

Interview with Phil Krone
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Interviewer: Ted Hild and Bill Wheeler

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Hild: Okay, here it is March 14, 2008, in the home of Philip Krone, a political consultant and works and lives in the City of Chicago in the State of Illinois, as well as nationwide and to some degree worldwide. Can you give us some of your background in the early years: where you were born and where you went to school?

Krone: I was born in Chicago, Illinois on March 1, 1941, at Mt. Sinai Hospital at California and Ogden, not more than two miles or so from here. I’m now living at 1509 West Jackson Boulevard with my wife Joan Powell and we raised our son James here. We moved here in 1974. He was born February 1975; we’ve owned this house since January or February of ’74. In 1983 we moved to Winnetka—not totally, we kept this house—but we bought another home in Winnetka, lived there from ’83 to ’89 and then moved to Wilmette and lived there from ’89 to ’93, although we always voted from this address. We only voted one place, by the way, but always voted in Chicago.

Hild: Why did you relocate to those suburbs?

Krone: At the time, the public schools were not of the quality that they are today. There was no Skinner Elementary. Whitney Young started and was a very

good school. As a matter of fact, Michelle Obama¹ graduated from Whitney Young in 1983, but there was no elementary school. It wasn't a dangerous neighborhood, but it wasn't an easy neighborhood. James was going to Latin School for pre-kindergarten, kindergarten, first and second grade, and he didn't have the mobility that we thought was appropriate for a young person in Winnetka. He was able to bike around the neighborhood *et cetera*, so that's the reason we moved. Joan grew up in a suburban atmosphere in northern Virginia. I was always the city boy. I went to LeMoyne Elementary at 851 Waveland, where I graduated in 1954. I went to Lake View High School at Irving and Ashland and I graduated from Lake View in 1958 and from then went to Haverford College near Philadelphia.

My father was quite ill starting, actually my freshman year. By the time I was a junior, I was commuting so much between Chicago and Haverford, that I transferred to Roosevelt University because the dean of the school, George Watson, was a Quaker and was very connected to the Quaker schools, including Haverford. I got all my credits, without exception, so I was able to graduate in '62 right on time and they made all sorts of special benefits for me, including the ability to take courses at the University of Chicago, individual courses that would apply towards my Roosevelt degree, including studying with the anthropologist Sol Tax and historians Avery Craven, a Civil War expert, and Daniel Boorstin, who became a close friend and later was Librarian of Congress, so I had an excellent, although unorthodox education. In 1961 while I was still at Haverford, through a meeting I had with Milton Rakove, was a professor at the University of Illinois, who got me involved in the Better Government Association. I met Senator Chuck Percy. And even though I was raised in a family that were liberal Democrats, and had been a page in the Senate, appointed by Democrat Senator Paul Douglas, I did not like the one party system of Chicago. My mother had been very active in Bob Merriam's unsuccessful campaign against Richard J. Daley for mayor in 1955, so, because of Chuck Percy², Dick Ogilvie³ and Roy Sandquist⁴, I got

¹Michelle LaVaughn Robinson Obama (born January 17, 1964), an American lawyer and writer...the first African-American First Lady of the U. S. ...attended Princeton University and Harvard Law School... before returning to Chicago to work at the law firm Sidley Austin, where she met her future husband.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michelle_Obama

² Charles Harting Percy was an unsuccessful candidate for governor of Illinois in 1964; elected as a Republican to the United States Senate in 1966; reelected in 1972 and 1978... unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1984. *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*.

<http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=p000222>

³ Richard B. Ogilvie served as Cook County district attorney. Ogilvie prosecuted several members of the Chicago mob in the 1950s. He served a single term as governor, from 1969 to 1973. He is best known for pushing the state's first income tax through the legislature in a bid to save a financially strapped Illinois. That accomplishment helped cripple his political career and he lost a reelection bid in 1972. *National Governors Association*, http://www.nga.org/cms/home/governors/past-governors-bios/page_illinois/col2-content/main-content-list/title_ogilvie_richard.html

Elroy, Jr. represented the Near North Side of Chicago in the Illinois House from 1976 to 1982, was a co-sponsor of the Equal Rights Amendment and Republican candidate for Illinois attorney general in 1964. *Chicago Tribune*,

involved in the Republican Party, starting in 1961. My first vote was March of 1962 and I took a Republican primary ballot; I voted in every Republican primary from 1962 until March of '72 and I was very close to Dick Ogilvie, who became governor in '60.

Hild: What were their positions, of Percy and Ogilvie, at the time you ran into them? I know Percy was a senator later and, of course, Ogilvie went on to be governor.

Krone: When I met Chuck Percy, he was the Chairman of Bell and Howell; and Dick Ogilvie later—I didn't meet him until the fall of '61, and he was running for Sheriff of Cook County; , and Roy Sandquist, whose father was a member of the General Assembly, was running for a position that no longer exists, the position of county judge.

There's a little bit of an irony in that the house that Joan and I live in, which was built between 1882 and 1884, is one of three townhouses that have common walls, were the last; they were built by a developer and sold to three very important Chicagoans.

The one on the corner was sold to Benjamin Franklin Ferguson who was very wealthy in the lumber business and left the money to the Art Institute of Chicago for what's called the Ferguson Fund to pay for sculpture. Among the sculptures that was paid for by the Ferguson Fund is Lorado Taft's *Fountain of Time* that's at the Midway Plaisance, the *Two Indians* at Congress Parkway by Ivan Meštrović, Lorado Taft's *The Great Lakes* that's on one of the walls of the Art Institute of Chicago, and many other sculptural pieces that are throughout the parks and boulevards of Chicago.

The second townhouse was occupied by Judge Richard Tuthill, and Judge Tuthill was the first juvenile court judge, period, I think in the United States, but certainly Cook County.

This house was occupied by a Judge Prendergast, and Prendergast was the elected county judge, as opposed to Superior Court or Circuit Court. It was a special judicial position that controlled election machinery, adoptions—there were several areas that were under the purview of the county judge—there was only one there—and that position began, I think, in the 1840s. He was the county judge in the late 1880s. He died at a young age. He was the youngest ever elected, I think at age twenty-eight.

Hild: So that's it from where you live, but the political life of Cook County is inseparable from your own life.

Krone: Well, the interesting thing is Professor Bluestone of the University of Virginia calls this the Prendergast Powell House because Prendergast, the first occupant was a judge and the present occupant is now a judge, my wife, Judge Joan Powell. So.

Hild: Well, politics seems to pervade your life. How was that with your parents?

Krone: My mother and father were very much active politically, particularly my mother because my father was a city civil servant, a member of the bar. He became a lawyer in the '30s. It was the middle of the depression. He was also trained as an engineer, and he became an engineer with the City of Chicago. His last position was, I think, Assistant Chief Operating Engineer at Navy Pier, but he had been at pumping stations. One of my earliest memories is going with him on Saturday mornings to the Springfield Avenue pumping station around 1600 North Springfield Avenue and going to the natatorium and swimming there, and then next door was the fire house. I was sort of like a mascot at the fire house and I got to ring the bell on the large fire engine and was able to use the typewriter and the oak roll-top desks at the Springfield Avenue pumping station.

I was named for my father's boss; the Chief Engineer at Springfield Avenue pumping station was a man named Philip Steele, and my name is Philip Steele Krone, so I know that my father really admired and liked Phil Steele and his wife. They had no children, and so I was sort of like adopted as a grandchild. They lived on Fullerton Parkway and I remember they always had Thanksgiving with us and Christmas and he was on one of the University of Illinois' winning baseball teams. I think he was either a pitcher or a catcher, I don't know, but this would have been like in the last, not the last century, the century before last century (Hild laughs), in the late 1800s. Anyway, I'm a Chicagoan.

Hild: How did your parents take it when they discovered you were a Republican?

Krone: Well, my mother, as I said, had been active for Bob Merriam in '55, who was a Democrat running as a Republican, and they liked Chuck Percy. As a matter of fact, Chuck Percy was a practicing Christian Scientist, and my mother was a Christian Scientist, and I was raised in Christian Science; they all loved Roy Sandquist, and I'm still very friendly with Roy's widow and his children. Dick Ogilvie and I bonded quickly because he was a very practical politician, and we used to joke about the fact that Sheldon Gardner, now a judge, and myself pretty much orchestrated the support of the Independent Voters of Illinois for Ogilvie and Sandquist in '62. Sandquist lost by a very small margin and Ogilvie won by a small margin, but he became the Sheriff of Cook County. Ed Kucharski, a former Chicago alderman from the 12th Ward, and a professional baseball player, became Under Sheriff of Cook County, and we remained great friends until his death, even after I went into the Democratic Party. As a matter of fact, I think it's fair to say that I helped arrange the

rapprochement between Ed Kucharski and Mike Madigan⁵ in the late '60s, early '70s, and I've been close to Mike for a long time.

Hild: Is that what you did for a living at the time?

Krone: I have been solely dependent on contractual relationships from 1969 until the present, dealing either with politics, government or institutions that dealt with politics and government, including labor unions, corporations, law firms. And, as you know, a significant part of my time has been devoted to representing developers, both in terms of real estate property tax consultation, and in historic designation and rehabilitation.

Hild: Okay. So when you say contractual relationships, you mean as a lobbyist or as a consultant with a specialty in...

Krone: Yeah. I've rarely been a lobbyist; I'm much more of a strategist and dealt with other people that were lobbyists. I don't like going around asking people to vote for things. Generally speaking, somebody will go and tell somebody that this is what I'm for, so the lobbyist is sending my message. Regarding the Illinois legislature, between talking to Governors or the Speaker of the House or the President of the Senate, I've never had to go talk to individual legislators.

Hild: You've been involved in a number of campaigns over the years, though. Was that in the same way, as a consultant, as a strategist?

Krone: Well, I've had an emotional conflict over being a political consultant in campaigns, and that is that, on very few occasions have I ever gotten compensation for being involved with a campaign. And the only reason I did was because of the full-time involvement, and that was only on two or three occasions that I was fully involved and I had to be compensated because there was no other source of income.

Hild: Briefly, can you say what those campaigns were and maybe we can get back to them later?

Krone: Sure. The campaign that Tom Hynes⁶ ran independently in 1987, pardon me, '77. I've been around so long that you mix the decades up, 197; that came within just a month and a half of the death of Mayor Richard J. Daley and the party was up for grabs. It literally took 186 ballots to elect the Senate

⁵ Michael J. Madigan (D) is an attorney; born 1942, in Chicago. He was a graduate of the University of Notre Dame; Loyola University Law School. In the Illinois General Assembly, he served as House majority leader, then as speaker of the House, <http://www.ilga.gov/house/rep.asp?MemberID=937>

⁶ **Thomas Hynes** (born 1939) is a former Cook County assessor, president of the Illinois Senate and Democratic Ward committeeman of the 19th ward in Chicago, Illinois. He is also a longtime Democratic power broker and father of former Illinois Comptroller Dan Hynes. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Hynes (accessed August 23, 2013)

President with the new Governor Jim Thompson⁷ presiding over the State Senate. That took up his whole January and a good chunk of February. They didn't elect a President of the Senate until February and I was involved fully. Then I became a contractual consultant to the President of the Senate for the rest of his term. And then in 1990, I worked for Neil Hartigan⁸ running for Governor. In 1968, I was on the staff of Ogilvie's campaign for Governor and supported him again in '72, but that was as a full-time, after-hours volunteer because I had contracts with state departments. I was never an employee. When he became Governor in January of '69, I never became an employee of the state. I was always under contracts with state departments, either Conservation, Mental Health and there were several others, and in that capacity, I was there to get policies implemented and personnel to a degree, as well.

Hild: Okay. And you say in 1972 you became a Democrat?

Krone: Well what happened was, during the term of Governor Ogilvie, on several occasions I functioned as his surrogate in dealing with Chicago problems. Neil Hartigan was Administrative Assistant to Mayor Daley and Neil and I interfaced on some of these issues. The most important one was the acquisition of Edgewater Golf Course, which is now Warren Park. For a very brief period, it was Warren State Park, and then it got transferred to the Park District, but we saved approximately ninety acres of land in the City of Chicago for public use and the outrageous cost at that time was, I think, \$19 million, which today wouldn't have bought you more than three or four acres of urban land. So that was a great achievement, I think, and something that I, even if I weren't remembered for it, I remember me for it.

But Neil and I got together, we got along very, very well, and when he was running for Lieutenant Governor in '72 against our ticket, I, of course, was not for him, but we talked a lot, we saw each other a lot, and I got to know him even better. The night that Dick Ogilvie lost for Governor, Neil called him and asked if he could borrow me. Dick Ogilvie said, "That's one less person to worry about," what was going to happen to him. So, I literally went over to Neil's headquarters that night because Walker was going to ask him the following morning to resign as Democratic committeeman of the 49th Ward.

⁷ James R. Thompson, attorney, was elected governor in 1976 for a two-year term and reelected in 1978, 1982, and 1986 for four-year terms. In 1981, he was appointed co-chair of the Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime and was the member of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Federalism. He chaired the National Governors Association, the Republican Governors Association, and the Council of Great Lakes Governors. *National Governors Association*. http://www.nga.org/cms/home/governors/past-governors-bios/page_illinois/col2-content/main-content-list/title_thompson_james.html.

⁸ Neil F. Hartigan (born May 4, 1938) is an Illinois Democrat who has served as Illinois Attorney General, the 40th Lieutenant Governor, and a justice of the Illinois Appellate Court. Hartigan also was the Democratic nominee for governor in 1990 but lost the race to Republican Jim Edgar. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neil_Hartigan (accessed August 23, 2013)

Walker started this whole big fight with Neil, and I must say that in every battle that Walker had with Hartigan, Hartigan won, whether it was the override of the CTA subsidy, the establishment of the Illinois Department on Aging, all sorts of good things, and it was fun. So the Republican side thought I had switched. I really hadn't, but I wound up switching in 1974 to the Democratic Party, and since '74, I've voted in every Democratic primary. But I began, in a sense as a liberal Democrat, and I'm still one.

Hild: Okay. What about, in addition to political work in the early years? Hadn't you been a school teacher at one time, briefly?

Krone: Yes, between 1966 and Ogilvie becoming Governor in 1969, I taught in the public schools. First at Burns Elementary, which is where Otto Kerner went as a young man, and then Delano Elementary, where one of my co-teachers was a father-in-law of one of Mayor Richard J. Daley's grandsons. That's a long story. Then I went to Dunbar High School. That was my last assignment before going under contract when Ogilvie became Governor.

Hild: I think you told me at one time that Mr. T had been a student of yours.

Krone: Yeah, Laurence Tureaud,⁹ and that's a funny story (Hild laughs) because I didn't remember him as Mr. T. He was a skinny kid. Well, I wouldn't say skinny, but he wasn't developed like Mr. T was. I had a rule that if you showed up for class you wouldn't fail. So every single athlete at Dunbar High School tried to get into my classes because they wouldn't lose their eligibility, including a very good basketball player, Billy Harris, and Laurence Tureaud. But the reason I later found out that he was my student is because I dragged James, my son at the age of ten years old, to Operation PUSH [People United to Save Humanity] one morning and Mr. T was one of the surprise guests. There he was, this Mohawk haircut, huge build and all the gold jewelry around his neck, and James got excited and wanted to go backstage and see Mr. T. So I said I'd see if we couldn't introduce him. When we go backstage, and I hear, "Mr. Krone, Mr. Krone," (Hild laughs) and it was Mr. T saying, "Mr. Krone," James was shocked. I looked at him and I said, "Excuse me." And he said, "Mr. Krone, you were my favorite teacher at Dunbar." I said, "I didn't know you went to Dunbar." And he said, "Yeah, I'm Laurence Tureaud. Don't you remember me?" And I said, "As a matter of fact I do, but you've put on a little bit of weight." He laughed and said, "Yeah." He said, "Oh, it's so good to see you," and then he said to James, "You know your father's a great teacher," and all that. Well, that was the first time that I think I had any, you know, esteem with my son, but that was an accident. It was quite funny.

⁹ Mr. T, born Laurence Tureaud is an American actor known for his roles in the 1980s television series *The A-Team*, as a in the 1982 film *Rocky III*, and for his appearances as a professional wrestler. In 2006 he starred in the reality show *I Pity the Fool*, shown on TV Land, the title of which comes from the catchphrase of his Lang character. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mr._T

Hild: And, I know another thing about you is that you had a long relationship with the columnist Mike Royko.¹⁰ Doesn't this date from your school teaching days as well?

Krone: Yeah. When I was at Delano, well, actually it started a little bit before that. We knew each other when Ogilvie was sheriff. Mike, before he had his column, was the county reporter. We only knew each other tangentially and we got along—it wasn't anything great—but in 1966 they had some race riots. I can't remember what it was about exactly, but there was some pillaging on the west side and some of my students brought me some of the loot that came from the weekend. I told them, "This is not right." They should return it. And they said, "You should see what the police took." I said, "What do you mean?" They, "Well, they were taking televisions and refrigerators." And, I thought to myself, what a great story for Royko, so I called Royko. At the time, his leg man was Terry Schaeffer and the two of them came and talked to my students after school; it was, literally, the first time that Royko ever had a story that began on page one.

Hild: That's a big deal for a newsman.

Krone: Oh, yeah. And I think that it was the *Daily News*. I mean, I think the Daily News was still in existence, that this was a *Daily News* story. It began on page one. And from then on, Mike and I became really good friends, great friends. I'm still very friendly with his widow Judy, and Joan and I were friendly with his first wife Carol and both of his sons from his marriage to Carol and his two kids now that he and Judy adopted Sam and Kate. Of all the people who are gone, outside of my parents, I can honestly say that Mike Royko is still a great void in my life because, if we didn't talk two or three times a week, we didn't talk at all. We talked all the time and we went to conventions together. We had more fun, and, of course, he was the father of the "Draft Cuomo [Mario Cuomo, for Governor of New York] Movement"¹¹ in '92 and made me go to New Hampshire. I took Don Rose with me and we had a heck of a lot of fun, but it was tough work and, of course, Cuomo never bought the bait. History might have been quite different had he decided to run.

Hild: Yeah. Yeah. Don Rose is another political consultant in Chicago. But this time we find that you're involved in New Hampshire, involved in national politics. Is that an aberration?

¹⁰ Michael "Mike" Royko Chicago newspaper columnist, winner of the 1972 Pulitzer Prize for commentary. Over his 30-year career, he wrote over 7,500 daily columns for three newspapers, the Chicago Daily News, the Chicago Sun-Times, and the Chicago Tribune. Many columns are collected in books; yet, his most famous book remains his unauthorized biography of Richard J. Daley, Boss, a best-selling non-fiction portrait of the first Mayor Richard Daley and the City of Chicago under his mayoralty. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mike_Royko

¹¹ Mike Royko, "" The Seattle Times, January 3, 1992.

<http://community.seattletimes.nwsourc.com/archive/?date=19920103&slug=1468407>

Krone: Yeah. I tend to be locally oriented, although Tip O'Neill¹² said, "All politics is local." This year I've been heavily involved in the campaign for Obama¹³ but not officially involved—not just in terms of compensation—but I have no title and nobody asked me to do it. As long as we're talking for history, I think I could fairly state that I helped really start this campaign the way it should have been started. I'm not exactly happy with everything that's happened in the campaign and, needless to say, all your advice that you give that you think is terrific isn't taken, but I have great belief in Barack's ability to be a really great President of the United States. But, to fill you in on what I consider retroactively as a meaningful part of the birth of this campaign—and I'm not a revisionist—I supported Dan Hynes for the United States Senate in 2004 and at a lunch at Cliff Dwellers in late 2003.

Hild: It's the Cliff Dwellers Club in Chicago?

Krone: Chicago. Yes. At the Cliff Dwellers. In late 2003 I had the temerity to suggest to Barack that he not run against Dan, but support him. And Barack wanted Dan to do the same. And I said, "Why would somebody who's been elected Comptroller of the State of Illinois twice, withdraw for a State Senator from one district who just lost the congressional primary?" We went back and forth and I said, "Look, it's not happening that way, but if you did win the nomination, of course I'd be for you," and one thing led to another. Well, he got nominated, which was a direct result, I think, of the fact that Blair Hull, another candidate, spent \$29 million of his own money, couldn't advance himself because of sex scandals that occurred at the end of his campaign with the accusation of his beating up his wife, et cetera, et cetera. And I don't think retroactively that that's true. I like Blair Hull a great deal. I think he destroyed Dan Hynes' chance. Without Blair Hull, Dan Hynes would have been the nominee. There's no doubt in my mind that he created the circumstances by which Barack got nominated. As a matter of fact, Dan carried way more than eighty counties of the state's hundred and two and if you only counted the vote from all the counties except Cook and Lake, Dan would have been the nominee. Anyway, after the Obama speech in 2004, which...

Hild: Which Obama speech?

Krone: The one that he gave at the Democratic convention. He still hasn't been elected to the U. S. Senate. It's the summer of 2004. He's the nominee of the party and Kerry¹⁴ chose him to give the keynote. Of course, it was a memorable speech and probably ranks as one of the half dozen best speeches ever given at a Democratic convention, along with Mario Cuomo's speech in

¹² O'NEILL, Thomas Philip, Jr. (Tip), Speaker of the House of Representatives, Ninety-fifth through Ninety-ninth Congresses <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=o000098>

¹³ Barack Hussein Obama II, (born August 4, 1961) is a Presidential candidate at the time of the interview..

¹⁴ John Forbes Kerry U.S. Secretary of State at time of this interview; U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; presidential nominee of the Democratic Party in the 2004. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Kerry

1984 and [William Jennings] Bryan’s “Cross of Gold” speech [at the 1896 Democratic National Convention]. Those are probably the three most memorable of all the convention speeches. And it sounds much better, by the way, than it reads. It’s not a document to be read; it’s an oration to be heard. But, it was obvious that he had great appeal at that point. The following year, in 2005, maybe even into ’06, I was talking to Dan Hynes about Obama; they had become friends and we both agreed that he had presidential stature. Then in 2006 I called Dan Hynes and I said, “You know, George Clooney¹⁵ just came back from Darfur with Barack and said he’d make a great President. I said, “The problem is that Hollywood stars can give their opinion, but it doesn’t have the gravitas of a national elected official. You have special gravitas because you were defeated by him.” He said, “Well, I’ve been thinking about supporting [him] for president.” I said, “Well, I’ll tell you, you have an opportunity in the next week that won’t come again. And this next week Barack can do something that would prohibit him from running for President now.” And Dan said, “You think he should run for President now?” And I said, “Absolutely, because he’s a phenomenon and you can’t keep a phenomenon forever. It just won’t float. You have to put it into orbit. It won’t levitate. This is his time. It’s an open election. He was right on the vote in Iraq and we talk about the future, not the past. But people will think it’s premature for him to run, although he has more elected experience than Abraham Lincoln, and he is older than John F. Kennedy, or William J. Clinton, or Theodore Roosevelt were when they became President.” Of course, Roosevelt became President because of McKinley’s assassination, but Clinton and Kennedy were elected as President at an age younger than Barack was.

So, the idea was that Dan would announce for Obama on the Thursday before the Harkin Steak Fry¹⁶ in Indianola, Iowa. That occurred in September of 2006. Because up to that point Barack was saying, of course he’s not a candidate, no, he’s not running for President. So, Dan called a press conference. It got great publicity. It fired up the eastern media. The *New York Times* sent a reporter to Indianola. And Barack kept the door open. He didn’t slam it shut. He didn’t give that “if nominated I will not run, if elected I will not serve” No Shermanesque statement at all.¹⁷ His Indianola speech was a good speech. It wasn’t as electrifying as the one he gave, but it had some meat to it, and that is what began the movement. I met with Dave Axelrod.

Hild: Dave Axelrod is?

Krone: His principal political advisor. I’ve known David since before he was a political consultant, when he was a reporter at the [Chicago] *Tribune* and I

¹⁵ George Timothy Clooney...an American actor, film director, producer, and screenwriter...noted for his political activism...served as one of the United Nations Messengers of Peace.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Clooney

¹⁶ An event sponsored by Democrat Thomas R. Harkin, United States Senator from Iowa.

¹⁷ A statement attributed to William T. Sherman. Lyndon B. Johnson made the same statement after his first term in office.

told him all the reasons why and met quietly with Mayor Daley [Richard M. Daley] and with Alderman Burke [Edward M. Burke, Chicago 14th Ward] and things have moved.

Barack, over that Christmas vacation, worked it out with his wife and family to run for President. They announced, as you well know, on the State Capitol¹⁸ steps. Interestingly enough, Dan Hynes made the Lincoln/Kennedy connections. Also had an interesting relationship in vis-à-vis Ted Sorenson¹⁹ and Barack and it's pretty well now been established that Barack is the heir to the Kennedy mantle. That, of course, was solidified by the endorsement of Ted Kennedy²⁰ and even more importantly Caroline Kennedy, the daughter of John F. Kennedy. So, I'm very heavily involved and somewhat frustrated at times, but have had a great deal of fun. Carried a precinct in Elgin, Iowa, for Barack. He came in first in this little rural town that I used to go to when I was a youngster, because my father's best friend, when they were growing up became a doctor and went to Iowa to fulfill his practice.

Hild: In light of your work in the draft Cuomo movement and your work with Barack Obama, how do you get along with the Clintons?

Krone: I don't. Although it's interesting. I didn't know that I knew, but Clinton remembered—I mean, Bill Clinton has an unbelievable memory—he remembered, and I didn't, that we had met in Oxford, England in 1971. I was having breakfast with a British student and he heard me speaking. I was **thirty** years old; he heard me speaking English and knew I was an American, came over and introduced himself. He obviously sounded—he was from the south—and one thing led to another. I said to him that I had been a page in the Senate for Paul Douglas. He had been on the staff of Bill Fulbright²¹, blah, blah, blah, blah. Then it came out he was a Rhodes Scholar and he had a very unkempt, unruly beard. He was wearing a flak jacket, you know, camouflage. I told him, "You don't look like a Rhodes Scholar. You ought to dress like one and maybe wear one of those crew argyle sweaters, something that had red, white and blue in it," and he laughed. That was the only time I met him until New Hampshire, and then I sort of stayed out of his way.

¹⁸ Actually it was at the Old State Capitol in Springfield, Illinois, the one where A. Lincoln served and where he lay in state after his assassination. It is now an Illinois State Historic Site

¹⁹ political advisor and President John F. Kennedy's speech writer

²⁰ Edward M "Ted" Kennedy U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, member of the Democratic Party. He was the second most senior member of the Senate when he died and was the fourth-longest-serving senator in United States history, having served there for almost 47 years. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ted_Kennedy

²¹ J. William Fulbright holds the record as the longest-serving chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, sponsored the Fulbright Scholars Act, creating Fulbright scholarships for Americans to study abroad, and for foreign scholars to study in the United States. He publicly challenged the "old myths and new realities" of American foreign policy, and warned against "the arrogance of power."

http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/Featured_Bio_Fulbright.htm,

I think, Don Rose²² would have changed history. He wanted to have a press conference denouncing Clinton, not for the sexual relationships with a White House intern, but for the deceit. I said, "That's not what we're here for."

Hild: This is New Hampshire in what year?

Krone: This was in... when he was nominated, 1992. But I was only in the White House once when he was President, and that was for a farewell party for Bill Daley when he left as Secretary of Commerce to go to Gore's campaign²³. So I was not close to the Clintons, although I must say, that while I've maxed out for Barack, I have given over \$1,000 to Hillary Clinton in her campaign for President of the United States, because I have a great deal of empathy for her. She's not my first choice. She's not what the country needs. But if I had a button, it would be, "It's the Supreme Court, stupid." I mean, I like John McCain [Republican Presidential nominee] a lot, but I would vote for Hillary if she's the nominee. I'd work very hard for her because she's going to need it.

Barack would be easy to elect, particularly when it comes out, if he becomes the nominee, everybody's going to know that we nominate the next President of the United States on January 20, 2009, and less than a month later, we celebrate, on February 12, 2009, the two-hundredth birthday of Abraham Lincoln. If you talk about coming full circle in America, this is it.

I haven't talked to Michelle Obama, who we know well from Preservation because she was on the Landmarks Commission in Chicago, but when Michelle said it was the first time she felt proud to be an American. I don't know the exact context and how she said it, but I must say, this is the first time that I've been fully proud of being an American, because I remember segregation. You know, I was a voting adult in 1962 and that's when you had to be twenty-one to vote, and that was before the passage of Civil Rights legislation. I remembered the four toilets of the south; colored men, white men, colored women, white women. A lot of expensive plumbing, but, no, I think this country has moved a great deal forward. There's been a little bit of a backsliding during this campaign, which I think will be overcome eventually. I've recommended that Barack go back to Iowa and campaign for a few days there where it began, reminding people that that's pretty much almost an all white state, and he carried it, and he did it where people have to openly show

²² Don Rose is an independent political consultant who specializes in progressive candidates. He writes a weekly online column for the *Chicago Daily Observer* (CDOBS.com) and has published widely, including in *The Nation*. <http://www.thenation.com/authors/don-rose>

²³ Albert Arnold "Al" Gore, Jr., 45th Vice President of the United States under President Bill Clinton; the Democratic Party's 2000 nominee for President and lost despite winning the popular vote; received a Nobel Peace Prize for his work in climate change activism. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al_Gore

who they're for. It's not a secret ballot. They have to show to their neighbors that they are voting for a person of color.

Hild: What's your role in the Obama campaign?

Krone: I'm a... Truly, I'm an independent. I mean, nobody's going to take responsibility for me. Theoretically, I could run my own Obama campaign. In the fall, I could legally start; I could raise money if I wished and spend it, because it's not in cooperation or consultation with the campaign. I do send them e-mails telling what I think they should do, but it's unilateral. They've done a lot of the things and there are a lot of things they haven't done, but, basically, I'm very happy with the campaign and certainly with the candidate. The thing that I'm proudest of is the fact that he has not receded from the idea that he would meet with foreign leaders, particularly those that we do not agree with, without precondition, because if you start working on conditions, then you may as well be talking about the issues. Because you can always say this meeting isn't going anywhere, thank you very much.

Hild: So, foreign affairs is something that you sort of perforce are involved in from all the travel that you do.

Krone: Well, you know, it happens to be fortuitous; it wasn't done for this purpose. But, you know, yesterday morning I stayed over at the home of a Member of Parliament and we had dinner the previous night: he, myself and the daughter of Cook County Clerk, Dorothy Brown. Then yesterday morning had breakfast at his home. And this is a Member of Parliament who is one of the three closest to the Prime Minister. I've advised people in a half a dozen different countries. I'm extremely close to former Member of Parliament in New Zealand, Rob Talbot, who was their Minister of Tourism and Agriculture and Attorney General and who, when Carol Mosley Braun went to New Zealand, was her private, quiet comrade.

Hild: She's the former Senator who went there as Ambassador.

Krone: Right. Carol Mosley Braun was the first black woman Senator in the United States and certainly the first black Ambassador to New Zealand, and was the most successful Ambassador to New Zealand that we've ever sent, primarily because she was not only qualified, but because she was black. There's a huge portion of that population that is minority, and so they had a great deal of affinity for Carol. But, as I said, Rob Talbot I've been close to. So I have associations in about a dozen foreign countries. I didn't expect to still be here, but if I'm alive after Barack is elected, I would love to serve as an United States Ambassador to one of the smaller countries. Not the ones that people fight over like Italy, France and the United Kingdom, but, hopefully, in a country where it's somewhat below the radar and where I would have an opportunity of engaging ambassadors from countries such as Russia, North Korea, Iran, Cuba and being able to work things out, similarly to when I

worked for Ogilvie and Neil Hartigan worked for Daley. I think there are many, many diplomatic opportunities to deal with critical issues without the glare of the klieg lights and that could bring solutions that would reduce the number of deaths and the waste of monetary resources. I think Barack would be a great President.

Hild: Your history involves a lot of travel to a lot of different places. When did you start travelling?

Krone: Actually, I started travelling extensively when I was a contractual consultant to the State of Illinois when Ogilvie was Governor. So, in 1969 I was twenty-eight years old. I had been to Europe previously, but I started travelling extensively because my responsibilities were such that I didn't have a schedule, so I could literally get away for ten days to two weeks in any given month without anybody caring or noticing, and I did. For example, a lot of the stuff I've done is somewhat organized and disciplined, but a lot of the things I've done have been as a result of accidents. Primarily, one that's most interesting was: I was a delegate to a meeting—just after Mayor Daley was elected mayor—to a sister cities conference. I was in a plenary session where somebody got up—I don't know where they were from, somewhere in the United States—and they started attacking China on its human rights issues. So I got up and I said, "I'm not saying that I disagree with the remarks of the previous speaker, but I'm not sure that this is the forum in which they should be stated. We have a role here in trying to make things better," and blah, blah, blah, blah, "and so we're looking for things that will move us forward without cursing the mistakes of the past or even of the present. So even if the remarks are appropriate, this is not the place to say them. So, I'm hopeful that whatever differences we have with China will be worked out," dah, dah, dah, dah.

Well, at the end of the meeting, this lady came up to me and she said, "Do you work for us?" I said, "Excuse me, who are you?" She was one of the first secretaries of the Chinese Embassy in Washington. And I said, "No, I don't work for you." "Well, would you be willing to meet our Ambassador?" (Hild laughs) I said, "Certainly," I said, "if you provide a ticket. Not business class, coach will be fine." So they got me a ticket and I went and met with the Chinese Ambassador. They said, "We would like to have a relationship with you." And I said, "I don't want to be a foreign agent. I'm not going to register as a foreign agent, but if you would like me to advise you on what I think is a Western way of dealing with the problem, you don't have to take it, but at least you'd get an unvarnished view." And so I had that relationship for many, many years. The whole time Jiang Zemin was President (1993-2003), I met with other high leaders and was involved in the hand-over of Hong Kong—as a matter of fact, changed the phrase from "take-over" to "hand-over." I'm not going to say all that on this tape, but the Chinese relationship has been very, very interesting and they have been very, very good about issuing visas to people that I've asked to have visas. I mean Chinese residents coming here.

The sentence that one of their top leaders said to me once—this is a little bit, pardon my French—but this Chinese person said to me in English, “The difference between your country and our country is you elect your assholes.” (both laugh)

Hild: Well, I’m a little unclear about what exactly you do for the Chinese government. You represent the views of the . . .

Krone: No, no, no, I don’t represent anybody’s views except my own, but I give them, like, it would be called game theory. If you do this, this is what happens. Like, I’ve advised them on Taiwan, in which my line has been: “Taiwan is not worth one drop of blood from either side of the Taiwan straits, that China has a five thousand year history. Things don’t have to be resolved right now.” Some of the felicitous things I’ve suggested to them, they haven’t implemented, but they love hearing them. Like, for example, I said, “You ought to say that the President of Taiwan, who is elected by the Taiwanese, is ipso facto the governor of the province of Taiwan. Whoever you elect as president, we’ll accept as governor.” They understand the concept, but they don’t want to say that yet, but they are basically acting as if Taiwan were part of the Chinese government. I mean, in terms of trading partnership, mainland China is the number one trading partner of Taiwan. They know the difference between independence and autonomy, and they’re willing to have all sorts of autonomy. I mean, literally, Deng Xiaoping²⁴ once said to me on the two times that I met him personally.

Hild: You meant he was. . .

Krone: He was the maximum leader. He didn’t have the title chairman or president, but he was the guy who ran (unintelligible). He said to me, “China is not the model for Hong Kong. Hong Kong is the model for China.” Now, that isn’t something he would have said in print and I’ve never said it to the media, but at any point they wish. Another time, and I’ve never seen this in print, I’m sure he’s told it to other people, but he was telling me about when British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, came to see him about extending the lease on Hong Kong for another fifty years. He said, “What do you suggest Madame Prime Minister, that we have signs at the airport that say, ‘Welcome to Honk Kong, owned by China, managed by the United Kingdom?’” And then she said, “By the way, did you notice our recent contretemps with Argentina?” And then Xiaoping said, “And I said, Madame Prime Minister, congratulations are in order, but you have to understand that in our situation, you are Argentina and we are the United Kingdom.” (laughs) Which sort of put it bluntly.

But, one thing I had suggested—I I had asked, and they gave me—I said I wanted a ten year visa that allowed me to go anywhere in China. They

²⁴ Deng Xiaoping held supreme power in the People’s Republic of China from 1978 to 1992.

said there's no such thing, and I said, "That's why I want it." (Hild chuckles) It turned out that they gave it to me but it created all sorts of problems because, being the only one, I always got stopped; so I wound up getting conventional visas to boot with this really fancy one. But the funny line they said to me, "Would this include Tibet?" And I said, "Well, it depends. Is Tibet part of China?" And then they all laughed over that. Then I suggested that one of the ways of handling Tibet... well, I gave them two suggestions: one they put into effect immediately and they didn't do any studying. It was better than bureaucracy in America. They just got engineering reports and they just did it. I said, "Run a high speed railway between Beijing and Lhasa and promote tourism. That's the way you grab hold of a place in modern concept. It's tourism that does it. The second thing is you ought to give about ten or fifteen, even twenty square miles of Tibet, including the castle in Lhasa, to the present Dalai Lama, the one who's in exile in India, and it would be sort of like a huge Vatican.

Hild: Vatican, yeah.

Krone: And I said, "And you can have that. You could even give them more. The idea would be that you would limit what they had to a very small geographic [area] and the rest would be in China, but there'd be no problem with doing that." Well, they haven't done that, but I wouldn't be surprised if some day that they did.

Hild: Well, they have the train.

Krone: They do have the train now, and they do have the tourism.

Wheeler: Are you giving these men informal advice on the Olympics, the 2008 Summer Olympics?

Krone: Yeah, and I still am doing that. Well, one of the funniest ones, and of course this is sort of off the record. I'm not naming names of people who said it, but I said the pollution of Beijing is horrible. I said a few weeks before the Olympics, you're going to have to turn down the factories and then, because there'll be tourism afterwards, they shouldn't start up until another two weeks afterwards. And they said, "What are we going to do when our people get used to fresh air?" (laughter)

Wheeler: Aren't they actually trying some of that, though, aren't they in terms of shut-downs and prohibiting cars and so on?

Krone: Yeah. They're going to do all that.

Wheeler: Which is good, because I see a number of the athletes are jumping in and being concerned about the asthmatics and so forth.

Krone: Right. I was sorry to see Steven Spielberg²⁵ pull out as artistic director.

Wheeler: I hate to see that.

Krone: It's interesting that the Chinese were so open in getting all these outsiders doing these things, and even though the criticisms are valid, it's not the appropriate time to do it. You want to move them forward, and one of the ways you move them forward is by letting them shine in the Olympics. I don't know if he's going to do it, but I urged Mayor Daley to go for the opening and the closing ceremonies, particularly because the decision on whether Chicago's going to get the Olympics in 2016 will be made in the year 2009, so I thought we should, you know, show Chicago's position by attending it. I also said that you have to be very ethical about it. We don't want to get knocked out of the running on issues of bribery. But because Hyatt Corporation is based in Chicago, I thought it would really be clever for Mayor Daley to get control of a whole floor of rooms at the Hyatt during the Olympics and then parcel them out to other countries that need hotel rooms for their high level people and can't get them. We would make them pay the appropriate rate. It wouldn't be a gift, but just getting a room is difficult. Paying for it is the easiest part. Getting it is the difficult part. But I have a feeling that Chicago will get the Olympics in 2016 and I have a feeling that Mayor Daley is going to run for reelection in 2011 and 2015, that he wants to be mayor at the time of the Olympics. And interestingly enough, he's only going to be in his seventies. I wouldn't be surprised if Mayor Daley elects to end his career as Mayor of Chicago the way his father did: feet first.

Lunch?

Hild: Okay.

(end of interview #1)

²⁵ Steven Spielberg is an American Academy Award-winning film director.

Interview with Phil Krone
IS-A-L-2008-014.02
Interview # 2: March 14, 2008
Interviewer: Ted Hild & Bill Wheeler

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Hild: It's March 14, 2008. We're at the home of Philip Krone, who is interviewed here for an oral history project. My name is Ted Hild. I'm the interviewer, and Bill Wheeler is also participating in the interview.

Krone: Okay.

Hild: Alright. I'd like to ask some more questions about presidential politics.

Krone: All right.

Hild: You talked about Barack Obama, but in previous decades you've also been involved in politics in some degree on the national level. Can you tell us something about that? Did you deal with any of the [Ronald] Reagan Republicans or the [Nelson] Rockefeller Republicans?

Krone: Well actually, interestingly enough, in 1964, I was involved with the Scranton²⁶ for President Committee and at the time, I got into it with a local

²⁶ William Warren Scranton, a progressive Pennsylvania Republican elected Senator in 1960 then Governor in 1962 then a moderately liberal presidential alternative to conservative Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater after New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller dropped out of the race. *The Huffington Post*, 7/29/13, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/07/29/william-scranton-dead-dies_n_3670987.html

guy named Worthington Scranton Maher, Tony Maher. He worked for Life magazine and his uncle was Bill Scranton, the Governor of Pennsylvania. Ogilvie was for Barry Goldwater x, but I was for Scranton. I will say one thing for Governor Ogilvie., he didn't demand absolute followership, so to speak, and he didn't have a problem with me being for Scranton. I had a lot of authority in that campaign when I look back. I was twenty-three years old and I signed all the checks for the Illinois campaign and made the choice of what media to buy, radio stations. We didn't have television ads in that campaign, but we had a lot of radio ads, and particularly in downstate Illinois where the buys were much more reasonable. We didn't get that many delegates. I think the record will show we had four or five delegates for Scranton and there were a few for Rockefeller and most of them were for Goldwater. But I was involved in that campaign.

The first love of my life, politically, was Adlai Stevenson and in his '56 campaign, I not only volunteered, but after the campaign was over, I worked after school and on weekends at his law office, because he had an unbelievable amount of correspondence. I mean, people wrote to him all the time. I helped his secretaries organize it and, in some instances, write draft responses, although he liked to answer his own mail. But he had so much of it. But he was my first, and still is, I suppose, the person that I admire the most in politics. Interestingly enough, in his campaign, as many wise things that Stevenson said, I felt that they should be utilized by Barack Obama if he becomes President, he ought to limit his quotations to people who won elections and even though Governor Stevenson won Governorship in '48 by a huge margin, he obviously didn't win in '52 or '56. I remember one of his great lines was after the '52 election, he said, "Who was I to run against a war hero?" And after '56, he said, "Who was I to run against a war hero twice?" (Hild laughs.) I thought it was funny.

After the '56 election, in December of '56 I was appointed to be a page in the United States Senate by Paul Douglas and I was going in January to Washington, D. C. He had two secretaries, Carol Evans and Roxanne Eberlein and I got a telegram from Stevenson. Unfortunately, I can't find it, but I remember exactly what it said. It was, "Dear Philip, Roxanne tells me that Paul Douglas has appointed you a page in the U. S. Senate. I'm glad one of us is making it to Washington next year." (Hild laughs.) And that was his sense of humor. Now the funny thing is, that was such a good line he used it on everybody who went to Washington, including Newt Minow²⁷.

Now, here's an interesting connection—several. You know, if you live long enough and you stay in one place, you'll see everything. One of my dear friends is Sidney Hyman²⁸ who's ninety-four years old. You'd think he was seventy, but he's ninety-four. He is the last that we know of, but certainly if

²⁷ Newton Minnow, appointed Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission in 1961.

²⁸ Sidney Hyman was a Pulitzer Prize winner and speech writer for President John F. Kennedy

he's not the last, he's one of the last-living speech writers for Adlai Stevenson from the '52 campaign, which was called the Elks Club Group, because Adlai was Governor of Illinois and the campaign was pretty much run out of Springfield and all the speech writers lived at the Elks Club. Now among the speech writers were Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.²⁹, John Kenneth Galbraith³⁰, Sidney Hyman, there were several others, and, you won't believe this, but it's absolutely true: John Steinbeck³¹. Now, Steinbeck didn't live there full-time, but he was there a good deal of the time and Steinbeck wrote speeches for Adlai Stevenson in his '52 campaign. In the '56 campaign, one of his speech writers and deputy campaign managers, was a person who became a dear friend, John Brademas, who later became Congressman from Indiana, and then President of New York University, who I haven't seen in some years. But the artist, Robert Indiana, did a poster for Brademas. Last year, somewhat by accident but also on purpose, I met the artist Robert Indiana and got him to do a poster for Joan for her judicial campaign, which was the poster and the logo that we used. He was very gracious in donating it, and so we're very happy about that. But there was a connection between Brademas, Joan and one other: the only other political thing that Indiana ever did was in '76, he did a poster that said "vote" and it was based on the same design as Joan, J-o-a-n V-o-t-e. But the most important one he ever did, which was very famous, "LOVE" L-o-v-e, with the O on the angle. Robert Indiana.

Wheeler: It became a postage stamp, didn't it?

Krone: Yeah. It was a postage stamp. Anyway, he lives in Vinalhaven, Maine now, an island off of Rockland, Maine. I saw him this summer and then Joan and I went out in October and he did this poster for her. He made a mistake on the first poster, so he sent a second one with a big description. So I called him up and I said, "God is this valuable." And he said, "Why?" And I said, "It's sort of like those upside down stamps, you know, mistakes are always more valuable than the real thing, so we're going to auction it off. I think it's only fair that you get half of what we get. We'll keep half and give you half." (Hild laughs.) Sort of like a gallery dealer. But he said it was fine. He said, "I hope she wins because it will be more valuable if she wins and I don't want her to hurt my reputation."

But other Presidential politics—it's never been central to my life. It's always been local, some international, but that's been more for, I shouldn't say for fun, although it has been fun, the local stuff is the reciprocal of bread and butter. In other words, I've never gotten paid by politicians other than the

²⁹ Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr. (born Arthur Bancroft Schlesinger; October 15, 1917 – February 28, 2007) was an American [historian](#), [social critic](#), and [public intellectual](#); explored the history of 20th-century [American liberalism](#); served as special assistant and "court historian" to President Kennedy from 1961 to 1963. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arthur_Schlesinger,_Jr.

³⁰ John Kenneth Galbraith, a Canadian and later, U.S.; economist, public official and diplomat, advisor to President John F. Kennedy, US Ambassador to India http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Kenneth_Galbraith.

³¹ John Steinbeck was a Pulitzer Prize-winning American novelist.

Hartigan-Hynes situation, and they were, you know, good friends. Neil Hartigan was best man at our wedding and Tom Hynes has been Joan's number one backer for her judicial position, although that's never been in the paper. The best things are those things which are understated.

Hild: Back when you were working for Ogilvie that was also the era of Ronald Reagan's Presidency. What connections did you have with the federal government at the time?

Krone: I only met Reagan twice and it was in 1970...

Hild: I'm sorry, Richard Nixon.

Krone: Oh, Richard Nixon.

Hild: Yeah.

Krone: Well, it was interesting. I was appointed a page in the Senate by Paul Douglas and I went in '57. Now, at the time, it was a pure patronage job. There were twenty-eight pages and the Democrats, who were the majority, Lyndon Johnson was the majority leader, appointed twenty-four of the twenty-eight pages, and there were only four Republicans. As a result, the Democrats gave, I think about eight of their pages to work on the Republican side. The Republicans felt a little bit squeamish about it because, even though they were kids, they still were listening [in] on things that were private and somewhat partisan. Most of the pages were southern Democrats and, while they weren't malicious, they were still racist. They were, you know, not pro-black, and certainly not for equality, and I found it somewhat discomforting, so I asked Paul Douglas if he'd mind arranging for me to work on the Republican side and he said that wouldn't be a problem because a) they had to send people over and b) there weren't that many who really wanted to go. So I went, and I must say that I made some really good friends among Senators and despite the age difference, it was amazing how much time that they had to give and to talk to pages. I can remember specifically: Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts, John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, Alexander Wylie of Wisconsin, Clifford Case of New Jersey, and Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, who, as conservative as he was, he was very, very kind, and his wife Delores really extended her arm out to me and did lots of things and invited me to Sunday brunch and Sunday lunch. That was a time when New Hampshire was a really rock-ribbed Republican state. The joke used to be, "As New Hampshire goes, so goes Vermont." That was the '36 election when Alf Landon³² only carried two states. He didn't carry Kansas but he carried New Hampshire and Vermont.

Wheeler: You actually (Unintelligible)

³² Alf Landon was a Republican presidential nominee from Kansas.

Krone: Well, first of all, it was an interesting thing. We started school at six in the morning, which was on the top floor of the Library of Congress, and we got out of school at about 9:00 and went to the Senate, where we organized the Senators' desks, put all the new legislation on their desks and we were there for what was called the morning hour when they had an opportunity to introduce legislation or to talk about legislation on first or second reading. Then we had lunch and then we came back for an actual Senate session. Most of the time there weren't many Senators on the floor. It was just leadership and one or two people who would speak on an issue and very rarely was there a quorum call. That was a device, a parliamentary device; the bells would ring and all the Senators would have to come to the floor, but it wasn't done as the Constitution, or the Declaration of Independence said, "for light or transient causes". There had to be a reason to do it. It was at a time of great civility in politics. Even people who politically might have detested each other were very cordial. I can think of seeing one day Joe McCarthy in one of the cars of the Senate subway coming from the Senate office building sitting with Estes Kefauver, and Kefauver having his arm wrapped around Joe McCarthy. I was shocked when I saw that. I later said to Estes Kefauver, "I couldn't believe you with your arm around Joe McCarthy." He said, "He's not so bad in person." In any event—we mentioned Ronald Reagan—in 1972, a young man who now has his own program on NPR [National Public Radio], Tom Ashbrook, was working for Les Arends and that had something to do with him getting his job.

Hild: Les Arends was the...?

Krone: Was Congressman from Illinois. He represented near central, northern central Illinois, including Ford County, Paxton. Les was an old-fashioned Republican; he looked central casting, with the long white hair and sideburns over the ears. Anyway, he gave Tom a job and Tom wound up having a lot to do with the Republican National Convention in Miami; he asked me to speak to the foreign dignitaries that were visiting the Republican convention as guests, and the only other speaker was Governor Ronald Reagan of California. Reagan gave a very powerful speech. Very partisan, however, and it—as he described to me—didn't get much applause. He came back and sat down, he turned to me and he said, "I think I laid a great big egg." I said, "No, not really governor; it was fine."

Then I got introduced. I got up and I said, "You just heard a great stem-winding speech from Governor Reagan of California and, frankly governor, I think you wasted all those wonderful words because these distinguished individuals don't have one vote among them. They can't vote in the election. You wasted all that great rhetoric," and everybody laughed. I said a few more things and it sort of eased over the partisanship of his remarks. When I went to sit down next to him after speaking, I got a lot of applause. It was sort of embarrassing in a way, I sat next to him and he said, "Well," he said, "you took that egg I laid and turned it into an omelet," which was very

kind of him to say that. Now this was in, I don't remember if it was July or August, but it was in summer in Miami.

Then the following January, when Neil Hartigan represented the State of Illinois at Nixon's second inauguration—the reason he did it as opposed to Governor Walker, was one of Governor Walker's daughters was being married, so he sent Neil—and I happened to be in the executive wing of the White House bathroom and in the stall next to me, the urinal next to me, was Governor Reagan. He looked up and he said, "Oh, you're the young lad who saved me out of the difficult situation at the Republican convention." I said, "Oh, no, Governor, you were fine. It was just a partisan speech to a non-partisan audience," and we both laughed. We're standing there, sort of bashful in a way—at least I was—and I said to him, "I guess this is what you'd call all men being created equal." And Reagan immediately turned to me and said, "But not all are equally endowed by their creator." So, you know, they can say anything they want about Ronald Reagan, but he wasn't slow and he did have a great sense of humor, because he had previously said that line about making an omelet out of the egg he laid. Now, it might have been not totally original, but it was certainly apropos of the situation. So, he was a very friendly guy, and as you all know, the thing that Tip O'Neill said is that after 6:00 there was no politics. He would go over to the White House and have a drink with Reagan and talk about stuff that wasn't political. They had a good personal relationship even though they were, you know, a hundred and eighty degrees apart on most issues.

Hild: Generally, though, your interest was not in Washington but in Chicago and Springfield?

Krone: Mostly Chicago and urban issues and, of course, doing things that helped get elected when Governor Ogilvie was Governor and the income tax debate was between Arrington and Dixon. Dixon was opposed and Arrington was for. But the real interesting part about it was that conceptually, Arrington was against it and Dixon was for.

Hild: Dixon being a Democrat and Arrington a Republican.

Krone: Yeah, and theoretically Democrats were for progressive taxation, which an income tax is. But because Ogilvie was a Republican, he was opposed to it, but it was a brilliant debate. Alan Dixon and Arrington were two of the best debaters I ever heard and other people did not get in the fray. It was really elegant the way they discussed the issues and how much they knew off the top of their heads without referring to notes. Very rarely do you see that in a legislative chamber. It's interesting when you go to the legislature and you hear people describing the bills that they're introducing. One of the words that you really have to be wary of is when a legislator says "This bill merely does something." As soon as you hear the word "merely," you know it's probably got something in it you don't want. Politically, I guess, of my two favorite

political campaigns, one was a very inside kind of campaign, and that was the election for Senate President in 1977, the month after Richard J. Daley died.

Hild: What were the issues there?

Krone: Power. Who was going to have it? The regulars were behind Tom Hynes.

Hild: Regular Democrats?

Krone: Democrats. It didn't matter. The Republicans were in the minority, so they weren't going to choose. The Democrats were divided into several groups. There was the black caucus led by Charlie Chew, South Side Chicago, and the regulars; then Chew went with the regulars, leaving most of the other blacks, well, actually, there were several blacks in the regular caucus, but there was a regular caucus and the Crazy 8. The Crazy 8 kept the Democrats from having the necessary votes to elect the president.

Hild: Who were the Crazy 8?

Krone: Dawn Netsch, Ken Buzbee, Vince DeMuzio, I can't remember all of them. Terry Bruce. [The other four were William Morris, Vivian Hickey, Don Wooten and Jerome Joyce.]

Hild: What's the origin of the name? Those are mostly southern Democrats.

Krone: Right. They were the non-Cook County Democrats; they had been anti-Daley and when Daley died, they just assumed being anti-organization, and so there were a lot of issues. I will say without humility that I devised the strategy by which Hynes put together the winning coalition and got everybody to come on board. We decided to name the number of committees that would be in existence and who would be the chair and to give a lot of the downstaters chairs. So, we gave Buzbee, who came from Carbondale, higher education.

Hild: The home of Southern Illinois University.

Krone: Exactly. I mean, under the Republicans it was held by Stan Weaver of Champaign, so Weaver was equally delighted with Buzbee getting it because he wasn't from Champaign. He was from southern Illinois and that means he could have dealt with him. So you're talking sixes and sevens but trying to get on one base. Now, I was a friend of Stanley Weaver from my Republican days, so I still had all these Republican friendships. They were based, not just on politics, but, you know, first-name-basis friendships over ten or fifteen years are not easily evaporated, so they knew what my gig was. I was with Hartigan now and after Hartigan, with Hynes, and they loved the stability.

It's always good to know the people on the other side. Like in Parliament, they jokingly say, "Your opponents are across from you. Your

enemies are behind you,” meaning the back benchers. So, anyway, Hynes put together this list of committee chairmanships, and part of the crawl was, what do we do with Dawn Netsch? And she was interested in judiciary.

Hild: But she was from Chicago.

Krone: Right, but they were still

Hild: Anti-Daley.

Krone: ...anti-Daley. There was a Bill Morris from Waukegan, also in this group. Anyway, Dawn Netsch was going to get chairmanship of the civil judiciary, but we had to divide the committee. Rich Daley³³ was going to be chairman of judiciary, so nobody wanted to go see Rich to tell him that he was losing half of his committee. I said, “I’ll talk to him.” I knew Rich since we were literally teen-agers. So, I went to see him and I said, “Look, we’re having a problem putting this thing together. Would you object to dividing judiciary into civil and criminal and giving Dawn civil?” He said, “She can have the whole committee, if you want.” And I said, “Well, the idea isn’t to emasculate you. The idea is to broaden the tent.” He said, “Whatever you want to do, as long as it elects Tom president it’s fine with me.” Well, that was a side of Rich Daley that nobody had seen up to that point.

When Tom called a press conference, it was unprecedented. He did it at 11:00 at night. I won’t name the chap who didn’t show up from the Tribune because it was eleven at night. It turns out he was in the sack with his mistress and the cost was a divorce that got created from that press conference. Unfortunately, it wasn’t the intention. But most of the reporters were there, especially the Springfield reporters.

Hild: Was this in time for their deadline for the morning?

Krone: Exactly, for the morning newspaper. But it was also in time for the *Chicago Tribune*, but not the edition that got to Springfield. So one of Tom Hynes’ brothers is a Chicago fireman, Timmy, and we told him, “Get a hundred *Tribunes*, final edition, and drive down to Springfield with them.” Because what good were they if the legislators didn’t see it? So, in the rotunda of the capitol, there was a newsman who was blind. We said to him, we’re taking your fifty *Tribunes* and replacing them with a hundred new *Tribunes*, final edition. Well, he immediately thought “Good.” They were twenty-five cents or thirty-five cents. He’s now going to make another fifty, so he didn’t care if we took the old ones. So we replaced them. The headline was something like, “Hynes Names Senate Committee Chairs.” I can’t remember the reaction of any of the Crazy 8, but I do remember Jack Merlo, who had just come from the House where he’d been for eight or ten years, maybe even longer; he was a first-term senate member and he was getting the transportation committee.

³³ Rich Daley is the son of Richard J. Daley

Hild: Wow.

Krone: And he opens up the paper and he looks and he says, "Jesus, I've got transportation." (Hild laughs.) Now about two days later they resolved everything this way, because I said it was like Humpty Dumpty: once you crack the egg, you couldn't put it back together again. Once Tom Hynes showed he was going to be fair by the distribution of power, it all fell apart. So everybody got a piece.

Hild: So, like to summarize, then, Hynes was the president of the senate?

Krone: No. The president of the senate in the previous administration was a Republican. I have a feeling it was Bill Harris, but I'm not positive.

Hild: From Pontiac.

Krone: Yeah. I'm not sure. Let's put it this way, it was an unfilled position.

Hild: Well, what I'm getting at, what was the basis for Hynes' authority to make these appointments?

Krone: He had no authority. It was, "If I become president, this is what I will do."

Hild: Okay.

Krone: It was sort of like if Barack were to announce who his cabinet would be, taking a page from Lincoln, you know, league of rivals, "Team of Rivals," which I had no knowledge of at the time, but this was obviously a variation of that. So there was a balance between the pro-Daley and the formerly anti-Daley forces, or pro-machine, anti-machine. In other words, the *Tribune* printed the list he put out and he appointed the list. Everybody got as they say, "*Ubi est Mea?*", the famous [Mike Royko-proposed motto for the City of Chicago, "Where's mine?"]

Hild: Oh, yeah.

Krone: Not "*Urbs in Horto*", "City in a Garden." So that was my favorite political thing as an insider.

Hild: How long did all this take?

Krone: Six weeks.

Hild: Six weeks. All right.

Krone: I remember going up to help Bill Morris. He was running for Mayor of Waukegan; if he got elected mayor he'd leave the senate, and the guy who was going to replace him, Larry Lawrence, was more amenable to the

organization. So Morris was very wary of me. He said, "You sound like you have good ideas and everything," he said, "but how do I know that you're not sabotaging my campaign?" And I said, "I'll tell you the truth. They really want to get you out of the senate." (Hild laughs) He laughed and he realized that it was true, that if they elected him mayor, he'd be out of the senate and there was every good reason, why would the organization of Chicago care who's mayor. He was running against Bob Sabonjian.³⁴ I even got Pat Caddell [public opinion pollster] to do his polling and Morris won by this much and Caddell's poll showed that he would win by that much.

Wheeler: (Unintelligible)

Krone: Uh-huh.

Wheeler: He seems to have turned kind of conservative or has he always been that way? (Unintelligible) Was he frustrated with his own party? (Unintelligible)

Krone: I think he's just frustrated with the fact that his future's behind him. It's difficult for me, because in some ways I still think of myself as being very, very young. I mean, in my own mind, I'm acting like a radical or, you know, revolutionary.

Hild: Well how old were you when you went through the Hynes senate thing that you just described?

Krone: Let's see. That was '77, minus 1941, I was thirty-six. I was old enough to be President myself. But I've always thought of myself as being young. I was young when I was young and I still think of myself as being *au courant*. When I go to parties, you know, I feel like I fit right in with the young people, when I go to an art party that my son, James is having with all of his twenty-somethings. Of course, he's now thirty-three. It's difficult for me to think my son is older than I when I got married.

Hild: Older than you feel?

Krone: Right. How I feel physically and how I feel mentally are two different things. I'm much more prone now to doing things, you know, by just, of the moment, you know? And one of the reasons is, we haven't mentioned it, but in May, April 30, May 1 of 2005, I was diagnosed with gall bladder cancer and there was an operation. I had chemotherapy and radiation and that September it looked like I was clean, but they were not that optimistic. They were honest with me and they said 85 percent of the people in my situation didn't make it for five years. Then a year later I was diagnosed with liver cancer, which is not considered terribly unusual, but then they gave me six months to a year. That year was up last October 24, so, when you get that kind of a prognosis, not that it's a secret, but at some point in your life you're going to terminate

³⁴ Robert Sabonjian was an out-spoken, conservative and controversial mayor of Waukegan north of Chicago.

and you're going to die, but somebody puts a timetable and says you've got six months to a year, well the first thing you want to do is make sure that everything is in order and then the second thing is you want to enjoy that which you have not done yet and not to be bitter, because that wastes time. If you just sit in a corner and start crying and saying, "Woe is me," and then after several months—and I must say I never had a nightmare during this whole period— found myself saying this is really great because when I wake up in the morning, I think well, I'm here, that's a victory, and let's see what I can do today.

I had a heightened sense, a heightened awareness of enjoyment and I went to see an agent in New York and got an agent to write a book. T

he title of the book is *How to Prolong Your Life by Making Dying Fun* and one of the outrageous things I did, for example, was flying over to Istanbul to have dinner with you and Judy. Something you never would have done if somebody had said, "Oh, you're going to live another thirty or forty years." You'd say, well I'd have to conserve your resources. But that's the kind of thing that really makes life worthwhile at this point. Anyway, that was my favorite insider campaign. My favorite outsider campaign was the campaign for Rich Daley for State Attorney in 1980, which came a few years later. And Rich called me to say that he is thinking of running for Clerk of the Circuit Court against...

Hild: In 1980 he's running for state attorney.

Krone: He was a member of the state senate.

Hild: His father had died.

Krone: His father had died in '76.

Hild: Four years earlier.

Krone: And we became very close during the Senate President race. When Hynes left the Senate in '78, running for assessor of Cook County, when he got elected, his replacement was the alderman from the Nineteenth Ward, the ward that Hynes was the Democratic committeeman of, Jeremiah Joyce, who was the alderman and a maverick, took Hynes' senate seat and also became Daley's roommate in Springfield. Hynes was a roommate with Rich Daley and then Joyce became a roommate with Rich Daley.

Hild: Joyce was tough.

Krone: The toughest. I can make him cry by laughing. I can make him laugh so hard that he literally cries. We don't get together more than once or twice a year, but when we do its always spectacular.

Hild: I heard him threaten to break someone's arm once.

Krone: And he knows how to do it. He showed me certain self-defense techniques that are fabulous, that even a five foot two hundred year-old lady could use. They're really wonderful in terms of...

Hild: He'd been a policeman for years.

Krone: Oh, yeah, and he was in the red squad. But at heart he's a liberal. I mean, he's the best combination. Ninety-two percent of the people would agree with the way he thinks on practically every issue. He just doesn't package it as nicely as other people would. (Hild laughs) Anyway, I became very friendly with Jeremiah and very friendly with Rich and very friendly with Bill Daley, Rich's brother. I got called from Rich Daley in 1979 and he said, "I'm thinking of running for Clerk of the Court." I said, "What a waste that is." Rich says, "What do you mean?" I said, "Well, first of all, it seems like you have a grudge match with Morgan Finley," who came out of the Eleventh Ward and was somewhat disloyal to the Daleys after the old man died. Plus it's such a silly job for you. You're a lawyer." Well he said, "What do you think I should run for?" And I said, "Well, at some point, you should run for Mayor, but if you're thinking of running now, run for State's Attorney." And he said, "I'm not a great lawyer." And I said, "Well just saying that makes you a good candidate for State's Attorney. You don't have an excessive ego. State's Attorney isn't going to practice law." Although Richard Devine, who served as an aide to Mayor Richard J. Daley does, and he's a good lawyer. He's a really good lawyer and has argued before the Supreme Court. But I said, "It's a question of running the office and what you want to do, and I think you could win." He said, "The party won't support me." I said, "I think you can beat the party. It's not what it used to be." I wasn't the last word, but he talked to lots of people and he decided to run for State's Attorney. I basically devoted my life to him for the next six months, eight months and...

Hild: All of this is without pay.

Krone: Yeah, but I was doing quite well in the private sector at that point. Tom is the Assessor of Cook County. I was close to him when he was President of the Senate. There were a lot of property owners who wanted good advice, and my position has always been, even though I'm not a registered lobbyist, when you're involved in the process of getting a public official to do something, always make sure x it's in that one's best interest, and if it's not in his best interest, for you to be honest enough to tell him this is not in your best interest, but it's not going to give you enough exposure that will sink your ship. You can afford to take on a little bit of negative baggage because of several countervailing reasons, including making it nice for me and it's not against public policy. Nobody's going to say you're making the wrong decision. It might be a courageous decision, but like, for example, in real estate taxation, oftentimes the assessor is valuing a property at a logical but on

an incorrect basis in terms of reality. For example, let's say that somebody buys a building for \$60 million. Now, it may not be worth \$60 million. Well then, why did they pay 60 million for it? Because there are other benefits. Long-term growth. Positioning. All sorts of reasons why they would want something.

Hild: Essentially, speculation.

Krone: That's part of it. Right. And you shouldn't have to pay current taxes on the value of something you expect to accrue in the future. So, if people don't pay their taxes and somebody else doesn't buy the taxes that are unsold, the city, or the different taxing bodies are losing out on revenue. It's a long story. In any event, I was doing well and I could well afford to help Rich and...

Hild: You were doing well with clients with the property tax issues?

Krone: Yes.

Hild: Okay.

Krone: I never filed on their behalf because I wasn't a lawyer, but I did the logic and the letters that went with it, my theory being that what was important was that if the media ever pulled a file that it would seem logical to a reporter that the person wasn't getting fair treatment. So the explanation was not just made in the dry words of a MAI appraiser, it was also therefore the logic.

Hild: In addition, you also understood the institutional or the bureaucratic structure of the process.

Krone: Right.

Wheeler: (Unintelligible)

Krone: That's what people say, but it's the designation of the highest ranking of an appraiser. I'll be honest, I don't know.

In any event, it was a really tough campaign and what was ironic at the end was in the primary Mike Royko wrote three or four very clever articles that got reproduced that were helpful to Rich. But in the general election, he wrote seventeen columns, including on election day itself, and they were not necessarily pro-Daley, but they were anti-Carey and Carey was shocked. He was dumbstruck that Royko, of all people, would be helping to advance a Daley. And the most interesting thing that happened in that campaign was my involvement with Mrs. Daley, Richard J. Daley, the Mayor's State's Attorney's mother. I sat down with Bill and Rich and I said, "You know, I don't mind losing an election when we've done everything we could do, but after putting my name on the line and my last name isn't Daley and I'm going to get punished if Rich loses, it's going to be very bad for me. Therefore, if we

don't do everything we can do, I'll feel very badly." "So what aren't we doing that we could do?" And I said, "Well, your mother." They said, "What about Mom?" I said, "Well, she should do commercials, she should do an interview." They said, "You go ask her." (Hild laughs.) So I went to the house and I sat down with Mrs. Daley in the kitchen.

Wheeler: Did you know her?

Krone: Somewhat, but she always liked me. She's very nice to me. I figured how nice could she be? I was a thorn in the side of her husband on lots of issues. A thorn so much that at one point when the Independent Voters of Illinois had me on a committee to interview potential mayoral candidates, Mayor Daley said, "I want a list of the people that are going to come interview me." And when he saw my name on the list, he said, "He can't be on the committee." (Hild laughs) Which was a great honor, you know that he singled me out. Which was equaled only years later when Walter Mondale, the sitting Vice President of the United States, wanted to see the committeeman of the Twenty-sixth Ward Matt Biesczat and ask him to support the Carter/Mondale ticket for delegates. They gave him a list and he looked down the list and he said, "Now Phil Krone, there's somebody I can support." So it was just the opposite. (Hild laughs) It was really nifty. Rejected by Richard J. Daley but accepted by Matthew Biesczat.

Anyway, so I said to Mrs. Daley, "We need your assistance in this campaign." "Oh, I don't think I can offer anything." I said, "You're the most popular Chicagoan, more than the Cardinal, George Schulte, (Hild laughs) you're the top. Everybody loves Sis Daley." She said, "Well, if we do the interviews, do you want to do them at the headquarters?" I said, "No, that's too political." "Do you want to rent a hotel room?" I said, "That's too clinical." She said, "You want to bring them into my house." I said, "Yes, I do." She said, "I haven't had reporters in my house since Dick ran in 1955," meaning her husband running for Mayor. And I said, "Well, I'm glad you said that Mrs. Daley. I hadn't thought of it, but it's the exact parallel. Your husband needed you and now your son needs you, and the house is the best place to do it because it's your turf." She said, "Well, who do you want to do it with?" And I said, "Well, you can't exercise control. You invite the studios to come and you don't want to do it as a press conference. You want to have them in one at a time." She said, "Well, I'd really like to have Peter Nolan do it from NBC." I said, "Well, I don't think there'd be anything wrong with suggesting who you'd like, but if they send somebody else, you can't say no. There's something called freedom of the press." She said, "I really like Peter Nolan." I said, "Okay, Mrs. Daley," and I said, "From Channel 2?" She said, "Either Jacobson or Flannery, they would be fine, or Bill Curtis." She said, "I like all those boys from Channel 2." I said, "Okay." I said, "You don't have a problem with Walter Jacobson?" She said, "I can handle him." (both laugh) And I said, "And Channel 7?" She said, "I really like Rosemary Gulley." I said, "Well, that's interesting, because Rosemary Gulley used to be Executive

Director of the Independent Voters of Illinois.” She said, “Yeah, but she’s very smart and I like her a lot.” I said, “Okay.”

So I called up the producers at the three networks and they all said they couldn’t do it because of the equal time provision and they didn’t really want to do Mrs. Carey. I said, “Okay.” But Channel 7 was somewhat interested and they said, ABC, they said, but we couldn’t do Rosemary Gulley because she was in contract negotiations and they didn’t want to give her that additional power of having the prestige of doing an interview with Eleanor Daley. They said but we have a new lady in town, I’m sorry, Mary, Mary Ann Childers. Mary Ann Childers. And I said, “But she doesn’t know anything about Chicago. How’s she going to do an interview?” He said, “You can give the questions you want.” I thought to myself, I said to myself, that’s so unethical. And I said, “I’m not sure that’s appropriate.” He said, “Just pretend it was you doing it, that you wanted to get an Academy Award or an Emmy and you ask some very fair questions.” I said, “Okay.” I said, “I’ll ask Mrs. Daley.” So I asked Mrs. Daley, “Would you object to Mary Ann Childers doing it?” She said, “Who is she?” And I told her. She said, “Well how would she know what to ask me?” And I said, “Well, she’ll ask you a few things and then you can sort of take over and then you can even ask her questions or stuff. It will work out. Don’t worry about it.” (Hild laughs)

So then I call Channel 2 and Channel 5 and I said, “Channel 7’s going to do it and they’re not getting an exclusive.” Well, once they knew Channel 7 was doing it, they wanted to do it too. So it turns out that the weekend before the election Mrs. Richard J. Daley is being interviewed on all three major telecasts. Half-hour interviews. Fifteen-minute interviews. Re-runs. Mid-night. She was the star of the weekend. And Rich only won by sixteen thousand votes. I do not think he would have won if it hadn’t been for his mother’s intervention.

Hild: And you brought the intervention.

Krone: Right. And the other thing was, too, Maggie was very good about doing commercials.

Hild: Maggie?

Krone: His wife. And.

Wheeler: (Unintelligible.)

Krone: Yeah. And, you know, a lot of people said that Rich wasn’t bright, and there’s no doubt that he doesn’t exhibit a great deal, externally, of what you would think of brilliance or intelligence, but I figured if Maggie Daley, who does exhibit all those things, was willing to marry him, he couldn’t be so bad. We used that as a sales point. And I will say for the Mayor is that he does have a sense of legitimate humility. He also has a certain degree of pride that

can sometimes become arrogance, but he always brags about the fact that he has the good judgment to choose people smarter than he is to do things, and he loves to use that as an example of his ability to govern.

Wheeler: (Unintelligible.)

Krone: Yeah and it's interesting. The way we do it is that I can call him any time that I need something, and the underlying definition of the need is it's something that's good for the city. It may be good for me, too, but it has to be good for the city. I wouldn't ask him to approve something that isn't good. Now there was only one time that I've ever asked him for something that was really controversial, and we talked about it. It was a building that was going to go on, it would have an East Lake Shore Drive address but it would really be based, the massing, would be on Walton. It was a tall building. Larry Booth was the architect, and there was a lot of opposition to it, frankly, from people who were going to quote, unquote "lose their views." So I went in to see the Mayor on it and he said to me, "A lot of people are against this because it's too high." I said, "Rich, it's not because it's too high. It's because it's blocking their views. If there was some way to put this building on stilts, they wouldn't care if it was a thousand stories high, as long as it didn't start until the fortieth story so they could see under it or through it. And some of these people are objecting because they won't be able to see the lake while they're sitting on the toilet." (Hild laughs) He said... what he said was something related to the bathroom, and I laughed and he laughed, and I said, "No, it's true." I said, "Plus, Jay Pritzker³⁵ lives east of the building and their views are not impinged at all. So it's one billionaire versus twenty millionaires. So what are we?" (Hild laughs) Well, he approved the building, even though Valerie Jarrett³⁶ didn't want to do it. They approved it.

Hild: I remember.

Krone: But then it didn't get built. But the people who owned the lot on Walton didn't get euchred because we used Mike Jackson to make sure that they had to have automobile entrances from the Walton side and not from Lake Shore Drive for the building, which means that the people who were going to rehab and get their tax credits, the late Bruce Abrams, the only way he could do it is by buying that lot and so it ironed out that problem. So everybody was happy in the end. But the Mayor went to bat for me on something that was controversial. But anyway, I see the Mayor when I need to and also, if he's coming under a great deal of criticism or he's having a blue period, I'll call and go over and see him and make him laugh and talk about it.

Hild: You said that you've known him since you were teen-agers. How did you get to know each other as teen-agers?

³⁵ The Pritzker family owns the Hyatt Hotel chain.

³⁶ Valerie Jarrett was deputy chief of staff for Mayor Daley

Krone: It was somewhat accidental. I used to go to the International Livestock Exposition show, which was a great show. I wish they'd bring it back. It brought all the 4-H clubs to Chicago during the Christmas season and they'd have the pig made out of butter, you know, two thousand pounds of...

Hild: At the Amphitheatre?

Krone: Yeah. At the International Amphitheatre. And they'd have a rodeo. I mean, the kids would come and sleep with their heifers and their cows and their bulls and get the blue ribbons and the reserve champions and it was really a great thing for urban people to see, you know, where the food really came from. My father would take me and then when I was sixteen or seventeen I'd go by myself and Bill Daley and John Daley, the two youngest sons, saw me once and they said, "How are you getting home?" And I said, "I'm taking the 'El'³⁷" They said, "Well, we'll drive you." They were worried that I wasn't going to get out of that neighborhood safely, because it wasn't the most dangerous neighborhood, but it wasn't the safest neighborhood in Chicago.

Hild: Well, it was right next to their neighborhood.

Krone: Yeah. But next to something and something are two different things. So anyway, that's how I first met them. I can't remember exactly how I met Rich, but when we were in our early twenties there was a situation going on in the Forty-third Ward.

Hild: The Forty-third Ward's on the north side?

Krone: Right. Let's say, I'm talking about North and Wells. There was a lady named Catherine Barnes and her husband Richard; they had a bookstore on the fifteen hundred block of Wells Street, on the west side of the street and it was going to be condemned and they didn't want it to be condemned. She had a three story brick building and then on the rear of the lot the old Chicago system, a two-story cottage. They had this wonderful bookstore and Catherine loved plants and in her basement she grew all these plants with artificial lighting. During the Old Town Art Fair she'd have people come onto her property. I ran into Rich Daley and whoever was his date at the time, not Maggie, and he was in the Marines, Marine haircut, and I saw him and I said, "Oh, you've got to come and see Catherine Barnes' place." So I took him there and I took pictures of Rich looking at the different plants and stuff and I showed them to Lou Hill who was Commissioner of Planning, and I said, "You don't want to condemn this house, do you?" (Hild laughs) He saw Rich Daley and just on the basis of that picture, the house didn't get condemned. (Hild laughs)

Anyway, Rich jokingly used to say that I broadened his horizons by showing him things outside of Chicago. We've, had trips together, and I've

³⁷ The "El" is Chicagoese for the city's elevated rapid transit system.

been to Grand Beach.³⁸ I'm closer to Billy than I am to Rich at this point, but he's a good friend and when Joan ran for judge this last time, I said, "I know you're for her. Do you mind if I put ads in the paper?" He said, "Of course not." I said, "What can I say?" "Say anything good. Anything you want. It's no problem." And when I go over there sometimes to drop in to see him, they'll always say, "Do you have an appointment Mr. Krone?" And I say, "No I don't, but he doesn't have one with me, either, but that's okay." And they all get a chuckle out of that. Once I went in and he was having a few bad days with John Kass.

Hild: With whom?

Krone: John Kass, the writer on the *Tribune*.

Hild: *Tribune* columnist?

Krone: Yes. So I went in and his secretary comes on, she said, "Do you have a little time to wait?" I said, "I've got a book with me. Fine." It turns out he was meeting with Pat Ryan head of Aon Corporation; they were talking Olympic stuff. But as soon as he was finished with that, he spent about an hour with me and had a few commissioners waiting and I said, "Listen, I don't want to keep people waiting." He says, "They're getting their paycheck. Don't worry about it." (laughs)

Hild: Well, you're close to the Daley family and you're also friends with Mike Royko. How did that work out?

Krone: Well, as I told you, in 1980 it worked out perfectly because Royko was writing all these anti-Carey columns and also, in the primary, he was helpful to Rich. Rich had a strong primary opponent who at this point is grateful that he lost because he wouldn't have beaten Carey and had he won it would have changed his life not for the better. But this gentleman made the mistake, although he came from a typical Chicago neighborhood, he got his hair cut on Michigan Avenue. And we're talking now 1979. He paid \$40 for a haircut. Which is like, you know, worse than John Edwards³⁹ who paid four hundred. So Royko did a column about this and it sank him in the blue collar wards, just that one column alone. But in 1983, the first time that Rich ran for Mayor, Royko was very solidly behind him. And then he was again in '89 and went to Rich's first inauguration in a tuxedo. Matter of fact, I think I bought a table and Mike and Judy were my guests and he was very happy to be there and they were...

Wheeler: (Unintelligible.) ...relationship with his father...

³⁸ Grand Beach is the Daley family vacation home in southwest Michigan.

³⁹ John Edwards was Democrat candidate for United States President in 2008, roundly drubbed in the press for his extravagance.

- Krone: No. Mrs. Daley loved Mike and said it was so clever, she said, "Dick," meaning her husband, "would have been so happy to see him doing all those good things." And I said, "Yeah, Mrs. Daley, they'd probably say that the Mayor purposefully had Royko attack him over and over again so that he would have the status to support the son."
- Hild: Yeah. Yeah. I think probably what the Daleys and Mike Royko had in common was that they always celebrated the City of Chicago.
- Krone: Yeah. There's no doubt that they were both, if it's appropriate to use the word, they were authentic Chicagoans. I remember in one election where I opposed Mayor Daley, 1967, and the Republican candidate was John Waner from the southwest side. In that election, Daley carried all fifty wards, including Waner's. I was in Waner's office the morning after the election, a Wednesday, and a call comes in around 10:30 in the morning and the secretary comes running in and said, "It's the Mayor. It's the Mayor." And it was. It was Richard Daley. I didn't hear the conversation but Waner reported it to me. The Mayor called up and he said to him, "John, you ran a very good campaign. Just because you lost doesn't mean that you're not a good man. You know, I lost for sheriff in 1946, and by the way, can you come see me tomorrow in my office at ten in the morning?" And John said, "Yes, Mr. Mayor. I'll be happy to come down." So Waner went down and Daley said to him, "We're going to rehabilitate Midway Airport and you're so close to it, would you mind doing the heating and air conditioning?"
- Hild: Waner was a heating contractor?
- Krone: Right. He said, "Would you mind doing the heating and air conditioning?" (Hild laughs) And Waner thought, "Oh, my God." He said, "I apologize for all the things I said." And he said, "Oh, no, don't apologize. Some of the criticisms were valid and I'll be able to use them as a basis for policy development," he said, "but everybody has to live. I think you'll do a good job. You love your city. We both love Chicago."
- Wheeler: It sounds like in the early years, you were now politically (Unintelligible.)
- Krone: With Richard J? Oh, yeah. I didn't like the one party system and then when I was with BGA (Better Government Association)...
- Wheeler: What year were you in
- Krone: I was a research assistant, a research associate, I can't remember.
- Wheeler: (Unintelligible.)

Krone: Yeah. BGA. And I got into that through Milt Rakove⁴⁰ and Daley called them keyhole peepers and transom snoopers.

Hild: Rakove wrote the great books, *We Don't Want Nobody Nobody Sent*.

Krone: Well, that actually came, specifically came from Abner Mikva. When Abner Mikva was at the University of Chicago Law School, he walked into the Eighth Ward Democratic headquarters and said, "I'd like to volunteer for the party." (Hild laughs.) And they said, "Who sent you?" And Mikva said, "Nobody sent me." And the guy said, "We don't want nobody nobody sent." And that was the title for Rakove's book. The other one was *Don't Back No Losers, Don't Make No Waves*. But Milt Rakove was one of my closest and dearest friends and, interestingly enough, his son Jack went to Haverford.

Hild: Oh.

Krone: Mainly as a result of me. Jack is now a professor at Stanford. And a few years ago he said to me, "You know, you always treat me like a little boy. You realize I'm fifty?" (Hild laughs.) And I said, "No, but you'll always be a little boy to me." He said, "I'm a full professor at Stanford. I've won the Pulitzer Prize." And I said, "Well, you're the brightest little boy I know."

Wheeler: (Unintelligible.)

Krone: Oh, I wound up at Haverford because the *Chicago Tribune* did a survey on small men's colleges and I went to a high school that had two thousand students, so I wanted to go to a small school. So the choice for me became Amherst and Haverford, Williams and Wesleyan; I knocked out Williams and Wesleyan and it went down between Amherst and Haverford. Frankly, Haverford offered me a larger scholarship and it was closer to a big city. And I had so many wonderful experiences there. I'll tell you one that was really meaningful. As a constant thread, one of the things in my life that has been very important is culture, primarily both music and art, and to a degree literature and drama; I'm a dilettante in many respects, but I've known some of the great people of the last century in the early part of the century, but in terms of talking about different people that I knew, Norman Mailer, Gore Vidal. In this instance when I went to Haverford, I was manager of the soccer team. The mother of one of the young men who played on the soccer team used to come to the practice sessions and to the games. I talked to her a few times, because I wasn't involved during the plays, on the sidelines and so was she. It turns out her name is Ilsa Hilger. She just passed on a few years ago at the age of one-o-one. It turns out she was second cellist in the Philadelphia Orchestra and her husband was a dentist; they lived in a very classy part of

⁴⁰ Dr. Milton L. Rakove, 1918-1983, a political consultant, professor of political science, and author of two books on Chicago politics, was a strong supporter of the Chicago Democratic machine. *The Milton L. Rakove Papers, 1943-1984*, University of Chicago, University Library, <http://www.uic.edu/depts/lib/specialcoll/services/lhsc/ead/011-19-23-01f.html> (accessed December 20, 2013)

center city Philadelphia, within walking distance of the Academy of Music where she played. The number one cello was Lorne Monroe, L-o-r-n-e, and she was second; a lot of people said she was better, if she'd been a man she'd have been first cellist. So, I think it was my sophomore year at Haverford and her son was a freshman, she said, "My son doesn't like coming to the house for cultural events, but I really want him to come to this one dinner. It would help if you came, because then I could get him to come." I said, "Sure." So I went to her house for dinner.

It was after rehearsal, and it's the night before it was going to be a world premiere of Shostakovich's "Concerto for Cello" with Eugene Ormandy conducting the Philadelphia Orchestra. The guests at this dinner were Shostakovich himself and two other composers who were guests of the State Department. I had never heard of them: Dmitry Kabalevski and Tikhon Khrennikov. Khrennikov was not considered a great composer, but he was head of the composers' union and he protected a lot of the composers from the wrath of Stalin, including Shostakovich. What was interesting was the young cellist, who at the time was thirty-one years old, Mstislav Rostropovich and so I met Rostropovich. His nickname was Slava. In 1958 or '59 I was eighteen years old, he was thirty-one and we retained a friendship for years and years and years. He was going to fulfill a favor to me, which unfortunately he couldn't do because he died; he was going to play a duet with a young cellist who runs the Pro Musica in El Paso named Zuill Bailey, who I met indirectly through Fredda Hyman who runs Music in the Loft in Chicago, whose husband is Sidney Hyman, who was Adlai Stevenson's speech writer. (Hild laughs.) So all these things, you know, come together.

I met Norman Mailer in 1965 when I was involved in John Lindsay's first campaign for mayor of New York City. Then Mailer ran in '69 and the Lindsay people asked me to be for Mailer because they wanted somebody inside his campaign. I said, "I don't mind being a spy, but I will be for Mailer. I'm not going to do anything against him. I'm not going to say anything negative about Lindsay, but anything I can do to advance Norman and make sure that he has a good campaign." They said, "We don't have a problem with that. We just want to make sure that you bring him over the night that he loses to endorse Lindsay that night." Which we did. But Norman and I became really good friends in that campaign.

Wheeler: (Unintelligible.)

Krone: Oh, that, no, no, no. The thing about his picking up the contact lenses happened twice. It happened once in Chicago at the now-torn-down Goodman Theatre, the old Goodman Theatre. The other time was in San Diego in '96 at the Republican convention and I ran into Norman Mailer and I looked at him and I said, "Norm," and he said, "Philip." I said, "This is destiny." He said, "No, it's happenstance." (laughs) But I put him in touch, at the other person's

request... who worked for *Illinois Issues*, [University of Illinois at Springfield publication].

Hild: Michael Lennon.

Krone: Yeah. Michael Lennon. Michael Lennon met Mailer through me and really got close to him and wound up dating his executor and everything. Now that's a little bit too much of Norman that I could...

Wheeler: (Unintelligible.)

Krone: No. No. Now, here's the interesting thing about. Joan met Norman and we had dinner at their house in Provincetown. His widow, Norris Church, and I jokingly say his widow—I shouldn't say jokingly—but the only wife he never divorced was the last one who survived. I said it's like the six wives of Henry the Eighth. The children learned the six wives by saying this: "Divorced, beheaded, died, divorced, beheaded, survived." So they jokingly say she survived. (Hild laughs.) Gore Vidal: I've known him and I must say the interesting thing if I were passing on to anybody is, all great people tend to be average. (phone ringing) Excuse me. Sorry.

Wheeler: Phil, this is a, sounds like a too personal question but it's not intended that way. Obviously you've been successful in the way you earned your livelihood; financial circumstances have been successful. (Unintelligible.)

Krone: Successful enough. More beyond what people... I mean, I am less successful than people think.

Wheeler: Most people, they think in terms of having a job but in a sense, you've never had a job...(Unintelligible.)

Krone: Never.

Wheeler: (Unintelligible) which I find interesting. From year to year I'm sure your income has varied; there've been times when you've had more than you needed and other times have been a little thin I would assume.

Krone: I've never had a bad year.

Wheeler: That's very good now.

Krone: Yeah, I've never.

Wheeler: Did you ever set off to do it that way or did it sort of happen in terms of the people you're helping in campaigns?

Krone: No, I think I decided early on when Ogilvie was governor that this was the way to do it, that I was not meant to report to work at 9:00.

Wheeler: (Unintelligible).

Krone: No. No. It wasn't that I didn't have the capacity. I mean, I have worked, you know, practically seventy hours straight with, you know, an hour or two snatches of sleep here and there to get something done that was needed to be done, but the idea of showing up at eight-thirty in the morning and going to lunch at noon, coming back at one... She's not a client in the sense that she's going to pay me or anything, but I have a new relationship with Dorothy Brown, the Clerk of the Circuit Court, who's got twenty-one hundred jobs, and now I'm her principal advisor. She said, "How do you want to do a financial relationship?" I said, "I don't." She said, "Well my job is not a very sexy job or anything." I said "No, but I have different ways of using you—not abusing but using—and I'll be happy to share what they are." And she said, "What are they?" I said, "You may not believe it, but it happens to be true, that you're the black elected officer who at this point has the chance of being the single most important black political leader." She said, "How's that?" I said, "You've got twenty-one hundred jobs. Six hundred of them are exempt. That's a lot of power. Plus, the ministers love you."

I said, "You made a tactical mistake running against Mayor Daley. But because you're such a committed Christian, you can always say to him, 'We've denounced the sin, we love the sinner.'" And my answer was, that's fine. So I said because the only other so-called powerful black elected officials are three Congressmen, each of whom represents maybe one-seventh of Cook County, that have very few jobs. Gene Moore is the Recorder, but he only has three hundred jobs; two, he doesn't have a base like you do in the religious community." She's really tight with all the black ministers. I said, "You have the option of being a co-leader with the mayor. Next time you ought to support him for mayor and do it openly and early so he doesn't even have any opposition." She said, "Why?" And I said, "Well, first of all, because he's going to win, anyway. Secondly, because we'll probably get the approval for the Olympics and he's going to... If he's alive, he's going to want to be mayor in the year 2016." She says, "How old will he be in 2016?" I said, "About 75. That's no big deal." She said, "What do you think about me?" And I said, "The truth of the matter is that I don't know if Todd Stroger's [Cook County Board president] re-electable. I would doubt it, and I have a feeling that on a rational basis, blacks would want to see that office held by a person who happens to be black, not that it belongs to blacks, but you'd be considered a viable alternative and you're in mid-term. In other words, you wouldn't have to give up your present office."

So I said, "Have you ever had breakfast, lunch or dinner with Dick Mell [Richard F. Mell, Chicago Alderman] one-on-one?" She said no. And then I asked a few other names, Madigan [Michael Madigan, Illinois State Representative], Burke [Edward Burke, Chicago Alderman]. I said, "Well, you should." She said, "And how do I do that?" And I said, "Well, you figure a place to invite them, take them to, and call them up and ask them and get a

mutual date.” She said, “Do you think they’d go to lunch with me?” I said, “You’ve got twenty-one hundred jobs, Dorothy. (Hild laughs.) They’ve got people who want jobs. Who works for you?” She said, “I probably only know about a hundred people who work for me, but I’ve put in several hundred. I get names from different people.” I said, “And you just put them in?” She said, “Yeah.” And I said, “And you don’t know who they are? You don’t have any records on them? You should know when their birthday is, when their husband or wife’s birthday, their kids’ birthdays, when they want their vacations, what their aspirations are, because these people are happy to be loyal to somebody if they know what they’re being loyal to and what for.”

I said, “I happen to know somebody who, when Aure [Judge Aurelia] Pucinski was Clerk of the Court, my wife asked me to intercede for this person who I didn’t know, and who got a good job with Aure and did a good job for her, and went pretty high and then took early retirement, so he can’t come in as an employee again. But you can hire people up to twenty-five thousand a year without going through the County Board, so if you hired him on a contract for twenty-four grand a year, he could work X number of days a week or especially hard certain months during the year, like in budget preparation. He’d be useful to you and he happens to be white.” So she’s going to meet him. And these are some of the exciting things that I’m doing. This was all accidental. The reason how I met her was because she insinuated herself in the last judicial campaign. She would take all these judicial candidates to different black churches on Sunday and I would occasionally drive Joan and I would go to a few of them. So we had lunch together after the election was over and I said, “I’ve grown to have a great affection for you and I like you very much. You know I didn’t support you for mayor and I didn’t endorse you and I didn’t contribute. I’m for Rich and I’d do for Rich again. You have to realize that the ministers who you’re close to were also for Rich. Because whatever you offered them was nothing compared to what he can offer them in terms of contracts for day care services, senior citizens, nursing, you know, food pantries, etc., etc.” I said, “You don’t run against the pharaoh.” So she laughed and she said, “You have that right.”

“The other thing is, I don’t want to hurt your feelings. I’m not saying you’re a person of bad motivation, but I know what your game was with all those judges.” She said, “What’s that?” And I said, “You were leading those little sheep to slaughter. They’d all come and they’d give checks for twenty-five and fifty bucks to the ministers and you were the ones who brought them in and it cost nothing to say, ”Today Clerk Brown has brought in the candidates for judge; let’s introduce them, Judge Michael Hyman, Judge, you know, Reyes, Judge Joan Powell, so forth and so on.” She laughed and she said, she said, “You understood.” I said, “Some of the candidates didn’t understand, but I understood, and I want you to know I told my wife the secret.” “And she wasn’t angry?” I said, “Of course not. She knew what you were doing and you did it well and she was happy to be the beneficiary of your largess even though you had a personal agenda. Why wouldn’t you?”

You'd be awfully dumb to just be doing it to be doing it, especially since you were unopposed in the, you know, in the primary, as well as the general election."

Then it turns out her daughter is studying in London. She's 28 years old. And the other night I took her for dinner with a Member of Parliament. Well, she was quite excited, and I said, "Call your mom first and say that I've invited you to dinner. I already told her I was going to do it, but I want her to know that you just don't run and meet people who call you on the telephone and say something, because you have to check everything out." So she did and Dorothy said, "Oh, that's great. He's a good friend"... blah, blah, blah, blah. So Dorothy Brown is a player.

Wheeler: How old is she?

Krone: I'm guessing she's 57, 58.

Wheeler: (unintelligible.)

Krone: Here's an interesting thing. Many, many, many years ago, I got a call from the State Department and they asked if I would host some visiting dignitary. And I said sure. So this person came to Chicago. Because I was a member of the International Visitor's Center and I had been involved in some other activities, but evidently people had written in on the evaluations and they said Phil Krone was the best and Phil Krone did this, and they got multiples and they figured out I couldn't have been organizing this because they came in randomly and they were from different places. So they decided they would cut through the red tape and they would call me directly. Well the funniest one I ever got was a call from the State Department; they contract with these private agencies that generally are filled with ex-foreign service officers. I think this one was called Meridian House or something. Well, evidently some person was going to take some Russian Members of Parliament and other Russians—ranging in age from twenty-something to seventy-something, men and women—around the United States for three weeks. I said the most I could do was two weeks. Somebody had backed out at practically the last minute. I said, "You do the first number of days in Washington to orient them and you can do the last few days in Washington to evaluate and glean from them. I'll do the middle two weeks. But if I'm going to do it, it's not a question of ego, it's a question of practicality. You have to let me know what the budget is and let me control it. I don't mind giving you receipts and everything, but I don't want to be second-guessed about what we're going to be doing." They said, "That's not a problem, but there are certain things we do want you to cover." And they told me what they were. And I said, "Well, I'll do this, this and this, but the other one is sort of inconvenient." Okay. And then in between you can do what you want.

So I meet all my Russians in one group and most of them spoke some English. A few of them were quite proficient. Very few of them couldn't speak any English, but the other Russians who spoke English could communicate, so we didn't need any extra translators. It was just me and fourteen Russians, including a high Member of Parliament. He was the only really ranking person. There was an architect, a professor, a dentist, all sorts of interesting people. I met with them the first night and I said, "Okay, I'm going to introduce some democratic concepts. I'm giving everybody a sheet of paper. You can write in either English or Russian. If you write in Russian, I'm going to ask the English speaking Russians to translate what you've written for me so it can't be a total secret, and you really should put your name on the page so we'll know where it came from. It will be helpful. I want to know what you'd like to do if the choice is from New Hampshire to Florida, and no further west than the seaboard. In other words, we're not going to go to the Midwest, we're not going to go to the mountain states, we can't go to the West Coast. It all has to be on the East Coast. So all sorts of things came back. Two people wanted to go skiing. A few people wanted to go to Atlantic City to the casino. Some people want to go to Disneyland and Disney World. Everybody wanted to go to Washington, D. C. They had been there but they hadn't seen much and we were meeting in Washington, D. C." I said, "Well, we'll..."

Wheeler: (unintelligible.)

Krone: No, this would be '92, '93. They filled all these things out and I said, "Tomorrow morning when we meet for breakfast, I'll tell you the agenda, what we're doing." So we rented two vans and everybody who had a driver's permit, we got international driver's license for them through the AAA. And I drove, they drove. They loved that. We wound up doing lots of things. First of all, two of the people wanted to ski and they were young people. The first thing we did was we went north. We went up to Killington, Vermont, which wasn't too far from Dartmouth College. I had a friend who teaches at Dartmouth, so they arranged some meetings for everybody else to participate with scholars at Dartmouth while the other two went skiing. Then we went down to New York City and they had a great time. From New York City we went to Atlantic City and they gambled; somebody won \$3,000 (Hild laughs) and they said what should they do with all this money. I said, "Keep it." And they said, "I'm lucky, we should share it." I said, "Well, I'll tell you the American system. As long as you want to share it, you keep half and share the other half with the rest. Because you took the risk. You put up the money. Nobody's going to give you money." It wasn't like there's a common debt.

But then, getting hotel accommodations. We were in Atlantic City. We got there like on a Tuesday or Wednesday night and we went to Trump's Taj Mahal, and I said, "Do you have a lot of people here tonight?" "Nah, just a few hundred." How many rooms do you have over a thousand? How many suites do you have? Fifty-six. How many are rented tonight? He said,

“Frankly, none.” I said, “These are Russian guests of the State Department. For the agreed fee, would you mind giving them suites instead of rooms?” I said, “You just have to still do the linens. It’s no big deal.” Everybody had my room number. Everybody got their suite. Within five minutes, people are calling my room, knocking on my door. Before I know it, I have everybody in my room. I said, “What’s the problem?” And then one said, “None of us except him; the parliamentarian, has ever been in a room by himself at night.” And they’re scared to stay alone. (Hild laughs.) The suites all are two bedroom, so they had three rooms, a living room, two bedrooms, two baths; one room’s got mirrors on the ceiling. I said, “Well, you know, there’s nothing that says you can’t stay in the same room with each other if you want.” Everybody had their own suite, there were fourteen of them; I think the beds got messed up in only six suites, and they had a great time.

Now the parliamentarian, he kept the suite all to himself. He asked me if I could fix him up with a call girl, you know. I said, “You take your share of the winnings and you do your own bargaining. They’re all downstairs. But you check in with me and let me know, because if anything happens to you, I want to be able to make sure that the police take care of it. You tell them that when they come up to your room that you’re with the KGB⁴¹; they’d better behave. It will scare the shit out of them.” (Hild laughs.) So, he laughed. He thought that was funny. His name was Eduard Feadora.

From there, we went scooting down. We went to North Carolina and then to Savannah, Georgia, and we got into Savannah at something like two in the morning and they were still hyped. They didn’t want to go to bed. So I got them hotel rooms like at one of the interchanges, you know, like a Red Roof Inn at thirty bucks a night or something. By this point, everybody’s, honestly, two people to a room and they loved it. Two double beds in a room. Typical, you know, American motel room. Bathroom, big bedroom, two double beds. This was their kind of place, and especially since there weren’t three families in it with a shower curtain dividing for privacy. (Hild laughs.) They want to do something, so I say, “Okay, we’ll go to a WalMart.” I took them to a WalMart. You know, all these goods stacked from floor to ceiling, twenty feet high.

Hild: Land of plenty.

Krone: And not just turkeys, but five different brands, Butterball, this and that. Hams, Krakus hams, Hormel hams, hams in tins. I said, “From your per diems, I’ve saved money for you. You can each have \$100 to spend, and we’ll meet in one hour at the cash registers.” An hour comes by and they’re all coming with empty hands. “What’s the problem?” One of them said, “My brain is breaking.” I said, “Do you have a headache?” He said, “No. I can’t make a decision. In Russia, it’s so simple. There’s nothing, so it’s easy to make a

⁴¹ The KGB is the Russian intelligence agency and secret service.

choice. Or there's something and you just stock, you buy it all. You buy all the toilet paper and then you take it home and you trade with other people. I have toilet paper. You have pickles. I have toilet paper. You have soap." He says, "Here you have everything." I said, "I'll tell you what. Are you enjoying looking at the products?" "Oh, yes. Would you take a picture of me holding hams?" I said, "Sure. Let's spend another hour and a half, but this time, you have to make choices. If you don't want to spend all the money, you can keep it for later, but you have up to \$100 to spend." An hour and a half later they came back. Everybody had something. One of them said, "Do you think you'll be able to save any more money for me?" And I said, "There's a possibility there will be another \$50-\$60 by the end of the trip, but then you're not going to be able to do much in Disneyland." He said, "That's okay, but I would like to take a television." I said, "They may not be compatible in Russia." "Oh, yes," he says. "We have converters. It's no problem. It's a country—if I can best describe Russia—we have no televisions, but we have plenty of converters." And I said, "This is probably something that would get your lifetime punishment." He said, "Not anymore. We have a good sense of humor."

So, an hour and a half later, everybody's got everything they want. We check out. We go back to the motel rooms. Now, we're loaded and our two vans, between the people and everything they'd taken. They bought things like toilet paper and canned soup and V-8 juice and things that would be delicacies back at this point in Russia. Now, I don't think anything is like that, but at this point they were so happy.

Then we went down to Disney World and they loved Disney World. They loved Epcot Center. Then we had to shoot back to Washington, which we did very fast. And they loved, they **loved** driving on the highway. They loved driving and stopping at the 7 Elevens and the Dunkin' Donuts and the McDonald's and the repetition, they felt was great. They said, "It's amazing in your country that you can dismantle this place and have it fully replaced in two days for us." He said, "I know. We are making joke, that really there are many of these, but in Russia, that's what they would be doing, like a Potemkin village⁴²."

Wheeler: Did you coordinate in advance with cell phones?

Krone: No. We just said we'd meet at such an interchange and then decide what to do. There were no cell phones.

Hild: You said the State Department knew about you through the International Visitors Bureau. Did the State Department have other interests in your travel,

⁴² The phrase Potemkin villages (an alternative spelling is Potyomkin villages) was originally used to describe a fake village, built only to impress. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Potemkin_village,

say, when you went to, like your trips to China or Indonesia? Did anybody want to talk to you when you got back?

Krone: Occasionally when I'd come back, if I took the initiative, they were happy to hear me, but I've never had the feeling that I was monitored. Maybe I accidentally was. Although I'm sure that, obviously, at a certain point, my travels have triggered off something somewhere. At least I hope so, if for no other reason than if I haven't, there's something deficient about keeping all these records. I mean, any American who goes, who's been to Indonesia nine or ten times within five years, somebody, if they're not there for an oil company or something like that, you should wonder why are they there. Now, it happens to be true that I do a lot of travel in order to build up the points for the mileage plus. Sometimes I can get a round trip between Chicago and Singapore for \$750. That's 20,000 miles toward the 100,000 miles that qualifies me for six free international upgrades. That means that Joan can get a round trip ticket to London for what's called upgradable economy for \$900 and then two of my upgrades means that she goes business class, which round trip is a \$6,000 ticket. So, I'm in a sense a legal racketeer and I'm a million mile flyer. They treat me as if I were, you know, president of the airlines. As a matter of fact, on one flight I sat next to Glenn Tilton who is president of the United Airlines. And, they were treating me better than they treated him because...

Hild: They probably saw you more frequently.

Krone: Well, my name pops up because of the number of miles I've flown and he's listed as an employee. (Hild laughs.) And occasionally, they don't know that Tilton is the president. I said to him, I said, "You know I'm not saying that you should execute them or fire them, but there ought to be some level of understanding among your subordinates that they know who you are. I mean, it's one thing to be incognito, but not to the degree that you're incognito." And I said to this one flight attendant who was taking such good care of me—"Would you like another bloody Mary, or what would you like?" I said, "By the way, you know this is the president of your airline." The flight attendant said, "You know, this is too important to joke with." (both laugh) Attitude. But I've met, you know, exciting people accidentally. My life is organized when necessary, but I'd much rather, you know, have it be as unstructured as it has been.

Hild: Didn't your Hollywood connections start in an airline terminal?

Krone: Oh, that, you mean with Oliver Stone?⁴³

Hild: Yes.

⁴³ Academy Award winning American film director, producer and screenwriter

Krone: Okay. This is an interesting story. In 1980, Joan and I went to South America. One of the reasons was to visit John and Patricia Heath. He had just become the British Ambassador to Chile; he'd been the Consul General, the British Consul General here in Chicago. So Joan and I went down to Chile to meet him, but on the way we stopped in Peru to go to Machu Picchu. When we were in Cusco there was another couple on our tour bus and it was a man named Oliver Stone and his girlfriend Elizabeth Cox. Now, Oliver Stone in 1980 was not yet Oliver Stone. He'd actually won, the year before, an Academy Award for his screenplay of *Midnight Express*, but he hadn't done *Wall Street* or...

Hild: He hadn't directed any.

Krone: He hadn't directed anything of any importance. But we met on this trip and then from there we went to Machu Picchu and we were there together and came back. Then the next day there were all sorts of airplane problems and it looked like we were going to miss our flight to Lima. We had to make our plane. He had to make a plane. But I didn't know him that well. I made arrangements for Joan, James and I to fly on a military transport plane.

Hild: What do you mean you made arrangements?

Krone: I paid somebody to do it. They had extra space and it was a totally off the...

Hild: It was a cash transaction.

Krone: Yes. It was a... Let's put it this way, that when the flight was over, nobody will have been prevented from flying because we were placed. So, Oliver Stone said to me, "How are you getting out?" I said, "We're going on this military transport." And he said, "How'd you do that?" I said, "Out of the Chicago way." He said, "Well, would the Chicago way work for me?" I said, "Do you have fifty bucks?" He said, "Sure." I said, "Well, give me fifty bucks." So I went and I spoke to the same person and they said, "Yeah." They could take them, too. So, for a hundred and fifty, the three of us and the two of them. Had I known him better, I would have asked for a hundred, but I wasn't getting any of it, anyway.

Wheeler: (unintelligible.)

Krone: Pardon?

Wheeler: A Peruvian plane? (unintelligible)

Krone: Peruvian military. Yeah. And so we all get to Lima. We all make our connections and we trade information. The next year I happened to be in California by myself and I called Oliver before I was coming. He said they were living in Marina del Rey. He said, "Come down to the house. We'll have a little party." He knew that I was somewhat fixated on the, you know, the

luster of the Academy Award, so he had invited a bunch of Academy Award winners. And it was just Academy Award winners, which included himself, his girlfriend, and me. Elizabeth and I were the only two people who had never won an Academy Award. (Hild laughs.) But among these Academy Award winners was George Dolby, D-o-l-b-y, and he won the, yeah, Dolby Sound.

It was at that party that I learned something that **still** is good cocktail conversation, because very few people either know the story or know what's behind it so you have to explain it. But in *Star Wars*⁴⁴ there are two robots: C-3PO and R2-D2. I don't know where the name C-3PO came from, but R2-D2 came from George Lucas⁴⁵ who was sitting one night with some of the people who were working on the movie and they're saying, "What are we going to name the robots?" Somebody's looking and they say, "There's a great name. R2-D2." And Lucas said, "Where'd you come up with that?" And he said, "Look." And he looked up. There were these two aluminum canisters; R2 is on one and D2 is on the other. What it is, is reel two dialogue, when they had the old thirty-five millimeter film. And so that's where R2-D2's name came from: reel two, dialogue two. So I've picked up little things like that at this party.

Well, Oliver and I kept in touch, but just occasionally. Then I get this desperate call from him in June—I don't remember exactly what year it was—but Jim Edgar was the Governor. Kirk Dillard was his Chief of Staff. And, he says, "I've got a desperate problem. I'm shooting a movie in Illinois and I've just been screwed." And I said, "What's the problem." He said, "I have an agreement to shoot at the prison in Joliet, at Stateville, and now the warden is giving me a hard time. He says I can't use weapons." I said, "Of course you can't use weapons." He said, "But there's no real ammunition." And I said, "Yeah, but how would anybody know it if somebody comes up and **you have a gun?**" So, it was on either like July second or July third. Jim Edgar and I had been friends when Ogilvie was governor and he was an assistant to Senator Harris, but I was a little rough on him in the Hartigan campaign. When I say rough, it wasn't like he was being called an evil name to get people elected because you can't govern if you don't hold office.

(end of interview #2)

Interview with Phil Krone
IS-A-L-2008-014
Interview # 3: March 14, 2008

⁴⁴ *Star Wars* is an Academy award-winning American, epic space opera film series.

⁴⁵ George Lucas is the *Star Wars* creator.

Interviewers: Ted Hild & Bill Wheeler

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Hild: Well, we've talked a great deal about politics. Now, I understand that throughout all of your life you've had a great interest in cultural activities as well.

Krone: Yes.

Hild: So, what's the nature of the arts and literature that you've been involved in?

Krone: Well, I've been involved most recently with promoting some young musicians and composers and performers, including right now the cellist, Zuill Bailey, who, among other things, lives in El Paso; is Professor of Cello at University of Texas, El Paso; is Director of the El Paso Pro Musica and is an excellent cellist, one of the top cellists in his own right. I've, believe it or not, been sort of like a political consultant to him in terms of promoting the arts in a way that enhances his reputation. That included his inviting two other prominent cellists to play with the Pro Musica in their annual festival in January. Several years ago he had Lynn Harrell and before that, ... **this is terrible**. It will come back to me. Anyway, two really great cellists.

Hild: Do you play an instrument of your own?

Krone: No, I took piano lessons when I was a child, but I have very little talent. My talent comes from being an audience. Janos Starker was the other great cellist. And Rostropovich would have played, but he passed on, which was not pleasant. Pablo Casals was already dead and the only other really great cellists, well there were many good cellists, but the great cellist with a big reputation is Yo-Yo Ma, but I don't think that necessarily helped Zuill. The fact that Lynn Harrell and Janos Starker played with him and were willing to play with him enhanced his reputation. But he's a person who is very much

interested, not just in performing, but in developing audiences and making sure that despite all of our modern music that we don't lose touch or lose the classics and the romantics.

Wheeler: Did you travel...(unintelligible.)

Krone: Well, in nineteen, when Dick Ogilvie was Governor, I can't remember how I became friendly with John Edwards—but he was not the John Edwards who ran for President, but John Edwards who was the manager of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra—came here in the late '60s and then was instrumental in bringing George Solti here in the very late '60s - '69; Solti and he were a fabulous combination. John Edwards told me that Solti, unlike Fritz Reiner, wanted to travel, wanted to take the Chicago Symphony and they needed public money; it took me about ten minutes to convince Governor Ogilvie, and Hartigan talked to Daley⁴⁶ and I think we got \$200,000 or more back in 1971, the first tour to Europe. That was a wonderful tour and they invited me to go along. The people who got the credit for having done this, as is generally the case, was the president of the orchestra, Eric Ohlberg and Louis Sudler, who were friends of Ogilvie. Credit would have been wasted on me to say a young staff person (Hild chuckles) was influential, but John Edwards knew it.

Hild: So often it's the staff that actually does the work.

Krone: Yeah, but John Edwards knew and Solti was always very friendly to me because of the ability to do things like this. Sometimes people would say to him, "Why do you waste your time with Phil Krone?" And he'd say, "Oh, he's very helpful. He's very good at doing things, including reducing our taxes, getting money from the government to sponsor our tours. Very valuable. Anyway, and he also plays bridge. I like to." (Hild chuckles) Solti was a great bridge player. Not a good player, but a great player. He loved the game. He liked taking risks.

One of my favorite stories about Solti, was, I said to him, "Listen, Maestro, I know this is a very sophomoric question, but would it be permissible if I asked you who your favorite composers are?" He says, "Nah, it's all right. First of all, I resurrected Bruckner, but he's not my favorite. I would say Beethoven and Mozart." I said, "Okay, now between Beethoven and Mozart, who is your favorite favorite?" And he said, "Umm, let me put it this way: Beethoven is the pathway to Heaven; Mozart is Heaven." So that's my Solti quote.

He was a very politically sagacious person. He was very good to all the governors. Ogilvie, not Walker so much, not Walker, but Thompson and to a degree Edgar, and then the mayors, not Richard J. Richard J. Daley didn't have that much of a cultural interest, but the others did, and he loved Harold

⁴⁶ Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley

Washington. Harold Washington went to London, and when Harold Washington came back from London with the Chicago Symphony in the mid-'80s, the gentleman who was a percussionist, who headed the Civic Orchestra—which was the training orchestra for the symphony—said, “We’ve never had a mayor come to a performance of the Civic Orchestra. Do you think you could get Harold Washington to come?” So I told him and he said yeah, he’d come. So we brought him. He’d been in London two weeks before this and they had played Brahms Fourth Symphony; then the Civic Orchestra, the night that Harold went, also played the Brahms Fourth Symphony and Harold said to me at intermission, “That tune sounded very familiar.” (Hild chuckles) And I said, “Well, the reason it did is because you heard the Chicago Symphony play it in London.” “I have to tell you,” he said, “this group is just as good as the Chicago Symphony.” And I said, “Well, it’s kind of you to say and I’m sure that they’ll be happy to hear you say that afterwards,” you know. So he went back and he said, “I just want you to know that this group is just as good as the Chicago Symphony. I heard them play the same piece several weeks ago in London and at Royal Albert Hall.” He said, “I was very happy to hear it tonight.” So they said, well thank you very much, Mr. Mayor.

Then later the percussionist said to me, “Was he sincere?” I said, “He was absolutely sincere because, you know, Harold Washington doesn’t go to the symphony so often that he could tell the difference, particularly since they weren’t playing simultaneously. There weren’t any wrong notes. So it sounded fine to him. I have a feeling if he could hear both orchestras simultaneously or the same day, he would know which was the better, but the fact that he said, you could, you know, satisfy him, shows that the bulk of audiences would be happy to hear the Civic Orchestra.” So I think they wound up getting some funding for some small tours in the Midwest or Chicago. I didn’t have anything directly to do with it, but I think that was the result. But Solti also was very supportive of Mayor Richard M. Daley and he was politically sagacious, but the symphony...

One of the funny experiences that involved politics was that first trip that I took in '71. I was thirty years old and I wasn’t married yet; I got married in '73. We were sitting at one of the better hotels in Vienna, Austria towards the very end of the tour, and I was at a table with just a few of the musicians. We were having dinner: Fred Spector, a violinist who’s now retired, and Bill Schoen, who’s a violist, and he’s retired. We were having a wonderful dinner and at an adjoining table, there was Elke Sommer⁴⁷ having dinner and they were ogling her. And I said, “Well, I betcha she’d like to meet you.” He said, “Oh, no.” I said, “Well she’s probably a cultured person and would be impressed that you’re in the Chicago Symphony.” So I walked over and she said, “Oh, my goodness, the Chicago Symphony. I wish I could go, but we’re

⁴⁷ Movie actress in the 1960s

shooting every night.” She was making a movie and this was in Vienna.
(phone ringing) Excuse me. See if it’s your son.

Hild: No, he’d be calling on my cell.

Krone: Hello. Hello. Oh, Joan picked it up. Let’s just put it here. Oh, is it buzzing?

Hild: Yeah, it interferes with the pickup.

Krone: So, let’s go back.

Wheeler: It was about Elke Sommer at the table.

Krone: Yeah, so, anyway (Hild chuckles) Elke Sommer comes over to the table and she’s very friendly with them and says she’s going to be at Drury Lane in the summer doing some frothy little silly, you know, play, and invites them to come.

Hild: Drury Lane here in Chicago?

Krone: Yeah. Invites them to come and they’re very impressed. She gives them a kiss. Okay. This was literally on a Thursday night after performance and they had just finished doing whatever filming they were doing. It’s Vienna, and there was a display on the concierge’s desk of *Weekend in Budapest* on the hydrofoil. So I talked to the concierge, “I didn’t know that Americans, you know, could go to Hungary.” He said, “Oh yes, they’ve been open for business for a while. They love Americans coming to spend money.” And I said, “How much does this hydrofoil trip cost?” He said, “Oh, you don’t want to do the hydrofoil. You’re a young person. You take the train. It’s one-tenth the cost” and he’s telling me. So, I said, “But tell me about the hydrofoil trip.” He said, “First of all, you’d be bored. It’s mostly older people. The hydrofoil takes longer than the train does. It’s much more expensive. The only thing good about it is that the visa comes with it and you don’t have to go through that. But it’s easy for you to get a visa. You just go over to the Hungarian Embassy in Vienna, which is just a mile from here. Go tomorrow morning and you’ll get your visa and you take the train and come back Sunday.” I said, “That’d be great,” because I had a flight from Vienna to the United States on that Monday.

So I went to the Hungarian Embassy and I told them what I wanted to do and they said, “Unfortunately, you can’t get your visa until Monday because we have, you know, security, we have to put in the application.” I said, “But if I had taken the hydrofoil, the visa would have come with it.” They said, “Well, that’s because there’s a pre-arrangement.” I said, “But it couldn’t have anything to do with security because I can go back to the hotel right now and buy the package and I can go on the hydrofoil today at 1:00 in the afternoon.” And they said, “Well, then, you should do that.” And I said, “But I don’t want to do that. I want to take the train and there’s no reason I

shouldn't be able to get a visa." They said, "Well, the reason is because we can't give you one." I said, "You don't know who I am." And they said, "Well, who are you?" And I thought, well, if I'm going to have maximum effectiveness, I said, "I'm the general secretary of the communist party in Illinois." "Oh, comrade, you should have told us that." (Hild chuckles) And I thought this was so silly, you know, security or anything. I guess they figured if you're going to say you're communist you've got to be a communist. So I got my visa.

I got on the train at 4:30 in the afternoon. They hardly had anything on the menu that they could make, but the chef was funny. He was telling me, "My favorite time in my life was when I was an American prisoner of war." (Hild chuckles) And he's going on and he made a wonderful dinner that wasn't on the menu and he charged very little for it. I was talking to another person from England and he was going on tourism and when we arrived at about 7:30 in the evening in Budapest, we got out of the second class car that we were in and we saw at the end of the platform a bunch of official-looking people. I said, "Well, there must be somebody important on the train that they're greeting." And as we got really close, I could see they were holding a sign that basically said, "Comrade Krone." (both chuckle) I thought, "Oh, my God, this is terrible." They must of, you know, wired ahead: Expect the head of the communist party from Illinois.

Hild: VIP

Krone: Yeah, VIP. So, I thought, "Oh, I'm just going to play this straight, what the hell." I had no agenda. I was just going to Budapest to see what it looked like. So I told the story to Mel Brooks⁴⁸ and he thought it was fantastic because I had seen the movie *The Twelve Chairs*⁴⁹, so I immediately hugged and kissed on each cheek every one of the people in the line. One person spoke English. His name was, I can say it now, because I'm sure he's fine right now. His name was Ishban Dobosh and he told me he was head of foreign relations for North and South America and how excited they were that I was the first person of my rank that had come. (Hild chuckles) I didn't have the heart to tell him it was just a ruse and I was really a Republican of all things, not even a Democrat (Hild laughs). And he said, "Where are you staying?" And I said, "I didn't make arrangements. I figured I'd get a hotel room." He said, "Hotel rooms are tight in Budapest. We haven't built a new hotel for God knows how many years. We just did the Intercontinental in the Forum, but they're filled."

Hild: Hi, Joan.

⁴⁸ Mel Brooks is an American film director, screenwriter, composer, lyricist, comedian, actor and producer. He is best known as a creator of broad film farces and comic parodies. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mel_Brooks

⁴⁹ *The Twelve Chairs* is a 1970 American comedy film written and directed by Mel Brooks, one of at least 18 film adaptations of the Russian 1928 novel *The Twelve Chairs* by Ilf and Petrov. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Twelve_Chairs_\(1970_film\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Twelve_Chairs_(1970_film))

Krone: So I wound up staying at a hotel called The Palace and it wasn't.

Hild: Was it?

Krone: No, it wasn't, but they said, "Do you have anything special you want to do?" And I told them I want to go to the art museum, I want to do this. He said, "Yes, but tomorrow morning we will review the troops at Hosak Tere, the Heroes Plaza. I've watched enough newsreels to know how you review troops and stuff (Hild chuckles) and it was funny all these young men goose-stepping and walking past them. Everything was going fine and I treated them to lunch and they were so impressed—the three people that were with me—then Dobosh says at the end of the evening, we went to Matyas Pince—which is a wonderful hotel that has the violinist that played (Krone sings the musical beat), you know the, Liszt variations, but anyway—they said, "Tomorrow morning at eleven, you'll meet the General Secretary." And I said, "Which General Secretary?"

Hild: Of the Communist Party?

Krone: He said, "János Kádár." And I said, "Oh, my God, this thing has gotten... this is too much, so (Hild chuckles) I thought to myself, "This is not going to have a happy ending." So the next morning, I go to the Communist Party headquarters which is two blocks away from Parliament. It's a very severe Stalinist building, sort of like bad Bauhaus, white concrete, bunkerish. We go up to the Secretary's offices—his office is larger than this room—he's got a desk and library shelves and a credenza and a conference table and he motions me to sit down. Ishban is translating because, god, I didn't speak Hungarian, so, in about three minutes in the conversation, I said, "Mr. Secretary, Ishban Dobosh is a wonderful guide and a wonderful person, but he does not know something that I would like to share with you, but I have to ask you if you have a good sense of humor." So he translated for me, "I love jokes." I said, "Well, this is not so much of a joke. It's more of a, was a strategy, and there was no harm meant in it whatsoever, and I want in advance to apologize for taking up your time for no good reason." And he said, "No, it's wonderful to meet a young American." So I told him the story about the Chicago Symphony and the hydrofoil, those people being able to get visas and I couldn't get a visa so I just said I was head of the Communist Party in Illinois. He says, "So you're not a Communist." I said, "No, I'm a Republican." And I explained and he said, "This is amazing." (Hild chuckles)

Then he said, "I was wondering: Why would a handsome, intelligent young American want to be a Communist?" (Krone and Hild laugh) And I said, "Well, you're a Communist." He said, "Out of necessity. I'm really an independent Magyar Socialist. I'm a nationalist. I believe in my people. But America's not going to fight Russia over Hungary, so we have to be real about this." So he's going on and on, and he said, "Why do Americans hate Hungary?" I said, "We don't hate Hungary. We love Hungarians. You know,

you're class of '56." I said, "The people came in 1956." He says, "Yes, the class of '56. They all graduated. They come back now to visit their family. They spend their money. It's very good for us. We wish more of them would come."

Then I started talking about Mindszenty, because Cardinal Mindszenty⁵⁰ was still in the American Consulate in the legation and he said, "Mindszenty's free to go anytime he wants. I wish he would get out of Hungary." I said, "Is this because you're against Catholicism?" He says, "No. I don't have any problem with people having religious faith, but he's a politician. He wants to take over the country and that's the reason why he can't be allowed to do what he wants to do. I wish he would go to the Vatican, go to Rome. He's an old man. He would do well there." So I said, "Are you saying that you wouldn't arrest him if he went to the Vatican?" He said, "Absolutely not." I said, "Why don't you tell our government?" He said, "Why don't you tell?" I said, "Well, I'm not involved in the government. I do have a phone number for somebody in Hungary that I carry with me because a friend of mine—a pianist who's now deceased, Malcolm Frager—told me, 'If you're ever in Eastern Europe, here are people I know in Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary...'" So I called this number at his insistence, and it turns out it was the same capacity, it was a consulate official in the American Embassy, but it wasn't the person that Frager had told me; the reason why: because it took so long to get phones installed at the time, that whoever moved into the apartment kept the same phone number. So I told him I'm sitting there with János Kádár and he wanted to release Mindszenty. He said, "You're not telling me. You're not, you're not real." And I said...

Hild: Who is this?

Krone: So I put Ishban Dobosh on. He says, "We are here in the headquarters of the party." He said, "It is abnormal that we would be calling you because you're the government, but Mr. Krone is here and we're having a wonderful visit," blah, blah, blah, blah. So they made plans to get together. I left on Monday. I think if you'll look at the records you'll see that Mindszenty was released within a week (Hild chuckles) of my visit. And he literally went to the Vatican.

Now I visited Kádár many times after that. Every time I went to Hungary I would visit him. He offered me to be the distributor of Herend

⁵⁰ József Mindszenty (29 March 1892 – 6 May 1975) was the Prince Primate, Archbishop of Esztergom, cardinal, and leader of the Catholic Church in Hungary from 2 October 1945 to 18 December 1973. For five decades, he personified uncompromising opposition to fascism and communism in Hungary in support of religious freedom.^[1] During World War II, he was imprisoned by the pro-Nazi authorities.^[2] After the war, he opposed communism and the communist persecution in his country. As a result, he was tortured and given a life sentence in a 1949 show trial that generated worldwide condemnation, including a United Nations resolution. After eight years in prison, he was freed in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and granted political asylum by the United States embassy in Budapest, where Mindszenty lived for the next fifteen years.^[2] He was finally allowed to leave the country in 1971. He died in exile in 1975 in Vienna, Austria.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/J%C3%B3zsef_Mindszenty (accessed January 10, 2014)

china. I told him I couldn't accept that. It would ruin me, because, you know, being an agent of the Communists. But I always got really good treatment and he said, "How much did they charge you at The Palace Hotel?" Which was the first time I told him. He said, "Oh, my God." I said, "It's okay. I took, I took a towel as a souvenir." He said, "A towel. For the amount they charged you, you should have taken a blanket." (both laugh) Because it said Hotel Palace on it, *The Palace Hotel*. But he was an eminently reasonable person.

Now I saw him two weeks before he died. I went to the hospital, this is in '89, a year before the fall of communism, but they'd already had their internal disruptions under *perestroika* and he was so happy to see these people get booted in their ass because they'd gotten rid of him and he'd been moved out several years before that, so he was happy to see the people who, who'd forced him out of power to get their butts kicked in the rear.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Krone: You know what, I don't care, and I've found this in China as well. You can call anybody whatever you want. They're all the same. Very few people are ideological in this business. They may spout the ideology, but it really comes down to who controls the mechanics of who gets what, when, where and how. That's what it comes down to. And there's no country in the world that wouldn't sign a treaty, a bi-lateral treaty with the United States, including North Korea, Iran or Cuba.

Hild: Where does ideology fit in then?

Krone: I think there's a set of core beliefs that's pretty much universal. I think everybody wants to be able to have enough freedom in their own life and security in their own life at the same time so that they can raise a family and have an annual vacation and send their kids to college and have a car and a secure home and be safe and not get attacked on the streets. I mean, people are not...

Hild: That's the classic model of economic man. What about, okay, on a local level like, say all local politicians want that. All people who participate in a system locally want that. What about the idea of national interest, though?

Krone: Well, national interest generally is: Can you sell your goods? Can you buy what you need? Do you have access to whatever energy sources you need? Have you protected your borders? There aren't that many issues. I remember once going from West Berlin to East Berlin and it was taking a lot of time, so I said to the East Berlin people, "What is taking all this time?" They said, "We have to go through procedures." I said, "I just want to ask you a simple question. When was the last time that somebody escaped to East Germany?" They thought that was so hysterical and they were so funny. (Hild chuckles) He said, "Yes, we just let anybody who comes, we can just let everybody

come who wants to come. But then we won't let them out." (both laugh)
 Because they can't prove it. The other day I was having a problem. I couldn't find my passport and I'd just arrived in London from Amsterdam. I had a dinner to go to. I said, "I can't find my passport. It's somewhere." I said, "Do you think that I'm really going to overstay my visit?" And they said, "No." And I said, "Well, then just stamp a piece of paper and I'll show it when I leave." They said, "Well, okay, but if you find your passport, show the passport instead." So they gave me a piece of paper, didn't have me fill out, and I jokingly said it was my day pass. And then when I left I showed the passport, but I kept the day pass as a souvenir, but it was really funny. With all this **business** about coming in and everything, I said, "I'm not going to ask for asylum." They said, "You could." I said, "I'm an American." They said, "The guy was joking." (Hild laughs) He said, "Well, now you could ask for asylum considering who your president is." I thought, "My God, that was a real forward thing to say."

Hild: Yeah.

Krone: But, getting back to culture, music has been very important. Joan and I have commissioned some pieces by young composers: the Royko Sonata by a young Hispanic composer. Last June, the European American Music Alliance honored Joan with a concert in Paris at the Salle Gaveau, which arguably is the finest recital hall in Paris, and original works of Philip Lasser [American composer and pianist] and Benjamin Boyle were played in addition to Mozart, Beethoven and Debussy. And this January, when Joan was running for judge, the cellist Zuill Bailey and his trio donated their services for a fund raiser for Joan and that included Navah Perlman on the piano—her father's the violinist Itzhak Perlman⁵¹. Giora Schmidt was the violinist, and his teacher is Itzhak Perlman. So I've spent a lot of time in the arts. And also in visual arts; our son James is a painter. We've had a lot of good friends who are artists, including the late Andy Warhol⁵² and Robert Indiana and I went to high school with Judy Chicago. So I was joking, I said, "Well, I want to paint now, so maybe I'll call myself Philip Illinois." And then it was suggested last week that I just abbreviate it so that the name flows into it and I'll just be Phillinois. Phillinois. So Judy Chicago, Robert Indiana and Phillinois. But Robert Indiana did Joan's poster for her campaign and donated the work to her, which was very generous of him.

Wheeler: So this is a little bit of a housekeeping question in a way, a logistical question, but I think it will put it put it into context for a lot of us watching this or listening to it. I suspect this is an unfair question, but I suspect you can answer it fairly well. Just rattle off some of the countries you've been to and approximately how many times you think you've been to them.

⁵¹ Itzhak Perlman (August 31, 1945) is an Israeli-American violinist, conductor, and pedagogue.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Itzhak_Perlman

⁵² Andy Warhol (August 6, 1928 – February 22, 1987) was an American artist who was a leading figure in the [visual art movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/visual_art_movement) known as pop art. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/AndyWarhol>

Krone: I think it's fair to say that I've been to England more than a hundred times. And France, at least fifty. Italy, thirty times. I've been to Spain fifteen or twenty times. Many of these trips, by the way, included multi-countries. I think that I've probably been to Europe on individual trips a hundred and fifty, two hundred times in the last forty-some years. I mean, it's not untypical: I've already been to Europe three or four times this year. Now, they're generally always connected to a piece of business, some kind of consulting, whether it was with a Member of Parliament or a journalist or in The Hague, it was with a management consultant. And a lot of it, I suppose, could be done without having to do the travel, but I enjoy the travel. I even enjoy the plane rides. Not only do you occasionally meet somebody new who's interesting, but I sleep well on airplanes. I eat decently on airplanes, particularly since I tend to get upgraded to business class.

Wheeler: South America and Indonesia and Asia: have you been to those also?

Krone: Oh, I've been to South America, but not with the same frequency. I've been to Chile three or four times. I've been to Argentina five times. I've been to Brazil two or three times. I've been to Indonesia probably a dozen times, and that's because I have a home in Indonesia that was built—in some ways, it's a folly, although it's not a folly in the sense that it looks strange—but to build a house that's literally on the other side of the world.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Krone: Okay. Alright. Well, what happened was—I have to go back to the beginning—is that most countries, including the United States, are child-centric. Your children have a lot to do with what you do and how you do it. My son many, many, many years ago got interested in the writings of Paul Bowles⁵³, and I said to him, “Well, if you're that interested, why don't you go see him wherever he is.” I knew he was an expatriate and I thought he was in Europe, but he was actually in Morocco and Tangier and I had a friend from Australia who I remembered. He was in the Australian foreign service. He was an Arabist. He specialized in Egypt and Syria and his name is Phillip Eliason, a very bright man who is now fifty; I'd met him when he was in his twenties. Again, these are the State Department. But, Phillip had a mother-in-law who lived in Morocco. So I called him up and I said, “Your mother-in-law lives in Morocco and I'm trying to reach an American writer who lives in Morocco named Paul Bowles. So Phillip is a bright man and he laughed and he said, “Paul Bowles lives in Tangier. My mother-in-law lives in Agadir, and you can't get much farther from one to the other. But, I do know a gentleman from the Australian foreign office whose specialty is economics named Heath McMichael and he does a lot of work in Indonesia,” which is one country above Australia, “and he knows somebody from Morocco who came from

⁵³ Paul Frederic Bowles (December 30, 1910 – November 18, 1999) was an American expatriate composer, author, and translator. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_Bowles

Tangier, so I'll have Heath put you in touch with this guy. Well, his name is Graham Steele and he was a teacher at the International School in Surabaya, which is the second largest city in Java, second only to Jakarta; Java, of course, is the most populated island of Indonesia.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Hild: An Australian in Indonesia.

Krone: Exactly. But no, no, no, the Australian is in Australia. (Hild laughs) The Australian friend of the Australian knows the guy who is an Australian teaching in Indonesia but had lived in Morocco. And so I e-mailed him and he wrote back a long five page letter on what I should do and who I should reach. I followed his instructions and James, Joan and I, in January of 1996, met Paul Bowles and we all hit it on. I got along with Paul exceedingly well, who was a friend of Gertrude Stein⁵⁴ and all this. There was a lot of political issues that we discussed, and he had these special needs and wants that he couldn't get at the time in Tangier, like oyster crackers and nasal strips and flannel sheets; I would come very few months and bring him a care package with all these things that he liked.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Krone: Pardon.

Wheeler: Did he give little oranges or apples or something?

Krone: Oh, well, anyway, Paul and I... It's fair to say we were very, very good friends. Graham had been so nice to me that I said, "I'm going to Singapore, I'm going to take a side trip and come see you in Surabaya." He said, "That would be wonderful." And he wound up suggesting that the next time I came, that we drive down to the south coast of Java because he wanted to show me a bit of paradise that is really sequestered. It wasn't, there were no major hotels. So we went down to this Parigi Bay on the south coast of Java and he told me where he wanted to build a house but he couldn't afford to do it. So when I found out what the costs were—it was something like fifteen or twenty thousand—I said, "Well, I would like to build with you and then you could pay me back later," and so forth. So we wound up building a wonderful house that cost closer to seventy thousand. I had over fifty thousand in it, and he has just literally reimbursed me for everything I put in it, but I have lifetime use and my family does anytime they want to go to it until he, if he ever sells it—and I would think that if he leaves Indonesia he'll sell the house—it will probably be purchased by somebody of Chinese ethnicity who's a merchant and lives in Indonesia.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

⁵⁴ Gertrude Stein is an American writer, poet, art collector.

Krone: No. We don't, we don't rent it. What it is, is that there are custodians who live in it and they're paid \$100 a month; they have two children and the place is very large. It has a suite for the people who live there, plus a large kitchen, a huge, huge common room that's forty by forty feet that's living room, dining room, and then there are two large bedrooms with *en suite* bathrooms and a third bedroom with an *en suite* bathroom and a big guest bathroom and we've allowed the house to be used by all the people in the village when they need it to celebrate a marriage or a bap, what their Muslim baptism or funeral or any special reasons or if there's a storm. When they had the last tsunami, people brought their sleeping bags and literally slept on our pavement, the road leading to the main road, and it was just lined up with people because it was high ground. I've enjoyed... I think I've been there half a dozen times and I generally don't stay there more than a week. Originally, before we even built the house, I helped three families earn a living by providing a boat and you know, that line is: Don't give a man a fish but give him a fishing pole and teach him how to fish. I gave them a boat and they painted it and put the name of my wife on it, the *Joan Powell*. It's funny, because you'll go into the village during the season for when they catch the jellyfish, which is a delicacy in Japan, and the three young sailors who operate the *Joan Powell* always had a huge catch and they'd be talking in Indonesian and they'd say, "da-da-da-da-da *Joan Powell* da-da-da-da-da *Joan Powell*." And they're talking about the boat. They're not talking about my wife.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Krone: Yes. Parigi.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Powell: (unintelligible)

Krone: What is this, honey?

Powell: (unintelligible)

Krone: This is what? I'm sorry. Oh. (unintelligible voice in background) Oh. These are all the things that my wife says I should be talking about. (unintelligible voice in background) I didn't know Gertrude Stein but Paul Bowles knew her well. She called him Freddy; he was nineteen or twenty years old when he first met her and James was twenty years old. Yeah, in Paris. James was twenty years old when he met Paul Bowles. So I said it was only appropriate that if Paul Bowles could go knocking on Gertrude Stein's door, then James could do this. James did the last portrait of Paul Bowles which is hanging in the American Legation in Tangier, which is the only building in the world listed on the National Register of Historic Places that is not within the United States. Did you know that? Yeah. It's called the American Legation Museum and it used to be the embassy of the United States for Morocco. It was the first

gift, it was the first piece of real estate owned by the United States of America, given when James Monroe was President.

Wheeler: Was it still considered a United States territory technically? (unintelligible) diplomatic immunity?

Krone: Yes. Yeah. I'm not sure how much immunity it has, but it is still owned by the U. S. government.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Krone: Oh, there are a lot of architectural reasons, as well. On the outside it's a very Muslim oriented building, but when you walk into it, you feel that Thomas Jefferson would feel at home in the state dining room. An anonymous benefactor has just given the money to purchase a new carpet for the state dining room in the American legation in honor of Judge Joan Powell's election. But, anyway, so that one thing led to another. James led me to Paul Bowles and the search for Paul Bowles included this guy who's teaching in Indonesia. That led to buying the house. So, my life, a lot, has been revolving, the last five or six years, around Morocco and Indonesia. Then it turns out, of course, Barack Obama lived in Jakarta from the time he was six years old to ten years old, so that gives us a bit of a link. I find that ninety-nine percent of the Muslims are not anti-American.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Krone: Oh, exactly. They needed about \$100 to finish putting the dome on their mosque; I said I would donate it, so they said they're going to put my name on it. I said, "You'd better put my name on the inside of the dome." So they did that before they put it on. I told the Imam I was having some health issues. I said, "And if I die here, I don't want to waste \$7,000 shipping my body back." And he said, "Oh no," he said, "We'll take care of you. Just give us authorization. Just say you're a Muslim. We'll bury you as a Muslim." So I figured, well, if you're dead, it doesn't matter what you are. Right?

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Krone: Exactly. A deathbed conversion. I jokingly said that to Paul Bowles. We saw him literally a week before he died at the hospital in Tangier and I watched him interfacing with the nuns—he was in a Catholic hospital. I said to him, "Paul, for an atheist, you're getting awfully friendly. You look like a prime candidate for deathbed conversion." He said, "At a time like this, you can't have enough friends." (chuckles) When we buried him in upstate New York, I read from the Psalms. A lot of people were upset. They said, "Paul wouldn't have liked you to read from the Bible." I said, "On the contrary. The Psalms are elegant literature as well as being religious. And Paul would want any favorable thought for him that would make his life happier in the hereafter or wherever." Norman Mailer—as I told you I was friendly with him—and I've

been friendly with Gore Vidal⁵⁵ and, of course, they had a great feud going and I helped resolve them coming back together again (Hild chuckles). As a matter of fact, Gore went to Provincetown and participated in a fundraiser for the Provincetown cultural center or whatever it was. And the last project I was going to have them do—unfortunately they were both too ill and now Norman’s dead—but I wanted Gore to play Jefferson and Mailer to play John Adams (Hild chuckles) and Norris, the wife of Norman Mailer, to play Abigail Adams and to literally read the letters of Jefferson to Adams, Adams to his wife, Jefferson to Abigail Adams, just, you know, an edited version which they could have done and that would have been a sell-out performance. And, of course, Norman looked a lot like John Adams, short and stout, and Gore envisions himself looking like Jefferson. (Hild chuckles)

Wheeler: Could you tell us a little bit about (unintelligible).

Krone: Well, I got Norman Mailer first. I met Norman Mailer in 1965 when I was twenty-four years old. I was invited to come to New York and work on John Lindsay’s campaign for mayor. I met a lot of really interesting people, including Tom Hoving, who later became director of the Met⁵⁶ and was commissioner of parks under Lindsay. On election night, Norman Mailer wanted to get on the stage with Lindsay when he accepted and nobody knew who he was. I knew who he was, so I invited him up. He invited me to breakfast the next morning at his house. It was funny because here’s Norman Mailer, the *enfant terrible*. He gets a phone call. It was his mother. Here you see Norman Mailer saying, “Yes, Mother. Yes, Mother. Yes, Mother.” (Hild chuckles) “Yes, Mother. I’ll do that Mother.” You know, you can say anything you want, but everybody’s the same. He was great. He told lots of fun stories.

I told you in 1969 when Lindsay ran for reelection, Mailer for some reason decided he was running for mayor, too, and he was so funny. He was really great. The Lindsay people wanted me to work on his campaign so that he wouldn’t stray too far. As I think I said yesterday, (unintelligible) because one, it’s the truth and two, I didn’t change my mind, either. I said, “Well, I’m going to work for Mailer to help him get elected even though there’s no chance of it, but I not going, I don’t mind being a spy, but I’m not going to, you know, work against his interests.” Mailer had all these crazy ideas that weren’t that crazy, like making New York the fifty-first state, etc., etc., etc. But back in the first campaign for Lindsay, I said, “You know, New York has among its citizens some of the great writers and artists and musicians and we ought to get them all on board to lend their name because they’re also voters.” So Leonard Bernstein⁵⁷ and Moss Hart’s⁵⁸ wife Kitty Carlyle Hart.⁵⁹ She was

⁵⁵ Gore Vidal is American writer known for his essays, novels, screenplays and Broadway plays

⁵⁶ Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City

⁵⁷ Leonard Bernstein was an American composer, conductor, author, music lecturer, and pianist. He was among the first conductors born and educated in the United States of America to receive worldwide acclaim. According to *The New York*

his widow at the time, and I knew her from being on *To Tell the Truth*. She hardly could remember me because, you know (background talking) there was a passage of ten years, but Marianne Moore, the poet, Edward Hopper, the painter.

Hild: Wow.

Krone: And I remember climbing the stairs to visit Edward Hopper to get him to sign a statement for John Lindsay and also ask him if he would do a poster, just like Robert Indiana did one for Joan. Hopper said, "You didn't tell me that at one time he was a book illustrator, so he could have done the poster quite easily. You really ought to go ask Andy Warhol to do that because, you know, he's a sign painter." (Hild laughs) Now he didn't say that in a way to be insulting, he was just making it a factual.

Hild: Uh-huh. A skill, yeah.

Krone: When I went to see Warhol, and told him that Hopper said that he was a sign painter, he said, "Hopper knows who I am?" (Hild laughs) He was so impressed with the fact that Edward Hopper would mention his name and Warhol did do a poster for Lindsay. And one of my funny Warhol stories is I asked him to autograph some soup cans, literally. Went to the grocery, bought some soup cans, he autographed; he said, "This is silly." And I said, "Well, I mean, you copied the soup can, so now it will be worth something" to him. He signs Andy Warhol, Andy Warhol, Andy Warhol. I took them home. One of my aunts who was staying with my mother, she found the soup cans and ate the soup. (Hild laughs) I told Andy Warhol, I said, "A terrible thing happened. Those soup cans you signed for me, my aunt found them and she ate the soup and threw away the can." He said, "Well, that's what you're supposed to do with real soup, eat it." (Hild laughs) So I said, "Well, I brought some more cans for you to sign." And he looked at one of them and he said, "This is a joke." And I said, "No, it's serious." He said, "This is really a Campbell's soup?" I said, "Yeah. It's one of their new brands." It was called *Manhandler*. (Hild laughs) So he autographed it and he said to me, "God, if they had this brand years ago, there would have been no tomato soup cans." There would have just been *Manhandler*." (Hild laughs) He had a great sense of humor. Most people do.

Wheeler: (Unintelligible)

Krone: Pardon?

Times, he was "one of the most prodigiously talented and successful musicians in American history."

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leonard_Bernstein

⁵⁸ Moss Hart was an American playwright and theatre director. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moss_Hart

⁵⁹ Kitty Carlisle (also known as Kitty Carlisle Hart) was an American singer, actress and spokeswoman for the arts. She is best remembered as a regular panelist on the television game show *To Tell the Truth*. She served 20 years on the New York State Council on the Arts. In 1991, she received the National Medal of Arts from President George H. W. Bush.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kitty_Carlisle

Wheeler: (Unintelligible)

Krone: I think I actually have it, but it's getting gas in it.

Hild: Uh-oh.

Krone: Yeah. It's got to be taken care of, but whenever Andy came to Chicago for any reason, I would see him and he was always very, very friendly and very, very funny. He asked me once to be in one of his movies. I said, "I'm in politics. I can't be in one of your movies." Then I said to myself, "Here's the theological or philosophical question. You've got this set and you've got a sofa on the set. They were filming a movie; I can't remember which one it was at the time. I think it was Harlow. I said, "What if I lie behind the sofa while you're shooting the movie so you can't see me, but I'm in the movie in the sense that I'm behind the sofa?" He said, "Sure."

Hild: Behind the scenes.

Krone: So I was literally behind the sofa in the Harlow movie that they filmed and he loved the idea that there was a human being there where you would not expect to be. He'd painted the factory. He had this studio that had been painted aluminum color. Everything was painted aluminum, the walls, the floors, the ceilings, the bathroom, but what impressed me was, I said, "How did you ever paint the porcelain on the inside of the toilet?" And he said, "We turned the plumbing off for half a day and let the water get out and when it was dry, we painted it so it that it would be aluminum all the way down." Everything was aluminum colored paint. It was pretty ridiculous, but...

Wheeler: (Unintelligible.)

Krone: I only met Truman Capote once and was in Chicago at a dinner that was given by Nancy and Bud Goldberg, you know, the architect of Marina City. Bertrand Goldberg and his wife Nancy, who was a Florsheim. They owned Maxim's and the occasion was that Lee Bouvier, Jackie's⁶⁰ sister, was in a play. I don't remember which one. It must have been a Tennessee Williams play or Truman Capote. It must have been Truman Capote, because Capote was there. And Nick Van Hoffman, Capote, um Scottie.

Hild: Van Hoffman was the newspaper critic?

Krone: Right. And a friend of Saul Alinsky⁶¹, Irv Kupcinet⁶² and his wife, Eppy, I don't know how I got invited, but I was there. I remember Nick Van Hoffman drove me home and his date for the night was Scottie Fitzgerald, F. Scott

⁶⁰ Jacqueline Kennedy, wife of President John F. Kennedy

⁶¹ Saul Alinsky is an American community organizer and author.

⁶² Irv Kupcinet is a *Chicago Sun-Times* newspaper columnist.

Fitzgerald's⁶³ daughter. It was one of the most interesting evenings. Capote, you know, looked like a toad at that point in his life. He was very, very heavy and jowly and stuff. He was one person who Gore Vidal really hated. I don't know all the stories and the reasons and stuff, but how I met Gore Vidal was through Paul Bowles and Paul Bowles said that he really missed being in touch with Vidal, but Vidal only sent you a letter if you answer a letter and Paul was having a problem coming up with how he wanted to answer Vidal's last letter. So I sent a letter to Vidal saying, "Please don't be upset for me interfering," I said, "but Paul Bowles says that you only send a letter when you get a letter back and he's having a problem thinking of how he wants to write you a letter figuring that they're all going to wind up being an anthology somewhere. He's not just writing for you, he's writing for humanity and it would be kind—I'll even give you his fax number—if you could send him a message." So Vidal sent him another letter and said, "Dear Paul, I understand," blah, blah, blah, blah.

Hild: Vidal was in Rome?

Krone: He was on the Amalfi Coast, in Ravello. Then he wrote me and said, "If you're ever this way, call me." So the next time I was in Italy I called and I went down to Ravello. At the time he was with his companion Howard. It's a long story, but Howard was a very witty guy, and it was a lot of fun visiting them. Joan came with me once to visit them at their beautiful home. At the time, they were digging up all the plumbing and there were places you could trip and fall in the house and Gore said, "It's my worst nightmare, a lawyer collapsing in my house." (both chuckle) So he said, "Watch out where you walk and stuff." But Gore was a great, is a great guy. Unfortunately, he's quite ill right now. He's living in North Hollywood and, I mean, he's one of the most brilliant people I've ever met. His essays, his novels are good, his essays are great. And the one thing that he said, of all the things that I've read or heard—and this one is something that may be in print—but he told me, "You know, a lot of people misunderstand the whole business about the Puritans coming to the United States. A lot of people feel that the Puritans came because they weren't allowed to practice their religion. That's not the truth. The Puritans came to America, not because they were denied the right to practice their religion, but because they were denied the right to deny others the right to practice their religion, that they wanted to have a monopoly and, you know they were." So, he's a very, very clear thinker. He would have made a, he would make, a great president despite what anybody might think about quote, unquote "character flaws or sexual identity" or anything like that. He was one of the most intelligent people I've ever met and very cautious. Norman was always instinctively, move and think later. Towards the end they reminded me a great deal of Jefferson and Adams who had one of the worst campaigns against each other and then became great friends and then died on

⁶³ F. Scott Fitzgerald is an American writer of the 20th Century.

the same day, fifty years to the day of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, July 4th 1826, each thinking the other was alive when they died.

But, I've had a really blessed life. Now, I have to look at what my wife Joan wants me to talk about. I'm supposed to mention John Waner who ran for mayor in '67, which I did yesterday.

Oh, when I went with the Chicago Symphony to Russia, in Moscow: in 1990, they went to St. Petersburg, Moscow, Budapest, and I think Prague, but certainly Budapest, and I'd asked the head of the musician's union that when they played, when the symphony played in Budapest the first night not to invoke the union rule of overtime so that they could do encores. He said he didn't think there was a problem with that, that he'd present it to the musicians and anybody that didn't want to participate didn't have to. Well, everybody was willing to participate, because it was Solti's hometown, it was a triumphant return, and there were several members in the orchestra, including Victor Aitay and Francis Akos who were also Hungarians and had gone to the Franz Liszt Music Academy and it was a wonderful night. The President of Austria, pardon me, the President of Hungary was there, the mayor of Budapest, it was a fabulous night, and finally Solti says, "Overtime, overtime," and the union president says, "No overtime, don't worry." So finally, they had so many encores that Solti took the cellist and the violinist, the concert master, off stage and when he brought them back, they didn't have their instruments. (Hild laughs) That means you can't play any more because they don't have their instruments; he made them leave them backstage. But it was a triumphant night for Solti. I was invited to write a review for one of the local newspapers.

Hild: One of the Budapest newspapers?

Krone: Yeah, and I did it in a way of being a parody, using all the, you know, soothest tones and lushest this and blah, blah, blah. Solti loved the review (Hild laughs). He didn't see it was a parody. It said the greatest conductor in the world, Georg Solti, he didn't realize I was yanking, but he said this, now this is a good review. But, let's see what else is on this list of things.

Oh, I didn't mention the fact that when I was at Haverford College, there was a program called the Phillips Visitors for bringing distinguished scientists and statesmen to the campus for a longer period of time than one speech. They generally stayed for three days, up to a week, or even two weeks, teaching. Among the people who came were Reinhold Niebuhr, the theologian, and C. P. Snow, who's the novelist who wrote the *Stranger and Brother* series and is responsible for one of the most important clichés of the Twentieth Century, "corridors of power," and he wrote *The Two Cultures* in scientific revolution. When he came to Haverford I was invited to one of the dinners—they'd have small groups of students—and somehow it came that he was going from Haverford to Harvard, where he was spending a few weeks at

one of the colleges—not the colleges, whatever they call them, houses, houses. They're named after Harvard presidents; I think he was either going to Kirkland or, I'm not sure which one, but he was going to Harvard, and they were taking the train. And I said, "Oh, it's an ugly trip. I could borrow my roommate's car and drive you." I did that, and took them up through the back roads of Pennsylvania and Connecticut and Massachusetts; we stopped at the Red Lion Inn in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and we went through New Hope, Pennsylvania, and they had a wonderful trip. And they said, "If you ever come to England, please visit us." I wound up becoming very close friends with C. P. Snow who became Sir Charles, then he became Lord Snow; his wife was a wonderful novelist in her own right, Pamela Hansford Johnson. I became close to them and became friendly with their son Philip, and with Pamela's daughter and Charles' step-daughter Lindsay, who is now married to Lord Avebury, Eric Lubbock, who was three times elected to the House of Commons and now serves in the House of Lords and celebrates his eightieth birthday this September 29.

Wheeler: (Unintelligible)

Krone: Yes he does.

Wheeler: (Unintelligible)

Krone: Yeah. I stay with them a lot. People say the House of Lords, and I stay at the house of a lord. One of the great stories is the Sunday before this election, Ed Burke [Chicago politician] and Anne Burke [Illinois Supreme Court Justice] had a party at their home for all the judicial candidates and Dorothy Brown. We were there and one thing led to another and I asked Anne what they were going to do to relax after the election and she said, "Well, Ed and I are taking Travis to London, just a quick trip for the weekend." And I said, "What are you going to do?" And she said, "Well, we want to go to Parliament; we want to do this." I said, "Parliament's closed on the weekend, but I could get you in through a friend of mine, Lord Avebury." She said, "Oh, that would be great." I said, "As a matter of fact, I'll be happy to fly over and spend a day with you." She said, "Are you crazy?" And I said, "Well, that's true. We don't have to argue that. But let's put it this way: A few months ago I went to Istanbul to take friends of mine out to dinner; I literally just went to Istanbul for dinner and came back, and they're mere commoners." (laughs) She laughed and I said, "I don't want to put you out of your way, but it would be a fun day." So I flew to London. We met the Burkes on a Saturday morning. Lindsay, Lord Snow's step-daughter, C. P. Snow's step-daughter and the wife now of Lord Avebury, took us over to Lords and we met Eric. Parliament was closed but they opened both the House of Lords and House of Commons, turned on the lights and here's Ed Burke, this alderman whose father and grandfather—grandfather's from Ireland—and here they're turning on the lights for him, an Irish lad. So even though he has immense power, it was still a good moment for him and Travis loved it. And then we went to Rules

[London's oldest restaurant] for lunch and, went on the London Eye [giant Ferris wheel on the banks of the River Thames] and Lindsay made all these arrangements.

I'm going back to London on the twenty-fifth of this month and Susan Lock, who is Deputy Director of Special Events in Chicago, and Rosalie Clark, who's the widow of Bill Clark, former Attorney General of Illinois and Chief Justice of the state—we're going on our third trip. We had previously gone to Spain, Morocco and Portugal, and before that to China. It was interesting, on the Spain, Portugal, Morocco trip, that Joan was appointed to the Circuit Court by the Supreme Court, which I was not aware of when we left. It literally happened and so I said to them, "I really have to fly back for the swearing in, but I'll go and I'll come back and join you."

So they thought they're going to write a little novella called "Abandoned at the Ritz" because they were staying at the Ritz Hotel in Madrid. So I left them at the Ritz Hotel Madrid. I said, "I hope you won't tell your children that, you know, I've abused you by going back to Chicago." And they said, "Yes, we're going to tell them that you've abandoned us at the Ritz Hotel in Madrid." Which is arguably the single best hotel in the world. I mean, the bathtubs are big enough to swim in. In any event, it was a great day in London with the Burkes and we're going back, as I said, on the twenty-fifth. Susan Lock is celebrating her seventy-fifth birthday on March 27 and we're having lunch at the House of Lords. Lord Avebury and Lady Avebury and they think I'm always putting them on because they're Susan and David to me, but David Thomas, who was the British ambassador to Cuba in the '80s, his wife is a member of the House of Lords and her official name is Baroness Thomas of Wallace Wood. I always introduce her: "I'd like you to meet Her Ladyship Baroness Thomas of Wallace Wood." She said, "Philip, stop putting it on. It's Susan. Susan." I said, "Don't waste it. Please. Americans get all hung up on this. Yes." (Hild laughs) And occasionally they'll hear me call up and I'll say, "Excuse me, do you have a table? This is Sir Philip of Krone. Do you have a table for four for lunch?" And they say, "You say Sir Philip Krone?" I say, "Well, anything to get a table." I said, "You know, they don't have Debrett's Peerage. They don't look up to see if you're really a member." From the York Race Course every year I get stuff, "Dear Sir Philip." (Hild laughs) Several places I'm listed as Sir Philip Krone. They say, "Who knighted you?" I say, "I knighted me." But that's another funny story.

Desmond Heath would be a hundred years old. He passed on when he was ninety, but his hundredth birthday was last September. He was a great friend of ours. He's arguably the most important planning lawyer in the twentieth century anywhere in the world. Among the people who called him that were Charlie Harp, Professor of Planning and Real Estate at Harvard. Anyway, Desmond and I met in the mid-'60s and we became good friends; he was one of the people from whom I've learned a great deal about urban

architecture and planning. Joan and I took his widow to lunch on what would have been his hundredth birthday. They lived in Seven Oaks, and every time we came, they would fly the American flag. Now his name was Sir Desmond Heath. When James was five years old, he said to him, "You're not a knight." He said, "Yes, I am." He said, "No you're not." He said, "Why do you say that James?" He said, "If you're a knight, where's your armor? Where's your horse?" He loved telling that story everywhere. He said, "Where's my horse? Where's my armor? Fetch me my armor."

So I've had a blessed life. You know, a lot of people wield real power and I've never wielded power, but I've been able to influence people who have power, occasionally, and doing some good things. That's been more fun than having the real power. I feel sorry for the Michael Jordans of the world and even Barack Obamas, because they can't go anywhere without being mobbed. There's no seclusion. They can't go into a museum. They can't go out for a meal without having people come up and want autographs or say hello or whatever. I mean, I think Barack would like to go back to the time when people and cab drivers wouldn't stop for him. (background voice) Huh? Yeah.

Wheeler: (unintelligible) travel question.

Krone: Sure.

Wheeler: You've travelled a lot over your life. In terms of the nature of travel when you go someplace, has it changed a lot for you (unintelligible)?

Krone: Well, you know, it's an interesting thing. I've come to the conclusion that there are a lot of great places that one does not have to go to. But sometimes looking at a travelogue or pictures is sufficient. And there are certain things that I shy away from. I would never, never purposely go to a Caribbean location just to go to that location, because it's generic. You know, when you see sand on the beach and the water and the palm trees. Well, what's the difference if you're on the south coast of an island on the Pacific Ocean or in the Caribbean? It makes no difference. So, you know, for those purposes, Miami is closer. It's just as good. There are certain God-made places and man-made places that I would commend, and I'm thinking: I don't know if I'll have time to write, it doesn't have to be a book, it could just be a short article, but among the places I've seen and that do not disappoint, that I would say to everybody they should see in their lifetime, if they can, and you should never do anything that's inconvenient or costly. It should try to fit in with some logical way of doing things.

In my mind, the Taj Mahal is the most single impressive building, single building. And I love the Chrysler skyscraper in New York, and it's a very special place. The Empire State Building's fine, but the Chrysler—there's something about the Chrysler that just knocks your socks off. Every

time I see it, it's like seeing it for the first time. But the Taj Mahal is such a brilliant piece of architecture. I thought when I was going to see it for the first time that I would be disappointed, that it wouldn't be as great as it was made out to be, but it's not true. And I was fortunate. I stayed overnight at a hotel and I literally lived with that building for a twenty-four hour period. I specifically chose to go there when there was a full moon and I was lucky, because there was not only a full moon, but there was a clear sky. The Taj is made out of white marble. Marble is porous and absorbs heat and gives off heat and there's enough of a variation of temperature in Agra, at least ten or fifteen degrees, so at night the building really is literally giving off heat and during the day is absorbing the heat. So, in the twenty-four hour period, the building changes color and shades much like what you would expect from a Monet painting. I think that if Monet had ever been able to go to the Taj he would have wanted to stay there and paint it every single color because it goes from the whites to the blues to the purples to the peaches to the coral. I mean, there's no way to encapsulate all of it. So that is definitely a human place.

Another one is the Great Wall of China and it's so impressive. Now, there are many places that you can get on to the Great Wall of China, so I would tell everybody, if you go, and times will change, but don't go to the places that are most frequented, because it's like going to Atlantic City Boardwalk. But if you go to one of the more isolated entrances to the Great Wall, you can literally be on it by yourself or with whoever you're with and you can see from one tower to the next, with no human being and there's a certain degree of awe. I understand, it's the only man-made object that's visible from space, that Great Wall. Machu Picchu is another place and it's not, by the way, the highest place in Peru. Cusco is higher. You actually go down to Machu Picchu. Of course, then it's a mountain and it looks tall because there's no comparison. But it's easier to breath in Machu Picchu than it is in Cusco. But Machu Picchu is a very wonderful place.

Needless to say, the Sphinx and the pyramids, and especially, as dramatic as it is, I never failed to want to see the sound and light show at the pyramids. They have a way of turning on each of the pyramids and turning them off and turning them on. It's fabulous. But the logistics of how they were built and aligned with the stars and equinox, it's so impressive and you should take the trip on the camel and go behind the pyramids and see all nine of them and how they line up. And when you think, the pyramids are 4500 years old. So we are 2008 years since the time of Jesus and Jesus was 2500 years from the pyramids. So there's more distance between Jesus and the pyramids than there is between us and Jesus. So, in terms of timelines, there's an unbelievable thing to see this great wonder. It's the only one that's still in existence of the seven.

Now, for God-made places, to me the Grand Canyon is the single most impressive physical part of the world. The second one, even though Mount Everest is the tallest mountain, Mount McKinley is, is, is grand, is gorgeous,

there's a mountain in South America, in the Andes, it's a volcano called Osorno. And if you see it reflected in one of the Patagonian lakes when it's clear and the ice cap is on it, it's unbelievable. Also, the Milford Sound in New Zealand is special. Ayers Rock—which I jokingly say is in Australia—it's a monolith and it looks like a huge giant rye bread, but it also looks like God had put his hand in, dug out the Grand Canyon and then said, "What am I going to do with this?" And He clops it over in Australia and makes the Ayers Rock. I've seen all these things. I mean, now, the fact that I've seen them and been there and climbed Ayers Rock. As a matter of fact, I climbed Ayers Rock twice in my life.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Krone: No, they have, they have posts in it. Now you can't climb it. It's a sacred place and they don't allow anybody to climb it. So when I climbed it, it was still permissible, although the Aboriginal people were objecting to the fact that people were climbing on holy land. It was funny, I was at a reception at the Australian consulate here in Chicago and I met the senator who asked me if I'd been to Australia. When I told her I'd been to Australia several times, she was quite impressed. She said, "Have you ever been to Ayers Rock?" And I said, "I've climbed it twice." She said, "No, you've only climbed it once." I said, "No, I've climbed it twice." She said, "No, you climbed it once." I said, "You climbed it twice, but I am claiming one of the times you climbed it for me. Now I'm telling everybody that I've climbed it. (Hild chuckles) You were my agent." She was a very bright lady. Her name was Flo Peterson and her husband was the governor of Queensland. Very unpopular. Joh Bjelke-Petersen. He was a racist and got defeated and I said, "Now, are you going to run for election?" She said, "Nope. I'm going to be a professional grandmother. I'm not going to get the boot like my stupid husband did." (both laugh) She was really wonderful.

Wheeler: You gave a good answer but not an answer to my question, I don't think.

Krone: Sorry.

Wheeler: Did the nature of travel in your mind, when you were travelling forty years ago, fifty years ago, was it more an immersion then, because you had a lot of connection with the people calling or sending email and so on? Please clarify.

Krone: Well, no. Interestingly enough, no. I like both. I think there's nothing better than being isolated, where you're still in literally immediate contact anywhere in the world. It's fun going to an internet café in the middle of nowhere and literally "Beam me up Scottie." Now, it's very frustrating if something happened and you wanted to be here, you found out there was some kind of a tragedy. You are at least twenty-four, thirty-six hours away. You know, if I'm on the south coast of Java, and it were really an emergency. I'm trying to think right now. I need to be in Singapore by seven in the morning and if I

found out at night that something happened in Chicago, I guess I would charter an airplane and fly to Singapore to get that 7:00 a.m. flight that would get me in Chicago twenty hours later, although it would be the same day, because of travelling across the International Dateline. But you do get a tremendous...I If you're really a traveler, and I'm not a tourist anymore, although I like to be a tourist occasionally. My definition of a tourist is when you go to someplace and you've never been there before and it's the first time, you're a tourist. But, like for example, I know my way around London and Paris as if it were Chicago or New York. I mean, there are probably fifty cities in the world that I can go to and not have to look at a map. That's one of the reasons why, in preservation, when I look at things and recommend them for, say, the National Register, and there are other people who are making decisions and say, "Well, this doesn't do this and this doesn't qualify for that," I'm thinking, "What is your context? My context is the world." I have a great ability to compare things in my mind just looking at it, because the mind is obviously a computer.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Krone: Yeah. (Hild laughs) But what I find right now is that travel is much better now than it ever was despite the fact that there are many inconveniences. Part of the inconveniences come because more people are doing it than used to do it. Joan will say, "Oh, this used to be such a wonderful small airport," and blah, blah, blah, blah, and that's true. It is a chore to go to Heathrow, but nonetheless, things are so safe. I mean, you have a much better chance of surviving an airplane flight than you do, you know, just getting into your own bathtub. So, I have not found negative situations. I mean, you have to put up with being crowded and long lines and, of course, now security. But after a while it becomes a drill that you're so used to, it doesn't bother you at all. You take out the keys and the change and stick them in the little thing. You take off your jacket and you do this and in some countries you have to take out your computer and in others you don't. In places you take off your shoes and other places you don't.

But generally speaking, I find that if you're nice to people, literally, if you're nice to people, they'll be nice back. For example, if you say to somebody in the country, "Do me a favor, please don't stamp my passport." They'll say, "Why?" And I'll say, "You know why. It's not my idea. I mean, obviously I'm coming here, so I want to come here, but there are other people who won't appreciate the fact that I've been here and you know what I mean." "Oh, yeah. I know what you mean." So they don't stamp the passport. They just say, "Okay, here, go on in." And when you leave, you say the same thing, "Please don't stamp my passport." And they won't. I mean, they have the authority to do that, so then they'll say, "Well, you can't prove you've been in this country." I said, "That's the whole idea." But I've been there. I know I've been there. When we went to Cuba, I asked them to stamp my passport and they said, "You don't want us to stamp your passport." I said, "Yes, I do. I am

legally here. I'm allowed to be here. I have a license, literally, a license to be here. So, for me it would almost be perjury not to say it. Plus, the important thing is there's no country in the world that would deny me entry because I have a Cuban stamp. The only one that might attempt would be my own country. (Hild chuckles)

Travel is for me, it's elixir, and it isn't that I'm not happy at home. I have a wonderful home. If somebody said to me, "You're under house arrest." And I'll say to the rest of the world, "I visited you for sixty years. Now you come visit me." And that's a wonderful thing. The artist Robert Indiana who lives in Maine, I said, "It's great that you refuse to travel anymore. Because there's nobody more accessible than a hermit, because you know where they are." (Hild laughs) Same thing, same thing with Bowles. Paul Bowles lived in Tangier for all those years and he was, among other things, a composer as well as an author and he did all the incidental music for many of Tennessee Williams' plays and Lillian Hellman's plays. So after I knew him for two years, I said, "Paul, have you thought about coming back to the United States?" He said, "Oh, heavens no. I couldn't do that." And I said, "Why?" And he said, "Because I love it here in Tangier." I said, "You're not in great health anymore. You're in your late '80s. The one thing in your life that you really need is good medical attention, and you can't get it in Tangier. You can get it in America. We could just literally recreate the space you live in in Charlottesville, Virginia, for example." He said, "Why Charlottesville?" And I said, "Because I have it arranged that you could be a distinguished visiting professor and they would take care of all your health needs and everything, and they could literally recreate this apartment for you so you wouldn't know you weren't in it." He said, "Sort of like a stage set." I said, "Precisely. Exactly. It would be a stage set. They would take every single item. Take pictures of it. Put it back exactly as it was." He said, "What about my, what about my help?" And I said, "I know that we could get them temporary visas and eventually they might even be able to get green cards and then move their families over. It wouldn't be the first time that happened. You're a distinguished American." He said, "Well, why did you do this at the University of Virginia?" And I said, "They have good hospitals there, but you went to the University of Virginia as a freshman." He said, "Yeah, I dropped out. Now I suppose you're going to say I was a drop-out and now I'm to be a drop-in."

Of course, he never moved and he did die, but he did get buried in America. Everybody was shocked that he came home to get buried, you know. It didn't shock me. He would, despite what everybody said about Paul Bowles, he was a real conservative and a very traditional kind of individual and liked order. I told him, "You're the most orderly anarchist there is." Because he expected everything that government had to work properly. He didn't like when the electricity went out. He thought this was terrible. The least that the government can do is make sure that you get electricity delivered efficiently and so forth. But he was very, very supportive of progressive

things, although in some ways, he didn't like progress because anything that changed what he was used to was something that he didn't like, but he was always enthused with stories; if I travelled someplace and came back from China, he was very eager to hear that because he was a traveler, too, and he loved ships. He loved going from port to port.

Hild: In his day, that was the only way to get places, too.

Krone: And it was interesting. I had read several of his novels, and *Let it Come Down* has some descriptions of rain that are totally imaginative until you go there. And I said, "Paul, it's funny. You were just writing a narrative. There's no imagination there. You were just telling the truth as most people wouldn't believe it of rain going literally horizontal." Because the wind is such that instead of sheets of rain coming down like this or diagonal, they are literally going like this and they are hitting you at mid-waist and umbrellas were totally irrelevant. And he wrote this and so you think, "This is a novelist's excess," but it wasn't at all.

Hild: No, he's one of the most elegant novelists I've ever read. You know, talk about a triple threat, between, in the arts with music and literature, his writing, incredible.

Krone: The other thing, too, as a youngster he wanted to be an artist, so one day I said to him, "I want you to do a painting for me, a drawing." And I gave him some pastels and paper. And he said, "Well, what shall I do?" And I said, "Oh, do the sky and, you know shelter, the sky and the sun and this," and he did some stuff. He said, "Do you want me to sign it?" I said, "No." He said, "Why not?" And I said, "Because I'm not trying to exploit you." He said, "Why not? Everybody else does." He said, "You've been generous." And I said, "Now, come on."

Then he said, "You've never asked me to autograph books" and I said, "Paul, you're a friend. I'm not going to do that. I'm not looking for, you know, making a living off of selling autographed books by Paul Bowles." So he said, "Well, what about James? I'd like to do one for James just so he would have it." And I said, "Okay. I'll do that because it's for you. The whole idea is you're going to be dead and here's James who has a book signed by you in his collection, so in a sense you are still alive." He said, "Absolutely." So he had a book called *Calling at Corazón*; it was a short story, a bookshelf story. He said, "Dear James, don't go to Corazón. Paul B." (both laugh) But he liked James very much. He loved Joan.

When he passed on I was very sad, but he didn't want to go to the hospital. Joe McPhillips, who's now dead, too, was principal of the American School, said, "You've got to convince Paul to go to the hospital." So I went and I looked at him and I said, "Are you dead?" He said, "No." I said, "Well, you look dead. If you feel half as bad as you look, you're certainly dead." And

he said, "I'm not." I said, "Well, you better get to the hospital, because it's one thing to die of something that you can't stop, but you're going to die of silly things." So he said, "At this point it doesn't matter." And I said, "Yes it matters. Even an extra week, just seeing more people, saying goodbye. Maybe this is it, but do you want to go tomorrow?" He said, "No, I'm not ready to go tomorrow." I said, "Well, then go to the hospital and you won't go tomorrow." So he went to the hospital. They took very good care of him at the Italian hospital. It looked like a movie set. I said, "It looks like a movie set." He said, "Well, good. Good." He enjoyed that.

He told me a lot of interesting things about Gertrude Stein that I've never seen in print. For example, although she was trained in medical school, she was a Christian Scientist. He called her a closet Christian Scientist. And having been raised in Christian Science, I remember asking Lowell Caldershaw, who was vice president of the University of Chicago Hospitals, and in a smart-assed way I said to him—this is 1960's—At what point in this century do you think that doctors started healing more people than they were killing?" And he said, "I think we should get there by the end of the century." (Hild laughs)

My personal physician, who is Steven Rothschild, who is at Rush⁶⁴, he's going to Morocco with me in May. Last year he came to Paris with Joan and myself. We invited his wife, too, and his wife said she's happy to have him travel by himself for a week a year and give her some time to herself. But his son is coming with and then he's going on to Prague for a few days on his own because he's going to be a sophomore at Green College, but this is my way of being grateful to him, to a doctor who literally goes out of his way to take care of me, and he said, "Do you think there's an ethical problem here?" I said, "How do you bribe a doctor?" I mean, it's gratitude, it's nothing to do with bribing, plus, I love the concept of having my court physician with me. (Hild chuckles) I'd like to see the IRS say that it's not a legitimate deduction, because I think it is. When we first started, when he was assigned to me, he was a good doctor, but there was no personal relationship.

I like to develop a personal relationship with anybody I deal with on the theory that you get better treatment. Not because you deserve or don't deserve it, but just because people like to do things for people who they like and who like them. Like, for example, I pride myself that I'm a friend of Ted Hild's and a friend of Mike Jackson's, and I'm charmed by that. Or that I like the fact that I'm a friend of Bill Wheeler's and that I can say, well, to Mr. Jackson, "You can be pristine and pure in your orthodoxy, but Mr. Wheeler is a realist and has a much better sense of judgment than you do."

Now, not many people can say they've travelled with Mike Jackson, but I was with him in France and Czech Republic; he came with me when

⁶⁴ Rush Presbyterian Hospital in Chicago, Illinois.

they were still communists and we went to, I think it might have been the last or the second last May Day that they ever had in Czech Republic, and nobody was doing anything. There were no parades. You had a sense that something was coming to an end and it was so bad, that we went towards the restaurant and there were this table full of Russian soldiers. They were young men. They were like James. They were eighteen, nineteen years old. They were sent to a place they didn't want to be. Everybody was ignoring them, so I sent them over two pitchers of beer. Well, I was the most popular—I'm an American—I was the most popular guy. They loved it. They were very friendly.

We were at another restaurant and it turns out that there were these two Oriental people sitting at a table. It turns out they're from Vietnam. I sent them a bottle of wine. They came over and they said, "Oh, it's so nice to meet nice Americans." I thought to myself, "Here are the poor Vietnamese and, you know, we were involved in such negative ways in their country." Anyway.

Hild: Well, the cultural activities and the political activities kind of come together with real estate in a sense that you've found a lot of your time taken up in historic preservation activities. When did that start? I see your name has turned up on some things way back in the mid-'60s dealing with preservation.

Krone: Well, right. I would say that my first interest in preservation was fostered by a professor at Haverford named James Fowle, F-o-w-l-e; Jim Fowle had a survey course in history of architecture, which I took. It was a brilliant course and, I mean, the fact that I can still remember so much of what was taught, has to be a tribute to both the professor and the content, including things like Touro Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island, Parson Capen house in Massachusetts, and the buildings of Latrobe. Jim Fowle got me involved in a project called Mission 66.

Hild: Oh, yeah.

Krone: Which was saving colonial Philadelphia.

Hild: But that was a major initiative of the National Park Service.

Krone: Uh huh. And I did a lot of checking on deeds. It's not recorded anywhere, but I'm the person who literally found Benjamin Franklin's house. The reason they knew it was Benjamin Franklin's house was because I dug the shaft that found what was the first flush toilet and found pretty much complete. I think we found two or three bottles of gin that were intact. The bottles hadn't been broken.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Krone: Yes. In Philadelphia. And that was my first incursion into preservation. And then when I came to Chicago, the late Morris Risen who went to high school

with me, got me involved in Preservation Chicago or something. No, it wasn't called Preservation Chicago.

Hild: Chicago Heritage Committee?

Krone: Chicago Heritage. Tom Stauffer's group. And that led to saving the Glessner House and that's when I first met Phillip Johnson, who gave \$25,000 to save it from being torn down. I think he was repaid. I think it was a loan. I'm not absolutely sure, but Phillip Johnson would have given the money if he had to. He was generous and frugal, simultaneously. I met Harry Weese⁶⁵ and Harry Weese was an important influence in my life. I travelled with him occasionally and he enlisted me in saving the elevated when Mike Bilandic was mayor and he was a... I loved Harry. And he had problems. Everybody has their demons, but I remember calling him once and saying, "That Marriott Hotel, aren't you embarrassed by it?" He said, "Unbelievably embarrassed. But you know, when you have people who are working for you and you have to give them checks every week. The Marriott, obviously, wouldn't let me do what I wanted to do." But, he said, "Yeah, it's terrible. I wouldn't put my name on it. The office did it, but it's not a Harry Weese building. But if you think the outside's ugly, wait till you see what they did to the inside." (both laugh) He was a very honest man. Now Ben [Weese, brother of Harry] got really angry with me a few years ago because my name was in the paper vis-à-vis a possible real estate deal where they were going to take down Seventeenth Church of Christ Scientist.

Hild: On Wacker Drive, on the north end of the Loop.

Krone: At some point that may happen because it is a building that doesn't lend itself. I hope some day that they would save it, but they could use it as an entrance to another building that would be built behind it. That would be my preference, and to give zoning rights that would follow the Schlaes Costonis rule of transferring air rights. But because of the way that the buildings are built, because of the fact that it really goes down two more levels, it's very, very difficult to save anything there. I'm a realist, but as you said, politics and culture and real estate all come together. It's like what Mark Twain said, "Buy real estate. They're not making any more of it."

Obviously, among the people that I've done a lot of work with over the years was Miles Berger. I met him through Neil Hartigan. He became chairman of the planning commission afterwards, but he was vice chairman of the planning commission for many years. He was a close friend of Mayor Richard J. Daley because his father had been; his father, Albert, and Mayor Richard J. Daley used to play gin rummy every Saturday morning. Anyway, I have found that preservation has been profitable for me and it was fun doing.

⁶⁵ **Harry Mohr Weese** (June 30, 1915 - October 29, 1998) was an American architect, born in Evanston, Illinois in the Chicago suburbs, who had an important role in 20th century modernism and historic preservation.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harry_Weese

Because I don't like doing things that aren't fun. I mean, you know, if you pay a person (static noise) [to] do anything because the payment becomes the (static noise) but I've never had too many of these opportunities. Oh, okay. So, I would say that I'm proud of the, even if nobody knows, things I've done. I know what I've done. (voice in background)

Hild: Talked about architecture.

Krone: Oh, yeah, we talked about the Taj Mahal. I'm interested in the concept of not just preservation but energy conservation and community development and using things as long as they have a practical life. I'm also concerned about preservation that is wrong-headed. For example, in the last century, Victorians wanted to be as *au courant* as they could be; therefore, it makes no sense to preserve things as they were if there're modern inventions that would make what was, better. That doesn't mean you don't keep the style or the shape or the material as best possible. The compromise that was made with allowing modern kitchens and modern bathrooms was intelligent, but there's also the issue of putting in energy-efficient windows. And I always think that the fixation that a lot of preservationists have with windows is a significant mistake. I don't know where it came from or who did it. I think how spaces are treated, how window openings are treated is important and certainly changing the scale can be a mistake, but in terms of having double glazing, that's more important than having it exactly the way it was.

But I also like the idea of not saving one of a kind and saying that's sufficient. My favorite kind of preservation is frankly, like this block where as many structures as possible were retained. And if it can't be, then it can't be. And if there were only seven of them that were left, it would be worth saving the seven even if it wasn't the first choice, but it's better than saying, "Oh, there's not sufficient integrity." Well it wasn't like the people who were saving it created the problem. It was done in the past by people who didn't know what they were doing. I also like the idea of making instant landmarks. If something is built and it gets raves for its elegance and its beauty, its simplicity, whatever, you need to declare it a landmark immediately. You don't have to wait twenty-five or fifty years.

Hild: Well, twenty-five or fifty years later people will refer to the contemporary literature to find out how it was regarded at the time, anyway.

Krone: Yeah. So, I mean, putting time on something, generally, if something's ugly now, it's going to be ugly fifty years from now. Now there are periods where it's interesting, in the 1950s and '60s, Victorian architecture wasn't approached, you know, wasn't appreciated. And then Sir John Betjeman led the movement to make Victorian architecture fashionable, particularly his effort to save St. Pancras Station in London, which was a magnificent pile of bricks. But it's now the headquarters for Eurostar. And I don't know if you know it, but it's now possible to go from downtown London to...

Hild: Eurostar is?

Krone: Is the high speed rail that goes from London to Paris and through the tunnel, the Chunnel⁶⁶ and it's now possible to go from downtown London to downtown Paris in two hours and eighteen minutes, which is unbelievable. I mean, to go to the airport and to check in and to wait takes two hours, at a minimum. So, to check in at the railway station is only half an hour before you leave and then it's two hours and eighteen minutes and you're there, and you're there at Gare du Nord, right down in the center of Paris as opposed to Charles DeGaulle airport. You talk about inconvenience and waste and sacrifice, but nobody wants to give up their automobile. And the whole idea of making the automobile something that is an object of status. It's the silliest thing. It's almost like wristwatches. I generally try to spend as little money as possible on things you can misplace or lose such as eyeglasses and wristwatches and umbrellas and hats. Hats, particularly. (Hild chuckles) I once left a hat in a Chinese restaurant at Dearborn and Division and three years later I went back and there it was.

Hild: It was hanging on the hook.

Krone: Three years, nobody had moved it. I said, "Oh, this is my hat." (Hild chuckles)

Hild: Well, Preservation Chicago took a while to get started. Richard J. Daley didn't have a particular interest in preservation. This also is during his administration that the preservation movement got started here in Chicago. What was your role in that?

Krone: Well, I do know that I had an interesting conversation with the mayor regarding the Chicago Stock Exchange building.

Hild: You were a Republican at the time.

Krone: Yeah, but the one thing I always had was access to Mayor Daley, both of them, but the old man was very good about, if I called about something, to have me come in and make an appointment and spend fifteen minutes. But when John Waner ran for mayor in '67, his office was at 100 North LaSalle and the stock exchange was directly across the street where 30 North LaSalle is now. I literally spent two and a half months looking at the Chicago Stock Exchange building by Sullivan from the 100 North LaSalle building, the one which is not a very good building, and the wonderful, magnificent Chicago architecture bays and the arches. Oh, it was just a beautiful building. And when it was planned on being torn down, I did everything I could do to save it. I went to see Mayor Daley. Oscar Danfield and Miles Thurber were on the five-man committee that tried to come up with a way of saving it and they couldn't. And I feel that Oscar really wanted to save it and so did Miles.

⁶⁶ Name for the Channel Tunnel built in the English Channel

But Mayor Daley said to me, he said, “You know, it’s not good. The plumbing’s not good because all the men’s bathrooms, the two bathrooms, one for men, one for women on two different floors.” I said, “Mr. Mayor, that’s not a problem. They can put plumbing on every floor now. That’s a minor issue.” I said, “What a great addition it would be to City Hall. It’s only a block away and it’s the best building. The people have done it in St. Louis: it’s Sullivan’s Wainwright Building, which is not as important as the Stock Exchange is. Arguably, this and the auditorium are the two most important buildings that Louis Sullivan⁶⁷ (unintelligible).”

Now it’s interesting that one of the partners in the company that developed the 30 North LaSalle building was Philip Corboy, the young attorney, and they all went bankrupt; the first owners of that building went bankrupt. That was their punishment. Their lead partner was man named William Friedman, a lawyer in Coleman and Friedman, or Friedman and Coleman, I can’t remember that. Oscar was a member of that firm. But the mayor was not interested in preservation per se. He was more of the Carl Sandburg school. Build it up, tear it down. Build it up, tear it down. He was interested in progress and creating jobs, and new construction was important, and Daley had a lot to do with all of the 1950s and 1960s construction along Lake Shore Drive, particularly between Belmont and—not the city limits—but up to Devon. And there were several.

Hild: It’s all mid-rise buildings up there now. They were all built in like the ’50s, ’60s, much of it is, yeah.

Krone: Well, mid-rise in the sense that a twenty-story building or a thirty-story building is mid-rise.

Hild: Right. Right.

Krone: As opposed to seventy stories.

Hild: In this context it’s high rise. Yeah.

Krone: It was... but I don’t think Daley was anti-preservation because, obviously, I remember going in to see him about this block when Joan decided she wanted to live here and I did the research and saw it was in an urban renewal district. I didn’t want to spend any effort and then get condemned out, so I went to see the mayor. At that time I had a really good relationship with him because I’d been working with Neil Hartigan since ’73, so I got to see him the following day. I went down, I said, “My wife and I are looking to buy this building to

⁶⁷ **Louis Henry Sullivan** (September 3, 1856 – April 14, 1924)^[1] was an American architect, and has been called the "father of skyscrapers"^[2] and "father of modernism".^[3] He is considered by many as the creator of the modern skyscraper, was an influential architect and critic of the Chicago School, was a mentor to Frank Lloyd Wright, and an inspiration to the Chicago group of architects who have come to be known as the Prairie School. Along with Henry Hobson Richardson and Wright, Sullivan is one of "the recognized trinity of American architecture".^[4] He posthumously received the AIA Gold Medal in 1944. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis_Sullivan

move into it.” He looked at me and said, “On 1500 West Jackson? You’re going to be isolated.” And I said, “There’s some other young families, also looking and I’ve met some of them.” He said, “That would be terrific.” So I said, “The problem is that you can’t get mortgages because it’s in urban renewal or slated for clearance, for demolition.” He said, “Well, don’t take it off. We don’t want to take it off; it will only fuel speculation. People will then. If you have problem getting a mortgage, just have them call me.” He gave me a number.

Hild: Mayor Daley the mortgage broker? (laughs)

Krone: Yeah. And, actually, within a year, we had banks calling us that weren’t represented on the block. Talk about red lining and green lining. The first ten mortgages on this block were held by Continental Bank, First National Bank, Bank of Ravenswood, Harris Bank, National Republic Bank. Everybody got loans. And every bank wanted to be represented.

Hild: Those are all really big banks. Did they want to be identified with the preservation effort?

Krone: Yeah. Both that and young people, what was called urban pioneers. Newspapers wrote editorials. Lois Foley at the time wrote an editorial. It was really exceptional in terms of the interest. When we had the dedication of the block in 1978, Mayor Daley had passed on, but Michael Bilandic came as Mayor of Chicago. Jim Thompson came as Governor. The invocation was given by Cardinal Cody. Bob Merriam, who ran against Daley in ’55, was my special guest, and he sat next to Florence Scala⁶⁸ and Richard Daley.

Hild: What was Florence Scala? Why was Florence Scala here?

Krone: She lived across the way. She was pro-progress and administration and saving neighborhoods and it was almost like the peaceable kingdom (Hild laughs). I had Oscar and Florence and Bob Merriam and Rich Daley and...

Hild: Probably the first and last time a lot of those people were together without yelling at each other.

Krone: Right. And Mrs. Paul Douglas, who was the daughter of Helen Taft Douglas, the daughter of Larado Taft. She was here, and the connection with her was because the Ferguson Fund paid for her father’s sculpture. We also had Joe Hanna, Superintendent of Schools. Albright was head of the fire department. The head of the police was here. I mean, somebody said if a bomb had dropped at the corner of Laflin and Jackson, there would have been no city or state government. Both Matt Biesczat [26th Ward Committeeman] and Vito Marzullo [25th Ward Alderman] came and Quigley. I mean, it was a

⁶⁸ A Chicago community preservationist

combination of independents and the machine and Republicans, Democrats. It was really great.

Hild: I didn't think Marzullo ever came north of the Eisenhower.

Krone: He and I became—he and Biesczat and I were really great friends. I say to this day that if somebody wanted to establish the Marzullo/Biesczat chair in political science, it would be a great seat on urban democracy. I have found over all the years I've been involved, regardless of whether you call people reformers or machine, everybody wants to do well, but, obviously, people want to do well for themselves, too, but they want to leave a legacy. Everybody wants to say, "Here's a good guy who did a good job. He was a good public servant. He was accessible. He was available. He helped me."

Hild: So when you say do well, you mean do good things.

Krone: Do good things. And when I say do well the other way, I mean make money. Even Tom Keane. I had one conversation with him that is worth putting on record.

Hild: Tom Keane was an alderman who was a major ally of Mayor Richard J. Daley.

Krone: Right. He was chairman of the finance committee and he was the most powerful alderman and probably the smartest of his time. He represented the 31st Ward on the near-northwest side, and he was a lawyer. He was involved in many of the progressive and important things that passed in the '50s and '60s in Chicago, including locating the first four-year permanent university at Congress Circle, establishing home rule.

Hild: This is the University of Illinois Chicago campus?

Krone: Right. And establishing home rule and getting the ability for municipalities to pass their own taxes without getting permission of the legislature.

Hild: Express lanes?

Krone: Yes, and also developing O'Hare Airport. Many years after he was out of the city council, I literally ran into him on the street—it was Madison Street between LaSalle and Wells—and he was walking one direction, I was walking the other. He looked up and I said, "Hello, Alderman." He said, "Hello, Phil." I said, "How are you doing?" He said, "Better." Because he'd been... Frankly, he had been in jail and probably added years to his life because of the diet and exercise.

Hild: Yeah. He'd gone to jail courtesy of Jim Thompson.

Krone: Right. Anyway, we were standing and chatting (phone rings) and I said to him, "You know, I don't know what your schedule's like, but I'm not in a rush if you want to stop for a cup of coffee." He said, "Sure." So we went in to the nearest coffee shop restaurant on Madison and we sat down and we're talking and I said, "Look, I want to ask you a question. You know, everybody says you're a very intelligent man; obviously you are, and you were involved in developing O'Hare airport. One thing I can't figure out, though, is why did you not condemn more of the periphery of O'Hare so you could control the external development? Why did you allow a place like Rosemont to be developed, because they get revenue that belongs to the City of Chicago?" And he looked at me and said, "I thought you were a bright guy." I said, "Excuse me, I don't understand the reference." He said, "You know, I went to jail by accident, not on purpose. (Hild laughs) If we had annexed all the land around O'Hare, I'd have gone to jail a long time ago." I said, "I don't understand." He said, "Paul Corcoran and Bill Lancaster and myself own several hundred acres of land on the perimeter of O'Hare Airport and if it had been part of city, if we had annexed it, we would have been guilty of a felony. So we couldn't have it. And that's the reason why God made Rosemont."

And then he said, "It's funny, when we sold twenty acres of the land to Ann Pritzker. I don't know exactly what we sold it for, but I think it was something like fifty thousand an acre; it was a million dollar deal and we thought, boy were we making out like bandits. It goes to show you, that land was worth millions an acre and we're selling it for fifty thousand an acre. We may as well have gotten rid of our interest and annexed it. But you're right, the City of Chicago would have been a lot better off if they had all the land around it." And I said, "Well, that's the Disneyland, Disney World comparison. When Walt Disney realized that all those people were making more money than he was by building next to Disneyland, when he went to Florida, he bought all that acreage so that he would benefit from his own peripheral development." So after a few more minutes of conversation, we parted our ways. That was the last time I talked to Tom Keane. But that's a true story.

Hild: This was like the mid-1970s? Late 1970s?

Krone: Late '70s.

Hild: So there had been other preservation issues, in addition, that pre-dated the Stock Exchange Building. There had been, you know, the Robie House.⁶⁹

Krone: The Garrick Theatre.

Hild: Yeah, there'd been the Robie House and the Garrick Theatre, in particular.

Krone: Well the Robie House was saved.

⁶⁹ A prairie-style private home designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, preserved as a museum.

Hild: Right.

Krone: The Garrick Theatre went down, which was unfortunate, but that was not his [Louis Sullivan's] best building. I mean, it was unfortunate, but it wasn't a disaster. The Chicago Stock Exchange is probably the handsomest office building that was ever built. The Chrysler is probably the most exciting, but there's something about the Chicago Stock Exchange building that, in terms of scale and its appearance and everything, that there's nothing that has ever been built like it, before or since, I think.

Hild: There are not many, but a few, preservation-related organizations operating in the city. What's your involvement been with them?

Krone: Well, I think, in many ways, I tend not to be an organization person. I'm not against the organization structure, but I hate meetings. I used to serve on lots of boards, but I tried to make meetings short, if I could. I know that I was very heavily involved with Richard Knorr at the very beginning of the development of what was then called the Chicago LPCI [Landmarks Preservation Council of Illinois] was this, it was before LPCI.

Hild: Well, Tom Stauffer organized the Chicago Heritage Committee.

Krone: I was involved in that, to a degree, but not great.

Hild: Yeah. Then Oscar DeAngelo and others got together to create the Landmarks Preservation Council and Richard Miller, I think, was the first executive director there? Or founder.

Krone: He was the founder. The others came on.

Hild: They were on the board or something.

Krone: Yeah. And I was involved in that. And then it became the Landmarks Preservation Council of Illinois. At the beginning it was Landmarks Preservation Council of Chicago or something like that. I can't remember its exact name. But he and his wife, Joan—I think they're still both alive.

Hild: Yeah. They're up in Evanston. He's now like a director emeritus or something of the board.

Krone: Well, I think he was disappointed in the way he was treated. I don't think it makes any difference. There are a lot of people who've made good contributions to preservation. It doesn't matter whether you get the credit or not. The fact that you did it. I've been grateful to make a good enough living from the stuff that I've done, but I've also been involved in pro bono stuff like, for example, I say without any ennui whatsoever that I'm the single most important person in saving County Hospital.

Hild: How did that happen?

Krone: Bill Beavers [Cook County Commissioner] got me an appointment with Todd Stroger [son of John Stroger, Cook County Board Chairman 1994-2006]. I just told him, "You can't take it down," and then told him the reason why. "Your father was on the other side and he was wrong. This is the second-most important Beaux Arts building in Chicago. It's not the greatest piece of architecture, but the facade is very, very important. There are plenty of uses for the building and it shouldn't be taken down. Ultimately, it'll be developed." He didn't use it as much in the campaign as he could have or should have, but if he had taken it down, I think he would have lost the election to Forrest Claypool. I mean, the old man would have lost the election.

Hild: Well, the issue, the preservation of the hospital had been going on for what, two or three years prior to Todd Stroger's ascent to the chairman.

Krone: Right. I got the old man to be neutral, not to take it down. I got Todd to say that he wouldn't take it down. And I don't know what they're going to wind up doing with it, but they need something soon because there will come a point where the cost of repairing the facade is going to be difficult. I don't have a problem with façadism under certain circumstances. There was nothing in that building that was worth saving.

Hild: Façadism is the practice of demolishing the building except for the façade.

Krone: Right. And another place where I had rendered an opinion that was followed was the Wabash Street façade of the Millennium Towers behind the Chicago Public Library building, the old Cultural Center, the old Chicago Library. They saved the façade of the building at the first and second floor level because it had character on the street.

Hild: What was your role there?

Krone: I knew the developer and I just told him to save it. It was very simple. It was like a conversation.

Hild: Now, under Richard J. Daley, looking back on his tenure, he hadn't been particularly sympathetic to preservation. In fact, he'd done a great deal to eliminate like, let's say sites involved with Chicago's organized crime era, those sites, the St. Valentine's Day massacre.⁷⁰

Krone: Right. He found that an embarrassment. He didn't like, oh, you're from Chicago, rat-a-tat-tat. He hated that. In a sense, that doesn't happen anymore. Young people don't know about Al Capone.⁷¹ Michael Jordan⁷² eclipsed Al

⁷⁰ 1929 murder of seven Chicago mobsters

⁷¹ A gangster who led a Chicago area crime syndicate from early 1920s to 1931

⁷² A professional basketball player for Chicago Bulls 1984-2003

Capone. And the Chicago Symphony Orchestra has done a great deal, as well as the Bulls—well that's Michael Jordan.

Hild: Could you say, then, perhaps, Mayor Daley's policy of eliminating, of erasing those historic sites actually worked and helped erase the memory of Al Capone and his friends?

Krone: No. I think that it was just, you don't have to tear up buildings, but I do remember the brouhaha over putting Al Capone's home on the National Register [of Historic Places]. I testified in favor of putting it on the National Register because, first of all, a lot of history is not good history, it's bad history. I mean, I think that if there are any excellent buildings that Adolph Hitler would have been in Germany, that they should be landmarks, too. Not the kind that you celebrate as the home of a great man, but it's the home of a very important person in twentieth century history.

Hild: Some of his paintings are kept, but they're hidden away and not viewable.

Krone: Only if he had spent more time being a painter, if he'd been more successful and had more shows. That was a very disturbing thing that happened to me once. I remember going to Neuschwanstein and they were having a concert on a Sunday afternoon. I bought my ticket and I'm at the concert. When the concert's over, a lady came up to me—she was a person in probably her sixties or seventies—and we're talking about...

Hild: Neuschwanstein is?

Krone: It's the fairytale castle that was done by Prince Ludwig. Anyway, it turns out that Prince Ludwig, you know, was a great aficionado and follower of Richard Wagner⁷³ and Hitler used to come to Neuschwanstein for concerts in the summer. This is now in the early '70s. This lady comes up to me and she must have been in her seventies; her hair was braided in a bun and she said to me, "You brought tears to my eyes." And I said, "Excuse me?" And she said, "You remind me of the Fuhrer. (Hild laughs) The Fuhrer sat in this seat. He used to come to concerts." And I realized that this lady probably had been working there since she was in her twenties and I reminded her of Adolph Hitler. That was a bit to swallow, you know. (Hild chuckles) It was one of Paul Bowles' favorite stories. She wasn't a neo-Nazi, she was a Nazi.

Hild: Unreconstructed. Yeah. Mayor Richard M. Daley, though, has a completely different approach to urban development.

Krone: I've had lots to do with that and I remember one of my favorite buildings in Chicago was the St. Benedict Flats. And Rich said, "Now, what's the reason we're saving it?" And I said, "Well, first of all, I like it." He said, "I like it, too." I said, "Secondly, he can't have high rises everywhere chockablock. It's

⁷³ German composer and conductor

not Manhattan. And the developers are greedy. They'll be able to make plenty of money off of this low density; they bought it for hardly anything. Nobody said they had a right to make fifty million bucks just because they own frontage on Chicago Avenue." So Daley's taking a position they are very important buildings, either because of the quality architecture, the importance of the architect or the fact that something important happened in the building. Then there's vernacular architecture, and he's very big on saving vernacular architecture in large enough swaths that you feel the character, like blocks of, you know, two story Italianate or the bungalow initiative, which my colleague Dan Bluestone did the nomination for. And there are different types of bungalows all through the city.

Hild: Now the mayor's interested in water towers and water tanks on top of buildings.

Krone: Yes. And he's also interested in greystones and brownstones and now I've got him going on courtyard buildings.

Hild: You know, the mayor's position on saving the St. Benedict Flats, I think, was extremely important because it indicated that we've got actually here a pro-preservation mayor. The building at first appeared to be a sitting duck for development, but then the mayor intervened and it was saved. Later on, the mayor gave preservation a much larger role in the planning process than previous mayors, or previous administrations, or previous cabinets had, and he completely revamped the Landmarks Commission. I like to think that Mayor Daley realized that preservation was too important to be left up to the preservationists.

Krone: Yeah. And that doesn't mean he doesn't listen to people who have a background in it or professionals, but, you know, anytime a case can be made, and he's not ironclad in, like, for example, at Fourteenth and Michigan there was a building. The street had been widened and they sheared off the side of the building; it lost its integrity on that one side and it had been screwed around so much at the first level, that it was a candidate for being torn down, and Ron Shipka wanted to take it down.

Hild: Ron Shipka's a...?

Krone: A developer.

Hild: A developer who does a lot of rehabs in the city.

Krone: Right. And he's done a lot of preservation, I mean, and he did the low-rise South Water Street terracotta white market.

Hild: South Water Market.

Krone: South Water Market. He did that. And he had a bit of a problem, which I tried to work out and did work out. I didn't fall over totally for him the one thing that I didn't like, that I agreed with Mike Jackson on, was the applied muntins. I said, "If they're going to be fixed muntins and applied, they should be done with such strength that you can't pull them and stick a business card between the window and the muntin. I mean, I don't mind being phony, as long as it looks and acts [real]. One of my claims to fame on a restoration was in the J. P. Smith Shoe Building and Dan Bluestone did the nomination. I changed one word in the nomination and saved the developer \$1 million, and it was changing the word steel to metal.

Hild: In regard to the windows.

Krone: Right. Because then we could do aluminum. Aluminum is metal, steel is metal. There wasn't anything dishonest about calling them metal windows, metal casement. But if somebody in Washington said, "Well, it's steel casement windows. You have to do it in steel," would have cost another \$1 million. It made no difference, and it's a handsome building. I've had situations where, frankly, people in the Historic Preservation Agency have wanted to deny something, then they got overruled, then it was developed, and then you'd think they were for it from the first place. They sort of revise history, because it worked out so nicely. That's the interesting part of the beginning of my real career in preservation in terms of doing it as a business was trying to list the 4242 North Sheridan residential building on the National Register. Dan Bluestone did the nomination. I met him, through people at the Historic Preservation Agency and the nomination failed by one vote. It didn't get two-thirds. And I was so aggravated. I was with a client. We were in Europe and we were with the Illinois Housing Development Authority head at the time, Jim Kiley. And I thought, "Oh, my God." So, one of the gentlemen at the time who was with the agency said, "I'm really sorry that this happened, but actually, there's a solution that's better for you." "And what's that?" He said, "Create a district."

Hild: That was Bill Farrar.

Krone: Yeah. And we did the Buena Park Historic District. I know I did three other buildings and got fees and Susan Baldwin got fees and it became a cottage industry for a lot of people. It's a wonderful, new vibrant, you know, an old new vibrant community. And then Sheridan Park followed it. And that's one of the great phrases when Marty Tangora did the nomination for that. He's on the board of LPCI. He referred to his own house as aluminum siding, "lovingly applied". I loved that.

Hild: Yes. Yeah. I recall that.

Krone: But, somebody once said to me, "Is it your idea to declare the entire city historic district neighborhood by neighborhood?" And I said, "Basically, yes."

Hild: So, you've had a long and firm and solid relationship with the state preservation office since the early '80s.

Krone: Yes. And there's a lot of continuity. Ann Hacker. Carol Dyson. I always say I knew Carol Dyson when she was a puppy. From the beginning. There have been people who have come and gone, but generally speaking, there's a lot of continuity there. You were there for an awfully long time and Mike Jackson's there and Bill Farrar was there and now Bill Wheeler, and it's good working with people who have an institutional memory and also are able and to a degree flexible. Not everybody's flexible, but some are more flexible than others. But I don't apologize for some of the shortcuts, because developers have a bottom line and you can't do everything that is desirable. Not always. Sometimes you can.

Hild: So your personal philosophy of preservation and what should be preserved and how it should be preserved isn't necessarily in conflict with, say, the state or federal or even the local...

Krone: No. I'm not opposed to saving things that don't necessarily have economic utility, as long as they're saved at a time when the people who own them are not opposed to it. You know, oftentimes preservationists wait too long and somebody buys a building for an excessive amount of money. They should have blown the whistle ahead of time. Now, there are a few examples I can think of, where greed is excessive.

Break in the interview for lunch.

Krone: You know, it's an interesting thing in the *Handbook of Illinois Government*, they don't even list people who've been governors.

Hild: Oh.

Krone: Only the present one. How Jim Thompson doesn't get to keep his name perpetually in anything that's ever printed.

Hild: I think that information is in the "Blue Book."

Krone: Yeah. But this is from the "Blue Book."

Hild: Right. Well, that's the kind of thing that you might want to keep on your desk; for a legislator, you'd have that on your desk, so if you want to know who's in charge of what agency, you can just, it's a quick reference thing.

Krone: Uh huh. I hardly know.

Hild: Where did we leave off? Do you recall?

- Krone: I don't know, why don't we listen to the last minute.
- Hild: We have to wait for Bill to do that.
- Krone: Okay.
- Hild: I know we're rolling.
- Krone: Is Lee Daniels still in the legislature?
- Hild: Yes. He keeps a very low profile. In Elmhurst, there's a two-story building and it's a relatively new building, built like in the late '80s, maybe, and Daniels had his district office there. And big signs, big electric signs. Had a lot of money. After he got into trouble, I drove by there one time and a big sign said, class A office space for lease. So apparently his money got cut off, everything is. No money for a local office, so that all went with it. Bill, we can't remember where we left off before our lunch break.
- Wheeler: You started to tell us about your legislative career.
- Krone: No, that, oh, well, we...
- Wheeler: Your short legislative career.
- Krone: Okay, we can, my short legislative career.
- Hild: What year was it?
- Krone: '73, I believe (long pause). '70, yeah. Should I start?
- Hild: Yeah. We're rolling.
- Krone: Okay. 1973, State Representative Pete Granada died. We still had proportional cumulative voting where every legislative district had three state representatives. While, theoretically, a party could run three if they wished, the party convention would nominate two (unintelligible). One, two or three. Generally speaking, the majority party would nominate two and the minority party would nominate one and oftentimes there was no primary competition. The general election was automatic. Occasionally, both parties would nominate two and there was a bit of a fight, sometimes between the two minorities, who would be the minority person. Rarely was it so evenly divided that it was an issue of whether it be one party or the other party getting the third seat. In any event, Granada was the only Republican in this part of what was called the west side bloc. Some people said he was, you know, outfit-controlled. Some people said he was actually the top guy in the first ward, even though he was a Republican, and that the Democrats reported to him. But whatever the situation was, he died. The chairman of the party at the time was Ed Kucharski, my dear friend, the committeeman of the thirteenth ward.

Joan and I had just been married that June and I was on the East Coast. She was seeking a transfer from Boston to Chicago. We were on our way back and I got this call from Ed Kucharski saying that Granada had died and did I want to take his seat. At that point, I had been working with Neil Hartigan for many months and I said, "I don't know. I think the Republicans don't think I'm much of a Republican." He said, "Well Blair likes you and he's the speaker. Don't worry about the others." So, it turns out that I was appointed to fill the vacancy of Granada as a committeeman and then under that system, the committeemen met to choose who would run for state representative. I practically had enough votes myself to name myself as the state representative, and with the votes of the twenty-fourth ward Republican committeemen, I became the state representative. Now, there was a hue and cry among conservative Republican Henry Hyde, among the Walker Democrats because I was with Hartigan, against the outfit, because I wasn't outfit. (Hild chuckles) They were going to go against me on residency and a whole bunch of other issues and it looked like it was going to be a big brouhaha and it wasn't worth it. I would serve in the legislature for maybe two weeks. And they wouldn't give me the paycheck. At that time, you got one big lump sum. Nobody'd give me the paycheck. People jokingly said if I'd gotten paid, they would have dropped trying to get rid of me because once you got the money, the show's over. So I didn't get the money. And after serving for...

Hild: Would they have paid you for the entire term?

Krone: Yeah. You could draw your salary. This was a long time ago. You could draw your salary at the beginning of the term.

Hild: I think you still can, but you would have been for the whole two year term?

Krone: Yeah. Anyway, it looked like it was going to be a difficult thing to win. I didn't want to lose. I didn't want to put anybody on the spot. And I certainly didn't want to win a Republican seat with Democratic votes. So I rose on a point of personal privilege and resigned and shocked a lot of people by resigning. As I said, my maiden speech was my farewell address. As I told you yesterday, Speaker Madigan, who was then a state representative and not leadership, said that it was the first time he'd ever seen all the people listen to what was being said. A lot of people were very sad, including some Republicans. I had good friends. I didn't miss it, ever. I never did. I said, "I'm not running for office again." I'd run in '70 and had, actually had the election stolen from me. But I don't mind that result, because if I had been elected, I probably never would have met Joan. And then I ran one more time, or earlier, for alderman, as an independent at the age of twenty-one, 1963. So that's enough elected office.

Hild: Where was that aldermanic bid?

- Krone: It was the forty-sixth ward, on the north side of Chicago. Geographically speaking, its now pretty much the forty-fourth ward. I would have represented...
- Hild: What neighborhood is that?
- Krone: Wrigleyville, Lake View. The area that I went to school, LeMoyne Elementary, Lake View High School. I didn't make a big deal over this, but I've been very fortunate in having some really spectacular academic professors, including, when I was at Roosevelt, Sinclair Gregg the sociologist. At Haverford, Jerry Freund in political science, who had among his guests Hans Morgenthau⁷⁴. and Henry Kissinger;⁷⁵ he was an excellent political scientist. Harvey Glickman was an expert on Africa. John Ashmead in English. Guy Davenport in English. At the University of Chicago, Avery Craven. I mentioned, Dan Borstin.
- Hild: So your flirtation with elected office, then, ended in 1973, shortly after it began, after those early things.
- Krone: Yeah. When I was in high school, there were people who were absolutely certain I was going to be President of the United States. What's interesting is, of course, I graduated high school three years before Barack Obama was born. But that makes me feel ancient. If he's elected president, we've elected a president who wasn't born when I graduated from high school.
- Wheeler: (unintelligible)
- Krone: I'm younger than John McCain⁷⁶, yes. And John McCain is younger than Konrad Adenauer⁷⁷. It's funny. I ran into John McCain last August in Aspen. We were both waiting for a plane. I said to him, "You know, you should be more like you were in 2000. Get rid of all the staff and all this raising money. Just be yourself. Go campaign. You'll get free media coverage. They know your name. I think you have a chance to come back and actually become the nominee." He looked me straight in the face and he said, "What are you smoking?" He would deny that today but it's true...what are you smoking. (laughter) I jokingly said to people, "The thing that you have to get about McCain is that it was vintage 2000 that we loved, not vintage 2008." He would have won it had he been, of course Bush won, so of course he would have won. And I think the world would have been different. I don't think that John McCain would have gone into Iraq. He would have cleaned up Afghanistan.
- Hild: Yeah. McCain would have had a whole different group behind him, too.

⁷⁴ Leading twentieth century figure in the study of international politics

⁷⁵ United States Secretary of State 1973 to 1977

⁷⁶ 2008 Republican presidential candidate

⁷⁷ Chancellor of West Germany, 1949 to 1963

Krone: Yep. But this time, he's wrong on the issues and he's also... I said, "There are four reasons why I'd even support Hillary Clinton. And those four reasons are John Paul Stevens, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Stephen Breyer, David Souter and Anthony Kennedy [U. S. Supreme Court Justices]. The Supreme Court decisions that are going to come out in the next ten or twenty years, I don't want them shaped by, even though he's a good scholar, Antonin Scalia scares me and Samuel Alito and Scalia, I call them Scalito, and Thomas and even the nice Mr. John Roberts [Chief Justice]."

Hild: Well, Scalia is University of Chicago.

Krone: Yeah. And it's a funny story. They say despite how intelligent he is, sometimes he lacks good judgment. The story is told of the time that they were out on one of the public tennis courts in Jackson Park and he had his tennis whites and white shoes. There were some kids from the neighborhood playing and they had regular shoes and blue jeans and he told them, "You can't play here. You're not dressed properly." So, but he's still walking around. (Hild laughs) But it wasn't to be believed. You don't tell kids on the south side that they're not dressed properly.

Hild: How are we doing with the list?

Krone: I don't know. (Pause) Oh, my wife put down Vladimir Putin [President of Russia 2000 to the time of this interview].

Hild: Oh, yeah. Let's talk about your relationship, your experience with Vladimir Putin.

Krone: Well, I, put it this way. When Solti went to Russia and Hungary, not Poland, but Eastern Europe in 1990, and I went in December of '90, November, December—because we had Thanksgiving in St. Petersburg—then Leningrad, and one of the people who came to the concert was Anatoly Sobchak, who was Mayor of Leningrad, and he was professor of law, his deputy was Vladimir Putin, who was deputy mayor. At the reception, Solti introduced me to Sobchak and said that I was the person who he should discuss politics with, that everybody else was in music. I was in politics, and the reason I was on the trip was because I was helpful to the symphony getting money from the government. I talked to Sobchak and he asked me if I'd come back, if I'd be willing to come back to Russia, to the Soviet Union, to work on a trade agreement, because they were trying to liberalize their trade to the west. And I said, "I could come back." I said I couldn't come back until March. They said that would be fine. So I went to Leningrad in March and on a daily basis for several weeks worked with Vladimir Putin, who didn't speak English, but we had a translator. I found him to be a very engaging and effective person. Jokingly, because of his very stern demeanor, I said, "Are you a member of

the KGB⁷⁸?” And he said, “Of course not.” And, of course, he was. His German was very good, but I don’t speak German.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Krone: Yeah, right. But I got to know him then and I saw him after he was president once. I haven’t been to Russia in six years.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Krone: Yes. And very pro-western and I’d say pro-democracy but also, obviously, in favor of order and security and was not happy with the way things were going on in terms of selling Russia to opportunists. Interestingly enough, in August of that same year, I went back to Russia and took Joan and James with me. We were at the Astoria Hotel, right across from Sts. Peter and Paul Cathedral, and I got a call from somebody saying that Mikhail Gorbachov⁷⁹ had been arrested down in Crimea. And I thought Holy Moses. You know, this was terrible. Especially, you’ve got your wife and kid. So I went down to the travel agents in the hotel and I gave them a little tip and was able to get tickets to get out; I couldn’t get out that day, but I was able to get out the next day, and we went from Leningrad to Helsinki by train. After we got to Helsinki, we took a boat to go to Stockholm, and while we were on the boat we were watching television, that the regime against Khrushchev had actually collapsed.

Hild: Against Gorbachov.

Krone: Yeah. And Gorbachov was back in power. But it was interesting because the Friday before we were in Leningrad. This happened, I think, on a Sunday or Monday, but the Friday before when we were in Moscow—before we got to Leningrad, we were in Moscow—we saw something I had never seen before or since. There had been heavy rain. When the rain stopped, there was an unbroken double rainbow over the Moscow River in Moscow. Perfect double rainbow, unbroken from one side to the other. A rainbow is a promise, literally, from God, according to the Bible. So I said to Joan, “Good things are going to happen to Russia. Look at that double rainbow.” Then Monday was the arrest. But in a sense, it brought out the decency in the average Russian and the willingness to confront and not go back.

Hild: The commitment to progress. Yeah.

Krone: Uh huh. I think that’s one of the things that President George W. Bush [has missed out on in the last eight years is getting a very effective relationship with Russia. How can you blame them for being unhappy when we now have

⁷⁸ Internal security, intelligence and secret police in the Soviet Union

⁷⁹ General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union 1985-1991

every country on their border part of either NATO⁸⁰ or the European Union? I mean, can you imagine, let alone Cuba, what if Russia had gotten Canada or Mexico or both to join the Warsaw Pact? Can you imagine what this country would have said, not only the Monroe Doctrine, but everything else. I don't know what the future holds, but I have a strange feeling that despite all the tragedy of the present and the past, the future is going to be better if for no other reason than the inexorable progress of mankind based on technical things like the internet, and the fact that, for example, China has such an investment in the United States, including by owning part of our debt, that they need to have us be stable and successful because we drag them down if we don't go, if we don't float. And Russia with its tremendous supply of energy, at least in the short term, has a foothold towards economic progress; that's one of the reasons why I'm so much in favor of Obama because I think that he'll be able to really establish relationships that put the world much, much more at ease.

Hild: Looking back on the things you've been saying here over this time, it seems to me that you have a great deal of faith in a people-to-people kind of approach to the world and for you politics is not merely local, but politics is also very personal, too, on an individual basis.

Krone: Yeah. It's sort of intimate globality. You know, global politics on a personal level and despite the differences in mores or customs, there are so many commonalities and similarities that you note. I remember the last time I was with you and we were in Istanbul, I stayed there one extra day and I went to get a hair cut and a shave and this Turkish barber is telling me, "Are you going to see the game tonight?" I said, "What game?" He said, "Oh, the football game", meaning soccer, "between Greece and Turkey."

Hild: (laughing) Talk about a grudge match.

Krone: I said, "Oh, my goodness." I said, "I certainly hope the Turks win." And he said, "Yes. It's going to be exciting. It starts at 8:00. Make sure you watch it." I said, "Oh, yeah. I'll be cheering." So when it was over, the bill came to like \$2.00, and I didn't have small bills on me, so I gave him the equivalent of say five bucks, and I said, "Keep the change." He said, "Oh, thank you. You're so generous. Are you sure you don't want change?" I said, "No." And I said, "but I have to tell you the truth, I'm really for the Greeks." (Hild laughs) And he said, "You are? Why?" (Hild laughs) I said, "Because I'm from Chicago and there are a lot more Greeks, plus, I go have breakfast at a Greek restaurant and the guy doesn't charge me." And he laughed and he said, "Well, why did you tell me that you were for Turkey?" I said, "Because you had a razor in your hand. I was sitting in your chair." He said, "That's a good reason." (laughter)

Hild: Okay. Let's quit. That's an excellent way to end. (laughter)

⁸⁰ North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Krone: Isn't that funny? That's a good reason.

Wheeler: (unintelligible)

Krone: Yeah. But another story, nothing to do with this, but it's funny. When James was a five or six years old, we were taking a cruise through the Greek Islands and I wanted to get a picture of him with his hand on the steering, you know the wheel.

Wheeler: The helm.

Krone: The helm. So I took him up to the deck and I asked the captain if I could take a picture of James. And he said, "Oh, no, no, no, no." So I said, "Excuse me. When we went through the Dardanelles, you had a Turkish captain steering this ship." He said, "Yes. It's required by Turkish law when you're in Turkish waters and you go through the Dardanelles." I said, "But you could have done it." He said, "Of course I could have done it." I said, "Well, that's a reason why you should let my son hold the steering wheel." He said, "Why?" I said, "Well, if a Turk can steer this ship anybody can." He says, "You're right." (laughter) So I got a picture of James. Those ancient hatreds can be manipulated to anything you want as long as you put them in the context.

(end of transcripts)