, in the governor's office.

CULLEN: Yes. As a matter of fact, what we were doing, we had some very important legislation. It may not seem important now, but one of the bills we were working on was a horse-racing bill that involved a lot of the tracks down here, Santa Anita and Hollywood Park and Del Mar. I was sent down to meet with the involved parties at all of those three tracks, so I was actually, instead

of working out of Sacramento. This was in August of 1965. I was working out of government's office in what was then the old State Building.

Unfortunately, that building is no longer with us. It was damaged severely in the '71 earthquake.

YATES: In the Sylmar earthquake, yes.

CULLEN: Yes. No, this was in the '71 earthquake.

YATES: Right.

CULLEN: Yes, that was the Sylmar earthquake. Yes, you're right.

YATES: Yes. Yes. Not the Northridge.

CULLEN: Not the Northridge, right. But at any event, so they closed the building, which was a great loss to the state, because it was a magnificent building.

Anyway, so a man named Chuck Winner, who was the southern California secretary, was the man who ran that office when the governor wasn't there, and the governor usually, he traveled to southern California a great deal and had his office there. A lady by the name of Judy Royer was the governor's personal secretary there.

And then I had my office there, and a writer by the name of Roy Ringer, who was attached to the press department, but he didn't work all the time, but he had an office there. And a fellow named Fred Jordan, who's now passed away, but he was a consultant to the governor. And a lady by the name of Meredith Burch, and she did a lot of the governor's constituency work. So it

was a big office, and we had a lot of work.

The Watts riots, as you know—I forget the exact dates—happened because a police officer, I believe he was a Highway Patrol officer, pulled over a man for erratic driving, a black man, and a crowd gathered, and it just escalated and escalated and escalated. It happened, I believe, around six-forty-five, seven at night. I'm trying to remember. I haven't thought about this in years. But it was in the early evening, and it just escalated, and a lot of people, they threatened the officer and started people throwing bottles and rocks and what have you, and the officer called for backup, and it just became out of hand.

And as the night wore on, the whole area got really incensed and literally inflamed, and at the time there were a lot of white entrepreneurs, businessmen, who had furniture stores and all sorts of bars and, you name it, grocery stores and what have you, along Avalon [Boulevard] at 103<sup>rd</sup> Street. That was sort of the centerpiece of it. And they just started a riot, where they were breaking windows and torching places, and by four o'clock in the morning, the place was literally ablaze. And when the fire department came in to answer the fire calls, they were stoned and shot at and what have you, so they pulled back. So they notified the lieutenant governor, who was then the acting governor, because Governor Brown was out of town; he was on his vacation in Greece.

YATES: And you were physically in Los Angeles?

CULLEN: I was physically in Los Angeles, and we were notified.

YATES: All of you who were part of the office here?

CULLEN: The office was notified, right. And then we had a thing called the State Police, which no longer exists, and they were the guards of the governor's office and all the government buildings. It was part of the Department of General Services, but they were uniformed police officers.

YATES: At what point was the staff contacted?

CULLEN: Really not until the following morning. I think Chuck Winner was notified that night. I was notified that night that there was a problem and it was getting out of hand, and so naturally, the governor's office, whenever there is something that looks like it might. . . . The governor is always notified of impending or possible disasters. So anyway, it just got worse and worse and worse, and so much so that the people, the policemen, the fire people, couldn't get into the area without being severely threatened.

The police chief at the time was a very arrogant gentleman by the name of William [H.] Parker, a very famous police chief of Los Angeles, and he was a tough guy, but he was also. . . . I can't say this. . . . I've met him many times, but I thought he was sort of anti-black, and that's just my opinion. I don't know if it's the fact or not, but I think that was the case. And I think it's interesting that his driver at the time was a man named Daryl [F.] Gates,

who went on to become another unpopular Los Angeles police chief. But in any event, he was very authoritarian, and he wanted to go in and sort of tone the thing down with assault weapons and what have you, and the assault weapons were a lot different then than they are now.

But it became an escalating situation, and I keep using that word because it went on for three days. The governor was notified in Greece, and he canceled his vacation and decided to fly home. There are arguments whether Governor Glenn Anderson, the sitting governor, Lieutenant Governor Anderson, and the governor actually had telephone communication during that time. Some people say yes, some people say no. I don't know. But my recollection is, the governor instructed either Glenn Anderson or his staff people to tell the acting governor to call out the National Guard—and when I say “the governor,” the sitting, the acting governor—and he didn't do it.

YATES: Glenn Anderson.

CULLEN: Anderson, right. And he didn't do it, and consequently, there was not sufficient force, with the LAPD [Los Angeles Police Department] and the Highway Patrol, to contain the looting. And that started. Then after the fires, they went in and they went into the liquor stores and the furniture stores, and it just became a . . . You couldn't go in this area; it was cordoned off, and the fires just burned, and it was really a tragedy.

YATES: I'm sorry, just so I've got this straight, so your understanding is that Governor

Brown supposedly communicated with the lieutenant governor—or the acting governor—to send in the National Guard, and that that didn't happen.

CULLEN: To call out the National Guard, and that did not happen, and that should have happened. Now, when the governor reached California, he did call out the National Guard. Now, there's a question . . .

YATES: Now, when did he get back?

CULLEN: It took him two days to get back.

YATES: OK. I'm sorry. I interrupted you.

CULLEN: It took the governor two days to get back, he and Mrs. Brown. As I say, they were on a boat in Greece. The boat had to dock, and then he had to make arrangements to fly back. And, of course, he had no idea of the depth of the information until when he gets in, and Winslow Christian, who was his executive secretary and ran the governor's office in Sacramento, he was coordinating things with the lieutenant governor's office. Then you had Jesse Unruh was involved, and, you know, it was just a terrible, terrible situation, and it got worse before it got better.

Finally the National Guard came out. I don't remember the exact number, either thirty-five or thirty-eight people were killed, most all of them black. I think there were only two or three white people killed. And it was a tragedy, and it was unnecessary, really. Had the Guard been called out. . . .

So anyway, I was backstopping the governor with a man named John

Billet, and the governor decided that he wanted to walk down and show the people that he was in charge, and so there are pictures of the governor and Chief Parker and John Billet and myself, a number of other people. I don't know if Chuck was there or not, Chuck Winner. I don't know if he was there then. I don't remember. But anyway, we drove down to the area, and we marched down Avalon Boulevard to 103<sup>rd</sup> Street with armed guards. . . . I mean with National Guard with machine guns and assault rifles on either side of us, and drawn bayonets. It was a terrible, terrible calamity, something I never thought I'd see in America.

By the third day, the place was contained to the point that the fires could be addressed and the people there. . . . As a matter of fact, the man who caused the whole thing, this erratic driver, had been drunk or on drugs or both, and he was in jail.

So a lot of the aftermath of the Watts riots and—fast-forward—the governor said this was an economic disaster to the area, but it was based on not giving enough economic support to the area. So he went out and he got a number of corporations to agree to go into the area and put jobs in the area. One of the biggest supporters of that was a company called Aero Jet Company. I'm sorry, Aero Jet General, and Aero Jet General went in there. This was about October. This happened in August, and I think by October they were in there and they helped with the cleanup, and a lot of the insurance

companies, local insurance companies, a lot of the businesses went in and tried to put businesses in there, but nothing ever really worked out, and nothing ever really changed, as much as a lot of people tried.

And also the schools needed improvement. You know, I could go on on this forever, but there's a lot more people who are closer to it than I was.

YATES: The event itself, this walking through the area that you did with Governor Brown, how did the community respond to that?

CULLEN: Mostly with jeers and then some cheers and then dead silence. I mean, it was just depending where. . . . We only walked about three blocks, and it was really just to show the presence of the governor of the State of California was here, and people were saying, "Why weren't you here before?" you know, and so there was all sorts of criticism and what have you. It took a lot, but the governor was a very, very thoughtful person. He was a brave person, and he felt that the people have got to know that the governor cares and he's there.

YATES: Was he the one who made the decision to go in there?

CULLEN: Yes, definitely, and Chief Parker was against it, as a matter of fact, and Chief Parker said he was crazy.

And the governor turned to Chief Parker, and he said, "Look, Bill, if I'm going to chance it, you don't have to come with me."

And the chief goes, "I'll go with you." So, in any event, they sort of led the parade.

YATES: Were you privy to any of Governor Brown's personal feelings about it?

CULLEN: Oh yes. He was devastated. He was absolutely devastated. The governor was always for the underdog. I mean, you've got to understand, Pat Brown never graduated from college, and it always affected him. He went directly from high school, Lowell High School, to a night law school, and he worked for a blind lawyer [Milton Schmitt], and he had this sense of wanting to help people who were disadvantaged. When he was district attorney of San Francisco, he hired the first black to be his chief assistant, a man who later went on to become a member of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. His name is Cecil Poole, very much involved in the Chessman case and other things.

In any event, Pat did not have. . . . The governor did not have. . . . He was literally color-blind. He wanted everybody to get by, everybody to have an income, everybody to get educated, and he was very, very particular about children. He was a very compassionate man, but he was also dedicated to education. The fact that he never graduated from college, he never got over that. It didn't matter to his business. He turned out to be a great lawyer and a very, very successful businessman, and that ordinarily doesn't go together. There are a few times you get good lawyers who are good businessmen, but mostly it's the other way around.

YATES: Well, to tie it into the election that comes up the next year, what impact do

you think his handling of the Watts riots had on his . . .

CULLEN: Oh, I think it had tremendous impact, because the Republicans stressed that the governor was out of state when this . . . . Why was he out of state? Well, he was on a vacation. I mean, he's entitled to a vacation. He was a hard-working governor. He was one of the first governors who would go to every one of the fifty-eight counties within a two-year period. He did this.

YATES: Yes, I remember. I remember you mentioned that.

CULLEN: I mean, how many governors have ever been to Del Norte County? I mean, they can go to the ones around Sacramento. They can go to El Dorado [County], and they can go to Amador [County], but they don't ordinarily. But you don't get many people going to Siskiyou County or Del Norte County or Modoc County. It doesn't happen. And very few of them ever get to Inyo [County] or Mono County, or go down to Imperial County, but he did it.

He loved this state. One of the greatest things he loved was Yosemite. He started out as a high school kid, working, building the Hetch Hetchy reservoir, and he later regretted it as governor. He always wanted to drain Hetch Hetchy and put Yosemite back, but, on the other hand, he said, it got him through high school.

But going into talking about the campaign, I think there was a lot of resentment toward the Democratic Party, toward the governor, because a lot of people blamed him for being away. They shouldn't have, but they did. A

lot of people also felt that the black community, especially in Los Angeles and, to a lesser degree, in the Central Valley, were not getting the education that they deserved, and I think that's probably true.

You see, what happened was. . . . I'm going back a little bit when. . . . And I was one of these people. I was stationed out here for a while during World War II. But you had this influx of American servicemen and women coming to California, because there were so many aircraft plants here. There were shipbuilding plants here. And so you had a lot of people moving from the South. What World War II. . . . was really liberate the Southern blacks, and sent them all over the Northeast, all over the Mid West, and to the Far West, from Seattle to the Mexican border. You had this influx of blacks, and they said, "Hey, this is great. We'll stay." And they did.

But the white community was not accepting of them, often, and there was segregation here in California as late as 1945. They didn't have separate water fountains, but there was not a "Welcome" sign out, either. So it was a transition, and I think the Watts riots were a result of that very difficult transition, because they were really not only segregated in this black area, but there were very few jobs and lousy educational opportunities.

Now, you've got examples. You've got a man that. . . . On your campus, the Ralph Bunche Building, where your office is, was named after Ralph [J.] Bunche. Well, certainly he made it out of the ghetto, and so did any number

of others, I mean, you know, whether it be Cesar [E.] Chavez or Martin Luther King [Jr.], or the man who just died recently, the late mayor of Atlanta, Maynard Jackson.

And so I think when Tom Bradley was elected mayor of Los Angeles that signified a change. That was in 1973, and you also had a black mayor in Cleveland; a black mayor in Detroit; a black mayor, briefly, who left, out in Chicago, Walter Washington. He was mayor of Chicago, in between the Daleys. [Richard M. Daley and Richard J. Daley]

In any event, but you had this renaissance that really was happening and is happening. I mean, I went to a small college in the East, the College of the Holy Cross, after the war. I went there on the GI Bill, and we had our first black student. This college was a Catholic Jesuit college founded in 1843, and in 1947 we had our first black student. So, I mean, that tells you something about the tenor in America. So the civil rights struggle was real. And it's still going on. It's still going on.

But, to answer your question about. . . I think there was a lot of resentment in the black community that the governor didn't do enough, but that was a minor thing. I don't think that we could have won, in retrospect, getting to the campaign. We made a very, very bad choice. There had only been one actor. There was an actress who became very famous running against Richard Nixon, Helen Gahagan Douglas, and she was an actress. She

was married to a famous actor, Melvyn Douglas. But that was about all that I can remember. She'd been a congressperson and running for the Senate, and she had about as much chance as I do, and I wasn't running. But when you go forward, the first real actor, who was a popular song-and-dance man by the name of George Murphy, beat Pierre Salinger in the general election in 1964, and that said something, that actors can be elected.

YATES: Did you register the significance of that event, of his being able to beat Pierre Salinger?

CULLEN: Oh, absolutely. As a matter of fact, I think I may have told you, when Don Bradley, who was the campaign manager, was so incensed—and this is not an apocryphal story, because I was there—Don Bradley called all the senior staff in the day after the election and wrote on the blackboard before we all came in. He had the meeting called for ten o'clock in the morning, and we walked in, and here on the blackboard was, "The people have spoken. The stupid bastards."

And in effect, he was right, because here was a man who had an intimate knowledge of the legislative process; press secretary to two presidents, John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. He could pick up the phone and get any cabinet officer, bang, just like that, whether it be Robert McNamara or Luther Hodges or whoever it might be. And he knew Washington, and he had a great relationship with the leadership of both the House [of Representatives]

and the Senate, because he was dealing with them all the time.

So here the public, instead of electing Salinger, elects this song-and-dance man who absolutely knew nothing about government, and it was proven. If you look at George Murphy's record of six years, by four years, he was ready to go home. I mean, it was a disaster. But he was elected.

Now, two years later, Ronald Reagan announces. Well, Ronald Reagan was literally one of the greatest orators we've had in the twentieth century. I mean, he was a good actor. He was a television personality. He was known. He had name identification better than Governor Brown. I mean, we had the things that said his name identification was better, yet even with that information, we didn't go after him in the primary. We went after the former mayor of San Francisco, because he was a tried and true politician, George Christopher.

YATES: Why do you think at that point you didn't focus—I mean, not you personally, but the campaign—why wasn't there a focus on Reagan?

CULLEN: Because they didn't think that Reagan had. . . . We didn't realize the power of the Goldwater cabal, the Holmes Tuttle and the Henry Salvatoris. We didn't realize the power of the monetary support of the Reagan "Kitchen Cabinet," and a lot of it wasn't publicized at the time. We didn't know about this, that he had all this financial backing. We had no concept. We knew that he was friends with Holmes Tuttle. We knew that he was friends with a number of

people, the people that had been around him, [Edwin] Ed Meese [III] and what have you.

Now, we were acting as politicians, and we were looking at this as a political fight, so the guy you got to beat is the other politician, the dyed-in-the-wool Republican, who, you know, had been around since World War II; had been in Republican politics; was very, very well known. He had a great name in the state at the time. He was mayor of the state's second largest city, San Francisco. And so we zeroed in on him. We figured, knock him out of the box, let Reagan be our target. Let Reagan win the primary, and then we could knock him off, because he was only an actor.

Well, we found out by the end of the primary, that was a dumb thing to do, and I must say, I spoke up at a number of meetings, saying that, you know, "Don't forget George Murphy. Let's go after both of these people." And some people agreed with me; some people didn't.

YATES: I know you said, I think, that you officially joined the campaign effort in May, is that correct?

CULLEN: Yes, in May. In May.

YATES: And, now, at that point, has Fred Dutton joined the group? I can't remember. Does he join the primary?

CULLEN: No, he joined after. He came, and what happened was. . . .What happened was, the campaign manager was Don Bradley, but behind the scenes, Hale

Champion, who was probably the governor's closest friend in politics, and then his former campaign manager, or co-campaign manager of the '58 campaign, Fred Dutton, who then had left the White House, Fred Dutton was Governor Brown's first executive secretary. Then President Kennedy took him to Washington and made him the Cabinet secretary. Then after the assassination and a few months with President Johnson—I believe my timing is correct—Fred Dutton left the White House and opened his law firm, Dutton and Dutton, and was very, very successful. One of their first clients was the government of Saudi Arabia. I think he still represents the government of Saudi Arabia.

YATES: So what were Hale Champion's and Fred Dutton's official or unofficial roles?

CULLEN: Well, in the primary, they were unofficial roles. Bradley pretty much ran the campaign. Joe Cerrell and Chuck Winner were deputy campaign managers. Chuck had taken a leave of absence from being southern California secretary to the governor. I did not take a leave of absence until May, but on the other hand, on my free time, after work . . .

YATES: I remember you said you were setting up the headquarters in Los Angeles.

CULLEN: In Los Angeles, right, on Wilshire Boulevard.

YATES: So were you part of, then, the higher-level meetings that the . . .

CULLEN: Not really. The higher-level meetings were done. . . . No, I was not. I was the unofficial headquarters coordinator. I ran the headquarters. I hired

people. A lot of people went on to greater glory. Assemblyman Dave Elder, Senator Pat Johnston, they all worked in this campaign. Ken Cory.

YATES: Well, you mentioned voicing an opinion, for example, [Inaudible].

CULLEN: Oh, yes. I would do, very definitely.

YATES: What kind of meeting would that have been?

CULLEN: Very often they would call me in and say, "Frank, you worked in the Salinger. . . . What do you think?" They were trying to. . . . Was I going to backstop Bradley? Was I going to talk against Bradley? And it would depend on how I felt. I mean, I had no feelings one way or another.

YATES: Would that be a meeting with Bradley and, like, Hale Champion? Or would it be basically Bradley?

CULLEN: No. No, very often it would be a meeting at the southern governor's mansion, which was actually the Phillips house in Hancock Park. And Bradley would always be there. The governor would be there. Hale Champion would come in, but he was still the director of finance, and so you've got to be careful. And the governor was very careful. We couldn't do anything until after hours. I mean, I did a lot of work from five in the morning till nine in the morning. I really did, a lot.

YATES: Yes, this is before you joined the campaign officially.

CULLEN: Yes, right. From January, I worked probably—and this is no exaggeration—seventy-hour weeks.

YATES: I'll bet.

CULLEN: I mean, I would work in the morning, and then I'd work after hours at night, and I'd work every weekend. At the same time, I was the neighborhood commissioner of the Crescent Bay Area Council of the Boy Scouts, so I had to rush off on Friday nights and Saturday nights to do that. But it was exciting. It was just stimulating, and we all thought we'd win. We didn't really get the message until after Labor Day that we're going to get creamed.

YATES: So even after the primary, then you don't really realize the significance of Reagan?

CULLEN: We didn't realize the power and the financial backing and the dedication of Reagan and his Kitchen Cabinet. We thought Reagan was doing this as a lark. We didn't realize he was a serious, serious contender.

YATES: And why do you think the campaign didn't understand that? Just because of what you said before?

CULLEN: I think because they were mostly, basically politicians, and you've got to look at their backgrounds. I mean, Pat had not practiced law, since the early '40s really, as a civilian. True, he was a district attorney of San Francisco for seven years, and he was attorney general of the State of California for eight years, and he was the lawyer for the state. But that's different than being. . . . You know. And he was a very political animal. So he was looking at it from his perspective. Hale was looking at it from his, Bradley from his, Dutton

from his.

And then you had all sorts of people coming in with advice, and people like Joe Alperson, people like Mark Boyer, people like Gene Klein and Gene Wyman, who were big. . . . They were financing the campaign. In those days, campaigns were different. It would be nothing for the governor to call somebody up and say, "Joe, I need \$50,000 tomorrow," and we'd have that \$50,000. Or Gene Klein would take the center page of the [*Dinner*] *Journal*, the gold page in the *Journal* for \$100,000. I mean, that was legal in those days, but that changed as time went on.

So we were busy fund-raising. We were busy doing all sorts of things where we thought we could get the momentum to beat Reagan, but by September, we realized that Reagan didn't take the summer off. He worked. We didn't, either, but most of the people, the summer's in doldrums. He was making speeches everywhere. We had people following him, and he was good. He was good, and we realized, "My god, he is a better speaker than the governor is," and the governor was a pretty good speaker. But this guy was a professional speaker, and it made a big, big difference. And he had a name recommendation that was better than the governor's. He was an actor, and everybody knew his name. He was on one of the most popular family television shows, the GE hour, *Death Valley Days*, and all this other. . . .

You know, it was an error that caught up with our kind of politics. I

mean, we were into press releases, bumper sticker, buttons. Well, he didn't give a damn about all that stuff. All they wanted to do was get Reagan out and get him in front of the people.

YATES: And they used the media to do that, right?

CULLEN: Used the media to do that, but also the governor was a sitting governor of the state, the biggest state in the United States by this time, and he was busy being governor. He really was. I mean, a lot of times he could not go to political things that Dutton said, "You've got to go to this, Pat. And he said, "I can't. I've got something to do. I've got to be in San Francisco." "I've got to be in San Diego."

YATES: I mentioned the Fred Dutton interview, and I was looking again at the portion of the interview where he talks about the campaign, and, of course, this is his perspective later on, but one comment I think he made in the interview was that Pat Brown's campaign never had any clear focus.

CULLEN: It did not. And the reason it didn't have a clear focus was part of his. . . . He was part of the problem. We had this triumvirate, where you had Don Bradley, with his strictly political. . . . He was a great political organizer; he knew how to get out the vote and what have you.

Then you had the philosophical, government-related Hale Champion, who had been a reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, was the governor's press secretary, and then his executive secretary, and then head of the

Department of Finance. Well, he was so deep into the Department of Finance, and doing great things. I mean, Hale wanted to do all sorts of great things to make California a great state, and Pat was doing those things, so that was his perk.

Then you had Fred Dutton, who had not lived in California in five years, six years. The whole thing had changed. And Fred Dutton came with his eastern establishment, now, even though he was a native Californian. I don't know whether he was a native Californian or not, but anyway, he'd been here for years; he was a lawyer here, very successful, he was politically astute.

But none of these people, none of these people, got together and said, "This is the street we're going to march down." And the governor was being advised by all of these other people, by the Gene Wymans and the Gene Kleins and the Bob Sixs and the Don Nomilinis and the Jim Camps. I mean, these guys, if you gave the governor \$50,000, or \$100,000, or you raised \$250,000, which some of these people did, the governor can't ignore those people. He has to listen to what they say. He may not agree with them, but he had to give them the time.

So there was no focus, it was true. We were a train riding to a train wreck, I mean, really, because there was no central theme of the campaign. One week we'd be stressing this; another week we'd be stressing that. We also had the famous labor leaders who were helping us at the time, and they

had their own agenda, which was different than the business community, and a lot of people from the business community.

YATES: Well, the fact that Governor Brown had these three, it sounds like, strong personalities . . .

CULLEN: Oh, were they ever.

YATES: . . . and very capable individuals, but ultimately, he made the decision to have those three people involved, correct?

CULLEN: Yes, he did. He did. He made that decision because he depended on all three of them. They were close friends of his. He thought that a compendium of thinkers would be better than just one.

YATES: So, in a way, it's a characteristic that you hear about Governor Brown, of really making his own decisions, but really wanting to hear . . .

CULLEN: He wanted to hear everybody's. . . . You know, a lot of people said—which wasn't true—Pat made his decision based on the last person he spoke to. That was not true. He made his decision from a variety of input, and then he would make the decision.

YATES: But it sounds like in this particular scenario, this didn't help him.

CULLEN: It didn't help him at all, plus the fact that you have got to realize, these are three very, very strong, powerful personalities. I mean, Dutton, Bradley, and Champion all had their own agendas, and they conflicted. They conflicted, and, frankly, we worked against each other in some things, because

Champion's people would do Champion's stuff, Dutton's people would do Dutton's thing, and then Bradley's people would do Bradley's thing.

I was more of a Bradley person than anyone else, because, you know, I'd worked for him going back in the '62 campaign, which we won. I was not a great Fred Dutton fan. I thought he was a brilliant lawyer, but he'd been out of California, and I didn't pay much attention to Fred Dutton, to be honest with you.

But I had great respect for Hale Champion. I think Hale Champion knew what was au courant in California government. I mean, he knew, almost to the hundred-dollar bill, what moneys we needed for what projects we were going to work on. I mean, he was just a brilliant financial man, which was surprising. I mean, the guy was a damn reporter, and he came out and he turned out to be a financial genius. He went on to become assistant secretary of Health and Welfare in the Carter administration, and went on to become vice president of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, you know.

YATES: Well, tie [the issues] into the campaign. There are critical issues at that juncture. You already touched. . . . There's civil rights, there's the Vietnam War, there are issues of taxes. How did any of these issues tie in to the actual campaign itself?

CULLEN: You know, it's been so long, I couldn't even give you, you know. . . . I'd have to really look at some of my things. As I told you, I wrote a book called "Pat

Brown and the Presidents,” which I haven’t looked at in a long time, but I’m about to go get it published again. It hasn’t been published yet, but I had a publisher, and I didn’t like what they were doing with it, so I took it back from them.

But this was a very, very. . . . There’s another thing that I don’t think people realize. When you see how the great senator from Arizona, with his trademark glasses, Mr. Goldwater, was completely trounced and defeated by Johnson, I mean, I think he won one state or two states. It was almost like [George S.] McGovern in ‘73, or ‘72. I mean, it was disaster time. And we thought, “Well, you know, these Republicans can’t do what they say they’re going to do, because look what we did to Goldwater.”

So people don’t realize, that Goldwater campaign resonated with us. “Well, we beat those bastards before. We’ll beat them again.” But by the time September came around, we realized that a) they had more money, b) they had a better spokesman, and c) they had plans, and they stuck to those plans. We didn’t. We went from Dutton to Bradley to. . . . You know.

YATES: So there was no consistency

CULLEN: There was no consistency, and then, in fairness, I think the governor by October, second week, had lost heart.

YATES: Had he?

CULLEN: I believe that, myself. I think that he was very. . . . He was a different person.

YATES: I was going to ask you what led you to think that.

CULLEN: Well, just because I was involved with him a lot. I mean, I would be the guy running over from. . . . The headquarters was on Wilshire Boulevard, just opposite what is now Saint Basil's Cathedral, or not the cathedral, but Saint Basil's Catholic Church. And I think the street was Oxford or Harvard [Boulevard], I forget. But it was on the south side of Wilshire Boulevard, right in that business area there between Western and Crenshaw. And that was the main headquarters for the state. And then we had a big headquarters in San Francisco, and they were getting a whole different story. They said, you know, Pat won San Francisco because he was a local boy and what have you.

YATES: But you said that by the second week of October . . .

CULLEN: By the second week of October, you know, we were getting these reports that we weren't doing well in the Central Valley. We knew we were going to lose San Diego. We felt there was no way we were going to get Orange County.

YATES: Are these polls that were being done?

CULLEN: These were polls that were being taken, and this is the beginning of the polls, the polling data.

YATES: I was wondering how much that was used at that point.

CULLEN: It was beginning to be a significant thing.

YATES: This is the Harris Poll, or the . . .

CULLEN: We had . . . Called the Field Poll. We depended most on the Field Poll, yes.

YATES: I mean the Field Poll. That's the one I'm thinking of, yes.

CULLEN: The Field Poll was the one.

YATES: Because he [Mervin Field] was becoming very active in the mid-sixties, right?

CULLEN: Yes, he was. In the sixties, '64 and '68 and '66, he was a big, big player. And so, you know, Bradley didn't pay much attention to polls. Champion and Dutton believed strongly in polls. So I sensed, in a sense. . . .And I also sensed the feeling that the steam had gone out of our campaign by then, and we were having a hard time raising money. We were having a hard time. A lot of people felt, "Well, why are you running for a third term, Pat?" And that third term was another issue, that there's only one governor of California ever elected to a third term, and that was Earl Warren. And he didn't serve out the full term. He served a little over ten years.

YATES: And when I brought up the issues like the civil rights, Vietnam, etc., perhaps that's more tied into the support or lack of support for the Democratic Party.

CULLEN: Well, I think there was a tremendous. . . . You see, the other thing that was important was, you had the civil rights, the Mario Savio, the free speech thing at Berkeley, you had . . .

YATES: Yes, which we didn't even touch on that.

CULLEN: No. All of that was a very, very big part of the. . . . They thought Pat was a .

. . He had a hard time in Berkeley, in Oakland, because people thought he should have called out the Highway Patrol before he did, and then people criticized him for calling out the Highway Patrol.

YATES: This is the incident at Sproul Hall.

CULLEN: Sproul Hall, right. But that was only one of many. There are a lot of things you never heard about. You had things at Fresno State. You had things at University of San Diego. I mean, there were all sorts of things that we had not planned on. And the Vietnam thing was just really beginning to escalate. I mean, this is '66, you've got to remember. It was just before the '68 escalation. So Vietnam was not as important as the . . .

YATES: I guess the reason I'm thinking of it is because of reading about the division with the CDC.

CULLEN: Oh, absolutely. That's a whole other story, and a lot of us. . . . And the other thing is that—I've said it before—the disturbing thing to me is the tremendous break within the CDC and the official Democratic Party during the Salinger-Cranston campaign, that primary, that rancor hung over, and we had Democrats who left and registered as Republicans, not to vote for Pat Brown because of the Salinger-Cranston thing. So, I mean, we did not recognize the problems that we were facing. We didn't do it.

YATES: Within the party itself?

CULLEN: Yes. Well, I can't speak for the party, because . . .

YATES: Well, I mean, I'm speaking generally. It sounds like there was a lot of division among Democrats, let me put it that way.

CULLEN: Tremendous division, and there always had been. See, if you look at the history of the Democratic Party in the State of California, you find that the elected governor, whether he be Culbert [L.] Olson or Pat Brown or Jerry Brown, did not pay too much attention to the Democratic Party, as Gray Davis doesn't. They're only good in getting out the vote and starting local headquarters and doing things like that, but . . . And the philosophy between the state party and the CDC was just horrendous, I mean horrendous. Now, the CDC was very anti-Vietnam, and that's true, but that was only a part of it. There were all sorts, and you also had the elements. . . .

Pat was a great environmentalist, but some of the people in the Sierra Club movement and the Friends of the Earth and what have you were very much opposed, and the Friends of the Earth hadn't even been formed in those days, but the people who thought that way felt that Pat wasn't doing enough for the environment, when, in fact, he was. A lot of people. . . . When you talk to [Anthony C.] Tony Beilenson, talk about the Beverly Hills freeway. I mean, that was something that should have been built, but. . . . Tony was very much a part of. . . . His constituents didn't want it.

YATES: Hold on one second, because I'm going to turn the tape over.

CULLEN: Sure.

[End Tape 9, Side A]

[Begin Tape 9, Side B]

YATES: You were talking about the campaign and the division amongst Democrats.

CULLEN: Well, it really was a terrible division, plus the fact, as I said earlier, we did not understand. When you look at the national Goldwater campaign and the way he was beaten, we really felt that the conservative wing of the Republican Party was just in its ascendancy, but we didn't realize how far they had actually ascended by that time.

YATES: That there had really been a turn?

CULLEN: Well, there had been a turn, in other words. And since that time, since '64, the conservative wing of the Republican Party had gotten stronger every, every, every year. I mean, it's just absolutely unconscionable to me what this man [George W. Bush] in the White House is doing now, and some of the things that they're getting away with. I mean, they're abrogating the Constitution completely, as far as I'm concerned. What they're doing in Guantanamo Bay and this whole thing, it's crazy. But that's a whole other story. We don't want to go there.

YATES: [Laughter] That could go on for hours.

CULLEN: Yes, we don't go there.

But in any event, because. . . . And I blame a lot on our being fooled.

When I say *our*, the Democratic organization being fooled by the strong will

of the ultraconservatives within the Republican Party, and if you look historically, the ascendancy, I mean, I find it almost incomprehensible. And I know George Deukmejian is a very fine man, an honest, honorable, good man. I knew him as an assemblyman; I knew him as a senator. But he was just simply a do-nothing governor. He spent eight years doing nothing. I mean, literally, he was truly a caretaker governor. Pat Brown was an activist governor.

Reagan, when you look at his governorship, people don't realize. . . . They call him the Teflon president, and truly, it was true. He raised taxes, in the eight years he was governor, by \$2 billion. This is more taxes than all of the governors of all of the fifty states. Going back to the beginning of our republic in 1787, no state, or no combination of the fifty states, ever raised that kind of money. But he did it with impunity, did it with, you know . . .

YATES: Well, and, of course, later when he was campaigning, the claim—or after; I think this is even for president—the claim was that they'd never raise taxes.

CULLEN: They'd never raise taxes. Absolutely. When he says . . .

YATES: And you can see a pattern. Then, of course, he becomes president, and then we have the largest deficit in history.

CULLEN: Exactly.

YATES: Anyway, that's a whole other . . .

CULLEN: But, anyway, you know, we can go on, and if you look at yesterday's paper,

Joel Kotkin's column is talking about the greatness of Pat Brown. Now, here we are, forty years since he was governor, and what governor do they single out? Pat Brown. Because of what he did. The California Water Project, the Master Plan for Higher Education, and the highway system.

OK. But that's only part of it. When you think of all of the other things that we did; in civil rights, as a matter of fact, the things that we sort of led the way. I say "sort of," because it was very gingerly doing this, and we got sidetracked because of the Berkeley problems, because of the problems in the colleges in San Diego. We lost momentum because of that, and I think that all of these things combined. . . . Also with one of the greatest orators of the twentieth century running against us. And so I think we did the best job we could have done, given the circumstances, but we never should have had the triumvirate, never. Pat should have chosen one of those people. "You run the campaign." Instead we had this disparate, this. . . . You know.

YATES: I realize this is hindsight, but how much difference do you think that would have made, anyway, considering everything that was going wrong, if there was one person really able to focus the campaign?

CULLEN: Oh, I don't think it would make a powerful difference. I don't think we could have won, when, you see, we lost by almost a million votes. So, I mean, I don't think. . . . Now, I think what is a great tragedy is that Reagan was indeed elected and did the things he did, and if it weren't for Bob Moretti,

who was the speaker during that period, and—young man, and I mean, he was a great speaker—he sat down with Reagan and worked out the welfare solution. Without that Democratic speaker, this would have been still disaster.

YATES: Yes. Which was actually legislation that Tony Beilenson carried. I know Bob Moretti was very instrumental in . . .

CULLEN: Well, he was the speaker.

YATES: Yes. In negotiations with the governor.

CULLEN: Exactly. So these are things that. . . . Now, having said all that, there's no way, in my opinion, in retrospect, we could have won when you see the margin is a million votes, because what does it take to get a million votes? I mean, that is a horrendous, horrendous difference, so I don't think had we been the greatest orator in the world and we had great singleness of purpose and great focus and what have you, I don't think we could have won. But that's in retrospect.

YATES: I'm thinking, at the national level, you know, you had Bobby Kennedy and also Johnson, of course, who's having his own difficulties. In terms of being national leaders in the Democratic Party, what role does that play at all in this kind of an election?

CULLEN: Well, we thought it would play a greater role, because Bobby was so popular, and Bob came out three times. He was a sitting senator from New York. I

think I've showed you pictures of him here and "Vote for Pat Brown" and what have you. He came out three separate times and campaigned, once in the primary and twice in the general. But even the Kennedys, they had no concept of Reagan's power, none, or the financial support. You see, even reporting then, it was not until '74 that all these campaign laws really kicked in, Proposition 9<sup>1</sup> and what have you.

YATES: So it wasn't easy to find out who was giving him his support, financial support?

CULLEN: It was not. In other words, absolutely, the reporting was different. Reporting was different. And it looked like. . . . You know, we were good fund-raisers, too. We raised a sufficient amount of money, but we ran out of money toward the end, but it wouldn't . . .

YATES: I was going to say, even if you knew who was giving him financial support, what difference would that make for you?

CULLEN: It wouldn't have made anything, except that some of those people giving him money were not popular people with a lot of the other people, and we thought that we could get some of their—quote—"enemies" to go after them. But it's all conjecture, because it's all conjecture.

YATES: When you mentioned that it became apparent to you that Governor Brown

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1. Proposition 9 (June 1974), financial disclosures and limitations affecting political campaigns, public officials and lobbyists.

was perhaps becoming disheartened. . . . Is that the right word?

CULLEN: I think by the middle of October, and I think that's why he left in that quote, "It was an actor who killed Lincoln."

YATES: Did that happen right about that time, or was that earlier?

CULLEN: It was earlier. It was earlier, but he wanted to keep playing that damn tape, which I was very much opposed to, and so most of everybody else was. But anyway, Jim Keene is the name, if I haven't given you his. . . . Did I give you his name before?

YATES: I think you have.

CULLEN: Jim Keene did a lot of the media stuff.

YATES: I remember you did mention the problems with Harry Lerner. . . .

CULLEN: Harry Lerner, right.

YATES: . . . in terms of his strategy, the more old-school. . . .

CULLEN: Old-school. He was living in the thirties and forties and fifties, and we should have realized that.

YATES: So what role did Jim Keene play in that?

CULLEN: Jim Keene was the man who really placed the media, the television ads, he did the radio sidebars, the television ads, and he was a very close friend of the governor's, and the governor relied on him, and his wife. . . . I forget his wife's name. She was also a public relations person. But you know, I think that the governor, by mid-October, was looking at these polls and was sort of

devastated, and I think he lost steam, I really do.

YATES: So he took the polls, that information, seriously, then.

CULLEN: He took them very seriously. And he then realized that the triumvirate were marching down three different roads, and he didn't tumble to that until the middle of October. But, as I say, I don't care what we could have done. I don't see any way we could have won that campaign. I really don't think so. We lost it in the primary by not going after Reagan in the primary and having. . . . We could have beaten George Christopher hands-down, but we chose to knock him out of the box and make Reagan our target, thinking we could beat him, and that was a tragic mistake, and it happens. I mean, we were vulnerable. We were vulnerable.

YATES: This is jumping way ahead, but do you see any similarities between that campaign, not in the end result, but through the people in play in the last governor's race, where you had [Richard J.] Riordan and [William E.] Bill Simon [Jr.] and Davis? And it seems like Davis took Bill Simon very seriously in terms of . . .

CULLEN: He didn't take him seriously. He thought that he would rather have him as the candidate than Reagan—than Riordan.

YATES: But, I mean, once that it became clear who'd won the primary, it seems like he was pretty proactive in terms of treating him as. . . . That he was a candidate, to not just assume that everything was going to go smoothly. Or is

that the wrong interpretation?

CULLEN: Well, I don't exactly understand what you're saying, because, in effect, he understood that—and maybe he learned from our campaign—he understood that we went after the wrong person. We should have gone after Reagan.

YATES: That's what I'm saying, yes.

CULLEN: Yes, well, he learned from that, right, and he went after his biggest contender, Richard Riordan, and knocked him out of the box, and did it very, very well, I might say. Riordan would have won that campaign, in my opinion. Had Riordan been the . . .

YATES: Had won the primary.

CULLEN: Had won the primary, he would have knocked off Gray Davis. And Gray Davis knew that, and that's why he raised the \$78 million he raised for that campaign, because he just wanted to blow Reagan out of the way . . . Blow Riordan out of the way, and have Simon, because Simon was so vulnerable. And I know this because Bill Simon was a client of mine, you know.

YATES: So I guess it isn't. I was thinking there were some similarities, in terms of sort of the people at play, but maybe they aren't as similar as I was thinking.

CULLEN: No, I don't think so. I don't think so. But I think that there's no question Gray Davis took a page out of our book, and he chose the right one to go after. We chose the wrong one to go after. So he learned from that. Gray is a very, very astute politician. He is not . . .

YATES: [Laughter] That's OK. We don't need to go down that road. I was just thinking about the campaign and the near similarities or dissimilarities to what had happened.

CULLEN: No, I don't think you can compare a campaign today to any campaign that preceded the 1980s. I mean, from 1980 on, we've had a different kind of campaign in the United States.

YATES: Why do you say that?

CULLEN: Well, because television has gotten to such ascendancy, and there's so many media people and media-savvy and, I mean, Pat Brown would not. . . . And Richard Nixon did the same thing. He wouldn't allow makeup be put on in 1960. Pat Brown would not allow makeup. I mean, he said, "No, I don't want that crap." I mean, he used to get incensed when people would try and put makeup on him. And even if he was just appearing on a. . . . You know, when he would go to. . . . In '78, the campaign against Howard Jarvis and Proposition 13<sup>1</sup>, he would appear on all these television stations, and Howard would get all made up on television and stuff. It didn't make him look any better, but Pat was just, "No, no." Then finally Pat, later on, would have a little makeup put on, but, "Go easy. Go easy." He just did not like makeup.

The whole campaign structure is different than it was then. You don't have the field deputies you had then. They were out gathering information.

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1. Proposition 13 (June 1978), tax limitation.

They were out bringing, you know, the bumper stickers and the buttons.

There's no bumper stickers and buttons anymore. I mean, how many cars do you see with a bumper sticker on for a candidate?

YATES: Well, you see a few, but . . .

CULLEN: Yes, you see a few, but it's old hat. How many people do you see wearing a button? I mean, very few. We used to spend scores of thousands of dollars on that kind of stuff. Now if they buy a couple of token buttons, it's. . . . I know. I have over ten thousand buttons.

YATES: Buttons are great. Too bad.

You said by mid-October you pick up the sense that Governor Brown really is losing heart and maybe . . .

CULLEN: I think he felt that he was probably going to lose. He didn't know he was going to lose, but he thought, from reading the polls and listening to the arguments at the southern governor's mansion, which, incidentally, was not paid for by the state, it was paid for by the campaign. The governor's mansion is in Sacramento, as you well know, and that's a state building.

Well, we needed a residence down here, so in 1962 we rented this house called the Phillips residence on Muirfield [Road], right off Wilshire Boulevard in Hancock Park. It was a lovely home, beautiful pool, and it was big and we could entertain, and that's where we did a lot of our fundraising events, private fundraising events. So you'd be invited to the southern

governor's mansion, which was being paid for by the Democratic Party.

YATES: So election night, where were you?

CULLEN: I was right here. I was in Los Angeles with the governor.

YATES: At this house, is that where you were at?

CULLEN: No, no, no.

YATES: Or were you at campaign headquarters?

CULLEN: We were at campaign headquarters down at the Biltmore.

YATES: And who else was there?

CULLEN: Oh, god. Everybody I've mentioned. I mean, there was. . . . I know Nancy Sloss was there, and Chuck Rickershauser. Chuck Rickershauser was the [Department of] Corporations commissioner. Nancy Sloss was the appointments secretary. Louise Ringwalt was the governor's chief administrative assistant. They were all, after hours, deeply involved in the campaign. I mean, everybody who was anybody in the governor's office was either in San Francisco, in Fresno, or here, working after hours, working on weekends.

YATES: And what was the mood?

CULLEN: Well, by that time, I think we all knew, and we could see the tallies coming in, and the Republicans, I mean, there wasn't much we were ahead. I mean, it was a dreadful night. It was a dreadful night. As a matter of fact, my wife, Mary Anne, she wanted to go home. She said, "Frank, we're going to lose

this. Let's go home." And I said, "No, I'm going to stay till the end." So we stayed.

YATES: Were Governor Brown's children with him?

CULLEN: Yes.

YATES: Was Jerry there? Jerry Brown.

CULLEN: You know, Jerry was there, and Kathleen was there. I don't know whether Cynthia or Barbara were there. I don't remember. But some of his grandchildren were there. They were young, but. . . . And they were all upstairs.

YATES: And once the official word—the tally—came through, how did he respond?

CULLEN: The governor was. . . . Oh, we pretty much saw the handwriting on the wall, and Jack Burby drafted a concession speech. Bradley didn't want the governor to make a concession speech, and, you know, I honestly don't remember, because I was in and out.

YATES: Why did Bradley not want him to make a concession speech?

CULLEN: He just thought that something might turn around. He was just holding on for dear life. This was his campaign, and he didn't want to lose it. And, as a matter of fact, I don't know whether Jack Burby's concession speech and congratulations to Mr. Reagan was used, or if the governor wrote his own. I know he was writing his own. That's one of the hardest things he ever had to do, but he did it, and I don't know which one was used, I really don't. And

there was such chaos that night, and such a sense of defeat, and being defeated by an actor. I mean, it was just absolutely. . . .

The professional politicians, the Carmen Warschaws, the Liz Snyders, the Dorothy Coltons, John Van de Kamp's mother, Georgia Van de Kamp, these people, they lived Democratic politics, and here we were being wiped out. It was just. . . . People left early. I mean, Lou Boyer, Mark Boyer, Bob Driver, Milton G. Gordon, a lot of people just left. They just. . . . They were not going to stay around. And these were staunch supporters, but they saw the handwriting on the wall and didn't want to be there at the end, for all sorts of reasons, I mean, you know.

YATES: You mentioned the personal impact that it had, that the transition had, in terms of Governor Brown having a few appointments before he left office. But what else happened that you observed, in terms of the transition?

CULLEN: Well, I think the transition went very, very well. I was not part of the transition team. Hale Champion headed up the transition team with a man named Martin Huff for the governor, and then Ed Meese ran it for the. . . . And the fellow whose name escapes me, who became Governor Reagan's first executive secretary, which only lasted a few months, because it turned out, he turned out to be gay, which today wouldn't make any difference, but in those days, it did make a difference, and he was asked to resign. I forget his name.

YATES: After that appointment fell through, and you met with Governor Brown, he asked you to set up two companies. One is PR—right?—and one is governmental relations. During that early period in particular, did Governor Brown, do you think, have any political aspirations, once he lost the [governor's] race?

CULLEN: Yes, very definitely he had political aspirations. You know, you can go back to the 1960 campaign, you know, and in a sense, he was running against Kennedy. He ran as a favorite son, but then he turned around and gave the delegation to Kennedy. But there were a lot of people that didn't want that to happen. You know, there was a lot of chauvinism involved in people's attitudes towards who they're going to support.

And I think what Governor Brown wanted to be was a member of the United States Supreme Court, and he let President Johnson know that, and President Johnson made a decision that, he said for the governor's good, he said that he would not put him on the Court. He said, "Pat," he said, "you would actually be. . . . You'd hate me in two years, because," he said, "you're basically a politician." He said, "You're a damn good lawyer, and I want to use those legal skills, but," he said, "I think you'd be just bored silly out of your mind being a member of the Court. It's dry legal verbiage, and, yes, there's going to be some great decisions made, and you'd probably make some of those great decisions, but you'd be a very unhappy man doing it. So

instead, I'm appointing you to be chairman of the National Commission on the Reform of the Federal Penal Code."

And it was, and the governor stayed on that commission well into the seventies. Unfortunately, S. 1, which was put in every year from '70 through '74, never got anywhere. Never got passed, because there was always a . . .

Ted Kennedy always fought it, surprisingly enough.

YATES: S. 1, explain what that means.

CULLEN: S. 1 was Senate Bill 1.

YATES: Oh, of course. OK.

CULLEN: And it was the codification of the federal criminal code.

YATES: So this came out of the commission?

CULLEN: It came out of the National Commission on the Reform of the Federal Penal Code, and surprising that two of the people opposed to what we came up with were Senator Cranston, one of Pat's closest friends, and Senator Ted Kennedy. They were very much opposed to. . . . By that time, Bob was dead. Bob was killed in '68, and S. 1 didn't happen until '70, I believe. And I was out of the commission by then, too. Not that I was on the commission; I was the executive director of the commission.

YATES: Well, I should ask you, were you at the convention, at that convention when Bobby Kennedy. . . .

CULLEN: Which one?

YATES: Not the convention, I'm sorry. When he was at the Ambassador Hotel.

CULLEN: Yes, I was. I was not in the room. A man named Irv Meyers, the president of Shoup Voting Machine Company, and I went down. Pierre Salinger was going to bring us up to introduce Irv Meyers to the senator, because Irv wanted to be a very strong financial supporter. We're talking about raising a couple of hundred thousand dollars here he was going to try and put it all together.

And Pierre wanted me to make up with Bob because we'd had a falling-out in March when Senator Kennedy found out I was supporting Vice President Humphrey. And I was doing that, and I did that, made the commitment to Senator Humphrey before Bob Kennedy got into the race. There was a rumor he may get in, but he hadn't gotten in. The vice president called me and asked me if I would support him. I still have my little card, "The United Democrats for Humphrey."

YATES: So you must have spoken to Bob Kennedy if you actually had a falling-out, is that correct?

CULLEN: Well, yes, I did. What happened. . . . Do you want that story?

YATES: Sure.

CULLEN: OK. Well, in 1968, in early March of 1968, I got a call. Well, let's go back a little further than that. Lyndon Johnson, the sitting president of the United States, had a television appearance before the American public on, I believe it

was March 30 or 31, and announced he would not be a candidate for re-election. The next morning, Hubert Humphrey. . . . I'm not sure whether he announced or called a number of people. One of the people he called was Governor Brown, and he said he was going to be a presidential candidate, and he asked the governor if he would lend me to him. And the governor said yes. So then some days later, he called me back, maybe two days afterwards, he called me back and asked me if I would join his western states advance team, which I did.

Now, it's interesting to note, Governor Brown paid my salary while I was in that, and while I was attached to the vice president's advance team, I was not paid by the campaign, I was paid by the governor, and loaned at no cost to the vice president.

So anyway, several days after that, I know in three or four days, I got a call from Pierre Salinger, who was calling all of the key people in his Senate campaign, Don Bradley, Joe Cerrell. And Cerrell also had already made a commitment to the vice president, so he couldn't have Cerrell. And then he called me, and so Pierre asked me if I would at least come and speak to the senator, even though I'd made a commitment to the vice president, and explain why I did it.

I didn't think much of that idea, but the event was going to be held at [Edwin] Ed Janss's house in Bel Air, and most of the people there I knew.

They were mostly financial supporters and people that. . . . So Pierre was very. . . . And he was sort of organizing California for Bob Kennedy, who was the sitting senator from New York.

So I went, sort of reluctantly, but I brought along with me one of my clients at the time, and also a client of the governor's law firm, was a company called the Voice Projector Company, and they had this very, very powerful megaphone kind of a thing that was really a little. . . . It was like a small portable radio you put on your belt, and it had a little microphone, but that microphone really. . . . It wasn't called voice projector for nothing. This thing would really project, you know, a quarter of a mile, you know. I'm not kidding. This was just incredible, and it was done with all little miniature stuff like we have in computers now, but this was . . .

YATES: This was a new thing.

CULLEN: In 1968, this was, you know. . . . You now have handheld mikes without any wires. Well, this is the same kind of a thing. And this was a really advanced, newly patented. . . . The patent hadn't even been granted yet; just the patent was applied for.

When I went inside, I asked to see Pierre. He came out. There was, I would say, probably forty or fifty major, major Democratic liberal supporters, Kennedy supporters, there, and so I said, "I think I'd like to see Pierre before I talk to the senator," and so I asked the person at the door.

And so he went and he said, "Well, you wait in here," and they put me in the dining room. I didn't go into the reception room where everybody was, the ballroom. I forget what room it was. Doesn't matter.

Anyway, I was sort of alone in there, and then Pierre Salinger came in about three minutes later, and he said, "Frank, I'm glad you came in here. I want to find out why you are not supporting Bob."

And I said, "Well," I said, "Pierre, I can't support Bob, because I've already given my word to the former senator, the vice president of the United States, who I got to know very, very well during. . . . From '64 to '68, every time that he came to California, he would request me to do the advance for the trip and then work with the Secret Service on what was going on, and then we would do other things that we would arrange." So I said, "I have had no contact with Bob at all since, you know, he came out to campaign for Pat."

And I said, you know, there was not much I could do in the '66 campaign, and, you know, it's just one of these things that we're always cordial, you know, what have you, but we didn't have the friendship we had twenty years ago, you know, when we were in college. So, anyway, I said, "I made a commitment to the vice president, but," I said, "I would like to give this voice projector to the senator. I think it would really help him, and it's light, and all sorts of things." I said, "It's really a terrific thing." And I said, "It's not on the market yet." This is it. "But," I said, "it works." So I gave

him a quick demonstration, and you could. . . . You know, it got everybody's attention who were in the other room.

So, anyway, Pierre said, "Well, Bob wants to talk to you anyway." But he said, "I suggest we do it in here." So I said, "Well, that's fine with me."

So he goes back, and maybe I'm sitting there ten minutes twiddling my thumbs, and Pierre comes back with the senator, and we greeted each other, and . . .

[Interruption]

YATES: So, anyway, you meet.

CULLEN: Well, we meet. Pierre Salinger went into the main room, brought the senator back, and the senator came back, and he wanted to know why I wasn't supporting him. And I said, "Bob," I said, "I'd already made a commitment to the vice president." I said, "At the time, you had not announced." I said, "He was the first one to announce." And I said, "I don't know what [Eugene J.] McCarthy's going to do, or anybody else." I said, "But I've gotten to know the vice president, and I gave him my support. I can't go back on my word." And I said, "But however, I would like to give you a token of my appreciation, something I think will help you. It's called a voice projector." And I said, "It's a little radio unit that can really get your voice all over any area you're in." I said, "It's just tremendous." He said, "Well, I don't want it," and he walked out. And I was terribly disappointed.

YATES: Yes, but this must happen all the time, though, where one. . . .

CULLEN: Oh, absolutely. There's no question. But Bob is a very dedicated person, and, you know, you talk about focus in the '66 campaign. You talk to any Kennedy, I don't care whether it's Jack or Bob or Ted, they're focused, and I'm telling you, they're focused, and they're focused on one thing, winning, period, exclamation point, take no prisoners. OK? That's it. That's their mantra.

YATES: Yes. So they take things very seriously.

CULLEN: Very seriously and very personally.

[Interruption]

YATES: So that's the background you mentioned for the Ambassador Hotel, because I was asking you about whether you went there.

CULLEN: Yes. After that . . .

YATES: So this is several months later, then?

CULLEN: Yes, that confrontation happened in March, which was Senator Kennedy's first visit to California to organize his California group. And he had decided to enter the primaries, a number of primaries, and one that he had decided to enter was California. And I really felt that he would beat Hubert Humphrey in California. I thought that Pierre probably, probably had a lot to do with the senator's choice of where he was going to run in primaries. Pierre was very good, political, in many ways, and he convinced the senator that he has to win

California, which, of course, he did.

But I thought, in the overall scheme of things, in the '68 campaign, that Hubert Humphrey would win nationally. I thought that he'd be the candidate at the convention. I thought the Kennedys probably would mount a very, very vigorous campaign at the convention, but I thought Pierre and his coterie would turn off a lot of people for Kennedy, and I thought that Hubert had a more solid moderate base, which was not exactly true. We had a hard time at that convention, a very, very hard time winning that.

YATES: But I was asking you originally about going to the Ambassador Hotel. You said you went . . .

CULLEN: Well, I'm trying to get around to that.

YATES: OK. I'm sorry. So that was your mindset at that point, basically—I mean, how you thought things were going to play out.

CULLEN: Yes. Things would work. So, you know, there was this battle going to be at the convention, so Pierre called me, as a matter of fact, on election day, and the funny thing is, he got me at the vice president's headquarters. [Laughter]

Anyway, he said, "Frank," he said, "I think that now that we've won California, you and Bob should make up." And I said, "Pierre, I'd love to do that, but," I said, "I'm still going to work for Humphrey." He said, "Yeah," he said, "but it's different now." He said, "It's different now." He said, "We've won the California primary." He said, "We're going to be the

candidate.” I said, “That may be.” And I said, “You know, but,” I said, “up until the convention, I’m going to be supporting the vice president.” And he said, “That’s OK. That’s OK.” He said, “We’re going to beat you.” So, you know, that was fine, and he was very positive about that and what have you.

Well, I didn’t necessarily agree with that, because I thought the vice president had a lot of support nationally. Anyway. And I would say the Kennedy mystique was starting to fade. It was not, but I just thought that the vice president had a better chance, or would have a better chance. So anyway, bottom line, I think that’s my own thinking.

So Pierre said he’d like me to come down and say hello, and I said, “Well, as a matter of fact, one of my clients just called me.” I said, “He’s also a client of Governor Pat’s, and his name is Irv Meyers, and he wants to support Senator Kennedy.” And I said, “I mean financial support.” And I said, “He also is president of the Shoup Voting Machine Corporation, and he’d like to offer the senator financial backing in about six different states, specifically Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Florida.” Anyway, but he had contacts and they had plants and what have you. Illinois.

So Pierre said, “That’s fine. You can bring him along. But,” he said, “you’ve got to talk to Bob first, and then you can introduce your friend.” I said, “OK.” So I called Irv Meyer back, and I said, “Irv, I’ve just been invited to go upstairs after the winning speech.” And, of course, this thing, I mean,

the actual numbers weren't in yet. This is the middle of the day, you've got to realize. But they were sure they were going to win. I didn't know whether they'd win or not.

YATES: Because you used the word "concession speech."

CULLEN: Right. Right. So, anyway, bottom line is, we were downstairs, and we were outside and going to the Embassy Ballroom, but it was just then that the shots were fired, and everything just turned into chaos.

YATES: Could you hear anything?

CULLEN: Oh yes. Well, no, I didn't hear the shots. I did not hear the shots. I just heard the. . . . This terrible thing. Evidently they. . . . The awe that. . . . And people crying and what have you, and this was a mob scene. Have you ever been to the Ambassador Hotel, the Embassy room? The Embassy room was a giant room. I mean, it was as big as this whole complex here, this apartment I'm in here. It's a giant room, and you couldn't move. I mean, it was so packed with people, it was just. . . . You had to, you know, scrunch around to get in, and balloons and all sorts of stuff, and a stinky, sweaty bunch of people. I mean, it was. . . . They'd been in there for an hour, hour and a half, and it was just. . . . And euphoria. I mean, it was just a. . . . All of a sudden, these people are coming out screaming and crying and, "He's been shot! He's been shot!"

YATES: I was wondering how quickly you actually found out what had happened.

CULLEN: Oh, probably. . . . I don't know the significance. It may have been five minutes, it may have been ten minutes.

YATES: Yes. I was just curious.

CULLEN: I have no idea, but it was. . . . And Irv turned to me, and he said, "Frank, let's get out of here." And I said, "Yeah, I think that's a good idea. There's nothing we can do." So we went out and got in his car, and he had a chauffeur and everything waiting. So we just got the hell out of there.

YATES: What were your first thoughts when all this chaos . . .

CULLEN: I didn't know. Well, we heard that Kennedy was shot, and then I came back. As a matter of fact, everybody was staying at the Century Plaza [Hotel], and he dropped me off at my house. I had a house not far from here on Tigertail Road in Brentwood, 455 North Tigertail Road. Anyway, he had the chauffeur drop me off and take him home, and I just was glued to the television set, like everybody else. I mean, I didn't know what to do. And there was a lot of. . . . You know, I wanted to call the vice president's Secret Service guy and find out what he knew, and so I was on the phone probably till three o'clock in the morning. And at that time, he wasn't dead, he was just. . . . You know, nobody knew how serious it was, and all sorts of conflicting stuff.

YATES: It must have been disbelief.

CULLEN: It was disbelief. I mean, I was terribly upset. I was crying. I was really. . . . I was, "Why didn't I go see him?" You know, "Why did I support the vice

president?” I mean, you know, all these things you think about.

But I loved Hubert Humphrey. I really thought that Hubert Humphrey was probably. . . . I make speeches to colleges and law schools, and I say, “The three greatest people I’ve ever met are Hubert Humphrey, Pat Brown, and a man named Frank Mesplé that nobody’s ever heard of.” And I also mention sometimes [Anthony L.] Tony Coelho, who is an incredible human being, overcame epilepsy and. . . . Did you know anything about Tony at all?

YATES: I know a little bit.

CULLEN: Yes, incredible guy. Anyway, so I use him in my speeches sometimes, too, because he’s a great example. All these people are great examples. I mean, whether it’s Bob Kennedy or Jack Kennedy or Pat Brown and Hubert Humphrey, they’re exceptional human beings, exceptional human beings.

YATES: Well, transition back now. You’ve been involved in so many interesting events and known so many interesting people, but to tie back and to wrap up with them. Governor Brown. Perhaps you can touch on or think of anything else that you think is significant that we should talk about in terms of Governor Brown post. . . . After he leaves the governor’s office, is there anything that he was involved at the state level that you think we should touch on.

CULLEN: I think it’s important to know that Governor Brown was. . . . Really an interesting thing that a lot of people don’t realize, he was only sixty-two when

he lost the governor's office, and he was a vibrant, intelligent guy who loved being governor and wanted to do something.

As I mentioned, he really wanted to be on the Supreme Court, but, literally, Lyndon Johnson talked him out of it and appointed him to be the chairman of the National Commission on the Reform of the Federal Penal Code. And that was an incredible commission. There were three United States senators, three United States congressmen, three federal judges from three separate districts, and three civilians. And one of the other civilians was Leon Jaworski, of Watergate fame. And it's interesting enough, I can't remember who the other guy was. That's how the mind, mental thing. . . . I forget who he was. One of the senators was Senator Roman [L.] Hruska, and the other one was Senator [Samuel J.] Sam Ervin, also of Watergate fame.

YATES: Right.

CULLEN: Yes, and then one of the judges was Leon Higgenbotham, famous, famous jurist, brilliant, brilliant judge, first black member of the Court of Appeals, in whatever the district is, Philadelphia. In any event, and I was the executive director of that, of the commission, appointed by the governor, and so I spent two weeks in Washington every month, and two weeks in Los Angeles. So I had a federal salary and governor's salary and then my clients' salary, and the deal I made with the governor, at his suggestion, was that I form these two corporations, FCA corporation, and Frank Cullen and Associates. One did

the governor's public relations, and political work.

YATES: Which was which?

CULLEN: Frank Cullen and Associates was a government relations company, and we had offices in Sacramento and Washington, and then FCA Company did the public relations. Since the governor died, I've sort of killed off one of them, but I use the terms into. . . . You know, but I closed. . . . I can't even remember which one I closed, to be honest with you. But no, I still have Frank Cullen and Associates and I closed FCA Company. Well, I use that. I've just gone into using the Internet, and I've just taken that FCA Company as my Internet thing.

YATES: As your e-mail address?

CULLEN: As my e-mail address, yes. But it was a fascinating time, and so that got me into. . . . Because there were three congressmen and three senators, and they were high-ranking senators and congressmen, I was working with them almost on a weekly basis, and so that got me into a number of things that we were doing in Washington.

In addition to that, Lyndon Johnson appointed the governor to head the delegation to the inauguration of the president of Brazil, and so I got to know all of those people who were going on that particular jaunt down to Brazil. Because they were shooting people down there, and a lot of people didn't want to go, but Pat was chairman of that commission. He was ambassador

plenipotentiary and extraordinary, and personal representative of the president of the United States. So that was a great title. He also had that title also in 1967, in July, he went to Tonga, and he had the same title, ambassador plenipotentiary and extraordinary, and personal representative of the people of the United States, to the coronation of the King of Tonga.

And that's where he met General Suharto. There were three people who stayed in the presidential palace. Tonga is not a big island, and the presidential palace only had three guest rooms. One was for the governor and Mrs. Brown; one was for Prince Philip, because Tonga was a British crown colony, and his wife, the queen, didn't come; and the other one was President Suharto, who was the newly elected president of Indonesia. So the prince was a birdwatcher, so he was out watching birds while Suharto and Pat Brown played golf together on the nine-hole golf course. So that's where they got to know each other, and that led to the governor's oil company [Perta Oil Marketing Company] later on, years later.

YATES: Hold on.

[End Tape 9, Side B]

[Begin Tape 10, Side A]

YATES: So I was asking you. I can imagine, there must be an incredible number [of things going on].

CULLEN: Well, I was just saying, the first thing was the. . . 'Sixty-seven was an

incredibly busy year, because, as I say, we had the meetings of the Commission on the Reform of the Penal Code. We had the trip to Tonga and the trip to Brazil. In 1960 he'd been to Brazil and Argentina as a guest of the presidents of those then countries, back in 1960, when he first was elected, his first year in office. And that was, I think, twenty-four governors and their wives and businessmen went on that, and that was sort of a fact-finding team and a familiarization program. These two trips were official United States government trips, that the governor was chairman of both of those trips, and Brazil and Tonga.

And so I was assigned by the governor. He'd say, "Frank, go see each one of these people on each one of these delegations." He said, "I want to know their wife's name, their children's name, what they do for a living, whatever," bah, blah, bah, bah, bah. And so I did that, and I met this man here—his picture's over here—Don Riegle. He was a United States congressman from Michigan, a Republican, and the speaker at the time didn't know who to send down to Brazil, because nobody wanted to go. At the time, Don Riegle had the least seniority in the Congress, so they appointed him. Well, it turned out he and Pat Brown became lifelong friends, and he and I became lifelong friends. As a matter of fact, I am the godfather of his grandchildren. And this all opened up a whole new world to me of Washington, Democratic politics, and government relations, that still. . . . I'm

still active in it today.

Now, fast-forward from then to 19. . . . This was 1967. ‘Sixty-eight was the convention and the presidential thing. We talked about that. ‘Sixty-nine, we found out in ‘69. . . . The accountant from Pat Brown’s ‘66 campaign came to us and said, “Governor, you got a problem.” And he said, “What is it?” And he said, “Well, you got a \$64,000 debt you haven’t paid from that campaign.” So he said, “I do?” He said, “Nobody told me about that.” He said, “We just discovered it. We just got these bills in, so it’s now 1969, and that was 1966, that’s three years we haven’t heard from these people.” So the governor said, “Well, I don’t have \$64,000 to give them.” So I said, “Well, Governor,” I said, “you’re going to be sixty-four this year.” I said, “Let’s put on a sixty-fourth birthday party.” “Oh? OK.”

So I called up Lew Wasserman, who was then the chairman of—well, Mr. Hollywood, they call him—the chairman of Universal, and I said, “Lew,” I said, “we have a deficit from the campaign, and you’re just opening this new hotel there you guys own, the Universal Sheraton.” I said, “Would you give us a ballroom that we can have a party over there? We’ll open your event with this thing with Pat Brown.” “Oh, sure, Frank. That sounds great.”

So I went over and I met with his aide-de-camp. What I was to Pat Brown, he was. His name was Herb Steinberg. So we put this thing on, and we paid off the campaign debt in one night. We called it the sixty-fourth

birthday party, \$640 a table, \$64 a ticket, and we paid off the whole damn campaign that one night.

So then the governor says, “Hey, you’re a fund-raiser.” I said, “Well, governor, I used to do it a little in your campaigns.” So then he decided that, “Huh. You know, maybe we should have you do some fund-raising for our little project.” Because also in 1968, the governor started having his little meetings of his former staff people who were in the Los Angeles area, some sitting judges, some politicians. And it was just a little informal group. We would meet in the private dining room of the Bistro [Italia], which was a restaurant in Beverly Hills. And we’d do maybe every three months, and we’d talk about what Governor Reagan was doing wrong, how we could try and help him, and so we started. . . . That was the genesis of what became later on, ten years later, the Pat Brown Institute. But that’s how it got its start. Guys like Joe Cerrell, Chuck Mannett, Charlie Winner—oh, my god—John Van de Kamp, Bob Chick. Winston came down for a few meetings. Frank Mesplé. A couple of judges. Arthur Alaracon. I’ve got the list somewhere.

So we would talk and we’d decide. We’d set up a criminal justice committee. We set up health committee. We set up a transportation committee. We set up a budget reconciliation committee. I mean, it was all informal, but everybody was very excited about it, and we all thought Reagan was doing a terrible job, and we wanted to let him know it. So we would

send a summary to the governor. It's probably in his records somewhere.

We'd send a summary up of what the governor said. And then the governor would constantly write Reagan letters, and occasionally he'd get an answer back.

YATES: So these were actual committees?

CULLEN: Yes, these were committees. The governor would sort of chair this meeting. Maybe we'd have twenty-five guys. So the lawyers and the judges, he said, "They'll be the criminal justice committee." And the doctors and the thing, "You be the medical committee." And so we'd have these committees, with three or four guys on it, and I was sort of the ex officio to these committees. They'd have a meeting, and I'd go, and then I'd report back to the governor what they thought, and then on the basis of this information, we would write Governor Reagan.

YATES: I see.

CULLEN: Or we would write the legislature. And so we did things that. . . . And it was all informal. The governor spent about fifty or sixty thousand dollars a year putting these things on. I mean, everybody was his guest.

YATES: And the first year this happened? Remind me; you just told me.

CULLEN: Nineteen sixty-nine. Or '68. It started in '68, but we had to stop it because the convention, and the election year. So we started it in early '68, but we didn't really do anything until '69. In '69 we really started, and that's when

we started having. . . .

And then just to finish, let's talk about the institute while we're there. This went on, and so each year it got more expensive, and the governor was doing. . . . And then we'd rent a ballroom in the Century Plaza or the Beverly Hilton, one of those hotels, and we'd have meetings, and we'd maybe have a hundred people in. Maybe we're all talking about criminal justice, maybe we talk about how we can improve Medicare, maybe we talk about welfare, and we had all of these little things. And the thing grew. Sometimes we have as many as eighty or ninety people at these meetings. So the governor would pick up the tab for all this stuff.

This went on from probably '72 to 1979, and in 1979, I just went to the governor and I said, "You know, Governor," I said, "this is silly." I said, "I've just been going over expenses, and I checked with your accountant, and you're spending over \$100,000 a year supporting this thing." I said, "Why don't we formalize this and form a 501(c) 3, and formalize it and call it the Edmund G. 'Pat' Brown Institute of Government Affairs." "Great idea. Great idea." So that's what we did. So we did that, and then the governor would donate \$100,000 to the campaign, which was tax-deductible. And then we started, and I wanted to be sort of on the cutting edge of things, and I suggested to the governor that we should have a lady executive director. "A woman?" And I said, "Yes, Governor." "Look," I said, "women are getting

jobs. They're being vice presidents. They're going on boards." I said, "You know, let's be on the cutting edge." "Well, who will we get?" So I said, "Well," I said, "there's somebody I'd like to talk about, but I don't know whether she'd do it or not." I said, "She works with your son, Jerry, in Sacramento." He says, "She does? What's she do?" So I said, "It's Bob Moretti's sister, Marie [Moretti]." He said, "I don't know her." So I said, "I know that, Governor, but I have met her, and I think she'd be great in this, and I heard a rumor that she wanted to leave Sacramento."

So anyway, I went up and talked to Marie, and she said she'd love to do it if the governor. . . . Well, the governor was really not too keen on. . . . It just was a whole different departure, having his organization run by a girl. No, a girl that he didn't know. Girl. Underline *girl*. I mean, Marie at the time was probably. . . . If she was thirty, she was a lot, OK?

So, anyway, I brought Marie down, paid her way down for a luncheon with the governor at the Beverly Wilshire Hotel. A lot of my life has happened at the Beverly Wilshire Hotel with the governor. So we had this luncheon, and the governor was really undecided whether he wanted to have a woman running this new institute we were founding. Well, after two hours of listening to Marie and her thoughts and her ideas, it became *his* idea to hire Marie. [Laughter]

YATES: So it went well.

CULLEN: It went very, very well. So Marie, she wanted to give Jerry like three months' notice. She didn't want to leave and everything, so she didn't actually come down until April of '80.

YATES: And now, where physically was the institute going to be?

CULLEN: Physically it was going to be at some unused law office rooms in the governor's law firm, Ball, Hunt, Hart, Brown, and Baerwitz, at 450 North Roxbury Drive in Beverly Hills, and we had a suite on the third floor of the law firm. The law firm was a big law firm. It was about 160 lawyers in this particular office. There were always vacant offices, people leaving the firm, you know, and so we just took over a suite of offices downstairs that they were paying rent for, anyway. So we just took over paying the rent. As a matter of fact, I think the first two years, their law firm donated this to us. So we then hired an assistant director, a fellow named Christopher Campbell, who was a young attorney. He was very miffed that he wasn't the executive director.

YATES: So it was about 1979.

CULLEN: Nineteen seventy-nine until 1987 we were based in the governor's law office, but it was an independent operation. And we had a budget of three hundred, four hundred thousand dollars a year.

YATES: So you were going out and raising funds.

CULLEN: We're going out and getting money now, because we're a 501(c) 3. I became

a really good fund-raiser, and I hired this lady also I stole from Jerry Brown. Her name is Ruth Gottlieb, and she's up in Sacramento now, as is Marie. They're both back up in Sacramento.

YATES: Now, how did this change this organization that was something more informal before? Now it's been formalized. How did it change in terms of what it was doing?

CULLEN: Oh, it had changed dramatically in terms. . . . Well, it didn't change. . . . It changed dramatically in what it was doing in that the terms were organized. We formalized each of the committees. We put in a permanent board of directors that consisted of, oh, ten to twelve people, all friends of the governor's, I might add, most of those who had the ability to participate financially. We had a world-renowned economist from UCLA on the board of directors, Dr. Werner Hirsch. And we had a famous ophthalmologist. Herb Steinberg was on it for a while, from Universal.

And so we would meet four times a year. We would decide what we were going to do, and every year we would have a conference. One would be on the state of the fiscal economy. One would be on alternative methods of transportation. One would be on prison reform and criminal justice. Another one would be. . . . And I have all those things. I can just send you copies of the things. And then we'd have an annual dinner every year, beginning in 1980 was our first dinner, and that's that picture up there, where there's a

bunch of us.

YATES: Oh, I see. Yes.

CULLEN: These are the four founders of the institute. Alton Myhrvold is a famous lawyer. Joe Alperson was the governor's business partner; was not on the board, but a big financial backer. The governor in the background, and Bernice. The white-haired man in front of the California governor's flag is Pete Summers. And myself. We were the four founders of the Pat Brown Institute of Government Affairs.

YATES: OK. And for the record, that's a photo you're pointing to.

CULLEN: Right. That's the photo I'm pointing to. And that's the first event at the Beverly Hilton Hotel, and every year we would have an event at the Beverly Hilton. Now, if you'll look behind you, there's a picture right here of President Gerald [R.] Ford and myself, and that was at the 1984 dinner celebrating Pat's, I think it was seventy-fifth birthday, I believe.

[Interruption]

YATES: OK. You were mentioning there's a photo on the wall here with you and President Ford.

CULLEN: That's correct, and that is the, I think it's the governor's seventy-fifth birthday party, and it was at the Beverly Hilton, as all of our events were. The reason I mention it is that the governor was saying that our board was pretty much Democratic, a lot of the people. We needed a good Republican. We had one

good Republican. You've probably heard his name. Maybe not, but anyway, his name is James [R.] Galbraith, and he was chief of staff to Barron Hilton, who owned the Hilton hotels chain. Pat had been very close friends with Conrad Hilton and later with his son, Barron Hilton, who ran the Hilton organization. And so we always had our events at the Hilton hotels—the Beverly Hilton mostly.

And what was interesting in that was, the governor wanted to expand his Republican persona. He didn't want to be just a Democratic organization.

[Interruption]

So he said, "You know, we've got to get a really good Republican in here to show we're just not a Democratic organization."

Of course, I had said to him a couple of times, I said, "Governor, we've got to expand our board. We need some Republicans on the board."

So he said, "No, we've got to be more public than that." He said, "Let's get somebody really good." So one thing led to another, and we finally got. . . . We went through a whole bunch of Republicans, tried to get Nelson [A.] Rockefeller. He and the governor were very good friends when Nelson was governor of New York and Pat was governor of California. But anyway, it doesn't really matter. He may have even been dead at the time, now that I think of it. Rockefeller was definitely the kind of guy we wanted.

So Marie said, "Well, why don't we get President Ford." And the

governor said, "President Ford? He wouldn't come to our event." And I said, "Well, governor," I said, "let's try." And I had a little secret knowledge here. I knew that President Ford had been doing a lot of public speaking, and I knew that the William Morris Agency represented him, and his personal contact was a very close friend of the governor's, a fellow by the name of Norman Brokaw, who was chairman of William Morris. So I said, "Governor, call up Norman and tell him you want to get Ford." He said, "Oh, we couldn't afford him. He gets twenty-five, thirty thousand dollars a shot." I said, "Well, you call Norman Brokaw up and see what he can do."

Anyway, Norman thought it was a great idea, so he called Gerald Ford up, and President Ford said, "Oh, I've always liked Pat Brown. I'll do it." And he cut his fee in half. He only charged \$12,000 instead of \$24,000 or \$25,000. So only \$12,500 we had to pay him. So he came, and it turned out to be the biggest event we ever had. And here you had this flagrant, you know, neon Democrat with this great Republican, so it turned out to be a really great event.

Now, I mention this because we fast-forward from 1984 to 1988, when we've now merged. We've changed, and we've closed the Edmund G. "Pat" Brown Institute of *Government Affairs*, and we've merged into the Edmund G. "Pat" Brown Institute of *Public Affairs* at California State University, Los Angeles. And the reason we did that, the governor wanted his legacy to be

set in an academic setting.

And this is a long story. I won't bore you with the details. We were invited to join USC. We were invited to join UCLA. We were invited to UC [University of California] Berkeley, the Claremont Colleges, San Diego State [University], all were vying to have the Pat Brown Institute there. It got down to USC, the Claremont Colleges, Cal State, and UC Berkeley. Well, the governor really wanted to go to UC Berkeley, because his wife graduated, at nineteen, from UC Berkeley; his daughter, Barbara, graduated from UC Berkeley; and his son Jerry graduated from UC Berkeley. And he was just planning to give Berkeley a million dollars. So he thought that would be a great place to go.

And then I brought up a little thing. I said, "Well, Governor," I said, "you don't like to fly back and forth, and you can't drive." I said, "If we have meetings that means you've got to go to Berkeley four times a year." "I don't want to do that." So then we said, "Well, let's look at this Cal State L.A. thing." Because he decided the Academic Senate at UCLA asked too many questions.

YATES: The Academic Senate?

CULLEN: The Academic Senate. They wanted to. . . . They were Republicans. Reagan was the [president] at the time.

YATES: Well, what kind of questions were they asking?

CULLEN: Oh, who's going to fund it, and was there any state money involved, and would UCLA have any costs, and. . . . It's a bunch of nonsense. Anyway, Reagan was then president of the United States.

Anyway, bottom line is, we decided we'd go back to Cal State, because it was an urban-setting university, it was close at hand, and the governor liked the president, [James M.] Jim Rosser. So we had a meeting with Jim Rosser, our board member, Jim Galbraith, myself, the governor, and Marie Moretti. And we made a deal; we'd go there. And one of our other board members, a man named Gordon Gregory, and another board member, Marvin Hoffenberg, wrote up the charter, and then they worked at it with the Academic Senate there and the university. And so we decided, and we merged with them in August of 1987.

Now, the reason I bring in all this stuff, Gerald Ford, the former president of the United States, came to us by cutting his rate in half. For our 1988 event, four years later, Henry Kissinger charged us \$20,000 and wouldn't cut his fee. [Laughter] So here the president is very magnanimous, but Mr. Kissinger wasn't.

YATES: Well, let me ask you. It sounds like three critical periods in the life of what became the institute.

CULLEN: Right.

YATES: How does Governor Brown's involvement change through those periods? It

sounds like he gave quite a bit of direction early on.

CULLEN: He gave a lot of direction early on, and he made me his chief of staff in about 1969. Before that, I was an administrative assistant.

YATES: So how does that change as it goes through these next two periods?

CULLEN: Well, because he would tell me what he wanted to do, then I would be the ex officio member on all of these boards and things, and then I would report back to him, and then we'd zero in on what we were going to do, and we would do it. Now, when we became formalized as the Edmund G. "Pat" Brown Institute of Government Affairs, Marie ran things. I was either vice chairman of the board, or I was. . . . I was never the chairman of the board, purposely, because that was always our money guy. And I was also secretary of the board. We had a separate treasurer, [Lawrence L.] Larry Levitt.

So I sort of steered the board the way the governor wanted it to go. We would have these four meetings a year, and we had a lot of, you know, dissent sometimes, where, "No, let's focus on this. Let's. . . ." It would depend on what we were doing. But more and more, like once we affiliated with the academic institution in 1987, we then ended up with our director was a Ph.D., three of the board members in the institute were Ph.D.'s, so we had this academic sort of mantle thrown over us. Marie Moretti left, because she only had an MBA. She didn't have a Ph.D. So she went to do other things. She'd worked for the institute for seven and a half years.

YATES: So that was OK with her, to transition?

CULLEN: Oh, fine. Yes, it was fine with her, because she wanted to go on. She was then dating a man named [Kenneth L.] Ken Maddy, whom you may have heard of, Senator Ken Maddy, whom she almost married, but he got cancer and died. He was great.

Our first member, our first Republican member of the board was the man I was going to mention to you, is [William T.] Bill Bagley, you know, who is on the Board of Regents, and, you know, the freeway named after him up in Marin, I mean, and Bill, Bill was our Republican conscience. He was the only Republican on the board. When we were originally set up and Pat called him up, and he said, "Bill, I'm going to formalize the Pat Brown Institute. We need a Republican. Will you be on the board?" "Oh, sure, Pat. I'd love to be on the board." And he was great. He'd come down. And smart. Bill Bagley is a genius, very, very smart man. He was the first Ford appointment. He was the first chairman of the Commodity Futures Exchange in Washington.

YATES: You mentioned the change to the academic environment, and also, of course, Governor Brown is considerably older, too, at that point.

CULLEN: Right. He remained very active until 19 . . .

[Interruption]

Ball, Hunt, Hart, Brown, and Baerwitz in 1989 merged with a company

named Carlsmith out of Hawaii. [The governor did not wish to move to the new downtown offices, so he became of counsel to the firm and he and I moved to offices in Century City with his executive assistant Ms. Barbara Marcus. Our last big fund-raising parties we had for him when he turned eighty-five were in San Francisco and Beverly Hills. The parties were successful. Willie Brown, speaker of the assembly, chaired the San Francisco event and was the main speaker. Mayor Dianne Feinstein of San Francisco was the speaker at the Los Angeles/Beverly Hills event. But Pat Brown was starting to decline in health. Each year he was less able to attend meetings. He tired easily and often had to nap in the afternoon.]<sup>1</sup>

Anyway, he would always come to the board meetings. He always chaired them. He was never a director, always honorary chairman. This was, again, my idea, but I'm full of silly ideas. When we formalized the Institute in 1979 I said, "Governor, you should not have any responsibility for the institute. It's named after you, it's your ideas, your thing, but you should be honorary chairman, so you have no direct control over what it does. The board makes the decisions, in your name, but you're the honorary chairman, and nobody can sue you." And that turned out very well, and that's the way it went. And that's how we set it up originally. Pat Brown, Joe Alperson, Pete

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1. Mr. Cullen added the preceding bracketed material during his review of the draft transcript.

Summers, Alton Myhrvold, and I formalized the governor's program of the 1967, '68, '69 years with a 501 (c) 3 non-profit corporation to preserve and promote the ideas and ideals of Pat Brown.

The greatest thing I think the Institute has ever done is we just came to a conclusion, after ten years, with the Gang Violence Bridging Project, which I'll give you a piece of paper on. It's been very, very successful. The man who runs it is a former gang member who could not read at age sixteen, couldn't write. He taught himself to read and write, put himself through East Los Angeles Junior College, never got below a 3.8 grade average, went to Cal State, graduated, never got below a 3.8 grade average. Came and knocked on our door in 1993 and said he had this idea, would we be interested? Well, we jumped at it, and the governor thought it was great, that here's a gang member who's been in gangs and knew what was going on, and has seen the murder and the mayhem all around him.

We've been honored by the state. We've been honored by the county. We've been honored by the City of L.A. We work in Pico-Union. We work in Boyle Heights. There are now, I think, seven satellites that have come from the Gang Violence in Wilson High School and Roosevelt High School and Locke High School and these really very, very dangerous areas, trying to wean people away from gangs. It's only had a marginal success, but it has been successful, so successful, Gilbert Sanchez, who ran it for us until

today—today's the last day; we close today—he's been invited to Japan and speak, he's been invited to Sweden and to Europe several times to speak on. . . Of course, gang violence is endemic throughout the world. It's just what you call it, and you know, what have you.

Anyway, but we have to close that down now, because we don't have the funding anymore, because all of our foundations have just been. . . . The stock market has hit them so hard.

So anyway, so do you need to know anything more about the institute?

YATES: I was mainly curious on how it was founded and the extent of Governor Brown's involvement.

CULLEN: He was very, very involved with it until 1994. In 1990, the governor moved into a small office in Century City, and I moved with him, and the governor hired a new secretary, a lady by the name of Barbara Marcus. He hired her, I think, in 1988 or '89, and she became very, very valuable to him, and when he started failing, she would go over and read the newspaper to him and what have you. We closed the office in 1994, in December, and then he died on February 16 of 1996.

YATES: So he was very actively involved.

CULLEN: Very active until he retired. And he was a great pontificator. We would go to lunch. There was a place in Century City called Harper's we used to go to a lot. Back when we were in Beverly Hills, we used to walk around. There

were two restaurants we went to religiously. One was a famous restaurant called La Scala, which is a great restaurant, and then there's another restaurant a block away the other way called Da Vinci, an Italian restaurant that was superb. And then we also had a lot of events at the Bistro and a place called Jimmy's. Those were some of the places the governor and I used to do most of our entertaining.

YATES: Well, I have to ask you one last question about Governor Brown. To what extent was he involved in any of his son's campaigns?

CULLEN: He was very, very active in Jerry's first campaign. Jerry Brown decided that he would go into politics, which surprised everybody. Jerry graduated from Berkeley. Originally, Jerry was in a Jesuit seminary. He left the Jesuit seminary. He went to Berkeley; got his degree from Berkeley. He went to Yale Law School; graduated from Yale Law School. Came back to California in 1964, and I think the governor had a little bit of influence in getting him a job with Supreme Court Justice Matthew Tobriner, who happened to be the governor's closest personal friend in the world. And Jerry went to work for Judge Tobriner.

Unfortunately, the institute has just published a book where they spelled Justice Tobriner's name wrong, but that's neither here nor there. They spelled it with a D instead of a T. It's Tobriner instead of Dobriner. Well, anyway, those things happen.

Anyway, Jerry did that. Then after he finished that, he went to a law firm here in Los Angeles called Tuttle and Taylor. And then out of nowhere he decides not to be a lawyer, but to be a politician, and he and two friends, a fellow named Richard Maulin and Tom Quinn, the more important of the two, decided that Jerry should run for secretary of state. Well, if you know the history of California, the secretary of state's office in the twentieth century has always been run by the family named Frank Jordan, father [Frank C. Jordan] and son [Frank M. Jordan], and then by March Fong Eu later on, but Jerry was the interim. He was the transition between the Jordan dynasty and March Fong Eu's long reign. So he ran for secretary of state, and we worked our tails off. We raised money. The governor gave speeches. I gave speeches. We really got heavily involved in the campaign, as did his mother, as did his younger sister, Kathleen. Everybody was into that campaign. That was 1970. Then Kathleen—it was just before then or just after that—was elected to the L.A. [Board of Education].

Then Jerry served as secretary of state, and then out of nowhere, out of nowhere, decides in 1974 that he's going to run for governor. Governor Pat Brown did not think that was a good idea, because Jerry was only thirty-six years old, and the governor thought he needed more experience in government. So the governor tried to talk him out of it, and Jerry would have none of it. So then the governor sent me up to Sacramento with all these

reasons why Jerry should not run, and I had a seven-hour meeting with Richard Maulin, Tom Quinn, and Jerry Brown. Jerry would come in and come out. He wouldn't sit for seven hours anywhere in the world, you know.

Anyway, finally Jerry comes back in and he said, "Frank, I've thought this over. You tell my father I'm running." So I said, "Jerry, that's your decision. But," I said, "your father's not going to be a happy camper." He said, "I'm running, not him."

So anyway, the governor was really hurt. He thought that Jerry should follow his advice, because he thought if he stayed secretary of state two terms, then he could easily run for governor with eight years of experience as a state constitutional officer. It would be a lead-pipe cinch.

YATES: He just thought he was too young and inexperienced?

CULLEN: Well, not so much too young. Not so much inexperienced. He didn't have enough, I guess, background, I guess, in government.

YATES: OK. However you want to define it.

CULLEN: However you want to define it.

YATES: Yes. He hadn't held office for very long.

CULLEN: Exactly. He held office for four years. So thank God his opponent was a man with no name identification at all, named Houston [I.] Flournoy, who

had been lieutenant governor or something.<sup>1</sup> I forget what Houston was, and he's a professor at USC. I think he still is now.

YATES: Yes, and he was at Pomona College prior to that.

CULLEN: So anyway, so we all decided. Well, Pat wasn't happy about it, but after all, he is Edmund G. Brown. So Edmund G. Brown's going to get elected. So we again worked our tails off, and then I think I showed you, there's a picture in there of a girl, a redheaded lady named Jodie Evans. She's one of my protégées. I taught Jody fund-raising.

Two of my great accomplishments are Marie Moretti and Jodie Evans, as far as—I'm serious—about teaching them government and politics, but most of all fund-raising. And Jody became one of his greatest fund-raisers. As a matter of fact, in the Senate race, 1982, she raised \$6 million for his campaign for the Senate. We lost, but she still raised \$6 million.

YATES: Well, it sounds like—of course, things you read, too—that Jerry Brown's his own person. Of course, he's very independent.

CULLEN: He is. He is. There's no question. Very.

YATES: And any interaction, once he became governor, in terms of advice or anything between the father and son?

CULLEN: There was no advice accepted. There was plenty of advice given. There was

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1. Houston Flournoy served in the state assembly, 1960-66, and as state controller, 1966-74.

plenty of advice given, but none accepted. Jerry, unfortunately, would do anything not to copy. . . . The reason we had no freeways, or very few freeways, built under Jerry was because Pat was a freeway builder. We had no state colleges or universities built, because Pat was a university and state college builder. And that really was unfortunate. Jerry was very into high tech. He built that seal-less building and almost made people sick.

YATES: Which, I'm sorry?

CULLEN: He built that stupid building in Sacramento. He got all those people sick with the airless, windowless building, you know. And his father. . . . We would make constant trips to Sacramento, but to no avail. I mean, Pat had all these ideas if Jerry wanted them, and Jerry would have one of them. He listened to his father, and then not do anything. And then I would go up. I mean, if I was carrying a bill, if I was having somebody carry a bill, I would never let Jerry know I had anything to do with it, because he would have vetoed it.

The biggest bill I ever got done was a bill Nate Holden, of all people, carried for me. And that's a wonderful story in itself. I wouldn't bore you with it right now, but it's a fantastic story.

YATES: Which bill is this?

CULLEN: It was a one-person bill. What happened was, in 1962, the AMA [American Medical Association] decided to do away with DOs, doctors of osteopathy. And they put a measure on the November election ballot of 1962, which did

away with doctors of osteopathy. The osteopathy school, the Los Angeles Medical College of Osteopathic Medicine, became UC [University of California] Irvine School of Medicine.

YATES: Right. I do know a little bit about that. Not from your end, but the other end.

CULLEN: Well, anyway, there was a deadline that by January 1, 1965, all of the DOs had to get their MD degrees, all their requirements to the state office. There'd be a lot of them it put out of business. I mean, those that didn't have a college degree or a medical school degree, they couldn't become MDs, but they could go to the L.A. College of Medicine for a year and get their MD degree, and then. . . . Which was the biggest fraud in the world. I mean, it really was a terrible fraud.

Dr. Frank Rosso, was a graduate of St. Louis University, was a graduate of Washington University in St. Louis [Missouri], a graduate of the School of Osteopathic Medicine. He was a 4.0 student all along the way, just a genius. He was in residency down in New Orleans, doing a residency after his internship, and he mailed the papers in December, and it got stuck in the Christmas mail and it didn't get to the state offices until January 4, so he missed the deadline of filing. A lot of them did, but he's the only one who fought it.

So a man named Mike Colocigno, who is. . . . You know, we only had one senator from Los Angeles County, Tom Rees, and Mike Colicigno was

his constituent assistant. So, Mike Colocigno came to me, and could I get him into a meeting with the governor about this, and so we had a meeting with the governor, and he brought this in. This is in probably August, July or August. It was in July, July of 1965. It was just before the Watts riots, as a matter of fact, a month before.

So we put this bill in that would. . . . It didn't say only one man, but we wrote the thing so narrowly, it would only affect this one person. You had to do all the things that were required, and, even though you didn't get it in on time, as long as you sent it in in good faith, and it was the mail's delivery and not the thing. It was sent registered mail and everything else, but it just didn't get there on time. And an exception should have been made, but the AMA said, no. they didn't want any more DOs. It was just a nightmare.

[Interruption]

To make a long story short, this was 1965. We put a bill in and it got nowhere. The AMA fought it. So we put that bill in every year. From 1965 until 1978, every single year we put that bill in. He got to practice here in Los Angeles as a DO. He was the only DO in the hospital, but he was smarter than many other people, and really a great doctor. He became a close personal friend.

Anyway, 1978, we decided we'd make one more try. Thirteen years we're trying to get this bill passed, which should have been passed. The

AMA was just terrible about it.

Anyway, I needed an author, and I knew Senator Holden, so I went to Nate and I said, "Nate," I said, "this is a very difficult bill. It's never passed. Could you help us?" And so he said yes. I won't bore you with all the details. Suffice to say, when the AMA found out about it, they put in an amendment that it be made an urgency clause. Well, an urgency clause means you've got to get two-thirds of both houses. Urgency clauses are very, very hard to get, you know, especially something like this that's remote. So anyway, to make a long story short, here we are. Nate Holden has got. . . . We've already passed the assembly. We're one vote short in the senate. We needed twenty-seven votes. So Nate Holden looks around and he goes like this. [gestures] The single most conservative man in the state senate absolutely the most conservative man, that's a man from Orange County, who I will not identify at this point in time, but I may later. Nate said, "Let me try this guy."

So this was in the new temporary quarters. This is in '78, and the legislature had moved outside, and there was a wooden structure that they built for each chamber while they were renovating the Capitol. So the doctor and I are sitting behind this railing, and Nate goes and he walks up to this legislator. Nate Holden is, you know, six-foot-four. I mean, he's a big man. The man he was talking to is a rather small, extremely, extremely

conservative gentleman, probably the most conservative guy that has ever served, except John [G.] Schmitz.

And Nate kneels down next to this guy, and I don't know what he says, but the senator says, "Get up, Senator. Get up, Senator." He said, "You know," he said, "I don't like you. I don't like your race. I don't like what you stand for. I don't like your politics. I probably don't like your goddamn bill. But since you've asked me in such a gentlemanly manner, and you tell me it's worth doing, I'm going to give you my vote." [Laughter]

Nate came back to me, and he said, "I'm going to have the roll called."

And goddamn it, he voted, and we got it out.

YATES: But now we . . .

CULLEN: Now, now . . .

YATES: OK. You're anticipating my next question, probably.

CULLEN: Now, my question is, if Jerry finds out I have anything to do with this bill, he is going to veto the bill. So I went to a person who worked in the governor's office, who I knew very, very well, and I explained my situation. So under the way this thing worked, if the governor doesn't act on the bill in ten days, it becomes law, and so we put it in a certain pile, and the governor never acted on it, and it became law without his signature. [Laughter] Now, if Jerry had known that his father or I—because the doctor was a client of his father—it would have never gotten out. He would have vetoed the bill,

because he just didn't want to be his father's patsy. OK? That's the story.

Now, there are two things I want to talk about, that we want to talk about, is that picture up there is dedicating Ralph Bunche Hall. That's, in the middle, Governor Brown, and U Thant, the secretary-general of the United Nations.

YATES: To his right.

CULLEN: To his right. And the man holding the scroll. That's his speech from the dedication.

The important thing here is that this is the second call that Richard Nixon made to Governor Pat Brown—this is why this is important—asking the governor to host U Thant's visit to the western United States, his final visit. He was leaving as secretary-general of the United Nations. I just want to say that's how important President Richard Nixon thought Pat Brown was. Nixon asked Brown to escort U Thant, and I became. . . . And we put on an event. It's a whole other story; I won't bore you with those details. But that's the kind of stature Pat Brown had.

Now, prior to that, the other thing I want to mention, is the People's Republic of China table tennis team. That plaque over there showing the Chinese and the American table tennis team. It's now known as Ping-Pong Diplomacy, but Richard Nixon called Pat Brown in 1970, December 1970.

[End Tape 10, Side A]

[Begin Tape 10, Side B]

CULLEN: President Nixon called Pat Brown in December of 1970, and he said that he wanted the governor's help and support, but he couldn't tell the governor what it had to do with, but it would good for the country.

And the governor answered, he said, "Well, Mr. President, if you say it will be good for the country, and you ask me to do it," he said, "of course I'll do it." Not knowing what it is. Well, what it turned out to be was to be the chairman of the first visit of the People's Republic of China table tennis team to the United States, to re-familiarize American people with mainland China, because we cut off China in 1949. It's now 1971, 1972, so it was scheduled for 1972. I became the coordinator for all seven venues, and represented the governor. I met them when they came over from Toronto to Detroit—went down, went with them all around, traveled all with them. I staged this thing here in Los Angeles at Pauley Pavilion, UCLA.

And the governor was really the centerpiece. He raised all the money. There was no federal money spent, no state money. We got all private funding, and it was done in conjunction with the U.S.-China Committee out of New York. But I think it's very interesting that the only man living at the time to defeat Richard Nixon in a political race was Pat Brown, and who does Nixon turn to in California but Pat Brown, to do these two things, U Thant and the People's Republic of China table tennis team. And I was fortunate

enough to be the executive director of both those events.

So this was a very exciting time. Working with Pat Brown was just an incredible experience. He was a remarkable man. He was honest. He was very, very hardworking. He was fun. He was lovable, he really was. He was very close to his family. He and Bernice were married for sixty-five years. The four children—two went into politics, Jerry Brown, and Kathleen Brown became California state treasurer. So really, when you sum it up, I mean, what the Browns have done for California is quite extraordinary.

Also, another thing that Kathleen did is. . . . Jesse Unruh, when he became treasurer of the State of California, revamped the treasurer's office and brought it into the twenty-first century, almost; it was only the twentieth century, but he brought it almost into the twenty-first century. Kathleen improved on that, because she was a bond lawyer from O'Melveny and Meyers, and then really knew the bonding world. And so she just did incredible things for the income in the State of California. And this guy who's now the treasurer, Phil Angelides, he has improved on what she did. I mean, we've been very fortunate with our local. . . . Since Jesse on, Jesse Unruh on. A lot of treasurers we had weren't worth the powder to blow them to hell, but. . . . I'm serious.

Any other questions?

YATES: I think that wraps it up. Anything else you can think of about Pat Brown?

CULLEN: Oh, there are all sorts of things I can think of, but I just think that. . . . What I was going to suggest is, I'll read my transcript and I'll make notes. I may think of other things, and add that if you want. I would also be willing to give you copies of pictures I have, if you want, and I have other things for you. I said I found the roster from the 1966 Governors' Conference. The Aerostairs thing we talked about, I have that brochure. I have some other things that relate to Jerry Brown and Pat Brown you may find of interest.

YATES: OK. We'll talk, and then maybe those are some things we can make copies of and either include with the transcript or be part of the file.

CULLEN: Fine. I'll give them to you. And there's a lot of my stuff and a lot of Governor Brown's stuff up in the [California] State Archives.

YATES: Of course, yes. And this will add tremendously to the record.

CULLEN: And you can ask Nancy Zimmelman, who, you know, I think, was responsible.

The only thing I think you should keep in mind is that Pat Brown was always a political force nationally, once he became governor of California, and from 1960 to 1990, that thirty years, he was the person people would turn to, whether it be Mario Cuomo, governor of New York, or Daley, the mayors of Chicago, both father [Richard M. Daley] and son [Richard J. Daley], [Calvin] Cal Rampton, the governor of Utah. I could go on and on and on, I mean, and he befriended many, many people, and helped many, many people.

We got involved in the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee of the United States Senate in 1979, the same year we started the Pat Brown Institute, and between 1979 and 1992, raised \$12 million for Democratic senators.

YATES: That's incredible.

CULLEN: It really is. I mean, and he never charged a nickel. It was all pro bono. Pat paid for the whole thing. So that's why all the senators love me, because I never charged anything to raise money. I mean, I'm serious. I'm serious.

YATES: OK. Well, thank you, Mr. Cullen, to formally end the interview.

CULLEN: Thank you.

[End Tape 10, Side B]

## APPENDIX

## PHOTOGRAPHS

1. Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown working the crowd at the 1966 announcement of his third term bid against Ronald W. Reagan. Frank Cullen is identifying the people he will talk to.
2. Governor Pat Brown with Dr. Simon Ramo, founder of TRW, Redondo Beach plant and executive office building dedication, spring 1965. Frank Cullen is on the left reaching for the scroll.
3. Secretary General of the United Nations U Thant, Governor Pat Brown, and Judge William Keane at UCLA. Frank Cullen is behind Governor Brown on the left.