

California State Archives  
State Government Oral History Program

Oral History Interview

with

**Kenneth L. Maddy**

California State Assembly Member 1971-1978  
California State Senator 1979-1998

September 14, 1999, September 17, 1999, October 6, 1999,  
October 8, 1999, October 11, 1999, October 18, 1999, October 25, 1999,  
November 17, 1999, November 29, 1999, December 3, 1999, and  
December 30, 1999  
Sacramento, California

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Volume 1

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## INTERVIEW HISTORY

### Interviewer/Editor

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### Interview Time and Place

All interview sessions were conducted in Senator Maddy's downtown Sacramento office at Fleismann/Hillard, with the exception of Session 20 which was conducted at Senator Maddy's office at Russo/Marsh also in downtown Sacramento.

September 14, 1999	Session of two hours
September 17, 1999	Session of two hours
October 6, 1999	Morning session: two hours, Afternoon session: one hour
October 8, 1999	Morning session: two hours, Afternoon session: one hour
October 11, 1999	Morning session: one hour, Afternoon session: one hour
October 18, 1999	Morning session: two hours, Afternoon session: one hour
October 25, 1999	Morning session: two hours, Afternoon session; one hour
November 17, 1999	Session of two hours
November 29, 1999	Morning session: two hours, Afternoon session: one and one half hours
December 3, 1999	Morning session: two hours, Afternoon session: one hour
December 30, 1999	Session of two hours

### Editing

Dr. Seney checked the verbatim manuscript of the interview against the original tape recordings, edited for punctuation, paragraphing and spelling, and verified proper names. Insertions by the editor are bracketed. The interviewer also prepared the introductory materials.

Senator Maddy was able to review the first two sessions of the manuscript. After his death on February 19, 2000, his son, Donald Maddy reviewed the balance of the manuscript on behalf of the family. Only minor changes were made in the manuscript.

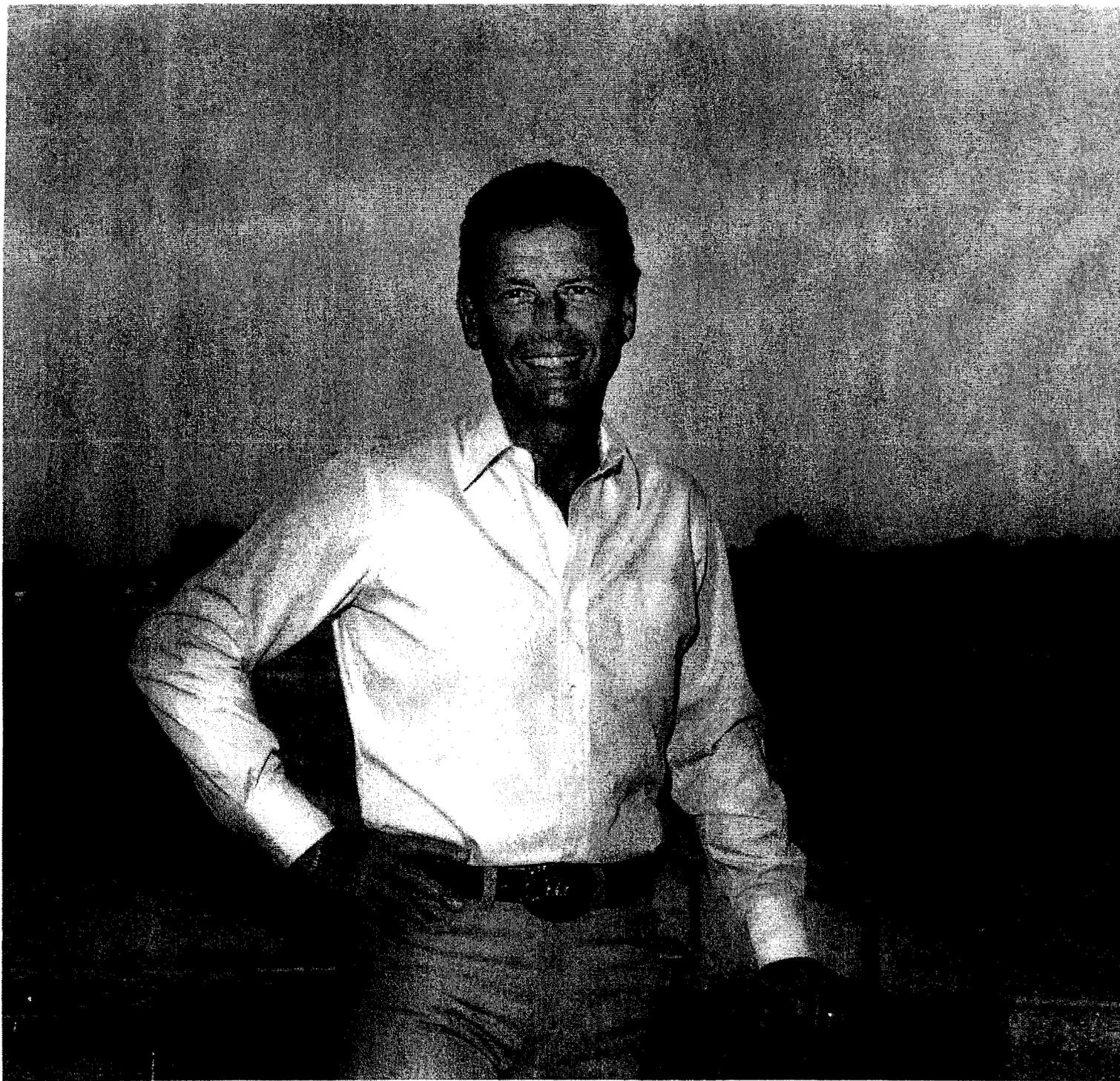
### Papers

Senator Maddy supplied numerous bound volumes papers for the interview to review. These papers are now housed in the Ken Maddy Institute of Politics at California State University, Fresno.

### Tapes and Interview Records

The original tape recordings of the interviews are in the University Archives, The Library, California State University, Sacramento, along with the records relating to the interview. Master tapes are preserved at the California State Archives. There are also copies of the tapes at the Ken Maddy Institute of Politics at California State University, Fresno.





## BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

Kenneth L. Maddy was born in San Monica, California in 1934. He attended local public schools, graduating from Inglewood High School in 1952. At that point his family moved to Fresno, California where Senator Maddy maintained a home and his political base for the remainder of his career. He graduated from California State University, Fresno with a degree in agriculture and 1957, shortly thereafter he fulfilled his Air Force ROTC obligation by serving in the air police. After leaving the service, in 1959, he attended UCLA Law School. He graduated in 1963 and was admitted to the bar that same year. He then returned to the Fresno area to join a law practice of his first wife's father and brother.

Beginning in 1963, through his friend Karney Hodge, he became active in community affairs: he served on the Board of Directors of the Valley Children's Hospital in Fresno, he was a finalist in the Fresno *Bee* volunteer of the Year competition in 1969, he was chairman of the Fresno Urban Coalition from 1968 to 1969, vice president of the Fresno Philharmonic Board, co-chair of a successful Fresno school bond election in 1967, and he served from 1963 to 1967 as a member of the Fresno Economic Opportunity Commission, and during the same period was a member of the Fresno City Parking Authority, and a member of the Fresno Central Business District Coordinating Committee.

All of these activities brought him public recognition and serve to propel him into assembly election in 1970. His election victory was regarded as a real feat because the 32nd Assembly District was only 30.7 percent Republican. But with a clever and energetic campaign he successfully overcame his well-known Democratic opponent in the general election to when with 57 percent of the vote. He was reelected to the Assembly three more times; 1972, 1974 and 1976.

During his years of service in the Assembly he became friends with many Democrats including Democratic Assembly Speakers Bob Morretti and Leo McCarthy. In 1976 Speaker McCarthy appointed him to chair first, the Welfare Committee and then the Assembly Criminal Justice committee. Senator Maddy's quick intelligence, personality, and way of treating others no matter who they were, brought him recognition and influence far beyond that that would have been expected from a Republican Assemblyman elected in an overwhelmingly Democratic district

In 1978, instead of running for reelection to the Assembly he mounted a campaign for Republican nomination for governor. In a four way race between three much better known and financed opponents who came from the more populous areas of the state, Senator Maddy came in third with a very credible showing. And although he never again ran for statewide office, his campaign for governor in 1978 was one of the many things that made Senator Maddy a power to be reckoned with even after he left the state Senate in 1998

In 1979 Senator many ran in the special election replace a well-known Democratic State Senator who had resigned to accept appointment to the State Court of Appeals. He again

faced a very tough opponent in a senate District that was only 30 percent Republican. He won that election with the margin of only 701 votes. In 1982 when he ran for reelection to his Senate seat he had no opponent. In the rest of his campaigns for Senate he either had no opponent or easily defeated the opponent he had.

During his long legislative career he authored 400 bills that were signed into law; that included bills for his district and its special needs and also bills bearing on statewide concerns. Among his long term interests was legislation dealing with horses and horse racing. Senator Maddy had a lifelong love of racetracks and racehorses. His love of horses came from his parents and from working as a hot walker from the age of 16 until he finished college. In all, Senator madly authored 45 bills that have become law on the subject of horse racing, and perhaps his proudest achievement in this regard was the establishment of the California Center for Equine Health and Performance at the University of California at Davis. That's center now bears his name as the Ken Maddy Center for Equine Health and Performance, in recognition of his contributions to horse racing. He considered this bill and the establishment of the Equine Analytical Chemistry Laboratory, also UC Davis, to be his most important and long lasting contributions

He never achieved a position of formal leadership in the Republican Assembly Caucus during his eight years in that body, largely because his colleagues feared that because he was from so overwhelmingly a Democratic district a leadership role would jeopardize his chances for reelection. However, once he entered the Senate things were different. Sixty days after he arrived in the Senate, he became a Republican Caucus Chair. He served in that job until 1982 when the Republican Caucus decided to make a change in leadership. He returned to a leadership position within the caucus in 1986 when he was elected Republican Leader. A position he held for the next eight years and a half years. During his time in the Senate he was the leading Republican in the annual budget negotiations between the leadership of the two houses and the governor. He was recognized as a problem solver and someone who could affect reasonable compromises among his colleagues on both sides of the aisle and as someone who could always deliver the needed Republican Senate votes for any agreement he had made. Democrats and Republicans praised him for his legislative abilities and his personal qualities

In 1987 longtime state Treasurer Jesse Unruh passed away. The appointment of a new treasurer was in the hands of Republican Governor George Dukemejian. Senator Maddy's name was put forward as a possible replacement for Mr. Unruh and until the last minute Senator Maddy thought he had a good chance of receiving that appointment, but it went to someone else. From then on Senator many lost interest in statewide office and concentrated his activities solely on his legislative responsibilities.

Senator Maddy was barred from running for reelection to the Senate in 1998 because of a term limits initiative passed by the voters in 1990. Within a year of his leaving the Senate he was diagnosed with lung cancer and died February 19, 2000. The two years from 1998 to 2000 were spent traveling, socializing with old friends, and dealing with the difficulties and

complications of a very serious illness. Those who knew him say he never lost his positive attitude or his charm and that he never indulged in self pity. He was known then and before as "a class act. "

After 1998 his friends from both sides of the aisle and the Democratic governor seemed to compete in bestowing honors on him. Not only was the Equine Research Center named for him but an Institute Politics was created at Fresno State University in his name. As well, his senate colleagues named the senate lounge the Ken Maddy Lounge, something those who knew said he would have liked very much. His death occasioned an outpouring of grief at the loss of someone who others regarded as a moderate and effective voice in the policies and politics of California.

[Session 1, September 14, 1999]

[Begin Tape 1, Side A]

SENEY: Good morning, Senator.

MADDY: Good morning.

SENEY: Why don't we begin by talking about your family history. As I said on the phone, this is a life history interview, so we want to know about your background, about your parents, and even their parents, if that makes sense.

MADDY: Well, my grandparents I barely knew. My folks both came out here from Oklahoma. My dad was born in Kansas. My mother was born in Oklahoma. My mother is still alive. She's 95 years old. She was born in ought-4, I always tell her, 1904. My dad was born in 1901.

SENEY: In those days they weren't always sure.

MADDY: That's right, they were not always sure. But they came to California in the '20s. I have an older brother, who's now deceased, who was born in 1924.

SENEY: What was his name?

MADDY: His name was Lloyd Maddy. Lloyd Elmer Maddy. My mother always said that my dad did two things: He insisted on naming my brother and I in some fashion, I think reflective of Oklahoma. He was Lloyd Elmer and I was Kenneth Leon. You don't see a lot of Leons and you don't see a lot

of Elmers in California. But I was born in 1934, my sister in '37. But they moved to California. All my grandparents I think were alive when I was born, but I don't ever recall seeing the Maddy side. I saw my grandmother one time, I think, in Oklahoma when I was very young.

My mother's side, both my grandfather and grandmother, also came to California at some point in time. Both lived to be 93 years old.

Both of my parents came from large families. My dad had several brothers and sisters, of which I only, I think, knew one or two of them. Because they were both on the younger side: My mother, I think, was the second youngest of nine or ten kids, and my father was one of the youngest of I'm not sure how many kids on his side.

My dad had an 8th grade education. My mother had a 12th grade education. That was only important in the sense that I was the first one to go to college in my family, as we always said. Education was not greatly important to my dad. He was in construction. Actually, he was a salesman prior to World War II, selling building materials, and when the war broke out he was too old to go in the service.

My brother was just right at 18. He graduated from Dorsey High School in Los Angeles -- we lived in Los Angeles -- and he went into the war. My dad worked in the shipyards, my mother worked at Douglas Aircraft. So they both were sort of typical of families at that time during the war.

In terms of the grandparents, I said both of them lived to be 93. My grandparents on my mother's side lived in Tustin, California. So when I was young, a common weekend -- I mean, I'm just trying to think of when I grew up. Every Sunday we'd get in our car -- we lived in Inglewood, the Inglewood in the Los Angeles area -- and we'd drive down Firestone Boulevard to Tustin, California. Huge, horrendous long drive.

SENEY: All the way down Firestone?

MADDY: All the way down Firestone, no freeways, because my granddad and grandma lived on this little street in Tustin. I had two aunts who lived on the same street, my mother's two sisters, and one of my mother's brothers. So this whole family got together in what I thought was a large house, but during the campaign in '78 I went to see it, and it was about as small a place as you can imagine. I only recall it because it was always so hot there. It was the last house on the end of a street on an orange grove.

My granddad was retired and I just remember was very tall.

SENEY: What had he done?

MADDY: He had been a farmer and had retired. I don't know when he retired. I never knew that he worked. I mean, he always was retired. My mother said he sold the farms in Oklahoma sometime in either the '20s or '30s and came to California. My grandmother, you know, they just lived and had the kids.

I had one aunt that was younger than my mother and then all the rest

of them are older. In fact, I think one aunt was a school teacher in Enid, Oklahoma when my dad came to town. What's significant about that is my dad left home at a young age and went to work in the oil fields, and my mother said when he came to town, in order to try to do something in education, he would get -- I guess that's maybe how she met him -- that he would come to that 8th grade class, which was the oldest class, and try to study and try to attend classes.

SENEY: As an adult.

MADDY: As an adult, yes. As a young adult. Because they married. I'm not sure how old they were when they married. Let's see, I think they were married in '23, and so in '24 she'd have been 20. So she had to be married at 18 or so.

SENEY: Was your grandfather's family in the Oklahoma Land Rush?

MADDY: You know, I don't know. I don't think so. My mother never talked much about it. They never owned oil. They never got lucky, I know that.

SENEY: Well, there wasn't much around Enid, I don't think, in Vinita and Big Cabin and that part of Oklahoma.

MADDY: Yes. You know, my recollection of Oklahoma is just those trips back. At the summertime, we would occasionally go back, and my dad had one brother in Texas, because I know he always took a suitcase full of booze because wherever the King Ranch was, down towards the border of Mexico -- he had a brother that I know he would fill up because--

SENEY: Was it a dry county?

MADDY: A dry county. That was his favorite gift he would bring is the booze.

SENEY: Do you know where the Maddy name came from?

MADDY: Interestingly, there's a book that has been written on the Maddy side by one of my dad's aunts, a great aunt, who was a maiden aunt -- Olive Maddy. My grandfather, Sylvester Harvey Maddy, had started to research the Maddy name, and apparently what they've concluded is that everyone with the name M-A-D-D-Y is related in some way. And they have now followed that book up. I've got a couple of copies; I should have probably thought to bring those. But all of the people with the name of Maddy are descendants of someone who came here -- I think I'm the fifth generation Maddy in my level -- that was an M-A-D-D-E-Y, and he changed his name to M-A-D-D-Y. And so the theory was in this book that every descendent from that individual were [related].<sup>1</sup>

SENEY: Were they English?

MADDY: English, a little bit of Irish, but basically English. They've tried to trace every Maddy in the country. To tell you the significance of the Maddy names, I think I have more pages than anybody else. So it tells you there's not been a whole lot.

SENEY: Well, don't be so modest.

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, material in brackets was inserted by editor.

MADDY: No, no. But in any event, the name Maddy was English related. And I have corresponded, particularly during the time I ran for Governor and so on, with these folks who wrote and amended that book and brought it up to date, so to speak -- it had to be in the '80s -- corresponded with me to some degree. But the name Maddy, as I say, I knew them less. My Uncle George Maddy, who was my dad's youngest brother, lived with us for a while out here, but he died many years ago. My dad was killed in an auto accident in 1954 when I was 20, and so it's been a long time since the Maddy family has been around.

I'm much closer to the -- my mother was German. Balzer was her maiden name, B-A-L-Z-E-R. I forget my grandmother's maiden name but it was also German. But they had been here for some time. My granddad, I think he was born prior to 1860. I'm not sure when he was born, but he lived to be 93.

SENEY: Was born here, do you think?

MADDY: Born here. No, he was born here in this country.

SENEY: What took your family to Los Angeles?

MADDY: You know, I think my dad was just that way. He wanted to do something. I have a granddaughter who, for whatever reason, she decided to -- I know the reason -- she's a swimmer and she decided to go to Bloomsburg College in Pennsylvania.

SENEY: Tell us her name, by the way.

MADDY: Her name is Janelle. Janelle Hose. H-O-S-E. They live here in Sacramento. She just graduated and she just started school at Bloomsburg College in Pennsylvania. And so when she came over to tell me that she was going to do this -- I had set up a little fund for all the kids, for my grandkids -- and she had a question about whether she had access to that fund and so on. Of course, I said, "Why in the world are you going that far away from home?" Well, she wanted to go away from home.

Well, the point of the story I wanted to make about my mother was my mother was the most sympathetic because she said, "I know how she's going to feel." She said, "When I left Oklahoma to come to California for your dad to find work, I'd never been away from home." She said, "I can remember it to this day." She says that at 95, and she's not very talkative or a person that you would think--

SENEY: Demonstrative?

MADDY: Demonstrative person, yes. Not very demonstrative at all. But I said, "Well, Mom, you ought to write Janelle a little note."

She said, "Well, I'm going to do that," to let her know--

SENEY: She could understand.

MADDY: Understand what it's like to be that far away from home. But I think my dad was just that kind of guy. She said he was the kind of individual that was -- he was bold, he fought with his dad, he left home early and wanted to support himself, and he did from about the 8th grade, working in the oil

fields.

He would have loved my being in politics. Unfortunately, he died before that.

But he said he loved being a salesman, he loved people, and so he came out here and started selling building material products. I'm not sure whether that was his first job, but I know that was what he was doing into the '30s when I was around.

SENEY: Do you think you got some of your personality from him?

MADDY: Well, my mother is very, very quiet. My brother and sister are quiet. Introverted. I think there's a lot of my mother in me too. As my dad said, "I love to walk into a room, and when I walk out everybody will know who I am and I'll know everybody in the room." That's not me. But I think the more outgoing part of me is from my father. He did everything. I mean, he drank too much, he gambled too much, he worked too much. He did everything to excess. He was a goer. That was him.

As I said, he would have loved being around when I was doing what I did.

SENEY: I take it, they came out in the '20s then.

MADDY: My brother was born in '24 and he was born here in California. I think they came here just before he was born, '22 or something like that.

SENEY: And then subsequently your mother's father and a couple of sisters and brother moved out West here.

MADDY: They all came out here, right. She came out here alone. They were the first to come out.

SENEY: She must have written glowing letters back about how wonderful California was?

MADDY: I don't know. She never talks much about this. The closest she ever came was this expression when Janelle left: she knows what it's like to be away from home.

And, of course, I remember those trips back to Oklahoma. I mean, those were long. Highway 66, you know, and riding in that car, it was a long trip.

SENEY: No air conditioning.

MADDY: And no air conditioning. And you didn't go back very often. I mean, they went back in the summertimes. But by the time I was little, by '34, as I say, every weekend, that was our trek down to Tustin, and all the gang would get together. My granddad would -- when I finally got old enough to play in the game, whatever the game was -- it was High/Low Jick Jack - - you won points by the Joker--

SENEY: A card game.

MADDY: Yes, a card game. All the men would sit around and play cards, and some of the women.

But my folks were working people. He sold building materials and then they both went into the shipyards and aircraft factory. And then

when the war finished, towards the end of the war, obviously the boon in California was to build houses. If you were a contractor and you had materials, opportunities were unlimited.

Well, his old contacts that he had from the building material days, he and a friend of the family -- a guy named Bill Foster -- began a plastering contractor's business. He was all like Cost Plus. I mean, he had the best access to building materials and plastering materials, so they started a plastering contractor's business. He carried hod. He was a little guy -- he was only about 5'10" or something, about 145 pounds -- and he carried hod and Foster was a plasterer.

In those days we had one crew, another plasterer, so there's two plasterers and my dad, and then we had a black crew. In those days everything was separate because I can always remember it, Big Eddy he was the hod carrier for the other crew.

SENEY: Big Eddy?

MADDY: Big Eddy. He was a black hod carrier, and then the other two plasterers. And that was the first time he ever really made any money. It was by 1948. I remember, because he used to joke about his counterparts from Oklahoma as being "Okie rich." I know the first \$5,000 he ever got together he bought a 1946 Fleetwood Cadillac. And so only later in life I could say, you know, you talk about Okie rich.

Well, the second \$5,000, he bought -- I mean, my folks loved

gambling. They loved to play cards and they loved the horseracing. So my love of the horseracing game -- I can remember going to the races all my life. Of course, it was shut down during the war, but I have a little memory of pre-war. But from 1944/45 when the racing started again, every Saturday that's what we did, we went to the horse races. By that time we had -- well, hadn't moved to Inglewood yet, but we were close enough to either go to Santa Anita or Hollywood Park and the summertimes an occasional trip to Del Mar.

The point is, in 1948, the second \$5,000, he bought a racehorse. And so the great love of horseracing began. And the horse won it's first time we ran it. I still have a photograph of that first win. We were all bitten, the whole family was bitten, with the horseracing bug.

SENEY: I'll bet.

MADDY: But as I say, [we were] working people.

SENEY: Was that profitable for him, by the way, do you think?

MADDY: The horseracing business was the same as it is today. I mean, I've got horses, and it's mostly outgo. It's the great love of the sport. It's pretty hard to make any money at it. He was not the right guy to be in the game, but they loved it so much that he and this guy Bill Foster bought some horses and got in the game. He was killed in '54, so it was only a six-year period that we had some horses. The first summer I could work away from the construction, which I hated, I went to work at the racetrack when

I was 16, working on the backstretch.

But the folks, they had a group of old Oklahoma friends. My mother is the last; there're none of them left anymore. On Wednesdays and Saturday nights, they'd play penny ante poker in somebody's home. So we as kids, I can remember vividly, Wednesday and Saturday nights we would go over and we'd sit around and go to sleep at the house and then be awakened and get back in the car and drive home. That was their recreation. They essentially ran with folks that loved to play, almost all of them were from Oklahoma, penny ante poker and then go to the races on Saturday afternoon. That was really the recreation that we had.

My dad was not very interested in education necessarily. It was all I could do to go to college. And my brother, when he got out of the service, it was a tragedy because he should have gone on but my dad had taught us both -- well, my brother went in the war when he was 18. He had left home -- my dad and he didn't get along -- so he was up in [Las] Vegas working in construction with another friend of my dad's, and when the war broke out he went right in the Navy. And when he came out, instead of going into college or anything, my dad had already taught him how to plaster, the same as I did.

I had an apprentice plastering license when I was 16 years old, the last summer I worked on the jobs. But my brother went to work with my dad. I always say it was a tragedy because he should have gone on to

college. He was a bright guy and should have done that instead of what he did, which is staying in the construction game, because it got much tougher after that. And I was lucky to go to college, only because he really thought he'd given me the ultimate tool, which was the plastering.

SENEY: A good trade.

MADDY: A good trade, yes.

SENEY: What do you remember about school? You must have started about 1940, I would think.

MADDY: I was born in Santa Monica. When I ran for Governor in '78 I went down there one time and I was speaking in the Santa Monica area and I said, "I was born here in Santa Monica." Of course, you throw a little piece in that would be attractive.

And one guy said, "Well, where?"

And I said, "Well, I forget the name of the hospital."

"Well, where'd you live?"

And I said, "On Federal Avenue." And I said, "Right below Santa Monica Boulevard," which is now one block from the freeway.

He said, "Son, that's not Santa Monica." He said, "That's West Los Angeles."

Big difference. Big difference. That was the poorer part of that area. We lived right off of Federal Avenue. I went to school there, I think kindergarten, and then in '35 he built -- no, it had to be '37 because I

didn't go to school there at all, I couldn't have, because in '37 he built a house in Windsor Hills, which is right off of Slauson Boulevard. All those areas I lived in Los Angeles are essentially now African-American areas, they're all black areas, but Windsor Hills was the nicest home we ever had. He had built that, I think it was in '37. And so I went to school at 54th Street School between there and the fourth grade.

And one of the great masterful strokes, my mother laughs about it in a way, my dad was able to sell the house that he built for \$5,000 -- it was a very nice home -- [he sold it] for \$11,000, and he thought he could move back into the place -- he had a rental, a little house on Federal Avenue he had owned -- but there was rent control, so we could not get that house back and he had to go buy another house. Well, we ended up at 68th and Western, which is right now really in the depth of the Los Angeles area, and we had a little two bedroom house with one bath. We had an icebox, an ice icebox. You know, we had to dump the water.

I went to school then at Raymond Avenue. It was only funny because two or three of the legislators, the black legislators, are all from Raymond Avenue now. They said, "What were you doing in that school?"

I said, "Well," in whatever year it was, "I had to start school at 5 years old, from '34-'39." When I started school it was all low-income white.

I had a good time. I mean, I was good in school. I was very good in

school. At Raymond Avenue, at the 4th grade, I was in what they called an opportunity room, 4th, 5th, and 6th grade. The experiment then was just recycle them. It's the same stuff you see today. Opportunity room, or whatever they call it now, in which we were supposed to write poetry and do things that were creative and so on.

SENEY: Gifted program.

MADDY: Gifted program, right. Oh, much later on at UCLA [University of California at Los Angeles] Law, I ran into a bunch of kids that were from the same program. All of us turned out to be pretty bad students because we were so lackadaisical and made it so easy in grammar school. By the time we went on to high school we didn't do as well. But then it was interesting only because a lot of us were back at -- after having served in the military, back going to school, finally coming back to ourselves.

But we moved right after that.

SENEY: Let me ask you what memories you have of World War II.

MADDY: My brother was in, and so we had the star in the window. I can remember that at 68th Street. Basically, he was gone in the South Pacific almost all the time. He came home maybe once or twice, that I recall. My mother and he had a code and she had a map on the wall in which she would follow it, whatever the code was. They wrote to each other and he would in some fashion tell her essentially where he was, so she would keep track of it. I recall that. And then everything just centered around him. We

followed the war.

My mother has always been very intelligent. My dad just worked hard. My mother would read a lot and insisted -- when you mentioned about school -- insisted we do well in school. In fact, it's only coincidental but I guess Sunday, my oldest daughter, whose daughter when to college, she has a son who is a sophomore at school here at McClatchy High School, and came over to tell me that she wanted me to talk to my grandson because he had got booted off the water polo team. He's a good swimmer. In fact, the granddaughter who went back to Bloomsburg, that's why she went. She's a good swimmer. She's not Division 1 but she got a scholarship to go back there, and she sought this out herself. She was smart enough. She knows she can't swim Division 1, so this is a Division 2 school, which really impressed me. Suddenly, you got a little kid who's your grandchild and then one day they intelligently sit down and tell you why they're making these decisions. It was interesting.

But my mother was there on Sunday when my daughter was telling us about that, and my mother didn't say much for quite a while, and then she said, "Well, what about his report card?"

And she said, "Well, we didn't see his report card."

She said, "What do you mean you didn't see his report card?" She said, "He had to bring a report card home."

And so, I mean, I cut in because I knew my mother wasn't being critical, she was asking a question. I said, "Well, they were probably all wrapped up in Janelle going away to school."

And my mother said, "Well, I knew when report card time was and I never missed a report card."

Which was absolutely true. I mean, you could have -- like I'd have mostly A's, but if I had a B, the question was never about what I did with the A's, the question was why the B's were there. And so my daughter got a little lesson from her great grandmother saying, you know, what in the world's going on here? But she was very careful about the school and -- I lost the train of thought here.

SENEY: Well, you were saying that you were in the gifted program and your mother was the one who encouraged it.

MADDY: Right, pushed education. My dad just wouldn't take any excuses. I mean, you didn't miss school, you didn't mess up. There was always the threat that he was going to be called in, although he was rarely called in. He was the threat my mother would always hold out.

SENEY: He was the hammer.

MADDY: He was the hammer.

Then I was athletic, so I played a lot of sports all through grammar school. I was always reasonably good in sports. We moved at the 6th grade. We moved to Inglewood and got out of that little house at 68th and

Western and moved to Morningside Park, Manchester and Crenshaw. I went to Crozier Intermediate School and then went to Inglewood High School. And so I spent my high school years there.

And you were talking about the war -- let's go back to the war thing. Basically, we centered about the war was following my brother, and they had the little code. And he would come home; we saw him home a couple of times. And my brother was a very handsome guy, very good looking guy. And so all during the war we followed, in that context, where he was, what was going on. He was on an LST [Landing Ship Tank], a landing craft, so he was involved in all of the landings but not the point to where he ever faced combat.

He was very low key and didn't ever come back and tell us a lot of stories about the war. Of course, we were kids; we'd ask him questions. He was a motor machinist's mate, so he stayed down below. And I kept saying, "Didn't you ever go up on top and watch?"

He said, "Why? They're shooting up there. No, I stayed down below." They'd been torpedoed a couple of times but never hit.

So it was sort of uneventful except for the fact he was gone for so long, and then when he finally came home, that was towards the end of the war.

At my age, you knew it. You know, you hated the Japanese, you hated the Germans. Other than that, and watch the war movies. And

that's about it at that stage.

SENEY: Were there any Japanese kids in your school who disappeared in December '41?

MADDY: No. The home we lived in, in Santa Monica, which I lived there a couple of years, I guess, before I moved to Windsor Hills--

SENEY: This was actually the home in West Los Angeles.

MADDY: Yes, West Los Angeles. That area was all Japanese, but I have no memory of being around Japanese kids. At the time I moved to Windsor Hills, which is now black, there were no blacks. Obviously, it was all white. Even though the schools I went to are all now, almost a hundred percent, minority schools, there were no minorities in all the times I was there. In fact, a group of us were talking about Inglewood High School. In fact, a friend of mine, a buddy of mine from high school lives up here not too far away, [he] talked to me yesterday. We were just recounting the days at school because we were talking about how big the kids -- he played football, too, at Inglewood -- that we did not have a single minority that we can recall during the time I went to school. I had no influence. I mean, I had no recollection of the Japanese situation.

SENEY: Were you aware that the racetracks were used as a place to gather the Japanese?

MADDY: Only afterwards. Yes, that was Santa Anita and all these guys I've talked to since that time.

SENEY: What about high school? What are your memories of intermediate and high school?

MADDY: I was more of a student in 7th and 8th grade and played all the sports available. Sports were a big thing in my life because I was good at it and I was a good student. When I started Inglewood High School, I played baseball, and then, of course, the big sport was football in those days, and so I started playing football as a sophomore at Inglewood High School.

SENEY: Did you play first string?

MADDY: Yes, I played first string.

SENEY: What position?

MADDY: I was a tackle. I finally got to be 185, but a 180-pound tackle. And was the acting captain on the team. Did a lot of that. I was president of the Big I Club -- the Big I was the lettermen's club -- in my senior year.

Basically it was good times. High school was a good time for me. It was a great time. I didn't date much. Didn't date much until my last year. My brother, who was so handsome, had women from day one, would always rag about the fact that I was a little slow. He said, "Where are the girls?"

I was kind of heavysset and had kinky, curly hair. This is the way it was more than -- since it fell out because of chemotherapy, it's come back in more like it used to be.

SENEY: It is kind of wavy.

MADDY: Oh, this used to be the whole head was just kinky curly.

SENEY: How'd you get rid of that? Just time?

MADDY: Just time. Yes, time and the blow dryers and stuff, so it worked it out. But now that it's come back in after the chemo, this is the way it used to be.

SENEY: I like it.

MADDY: Yes, so do my friends. They all say it's better.

[End Tape 1, Side A]

[Begin Tape 1, Side B]

SENEY: You were saying that when you were in high school you were kind of pudgy and kinky-haired, and as I was saying, looking at you today no one would think that.

MADDY: A big transition. I had worked in construction, and by the time I got to be a sophomore I weighed almost 200 pounds. The only time I ever got above 200, I think I weighed 205. And that year I convinced my dad that I didn't want to work construction. I hated to work in construction. I hated being dirty. I worked helping him on the construction job. I wanted to go work at the racetrack, because in '48 he had gotten this horse and I loved going out to the barns and loved working with the horses. So I talked to our trainer and he said if you want to work during the summer come out.

We lived right behind the racetrack in Hollywood Park, and so that's where they raced in June of 1950, and I went out and got a license, what

they call a “hot walker.” The guy who, after a horse works out in the morning, you walk the horse and cool him off. They now have automatic walkers, but in those days--

SENEY: Oh, really? They have something they hook them to?

MADDY: They hook them to and now they walk around. But in those days we walked a horse. “Cooled the horse out” is what they called it. You walked them for 30 minutes after they galloped so that they kind of cooled themselves out and quit sweating and then you brushed them off and put them in the stalls.

SENEY: You needed a license for this.

MADDY: I got a license.

SENEY: From?

MADDY: From Hollywood Park, from the Horseracing Board, as long as you were 16. They had a dormitory then for kids -- they don't have it anymore -- or I was close enough at home so I could ride -- I had a motor scooter I could ride back and forth. So I started working at the racetrack. I worked part of that year, that June, and then in July every summer they'd go to Del Mar. So I convinced my mom that I could work at the track, sleep in the tack rooms where the grooms slept, over the barns, and go down to Del Mar.

It was the first time I was away from home, and that year at spring practice, I'll never forget it -- I was playing tackle, up to 200 pounds --

and I wasn't up to 200 pounds the way you should be, which was from working out with weights and so on. I was just getting fat. And I went to Del Mar and I came back in September to report for football practice and I weighed 175 pounds. I'd lost all that weight from staying up late and being the first time away from home. It wasn't drinking or anything like that. I wasn't doing real bad things but I was doing everything I could -- staying awake. I was just having the ball of my life staying away from home.

SENEY: Your mother must have cooked German style, I would think. A lot of potatoes.

MADDY: No, she was just all-American style of meat and potatoes.

SENEY: Big portions.

MADDY: Casseroles, big portions, all those. She always kept her weight. My dad was real little. So it wasn't a tendency. I just was the only one. My brother, I don't think, ever got above 170 pounds. He was small, but I was getting fat not doing enough exercise, even though I was athletic. But I came back at 175 pounds and built back up to 180.

But that first summer was the experience of my life. I loved it, loved being at the track, loved being on my own.

SENEY: Let's talk about that a little because when I came in this morning you mentioned you had just come back from Kentucky where you had received an important award. This has been a life-long interest of yours.

MADDY: Right. My folks loved it. Their principal, I guess, avocation, hobby, and so on, was horseracing. They fulfilled a dream in '48 when they were able to get a horse. They never had more than two horses that they ran. We were fairly lucky, not real lucky. And so at 16 I went to work at the racetrack and I worked every summer.

SENEY: Did it appeal to you right away?

MADDY: I just loved it. I loved being around the horses. I basically have never liked Saturdays and Sundays. I prefer working every day. I like doing something all the time. I never have enjoyed just sitting around. So the racetrack is every day something new. Every day you wake up and go down and the horses are changing, something is happening different. You're getting ready for this next race. I mean, I love the atmosphere. I liked the fun and excitement that was there.

SENEY: Did you see that you had a feel for the animals? Some people get along with animals and some don't.

MADDY: I got along pretty good. I never rode. More because as my sister would say, I never liked to do anything I couldn't do well. If I could have practiced riding without anybody seeing me, I probably would have tried to ride. But I was too heavy to be an exercise rider or anything like that. There was no reason for me to ride. But I got along fine with the horses and had a decent feel for them.

It influenced my life to the extent that part of my dad not necessarily

caring for education that I worked the two summers. Well, let's see, at 16 I might have worked three summers before I left high school. When I decided what I was doing do -- of course, the Korean War had popped out by that time. I actually had an academic football scholarship to Stanford. It was proposed to me and my dad just said, "No, you can't do that." I mean, we couldn't afford it.

By that time he had gotten into trouble financially in the construction business. And in the middle of my senior year in high school, he had moved up to Fresno as a result of a friend of his offering him a job. His own construction work, he was finishing up some homes down in L.A. and left my brother with those, which were all losers. My dad and my brother stayed on and finished those jobs. And so then he moved up to Fresno, and the question was what we were going to do. And my mother was willing to wait until the summertime until my sister, who was three years younger -- she was in high school, had just started high school at Morningside High as a freshman -- then we were all going to move up and I was going to be a senior.

I wanted to go to college, wanted to take the Stanford scholarship because I was a decent football player. I wasn't good but I was, I think it was, runner up All League as a tackle, and so on. In those days you could play at my weight. So the guy he went to work for up in Fresno went out to Fresno State, and they said, "Well, they'll offer you a scholarship up

here. You can at least get on the team scholarship and get on the training table and they'll try you out at Fresno State College." And so that was how I went to Fresno State and why I moved to Fresno. My folks were going to move there anyway.

But the other allure that allured me up there was the fact that they had an agricultural school. So by this time I was so enthralled with the racing game that when they had an agricultural school, I could come up and become an ag major. And of course, the other consideration was do you want to go to Korea, and the answer was signing up for ROTC [Reserve Officer Training Corps]. So I came up and tried out.

SENEY: It got you a deferment.

MADDY: Yes. I tried out for football, and of course, that was mandatory. The coach on the football team -- everybody that came out for football automatically had to sign up for ROTC. He didn't want to lose his team. So we all were signed up for ROTC and I made the team as a freshman at Fresno State. In fact, made the varsity and played third string tackle in 1952.

As I say, the horseracing, and became an ag major which was, I found out much later, was absolutely totally useless for me. I had absolutely no reason to do it.

SENEY: Did it not give you some bona fides in politics with the agricultural interests perhaps?

MADDY: Where it came back to reward me was in 1970 when I ran [for the Assembly], because being an ag major from Fresno was the big attraction, even though I was not anywhere close to being a farmer. But I took all the courses. They were relatively easy courses to take and so on.

But as I say, the horseracing game, and I really had sort of dreams of going back to the track in some fashion.

SENEY: Did you work again at the track when you went to Fresno?

MADDY: For two years in high school, and then when I went to Fresno State every summer I'd go back and work at the tracks.

SENEY: Go back to Southern California and work.

MADDY: Right. So I worked every summer from age 16 until I graduated from college in 1957.

SENEY: You mentioned that first year when you went down to Del Mar for, I guess, the July session and managed to trim down 25 pounds through, I expect, carousing and staying up late and not eating properly and doing all the things you do as soon as you get out from under parental gaze.

MADDY: Exactly right.

SENEY: And then you go back in the summers. Obviously, you're on your own then. You have a nice smile on your face, Senator.

MADDY: Yes, it was good times.

SENEY: Talk about that. What is the culture like of the jockeys and the tack people and the ones like yourself? What goes on?

MADDY: It almost always is the love of the sport. I mean, the people behind there, you run into a wide range of people. It's changed a little bit because almost all of the backstretch people today are Mexicans, illegal or legal. They try to cull out the illegals. But in my day it was sort of unspoken but generally said among people that the Mexicans were not good grooms. In the early '50s, a trainer would have an all-black working crew or they'd be all white. They'd all be young guys. In fact, a good number of the trainers that are around today, the older ones, are all guys that were working around the track just like I was. I mean, you come and you start by walking the horses and then you move to a groom and then try to be an assistant trainer, and then either go on to be a veterinarian or you become a trainer or something of that nature. But it's a great love of the game. It's never paid much. Didn't have to work real hard but you got up every morning at 4:30 to feed the horses and you worked all morning. When the afternoon came you raced your horses. But it was a lot of thrill and excitement. I don't know, there's something about it.

It's funny, this guy, Frank Stronach, back in Kentucky, he was the host at his ranch. This is the guy from Canada who bought Santa Anita Racetrack and he's a very wealthy guy.

SENEY: Whom you just visited.

MADDY: Just visiting, yes. He made a statement the other day at this meeting and it's basically true. He said anybody who's been around the races who

loves horses I like. And it's really true. Whatever it is, they're just good people. I mean, you just have a good time. I loved going. They'd always try to hold a job for me in some fashion. I'd go back and we just had fun.

SENEY: What's the relationship between, as you stated, the backstretch people and the ones who own the horses and the ones who gamble on the horses? Any connection between those people?

MADDY: The fans who just gamble on the horses have very little knowledge or recognition of the people who work on the backstretch. The owners of the horses depend a great deal on the people who take care of the horses. I found that most owners really like to come back to the backstretch. The best part of the day for me when I'm out at the races is to go in the morning and watch the training activities and watch the horses being cooled out and to be back there with the guys who are taking care of the horses. That's what's fun. Like when I go down to Del Mar, I get up every morning early and go out to the track at seven and watch the training.

SENEY: A lot of the owners will do that.

MADDY: A lot of owners do that because that's the fun part. That's the part that you get the feel for the horse training and you kind of fall in love with the horses and the whole activity. So there's a relationship between the people who work on the backstretch and the people who are involved generally with the game.

There's just a certain atmosphere, and there's always the hope. I mean, everybody, I don't care how bad you're doing, you rarely use the word "won" -- "I won a race." You always say, "I win a race. I win two last year. I win three races last year." I mean, it's sort of an expression. I don't know why it is that people don't want to use the word "won," as it was past tense, but there's certain expressions. And the question would be, "Are you doing any good?"

People call me Kenny; it's the only place they ever call me Kenny. But I used to remark about the fact that I'd leave, go back to school, come back in July and I'd be back at the track and I'd walk by somebody. It would not be the normal thing: you'd go over and give a hug or shake hands and say, "I haven't seen you for a year." It'd be you walk by and the guy says, "Who do you like today? Have you got a winner today? Who do you like today?" That's the way the racetrack goes.

SENEY: As if you were there yesterday.

MADDY: Yes. And I can go by and "Hey, Kenny. Do you like anything today?" I've been gone for a year. I can go now. I go back now and the same thing, the same guys, you know, some of the guys, "Hey, Kenny, what's going on? I read about you." Now they say a little bit more obviously. They say, "I read about you."

But it's hard to explain. Just a real love game.

SENEY: I think you're explaining it well.

MADDY: It's the love of the game.

SENEY: I wish the tape would capture the look on your face because your face is very bright, you're smiling, your eyes are bright. I mean, obviously this means a great deal personally to you.

MADDY: It does. There's a fellow who just recently got into the game in a big way and bought some horses, a very wealthy guy, and I had run into him. He saw me this last summer and he says, "You know why I'm in the game?"

I said, "No."

He said, "Well, when I first met you, that night we had dinner, you and John Harris talked about the two years or three years that you ran horses." I had a champion horse called Work the Crowd who was California Champion Filly as a two-year-old. John and I owned her. We bred her. We had the mare, John had the stallion. We bred her, raised her.

SENEY: So it was 50/50 then.

MADDY: Yes, 50/50. We raised her and she was Champion two-year-old filly, Champion three-year-old filly, and then in her fourth year she was Champion Turf Horse of California. Won a lot. I won \$640,000 and we raced her all around the country.

And so I was telling this guy about this experience and how much fun we had and traveling to Chicago when we won the big stakes at Arlington Park in Chicago, and I went through that whole thing. He said - only reflecting what you said -- he said, "You were so enthralled about

it.” He said, “Anything that’s that much fun I’ve got to do.” He was a gambler, he liked to gamble on the horses. He said, “I just figure I have to be doing what you’re doing.” Of course, he’s still waiting to get the good horse to do what we did. But there’s no doubt I love every minute of it.

SENEY: Can someone like that, who gets in at that point, get the kind of feeling for it that you have, do you think?

MADDY: I think that it takes a little while, but I find just a whole lot of people -- when I ran for Governor, it was amazing. I got a lot of support from people for the simple reason -- I mean, they’d just say, “Anybody who loves the horse game, I love. You’ve got to be good, otherwise you wouldn’t be able to sit down and talk about the horses.” I got a lot of support from people because the horseracing game is a game for people with money.

SENEY: Right. When you say “support,” you mean contributions.

MADDY: Yes, contributions, and just endorsements and so on. It was key to a lot of people. So I really enjoyed it and still do. I never have lost the fun I’ve had with it.

SENEY: In the, I think, ’98 article on you in the *California Journal*,<sup>1</sup> there’s a picture you supplied of you looking lovingly at the horse Working the Crowd. Work the Crowd, I’m sorry. Is that the correct name?

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. XXIX, No. 11, November 1998, p. 24.

MADDY: Yes, Work the Crowd is her name.

SENEY: But you're looking upon this horse with great affection, there's no question.

MADDY: Yes, she's something else.

SENEY: That's the best moneymaker you've ever had?

MADDY: That's the best one I ever had, yes.

SENEY: That's a lot of money, \$640,000.

MADDY: Yes, that's a lot of money.

SENEY: Does that kind of put you even on the game?

MADDY: Well, I don't know if we're even. We're close. Yes, because we had very little invested in her. We owned the mare. We only paid \$6,000 for the mare and the breeding was free because John had the stallion. We haven't had any of her babies yet run but we have a two-year-old, a yearling, and a weanling, and she's back in foal. Every one of them look good. They've got her attitude and so we're looking for great things. Hopefully we'll be successful.

SENEY: That's important in a horse, isn't it? attitude.

MADDY: Everything's attitude. There's an undefinable thing. You can take the best stallion in the country, breed it to the best mare in the country, and get zero. They have all the breeding but they don't have what is referred to in the horseracing game as "heart." And nobody can understand the issue of heart, what it is: why one will just have the desire and the ability to just

do something the other horses can't do. You can't see it in them. You've got to wait until they run. You can't look them in the eye. You can't look at their confirmation.

SENEY: Confirmation would be their musculature?

MADDY: Yes. And how straight their legs are, how they move. All those things are important. Blood lines are important. Their confirmation is important. How they move is important. When you get all those things over with and you put them in a race, then heart, or whatever it is. The thing you can't put your finger on is the determining factor. And sometimes you get a horse and they pass it. Seattle Slew is a famous stallion now. They paid very little money for him originally but he just had this quality. In fact, I saw him back in Kentucky. He's 23 years old, or 25 years old, and he covered 82 mares last year. It cost \$200,000.

SENEY: Per mare.

MADDY: Per mare. He still breeds 82 mares. He's been doing that since he was about 7 or 8, and he still walks out there like he knows just how good he is.

SENEY: When you say "cover them" you mean impregnate them.

MADDY: Yes. There's no artificial insemination and so here the ol' boy -- I think the average is 1.4. I mean, he doesn't shoot blanks. He's still doing pretty good. He doesn't take long.

SENEY: I don't know much about horseracing, but as I remember, that horse was

bought somehow. You could buy a horse--

MADDY: Yes, they're sales.

SENEY: After a race is over you can bid on it or something or other?

MADDY: Well, he was bought out of a sale, I think for \$18,750, because he did not have significant bloodlines, didn't appear to have any significant bloodlines. That's why I say they can pass it on. Here is a horse that had sort of mediocre bloodlines, had good confirmation, and suddenly when he runs he's a champion.

So the second question then is, well, if he's a champion, even though he doesn't have good bloodlines, will he pass on to his progeny the same heart and same instincts and desire to run? Well, he did. Now, that doesn't always happen but he did. The perfect formula is to have the heart and the bloodlines and so on. But it was kind of interesting at that time in racing history, the Arabians, the wealthy Arabians, the Saudi Arabians, and so on, were out here in America buying up a horse line because there was one particular line that seemed to dominate the good horses around the country and they made a firm determination they were going to come up and buy as much of this bloodline as they could possibly purchase and they would dominate racing in the world. Well, they no sooner bought up all this one bloodline, lo and behold up comes Seattle Slew who starts a whole new line. So, I mean in terms of the progeny, suddenly there's this new great line.

So this thing with heart, which is part of the instinct and fun of the game, you know. It's a fascination. I spoke to the audience -- we had a lot of people, 1,200 people at this event -- and people asked me why I spent so much time on the racing and I said it was all a labor of love. I mean, I love the game. It was easy for me. It wasn't work, it was fun.

SENEY: Now, out of Work the Crowd, when Work the Crowd has a progeny foal, is that part yours?

MADDY: John and I have continued our partnership, so I own half of all the babies. We've done this with more than one horse. I got too many horses for a while and then when I was divorced the last time I sold most of them. But I kept Work the Crowd and--

SENEY: You kept the right one.

MADDY: Kept the right ones. So now I think I have ten horses. John and I are partners in all of them, and John's been very gracious.

SENEY: John Harris, you're talking about?

MADDY: John Harris of Harrisn Farms. The cattle operation and the restaurant on Highway 5. That's John.

SENEY: At Fresno State, did you take part in class politics?

MADDY: I was president of my fraternity. As I say, I was active to a minimal degree. I did not run for any office, no. I was not very interested in politics at all. I was there. I played football the first year and then my dad died and so I had to go to work and just had fun. You know, a lot of fun

and worked but didn't engage in politics. The politics kind of came into the back door.

SENEY: Comes later.

Well, what kind of work did you do?

MADDY: Well, when my dad died I had to go to work immediately. I worked as a night watchman, and then still one of my closest friends had a clothing store -- Hodge & Sons -- Karney Hodge. He and his dad and his brother had a clothing store in Fresno and my first year at Fresno State they picked out myself and another guy who we sort of looked alike and they did a fashion show and the two of us went to work for Hodge in this fashion show. So then I went to work in the afternoons at the clothing store. My dad died and so I stayed and worked for a little while as a night watchman as an extra job, but then I went to work -- I didn't play football after that -- I went to work for Hodge & Sons. So I worked all through the years in the clothing store for Hodge. Of course, Karney Hodge comes into my life much later on and was really a major reason that I got into politics.

SENEY: You have a reputation for dressing well. As I look at you today, you're casually, but very well dressed. Is this where you got your dress sense from them?

MADDY: Well, I think so. I didn't have much going in there, but you work in a clothing store and Karney was always pushing me. In fact, when I came back, just one of the starts, after I came back and had gone to law school I

couldn't afford any clothes, but Karney and I were about the same size so I think he gave me six or seven suits that were his old suits. He didn't obviously wear them very long. As a clothing owner, he only wore them one year. So he gave them to me for, I don't know, fifty bucks a piece or something like that. We had them altered to fit me. Even when I came back and started practicing law, my first year I had six pretty good looking suits and nobody could tell they were old or had been worn before. So Karney always made sure I was reasonably well dressed.

SENEY: In '52 you graduated from high school. In '57 you graduated from Fresno. Five years. Usually it takes four years. Was there a reason?

MADDY: When my dad died I dropped one semester of ROTC. I felt then I was going to quit. I thought I had to quit school and go to work. There was not much left. There wasn't really much. He had one insurance policy and my mother had to go to work right away. It was kind of a bad deal. He had told her that the house we were living in, which was a spec house - the guy he worked for -- was ours, and it turned out not to be ours. A lot of little things happened. So she moved back and went to a school down in Los Angeles. She hadn't worked for several years. At that time, in 1954, she was 50 years old. So she went and moved back to Los Angeles and went to school. My sister stayed up there and continued in high school and then went to Fresno State also. I was concerned that I wasn't going to be able to stay on, so I dropped a semester of ROTC, which

wasn't very smart. So ultimately, when I got the four years in, I had to stay another semester. So I graduated in February of '57 in order to complete my ROTC.

SENEY: If you didn't go back and pick that up, you were off to the draft.

MADDY: Right. Much of this political decision now, the discussion about the various candidates who talked about what they did during the Korean War and so on, in Inglewood High School in 1952, when I graduated, everybody was looking for a way to keep from being drafted. As much as we distinguish between Vietnam and Korea, there was no great sentiment to fight the Korean War, as I recall.

And I recall another good friend of mine; he went out. There was a hamburger place called Yum Burger and he went to work at Yum Burger, so we always called him Yum Yum, but his name was Bob Minear, M-I-N-E-A-R. And Bob went out to Santa Monica and joined the Reserve out there. I can never forget, it wasn't two weeks after he joined that that Reserve was called up. Now, he didn't ever go to Korea. I think he went as far as Riverside, but that's where that reserve unit went. But, boy, I can remember everybody in the whole school came out with a big paper, "Santa Monica Reserve Called Up" and everybody was joking, because this guy was a lot of fun and everything, "Hey, Yum Yum, you made a hell of a choice."

But thinking back now, the politics of it all, nobody wanted to get

drafted. Very few people who wanted to be drafted.

SENEY: Did that ever give you a headache in politics?

MADDY: No, no, it never did. I ultimately went in. By the time I got there I was a veteran. I never went overseas but I was in the Air Force. I was an Air Force ROTC, so I was scheduled for pilot training.

SENEY: And you went in in '57.

MADDY: I went in in '57. I graduated in February '57, got married -- I had been going with a girl a couple of years -- got married, interestingly went back to the racetrack -- it's only part of the story -- but went back to work at the racetrack. Didn't have two dimes. What two dimes I had I lost almost immediately. And so my new wife, who got pregnant the first month we were married, having morning sickness, and we're traveling around and staying in \$10-a-night motels as I worked at the track. I can remember when we left Del Mar that year, I was still loving every minute of it, and she said, "I just want to let you know, whatever happens in our life I am never coming back to the racetrack."

That didn't have anything to do with the divorce, but it was only funny that the glamour I saw in it was not glamorous for anybody else.

The ROTC, I dropped a semester so I stayed and completed my ROTC. And so then I had from February in '57 until -- I reported in August of '57 to San Antonio, Lackland Air Force Base, for pilot training.

SENEY: Did you learn to fly?

MADDY: No. On the way back to Lackland--

[End Tape 1, Side B]

[Begin Tape 2, Side A]

SENEY: Senator, as I was changing the tape, I'd raised the question of your wife complaining about the vagabond life you'd drawn her into and you began to make a broader point.

MADDY: Yes, the broader point, I was just saying I think about my own self being 17 or 18 years old and how naïve I was. I always say I don't think I grew up. I woke up one day and I was 28 years old. I've got a wife and two children, I've been in the military, I've gone through law school, and I suddenly woke up and said, you know, "How'd I get here?"

There were no choices for me, in contrast to my children, who seemed at 17 or 18 to have this broad spectrum: Do I want to go to school some more? Do I want to go to work? Do I want to travel to Europe? Like my son took a year to travel. He worked on my campaign for Governor the year he graduated from high school and took time off and went to Europe and traveled a little bit. All these choices.

I think back about it, that when I graduated from high school, if you were a man you went into the military. You were either drafted or you went to a job or you went to college, and there wasn't much choice. I mean, it wasn't like you had a broad set of choices because two of the choices weren't very good. Going into the military or going to work were

not very good without something more than a high school education. So bingo, I wanted to go to college. Plus I played football. That may have pushed me a little bit because I thought I was an athlete, but I had to stay in college to keep, again, from doing those other two things. When I got out -- I had gone through ROTC -- the choice was go serve your time, which I had a three-year obligation. And, of course, getting married and suddenly I've got two kids. You know, I didn't think much about it, it was just the thing to do. You got married, you know, if you were going with somebody.

So I went back to Lackland. On the way back, they had in the Congress a reduction in force and we had too many pilots, and so they changed the ROTC commitment. It was a one-way commitment, I learned. I was committed to serve three years with them and they were going to teach me how to fly. Well, they find out that they were losing money on that proposition so they extended the Air ROTC, that if you wanted to fly you had to sign for five years. So when I hit Lackland, there were 400 of us back there, ROTC grads, it was almost split down the middle. Two hundred decided to go for five years and two hundred of us chose not to.

By that time, my wife wanted to go back to Fresno. She wanted to start a life in Fresno. Didn't know what I was going to do, didn't want me to go back to the racetrack. I didn't know what I was going to do with this

ag major.

So I went to Lackland. I was reassigned as a personnel officer and I was reassigned to Oxnard Air Force Base, California. It was the luck of the draw. Of all the guys back there, I was the one who came right back home to California and had a very lucky stint there. I was in personnel, and then Oxnard started having atomic weapons. They had to build a facility there in the Air Defense Force at that time which were flying F-89 jets. They were going to carry the Genie missile, which was an atomic missile. I was made air police officer, which was extremely beneficial in many ways. There was only five homes on base. One was the base commander, one was the fighter pilot commander, one was the surgeon, one was the maintenance squadron commander, and one was the air police officer. I was a second lieutenant, so I moved on base with a colonel, two lieutenant colonels, and a major, and I moved on to this big home on the base at Oxnard and set up the security patrol for the atomic weapons.

SENEY: How did you wangle your way into that?

MADDY: No. When I came into the base, there was a guy named Captain Ben Filipone who was the personnel officer. I met him, he liked me. There was no place for me to go, they didn't have an assignment for me. The way they did us, the guys they sent around at that time was just surplus, so they sent me down there. They first sent me into a supply unit because there was a spot there and so I sort of cleaned up the supply unit, but I kept

seeing this guy Ben and knew him well, and by the time this job came up, he convinced the colonel that I'd be a good guy for the air police job.

Well, as it turned out, it was a Godsend because, I mean, I suddenly had more men working for me -- I think I had 99 people working for me as a second lieutenant, which was more people than the fighter squadron had.

SENEY: Or the lieutenant colonel had.

MADDY: Or the lieutenant colonel. I had all these people working for me and we had to protect atomic weapons, have a procedure for moving the weapons out of the airplanes and so on. I say a little bit of luck but I did a reasonably good job and always got outstanding reports. So by the time I was ready to leave, they offered me a regular commission, which I didn't take because I wasn't interested.

SENEY: This must have been the first time you were ever in charge of people, wasn't it?

MADDY: Yes.

SENEY: What did you think of that? Was it daunting or was it no problem?

MADDY: It came reasonably easy for me, I think. I always got very high marks in the Air Police. That was the first time I had a real job. I mean, I was generally speaking of my high school career and college. I was generally captains or presidents of the fraternities. Sort of rose to the top in a natural way. I think I wanted to be a leader. I never thought much about it, but I had very great success in the military where it was the first time I had real

competition in terms of handling things. And as a second lieutenant with this responsibility, I sort of found a niche. I almost stayed in the military because I really had a good job and I enjoyed it and I didn't know what to do. I didn't know where the hell I was going to go afterwards.

I signed up for the LaSalle School of Law correspondence course. My father-in-law was a lawyer and he kept saying, "You've got to do something. You're not going to go back to the racetrack." And I had checked out, you know, what could a guy with a bachelor of science degree in agriculture do? I could be a meat inspector. I mean, there was just nothing and I was really not oriented to farm life. I mean, I was a city boy who happened to take that for a different reason. So I had taken a correspondence course and figured that maybe I should go to law school, but I had no background for that because my ag background was not a very good solid education.

But during the military I think I developed a little bit more confidence in my overall abilities. And as I say, I was a little young. I think I was a little naïve until I started making some of these changes and finding success. I learned that I could deal with people because I had a lot of times a tough spot.

SENEY: Were you a pretty good boss, do you think?

MADDY: I was a good boss. I mean, I was easy. I think I struck a good balance. My guys rarely got in trouble and I had everything known to man happen

because, frankly, the Air Police group were sometimes the worst people. They put the drudges down there and the guys who had the lowest mentality in the Section 8, in the group, and they were not the high caliber people.

SENEY: Section 8 is mental.

MADDY: Mental, yes. Low caliber. I had a lot of the minorities. A good number of the blacks were assigned to that who had caused some trouble. I got along well with them.

SENEY: Is that, do you think, based on your racetrack experience with blacks?

MADDY: I think so, because I think that I had early on worked with a lot of, at that time, Hispanics, blacks, at the racetrack. By the time I finished up, more and more blacks and more and more Latinos were working at the racetrack. I was rooming with them and found really no difference. I mean, I got along very well and found that when I went into the military it was the same thing. One of my top sergeants was black and some of my top men and then some of my worst people. The hard part was dealing with the worst. You know, I just found that putting a guy for a two weeks midnight shift, standing under a wing of an airplane, was a better way than giving him a court martial.

SENEY: Than writing him up.

MADDY: Yes, than writing him up. I had a little jail. I had a four facility jail there. I always had prisoners in my facility, so when colonels came along, they

said, "Ken, I could sure use a little help over at my office."

"Colonel, what would you like? Why don't I send a couple of guys over there to clean the office."

So, I mean, a little wheel and deal. I found out that life works a lot easier that way and that was important. The full colonel never called me but all the lieutenant colonels and guys who had jobs who had messy offices, and I had a crew of guys who I had to keep working. I wanted them to do something rather than sit in their cells all day long so I found that by going over and doing a few things like that, there was no restrictions against it. I took care of the colonel's home with the yard and all that sort of thing. So I learned a few things that were I think just lessons of life you have a chance to learn.

One fighter squadron captain one time tried to mess with my guys because he wouldn't give them a latrine break. The only way my guys could, when they were in the alert squadron, go to the latrine is they had to call up and get one of the pilots to come down and relieve them so they could go out and go to the bathroom, and this captain told one of my guys, you know, 'I don't give a shit about you; piss your pants, as far as I'm concerned.' It was reported to me, so I went to him first, and I said, "How are we going to handle this?"

He said, 'F you.'

And I said, "Fine. I'm going to go and you're not going to push my

guys around like that.”

So rather than go to the colonel I went to his boss, and so his boss said this had to stop, so he brought the captain in and he admitted to what he said.

And I said, “I’m just going to stand up for my guys. You’re not going to push them around.” So, I mean, I learned a lot of things. That one stands out because I just figured out -- I didn’t like doing it but I could have gone to the full colonel and then I could have gotten everybody in trouble. I just learned some things, little things. I went to him first and he told me to screw off and by the time I went to his boss I just figured I wasn’t going to back down. From that time on everybody got along well.

SENEY: Do you think being a second lieutenant with this kind of responsibility -- you didn’t have rank -- you had to have diplomatic skills?

MADDY: That’s right. I couldn’t push anybody around. I was lowest man on the base in terms of rank as an officer. I did everything through diplomacy, which I think was my style anyway. I never pushed my men around. I always had a feeling of how I would be if I was in their spot. I mean, I always had that feeling. I hated guys who pushed their weight around and didn’t like it. When I was growing up I didn’t like guys who pushed their weight around. I’m not being philosophical about this, I’m just thinking about it. I just never liked it myself.

As an example, Santa Anita Racetrack was always the snobbish track

and there was always a guy, a security patrol, there who always pushed me around. I always remember it. I always hated that. So I always figured little things, you know. You can't recognize a guy day in and day out and not -- why push him around in a situation like that? So I hated my guys who acted like that. I called them a "cop." I said, "If you act like a cop, you're not going to get along with me."

I had a guy who was an outstanding airman who -- what I told was a cop attitude. A lieutenant colonel walked through the gate and he shouted at the lieutenant colonel, made him come back, and told him to roll his sleeves down, which was the rule. I put him out in the flight line for two months underneath the wing of the aircraft. I said, "You think about how you could have handled that without embarrassing the lieutenant colonel." Because this is life. "Not that you chose the wrong guy. It could have been a sergeant, it could have been anybody." So I said, "When you are at that gate, try to be like what you'd want. Be kind and friendly. You're a police officer enforcing the law." But I always hated the "cop attitude."

So cops did not get along very well with me, what I call the cops. People who were good security people and good law enforcement people got along with me pretty good. And I tried to convey that to my troops. They all knew that if they wanted to be nasty cops, they didn't get along with me very well.

SENEY: At some point in this three years, did they bump you up to first lieutenant?

MADDY: I was first lieutenant, yes. It was automatic. I got a commendation and then an offer to become a full career officer.

SENEY: Well, to swap that ROTC commission, reserve commission, for a regular commission, that must have made you think a little about that.

MADDY: Oh, it did. It came close. It was a tribute to me. It also would have established me because that would have put me ahead of a lot of other officers. If you had a full regular commission--

SENEY: You jump ahead of all those other officers.

MADDY: Jump all these other officers, right. So, I mean, it gave me some thought because I was more perplexed as to what I was going to do and where I was going to go. I really became exacerbated because I had it all planned out. By that time I had applied to UCLA [University of California at Los Angeles] and got admitted to law school in my last year. Then they had another reduction in force, so I was released in February of 1960. I was supposed to leave in August of 1960. So here I was, stuck without a job, two kids, what am I going to do? and that's when I really mulled it over, thought about that regular commission.

The guy who had given me the commendation was General Prescott Spicer at Air Defense Command Headquarters. So I went over to see him -- I actually couldn't see him -- to see whether or not he could extend my stay in some fashion. I still have the letter someplace where he wrote me back and said he's tried everything. He wanted to urge me to think about

the full commission because he wanted me to stay in the military.

I had done well in the military but I couldn't find out so I got a job, through a friend of mine, with the 1960 census. So I ended up being the technical officer for the 1960 census in Los Angeles.

SENEY: Let me ask you about your wife. Obviously, she didn't, as you've said, like the racetrack life. How did she like the military life?

MADDY: Did not like it. Beverly [Chinello] -- her dad was a lawyer and she was born and raised in Fresno and really wanted ultimately to go back to Fresno. I'm not speaking about that in a derogatory way because that was what she had planned in life. And when I went to law school that was what she really was excited about and thankful for because I was going to come back and join her dad in the law business and really live a life that had been very good to her. That was the kind of life she had wanted. So she really didn't like the military.

There was no option. I mean, even though I played with it and thought about it and moaned about it -- I can remember sitting on the floor of our place in Oxnard, literally crying as a man, trying to figure out what I was going to do, and she was there, and she said, "We just have to go home. We have to take our chances." I mean, that was how close it came. I came that close. All I had to do was go down. My commander at that time was Major John Eisner. He had been called back in and he was very antimilitary by that time because he had had his life messed up because he

had gotten out and then had been recalled back in and then he never got beyond a major because he ran into the wrong commander at one point in time and he sort of gave me the ‘how tough the military was.’ He said, “You’re doing great now, but let me tell you, all you need is one jerk along the line and they can ruin your career.” And so he really gave me the more negative side of it. Which is true.

I mean, this Ben Filipone, he’d been there twenty years, still a captain because he had something in his record. And as a personnel officer I got to review all this. You know, it just takes one guy to write a bad letter and you’re dead. Or conversely, you get on the right [side of someone] -- General Spicer was the one to literally ask me to come. I would have had somebody I could ride with. That’s how you do it: You ride with the right guy and you just go with him. So Bev really wanted to go home.

SENEY: Let me ask you one more thing about her and living on the base. Here you are a second and then a first lieutenant and living next door to a major, a lieutenant colonel, a lieutenant colonel, a colonel. I mean, rank is not only important to the men but to the women as well. Did she run up against that with these officers’ wives? Or were they pretty nice to her?

MADDY: All very nice people. The colonel’s wife was probably the most aware. Dyson W. Cox was his name. It wouldn’t have been my style for a colonel but his wife had sort of taken on the same image -- but everybody

else -- Thaddeus Peters was a full colonel, had been a cavalry man. We still communicate with them. And the flight surgeon -- this goes back a lot of years -- they're still friends of ours. They live over in Los Gatos. It was all very good for her. Very good for her. It was a great relief for her.

SENEY: Because that could be quite unpleasant under most circumstances.

MADDY: But it was a very good time. It was perfect for the kids. They had a great place to grow.

SENEY: By this time you've got two, right?

MADDY: I had two. I had a daughter born--

SENEY: Her name is--?

MADDY: Deanna [G. Maddy]. She was born in January of 1958. We were married in February '57, she was born in January '58. Then 18 months later Don [Paul Maddy] was born. So they're both over 40. Well, Don just turned 40 -- or he's going to turn 40. Let me see, he was born in '59. Yes, he will turn 40 September 25th. Deanna turned 40 last year. We got home in '64. I passed the bar in '63. I went to law school and accelerated through. I went through in two-and-a-half years because I was working and going to law school. Then Marilyn [Maddy] was born in 1964.

So I left the military; went to work for the Census.

SENEY: What was that like? Was that a political appointment?

MADDY: Political appointment, right.

SENEY: How did that come about?

MADDY: A guy who I'd gone to college with -- ultimately turned out to be quite a story in my life -- had been at Fresno State College with me. One of my closest friends was a friend of his. I wasn't a great friend of his. But the Census Bureau is run during every decennial census by politics, and whoever the administration in office is at the time runs all the offices. So this guy had been a political junkie all during our college years when none of us were paying any attention to it and he got a key job with the Bureau of the Census. It was his job to get other people to go to work.

SENEY: This was during the Republican Eisenhower Administration.

MADDY: Right. So a friend of mine, who was a very close friend of mine, was working with him. They were both law school guys. By that time they were in law school. I was going into law school. So they were taking the time to work at the Census. So I called this friend of mine, Pat Smith, up and I said, "If you know of anything, I need a job." And I called Karney up and Karney said, "You can come back and work in the clothing store," live at home. So, I mean, I had some shots. The next thing I know, I'm sitting there that day, I remember crying, and Pat called me up and he says, "Can you report to Kansas City next Monday?" He said, "There's a training school for the census. You may have to work in Kansas City, but it's a" -- I think it paid almost a thousand a month -- "it's going to be a hell of a job."

SENEY: Which was a lot of money in those days.

MADDY: A lot of money in 1960. And he said, "You can go to work."

And so I said, "Okay, I'm ready. I'll take anything."

We got in the car. I went down and said to my major, "I'm out," drove up to Fresno, and by the time I'd gotten to Fresno Pat had called again, said, "Change of plans. Monday, meet us in San Francisco. We're going to training school up there. You're going to be in California."

So we go up there. They both get into the regional office in downtown L.A. and I'm a technical officer for downtown L.A.

Supposedly the second worst census spot in America, New York City being the worst. And so we go in and they both go back to school.

I ended up getting a permanent job with the regional office in the Census all the way until the time I went back to school. I went an extra couple of months, they both got out in July. They worked about three months and I went to work and stayed the whole time. Because the census we did in L.A. worked out beautifully. I don't know how the hell we did it but it just worked out beautifully.

So then I went to Santa Monica, finished up at Santa Monica, then I went back to the regional office and they gave me another job. This guy in the Census Bureau really liked me. Again, so I had another offer of a full-time job. I had a lot of luck along the way. There was a lot of luck. So that kept me alive and well and not too bad.

SENEY: Really prosperous, I should think, with some money in the bank.

MADDY: Yes, I had some money. I had some good money, because I needed it to go to law school. I had saved.

SENEY: By the way, did you learn anything in that census that helped you later in politics?

MADDY: I had 52 people working for me in the office, all women. I learned a little bit about women, more what not to do than what to do, because I seemed to have had people jealous and mad all the time as to who I spoke to and who I didn't speak to, who I had lunch with. I didn't learn a whole lot. We had to be aggressive, we had to be innovative. We had 450 enumerators the first day and they all quit by the next day because they were working piecemeal. In the 1960 census, the black population of Los Angeles were boycotting the census for being unfair, so they would not cooperate. When I say they wouldn't cooperate, if you walked up from the Census and you talked to somebody, "Are you married?" -- "Yes" -- "Your wife's name?" -- they'd give you that -- "How old is she?" -- "You have to ask her." And so the piecemeal census taking became impossible. People would work all day long and end up earning 48 cents.

SENEY: Because they were paid per household.

MADDY: Per household and per person. And so they all quit. So then that was a major move. The Census Bureau had to decide what they were going to do, and of course, pay hourly rate. So then you had to keep them moving.

I ended up breaking it down and having crew leaders, a little bit sort of military fashion. I ended up giving everybody a division and an area to cover, and then they went out and got their own people by the hourly rate. So I assigned it to various people. We got finished relatively fast. In fact, Santa Monica was slower than we were, and we finished in L.A. and they came in, sent their inspection team. There's supposedly a degree of error that you're allowed and if you get through that, that census counts. I got finished in a hurry, so then I went over to Santa Monica.

Finished that one up, then went back to the regional office and was payroll chief, I guess, all the way until law school started. Which was good. It was a break. A great break. So then I went to law school and chose to accelerate through. I went through summer schools and got lucky there. I got a job--

SENEY: You went to UCLA.

MADDY: I went to UCLA.

SENEY: Was there any admission problem? Were you a good student in college?

MADDY: I was foolish. I had a B-minus average and I took the LSAT test. I was not that high a percentile. I think I was 69 percentile or something like that, but they let me in because I was a veteran, I guess.

SENEY: So the military helped.

MADDY: The military helped a little bit. And almost immediately I ran into some guy I knew who worked for the Department of Engineering.

SENEY: That was UCLA?

MADDY: At UCLA. And there was program under the AID -- Agency For International Development -- and there was a program at UCLA in the Engineering Department in which we were coordinating with the Gadjah Mada University in Yojakarta, Indonesia. We were sending students over there and they were sending students over to America, and we were the coordinators. There was a coordinating process. And that job was, again, well paid, allowed me to live, and so I ended up getting a job my first month there and it helped me accelerate through school because I stayed and worked all summer. I had an office right at UCLA, so I'd go to the office at seven in the morning and study and stay there, go home for dinner, and go back and stay until eleven. That was my routine for two-and-a-half years.

SENEY: And your wife and children were with you.

MADDY: I ended up going down and buying a little house in West Los Angeles off Palm Avenue for \$12,000. At least I wanted to buy it. My father-in-law came down and he said, "Well, you're going to be a law student, huh?" He said, "How do you expect to buy a house?" He said, "You don't have two dimes." Well, I had a few thousand saved because I never took a leave during the time I was in the service, so I'd accumulated my leave.

SENEY: So they bought that out when you left.

MADDY: They bought that out, paid me cash. That was how I was going to go to

law school. I told him I was going to do without any help and he said, “Well, you’re going to have to take some help because you’re not going to buy this house without having a cosigner,” which I learned right away, the first thing they said. But it was a junkie little house. We paid \$12,000 for it. Came back and sold it two-and-a-half years later for \$13,500. So we made a little profit. Had a great old house there with a big back yard. So that part was good. And I went to work at the Engineering Department.

SENEY: Were you able to manage, by the way, the finances on the house? Did all you need was a cosigner and you could make the payments?

MADDY: I figured out I could make the payments from the job I had at AID, plus my leave, and then I think it was about the middle of the first year my father-in-law started to give me some money. I think he gave me \$200 a month. So he helped through the rest of law school.

SENEY: You were reluctant, I take it, though, to do that, unless absolutely necessary.

MADDY: Yes, I didn’t want to do that. I thought I could do it myself. Ultimately, I couldn’t do it all. I couldn’t travel to Fresno when we wanted to. There was a lot of things I couldn’t do. But I worked all the time. I rationalized in my own mind that I was doing my share by working full time during law school, because law school was tough enough anyway, and accepted the money and then ultimately went to work with him. I went back to join the law firm and paid him back.

SENEY: Did you do all right in law school?

MADDY: I thought I could make *Law Review*. I did not make it. I ended up being 39th out of the class out of 273.

SENEY: That's pretty good.

MADDY: That's pretty good, yes. For an ag graduate. I learned a lot. I became more confident in law school over my abilities, because I didn't really have any feeling as to how smart I was on the scale of 1 to 10. You sort of get a feeling. I began to think, look, you're in the upper third; you may be at the low end of the upper third but you can deal with almost anybody on most issues. And my long suit, I learned, was quick on the understanding of an issue right off the bat. When it got too substantive and got too deep is where I began to slip a little bit. I couldn't keep up with the real top class guys when it got into real substantive, long-term work. It took me longer. So the guy I befriended, who also worked on campus, was the kid who was number four or five in class, and so we studied together. We both had offices on campus, we both started coming to school--

[End Tape 2, Side A]

[Begin Tape 2, Side B]

MADDY: This kid's name was Jack Benson. He became a very successful lawyer in Orange County. But he was top of the class and we lived near each other. He bought a little house too. He had no children, but we started going to school together. In fact, several of us had carpools, all of us who either

had jobs on campus or something. So we started studying together. We'd go to work and we'd study. And he was the top of the class.

Where I could jump on an issue and understand it, at least the basics almost immediately, when it got deeper and more in depth it took me longer. So I got a pretty good feeling of where I stood and what my long suit was, which ultimately helped in politics, because here you have 9,000 things going on. You don't have to have a large in-depth understanding of them but you have to have a basic understanding of them, and the quicker you have that basic understanding the better off you were.

So I did all right in law school, for working all the time and having the kids and so on. Only sixteen of us accelerated through and all of us passed the Bar the first go, except one, who was a good guy. He ended up being a judge. He just retired from being a judge. But most of us had been married and had been vets.

SENEY: That makes a big difference.

MADDY: Big difference. Yes, we were more serious. And a lot of the guys, the top of the class guys, were kids that came right out of school, phi betas, and they were having fun and dating girls; and we, of course, didn't have to worry about any of that.

SENEY: Those kinds of distractions.

MADDY: Yes, those distractions.

SENEY: Working for the AID, you were coordinating this exchange program.

MADDY: Right. We would send students over there and they would send students to the United States. We merely kept books and records of them, where they were doing it, and then when the new kids would come over, we'd either take them to -- they all loved Berkeley and they all loved San Francisco because they'd never left Indonesia. So it was a very interesting program. Because it was so Communist over there, we always suspected about half of them were spies of some kind or another, but you couldn't tell who they were and who they weren't, who were spies and who were not. It didn't make a damn bit of difference anyway. To us they were all young people who were there trying to get an education in engineering.

And it was a great thing for us. There were two of us, and then the one kid who was a class ahead of me, he got me the job and then he graduated, of course, in the year ahead of me. So then I was six months by myself.

SENEY: There's been talk -- your mention of communism makes me think of this, although I must say it occurred to me earlier -- that there's been talk that the AID was kind of a front for CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] activities. Did you ever get a sense of that?

MADDY: Never did. I know that there was a great number of people involved in all of the things we were doing, that looked over everything. I mean, it was all being controlled by someone other than us. But our job was mostly to be friendly, take the kids around, worry about their little needs, and make

sure they got on the airplane when they'd leave, take them to school and that sort of thing. But I never got a hint that anything was going on besides that. It could have, I was so naïve. I mean, even then, as I said, I hadn't awakened yet. It was after I got out of law school I suddenly woke up. I always speak about that because it's sort of amazing the difference I see.

SENEY: Well, those were naïve times. I mean, when Sputnik went up and when the U-2 was shot down, people couldn't believe that we would lie about something like this.

MADDY: There's so many things that have taken a long time. The lack of respect that I have now for the CIA, and frankly for the FBI [Federal Bureau of Investigation], there's a lot of things. In a way I'm sorry about it, because when I was growing up, the FBI, you respected and admired and worshipped the FBI. I don't have much respect for them now. I can tell you, based on the episode at the Capitol, I mean, they're almost dishonest. If they want a conviction they literally would cook the books, as far as I was concerned. I didn't have any respect for them at all. And you see things about the CIA now, the same thing. I'm fascinated by some of these movies they make. They come close to the line when they talk about what we did in the name of saving democracy.

SENEY: These are very different times. I think we were all naïve.

MADDY: We were all naïve at that point in time, and I think we had to be;

otherwise, we wouldn't have bought it. It's the same, you know, you think about during World War II, what we had to do propaganda-wise to build up the hatred for the Japanese and the Germans. I wasn't close to it. Because of the fact that my mother is German, it was so removed. You know, the Nazis were the Nazis; you hated them. But the Japanese being Asians, you did have this change. Now, the young girl who was my secretary in the AID was Japanese. Her parents had gone away to the camps, and she was a very intelligent girl. I heard from her not too long ago. I think maybe a year or so ago. But it was very interesting to listen. That was the first person of Japanese decent that I really knew well. Although, around the racetrack there was a jock named George Taniguchi who used to work for us all the time, but George was about as white as I am, about as Anglo as I am. He didn't have much connection with being Japanese. But she was very much oriented to the Japanese culture.

SENEY: Would she talk about her parents' experiences?

MADDY: Oh yes, we talked quite a bit about things, so you'd get a little better understanding. I have great admiration for both the Chinese and the Japanese. I've been to China a couple of times. I always say if I want to pick a friend in the world, it's going to be the Chinese. Number one, there are more of them than anybody else. They're as intelligent as anybody else in the world, although you have to worry a little bit, being as powerful as they are.

We met Jiang Zemin, the President, three years ago when we were over there. I was on a delegation that went to China, and he was mad at the [President Bill] Clinton at that time. He wouldn't see Clinton delegates but he saw us. He was very interesting.

SENEY: Did he let you know he was angry with Clinton so that you would communicate that?

MADDY: Sure. He didn't speak English to us very well, but we knew he, having been mayor of Shanghai, that he spoke it fluently. In fact, he would correct his interpreter all the time, when the interpreter made a mistake. It was very interesting. We spent an hour and a half there and they televised it and showed it all over China as sort of a little slap, I guess.

Who's the attorney from L.A. who was Clinton's guy back there?

SENEY: Micky Cantor.

MADDY: Micky had been turned down from seeing him just before we got there.

SENEY: He was the trade representative for Clinton.

MADDY: That's right. So they were mad at Clinton for some reason but we got in. It was funny. It was very interesting.

SENEY: Were you all Republicans?

MADDY: No, it was a mix. I guess I was senior man at the time, so I was senior delegate. I was the spokesman.

SENEY: What was your impression of Jiang Zemin?

MADDY: I had some admiration for all the Shanghai people. I was happy that all

the pro-Americans -- I mean, that's where the pro-Americans come out. So I was delighted with that aspect of it. Even though he had the dyed hair and that looked so characteristically dyed, he was pretty modern. He was smart. There's no doubt he's smart. You know, I had respect for what he said, that we can have three nations but one China. We talked about the Taiwan problem and the Hong Kong problem -- don't worry, it's going to work out.

He was critical of some of the Congress people. It was [U.S. Representative Nancy Pelosi, or somebody, was pretty anti-China?

SENEY: Right.

MADDY: He discussed that openly with us.

SENEY: By name.

MADDY: Oh yes. And said something to the effect that "She asked me what I think about what problems [face China]," and he said, "What I think about" -- and he named a number of people, "X" billion -- "of how I'm going to feed these people, how these people are going to eat everyday." He made some very good points. He's very skilled.

SENEY: Well, you'd have to be very capable to rise up in that political system.

MADDY: That's right, and I think it's a slow process. But I can't help but believe, the Chinese people being as bright as they are and intelligent and entrepreneurs -- I mean, they're basically entrepreneurs by their instinct and probably more so than the Japanese. But I just think they're

ultimately going to move towards a capitalist system where you can excel by your skills and by your brains.

SENEY: Well, in the urban areas they're very nearly there.

MADDY: That's right. I was there the year before Tieneman Square. I went there in a different kind of program. The difference between that year and a couple of years ago, substantial changes. They've got monstrous problems: water problems, air pollution problems. If smoking is going to kill somebody, they're all going to die. You can cut it with a knife.

SENEY: Let's go back to Fresno. When you get out of law school you pass the Bar examination, which must have been a relief and a pleasure and make you feel good too, all those things.

MADDY: I swore I'd never take it again in between, but I was happy to pass it.

SENEY: Did you feel like you had when you took it?

MADDY: Yes. Of the 16 of us that went in, Jack and I were the ones who had studied together all the time, and Jack, I knew, couldn't miss. I mean, he was a very, very bright guy. We always tell the story whenever we see each other, any of us get together, the fellow who flunked, there was a real property question on the second day and he came out and he said, "What'd you guys do?" And we all swore we weren't going to talk about the question, but he couldn't help it. He says, "God," he says, "Jack, you had" -- Jack was the number one student when it came to real property, number one in the class -- he said, "Wasn't that a great real property question?"

He said, “Man, I thought that was a slam dunk.” He said, “Did you write it?” and Jack just kind of passed it off.

Of course, they let us off, we got home at our places, and I said, “Jack, I didn’t write that.” I said, “That was the hardest question.”

He said, “Me neither.” He said, “That was the hardest question I’ve ever seen.” That’s where that guy flunked out. The only guy that flunked was on that one question. When I had not made that mistake, I knew I had a pretty good shot, I was in pretty good shape.

SENEY: And you had a readymade berth right back at your father-in-law’s, and he took you in as a partner, I take it.

MADDY: Right. I went to work at \$550 a month, but I got a bonus.

SENEY: There were two Chinellos.

MADDY: Right. Father-in-law and brother-in-law. Chinello, Chinello & Maddy.

SENEY: Right, that was what I was going to ask, who the other Chinello was.

MADDY: That’s my brother-in-law, who had graduated, I think, three or four years before I did.

SENEY: Also from UCLA?

MADDY: No. He’d gone to Hastings.

SENEY: What about your father-in-law? Where did he go to law school?

MADDY: He was Hastings. And he was upset with me because I only applied at one place, with UCLA, and part of it was because I was still in love with Southern California. I was still a Southern California boy in my mind. I

had heard about Hastings being much more difficult. And I really never thought about it. I didn't think about how tough it was to get in school. Again, a little bit of naiveté, plus it cost -- that's what I told him when he said, "Why didn't you apply more?" And my sort of laughing answer was "It cost five bucks."

He said, "Well, you could have called me."

I said, "Well, I didn't want to spend more than five." But it was bravado. I didn't realize how tough it was at the time but I got in. And then it worked out so well for us because my wife had an aunt and uncle who lived down there in Brentwood and they never had any children, and she was very close to them. So we had a constant -- my wife and the two kids had, even though I was gone everyday from seven to seven. I never worked on Sundays. I refused to work or study on Sundays, so I always had one day. I sort of set a pattern and I stuck to it. I would go to work on weekdays and Saturdays seven to seven. That was my schedule. Or I'd go seven to dinner and then I'd stay until eleven, but on Saturdays it was seven to seven, and on Sunday no work at all. Unless I was way behind, which never happened. And so then, her aunt and uncle being there were great to have around, so they had this family time. It worked out very well for us.

SENEY: Were you looking forward to going to work as a lawyer when you finished law school?

MADDY: By the time I got finished I really did think I was going to enjoy it, and part of me did and part I did not. There was a part of it I didn't like. I started doing a lot of trial work and I was relatively good at it, but I figured I either had to be a full-time trial lawyer or I had to get another side because it was tearing me up pretty good. Most trial lawyers will tell you when you first start it's so hard to get rid of the anxiety of it.

And then again, I got pretty lucky because I had come back, and this is where Karney Hodge comes back into my life. Karney had been my boss when I worked all through school in his clothing store. He always had been a big man in town in Fresno. My mother-in-law at that time had just had another stroke, had a problem with cancer, Mrs. Chinello, and my brother-in-law was having marriage troubles. So when we came back into town -- as a young lawyer you didn't advertise -- they said, "You're going to have to establish a clientele," and truly, I went to work for \$500 a month.

SENEY: You're partners, and your father-in-law and brother-in-law, in other words, said you're going to--

MADDY: "We're telling you, you've got to get clientele; you've got to go out and find people, bring clients in." Karney was a big man in town and so the first thing he did for me was to say "You've got to get known." He was in charge of United Way that year and he said, "Take over the United Way for the lawyers." He said, "You collect the money from the lawyers."

Well, what it did then is I just picked up, and the records were gone, there was nothing going, so I started a whole new record program at Karney's direction, he was giving me some help, and so I went and met every single lawyer in town personally and pitched the United Way, got the records straight, put the records all together. But the big point was -- and we had tripled or quadrupled the amount of money we had collected from lawyers, because half of them had never been contacted, and got the records straight. So step number one is I got to meet everybody.

SENEY: Something tells me you'd be pretty good at pitchman for this kind of thing.

MADDY: Well, I was pretty good at it, yes.

SENEY: Pitchman maybe is the wrong word. You know what I mean.

MADDY: Yes, sell the idea.

SENEY: Right.

MADDY: And so we did well. And then Karney was the president of the Philharmonic. That was the big charity event. That was the big thing to be on, so I go on the Philharmonic Board. I joined the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Politics has not gotten into it yet, but Junior Chamber of Commerce, there was an opening as an appointment of a Junior Chamber on the War on Poverty. The War on Poverty had just started. I went on the Economic Opportunities Commission, which was the War on Poverty Commission.

- SENEY: So as a member of the board of Junior Chamber of Commerce, they needed someone from there on the War on Poverty, so you're the guy.
- MADDY: And I'm the guy. So suddenly, in the midst of all of the things that are going on in Fresno, there's the black/brown fights on the war on poverty, and I suddenly begin to emerge as a person on the War on Poverty who is having a lot to say.
- SENEY: Getting some play in the newspaper?
- MADDY: Play in the newspapers. I go on the Parking Authority -- Karney works me on -- I get on the Parking Authority because downtown was being remodeled. I go into the Central Business District Coordinating Committee for the Remodeling of Downtown. We're trying to save downtown Fresno.
- SENEY: Did you enjoy this stuff?
- MADDY: Well, that's what I say. That's why the politics started, because ultimately I'm finding that I'm having far more fun doing public service. The Urban Coalition was starting around the country at that time.
- SENEY: This was in response to the riots that had gone on in various cities.
- MADDY: Our mayor in Fresno at that time was a guy named Floyd Hyde, and Fresno became an All-American City about that time. So Floyd puts me on the Parking Authority and I'm kind of known as an up-and-coming young lawyer in town who is working on a lot of public service things.
- SENEY: This is the way lawyers advertised in those days.

MADDY: Exactly right. That's because there's no free advertising. You got around. At the same time, my experience is being developed by the fact that indigents did not have a public defender. We volunteered. Young lawyers would defend criminal defendants. I'm on the list and I'm trying criminal cases.

SENEY: This is not long after the *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963).

MADDY: Where you had to have defense.

SENEY: Right.

MADDY: They'd just call you up and say, "You're going to volunteer. I've got a case for you to try." And you didn't have to, but if you were smart, you wanted to make sure the judges liked you, you did a little of that work, and I started doing quite a bit of that work.

Lo and behold, I get a case that I try that I take up on appeal and the United States Supreme Court grants an appeal, all the way back to the U.S. Supreme Court, in 1968.<sup>1</sup> So suddenly, here I am a young lawyer in town who is going to argue a case before the United States Supreme Court, and I win the case. By that time I was the only lawyer in town who had ever--

SENEY: Talk about that a little bit.

MADDY: Well, the case was a Western Union store in town which was held up by three black guys. Two of them got upset when they got home -- and their

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1. Foster v. California (1969).

mom had found out they pulled this robbery -- and went and confessed.

Well, the third guy was a guy named Walter Foster who had two prior convictions for robbery. He was going big time. The law was essentially that you couldn't convict Walter Foster by the uncorroborated testimony of accomplices. That's all they had, except for the guy who was in the Western Union store who was the clerk, who had spent 28 years as a clerk and had never in his life had anything happen to him, except this.

The long and short of it, the funny part of the story, was when they go into preliminary hearing I have nothing. I mean, I have nothing except Walter saying, "I didn't do it," and that's all he'd say.

I said, "But, Walter..."

"I didn't do it. You got to try the case." Well, he has nothing to lose; he's a three-time loser.

So at the preliminary hearing I started questioning this guy, just some routine questions, and I said, "Have you ever seen the defendant before this time?"

He said, "Yes, at a lineup."

Well, it comes out in my preliminary hearing -- I started asking this guy questions. What had happened was this guy, they brought him in on a lineup as soon as these other two guys confessed. They brought Walter in. The significant thing was Walter was like 6 foot 7 and at the time of the robbery wore one of those black leather jackets that went from his

shoulders down to his knees. They brought him into a lineup, there was nobody in the first lineup that was above 6 foot tall, or more than 6 foot 1, and it was Walter who stood out and the only one with a black leather jacket. This man had never had any attention in his life. This is my analysis. So he does not want to send an innocent man -- that's his testimony -- and so he said, "I studied it and studied it and I felt it would be better if I could not identify the man at the first lineup. I'd like to come back tomorrow and see another lineup."

Take him out, they bring Walter back the next day. This time, he's with five other guys. He's the only one that's in the second lineup that was in the first lineup but they do take off the black leather jacket and they have a few more people that are as tall as he is.

Lo and behold, in the midst of that lineup he's not certain. He'd like to talk to the tall man, and so they take him out into a room by himself and they have him say things like "give me the money." All right? Finally, after all that's over, he identifies Walter Foster as the man.

All this was attention. At the preliminary hearing during the initial testimony by the district attorney, the questions, he said, "Would you mind me standing?" He stands up and he says, "As they slinked into the office," and bent over the table and wrote out something on a piece of paper. And as they came up to me he said, "That steely eyes of his glaring, indelible in my mind for the rest of my life as I looked into and saw this evil..." I

mean, this is the kind of testimony, on and on and on.

Well, lo and behold, when it comes out at trial, I brought all of that back out and I said, "If you did that you had seen him twice before."

Anyway, I just said it was a setup. What, are they going to argue? I said, "You have these guys here confessing the story, they're trying to bring somebody in that they thought could take the blame, and obviously this man here, his testimony is no good."

I get one crackpot on the jury who holds the jury up. Golly knows what his problems were. It tells you a little bit about justice, but it's six hours and they read all this testimony back about the lineup.

The United States Supreme Court that year takes three cases back to the United States Supreme Court which were appealed on due process and the rights of a defendant in a lineup. One was your right to your attorney and one was a basic overall question of what is due process in the lineup proceedings. Simple things like can you put the same man in two lineups? all these things. Can you have distinguishing characteristics? -- height -- all these things that were so obvious in my case. But if it were not for a goofy guy who had a moment in the sun which he wanted to take.

So lo and behold, it's the Warren court with a 5-4 decision with Maddy winning this case. It turned out great. During the campaign, here I was, even though I was a Republican, running from the standpoint of representing indigent defendants and representing what is due process.

People would say, "Don't you know, he was guilty." I said, "It wasn't a question of whether he was guilty or not. The question was..."

And then I had a follow-up story about a guy -- it was a true story -- where a guy was taken in. It was about three months after the decision came down, which was almost a year later in which a guy was taken into a lineup, and I used that as a parallel, saying if they had not had this due process, this guy could very well have been convicted. So it was good.

SENEY: What was it like to argue in front of the Supreme Court?

MADDY: It was terrifying at that time. I mean, it was just overwhelming. You sat at the ready desk for 45 minutes, so you had to sit the first 45 minutes before you argued, to listen. I had a black suit on with my vest on.

SENEY: Did you have a morning coat on?

MADDY: I didn't wear the morning coat. They allowed me to wear a suit, so I wore a suit with a vest. When I sweat, I sweat from the forehead and it just rolls down my body. I sweat like a stuck hog, as I always say, for about the first ten minutes until I got the first question. And then when the questions came, then I was in my game, then I was relaxed.

I got questioned by almost every justice, and of course, all the famous justices were up there. Earl Warren was so gracious. He never took his eyes off you when you testified, when I testified, and then made this very nice comment after it was over. It was very inspiring about service to the public. You know, what lawyers do by giving their time

free.

SENEY: Oh, he knew this was pro bono.

MADDY: Oh yes, he knew it was pro bono.

So the point going back to my tenure in Fresno then, all this was going on. Floyd Hyde had gone back as Secretary of Housing, or had a job in HUD [U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development] back in Washington.

SENEY: Housing and Urban Development?

MADDY: I think so. And then at that time, Huey, our old Senator [Hugh M. Burns], was going to retire and Floyd was going to come out and run, and Karney Hodge was involved in that campaign to help Floyd Hyde. And of course, Floyd had been my sort of mentor so I was involved. The first time I don't think I was registered but I registered obviously and we got behind Floyd to come out.

SENEY: No question you registered Republican.

MADDY: I registered Republican.

SENEY: But there was no question in your mind.

MADDY: No question in my mind about that.

[Senator George] Zenovich decides to run, of course, in place of Huey Burns and Floyd decides to stay in Washington. So we had this little team together on behalf of Floyd. Nobody wanted to take on Zenovich. One guy, Earl Smittcamp, was a great candidate but far right.

The guys that I was aligned with were a little bit more moderate, as Floyd Hyde was.

So the local party came and said, “Why don’t you run for the Assembly seat that Zenovich was in?” The seat was, I think, 29 percent or 30 percent Republican, the rest Democrat, and suicidal.

SENEY: You stepped up to the line.

MADDY: Stepped up to the line because by that time I was deeply involved in public service and, obviously, politics were involved. The War on Poverty was a lot of politics and I was finding that I enjoyed it.

SENEY: Senator, why don’t we stop there for the day.

MADDY: Okay.

[End Tape 2, Side B]

[Session 2, September 17, 1999]

[Begin Tape 1, Side A]

SENEY: Senator, just before we turned on the tape, I asked you to talk a little bit about Karney Hodge, and you mentioned a couple of other names who were instrumental in your getting into politics.

MADDY: As I mentioned the other day on the tape, Karney was the one who I had gone to work for when I was in college in his clothing store. Interestingly, my son, a decade later, a generation later, did the same thing when he went to Fresno State. He went back to work at the clothing store.

But Karney, when I came back from law school and facing the need as a young lawyer to have contacts, Karney got ahold of me immediately and began to suggest to me things that I could do in the community that would be community public service.

SENEY: Let me go back a second, if I can.

Your father died in 1954, before you went to Fresno State.

MADDY: No. I started in '52.

SENEY: You had been there.

MADDY: Right. I went in '52. He had been up there since, I guess, mid-'50 or '51 in construction. Then the whole family moved up in '52 after I graduated from high school.

SENEY: How old was Karney Hodge at this point?

MADDY: Karney is -- I'm trying to think how much older. I think Karney's 71, something like that.

SENEY: So not much older than you.

MADDY: Not that much older than I was, right.

SENEY: Because I was kind of wondering if he were old enough to be--

MADDY: No, no.

SENEY: Kind of a contemporary then.

MADDY: Well, yes, he was an older contemporary. He'd been through the military. When I first met him he was not married. He was not that much older. His dad, the old man was Hodge Choochajian That was their Armenian name, so Hodge is really a derivation. Hodge was actually his father's first name, so it was Hodge & Sons, but the real name was Choochajian. His brother was at Fresno State. He was a younger brother but worked at the store also. He was a cheerleader. Chiuchiu was his name. And Karney's real name is Karnik Choochajian. But it was always Hodge & Sons and he went by Karney Hodge.

When I came back, as I say, he got me involved in various things. I mentioned earlier where I dealt with the lawyers and that got me going.

SENEY: United Way Campaign.

MADDY: United Way Campaign. And then I moved into all of these things. It was sort of fortuitous, but I joined the Junior Chamber of Commerce and they

had this position open on the War on Poverty.

SENEY: Was that, by the way, one of the sort of political organizations? I've interviewed other people and in another community in Southern California. That was the root into local politics was through the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

MADDY: That was true in Fresno. There was not a lot. I mean, they didn't do a lot, except a lot of the silly stuff that the Junior Chamber does, and they had a few projects.

The things that I did in the Junior Chamber was that -- for one reason or another, we had a voter registration drive then, and we also signed up one year there and I was in charge of -- or as part of the organization. NBC [National Broadcasting Company] came in and wanted these polling, the exit polls, and so the Junior Chamber did that. We were positioned at various places to check on turnout and so on.

So for one reason or another, there were two or three things that were just sort of involved in politics, but in Fresno, probably the most serious thing that came up was this appointment to -- of course, this is [U.S. President] Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty and they were trying to form this thing, and Fresno being an area in which Latinos were just beginning to exercise a little strength, and the black community was involved, and we had these major battles between the blacks and the browns.

SENEY: What was it about you, you think, that caused them to put you on the panel?

MADDY: I don't know, I have no idea. I can't remember whether I volunteered or whether I asked to be on it, or what. But I was given the assignment. Having then sat on the War on Poverty, when things began to get hot I sort of emerged as one of the people that were involved in resolving some of the issues. And more important than that, it got me some great contacts.

At that time in the Latino community, a lot of guys that I knew -- John Flores, we always knew him as John Flores. I think he was sigma chi or something at Fresno State. He has now become Juan Flores. I mean, he can barely speak English, and he had moved into -- you know, this was the movement into a lot of Latino politics.

SENEY: You mean now he can barely speak English.

MADDY: Now he can barely speak English. In college he was just a good all-around guy. In fact, I thought of it because there was a photograph of him in one of the ads we used.

SENEY: Was that who that was?

MADDY: Yes, it was John.

SENEY: It was clearly a Latino ad.

MADDY: And he was the head of the Concentrated Employment Program, which was a War on Poverty program, and they were part of the problems we had in the War on Poverty. We couldn't have meetings because the

Latinos would boycott the meetings and other times the blacks would boycott the meetings. But through all that was the process that I think people wanted to see occur. I think what Johnson had in mind with the War on Poverty was that we were going to try to bring the minority community into the mainstream and try to discuss ideas and problems that they were being faced with. Most of it was employment.

SENEY: And it was maximum feasible participation.

MADDY: Absolutely, right. And we had all these programs.

To go back to Karney, Karney got me moving in that direction with saying "You got to join this, you got to do this." As I said, the social/cultural things was the Philharmonic, was the most important.

SENEY: You know, I'd like you talk a little bit more about the War on Poverty, your direct experiences with that, and try to give the future reader a sense that this was a program that began with great enthusiasm and optimism.

MADDY: It did, and the notion was right. It brought people, particularly minority groups, together and combined with the Chamber of Commerce, the senior members, the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Business interests were represented. There was a large number of people. It was almost structured so it wouldn't work, in a sense, but it was a great place to debate. It was a great place to discuss the concerns of the community.

As I said, in Fresno the thrust more than anything else was unemployment. I mean, if you look today -- where is the highest

unemployment rate in California? -- I will guarantee you that nine out of ten years the top one or two will be Fresno. It always is. It's a huge unemployment problem, principally because we have migrant workers, and a great number of people because of the living conditions. It's relatively cheap to live in Fresno. There's always a great number of people who stay there. They don't move to Texas or follow the crops as much as stay here and wait for the harvest season. That hasn't changed, even though farming has changed so dramatically over the years.

So the thrust of it was to discuss all of the problems and there was the structure that came out of Washington, and from all that the carrot was the money. You know, do we do this, do we do that? Do we put together this program or that program and from it?

SENEY: How much money did you have to put in? Do you remember?

MADDY: I can't remember. I can't remember how much was involved. I know the Concentrated Unemployment Program was one that had a great deal of emphasis and it was designed to try to train people. The thrust was to go out and find where the jobs were and get employers to invest in minority workers, and therefore, they would get some stipend, or there'd be some assistance for hiring people.

It was the kind of thing that was a great dream, and to some degree I think it worked. It certainly got minorities involved in the political arena.

SENEY: It politicized them, didn't it?

MADDY: Politicized a lot of them. As I say, I only joke about John because a lot of the better trained, the educated people who realized that that was a good outlet for them too. Just like in the Legislature. A lot of the Latinos who came up here early years couldn't speak a word of Spanish because it wasn't popular then. The important thing was to assimilate. Now it's important to not only understand English but to speak Spanish.

I really can't remember how I emerged as one of the people that became influential and more of a spokesman for trying to settle things. I was looked at as probably being one of the [problem solvers].

The Urban Coalition came after that, and the Urban Coalition was on a nationwide basis. A lot of it spun off of Floyd Hyde and what he was doing to try to make the city important. As I say, I found the more I did, the more people asked me to do and the more, in fact, I liked the public service side of it. I found that you didn't make much money as a lawyer doing that, which was one of the unfortunate parts. But in terms of my future, Karney was important in giving me the push in moving in all these directions.

The Parking Authority, the Central Business District Coordinating Committee was all designed, and our goal then was to keep the downtown vital, to keep people living downtown. It finally blew up because people were moving north, just like they do in the Central Valley -- everybody moves north. Once they built the big new shopping center, once we

couldn't block that, you sort of kissed downtown goodbye.

SENEY: Was that the major political strategy or tactic to block the new shopping center?

MADDY: To block, you know, to put restraints on zoning so that the new shopping centers couldn't go in. We had a great dream in Fresno because we developed the mall concept and put in artworks and a tremendous investment in it to make the downtown beautiful, and they moved a lot of people out. The unfortunate thing is we moved a lot of people out. We condemned the property and did a lot of things to enhance the redevelopment of downtown. When we went to visit the major economic businesses, the Macys [Department Store] and so on, they said, you know, "It's the wrong approach. We go where the people are. We don't locate a store in an abandoned area and hope people are going to move in. It's the other way around."

And so what we had sort of bitten off didn't work for us because we thought we'd clean out the area and bring the big stores in and people would want to move and live near them, and the big stores told us that's not the way it works.

SENEY: Well, what you did was really clean out probably the only businesses that would have stayed -- the less expensive hotels and restaurants.

MADDY: Exactly right. And so downtown was, unfortunately, hurt in that way.

I learned a lot. I learned a lot of things that didn't work.

SENEY: You were thinking about something.

MADDY: Well, I was trying to put my finger on what -- I learned a lot of those lessons. I'm not sure how much they all helped me except they were a foundation for speaking to the issues when I got into politics and to have some understanding of all these things. I think it always helped me later on in my career because I had done all these things. I mean, I had been involved in all these things.

SENEY: In that, did you learn that you can't always anticipate the consequences.

MADDY: Well, I learned the best thoughts and the best minds sometimes are wrong and you have to be a little bit cautious. There was a lot of research that went into trying to save the downtown. I had mixed feelings because there was a part of me that was not very -- you know, I'm not a planner, I'm a little bit more libertarian and let people do what they want to do, and not great for very restrictive zoning. But at the same time, I believed also that the only way we were going to save downtown was we were going to have to have some constraints on where people go and what they're going to do. There is some reason for zoning and Fresno's got some terrible examples of what happens when you just let things go wild. Now we're coming back, regeneration. When you run out of space, then you come back and start fixing things up. The trouble with the Central Valley is there's so much space you don't tend to put limits on -- the river is the natural boundary in Fresno.

But there was so much of that where I give Karney credit. In fact, I was not one that naturally wanted to go out there and push but he sort of forced me to push.

SENEY: What do you think he had in mind?

MADDY: Just a good friend. I always told him he loved to live vicariously. But when it was all over, we had a great time because ultimately he came up here in the [Governor George] Deukmejian Administration. Karney excelled at whatever he did. When he was the Philharmonic president, he ultimately became the head of the National Executive Directors of Philharmonics in the nation. In the clothing business he always moved to the very top of the clothing industry. I think it finally got boring for him in Fresno, so when Deukmejian was elected, I pushed real hard to get Karney -- in fact, Sal [Salvatore] Russo was on Duke's staff.

SENEY: Sal Russo is here, is he? Did I see him down the hall?

MADDY: Yes, Sal's here.

But I said, "Karney, you got to do something."

He said, "I want to do something else." He had been involved in all of that local government activity, so we ended up getting him appointed. Deukmejian went along with appointing him as chairman of the California Housing and Finance Agency [CHFA]. So he was here in Sacramento, moved up here, and ran CHFA for a while, and of course, ultimately became the president of the National Executive Directors of CHFAs

around the country. He's been up here since that time.

SENEY: So you were able to pay him back.

MADDY: A little payback. And I said, "You don't have to live vicariously now. You can do your own stuff." But he played a major role in pushing me along and having the contacts in Fresno. Interestingly, it didn't necessarily make me the richest lawyer in town. I'm not sure what would have happened if I had stayed in the business of law. I'm sure I would have had reasonable success.

But what it did do was propel me into my career as a politician, because all the things that he moved me into were all beneficial to me later on. I got to be extremely well known. By '69, I was one of the finalists for the Volunteer of the Year in Fresno because I had done so many different things that were involved in public service. It was sort of a natural then. As I say, I backed into the role because of Floyd Hyde not coming out here, as I mentioned before, and then running for the Assembly. In a way, we were so naïve. If I knew then what I know now about you don't win a seat that's only 29 or 30 percent Republican but--

SENEY: Well, you ran an excellent campaign.

MADDY: We ran a great campaign.

SENEY: I want to ask you about the Philharmonic Board. Talk about that. That must have been a completely different culture obviously than the War on Poverty.

MADDY: Yes. It was funny, there weren't a lot of cultural things in Fresno, and my brother-in-law, who was three years older than I was, in the law practice, it was only funny because when I first got back, he was always on me about "You've got to get out and do more," and I ultimately had the joke about '72 or something. The lawyers would always have a big lunch for me, kind of a \$10 fundraising event, which was more to just get together, and I said, "When I came back to Fresno after law school, I was Bev Chinello's husband. Then I became John Chinello's son-in-law and then I became Jack Chinello's brother-in-law." I said, "Now I'd like to introduce Ken Maddy's brother-in-law and father-in-law," and I had my father-in-law and brother-in-law get up. I said, "I've come a long way." That was my joke at them. But Jack and I had this little rivalry and he's the one that said, "I've been trying for two or three years to get on the Philharmonic Board." He said, "That's the most important board. That's where all the heavy hitters in town are."

And I said, "Good." And going back to talk to Karney, what I used to do, Karney had his store downtown and at lunchtime at the law practice, if I didn't have anywhere to go, I'd just go sit down and have lunch with Karney. This is while I was doing the various little things, and I said something about that.

He said, "So Jack thinks of the Philharmonic Board." He said, "You know, I'm president." I didn't even know that. Of course, I had no

particular interest in Philharmonic music.

Well, it was about three months later, Jack came over and he said,  
“Did you see this?”

I said, “What?”

He said, “They just put out an announcement. You’re on the  
Philharmonic Board!”

I said, “Oh, son of a gun.”

SENEY: I wish the tape could see that wonderful smile.

MADDY: It was great. My brother-in-law, unfortunately, is deceased now. He died  
quite young. It was only funny at the time.

SENEY: What was it like? What was the Philharmonic Board like?

MADDY: It’s in a huge amount of controversy right now over the conductor.

A lot of people who live in Fresno worried about the image of  
Fresno being kind of a hick town. In reality, we have a tremendous Arts  
Society group, a group of people who are concerned about the arts. We  
helped build an Arts Center in my time. My former wife was on that  
board.

The Philharmonic Board was an attempt to try to bring a  
metropolitan type orchestra of some substance and some renown into the  
community because it had a good following, and our job, of course, was to  
make sure it was financed. Typical of those boards, you raise money, and  
when we built the Convention Center, we built the Philharmonic

auditorium, which was very nice. You know, you buy the shell. You need fundraisers to make sure that we had the right sound. So it was a matter of having a season and going to the Philharmonic and dressing up and having the parties. Not typical of San Francisco or any place like that. I developed some appreciation for the music. I wasn't a great fan but it was a good entrée to a lot of people.

SENEY: Sort of the elite maybe?

MADDY: Yes, the wealthier people in town. Fresno, in those days, had very few outsiders. All the stores were owned by local people. The big stores, the Gottschalks, that's Joe Levy. And the Blum family, they're still in town. The Berkeleys was owned locally. All the major stores, except like the Penneys were not. The Roos Bros. was a locally owned store. All those folks still lived in town. It was only later that the Berkeleys sold out and all these other major chains came in.

So Fresno is still very much a local community where all the heavy-hitters and all the people who had the wealth were people who lived in town. The growers, the big growers, were the one or two or three families that had been in that part of the country very early on and developed the land and, still, all families lived in town. It wasn't a situation where the wealth was owned outside of town; the wealth was all in town. So being on the board was a matter of meeting, again, if you will, the wealthier people and, if you will, the people that were movers and shakers in town.

SENEY: What was the politics like on that board?

MADDY: It was very nonpolitical. It was just really nonpolitical.

SENEY: No squabbles, no disputes?

MADDY: No. In those days, the battles were really not battles. The hard part was, and that's where Karney was so good because Karney moved in circles around the country. I mean, once he got on this board he got on more of a national scale. Getting the right conductor is everything. Getting the right conductor who has the personality that fits the community. The members of the board were either people that were local musicians who loved it or a lot from the university. So the Philharmonic Board, from a political point of view, ultimately helped me, that I knew almost all those people, as I said, that were in a position to help politically, who were not necessarily very political but were the right people.

SENEY: Would that mean, too, perhaps as much as not necessarily them supporting you but at least knowing you well enough not to oppose you?

MADDY: Absolutely.

SENEY: You were in a sense reliable and hard-working.

MADDY: It was a lot of liberal people, a lot of Democrats. In my experience in Fresno, I always just overwhelmed party lines. I mean, the party lines meant very little. In fact, the whole first campaign I ran was anti-politician. I was the man who was looking out for Fresno, and I used it. Everything I did -- the Philharmonic, the War on Poverty -- was all

designed to show that I wasn't the politician, I was the one who was going to represent Fresno.

SENEY: Right, that you had a broad interest.

MADDY: A broad interest, and I still think that's the best way to approach any campaign and it's the best way to approach any office, but it means you've got to have the background. I mean, you can't walk in cold. Today, folks walk in and want to run for office and they either are rich and they've got the money to run or they just decide they want to run.

“What have you ever done?”

Well, nothing, but I'm ready to run. I look good, I speak well.”

But have you ever served on a council?” Local government's another way to go and that's another way to serve. I came close a couple of times.

SENEY: Did you think about running for city council?

MADDY: I thought about it but it was getting sort of fortuitous. It didn't come up at the right time and I was pretty influential with all these appointed positions that, in many ways, I didn't have to take the heat.

SENEY: It might have been a step down?

MADDY: Step down, sure. I'd clearly made up my mind at one point that when I was -- well, I didn't think about ever going back, but at one point I always thought in retrospect that it was better that I'd never had gone through local government, that I'd never had to carry that burden.

SENEY: How do you mean?

MADDY: I came right in and ran for office in the Assembly, so the further you are away from the people, in many ways you're not trapped with a lot of bad decisions along the way.

SENEY: Did you ever think about the Fresno County Board of Supervisors?

MADDY: No, same thing. This came on so quick, when I first started thinking about the politics, it was right at the other level.

SENEY: Well, that was fortuitous then.

MADDY: Yes, that was fortuitous. I'm trying to think. When I was on the Parking Authority there was a discussion about being appointed to city council. I can't remember whether I turned it down or whether it just didn't come up. The only time I really thought about it was I think there was an appointment that was possibly to be made and I can't remember now why I didn't do it. But my memory now is that I didn't want to go in at the level because I was already taking so much time from the law practice.

SENEY: Were you, as they say, making rain? Were you bringing business to the law firm?

MADDY: A little bit but not near enough, in my mind. A lot of things happened. The Supreme Court case hit.

SENEY: What was the name of that case, by the way?

MADDY: *Foster v. The State of California*. It got some publicity but that was more local, that was among lawyers. It didn't get a whole lot of play in the

paper, it got some play, but most people don't care. You know, you're a lawyer and it doesn't make any difference where you've handled cases. It meant a lot to other lawyers because nobody else had done it.

SENEY: That must have increased your reputation in the legal community.

MADDY: Legal profession, it did, right. And I was a fairly decent trial lawyer. I was doing some trial work. But not a lot of rainmaking. It was too soon for that. I was only five years in. I think more than anything else, I had tried to put together -- by this time I had a good friend, Don Jackson, who helped me in my campaign, and a couple of young lawyers, and a kid named Don Magarian, and Don Magarian's father had the best reputation, one of the best reputations of any Armenian lawyer in town. My father-in-law was Italian and had been practicing there for many, many years and had a lot of the old Italian group. We were going to try to put together a law firm and have the old men of counsel and continue to work, and that sort of fell through. My brother-in-law didn't like the idea much, I think because he had the Chinello name and he didn't really think it would help us to move into a broader based firm. I was of the mind that we should get going because it seemed to me that we should start expanding the law firm.

So then when the opportunity came to run for office I was pretty receptive to it because I wasn't totally happy with being in the law practice. And I think my brother-in-law and I weren't -- we got along fine

but it wasn't a hundred percent. I wanted to expand, I wanted to be doing some more things.

SENEY: Did they support you in a sense in your political work?

MADDY: Oh yes. My father-in-law and brother-in-law, they covered me. Even though I tried to stay working I couldn't work. The first two years we went all year, in '71 and '72, the legislative session.

SENEY: I'm thinking more of the period before you were elected to the Legislature, working in all these community affairs. Did they cover you then too?

MADDY: Absolutely. I worked long, long hours and I thought I carried my load. Two or three of the biggest cases we had were a result of my contacts. One was with Don Magarian, and we got a huge case that brought us a lot of money. That was the biggest pay year we had. Sixty-nine was one of the biggest pay years we had. And that was two big cases that I was involved with that were more or less rainmaking. I felt that I had brought them to the firm. But they certainly gave me the chance, because by that time I was spending a lot of time in meetings and so on.

SENEY: Sure, having to prepare all those things.

MADDY: Having to prepare and do all those things. So they were very supportive. My father-in-law was an extremely good man, just a great man. He loved what I was doing. He loved all that. And Jack, my brother-in-law, was very supportive too, except that he wanted to grind out the money. We

were working hard trying to get rich and all that time I was doing something else that wasn't always paying. It helped when we got a big case. And the big fee that I nurtured, then it was a lot easier.

But they were supportive, very supportive, and they had to be. In part it was what they'd asked me to do. My mother-in-law, I guess she died in '64. My brother-in-law got divorced. There was a lot of upheaval within the family so we had to keep doing a lot of things to keep busy.

SENEY: Another thing you mentioned on the resume I got in terms of your activities was that you were the co-chair of the Fresno School Bond Election in '67.

MADDY: Right. That was Karney Hodge. I'd forgotten that was one of the major ones. That was a huge deal. Karney took on the job. There was a school bond election.

[End Tape 1, Side A]

[Begin Tape 1, Side B]

MADDY: Karney had gotten himself wrapped up in the school bond. Fresno constantly needed construction of schools, and the two-thirds vote was impossible to get, so Karney took on the job and made me co-chair. It was another one where he just "Come on, you're going to be co-chair of this thing," and so we organized that as close as we could to a political campaign. Neither one of us was necessarily experienced in politics, but as we thought back about it, it was a great learning experience. We

organized and went out and organized school by school, message by message, to the parents in those schools; the message being that right now, with the growth in the next three years, you're going to have three temporary classrooms, you're going to be going -- and the key was "double sessions." You know, we threatened every parent with double sessions, and the last thing momma wanted to do is you got two kids, you're going to take one kid to go to school at seven and that kid will come home at twelve, and you take the other kid at one, so you'll never be alone.

SENEY: Apron strings all day long.

MADDY: That's right. You'll be suffering. Those days, a lot less women worked, so getting rid of the kids at the same time [was important to them]. We had all kinds of strategies worked out.

SENEY: Was that a real threat?

MADDY: It was a hypothetical threat, but obviously it could have happened because we were not building any new classrooms. They had not won a bond election for God knows how long, and we organized within the school district. I mean, those principals who didn't want to cooperate and didn't want to help us with the contact with the parents, then we had -- I can't think of his name now, the superintendent of schools, who made sure they understood that they're going to be in the worst school possible next year. There was a lot of politics behind the doors.

SENEY: Were you at some of those meetings?

MADDY: Oh yes, certainly.

SENEY: Talk about one. What was it like?

MADDY: The main ones were just the coming together with the names of the principals who were not very cooperative in terms of what they had to do, and the key was that they had to make contacts with the parents, and we had to get this message out as to what the impact of the failure to pass this was going to be. We'd just go by results how many people were at meetings and so on, how hard these principals worked.

In the meeting we had -- I can't think of his name, but the superintendent -- Karney and I would get in with him and just sit down with these recalcitrant principals and say, "How do you guys like these four schools?" We'd lay it out, the four worst schools. The worst places.

Maybe a little bit I learned from the military where I put the guy out underneath the wing. "How would you guys like to be principals of these schools? because that's where the guys who don't cooperate are going to end up."

"Right?" to the superintendent.

So those kind of meetings. We made a lot of speeches to parents. We'd go around and push and to get parents organized. And it was the first one that passed in I don't know how long.

SENEY: So you'd go from school to school. Work through the PTA [Parent

Teacher Association], work through the principal?

MADDY: The principally mostly. The PTA, I don't recall it being that active, that good. The black community was tough because what are they going to get out of it? That sort of thing.

I learned a big lesson there. I'll give you one more example. We had an assistant superintendent -- and I can't remember his name; part of getting old, but I can picture him -- we went to a big meeting, and what I learned was he got up, and during this meeting they were talking about who was going to get what, and he got up and proceeded to tell this black audience that he knew what it was like to be poor and to be disadvantaged and he could relate to them. Somebody got up and he said, "You might have been poor and you might have thought you were disadvantaged, but you weren't black and poor and disadvantaged." The lesson I learned was that there are certain groups of people who you cannot tell them that you understand their story. I never, ever made that mistake. I didn't make it then, but he made it then.

I've told the story before. I've said as a white person, you can't get up and tell blacks and other minorities that you understand their plight because this guy made it clear. He said, "You might have been poor, but you weren't black and poor." And it made a lot of sense to me.

I can see that setting because I was sitting right next to him in the auditorium in the school over in West Fresno, which was the black part of

town, which was always the isolated part of the city of Fresno where almost all blacks were. You know, they wanted to cooperate and help us. Traditionally, they felt they had had the short end of the stick.

SENEY: Did they, do you think?

MADDY: Not since that time. I mean, certainly in this bond drive and ever since we've put, in terms of capital assets and so on, we've put lots of money into West Fresno and into that part of the community. Edison High School, which was the lone high school over there, was not the newest high school in town because there's been no growth over there. But certainly, what we fixed was the junior high schools and the elementary schools.

And they were trying to do busing at that time. They were trying to make that work, which had mixed results. It was so clear in Fresno that those eight or nine precincts were almost all black. In the rest of the precincts I did well. In '70 I did very well over there. I got 35 percent of the vote in a community which was high for a Republican.

SENEY: Would this have had to do with this school bond issue?

MADDY: I'm sure. That was one of the things we bragged about was the successful bond. But that was Karney, this co-chair, and he was the one that dragged me to that one too. As I say, Karney was really an important factor all through that political period, in particular. The other one was Don Jackson, who ultimately became my law partner when I got out in '78

after I quit the Assembly and lost the Governor's race. We were law partners for a short period of time and have been friends for a long time. But he was the guy that I turned to. He was the one that I wanted to be a law partner with. He's really organized. And that first campaign in '70 was a phenomenal campaign and one that was more fun than all the other 28 years. I mean, it was so much fun. We were naïve and dumb, but we were so well organized.

SENEY: Well, you really were.

MADDY: We were extremely well organized, and Don Jackson gets all the credit for that.

SENEY: Is that right?

MADDY: He gets it all.

SENEY: Where does this come from?

MADDY: From him. He always claimed he knew a little bit about politics but he learned a lot more after that. Don was just an extremely well-organized guy, a very bright guy. Has been a successful lawyer on and off. He's sort of semi-retired now; he's on disability. But he got everything organized to where we had every precinct, and we had a campaign staff and a group of volunteers that knew every precinct. Because what happened at the end, with the ballots in the first campaign, the voting machines broke down, and so there was this delay. So we'd all meet at the headquarters and we'd all be standing around and Don would get up on

the table and he'd say, "Precinct 85..." Of course, everybody knew what Precinct 85 was. He said, "Pat Camaroda, 312 votes; Ken Maddy, 700."

Everybody was, "This was a Democratic area and he shouldn't be winning there." Everybody knew every precinct and where we concentrated our efforts.

SENEY: Well, you and your staff walked 70 percent of the precincts.

MADDY: Right. Nobody else walked precincts. That area had been Hugh Burns and George Zenovich, and I always joked about it. You couldn't find their telephone numbers in the book. I mean, it was the safest Democratic area around. Number one, we figured out we were going to do a lot of television and it was all the talking heads. I figured I could get on and say a few things, so I would have these commercials. TV wasn't new then but I'd walk during the dinner hour, and little kids would say, "He's here! He's here!" People had not seen that and had not met people knocking on their doors.

The guy who outdid me was this guy who ran for the Senate against Zenovich -- Earl Smittcamp -- but that's a separate story. We both benefited. He began to walk precincts, too, in the general.

But walking precincts was unheard of and people--

SENEY: What do you mean about Smittcamp? You're going to have to tell me. You can't do that to me.

MADDY: Earl Smittcamp won the primary in the Republican side and was running

against Zenovich. It looked like a hopeless feat. Earl Smittcamp owned the Wawona Orchards, which used to produce jams and jellies. He was fairly successful there. He's still alive and does very well. But he decided to run. A very conservative guy.

I ran against a guy in my primary named John Hicks who had been State YR [Young Republicans] chairman. Everybody thought that he would easily beat me. Well, the campaign I ran against him, I was the community activist and he was a political activist and the Republicans voted for the community activist, so I knew I had a good theme.

When the Hicks people left that campaign -- they were pretty right-wingers -- they joined Smittcamp. He had a great campaign to begin with. He came up with a terrific idea early in his primary and that was that he had all this surplus apricots and he had all these jars, and he produced an apricot-pineapple jam and put the Smittcamp campaign on it, the three or four or five things that he was going to run on, the themes, which were pretty populist. He and his wife and his son and his family began to walk precincts, handing out the jar of jam in the primary.

Here was George Zenovich, supposed to be the favorite, and suddenly Smittcamp was gaining so much attention. People were standing on their front doorsteps. That's what helped me, too, because I was walking precincts and Earl was walking precincts. They were waiting to get their jar of jam. It was just an overwhelming successful deal. I always

talk about it because the unfortunate thing, the guys, Hicks and the right-wingers who ran the campaign against me, had not really, I guess, analyzed the district, and there I again give Don Jackson the credit because early on in our campaign, we were trying to figure out where we come down, and here I've got this very Republican guy running against me.

Well, we did some research. Don came up with the idea. Well, he did the research. He found out that [U.S. Senator Thomas H.] Tom Kuchel had won that district in that highly contested race when he ran against the hard right-winger. I can't think of his name now.

SENEY: Max Rafferty.

MADDY: Yes.

SENEY: Tom Kuchel was the United States Senator.

MADDY: Right, and Rafferty.

SENEY: So Kuchel carried the district.

MADDY: Carried my district, yes. So we were trying to figure out how could we go to the right? We thought, you know, here's Hicks being such a hard right-winger, what were we going to do? Everything I had done had been obviously more moderate, almost Democratic, and so instead of running from it we just broadcast it. We decided that it was better to be a moderate-to-liberal Republican.

SENEY: I have to say that some of the things that I got from your files<sup>1</sup> really sort of surprised me. On your press release, for example, when you announced that you were running for office, you say, “There’s a great need for action with respect to our environment and the pollution of our atmosphere and water, for action in creating programs for those living in oppressive poverty.” I mean, those were the first things, and then later you get down to meaningful tax reform and property tax burden, which you would normally think of as Republican issues. That was part of the strategy to emphasize these.

MADDY: Yes. Originally, the Republicans said don’t worry. They wanted me to run against [U.S. Representative] Bernie Sisk and I said--

SENEY: For Congress.

MADDY: Yes. And I said I may be dumb and naïve, but I’m not totally stupid.

SENEY: Because he was a powerhouse.

MADDY: Oh, unbeatable. Bernie was unbeatable. And so then all this sort of thing fell in and it was hard to convince everybody, my law partners and my wife -- you know, this was going to be a task -- but we really took it on as it was going to be fun, it was going to be a challenge.

SENEY: Did you think you were going to win to begin with?

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1. Senator Maddy made available numerous volumes containing newspaper articles, press releases, newsletters, campaign mailers, letters and other materials that were used by the interviewer/editor to prepare for the interview. These volumes are now housed at the Kenneth L. Maddy Institute of Politics at California State University, Fresno.

MADDY: At that stage of my life everything I was doing I was winning. I never even thought about losing, but I wasn't stupid either. We were naïve, and when I say naïve, we didn't really analyze how tough those numbers were. So we got in and I was with the right guys. Don Jackson is a no-lose kind of guy. Karney was less involved in it, but he was more one of my advisors and he was one of the guys who wanted me to do it right. And I'll tell you a story about that when Stu Spencer came down to see us one time. But anyway, we went into it to just do the best we could. I don't think we thought winning or losing; I think we just did it. That's part of what made it so much fun, and the outpouring of people who came in.

So what we did was we kind of put down our ideas as close as we could do to what I really thought, things that I'd been involved in. I was pretty moderate in all my views except for the financial. I never tried to define too close what I was. But a lot of the stuff we talked about, even now when I read about it, I was pretty liberal for what I did.

SENEY: And there were others, and then you get down [in your press release announcing that you were running] to the kind of thing that you have to talk about: "improved transportation, more diversified recreational facilities, greater employment opportunities." And then it comes really at the end: "assistance for the agribusiness industry, which is the lifeblood

of this community.”<sup>1</sup> I mean, you’ve got to say that.

MADDY: Got to say it. Everybody knew that the agriculture was the lifeblood. What we found out was that not enough people knew that when agriculture -- what I learned later on -- when agriculture started to dip and we had a bad year, the clothing store dipped, and one of the biggest things we did was begin to talk in terms of [this effect]. The rich people were agriculture. I mean, the real rich in town.

SENEY: The real money.

MADDY: The real money were agriculture guys. The people that owned all the big land and all that stuff were the real wealthy, so nobody felt sorry for them. Where I tried to sooth it over was that when they’re doing well everybody’s doing well. I mean, there’s no doubt about that, that you had to put that issue across. So I think in our opening goal we weren’t trying to cater too much to them. Because, at the time, see, I had the center of the city. I had the hole in the donut, I had the urban area. I didn’t have much agriculture involved. The agricultural people lived in my district because they always lived in town and worked outside of town.

SENEY: Talking about the issues and the more progressive views that you took. And you were going to tell me a story about Karney Hodge and Stu Spencer.

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1. See Maddy paper.

MADDY: That's right. At one stage I had Larry Wayte, who was a young lawyer, who was one of the guys, we were close friends. Carmen Eanni who was another young lawyer, was on my -- I had five guys. Larry Willoughby, who was my football playing friend from Fresno State College, who was my publicity guy. He did all that work. Karney and then Don Jackson. That was my kind of advisory team. So in the middle of the campaign, when it looked like I had won the primary and it looked like I might have a chance in this district, they sent Stu Spencer down. Now, where Karney was in my campaign was how I handled myself and what I said and how I treated people.

SENEY: That was his big concern.

MADDY: Yes. And I'd go down for lunch and he would pull out his book. He had one of these little books and he'd pull it out of his pocket. He said, "The other day, do you remember you were walking down the mall?" And he said, "Old, [so-and-so]" -- this would be somebody -- "You didn't say hello to him."

And I said, "Karney, what are you talking about?"

He said, "I was watching. You didn't say hello to him."

I said, "Well, the son-of-a-bitch never says hello to me."

He said, "Ken, he's important and you've got to say..."

That's the kind of stuff Karney would have and what I would say.

So he worried about what I said. Well, Stu Spencer came down and told

us that we weren't going to win. He said, "You've got a tough enough district but you're not giving yourself a chance to win because so far you have not said one word about your opponent. You've got to attack him." And he said, "There's a lot of things to attack. He's dumb," he's this, he's that.

SENEY: That's Camaroda in the general election.

MADDY: Yes, Pat Camaroda.

And I said, "Well" -- there's a lot of things I said -- "you know Pat Camaroda's niece works for me as my legal secretary." And I said, "The Camaroda family is Italian, my father-in-law is Italian." I said, "There's just a lot of reasons. What am I going to attack him for?"

We kind of argued and Karney took Stu Spencer outside and said, "Don't come back. We don't need your advice." Stu Spencer still remembers that.

Karney just kicked him out because Karney's view was that I could not attack. The traditional politics was I was not going to attack my opponent or say anything against him. Suddenly we were saying all kinds of things about him because Pat Camaroda was the iron fist and he was the guy who was careful about everything. Everything we did in this business, positive action, he was negative.

So everything we said, "Elect a man of action," "Positive action pays results," "New responsive, new leadership," everything we did, we used

the word “positive” -- “He needs the people” -- all those kind of things that we decided would distinguish us from Camaroda. I don’t think I ever mentioned him. I don’t think the first two or three campaigns I ever mentioned anybody.

SENEY: In one of your campaign brochures it says, “Fresnans cannot afford” -- and “not” is underlined -- “cannot afford to have a man with an anti-everything record representing them in Sacramento.”<sup>1</sup>

MADDY: I think that’s as close as I came. And I had forgotten even that.

SENEY: In the volume that you’re going through, and you were kind enough to loan me, there were then articles out of the *Fresno Bee* in which the political commentators were talking about Camaroda and his tenure on the city council where he was against everything.

Mayor Hyde came out as--

MADDY: Yes, Floyd came out.

SENEY: And he was helpful in reminding everyone. You were there on the platform while he was giving his speech and talking about Camaroda’s negativeness and all that.

MADDY: Without me ever doing it. And the thing about Stu Spencer, Stu was always the hit man.

SENEY: He would have gone for the throat, wouldn’t he?

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1. See Maddy paper.

MADDY: Oh, absolutely. And that was the thrust. And Karney's role in my campaign was to make sure that if we were going to be beat, we were going to be beat with class and style. That was his whole notion, which is what I believed also. That was really the era when -- you know, Stu had just been successful with Reagan and the idea was that you had to go after your opponents, which is now--

SENEY: The standard fare.

MADDY: The standard fare. But we didn't mention anybody. The closest was when I went after a guy in '74 -- Al Villa. We went after him a little bit.

SENEY: Let me ask you about Stu Spencer because I assume he must have been sent by the Assembly Republicans under the so-called Cal Plan.

Talk about that a little bit.

MADDY: They had put me down on the third tier of prospective candidates. I had no money from them at all.

SENEY: That's what I noticed in your fundraising, not a dime.

MADDY: [Assembly Speaker] Bob Monagan called me -- I'm trying to think how many days before the election was. I can't remember the exact date.

SENEY: Before the general.

MADDY: Before the general. He called me and said, "What are you doing?"

And I said, "I'm in this position. I have 18,000 mailers sitting here in my front room." This is a true story. "They're all packed, they're all ready to mail, but I don't have the postage." I said, "I think we're doing

well but I borrowed \$5,000 from my personal account” -- my wife was sitting right there -- and I said, “I’m not going to borrow any more. I’m just going to let it roll. I’ve done all I can do.”

And he said, “You’re crazy. You’ve got to put some more money in this thing.”

I said, “I don’t have any more money. I’m not going to take any more personal money,” because this is \$5,000 more than I could really afford.

And he said, “We’re going to send down a survey team.”

They had sent a survey team earlier, and he said, “We’re going to send them back,” and I think it had to be October 28th or 30th, just before Halloween and about a week before the election. So they came back and polled the same 400 people that they had polled initially, which had me trailing, had Camaroda winning by 58 percent of the vote. That was early in the general. And so they came in that night and he said, “If the poll looks any good, then we’ll put some money in.”

And I said, “Just remember, I’m not going to spend another dime. I don’t care what the poll shows.” Well, the poll had reversed it: I was leading by 58 percent, those same 400 people.

He called me up and he said, “How much do you want?”

I said it’d take \$18,000 to mail this thing. He sent me twenty.

So I ended up the campaign with a couple thousand in the bank. I

stuck to it. I wasn't going to mail it. I don't think that endeared me to Monagan but it taught him one thing, that I meant what I said, I wasn't going to roll.

They had sent some other guys down to talk to me about money but never wanted to give it to me. So they all came in later. United for California was the group that used to bring money.

Karney took delight in telling them "Keep your money, we don't want it." It was after the campaign was over.

SENEY: They were going to come in and buy a little entrée after the fact?

MADDY: Yes, afterwards. But anyway, we had a lot of little stories like that.

But Stu Spencer was sent down by Monagan to try to look the effort over, and he was told by Karney, "We're going to do it our way."

SENEY: Well, I figured in some way the Cal Plan must have reached out and tried to touch you.

MADDY: At the very end that's where I got the money.

SENEY: Right.

MADDY: The last \$20,000. We would have won anyway, but obviously I had all those pieces of mail to go out.

SENEY: Let's go back to the primary. And you know, even in general, all of the things you list on your resume and the experiences you've discussed -- well, I'll take your word, obviously, for the fact that you didn't have these plans in mind. You were really well positioned for this race when Hugh

Burns decided not to run. Did you know anything about why he made that decision?

MADDY: I knew his daughter real well. I didn't know Hugh very well. Hugh wasn't well, and I think that he knew very well that if Floyd had come out he might have been beat. Although the district hadn't changed any; it was still a tough district for any Republican to win. But Floyd Hyde was extremely popular and there was some question about Floyd coming out. I'm not sure it had anything to do -- I don't know any more than that. I knew that Hugh was not in the best of health.

SENEY: And by this time he'd lost his leadership position.

MADDY: Yes. It meant a lot. And so Zenovich was the obvious one to go in his spot. As I said, Earl probably should have beaten him if he had not -- I started to finish that story. The same guys who took over his campaign did the same thing and I think that probably had some influence. But Earl [Smittcamp] had not gone negative. He had talked on strong right-wing politics but he had not gone real negative. They went immediately and went after George on abortion. In those days, the abortion issue was the swing vote for Republicans to use against Democrats. In other words, there were a lot of "switchable Democrats," we called them, who were pro-life Democrats, and they went after George with a nasty attitude.

SENEY: He opposed abortion.

MADDY: George was pro-choice. And they went after him with a bitter attack on

abortion, with the dead fetuses and all that stuff, and it was just amazing. Here's a guy, a Democrat, a long-term incumbent, and the district was overwhelmingly Democrat, was suddenly painted as an underdog being attacked by this vicious guy who everybody thought was a nice guy giving out his jam. In fact, people started closing their door. And the newspapers. I mean, here's the *Bee*, and of course, the *Bee* being very Democrat went after Smittcamp with a hammer and a nail. I mean, he still only lost by 7,000 votes in that district. He still almost won the district. But it was a case in which they went further and further to the right and the more right they went in a district that was -- you know, I think it probably helped me. The other half of the district, the biggest part was [Assemblyman Ernest N.] Mobley. He went as a Republican.

SENEY: That was in the 33<sup>rd</sup> District.

MADDY: But it was amazing how Smittcamp blew that race.

SENEY: And the people who were pulling him in this direction, had they worked for Hicks?

MADDY: They had worked for Hicks, yes.

SENEY: At this point, the Young Republicans, and they still may be, but were certainly very conservative.

MADDY: Yes, they were still very conservative. They accepted me pretty well. I gave a speech early on, "The Fat Sons of Rich Fathers," which was one of the better speeches I ever gave.

SENEY: Recap it for us.

MADDY: It was basically that Republicans had to change their image. That we had to portray ourselves as something other than -- what I used was "The Fat Sons of Rich Fathers," that we had to be more inclusive. I mean, it was a pretty liberal speech. The [Fresno] *Bee* loved it. The *Bee* editorialized on it. I don't know if it was in this book or the other book. I think there's an editorial on it.

SENEY: I didn't see it in this one.

MADDY: There's one in the other book, that they loved the speech, and the YR's [Young Republicans] accepted it, although not with great enthusiasm. But I was pushing for the idea that we had to be much more inclusive, we had to bring in more people.

SENEY: This was after you had been elected.

MADDY: After I had been elected. I had done real well in the black community and I had been involved on all these War on Poverty issues with a lot of Latinos and so on.

SENEY: Well, they certainly had to listen to you, I would think.

MADDY: Yes, after my win.

SENEY: That would have been a much harder speech to make before the election.

MADDY: Absolutely. I wouldn't have made it. Couldn't have made it.

SENEY: Well, going back in the primary, Hicks had all of these Republican groups--

MADDY: Had everybody's support. He ran his TV ads, 10 second ads, with he and [U.S. President Richard] Nixon, he and [Governor Ronald] Reagan, he and everybody, that was important in the Republican Party. A nice guy.

It was a big surprise to me. They sort of promised me that I would be uncontested in the primary, which was one of the reasons I figured I could run because we could raise enough money.

[End Tape 1, Side B]

[Begin Tape 2, Side A]

SENEY: You were starting to say that they had promised you that there wouldn't be any opposition.

MADDY: Well, that was the implication. They mentioned Sisk and that there'd be no opposition. I had never heard of John Hicks because I was never involved in Republican politics of any kind, although John was extremely active. So when he got in the race, and it was a little maddening, but it was a Godsend because it forced us to organize. It really got us organized early and we set up the precinct organization, got the women involved, and we had the coffee klatches. We just did everything out of the book.

SENEY: Who talked to you, by the way, about running against Sisk? Who was this?

MADDY: The Republican Party. There was a Central Committee.

SENEY: Was Karney Hodge active in that too?

MADDY: No, not at all. He was not active at all. Tom McMichael. He was Don

Jackson's law partner at one point in time. Tom McMichael was the guy I knew who was a lawyer in town. He was the one who invited me over, and they spoke to me a little bit about the party activities and possibly running, because by that time I was getting a fair amount of press. I was involved in everything.

SENEY: And positive press.

MADDY: Yes, all positive. The Volunteer of the Year and that sort of thing.

So they mentioned it to me and then was pushing me to run for something.

SENEY: Because they're always recruiting; they're looking for candidates.

MADDY: And there was another lawyer in town who was always their number one candidate who was always waiting for the perfect spot. The poor guy committed suicide ultimately in his life but he was the logical one to take the seat when it opened up in a decent fashion, waiting for reapportionment. So they were starving for candidates to run in these seats. And Smittcamp was a surprise because Earl had been active and was a fairly wealthy guy and was a well-known, well-liked individual. Still is very active. A great guy. So he was kind of surprise that year. Why, I don't know. Well, it was Reagan's second term and everybody thought it was going to be a good Republican year. I think that was it. So there was some good candidates coming out and they were trying to organize.

So when I said I would think about the Assembly, we assumed there would be no candidate because it was such a terrible seat, even though we didn't realize it at the time.

SENEY: You didn't have an inkling of how bad it was.

MADDY: Well, we knew how it was. I think back about it now, we were just naïve. I don't know why we didn't think more about it.

SENEY: Well, it's a good thing you didn't, I guess.

MADDY: Yes, it's a good thing we didn't. But it made us organize. And the Democrats did very little of that work. There was eleven or so Democrats and Camaroda was the conservative. That's how he won. There were two former Assemblymen in the race. I remember the board of supervisors. There were a couple of city councilmen. There were a couple of very liberal women who were well known in the community. I mean, that was a very tough contest on the Democratic side.

SENEY: Well, there were some question as to whether or not Camaroda was really a Democrat.

MADDY: Well, he was so conservative -- the iron fist. It was a strange race. I told you his niece worked for me as my legal secretary. She was a young woman, so she was not a trainee but she was new in the game, and it was the weekend before the election, the Friday before the election on Tuesday, and she came in and she wanted to speak to me and closed the door. She said, "My Uncle Pat was over at my dad's house." And she

said, "I just wanted to ask you." She said, "For the first time he said to my dad, 'Maddy may beat me.'" And she said, "I just want to know. Is that true?"

And I said, "I am going to beat him. The polls indicate -- we have a private poller -- we're going to win."

She said, "I'm going to be married." She was going to be married in three weeks or a month later, whatever it was, and she said, "You know you're invited to the wedding. My Aunt Queenie" -- his [Camaroda's] wife's name was Queenie. She was Armenian and Pat was Italian. She said, "She'll just die. They've already got a place in Sacramento." She said, "Queenie will die."

I said, "If you don't want me to come to the wedding, whatever you want to do."

And she said, "No, you're going to come to my wedding, but I'm just going to have to tell you, you'd better stay away from Queenie. I'm going to have you seated in different parts."

This was the strangest thing in the world. We laughed about it years after that.

SENEY: So what happened at the wedding?

MADDY: I just never bumped into Queenie. I just stayed away from Queenie. Or Pat. Either one. I mean, he couldn't believe it. They'd been up here and they thought it was a cinch.

- SENEY: And they had their house picked out and bought?
- MADDY: They had a rental or something like that. She said they had a place up there in Sacramento. So it was kind of comical.
- SENEY: One of the things that the paper pointed out is the totally different styles in campaigns that the two of you ran, Camaroda and yourself. That he tended to stay in his office, that he wasn't a very good speaker.
- MADDY: No, a terrible speaker. I mean, Pat was not much of a speaker.
- SENEY: He was from Brooklyn. Was that residue still in his voice, the accent?
- MADDY: A little bit. But Pat was not the brightest guy and showed it. I mean, he was not the best speaker and he was known as not being very smart. But he had an appeal on the city council because of the iron fist. You know, he didn't want to spend money and he was hard-nosed, a lot of commonsense, in the sense that he didn't go much for any of these programs.
- SENEY: You would certainly support.
- MADDY: That I would support, yes. In those days, you ran much more on the issues, and letters to the editor were an unbelievable tool that we used in those days, and we had letters to the editor all the time.
- SENEY: I'm glad you brought that up, Senator, because there were a lot of letters to the editor. And you organized that.
- MADDY: Absolutely. Everything I did the paper would record. I think we put some of that in there. But when I gave a Kiwanis speech or something like that,

and the coffees were there. We forced everybody into a whole different campaign mode because we were doing this. I was getting that space in the paper. Today, the newspapers don't give you an edge, if you're doing more work than the other guy. And I found that in the Governor's race. I was breaking my ass and guys like Ed Davis never left his place, and certainly Evelle Younger never left his home. And the papers would never reflect that.

But in Fresno in those days, if you were out moving and you were speaking three times in a day, the newspaper recorded that. So it did pick up the activity of other candidates, and the letters to the editor were a major way of influence. People read the letters to the editor. And [Assemblyman Walter J.] Wally Karabian always jokes now about the fact that he was given the assignment. Wally was from Fresno.

SENEY: Although, he was an L.A. Assemblyman.

MADDY: He was in L.A. as an Assemblyman. But he was raised in Fresno, his folks were in Fresno, and Wally always says, "I knew that you were going to be tough because my mom and dad called me -- you knocked on their door -- and they both said notwithstanding what their son told them, they were going to vote for Maddy. So I knew you were tough."

His style was to bring in every -- I mean, [U.S. Senator Edward M.] Teddy Kennedy came into that race.

SENEY: Well, Karabian was sent out by the Democrats to save Camaroda.

MADDY: That's right. Teddy Kennedy came into the district. [U.S. Senator] Gravelle from Alaska came in. There were a number of people who came into my district to campaign for Camaroda. [Assemblyman John L.] Johnny Burton always talks about it. They brought all the black legislators in because as things were going, it looked like they could lose this seat and it was Karabian's job to win it, and he brought in more celebrities.

Well, the letters to the editor, we started writing. We sort of ran this whole campaign: "I'm a Democrat for Maddy. You can't bring in [so-and-so] from New Jersey to tell me how to vote," and we had that whole influence. So pretty soon he quit bringing them in. We found that the letters to the editor were a tremendous influence. So we had this campaign. Every time we needed something to do, we had these letters. We'd call somebody up. You know, it was an organized group. We'd write the letters and get somebody to sign them for us.

SENEY: Let me show you something. I took the liberty of copying a few things out of your file. This site I scanned because it was kind of delicate, so that's why it looks that way.

Would that be Don Jackson's handwriting, do you think?

MADDY: Doesn't look like Don's, but it might be.

SENEY: It mentions letters to the *Bee* in there. It's kind of a "To Do" list.

MADDY: Yes, it's a Don Jackson kind of list. This has to be Don Jackson. It's not

mine.

SENEY: It refers to telling you to do things. It's asking you to do this and that and meet people. This is a wonderful document to have in the files from the first campaign.

MADDY: That campaign, as I said, it was so much fun and so good and so organized. That's why I give Don such credit because he really was the stalking horse. The other great thing was it was all volunteers. We didn't have anybody paid. There wasn't a soul, not a soul, that got paid, which is altogether different. All those people who work in a volunteer way today, everything is paid for. I mean, I go down to the Russo/Marsh offices, now and these campaigns, everybody pays for everything. In our day -- I mean, you could run a 35 [thousand dollar campaign] -- that's all it cost, that general election, is 35 grand. That was because everybody did all of this stuff for nothing. The women on these coffees they did, they were so involved in it.

Another big lesson: I learned I had to brief the women. I said, "This is tremendous of you," and I said, "Who'd you invite?"

She said, "Well, I invited all my neighbors."

And I said, "I want to tell you something. If no one shows up, don't take it personally. There's something about the mentality of people. Next door, your best friend may say 'Oh, yes, I'll come by,' but they don't feel an obligation like it would be if you were asking them over to your house

for a normal social event. They have no hesitation in saying yes but not showing up.” I’d show up at the coffee and my hostess would be there with tears in her eyes and there’d only be two people there. And I’d spend my time holding their hand and putting my arm around them and saying, “Look, we’ll go in there, the three of us. We’ve got an hour. I’m going to spend an hour with you.” In many ways, I learned that I had some devoted people -- the hostess -- even though the other people didn’t show up. But it was a harsh lesson. I think we counted 270 or 300. We had a tremendous number of coffees.

SENEY: Who did these volunteers come from, Senator?

MADDY: They were just a combination of friends of my wife, people I had worked with in all the various charitable things. I had a good mix. I had a lot of liberals, a lot of people who were traditional Democrats who would join my campaign, who knew me. I’m almost a textbook example of what you probably should do if you want to run for office, although when I did it, it was sort of fortuitous. I mean, it wasn’t a master plan of mine. I could sit down now and tell somebody, “If you want to have a master plan of how to go someplace in politics and lay the groundwork, take a page out of my book and do what I did.” But I can’t say that I did it with that thought in mind. It just fell in place that way.

SENEY: Well, you’d have to have the Democrats with you because the numbers I get out of it, the registration was 63,284 Democrats and 30,088

Republicans.

MADDY: Guys would always ask me at the end of a primary, “How are you going to win?” Because there’d be three Democrats with more votes than I had. And I said, “Obviously, only one of them won and I’m going to get the other votes.” No, I had a tremendous loyalty down there in that first eight years. And bad candidates. Johnny Burton, the other day on the floor [of the senate], he said something about, “Here’s a guy that I spent more time trying to beat than anybody else.” And he said, “I don’t know where he found these guys to run against him.” He remembers them all. John remembers them all.

SENEY: He has the sort of same political skills as his brother nearly, doesn’t he, remembering details?

MADDY: Yes, he does. He remembers everything.

SENEY: Good-natured ribbing there.

MADDY: Yes. Camaroda was--

SENEY: He was a wonderful opponent.

MADDY: Yes. In the four races, for some reason the better opponent would be kicked out in the primary, for one reason or another. I’ve learned in Fresno, and it’s true today, Democrat or Republican, in the Central Valley if you get elected, the people have a hard time throwing you out. You really have to make big mistakes, if you’re the least bit intelligent.

Number one, you can get such broad coverage with the media. If

you go down and you hit the TV stations, the three network stations -- it may have changed a lot now because of cable -- but that used to be such widespread coverage. And you don't have to do a lot to get coverage at night. I used to go down to town and my move was to go in and stop by all three stations. And I stopped by the *Bee* and talked to the reporters and something would come out of it. So you get some good play that well. Inexpensive play, too, because an ad in the TV station in Fresno is a lot cheaper and covered a lot of ground. The people in town were loyal to you, I always thought, if you paid attention to them.

SENEY: Well, the *Bee* sent you a questionnaire in that first campaign which you filled out and answered the questions in general terms, as befit a campaign. And then they endorsed you at the *Fresno Bee* and the *Sacramento Bee*. Both endorsed you. What is important about the *Sacramento Bee*?

MADDY: Nothing.

SENEY: Except you can put in your ads.

MADDY: That's all you did. They had a right-wing newspaper in town. A guy ran it who was a contractor. I can't think of the name of the paper now. But that was the only competition the *Bee* had. The key was the *Bee* was a very liberal Democratic paper and they didn't like Camaroda, which was another break on my side. They endorsed me, which was the strongest that I could possibly hope for. And the other thing was, the kind of

coverage they gave at that time was just magic for my kind of campaign. Because I was doing everything, Camaroda wasn't doing anything, and that began to show. I mean, people reflected on it. I had the coach from the football team when I played at Fresno State and a lot of well-known people. We used a lot of clever ads.

SENEY: Yes, there was one from the football coach.

MADDY: Yes. We did nothing from radio. We spent a lot on newspaper ads. That was Karney. Since he was the retailer, he strongly believed in the newspaper, and where we got the free stuff, which was the letters to the editor, and amazing how they printed them. They really printed a lot of stuff in those days.

SENEY: There were many, many of them.

MADDY: We had a campaign. Oh, we had a campaign going. We had letters. Because we learned quickly that that was amazing how people would read those things. I mean, that was the other thing. It's one thing to have letters but if nobody reads them, but people read them and they had influence. I'm sure Wally Karabian pulled these celebs out of there just because we were beating him up on it. You know, we suddenly made it our cause: You can't tell me what to do. I'm going to switch. I'm a Democrat but I'm going to vote for Maddy.

SENEY: There were all kinds of them like that.

MADDY: Oh yes. That was our theme.

SENEY: Did Karabian ever talk to you later about that?

MADDY: Oh, we joke about it all the time. We still kid about it. We're still very close friends. Oh yes, he talks about it all the time, every time he gets up. But it was a great learning.

SENEY: Well, even the tone of the articles in the *Fresno Bee*, when Karabian comes to town. They don't mention he's a Fresno native. They mention he's from Southern California.

MADDY: Right.

SENEY: That's helpful. You're smiling. And then they say, "He's put his arm around Camaroda, trying to make him look like a Democrat, and all the Democrats in the Assembly have endorsed him and maybe that'll help."

But they were very, I would say, uncharitable articles that you must have smiled about at the time.

MADDY: Oh yes. Karney was the only one who knew anybody at the *Bee*. Well, Larry Willoughby, who did the public relations for us, had some contacts. He did a lot of things in terms of trying to influence them. But Karney knew more than anybody and I think in his own way would try to get the word across. We were just thinking about it. We were a good candidate. We were a good candidate for that. I was young and I had a lot of volunteer work. Didn't appear to be necessarily of a political nature. It was a good setting.

SENEY: Well, even visually, I think, there was such a difference between the two

of you. Camaroda was 60 years old.

MADDY: Right. He was older.

SENEY: And not a particularly handsome individual. The pictures of you in the book, you're young, you're vigorous, you're smiling.

MADDY: Had the kids out there with me. It was a textbook picture.

SENEY: Was your wife at the time helpful in politics?

MADDY: Very much so. She didn't necessarily enjoy it but she walked precincts and did everything to help. She got into it too. She really wanted me to win. And she was very much a good name, an old name in town and had a lot of friends, so she was very helpful.

The kids -- Donny, my son, liked it. The girls were pretty young. The oldest daughter didn't. She was very much an introvert and didn't much like the politics of it. But they were all helpful. It was all exciting.

SENEY: Well, I know in the ads, when your wife appeared, they always mentioned her maiden name.

MADDY: Right, because it was important. And what I did -- Don Magarian's dad -- another clever device that we used -- in those days you didn't have the computer work and you couldn't break the precincts down. Nobody had ever done it. I don't think anybody had done that before. They did it in other communities. We took the walk list. That was where we had the Party's Night. We'd get all the people together at night and we'd take the precinct list and we would take all of the names and cut them out and

make walk lists based on the streets. And you had to do all that by hand. Today it's all done by computer and so it just kicks it out.

But what that turned out to be was to make it a party, to make it fun. It was a tremendous, arduous job. The key was, when you walked up you knew whether it was a Republican or a Democrat you were talking to, so in the primary we skipped the Democrats; you'd walk Republican. It's always good to walk up and say, "Mr. Jones" -- or Mr. Pete, whatever his name was -- you'd say hello. And the key was, you only wanted to say "Hello, I'm Ken Maddy, I'm a candidate. I'd like to have you look over my brochure," and then get away. You hated the guy who wanted to discuss everything with you because that was just taking away time. The only thing you hoped for was the contact. So those walk lists would always surprise people. Mrs. Jones or Mrs. Semellian, whatever your name is.

So we did that, and that was hard, difficult work, but it was great because it got the volunteers involved. They felt like they were doing something. And then when I would prepare others to walk for me, that would be kind of fun. We'd get the groups together and say, "You take this street." The Maddy team was out walking. That was preferable for me to do it. But, you know, Bev and the kids would walk one side of the street, I'd walk the other, and then we'd have the women on the other side. So it was made to be fun.

SENEY: You enjoyed it?

MADDY: Oh, the first time I really enjoyed it. Walking precincts was very tough later on. I did it all the campaigns in the Assembly but I did it in a more clever way afterwards. I did it only when it was necessary to have the television cover me and so on, and then we'd pick spots all around town and pick key streets and do it so that it gave the image that you were doing it. In the meantime, we'd put the brochures out.

SENEY: You know, the only maybe glitch, and I'm not sure it was -- it's what one can infer from the news articles that were included -- was this drug mailer. Was that a problem?

MADDY: No. I looked that over the other day. I mean, I had just reviewed the book before I brought it that day, and I don't remember that as being a problem. I really don't. In fact, I'd forgotten all about that.

SENEY: The clippings that were there.

MADDY: Somebody gave me that.

SENEY: Stu Spencer had prepared that.

MADDY: Okay, somebody had given it to me, right. I didn't know who prepared it now.

SENEY: You could put your own things on one side and there was this sort of description of drugs and what they did.

MADDY: Because it was getting to be a problem. In fact, I didn't remember that Stu and done it. But I liked the idea because it was of major concern at that

time. But I don't remember it ever having really an effect on us. In those days, every time you saw a letter to the editor it was against you.

Our biggest thing was our billboards. The billboards we put up, my beard came through on the photographs.

SENEY: And you had to be airbrushed.

MADDY: Airbrushed, yes. That was the big thing. We'd die over that.

SENEY: Oh, you must have "Oh my god, I'm through now."

MADDY: I know. Just died over it. They all went up and they looked terrible.

SENEY: You were a thug or something, you think?

MADDY: Oh yes.

SENEY: And the way campaigns go, these emotional highs and lows, and everybody coming and "Ken, my god, have you seen..." I'm sure.

MADDY: It made me crazy, so we had to get them down and up in a hurry.

And then, of course, the yard signs were big. We really stressed yard signs. There was a part of the town they called the Maddy Country which was the Fig Gardens, it was the wealthier part of town. Very few in that district, very few areas that were obviously very Republican, but there was one area that they called it, "This is the Maddy part of town," so we had yard signs everywhere. Of course, everybody would tear them down. They'd tear the yard signs down, so our job was to put them back up again.

But fortunately, Camaroda didn't believe in yard signs. I think he

came on later, a guy named Ewell Peden, who ran on the Democratic side [in the general election], came back in later in the race and he had a large number of yard signs.

SENEY: Well, he ran as a write-in candidate. Was that helpful to you? He then dropped out.

MADDY: Yes, it turned out to be a nothing. It was not of consequence at all. It helped a little bit because it diverted some attention from Camaroda.

SENEY: Right. It'd make it look like he's not universally supported. That got a lot of play in the papers.

MADDY: It did get a lot of play. Thinking back now over my experience, the paper was trying to give an equal footing. The Republican paper was more critical of me than anybody, this sort of right-wing paper. There was a guy who wrote in there who was really critical of my more liberal views.

SENEY: Who was that?

MADDY: I can't think of his name now. I don't know if there's an article in here or not?

SENEY: Was it Senentich?

MADDY: No, Setencich. Eli was a *Bee* reporter. This photo right here was the one that the beard came out on. It was the photographer. It was just terrible. I wore makeup for years after that whenever I had to have a photograph taken.

SENEY: Oh, is that right?

MADDY: Oh god, yes. I couldn't believe it. This is the last time Republicans had enough sense to run as a team.

SENEY: This was 1970. What you're pointing to is a picture of Reagan and--

MADDY: Ronald Reagan and Hugh Flournoy, Ivy Baker Priest and all the Republican team. I never could figure out why the Republicans never ran as a team.

If I can find this one. There was a reporter in sort of the conservative newspaper.

[Locating article.]<sup>1</sup>

SENEY: "We Need Reason, Not Radicalism."

MADDY: Right. That was Camaroda's ad, and it showed a letter to the editor from Reynoldo Martinez. It says, "I was very pleased to see MAPA (the Mexican American Political Association) has endorsed Phil Sanchez." Phil was a very popular guy in town, was running for Congress. "And Ken Maddy and Mr. Sanchez are both Republicans. I'm also a strong supporter of the La Rasa Group. I am a militant, American radical, and I'm proud of it. The time has come for the Chicanos to exert their power and get some justice. The blacks and the Chicanos must stick together and demand power. I'm against B. F. Sisk and Pat Camaroda. The Chicanos must be heard. Viva La Rasa. I'm sure they both, Maddy and Sanchez,

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1. See Maddy paper.

will help La Rasa.”

“For Courage and Commonsense, Elect Pat Camaroda.”

Here’s a Democrat trying to connect me up with the radicalism, which was only interesting.

SENEY: Was that helpful, do you think?

MADDY: It helped me, I think.

SENEY: Was this a copy of one of the letters that you had inspired in your writing campaign?

MADDY: I don’t think we did that one. That would have been a little too far.

SENEY: Well, Phil Sanchez had you in his home for things. He didn’t do well against Sisk. I mean, no one did.

MADDY: Nobody did. And Phil was an outstanding candidate, but he was up against the impossible. I wish I could find that newspaper.

Oh, the *Fresno Guide*. The *Fresno Guide* was the newspaper. They endorsed me.

SENEY: Did you meet with them, or meet with the *Bee* editorial board when they endorsed you?

MADDY: Yes. Every year we’d do that.

Here it is. Al Holderman. This was the guy. Al Holderman of the *Fresno Guide*. This was on October 14th. This was getting close to the election.

[End Tape 2, Side A]

[Begin Tape 2, Side B]

MADDY: This was the rumor that says, "Plan a rumor." This guy was talking about that the Spencer and Roberts advertising campaign are playing a role in the Smittcamp and Maddy race.

SENEY: And he was pooh-poohing that.

MADDY: Yes. This was a favorable one. He wrote some tough ones on me about my more liberal views. I got to know Al pretty well. He was a nice kid, but he was pretty Republican and towards the right wing.

SENEY: Well, one of the issues that he was, I think, very strong on was the clamping down on the campus unrest.

MADDY: That was a big issue in those days. Here's the paper. The other day I was mentioning the photo when Reagan came to town. It was Smittcamp and myself. I was trying to be a little further away from Reagan, but obviously around the newspaper.

SENEY: Let me ask you about the campus violence stuff first, then we'll go to Reagan, because I do want to ask you about what he did for you or maybe to you in the race.

But you were more moderate on the campus violence issue.

MADDY: Actually, no.

SENEY: Than this gentleman was, I should say.

MADDY: Well, I think he tried to paint me that way, but I had a TV ad. The cheap way we did the ads in those days, I'd just come in and behind it they

would then run photos. There was the violence at Fresno State and so I used that, that we have to clean up the violence. But I don't know how he tried to make me more liberal, but I guess he does, looking at that thing.

SENEY: That was a hot button issue, wasn't it?

MADDY: Very big in Fresno. We had not had any kind of real violence, racial violence, or anything to speak of in Fresno, and that was a major issue.

SENEY: Well, it was one that Governor Reagan was running on.

MADDY: He ran big on it, that's right.

SENEY: Right. And Smittcamp had a lot to say about it, and Camaroda did as well.

MADDY: We ran the one TV ad. That's all I can remember. We didn't say much about it.

SENEY: I suppose you must have felt obliged to put yourself on the record as opposed to it. I mean, it must have been an issue you had to comment on.

MADDY: Yes. You know, I felt strongly about it too. It was a situation that none of us liked, and of course, to get hit in Fresno with a building blown up was sort of unheard of.

SENEY: They were serious events. They were alarming, very alarming.

MADDY: For the average person, they see the kids rioting, you know, the hardcore, kick them out of school. If you don't want to be here then leave.

SENEY: Yes, I think the attitude was very unforgiving.

MADDY: That's right, very unforgiving. There was no justification for it. I mean, I don't think many people felt that we were hurting or depriving anybody of

an education.

SENEY: Right. And I think that's probably still the attitude.

MADDY: Yes, I think so too. Not too many people are sympathetic with the kids that are walking around UC Berkeley, whatever they're talking about, but they've got their Jaguars and their Birkenstocks and complaining about how tough things are.

SENEY: And getting a leg up in life that other people may not have.

MADDY: That's right.

SENEY: One thing I did want to ask you about was the billboards because there was a complaint, that Mr. Ferguson, Gil Ferguson, of Gil Ferguson Advertising--

MADDY: That's who Larry Willoughby worked for was Ferguson Advertising.

SENEY: He had contracted with someone for thirteen billboards and they didn't need six of them so he sold them to you, and you were able to use them a month and a half before the September 1st deadline in which Advan, I guess was the billboard company, that they said no billboards for the general election until September 1st.

MADDY: He got a deal with a retailer, I think, or one of these other clients. It wasn't much of a stink but I remember talking about it.

SENEY: I guess my antenna went out. I wondered if this was something special.

MADDY: I don't know how it came out. We believed at that time, until the photographs showed up on the thing and looked so bad, we always

believed that if I was younger and better looking that it was good to put your photo up there. And we always believed we had to have a message; you know, “responsive leadership.” In fact, I had a racehorse. I named him Right Response. My mother loved the idea, that was a good symbol, responsiveness. So all we had was responsiveness, the photograph, and then the photograph turned out so bad. Then we hated the idea that we put the photograph, but we finally got the airbrush. But I used the same billboard every campaign. And our belief was that in the Fresno community area -- this was, again, Ferguson -- that we could place the billboards around, that we’d get better name ID as quick as anything. And so we really searched, and I drove. I hated the idea I got a bum deal on the billboard so I would drive to that spot, and they learned quickly--

SENEY: You’d drive by to make sure--

MADDY: I’d drive to make sure where they were. And they learned quickly: They’d keep me happy if they put either yard signs or billboards on my way to work so I could see myself. That was a joke, that I had to see myself. If I saw myself enough then I would shut up about where the billboards were. But as I recall, through every campaign Cliff always had deals with guys who would “donate,” quote, the space to me. As you mentioned, there was some conflict over when you’d go up on your boards.

SENEY: Right. Camaroda complained.

- MADDY: Right, I went up early.
- SENEY: Yes. The deal was that you'd go up September 1st and you'd have an equal number of billboards.
- MADDY: And we made that through the billboard company.
- SENEY: And Peden complained he couldn't get any billboards in the primary and was able to get some, I guess, in his write-in campaign, which I think is kind of interesting.
- MADDY: A lot of people thought we were behind it but we weren't.
- SENEY: You weren't.
- MADDY: Promise, swear. No deal there. Ferguson wasn't behind it. I mean, Ferguson would be the kind of guy who might have been behind it, but no, we were not behind it. I don't know where he came from. He just disliked Camaroda, I guess. And it got a lot of play, particularly in the *Guide*, in that little newspaper. It had more of a play than the *Bee*.
- SENEY: And this is not something that's likely to raise to the surface with the average voter. This was more an inside story.
- MADDY: And most of this stuff was inside stuff because the average voter doesn't have any idea what's going on, when you think about it.
- SENEY: Did you ever get any comment on those awful photographs?
- MADDY: Oh, we used to kid about it.
- SENEY: I mean from the electorate themselves.
- MADDY: No.

SENEY: This all came from your campaign crew.

MADDY: All inside. All me. Most of it me. If I didn't look good, I was the one who complained the most.

SENEY: Well, we're all that way, I think.

MADDY: The first three or four campaigns, Larry always produced some sort of a symbol we handed out just to the key people, and the first one was a razor blade. He had hooked up on something with a razor blade, sort of a symbol of the campaign, of the billboard.

SENEY: You know, you used a little TV in the primary, and that's one of the things I copied, actually, was your budget.<sup>1</sup> There were articles written that a lot of money was spent in this primary.

MADDY: I know. Seventeen thousand.

SENEY: That you spent \$17,232. And Camaroda actually outspent you. He spent \$19,400.

MADDY: Can you believe that? In the last campaign I had of any contest in the Senate, well over a million bucks. Seventeen thousand to win that election.

SENEY: The original budget was \$13,850, and then you had to go above that a little bit. I'm looking at the fundraising here, which is not broken down very much. You kicked in 3,000 bucks of your own money on that primary

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1. See Maddy paper.

campaign. And then there was the lawyers reception. That netted \$1,050. This must have been that sort of \$10-a-plate kind of thing. And then there was another reception that netted \$3,450. Do you remember what that might have been?

MADDY: Um mm.

SENEY: And another one which netted \$4,500.

MADDY: In those days, when we did things, a hundred was about the tops. You know, that's another amazing thing. I mean, guys now, freshman Assemblymen, come out here and they have \$2,500-a-head fundraisers.

In Fresno, one of the campaigners, I think it was Gordon Duffy, said, "Thank God for you, Ken." And this was after '78. "You're the first guy to run more than a \$100 campaign fundraiser." Nobody had run one before.

SENEY: So you broke the ceiling.

MADDY: Broke the ceiling. But in those days, when we did these things, a \$50 deal was a big deal. You got a meal for 50 bucks and we'd have volunteers. The complaint was, one year -- I can't remember what it was -- but the Italian side of the family, my wife's family, they said, "You don't do anything cheap enough." So we did a \$5 deal on the west side in which we cooked the spaghetti and the bread and all that stuff and did it for 5 bucks.

Well, what I proved to them was the same folks came for \$5 that

came for \$50. They were my supporters and friends and they were the people interested in politics. You didn't get this mass entry of new people. I mean, there are just so many people who will go to a fundraiser. I learned one thing, that they'll come for \$5 or they'll come for \$50, because they're willing to get behind you.

SENEY: Well, the amounts were, I mean, just geometrically smaller.

MADDY: Small, and what we could buy. Our key was to be around the news, and for 45 bucks -- or we could be on the *Tonight Show*, I think, for \$15.

SENEY: For how much, 30 seconds?

MADDY: Yes. I don't know if any of those were in there.

SENEY: Well, actually, there wasn't the breakdown on that, of course. There was just the gross figures: On the primary television, \$5,000, and that production was \$400. And then there was a script sheet that showed they came into your office and panned on you, you were on the phone, and then you look up and as you get off the phone--

MADDY: And say a few things. We did almost all the stuff. In that first campaign, everything would just be the talking face with the little background. And then we did what I think was called a chroma key or something, where I could be in the room and then behind me would be the -- I'm sure that's the way we did the campus riot thing. It shows the building being burned or something.

SENEY: Speaking of amounts of fundraisers, you had in the book you loaned me an

invitation to the Cal Plan fundraiser down in San Diego, hosted by Reagan and Vice President Agnew came to speak, black tie optional, 125 bucks a head.

MADDY: Yes.

SENEY: It's just chicken feed now.

MADDY: It is nothing.

SENEY: People wouldn't go. They'd say what is this? It's not important enough, you're not charging enough.

MADDY: I know.

SENEY: So the amounts were incredible.

MADDY: Reagan came to town once to raise money for Smittcamp and he, and then we found out we got horribly ripped off because the Republican Party had a private deal that morning in which they collected about three times that amount of money. So we were upset with the way they ran the Reagan team. I do remember that.

SENEY: So they came in, you mean, had some sort of coffee in the morning?

MADDY: In the morning, yes.

SENEY: And the real money was there?

MADDY: The real money was there.

SENEY: For Reagan's campaign.

MADDY: Yes, I guess it was the Reagan campaign, or it went back to the Reagan people.

SENEY: And then in the evening, what, they had a dinner for you?

MADDY: They had a dinner, which was small potatoes. They ended up taking more with them than they raised for us.

These were things I started learning early on. And they didn't tell us about it, of course, until I found out from somebody else. A friend of mine went. I thought I was clever in finding that information out.

But Reagan was Reagan. He was so popular, particularly among Republicans, and he was generally popular. He was such a good guy. I mean, he was easy to like.

SENEY: And it brings publicity to the campaign.

MADDY: Oh, absolutely. The Democrats have done it. That's why the strength of the President is so important. It helps everybody up and down the ticket when he makes appearances.

SENEY: And then from individuals in the primary, you raised \$5,015, and none of it was from any individual. Nobody gave \$500.

MADDY: No.

SENEY: So about \$2.10 per voter, which would be very cheap by today's standards, wouldn't it?

MADDY: Absolutely.

SENEY: And then if we look at the numbers here in the primary, because this was also in the material that Danielle [last name?] sent me, the primary election results -- and they're all down here -- first of all, the district is

listed here as being 65.1 percent Democrat and 30.7 percent Republican, and there's a little American Independent in there taking up the slack.

You end up actually with the most votes of any individual in the campaign: 8,345 in the primary.

Camaroda is almost at 7,000 but not quite at 7,000.

And then the Democrats are split all up and down the line.

MADDY: That was an interesting group. Bert DeLotto had been a former Assemblyman. Dale Doig was on the board of supervisors. Wally Henderson had been a former Assemblyman. Ewell Peden, of course, had run and lost. Joe Rich was on the board of supervisors. Hermina Strauss was a woman, a very liberal woman. Al Villa, who ultimately ran against me in '74, was a city councilman. And then, of course, it was Hicks and Alonzo Jordan, a black who ran as a Republican. Frank Conte, he ran every year against me. And Floyd Heely. I don't know whatever happened to him. But it was interesting. The Demos had a very strong group of people, any of them who probably could have beaten me -- except for Camaroda. So as luck goes, you know?

SENEY: That's right.

MADDY: He was the only real conservative among the group, although Dale Doig was pretty conservative, but he wasn't pictured as that. He was pretty young at that time.

SENEY: Well, as you said on the tape, maybe when we began, you were only the

third Senator for years in Fresno.

MADDY: That's right. I was the only Republican in that district, God knows how long before that. There was no Republicans. Henderson and DeLotto had both represented that district in the past. Bert quit to go to the Peace Corps when the Kennedy thing came. Bert was an amazing candidate. Bert was the kind of guy who would go into a Kiwanis Club or something and he would have everybody say their name and at the end of a half hour he repeated everybody's name. He did all kinds of tricks like that. I thought I was way over my head, I was, with him one time when he did that.

And Wally Henderson was just a friendly old guy who wanted to get back in because his pension -- I forget why he quit -- but he needed the job back to get an extension of his pension. That began to be sort of the word among the Democrats. Hermina Strauss was quit liberal but a nice older woman. The up-and-comers were Doig and Joe Rich. And then, of course, Pat was just there. We had a lot of debates. I mean, we showed up to everything.

SENEY: As I think I was starting to say, you also knew if you kept your nose clean, essentially you'd keep getting reelected down there. So these offices don't open very often.

MADDY: Not very often.

SENEY: When Hugh Burns leaves and Zenovich moves up, the floodgates open on

the Democratic side.

MADDY: I'm certain that I could have, without term limits, I could have been there as long as I lived, as long as you don't mess up, as long as you make a reasonable effort to represent them, because the coverage is good. And as I say, you don't have to be too bright to know what is important in Fresno, and that's taking care of Fresno.

SENEY: Then when you get to the general election, you pasted Camaroda pretty good. You got 40,446 votes and he ends up with 28,523, from a district which should be a Democratic district with 65 percent.

MADDY: Yes, I got 58 percent of the vote. It should have been a Democratic seat. Of course, what happened then, we went into reapportionment.

SENEY: You know, this was one of the major issues. That's why the parties were so active. The Republicans peaked a little early. They controlled the Legislature, the Assembly, in '68, but then lost it.

MADDY: I was third tier. When they called me, I was a third tier possible winner, and they had all these choices. If I was successful at the third tier, that would have been 43 Republicans. Well, by the time the campaign got down close to October, I had suddenly reached the first tier, meaning that the campaigns of a guy in Ventura, guys in Orange County, suddenly started slipping away and suddenly the Maddy campaign was the only Assembly seat that looked like we might have a surprise.

SENEY: Taken from a Democrat.

MADDY: Yes. Instead of being 43, I ended up being 37. So we were in the minority and facing the 1970 reapportionment. Bob Moretti was the new Speaker. We entered into that in 1971 and we stayed in session all year long, special session, as a result of reapportionment. One of the efforts was to draw a district that would make me lose. And so what they did in every reapportionment was they drew me out of the district. They would have a little finger going and take my home and put it into Mobley's district. One of the things -- we can talk about it later -- I went to the Supreme Court three times because I moved. Every time they would move my district I'd move, establish a new residence.

SENEY: Every time one of these fingers reached in and got you--

MADDY: I'd go rent a new space to live in. So I tested the Supreme Court ruling on what "residence" means more than anybody else.

SENEY: We'll get into that, because this was a key issue.

MADDY: A huge issue.

SENEY: And for reasons that we understand, and I think maybe political professionals do, and that is, how you draw these districts is an art really.

MADDY: That's where [Assemblyman Phillip A.] Phil Burton was so famous. He knew the districts more than anybody else.

SENEY: Without a computer.

MADDY: Without a computer. Knew every census track and knew the population of every census track. It was a bitter internal fight among Republicans. Of

course, we had Reagan but we didn't have either house. The Senate was 20-20, I think it was split. And so they were quick to make a deal because they figured out they could cut a deal that the Governor would sign off on, which was essentially hold the status quo of 20-20.

In the Assembly, Moretti was going to get an advantage for the Democrats, or make sure that the 43-37 stayed even. And the question was whether or not Reagan would go along. I can remember one night at three o'clock in the morning when he came over and [Senator] John Harmer came with him, because John Harmer was supposed to be the one that was going to come and explain to us that it was in the best interests of the Republican Party that we sacrifice ourselves and go along with the deal that the Democrats drew in the Senate, which saved their seats but sacrificed a few of us.

Well, I was one of the sacrifices. I was one that was going to lose a seat. That is, before I figured out I'd just move. In 1972 I ran as a Republican from Firebaugh. A friend of mine, Dick Forshee, had a farm labor camp, and so he rented me a house out in the farm labor camp. So I reregistered to vote in this farm labor camp, and the TV cameras would come out there and try to figure out where I was living. Of course, they couldn't find anybody who spoke English, so "We think he's there, we think he's there." But actually, that was the joke. They took it to the Supreme Court but I won.

- SENEY: Well, of course, that reapportionment ends up in the courts because Reagan vetoed it. My understanding is, on the special election results, when [Assemblyman] Bill Brophy was elected to the Assembly -- did he beat Art Torres?
- MADDY: No, he beat Alatorre.
- SENEY: That's right, Richard Alatorre.
- MADDY: But then the worst thing was, we had a Republican Chief Justice--
- SENEY: Donald Wright.
- MADDY: Yes, and they turned it over to a master who was a liberal Democrat out of UC Berkeley. We got horribly screwed.
- SENEY: Reagan was really unpopular. We'll talk about that later because that's a key event.
- MADDY: It's a key issue certainly in the decade of the '70s. But what they did, see, for '72 was that the courts said, "Okay, run in your old districts." No, I guess in '72 -- I'll have to look that up.
- SENEY: I think '72 you did run in your old districts.
- MADDY: We ran in our old districts.
- SENEY: It wasn't until '74--
- MADDY: Four that we had to make the switch. So my move to Firebaugh was in '74, rather than '72. I was tough to beat again in '72. They ran a guy named Alex Brown against me who Johnny Burton likes to say was supposed to be a professor out of Fresno State College but he was

specializing in the use of LSD, or something like that.

SENEY: Another ideal candidate. I take it, you and John Burton are pretty good friends.

MADDY: Yes, very close friends. Very close friends.

SENEY: I want to talk to you about him because he's an interesting, interesting person.

MADDY: A good guy. In fact, I told you I visited him yesterday.

SENEY: Right. He's had a mild heart attack.

MADDY: Had a mild heart attack but he's doing quite well. In fact, I was there when the doctor came in, and he's going to be fine. He's looking good.

SENEY: That's good news.

MADDY: He's quite a guy.

SENEY: I hope he's got a few more miles in him.

MADDY: Oh, I think so. No one ever believed, nor did he, that he would ever be in this position of being Pro Tem. He is extremely smart and very, very liberal in every way, but such a good guy that he's hard to beat.

SENEY: Well, we'll talk some more about him when the time comes, because the Burton family is absolutely fascinating.

MADDY: Phil, during that one reappo, kept coming out and actually told Brophy and he -- he took us to Fat's one night -- he said, "You guys are so good, you can win anywhere. Just move and win in any seat you want." That was his sale.

SENEY: That was his sales pitch.

MADDY: Yes, trust me, you can win anywhere.

SENEY: You know, there was an article I want to allude to, that I copied, about your election district win in 1970.<sup>1</sup> It was an excellent article because it's a precinct analysis really of your--

MADDY: George Baker. George moved up in the McClatchy newspapers, but he and Eli Setencich were the two reporters at that time.

SENEY: I thought that was a very good article, a very interesting article, a kind of looking at the district and I have a map as well. We probably don't need to look at that. Nice compact district, I must say.

MADDY: Yes. The hole in the donut. It was designed originally in the '60s reappo for the Democrat to win this, and the area at that time, the key part of the district was -- everything west of [Highway] 99 was minority. This Chandler Airport, all these precincts were all West Fresno black, and most of this area was poor. The area in the Fig Gardens, right in here, was where the people that had money lived, and you'd get over here and it was a lot of middle class.

SENEY: That would be the--

MADDY: The east side of town.

SENEY: You somewhat, according to the article, took that not for granted but you

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1. See Maddy paper.

spent most of your time here on the other side of Highway 99, a good deal of it.

MADDY: Yes, a good deal of it. I spent my time actually on the east side of Blackstone, which was the area that we called the “switchable Democrats” that were middle class who saw the intrusion of people into their district and they were concerned about the future. I spent a good part of time on the west side trying to win over the blacks and the poor people, and this was all north of 180. That was more rural. There were not a lot of homes there.

The key spot that was mine was north of Shields, from Highway 99, to Blackstone. That was the wealthier. That was sort of called “Maddy country.” This stuff was way north, out by the Hemon Golf Course. There was very few homes in those days. None of those homes are out there today. It’s all built up now.

So when he talks about these districts, it said “Camaroda pitched his campaign to the working man,” but middle-class precincts went with me. To the extent that he had a campaign that was pitched to anything, I guess.

SENEY: And he had a hard time with that because he had a nonunion print shop.

MADDY: Organized labor didn’t like him necessarily.

SENEY: He even chucked Hugh Burns as his honorary co-chairman in order to get the COPE [Committee on Political Education] endorsement.

MADDY: “Democrats Jess Unruh and John Tunney and state candidate George

Zenovich carried the precinct 2 to 1. Maddy was able to outpoll Camaroda's 219 to 186."<sup>1</sup>

SENEY: You beat him in his own precinct.

MADDY: Yes, they talked about the door-to-door campaign, the walking of the precincts.

SENEY: George Zenovich wouldn't have done that.

MADDY: No. I mean, it was just not necessary for a Democrat in that heavy district to do it. And then, of course, when Smittcamp started giving away jam, he was very lucky.

"In the 14th West Fresno precinct, predominantly negro, Maddy collected only 30 percent of the vote, while losing 27 to 1,100." But that 30 percent -- I mean, I think Nixon got 3 percent or 4 percent, something like that.

SENEY: And Reagan probably didn't do very well, I don't think.

MADDY: Sixty-seven percent in West Fresno. We are absolutely convinced that Jesse Unruh came into West Fresno and gave out \$5 bills on election day. It said that the West Fresno turnout was "surprisingly high": 67 percent. Which was high for West Fresno at that time.

SENEY: Do you think there's any truth to that rumor?

MADDY: I don't think so.

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1. See Maddy paper.

SENEY: There were rumors about \$10 bills in Los Angeles.

MADDY: Well, I know. There was a huge campaign. They always felt that in Fresno, in this district, that if you won in the West Fresno, that would be the ticket, if you had a big turnout.

They got the turnout, but with me getting 30 percent of it, it kind of hurt them a little bit.

I haven't read this article in a long time.

SENEY: I would think that would be very pleasing.

MADDY: It is.

SENEY: To look at those others, the Democrats carrying that district -- Tunney, Unruh, and Zenovich.

MADDY: Yes, Bernie Sisk was unbeatable.

SENEY: He just swamped Mr. Sanchez.

MADDY: And Phil was a pretty good candidate, but Phil was double-crossed in the sense that the national party, the congressional party, was going to finance him but they didn't, and so they left him hanging.

[End Tape 2, Side B]

[Session 3, October 6, 1999]

[Begin Tape 1, Side A]

SENEY: Senator, I said to you before we started I wanted you to talk about the Armenian community in Fresno, in every way that you can think is important.

MADDY: Well, it really became most important, I think, in my first campaign in 1970. I came up from Los Angeles in 1963, so being an Armenian or knowing what the Armenian community was all about was meaningless to me, Los Angeles being more of a melting pot. But when I got to Fresno I realized that the Armenian community was set aside. There were the kind of feelings of prejudice that you would probably equate closer to the Jewish community in some areas. In many cases, the kind of statements being made: The only person that can out-Jew a Jew is an Armenian, in terms of--

SENEY: An epithet?

MADDY: Yes, and in terms of who was the tightest with the dollar. All that centered around the Armenians. It never affected me directly, but it was very deep in the community.

What was important in politics was that the Armenian community voted very much like a block, and if you, in effect, could have Armenian

support, it was sought after. Generally, liberal Democrat, as sort of the tradition of the folks out of that part of Europe who had suffered. I went to practice law in 1963, and between '63 and '70 formed real close partnerships, and I think I mentioned that on an earlier tape, and we almost put together a small group of young guys who were going to form a law partnership. As I said, if I had done that I probably would never have been in politics.

But one of the guy's names was Don Margarian.

SENEY: And you can always spot an Armenian with an I-A-N at the end of their name.

MADDY: Yes. There's a lot of them like Marv Baxter. Justice Marv Baxter of the Supreme Court is a Fresno boy, but like Marv's name, he's Armenian but he changed his name. I worked for a kid, who's a very close friend, named Karney Hodge. His name was Choohajian. So they dropped off for the clothing store [they owned]. His father's name was Hajik Choohajian, so he just named himself Hodge.

There's a lot of Bakers, there's a lot of Baxters. There's a lot of people who are Armenian names who changed. But by and large, the I-A-N is a dead giveaway.

Well, Gaspar Margarian was Don's father. Sat down in this early campaign -- and we think about it, the best campaign's always the first one as to how we did things. My father-in-law at that time was Italian and he

had been one of the earliest Italian lawyers in town still practicing law. So here was John Chinello, who had been a long-time practicing lawyer, and then Gaspar Margarian.

The way it became so important to me was that what Gaspar and John did -- in those days they didn't have computer lists and they didn't have walk lists and they didn't have the kind of material you could get. You had voter lists. If you wanted to go down, the county clerk would give you a list of everybody who was eligible to vote. What these two gentlemen did, these two old guys did, was sat down and went through the voter list in that Assembly district and marked out every Italian and every Armenian that they knew or identified or could identify, either by name or if they knew them personally, those two guys marked them.

And what we did is we put together kind of a form letter, it was addressed to them, that was identified strictly to Armenian and Italian voters, because here I was in a district that was less than 30 percent Republican. We were struggling with how we were going to cross over votes.

And what I found was a little slight difference also about the Armenian community: They're very active in their church when it comes to politics. It's nothing for the ministers to stand up and give a prayer for the right politician, which was sort of, in Fresno, unheard of when it came out. It probably happened some in the black churches, but I really never

went over into the black churches because I was not related to church myself. My kids were raised Catholic and my wife was Catholic, but I was not a church goer and so I didn't play that church role much or did that.

But I can tell you that a great number of people in the early years in Fresno thought I was Armenian who had changed my name because Gaspar had written these letters.

SENEY: You have kind of dark eyes.

MADDY: Oh, yes. And Karney Hodge, this friend of mine -- there's some early photos in here of Karney and I. I worked for Karney at his clothing store and his father used to speak Armenian to people and tell them I was his other son. So I could pass for Armenian.

SENEY: Yes, you could.

MADDY: But the significance of the Armenian community in terms of that one race, in fact the entire career -- when I ran for Governor in 1978, when I went back to Boston, I was campaigning -- no, this was actually in '76. Bruce Nestande, an Assemblyman, and I went back to Boston and the New England states to campaign for Reagan. This was when he was challenging [U.S. President] Gerald Ford. And we went into Boston. It was amazing, the crowd I drew from the Armenian community because there was a newspaper that had been printed out here on the West Coast, Fresno being the largest Armenian community west of, I guess, Boston in

the country, and they had read these things that had been written by--

SENEY: And they thought maybe you were Maddian.

MADDY: Yes, Madidian, or something of that nature, and so we drew a tremendous number of Armenians.

The point being is that the Armenian community is tight knit. There's more assimilation. You know, you think about the ethnic groups now, the Greeks -- probably less today -- but Greeks were always important, Italians not. They had been pretty well assimilated. You know, it was good for my father-in-law, but the ones he reached out for were the old folks who had been around for many, many years. And of course, if John Chinello said this is his son-in-law, that was good enough for them.

And the Armenian people, this Gaspar Margarian was just amazing what he did. That community was very strong, did very well economically, but it was also a situation in which, as my father-in-law said, in the '30s -- and he was very open-minded and Gaspar was one of his closet friends -- it was very clear that you could be degraded by the mere fact that, quote, "you're talking to an Armenian on the street." I mean, there was that kind of deep prejudice in Fresno over Armenians. I never discussed it at any length with any of them as to that situation. Don Margarian was my age and Don said, "Bullshit. It never bothered me." He said, "In fact, my wife thought, when they called me a Fresno Indian, that they meant I had some blood from the Indian tribes." He said, "She

didn't know that's what they used to call the Armenians."

SENEY: That was a slur.

MADDY: That was a slur for Armenians, a Fresno Indian. And even at that age, and I'm sure the young people far less, but there is still heavy church ties, and it was amazing to me how well that lingered throughout my entire career; I think if you went back right now, offhand, and did one of those private polls, just from that 28 years ago, of those little campaigns, of the Armenian community. Fresno's strength -- I mean, right now, the things we're doing that are important for Fresno, you've got to get the key Armenian financial leaders because they're very important.

SENEY: How were they in terms of money for your campaigns?

MADDY: Generous. Comparatively speaking.

Gordon [W.] Duffy is a former Assemblyman. He said, "We always have to thank you, Maddy. You're the first guy that ever got us above \$50." In other words, to have a \$50 campaign contribution event. He said, "Nobody else had ever had one before you got down there." This was not my first few years; this was when I ran for Governor. He said, "We finally broke the ice," because, you know, what Fresno people wanted for a campaign contribution was a full-course dinner and free drinks for 25 bucks.

SENEY: Open bar.

MADDY: Open bar, yes. That was the campaign function. So you lost a thousand

bucks on the deal. But I finally started having fundraisers where you could raise some money, although we didn't have to raise a lot in those days. But they were very generous. And, as I say, what was important was when the key leaders came together. There are factions within the church, all the churches, the Orthodox and so on, but they're different. But by and large I almost had unanimous [support].

It was also funny because Wally Karabian, who was the Democrat Assemblyman who was in office, who had been instructed to win that seat because Wally had been from Fresno--

SENEY: The 1970 election.

MADDY: The 1970 election. And lo and behold, as he said -- not that he was so tied to the church; he became closer tied to the church the further he got in politics -- but like he said, when he went back down there and tried to break through with his mom and dad -- he always tells this story, it's one of his favorite stories -- "I go down there and I said, 'I want you to get over to the church, Mom, I'm going to talk. I want to push this guy, Pat Camaroda,' and she said, 'No, no, we're all supporting Maddy.'"

There was a little uniqueness about Fresno. The cleverness in the campaign was how we stumbled upon it and how we did it, and the generosity of a couple of guys in those days who had to be in their late 60's and 70's because they both died in their 90's, but to sit down and go through a voter list. By computer now you could probably break it out by

surname, but in those days, boy, just check them off, and then we gave them the letters. I can see my old father-in-law sitting there, "Dear Bill," and signing "John."

This sort of institute they're going to put at Fresno State [the Ken Maddy Institute for Public Policy], I said the lectures people ought to talk about, in some fashion, is for young people who want to talk about what was fun and at the same time what was really grassroots effort. How do you go out and get somebody who doesn't really give a rat's tail because things are going good, nothing's going on, but how do you make them to take that move other than the R or D? which they don't like either one.

SENEY: The R or D?

MADDY: Meaning Republican or Democrat, if you're not moved by the fact that you're a Republican or a Democrat.

Well, I tell you, you're the most trusted lawyer in your community, as far as you know. If Gaspar Margarian said he's okay, that's all it takes. That's really all it takes.

SENEY: The sad fact is that this kind of technology that you're referring to, the computerization, has taken away the need to ask someone like these gentlemen, your father-in-law--

MADDY: That's right, to do those things.

SENEY: Right. Who would have to enjoy that.

MADDY: Are you kidding? They loved it. They never missed an event. I mean,

those two guys were there. They could have won.

SENEY: Well, people like to know that they're influential, that they have a role. I mean, that affirms what they've done in the community.

MADDY: Absolutely. That's what it's all about.

SENEY: And people forget that political campaigns have that effect when you use volunteers.

MADDY: And that's what you've lost. I mean, the little old lady in tennis shoes that we said stuffed envelopes, it wasn't that it was sort of worthless work but it did give her this tremendous feeling she's part of it.

The other day at this deal in Fresno, there was a couple of gals who'd been working on my campaigns way back and I hadn't seen them for years, but they were as much a part of me, you know? Little did I know they kept track of my kids, who my kids' kids were, you know, stuff, that I became a part of their life. You forget that. I mean, it's easy to forget it, I should say.

SENEY: What you're alluding to here, this event recently in Fresno, is this dedication of the Ken Maddy Institute, right? at Fresno State, for Public Policy.

MADDY: The valley legislators have done quite well in leadership, and there's a number of them who have never just been asked to place their papers. Ernie Mobley was there. Ernie was a guy who was elected when I was elected. They tell me they might have Bernie Sisk [donate his papers].

You would think Bernie since he was pretty prominent in Congress.

But I think that there's a lot to be learned and gleaned, and I told them, I said, "My staff was lucky in putting some of these papers together; we have it in pretty good order so you can cut through some of the separation." But there's so much material to go through and there's a story behind every line. You think about it, that's why, in a way, it's so much fun. Some of my people hate to come over because we sit down and we never get by the first couple of pages -- you remember this? you remember that?

SENEY: And, of course, you've been kind enough to loan me this stuff.

MADDY: I'm glad you had a chance to [look at it].

SENEY: It's very helpful, and in fact, I want to start talking about what happens in 1970 after you're elected. What does happen after election day? The Republicans, of course, lose their majority in the Assembly.

MADDY: Right. We had gone from a majority in both Houses, with a Republican Governor, to a split in the Senate. It had dropped from 41 Republicans down to 37 [in the Assembly]. And being as naïve as I was, and that's part of, I guess, the fun of winning in '70 was I was so naïve. We went up there and I had no idea what was going to happen. So Bob Monagan, who had been the Speaker, was the Minority Leader elected, we met out at a restaurant right next to the Los Angeles Airport. He flew us down right after the election. I can't remember if it was the first day or the second

day after the election. We all flew down there and--

SENEY: All the Republican members.

MADDY: All the Republican members of the Assembly. I met [Assemblyman William T.] Bill Bagley. Bill Bagley was always crazy, you know, you'd get the first big kiss on your cheek. They always said you know you're in the Republican Caucus in Sacramento is when Bill Bagley gives you the first kiss on the cheek as a fellow member. Men kissing on cheeks in 1970 -- he always liked to shock everybody.

SENEY: Just ahead of his time?

MADDY: Right. And so Monagan as elected Leader, of course, again.

SENEY: Was there any conflict about that since the election had been lost under his leadership?

MADDY: As long as I've been here, in all the elections, there was always an absolute split on conservatives and liberals or moderates. Monagan was the liberal guy and he had had control. Monagan was blamed viciously through the years. I always say, if you want to sit down and talk about guys who go back into the '70s -- why did we lose the leadership in 1970 in the Assembly? -- it was Bob Monagan was too full of the good government [stuff]. He let Bob Moretti become G.O. [Governmental Organization Committee] chairman because Bob Moretti might have been the best person to be chair of G.O. He didn't fire any staff.

So all the years that we were out of power, all 28 years, whenever

the stories -- and it happened, when we got the leadership in the Assembly in the short period of time, the old boys came out of the wall: "Fire every Democrat. Don't give any Democrat a single chairmanship." I mean, these stories that came out really go back to the Monagan days because Monagan allowed good Democrat staffers. And then the story was that the night of the election, that in all Republican offices where he had allowed Democrat staff to hang on and so on, there were these joyous parties that they'd been doubled-crossed, etc. Now, a lot of it greatly exaggerated because that would not have happened.

There's no doubt, knowing Bob Moretti as well as I did, that Bob Moretti did get tremendous strength and raised tremendous amounts of money through the G.O. Committee, being a Democrat and being allowed to keep--

SENEY: Well, that's the wisdom, isn't it?

MADDY: That's right.

SENEY: That he used that position [to raise money for the 1970 election].

MADDY: And moved in to be Speaker as a result of it. In some sense, the Republicans lost the elections. Now, the phenomena in 1970 was probably more than that. Why we lost, I mean, why Reagan lost the majority, it was like the normal trends that happen in the second term, and we couldn't hold on to seats. If you look at the candidates, there was some guys waiting to lose and some candidates waiting to win on both

sides. But that's always a factor. And so what we did is we elect Bob Monagan as moderate leader and both sides recruit me because they don't know for sure who I am or what I'm doing.

SENEY: What happened? Tell me, how does that go?

MADDY: Essentially, when I was running, Monagan had been the leader, and I was third tier. They weren't giving me any help. But he began to call. Of course, Monagan and I got along well.

SENEY: He's a good guy.

MADDY: A very great guy. One of my close friends. Even though we didn't regret it, we were worried about having Reagan come in, but Reagan came in and raised money for us. Monagan was my leader to begin with; that was who I was tied with. No one really made an overt move to try to get me to dump Monagan. John Stull was the conservative flag carrier.

SENEY: Orange County?

MADDY: Orange County, just Stull, flag carrier, and it was split. I swear, when we had 37, you take half plus one and that was the way. If we had 27, we'd split by one. Whatever number we had through the years, we've always just split by one. But the moderates always had that one little one. It's an interesting story as to how and when it changed.

But I came up there, we had the meeting, and for a young guy, essentially Monagan was structuring it. Of course, he was remorseful because here we had lost and we had five young freshmen legislators from

the Republican side; two looked pretty safe and there were three of us that might be a difficulty as time went on. In my case, Monagan came in and he wanted to know what I had in mind, and I said, "I'm up here to learn."

And he said, "I'm going to have an appointment with you tomorrow with three women. I want you to choose one of them as your secretary."

He said, "Do you have any idea who you want as your secretary?"

I said, "No."

He said, "Well, you're lucky because I was not going to let you have a choice anyway." He said, "These are all three older, experienced people. You're going to have one person in your office, sitting up in your office here in Sacramento," and he said, "That person has to know who is who, what you should be doing, where you should be going." And he said, "Other than the edict, which is keep your mouth shut and try to learn and ask for help, I think you're smart enough to be able to get by for the first couple of weeks anyway."

SENEY: How did that sound?

MADDY: Well, it was sort of straightforward. I was in awe because when I came up there I was not much oriented towards government.

SENEY: You'd never been up before, say, to lobby something, on these commissions you'd been on?

MADDY: No, never. I'd always worked at the local level and more at the grassroots and just more of the exchange of ideas, never getting into process, never

getting into the nitty-gritty of how do you make things work. You know, that all came with me as experience. I was not very well trained in it when I got there.

And the three women were all older. He says, you know, "You're a young man, we're not going to get you in trouble. You're going to have some older secretary here." You know, little simple things like that.

SENEY: Good idea.

MADDY: Damn right it was a good idea, because a lot of guys would have been out of trouble before now if they had listened to that. And they set up the office in the district and told me essentially what, and that was a learning process.

SENEY: That must have been very helpful to you.

MADDY: Yes. The caucuses in which a person wins by a large majority and is pretty well set themselves, like a city councilman, are the most difficult people to try to persuade that they have anything to learn. The guy who is like myself, come up dumb, had never been in public office, didn't quite know, didn't have a secretary here or somebody else they were going to bring in -- because there's nothing worse than taking a secretary out of Fresno and bringing her up here and sitting her down in the Capitol and saying, "Go make things happen."

Lorraine Johnson was my secretary. She had been [Assemblyman Robert E.] Bob Badham's secretary who had gone to Congress, [he] had

been a long-time legislator, the Republican leader from Bakersfield, but anyway, she'd been around a long time, and she said, "Here's who you want, we want to know this guy." So the right lobbyists were in my office just like this. She said, "This person is important to you for this reason, this person is important to you for that reason."

SENEY: Do you remember some of the specifics of that?

MADDY: In terms of actual people?

SENEY: Yes.

MADDY: She got me into most of the ag people, saying you're going to have an ag district. Of course, the ag guys would come in and they would say, "Try to be on the Ag Committee," or "Try to do this," and "Try to do that," where they would like to have you placed and get some idea where you stand. She tried to get me on the moneyed people; you know, who were the people that would have some influence and will financially give you dollars.

SENEY: And these would be?

MADDY: In those days, everybody knew I was a horseracing fan, and James D. Garibaldi represented the horseracing.

SENEY: That's right. He was probably the most powerful and highly respected lobbyist.

MADDY: Yes, and his close friend was [Senator Hugh M.] Huey Burns, who was from Fresno, and actually, Garibaldi was from Merced. In fact, the old

judge<sup>1</sup> used to say, "Now, remember son" -- every time I'd be on a close vote -- he says, "Who's the guy that gave you that first \$500 bill? Who was that first \$500 contribution?" which was true. I forget what campaign it was, but I'd never gotten \$500 before and he'd given me a \$500 contribution. And I'd say, "It was you, Judge." And I said, "But you know, guys, I hardly look at those 500's anymore."

SENEY: Because you've got to come back--

MADDY: Oh yes. But what Lorraine did was, you know, where do you go and who do you see and who don't you see?

SENEY: Who don't you see?

MADDY: Oh yes.

SENEY: Who?

MADDY: In those days there were certain people. I'm trying to think of one she would tell me. There was a couple of lobbyists that she said to stay away from. I'm trying to think off the top of my head who would be one.

SENEY: The reason for staying away from them--?

MADDY: Just that they had shady [reputations] or you don't need their help, that kind of thing.

SENEY: Or they can't be trusted?

MADDY: Yes. And that was her other thing was who you could trust to tell you

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<sup>1</sup> James D. Garibaldi was always referred to as Judge Garibaldi.

what's going on. And then she, of course, went through the list and would help me because she knew a lot about bills. I mean, the thing Lorraine did was as good as any administrative aide; in those days we didn't have all this staff. I mean, you didn't get it. I still believe there's too much. It's worse on a legislator with too much staff. But she knew a lot and, of course, things were different in terms of how many bills they carried.

In terms of the committees, I had an idea of where I wanted to go. Obviously, I went to Moretti. He called me, "What do you want to do?"

And I said, "Well, horseracing's my love." I was just naïve as hell. I didn't know that the G.O. Committee was the money committee at that time when I first walked in. And he said, "You've got about as much chance of being on G.O. as flying."

And I said, "Well, it's got the horseracing."

He said, "It's also what we call the 'Money Committee,' kid; you're not going to get on G.O." And he said, "I'm trying to figure out what you don't like."

And so I ended up on Welfare. I've got Welfare. He forms a new Housing Committee. Puts me on Education.

SENEY: Well, you were vice chair of Housing pretty quickly, weren't you?

MADDY: Yes. In those days, when he moved in to placate and satisfy the Reps, and this big feeling that even though Monagan had given him a break he wasn't going to screw us -- of course, he took all the chairmanships away,

I think almost immediately. He left a few. But in order to not add fuel to the fire, he made Republicans vice chairmen of committees, which was meaningless but it gave you a title.

And so [Assemblywoman] Yvonne [W.] Brathwaite-Burke, who ended up being a Los Angeles [County] Supervisor, she was chairman of it--

SENEY: Of the Housing Committee?

MADDY: Of the Housing Committee, and I was vice chairman, and that turned out to be a very good committee for me from an image status point later on.

The Ed [Education] Committee he put me on, which was one that he knew I was little bit conservative on the education side -- [Assemblyman] Leroy [F.] Greene was chairman of it, and Leroy was known as the nit-picker of all nit-pickers.

SENEY: How do you mean that?

MADDY: Well, Leroy was known to be able to take a bill and he would find nits on gnats or something. In other words, he would go through every line he'd just drive you crazy with how careful he was with things, but it turned out to be very good. Leroy kicked me off after two years. It was an interesting story.

The CTA [California Teachers Association], I don't think teachers had ever given a campaign contribution to a legislator in excess of whatever number it was until the '72 election. In the 1972 election they

gave Maddy \$10,000. When they got all finished, I had the best voting record. This is my recollection. The best voting record of anybody on the Assembly Education Committee.

Now, my sister happened to be a superintendent at a school down in Fresno and I had been close to the education community as part of all my other civic activities.

SENEY: The bond issue we talked about.

MADDY: The bond issue. I mean, I was a hero down there among a lot of the educators. Of course, if you want to go day in and day out back to your district and make a list of who's going to call you the most often and who you see day in and day out, it'll be education. I mean, it'll be superintendents one day, teachers the next. If you just went back and took by priority who called you the most often and followed those priorities, all you'd ever see was educators. I mean, that's just the nature of the game. They're persistent, they go after you, and they did with me. Even the labor, the teachers' people, they supported me after those years. I wasn't always the kind of vote they wanted because I was never a knee-jerk labor vote, but I ended up with this huge vote. Well, Leroy couldn't stand the idea that somebody got \$10,000, and so he had me taken off the Education Committee.

SENEY: Is that right?

MADDY: Yes.

In those days we also had the Judiciary Committee. It was a lawyers' committee. In other words, you didn't sit on Judiciary unless you were an actual lawyer, and that didn't start to change until much later. So the Assembly Judiciary Committee was [Assemblyman] Charles Warren. He was the chair of it. I had four committees that were designed to give me no money, no prominence, and no nothing in it. And lo and behold, the Education Committee gives me this huge number.

The Housing Committee, we formed the State Housing Finance Agency which gets all kinds of publicity. We had some decent bills in Judiciary. So I skate through the first term, which is supposed to be my most difficult term, where they're going to hammer me with all these tough votes, without ever having much to worry about. I was never put on the spot.

And we did the welfare reform in 1971, which, on a short period of time, was looked upon as being a panacea. Reagan and Bob Moretti had done the welfare reform.

SENEY: I suppose Moretti's thinking would have been that here you are winning in a district that ought to be a Democratic district, what the hell are you doing here? And if he makes it as tough as possible on you, you won't be here.

MADDY: That's what he told me. We became as close of friends as anybody. He endorsed me for Governor. I didn't know until later on. But we became

as close of friends as anybody and it was great after the second go-around. The next year he appointed me to a whole bunch of new committees -- I forget exactly where he put me -- but to try to bamboozle me some more.

[End Tape 1, Side A]

[Begin Tape 1, Side B]

SENEY: You were saying that Moretti in '76--

MADDY: So after a couple of times of trying to put me on committees that would mess me up, I think the story was that he went to the Speaker, whoever it was, and he said, "Give Maddy anything he wants in '76 because we've tried to screw him and all he did was beat us." He said, "Maybe he'll beat himself this time." Then I think I went on Public Commerce. I went on a couple of ones that looked like were "juice committees," you know, money committees.

SENEY: Well, you were on Criminal Justice, too, at that point.

MADDY: Yes, he made us do that. If you're a lawyer, you had to start serving on some of those. And I think I went on G.O. sometime in there.

SENEY: Let me go back to the education stuff, because I have some notes here. First of all, you said the revenue sharing, the \$118 million revenue sharing, should go to the schools to equalize the schools.

MADDY: That was a huge issue, particularly in the Fresno area. Equalization, the *Serrano [v. Priest]* decision, was something we talked about for several years, because obviously we were going to benefit. The inequities in

education funding have always benefited the Beverly Hills and so it was a sell-out position to take. And to try to find some equitable way of delivering money to the schools is as big an issue today. Nobody can figure out what to do about it.

SENEY: Well, you cosponsored AB 1406, and this bill -- let me just remind you because there's so many that you've done. The bill was intended to relieve the financial pinch felt by many school districts by equalizing state appropriations, forcing some districts to raise their tax rates to the state standard. [State Superintendent of Public Instruction] Wilson [C.] Riles encouraged it. Reagan did not take a position on it. But the tax rate in Fresno County would have dropped and increased aid would have made up the difference.

Do you remember where those bills came from?

MADDY: It came out of the educational establishment. Of course, that was the fight within education, was that every time you saved me in Fresno, and really, the rural areas and the poor areas of the state were the ones who were not getting the dollars. Every time we fought for something like that, it was a finite amount of money, so what you were doing was taking it away from Beverly Hills or someplace else, and you always went where the clout was.

So we always had a real good standard, and it's how hard you fought.

Where you get into trouble, of course, for a Republican, oftentimes the hue and cry was not to give any money -- you know, let's cut the money out. The whole problem is we're wasting our money and so on.

And so where I, I think, got education favored, was I wasn't totally anti-union, although I got more difficult with them on what I thought was their arrogance, a little bit like trial lawyers. You know, occasionally you're wrong, occasionally you shouldn't protect teachers. There are bad teachers and we've got to face up to that.

But by and large, when it came to equal funding and equal opportunity and so on, it was an easy stance to take even for a Fresno Republican in the sense that, you know, we're getting screwed but we're getting screwed by everybody, so let's make things equal.

I kept the support of education in Fresno almost all the way up through my Governor's race, I think. I don't think I ever lost it, and they never really ever were upset with me, which is important when you don't have a huge Democratic constituency who's not upset with you.

SENEY: Did the Republican Caucus cut you any slack on these matters?

MADDY: Oh yes.

SENEY: Because of the district you represented?

MADDY: Yes. It came back to haunt me a few times, which I always regretted a little bit, but not in terms of deep bitterness because I beat him, so it never bothers me when I win, but there was a feeling, and particularly in those

close numbers -- we were 43 and 37, so there were a lot of close votes -- to bring gun votes up, to bring this vote up, to bring that vote up. In the early '70s, the tactic, when we lost, the majority was to try to put Democrats on [the spot with] key votes.

And interestingly, as I talked briefly the other day, abortion was a key Republican use vote. It was a wedge issue for us, because if you could get abortion bills voted on, mostly Latino, a lot of Democrats who were pro-life, would have to vote either their conscience or vote against the pro-choice party. And what happened was pro-choicers were not active but pro-lifers were. So the switchable Democrats who voted for Reagan and the switchable Democrats who would vote for a Republican would vote for a pro-life person. And so we were always throwing those votes up to try to force a vote, to get somebody on the record.

On the Democratic side things like guns was always still an issue. In those days it was less an issue for me. A lot easier for me in the valley. I mean, I could be a gun guy--

SENEY: You were opposed to gun controls.

MADDY: I took the position of the standard Republican in my district in terms of gun control. If I moved in guns it was much later in my career where I moved considerably to the middle of the left, if you will, on guns.

SENEY: Toward control.

MADDY: Towards control and towards a lot of things, yes, on the assault weapons

and so on. I threw the NRA [National Rifle Association] out of the caucus when I was chairman, when I was leader of the Republican Party. I said, "Come back one day when you can help us. Don't come here and bitch to us about how you're going to help us. Come back some day when you've actually shown me you got a Republican elected." Their traditional mode was to come in and tell us how bad we were doing, even though we were 90 percent in their favor. The Stockton massacre and they wanted to have us protect them on assault weapons. They just got crazy, in my opinion.

But I was more the traditionalist. Deukmejian probably got elected Governor in his first year because of Prop[osition] 15<sup>1</sup> in the Central Valley. They went too far out on the gun issue. It's always extremes.

But I was pro-gun. I was probably more pro-life. I found out I lost early on the discussions, so I took a stance. My kids were raised Catholic. I was a lawyer, so I had the viable fetus concept, which was when a fetus could sustain itself outside and so on. I went and found out that that didn't sell with the pro-life and it sure as hell didn't sell with the pro-choice. And so I essentially, at that time, and during the early Reagan years there was a vote on abortion, the so-called California Therapeutic Abortion Law, which is still on the books--

SENEY: That's the [Assemblyman Anthony C.] Beilenson bill.

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<sup>1</sup> November 2, 1982.

MADDY: That's right, the Beilenson bill that Reagan signed that essentially has been stripped down because of Supreme Court rulings. But from that time forward I just said I have supported what Ronald Reagan did, folks, and nobody ever pushed me after that. And then I used it as an issue: Look, to me, abortion, like guns, is a minor issue.

I think the Republican Party is just -- I just can't see how we're so trapped on homophobic, guns, and abortion, but we are, and the press and media don't help it. But those are all wedge issues that are such a minuscule part of your life as a legislator in terms of facing those issues, that it's almost beyond belief that anybody would think that you should worry about those, but they are issues. I was lucky most of my career, even during the run for Governor, to have avoided a lot of that stuff.

But to go back to your original question, the caucus did try to save on some -- so I did have some overrides on Reagan on vetoes that never went anywhere. What we knew was that Maddy was going to do some votes, because I had the worst district, but it was never going to upset Ronald Reagan.

SENEY: So you could get out in front on the welfare reduction.

MADDY: Right.

SENEY: And Mobley voted with you on that.

MADDY: Right. See, that's what bothered him. What started bothering him was the more I got a little stronger in terms of my influence, I think either actual or

imagined, then other people started to go south.

SENEY: You brought some people with you.

MADDY: Yes. So leadership would say, "Look, Maddy, wait. If you're going to go, let's go down until it's all over. Let's get Ernie up there and let's get a couple of the other guys up there who are a little chicken, and then if you want to duck, you can duck."

SENEY: What does that mean? Explain what you mean, "If you want to duck, you want to duck."

MADDY: If I wanted to vote to override Reagan, but I didn't want to vote to hurt Reagan so that it was actually overriding -- in other words, I wanted to cast a good vote for myself but against what I really wanted to have happen. You know, I believed that way but I wasn't going to hurt Reagan.

What they would say is "Wait, don't you vote first. Let's let everybody else get up, when we know we've got it defeated. And then at the last minute, if you want to go in and cast a vote, last minute."

SENEY: So that you push your button last.

MADDY: Yes.

SENEY: I see, okay.

MADDY: Or you duck. When you duck, you just don't vote, you walk away. So the key is you don't take anybody with you. I was always a team player. One of the things that they give me a lot of credit for, and they talk about, is how do you be independent -- and I thought about it only because of the

recent things that have been coming up and talking about, how do you do things -- how do you be a team player, and how do you be independent, and how do you comprise when it counts, and how do you not lose your friends along the way in doing all those things? I'm not sure what the answer is, but I was reasonably successful in doing it. I think the bottom line is honesty. When Moretti came and said, "I want you on this one," I said, "You're not going to get me on this one. I know it's important but I am not going to result in Ronald Reagan being overridden if I can help it. I'm Republican, he's Republican. He's done things for me." In those days I was a Reagan person, not philosophically necessarily but emotionally in everything. I really thought a great deal of him. So I said, "You can ask, Bobby, anytime." And I said, "I might be mad some day, but by and large you're not going to get me."

SENEY: And he would respect that.

MADDY: Oh, absolutely. See, the difference, the difference -- and that was a part of one of those little notes in the editorial today -- is that I could tell that to John Burton or I could tell that to somebody and that's the end of it. None of this stuff, "You'll lose your committee tomorrow."

I always felt it was proper, if I was Speaker and I was Democrat and you were one of my chairmen, that I would say, "Look, this is guts to me, this is bottom line. Governor wants it, I want it. Now, if you want to be [in the] leadership, you're going to stay with me. If you don't want to be

leadership, fine, you can do whatever you want.” I can understand that. But you can’t go to a minority leader and say, “Look, if you’ve got any brains...” You don’t say, “Your third tier parking spot is going to be gone.” Well, then you make it to where it’s trivial, and good leaders knew when to push and when to go.

And so what I think I tried to do was to say there are areas that I’m basically a team player; a team player without getting so that winning and losing was everything. How do you try to straddle that? And a lot of it has to do with the idea that we did have the opportunity to become close personal friends.

SENEY: You’re speaking of Bob Moretti now.

MADDY: Bob Moretti and Burton and the guys in the early ’70s when we developed friendships. But you knew who, number one, you could trust and who you couldn’t trust. It wasn’t true in every case, but you knew the people who you would continue to have respect for and you would continue to be a friend with, notwithstanding the fact that you may disappoint him, because we’re all disappointed everyday. But one of the fun things about this is that there are so many issues and there are so many things, that you know so many aspects of life. You don’t know a lot about them but you know all this stuff and so it’s exciting. And putting it into perspective is one of the sad things I feel for some of these folks who come up here and only have abortion on their mind. What they’re missing is enormous, to have

just one thing that compels their every day.

SENEY: Or maybe if they're so driven ideologically they can--

MADDY: Yes, it's a sad situation. So anyway, but the original question, the caucus would let us, and then the stronger I got the less bull I had to be. I mean, the stronger I got at home.

SENEY: At home, you mean, in the district.

MADDY: In the district. Then I began to do a little bit more, then I could do whatever I wanted to do.

SENEY: You could be more independent.

MADDY: Independent to vote any way. And I tried to offset by speeches and so on, where I thought I was clearly moving on to the more moderate. I was always the moderate side. Some felt I went more conservative during the Reagan years in '76 when I was involved in the '76 campaign. In fact, Jo-Ann Slinkard, who was my chief of staff, almost left me as a supporter during those days because she didn't like Reagan.

SENEY: Well, I'm going to talk to you at length about that, but let me go back to this business. Here your Republican Caucus is trying to get the Democrats on the record on the abortion vote. They couldn't have been happy about that.

MADDY: No.

SENEY: How did they retaliate? What did they do to retaliate?

MADDY: Well, number one, there's table motions. I mean, sometimes the inside

work and the insider of who's going to get nailed for a vote is well laid out and planned but never works. Democrat leadership sits down, "Okay, today we're going to put a bill up on the floor that's just going to crucify these guys on guns. There's about three Reps that can't vote for this bill. We're going to force them to vote for it. They're going to go on record, and in the next campaign, man, we'll kill them."

Well, they go through the whole process, everything works perfectly, and when the campaign comes up nobody gives a damn, or it never becomes an issue.

It becomes a great insider game. There's so much that goes on that's insider that just so totally occupies every day of somebody's life over there -- particularly staffers get caught up in it -- that it's meaningless to the public. And frankly, it's getting more meaningless because of the press coverage and so on.

Looking back on the coverage that you saw in these papers of the *Fresno Bee* and my life in the first couple of years versus the last eight or nine years, the coverage was, again, minuscule in terms of what was Maddy doing in the Legislature. Unless you were a group that wanted to go and follow every one of my votes. I mean, the newspapers didn't print it, so you didn't get the kind of coverage. But the insider stuff, those games. And really, it's down now where there's a lot of it done, trying to think these will be crucial votes for you and your district, and so what you

try to do is set a person up in order to beat them at the next campaign.

Way overblown, in my mind.

I did much, much less of it as Leader. I played much less of those games because I said, you know, "Folks, in the days with as much money as we've got and everybody's got, and if you've got any brains at all..." I mean, a legislator comes up here who cannot figure out a way to answer a question as to why he voted "yes" today and "no" tomorrow just doesn't belong up here. He probably ought to leave or she ought to leave because there's just too many answers. You vote on the same issues sixteen times, perhaps in sixteen different ways, and that's what my opponents always -- Moretti would always send down the hit list: "A hundred lousy votes by Maddy." The *Bee* would always give me a chance to respond. Well, then I'd just get three times more votes when I voted good.

But it was good because it was a test. It kept you on your toes. It does keep Members on their toes and does make you think about what you're doing.

SENEY: You know, your references to former Speaker Moretti, late Speaker Moretti, are interesting because I know you two were very close. It's interesting: Here he wouldn't let you on any of these good committees because he wanted to shaft you, and he sends down all these votes and you're laughing about it -- you don't take it personally. Right? This is business.

MADDY: We'd go to Jamaica together every year.

SENEY: During this time?

MADDY: During this time. We were part of the little group of guys that would take off. They were infamous trips that were never written much about, but there was a trip to Jamaica every year.

It's an interesting story. Bob Shillito represented the retailers. Bob Moretti loved tennis. In those days a little golf was being played but tennis was coming into big vogue and I had never played tennis. I forget, but it had to be in my first or second year, Shillito came down and had like three tennis rackets in his hand. We used to call him the "Big Man." He's still alive and still around. He lives over on the coast someplace. He said, "Try these on."

I said, "I don't play tennis."

He said, "The Speaker says you're going to play tennis. This racket should fit you." He said, "Here's a guy, he's going to teach you tomorrow morning at 7:30. Be over at this address." He said, "The Speaker's got you lined up for tennis lessons for the next three weeks. He said he wants you over there."

SENEY: What year would this have been?

MADDY: Seventy-one or two.

SENEY: Early on.

MADDY: Early on, because I went to Jamaica with Bobby in '73 then. I went twice

to Jamaica -- '73 and '74. And I didn't know about the trips. I didn't know that there was the big trip. He loved Jamaica. There would be a group of folks go down to Jamaica to spend a couple of weeks, and we'd lay in the sun and play tennis everyday and lay on the beach in Jamaica. A lot of it was paid for by lobbyists and so on in those days.

And so I went over and started taking tennis lessons. Moretti had the Speaker's Tennis Tournament that he loved and favored, and that was part of the event of the year in which we had more of that camaraderie, more of those golf tournaments and so on, where people would all come together. In fact, when Moretti left, I carried on the Speaker's Tournament for the next twenty years. I was chairman of the Speaker's Tennis Tournament. We ran it all the way up until the other person who took Shillito's place ended up dying. It just kind of faded. Tennis had faded out.

But that was Moretti. And so we became good friends, and I started playing tennis, and that's where the guys would come out, you know, "We're going to play some tennis." So you'd get to know each other well that way. And so then when the trip to Jamaica came, he said, "We're going to take a little trip and you're invited." And he said, "Your wife gets to come over in the second week. We guys go over the first week and have a little fun."

It doesn't sound good, it doesn't look good, but can I tell you as honest as I can be at this stage of my life, and knowing what I know, it

certainly never made me do anything dishonest. It never made me do anything that I don't think I would have done otherwise. And sure as hell it didn't corrupt me in any way. But what it did do is form relationships and friendships and camaraderie with guys that I think paid off in many, many, many ways later on in terms of legislation and what was good for the people. I really believe that.

I don't think everybody could do it. I don't think everybody could be on the trip and come away the same way. Not that I was special or anything, but I really believe, and I spoke about that at that institute, that you really have to find ways to where you can sit down and be honest with each other. We all know what's best. I mean, we all know what we should do for Fresno. The question is: How do you get it?

I gave one example the other night. Bob Duncan, who's a very, very prominent man in Fresno -- Duncan Ceramics -- very, very civic-minded and culturally-minded, and they wanted to have a tax override on arts to zoo. The tax override would support the arts, all the way to the zoo. I forget how many millions we raised. But anyway, the question came down. The supervisors didn't like it because it moved money around, but the cities liked it. But most of the people in Fresno who I thought were important in really thinking about the best interests of Fresno -- and not that the supervisors weren't, it was just a money shift to them -- they came and said, "Would you guys support this?"

Well, the Republicans were the ones that were having trouble. And [Senator Charles] Poochigian was in the front row, and I was telling the story and I said, "I don't know what Chuck would have been doing at that time," but the bottom line was, the way we decided, was I said I was the logical one to author it<sup>1</sup> because I'm a Republican leader and having a Republican carry a tax override might get us some Republican votes over on the other side, in the Assembly side, for guys who would never vote for a tax override. I said, "We have to argue. Look, it's us and Fresno. Number two, we have to argue we've got Reps and Demos on both sides. We're all for it, we'll take the heat at home. It means nothing to you guys, doesn't touch you, no precedent. Cal-Tax doesn't like it," although Cal-Tax sued and overrode it ultimately, but even they admitted that it was such a virtuous kind of thing.

When you can get that kind of people -- it was a two-thirds vote, so it wasn't like we were upsetting the apple -- no, it was a simple majority vote. That was the key, of course. But I said, "If you can get a majority of the people to vote to take their own money and develop it for the art centers and for the zoos, what could be better than this kind direct democracy?"

So I carried the bill and (quote) "took the heat." I wasn't anything

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<sup>1</sup> Senate Bill 1598 (1992).

special, but the idea was that if it had been a bill that would have been more persuasive to have the most liberal Democrat carry the bill, then my theory was if we could all join her -- [Senator] Rose Ann [Vuich] wasn't the most liberal Democrat, but whoever the most liberal Democrat was -- would coauthor the bill and then we'd all get behind it. Then we can make the argument on the floor, "Look, this is a Fresno delegation issue. It touches none of you. Give us the courtesy of voting for it." Now, that's a big argument.

SENEY: It is, isn't it?

MADDY: It's a huge argument.

SENEY: When you get both parties in the local delegation, it's very rare that the Legislature won't go along with it.

MADDY: That's right. And I said, "If you want to look back and find out why Fresno has done so well," and they made the point about how we've done so well through the years. Of course, pushed a lot of it my way. And I said, "The reason we've done so well is that we were able to sit down -- [Senator Jim] Jimmy Costa and [Assemblyman Richard] Rick Lehman and [Assemblyman] Bill [L.] Jones -- so we've got a mix of Reps and Dems." Bill Jones always moaned and groaned but always I could get him to go and we'd get this together and we'd say, "Okay, this is bipartisan. Look, it's for us, it's for our people. If they're dumb enough to want to do this, just let them do it."

But that is best accomplished when you know somebody. Right now, if I'm [Assemblyman] Dean Flores and I don't know [Assemblywoman] Sarah Reyes -- the two cohorts representing the Fresno area -- if you never said hello to them, you know, a guy comes to you and says, "You crazy? Me vote for a tax override? Bullshit! I don't care whether Fresno wants it or not. I'll take the heat. My constituents don't want it."

Because you've got to do some things occasionally that the people don't necessarily like, and there are going to be some people who will not like all this stuff. And so in order to get beyond just being a representative to where you're really a leader, you've got to start doing things that people don't like -- some people don't like.

SENEY: One of the arguments for these trips to Jamaica and the Speaker's Tournament and the carousing together, I suppose is a better word, is that there are all kinds of opportunities to disagree when you're a member of the Legislature and all kinds of reasons to get angry with one another, and that the relationships are better if you are friends to begin with and you can have a vote and disagree and then go out at night.

MADDY: I think that's absolutely true. And they replaced them. I mean, those trips were funded under the table by lobbyists. Lobbyists would accompany us. Right now the new phenomena is there are these public institutions and these foundations and all these groups. I traveled more the last four or

five years legitimately than I ever did back in the pre-Prop. 9 days. I mean, I've been to South America, I've been to Japan, I've been to China twice. I've been everywhere.

SENEY: Do you mean Prop[osition] 6?<sup>1</sup>

MADDY: Prop. 9, 1974.<sup>2</sup>

I traveled far more from Prop. 9 when they made all the trips illegal versus in the days -- because, of course, number one, I was junior then. I wasn't getting many trips, and then, of course, I became senior and got a lot of trips.

SENEY: Because there's always a way around it.

MADDY: Yes, they're doing these things now. This last year I went to Japan and on that trip was Marian Bergeson, of course who had been a friend. Gary Hart. It was an education event. I was there as the leader of the delegation because I was chair of Banking, Finance, and International Relations. And so then the educational group were meeting there, principally with Japanese educational people.

Well, it is very hard to travel six, eight days with folks who you may or may not be the closest of friends with, and philosophically you may not be the best of friends with, without coming out of that situation with a better feeling for each other, or you may hate each other. And then

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<sup>1</sup> Proposition 6, June 1974.

<sup>2</sup> Proposition 9, June 1974.

I went to South America. [Assemblywoman] Liz Figueroa -- I didn't know her at all but a great gal. [Senator] Betty Karnette. People that you don't necessarily come into contact with a lot. But I will tell you that a couple of weeks together, traveling -- as I said, it doesn't always work, sometimes you see the flaws and you find a reason why you don't like somebody -- but I will say, by and large, if you make an effort and you really want to know somebody and find out a little bit about them, and you want to work at your job, which I think what this is all about, this is selling and working, that coming together is extremely important.

How you do it, you can do a legitimate format and they worry about the mere fact a lobbyist is there. A lot of that's been taken out, obviously, with the foundation. I mean, the same folks are there. The foundations are founded by people like Exxon and all the other people who want to have influence. But there is a value to it, and it's very hard to persuade people there's a value to it. But they will tell you themselves that when they work for a company and they go away for a weekend, whatever they call it, a fishing trip among their colleagues, how great it is for them when they return, it's the same relationship.

SENEY: Easier to call someone, know who to call.

MADDY: Absolutely.

SENEY: Why don't you talk a little bit about your relationship with Bob Moretti. When did you meet him and how?

MADDY: It really came about just that simply. When he became Speaker, then he called us in at different times.

SENEY: Let me change this, Senator.

[End Tape 1, Side B]

[Begin Tape 2, Side A]

SENEY: Go ahead, Senator.

MADDY: Bob Moretti, when he was Speaker, whenever my turn came around -- I don't have any direct memory of when my turn came around to have the brief talk as to what committees I might get and so on.

SENEY: So he had everyone come in to chat?

MADDY: Oh, he took individually everybody and had them come in. And somewhere between that point and the time we started playing tennis and so on, we did develop a friendship.

SENEY: What was your first impression of him? Was that the first time you'd met him when you went into his office?

MADDY: Yes.

SENEY: It's a large, ornate--

MADDY: In those days, the Speaker's office was right behind the podium, and in those days the bar was open there. Although he wasn't a drinker, the bar was open and guys hung there. If you were close to the Speaker, there was no reason for you not to go behind and flop down. Bobby had a very open office for his close friends. Not that I ever got into that, necessarily

that close a category.

But he was extremely hard-driven. He had made up his mind he was going to be Governor. He never said that, but I certainly figured out later that that was what his goal was in '74. And we just liked each other. We were both sort of athletes, both liked women. We both didn't mind getting out and having a lot of fun. And we liked to fight, we liked the game, the sport of it. Although Bobby was much, much, much more difficult to put aside when he got mad than I was. You know, I'd cast it off in a second, but Bobby would get really hot sometimes and really get mad, but he always quickly backed off and forgave. And then he would punish: The famous story of Wally Karabian losing his seat because he voted against him at one point or did something.

SENEY: Tell me about that.

MADDY: Well, I think that Richard Alatorre's first run at the Assembly seat, and Karabian, again, was Majority Leader, and there were two -- I think the guy who's on the Board of Regents now. Ralph Nuñez? I can't think of his name. But anyway, two Latinos were going to run for the Assembly seat and Bobby had chosen one and Wally Karabian as Majority Leader had decided he wanted to support the other one.

The story was, as best as I can recall, when Wally came to work one day, his office had moved downstairs to the men's basement in the latrine. I mean, his name off the door and his door was down there, and Bobby

said, "That's where you staying until you get some sense."

Well, they reconciled it. But he would do spontaneous tough things like that.

SENEY: Literally the men's room?

MADDY: Literally the men's room.

If he'd get mad enough, "You want to arm wrestle?" The famous story of arm wrestling who our director of health was over some issue. He would want to do things like that. He was just bombastic.

But a tremendously strong driven guy, good ideas. Certainly more liberal than I was. In retrospect, probably never could have been a governor, I don't think, for the reason he just didn't have the personality. He was famous for his statement when he ran in '74: "What's your first choice in terms of the campaign?" He said, "That's for Jerry Brown to get the opportunity to meet every citizen in California. The second choice is for me to get the chance to meet every citizen in California." His thought that everybody would turn Jerry down and would support him, which is the kind of ego you need when you're going to run.

But Bob was very strong, had a very dictatorial leadership style in contrast to Willie. You were either in the real inside with Bobby, and when you were everybody knew it. And you didn't get in there easy; you worked to get in. And he had tight control of those people that were on the inside. He had Republicans that he knew that in most cases he could

trust, he could get. In other words, he was not going to be beaten by his own. A dissident Democrat who didn't get treated right by Bobby was never in the cards. Where with Willie and some of the others at different times they worried about being blindsided. But Bobby always had enough Republicans out there that he felt he was close enough to. Whether he purposefully went out and became friends with me for that reason or--

SENEY: Were you one of those, do you think?

MADDY: I think I was one of those. Newt Russell. Strange bedfellows. Newt and he were very close friends. A lot of different guys. Bobby Beverly.

Even though Bobby knew that Monagan took so much heat for giving him a job, he didn't totally dump the notion that merit ought to have something to do where you served. And of course, that's always the problem. How do you take some dumbbell who happens to be in your caucus who you've now promised a committee chairmanship to and give him a committee chairmanship? Well, you can go there right now and find out all kinds of quiet apologies. Some people shouldn't be here. Now, I respect the fact they're here but some people shouldn't be here, let alone being committee chairmen. But in those days Moretti also controlled far more of the staff. I mean, the staff didn't move around. There was no *carte blanche* with Moretti. Moretti controlled staff, controlled everything.

SENEY: So if he had to put a dumbbell in a chairman's slot--

MADDY: Then he'd make sure that person was protected, right. And he had people who looked out for those kinds of things. Bill Hauck and he brought good staff people around him so that he knew how this place operated. I always said it was kind of a threat of punishment people worried about with Moretti in contrast to Willie of not getting all your share. You know, Willie gave away everything to everybody and that was his way of keeping everything together, although that kind of modified and changed through the years.

But Moretti was strong, forceful, driven. As I say, in retrospect I don't know if he ever could have been elected -- you never know about these things -- could have been elected governor but not for not trying.

SENEY: Did you support him in '74? Did you do anything for him?

MADDY: No. I never split the party in any races. I would not endorse but I never went out -- when he endorsed me for Governor, he disliked Jerry Brown so much that he endorsed me for Governor in '78 in my primary, in the Republican Primary. He didn't go against Jerry Brown but he endorsed me. That was a big move on his part.

SENEY: Well, he was very angry with Brown for the way Brown had treated him.

MADDY: Absolutely.

SENEY: And I can understand that.

MADDY: Oh yes. Bobby had pride. Bobby had ego and pride like crazy.

SENEY: What we're talking about here is that after the '74 election there had been

intimations apparently that there would be a place for Bob Moretti in the [Jerry] Brown Administration, and Bob Moretti sat by that phone and it didn't ring and it didn't ring and it never rung.

MADDY: I didn't know that. I never did really know the depth of that. I always sort of thought the impression was that he had so many good deals going that he didn't really want the administration. That's my thought of it.

Interestingly, I'm engaged to Bob's sister.

SENEY: Yes, I'm aware of the tie. So what, she's filled you in on some of that?

MADDY: I'll have to ask her. No, she was pretty young then, so I don't know if she remembers or not.

SENEY: Well, that's my understanding, that he waited and waited.

MADDY: That very well could be. I know there was no love lost.

SENEY: The phone did not ring.

MADDY: Oh, it was typical of Jerry not to. Bobby was just so far away from his style.

SENEY: One of the things I want to talk to you about -- and this comes up right away -- is reapportionment.

MADDY: Big, big issue.

SENEY: You've got to be concerned about that from the very first minute.

MADDY: We were in session all of '71 and all of '72. I mean, we were in and out of session all year long. We had special sessions, from the famous lines that were being drawn to solving the reapportionment issue. Obviously being

a Republican Governor with Democratic control of the Legislature, they had the right to draw the lines but they had to get Ronald Reagan's signature.

The Senate boys in 1970 were fairly quick to cut a deal, as I recall, and tried to persuade the Republicans in the Assembly to do it. We had a deal or two, and that's the famous [Assemblyman] Bill Brophy-Richard [J.] Alatorre interference where a sudden special election is won in East L.A. by a Republican over a Latino, and suddenly the Republicans now got their bit in their teeth and they're saying, "If we can win that one, we're going to win them all, so we want 40/40. We want what would be on paper a 40/40 split." And dealing with the incumbents, then that was a different matter.

Well, when it got down to dealing with the incumbents, there was no way to deal with [Assemblyman John F.] Johnny Foran in the Bay Area and protect the Burtons [Phil and John] and give Ken Maddy a seat without totally screwing up the Central Valley in terms of the Republican-Democrat line.

I forget what day it was -- sometime in December, and maybe I have this mixed up in my head but it was sometime in December -- and [Assemblyman] Henry [A.] Waxman stood up on the Floor and said, "We have some amendments," and he named some census tracks. Of course, by this time I had memorized every census track in Fresno. I said, "Do I

get the impression that this amendment would move my home and place it in Mr. Mobley's district?"

And Henry: "That's exactly what this bill does, this amendment does." And it passes of course, so then I'm without a seat theoretically, and the compromise goes down and Ronald Reagan then joins us and vetoes the bill and the fight begins again. Reapportionment was a tremendous factor in all my elections in the Assembly.

SENEY: I've been told by others that on the Republican side that there was a good deal of unhappiness with Mr. Reagan's interference. That when this deal had been worked out between the two parties -- not necessarily to your benefit -- that what he should have done, Republican legislators thought too, was to sign it, that it was legislative business.

MADDY: There's a shot of him in one of these things of him coming in looking like a jillion dollars with his turtleneck sweater on and his jacket on at three o'clock in the morning. Nobody could look that good at three o'clock in the morning. When he came over with the Senate, [Senator] John [L.] Harmer, et al., to try to persuade us that we Republicans in the Assembly ought to go forward with it -- and I'll give Monagan tremendous credit because those of us who were getting screwed and those who were going to support those of us who were getting screwed, and there was a lot of people who were silent, let me tell you that, this becomes very, very personal. This becomes just so personal that it has nothing to do with

anybody else. This is just you. Monagan stood up to him: "Not 'til hell freezes over will we ever give up. You're not going to lose our guys."

And I was probably the clearest, total wipeout. They took my home and moved it someplace else.

SENEY: Right.

MADDY: Of course, they had Johnny out there trying to solve what Johnny was going to do. That's why we always sort of had our famous--

SENEY: John Burton you mean.

MADDY: No, Johnny Foran. The Burtons had to have room for Willie and themselves and so on, so Johnny Foran had to leave. So that's when Johnny on the Floor said something about "If either one of us ever becomes Governor, then you have to make a promise that the other one gets to be Supreme Court Justice." Well, he wrote me a note or something in 1978 when it looked like I might have a shot. He said, "I remember the promise, I hope you do."

I was such a target because it was a strange seat in that I was called the hole in the donut. All around me was Ernie Mobley, who represented the entire district, and I was the center of the city, which was a seat that had been drawn to make sure that the Democrats controlled the inner city, because that's where all the votes were, and all the rest of it was the outer part which was a Republican seat.

And so I had every census track memorized. I could tell every street.

The question was: How do you draw a district that would allow me to have a chance to win? Of course, Gordon Duffy was around on one side of us and Democrats on the other side, so it was a finite situation again; that for every Republican I won I had to take him from Ernie.

There's a thousand stories. In fact, one of these guys had written a book -- it never was published -- but one chapter had to do with the Maddy-Mobley fight.

SENEY: Is this Tony Quinn's book?<sup>1</sup>

MADDY: Yes, Tony Quinn's book. That's a funny one. Just the one chapter. You ought to get it.

SENEY: Oh, I've read it.

MADDY: Have you read it?

SENEY: Yes.

MADDY: Well, there's a chapter on Maddy-Mobley, and the whole thing was I would pick out a census track everyday and every meeting I'd walk in and I'd say, "Throw this up on the board. I want to take census track [such and such]" and Ernie would just jump out of his chair and go crazy. He said, "Maddy's trying to screw me again! Maddy's trying to screw me again!"

Ernie Mobley was the great facilitator. I told the story, I think, on

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<sup>1</sup> This is a reference to an unpublished manuscript written by T. Anthony Quinn, analyzing California redistricting from 1950 to 1980.

another tape, but Ernie always wanted to facilitate. So one time I figured out a way to take about three tracks away from Duffy, which would solve our problem. Of course, Duffy suddenly stops and says, "Oh, no, no, no, no. We can't touch my district." I mean, these were such monumental battles in the '70s and ultimately turned out to be battles in the '80s also.

SENEY: Right.

MADDY: And I would say that's going to be the issue here in California, that people haven't analyzed yet completely, and I know there's a lot of people who have done it. When I become leader in the '90s, I did all the Senate work because I knew so much about it and I had been to the Supreme Court. I worked personally with my people on the reapportionment in 1990. There's so much to it that it is going to be a monumental issue principally for Democrats, because you've got this new change in demographics with blacks and browns and Southeast Asians and others of the minority community who are fragmenting what traditionally used to be an area that you could go in and say, "These are black seats." They're no longer black seats. They're Latino seats, or they're black seats and Latino seats. And how do you protect an incumbent who's sitting up here who will demand to be protected to get a vote? You don't get a vote for a guy who's not protected.

This is one of the most fascinating aspects of politics that is as little known as anything around, and the consequences of it is so fascinating

people have no idea how important it is. It's everything.

SENEY: Let me say in terms of this reapportionment, what happens is, as you said, Reagan vetoes it and it goes to the court, and it's written up by a master who--

MADDY: In part, we were happy with that. The Senate came out with the idea and were mad at Reagan because he said, "We have a deal. At least we know what we have and we've agreed to it. Now, if we can't go win those seats, that's our problem." Ergo: You guys in the Assembly, sure, you didn't get quite as good a deal; in other words, a couple guys got screwed. Our chances on paper look 20/20. Your chances may look 42/38, but you're close. And then we started wearing the 40/40 buttons. That was why everybody started wearing 40/40 buttons: "No, we want 40/40. We want on paper 40/40."

Their theory was, look, we know what we've got, you can go campaign. It's not a roll of the dice by some group of academicians." Our counter argument to that was "Oh no. Just remember it's the Supreme Court [Chief] Justice [Donald R.] Don Wright. He's a Republican. We're going to be taken care of because he'll appoint at least a fair moderator." Well, he went up to Berkeley and picked one of the most activist Democrat reapportioners around. I can't think of his name.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Paul L. McKaskle.

SENEY: I can't either.

MADDY: And he's famous in the academic ranks.

SENEY: And he did the 1990 one.

MADDY: That's exactly right.

SENEY: My understanding is that what he did was he drew a lot of toss-up seats more than the Legislature would have drawn.

MADDY: Oh, the Legislature, it all begins with power and who's the strongest and who the leadership says "These are the untouchables, go from there." And then the stronger you are, the better chance you have at surviving.

Now, to the extent that they went in the academic world and did a little good government work is what they did do. I mean, I don't hold it against them. I don't think they sat down personally and said, "We're going to give the Democrats the majority." But the reality was that if you begin to analyze the state demographic changes and so on and try to equalize -- I mean, if you assume that every Latino is going to vote Democrat and you want to make sure they get represented, well, it takes reapportionment and turns it way out on the top of its head, instead of just doing something like we used to say: Representation should be regional, it should be community of interest, it should have something behind it other than just who's going to end up winning. In other words, if you get to the Fresno Valley area, you don't connect it up to Morro Bay. There's no relationship.

SENEY: Right. There's got to be a community of interest.

MADDY: Right, and those things.

SENEY: Compactness.

MADDY: Yes. And so we felt we were protected. Of course, what they did was try to do what ultimately, in part, the Supreme Court somewhat ordered later on they had to do which was make this representation work.

What I did then was -- we were forced to run in our old seats [in 1972], which was probably a Godsend because I ended up with another semi-weak opponent, and by this time I had become probably sort of a folk hero. That was probably the height of my career was in '71-72. I had been showing independence, I had overridden Reagan, I had done this, I had spoken out about the Republican Party should be more moderate. I was not making many mistakes and I was everywhere. In those days I was pretty good at what I was doing. I could move around.

Zeno[vich] and Hugh Burns had been around for a lot of years. They hadn't had to work. Ernie Mobley was by nature a very, very quiet, unassuming guy. The city councilman. There was no heavyweights. I mean, it was just one of those things that it wasn't hard to be a star, if you will, in that group, and so I ended up staying in that district and, of course, squeaking out another victory.

SENEY: Let me say something else about reapportionment first. My understanding is that here you have all these toss-up districts. Under normal

circumstances the Republicans would have done all right. Because, if it's going to be a Democratic district, it's got to have more Democrats than for it to be a Republican district, because Republican voters are more reliable. But the fly in the ointment is Watergate.

MADDY: True.

SENEY: Would that be your analysis too?

MADDY: In '72 we came back and ran in our old seats. In '74 we came back, and that was the impact of Watergate. And that was my first new district. See, by that time they had forced us to move into other districts.

SENEY: Now you're the gentleman from Firebaugh.

MADDY: Now I'm Firebaugh. In fact, Dick Forshee, who was the guy who rented me the house, was there the other night. I told the story about how sometimes you have to be astute. I had to move out to Firebaugh.

But [because of] Watergate, Republicans were taking a bath of baths, so this was all new to me. Then I had to change, so we developed a strategy. Instead of a little small compact city district, I was now suddenly representing all of the west side, all the blacks, all the Latinos, all the farmers. I was representing part of Merced County, part of Madera County. All of this stuff that no one had ever seen me in. Well, in one way that's good, one way that's bad. One is that you come up with sort of a reputation, and two, it depends on how good a salesman you are. And I went to work. We went out and tried to develop a strategy that would

allow me to win, and also, I would say that I was lucky on the draw.

I had a very popular city councilman from Fresno, Al Villa, but the reality was that there was the same prejudice in 1974 in an open election against voting for a Latino as there might have been a few years before that. Less today but certainly a lot more then. You know, somebody would come to me and say, "How can I get appointed judge?" At that time, Jerry Brown had appointed a couple of judges that were Latinos, both of them pretty good guys. I think Al got appointed and got beat. It was like three of them he appointed. I said, "Run against a Latino." I said, "The reality is in life, whether you like it or not, if there's going to be Latino judge and you're going to run against an Anglo, you very well will win just being an Anglo." And so I had that little edge going with me.

SENEY: This is the '74 election.

MADDY: Seventy-four election, and which was the toughest year, the year we dropped to the all-time low.<sup>1</sup> But I survived actually pretty well. I mean, I forget what I got -- 52 percent of the vote. Al was a decent candidate, a decent man.

SENEY: The *Fresno Bee* circulation would have been in this area that you were running.

MADDY: Totally. Big advantage.

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<sup>1</sup> As a result of the 1974 election, the Assembly had 25 Republicans and 55 Democrats. After the 1976 election, there were 23 Republicans and 57 Democrats in the Assembly.

SENEY: So you weren't completely unknown in that area.

MADDY: Yes, and I went down to little areas like Coalinga. Coalinga was a swing area. They had a little newspaper down there. I always had other theories from the get-go. Once I moved out in the rural areas I played to the rural newspapers, and it was amazing. When I say "played," it didn't take much more than about a thousand dollar full-page ad, whatever it counted to, to make a big difference. I'm not being too facetious, but a little small--

SENEY: You've got a really nice smile on your face, Senator. What do you mean by that?

MADDY: Well, I mean the reality was that in the little small advertiser newspapers and so on, to take a thousand bucks or take a full-page ad and run a thank you ad, or to run a campaign ad of some kind, modest, not hard-hitting, but just "I'm your friend Ken Maddy," in all these little newspapers, it costs you damn little dough, but it's hard for me not to be persuaded in my mind that it also didn't have a little bit to do with endorsement time.

You know, if you're up in Oakhurst and you get the Oakhurst newspaper endorsement, he's not going to say "because Maddy also spends a grand or two a year and nobody else spends any money." But my theory was why would you ignore these guys? The same is true by stopping by to say hello to them. The editor down in Coalinga said, "Nobody ever visits me except you." You know, you don't have to be a

brain surgeon to find out that it's just simple campaign tactics.

The TV being a critical part, because we could get cheap television, and the television stations in Fresno covered all through my Assembly career covered my area there. A little bit of Merced I couldn't get, but by and large [it covered the district].

So Villa was a tough race, but I was again fortunate.

SENEY: If you were to have run against him in the old district, do you think he might have done better?

MADDY: He might have, oh sure, absolutely. It was all urban and he was city councilman there. But see, he had to stretch out into the farm belt. I tagged him with it and he called me dirty. The first two campaigns I never mentioned my opponents, and the third campaign, of course, this was it. This was '74 and we were getting killed nationwide. And so I tied into Cesar Chavez to some degree. Not a direct tie but tie enough that he thought it was direct and he complained about it, which was what I wanted because I wanted to make sure of the image.

SENEY: Kind of connect it in their minds.

MADDY: Sure.

SENEY: The whole farm labor issue becomes a really important issue during this period.

MADDY: This is the key, Prop. 14<sup>1</sup> [dealing with Agricultural Labor Relations].

SENEY: You sponsored some legislation which was sort of -- I guess it would be kind of the Teamsters' side of things.

MADDY: There were several bills that were floating around. By this time, notwithstanding my fairly low status, I was a pretty hard player, a pretty heavy-hitter player. The *Bee* didn't like it, in fact, a little bit because they started finding me reaching out a little bit more against their liberal interests. Then I began to play a little bit more of a role in the farm labor dispute on Prop. 14 and in the Legislature. So I carried the alternative bill which the Teamsters and most farmers signed off on, because there was an eternal battle between teamos and farm workers and Chavez. And so I was one of the authors of that bill. Objectively, I would say it was a more realistic, straightforward, honest labor bill, but it's not what Jerry Brown wanted. Jerry Brown didn't want it straightforward. I mean, he wanted to give labor an edge. He wanted to give the farm workers an edge. And so this bill was not one that was going to necessarily give them an edge. It was going to give any labor organization, if you come in, and Teamsters were stronger at that point in time, and they were at that point thinking they were going to not allow Chavez to take over the farm labor units. They wanted their crack at them.

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<sup>1</sup> Proposition 14, November 2, 1976.

SENEY: There was a big conflict.

MADDY: It was huge.

SENEY: And the Teamsters and the farmers were seen as united on this.

MADDY: Right. And Maddy was fighting for that group.

SENEY: What was your motivation there?

MADDY: Number one, by that time I was representing the west side, I was representing the farmers, and it was clear that that was where my interests lie. And philosophically I was probably there. I knew Chavez to the extent you know him and meetings we had and so on.

SENEY: Did he ever come see you and talk to you?

MADDY: We talked, but he never spoke very much to anybody, at least in my caliber in terms of in-depth. He always had people that did it for him -- lawyers. I thought he was more of a religious leader. I thought he was more of a person who had a cause and the cause was certainly noble enough, and I said that then. I wasn't being facetious. But he was no labor leader. He didn't know what the hell to do as far as organizing his labor. He had so many internal problems in trying to make things work that farmers couldn't deal with him. They liked Teamsters because once they lost the teams they knew where they were at.

That's the way it is now. You watch how the organization goes now, the big farming is getting more and more used to organized labor. But they want to know where they're going. You know, what's it going to

cost us? What's it going to do? And Chavez never knew from one moment to the next. There'd be some sort of religious issue come out here and they would want to do this or that, but he was just not a labor leader. He was more of a spiritual leader.

So there was a lot of reasons, but the bottom line was it was my district. It was where the farmers wanted to go. They knew this, that they were screwed, they had Jerry Brown as Governor, Democratic control of both houses of the Legislature, the Republicans couldn't stop anything. Ergo: Right now.<sup>1</sup> This is déjà vu. This is 1974 all over again, sitting down here saying, "We've lost. How much do we want of the pie?" Organized labor sitting down and saying, "How much can we ask for and how much can we get away with?" They're not saying "We don't want to change the ALRB [Agricultural Labor Relations Board]."

They're saying, "We want to enforce the ALRB," because it was a good law for them to begin with.

SENEY: The politics of that was very interesting in terms of this has passed the Legislature, the Agricultural Labor Relations Board Act against the Legislature. And I thought the Republicans did a real number on that bill. My recollection is it was Senator Clare Berryhill.

MADDY: The two hitters were Berryhill and Maddy. Berryhill in the Senate and

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<sup>1</sup> Here, Senator Maddy is referring to the fact that, for the first time since 1982, there is a Democratic Governor and the Democrats control both houses of the Legislature.

Maddy in the Assembly. We always claimed that we were at Fats having dinner the night they cut the deal in which the Western Growers -- in fact, I had someplace in my archives, and I think I finally threw it away, was Darrell [Arnold] -- what was his name? He was president of the Western Growers. He's now deceased. But we caught him. We came back from Fats and they had cut the deal.

[End Tape 2, Side A]

[Begin Tape 2, Side B]

SENEY: Go ahead, Senator. You need to say a little more about the agreement that you worked out.

MADDY: As I recall it, I know Zenovich was part of the negotiating team on the Senate side for the farm labor side. Berryhill was the most adamant, loud-spoken person on supporting the bill that I had, the teamster bill for the farmers, and I was being vocal on my side. I can't remember on the other side who was involved, but most of the Democrats were involved.

Allegedly, Clare and I were down at Frank Fats by the time we got there, and that's when I got Darrell Arnold, who is the head of the Western Growers, to sign something that said "I'll take the blame," such and such a day. I told him many times later what a bad bill it was. I said, "You're going to live to regret this bill." Well, they never did, obviously, because of the fact that we got Republican governors and it never had to be enforced.

But the bill in itself, that's why you don't see today anybody complaining about the ALRB. It's a good, strong, pro-labor piece of legislation. What's changed, of course, is the dynamics within labor -- farm employer and farm employee relationships -- and so there will not be that kind of contentiousness out there.

But anyway, that hurt me a little bit in the *Bee* in the sort of more liberal group because I was taking a strong stance.

SENEY: I remember, too, there was a complaint about the people Brown put on the ALRB.

MADDY: Cardinal [Roger] Mahoney.

SENEY: Yes. And saying this is the wrong guy.

MADDY: Well, the great story there was that he was our parish priest. The bishop now is a very close friend of mine. They were always finding us off having lunch from time to time in some little place around Sacramento here. He wasn't a monsignor when he was on the board. I think he was just a priest. Of course, he was the most controversial, wearing the robe. In fact, I have a painting someplace. I think I told you, his mother, she was an amateur painter and she had given me a painting. But Roger and I've been friends through the years. Of course, my kids are just shocked when I call him Roger, but I try to be more kind now that he's up in the higher ranks.

But we would get together and talk about these issues in the sense of

what we could do. And he was one of the more prominent priests who would march picket lines and showed up at the Fresno County Jail with Cesar Chavez one time. [Senator] George [R.] Moscone was there, and he was walking with Moscone and the others about some farm workers that had been arrested. You know, he was a very confrontational priest in a sense and rose up through the ranks.

But we were also very close friends and had been my parish priest for my kids in Fresno, and so we would have lunches and people would be shocked that we were sitting there having lunch. It probably helped our reputations, both of us, as being more open-minded, but it was just general stuff.

SENEY: I'm thinking, too, about the first appropriations for this bill was where I thought the Republicans, both you and Berryhill, did something very clever, if you remember. And that is that the appropriation only ran for six months, the initial one.

MADDY: I don't specifically remember that.

SENEY: It was a real hammer over Brown's head.

MADDY: I don't specifically remember that as to having an effect. I remember that night more prominently and getting Darrell Arnold's signature.

But after that, number one, we felt betrayed. I mean, for Clare and I, we felt we had really been betrayed by Western Growers and the others. We were willing to fight and go all the way and we took all the heat.

SENEY: And they backed down?

MADDY: Yes. For Western Growers to fold at the end, in their political strategy that was probably smart from their point of view. But to sign a bill that we were ready to go to the wire on was one of those that when I was younger would get more involved in it. You know, that was a betrayal: we'll screw you guys. Then you go figure out a way to do it yourself from now on; don't look to Maddy.

SENEY: What was their political strategy, do you think?

MADDY: I think that they felt that it was inevitable. I mean, it's like the question right now: How far is business going to go? Right now [Governor] Gray Davis signed four or five HMO [Health Maintenance Organization] bills. Well, the whole HMO community was there smiling and saying okay, this is a neat arrangement. Well, there wasn't a single bill that he signed that they liked.

SENEY: But that's the best they could do.

MADDY: That's the best they could do. So you put a little smile on it if you can.

He's got nurse staffing ratio sitting over here now, which is the biggest bill of all of them, and they're sitting here with knees knocking, waiting and hoping that by being good that they might not get nurse staffing ratio signed. If they get that one vetoed, well, (quote), "At least that puts that over for one more year."

But I think the Growers just felt that "we have enough going for us."

You know, these things are sort of relative. I mean, the idea of whether or not you can organize or not organize is something that Chavez worried them more because it became something. Whenever he organized, they never had a fair fight. Yet, newspapers and clergymen and social workers and national press, and we'd have a hearing and national TV would come down, and as soon as Chavez spoke, nobody else got to say anything. People would go home.

It brought a big change with the Prop. 14 on the ballot, and of course, that brought my status up in terms of having had fought that battle, and then getting involved in 14 as a spokesman sort of elevated me then. Western Growers were my biggest supporters when I ran for Governor in '78.

SENEY: Right. That was a key element of your running in '78, which we'll get to.

I'm looking at one of your campaign things for your reelection in '72, which I have made a copy of.

Do you recognize that young man up there in the corner?

MADDY: That is young. Oh yes, I had just come back. You know, luck and fate plays so many roles. For whatever reason, I was selected for the Eagleton Institute. Again, it was one of these things that you attend. For somebody like myself who was novice and had not been experienced, it was a tremendous eye opener. Great for a young man who'd never been away, gone anywhere. I took my young bride, we go back to Florida, meet all

these legislators from around the country. Number one, get a great perspective of where you stand versus other people. I mean, it's always good sometimes to know where you're at in the ranks. We come back and find out that we in California are light years ahead. It was [Senator] Arlen Gregorio, who was a new Senator, and Ken Maddy, the new Assemblyman, and we were selected to go back to the Eagleton Institute in Rutgers, and Jesse Unruh was running it. That was his big show. You know, just to how much they relied upon us for knowledge, we in California just were so much further ahead in almost every subject matter. That part is good.

But this also played big for my future, because whenever push came to shove I just said I was selected to be part of the Eagleton Institute, one of fifty legislators from throughout the country. It sells well. So a little luck plays from time to time.

SENEY: How'd you get selected, do you think?

MADDY: I have no idea.

SENEY: No insight?

MADDY: I have no insight.

SENEY: I mean, it does seem strange that they would select a Republican.

MADDY: They selected two freshmen. Hard to tell. I have no idea why we got selected.

Oh yes, and then I did a lot of these questionnaires which were sort

of always self-serving: Are you generally satisfied with the public school system? No, 61 percent. Would you favor state assistance for support of private and parochial schools? No, 62 percent. Which would seem to be a contradiction. Would you favor collective bargaining rights? Pretty close. Child care centers for the community? Fifty-two percent said no in those days. It's always interesting.

And see, I was for nuclear power, so were people in those days. Nuclear power was probably the most far-out issue that I had in terms of going against the stream that ultimately really moved.

SENEY: Well, you were very much in favor of it.

MADDY: Right.

SENEY: What was behind that?

MADDY: My own review, and I just felt that we had to have nuclear power to survive. I was not a specialist or anything in it, but I just made that decision after reading and so on. Nothing in particular. There was no influence by industry or anybody else. It just was a decision I made.

SENEY: Did they come to you later with contributions or anything like that?

MADDY: No, no, not to speak of. Nothing in particular. It was just one of those issues that was much more controversial. I never was burned, and I never benefited much.

SENEY: What's your feeling today?

MADDY: When I go and travel around the world and find out the reliance that the

rest of the world has on nuclear power right now, I prefer not to do it. I think it's a lot safer the way we're doing it. I would prefer not to have nuclear power because these things do happen. But I just wish we had, in these kinds of analysis and when we think about things, put it in perspective. You know, when you think all of England and all of these areas with nuclear, if we should suddenly take the American view and we shut down all nuclear power plants, the world stops.

Somebody ought to say that: The big news today was the Governor and the President signed 18 anti-HMO bills and the next day the health insurance premiums go up. At some point in time in my life I think it ought to be said, "Well, guess what? Do you think there's a connection, folks?"

SENEY: In this campaign brochure, the first issue you talk about is education.

MADDY: I think because of the start, and being a co-chairman of a successful bond drive was a huge issue within the educational cause.

SENEY: And that must have educated you a great deal about the problems in the schools.

MADDY: Educated me about the schools. My sister was a very strong influence on me because she was out in Kerman, a small rural school district, and she was doing battle in the ranks, so I knew a lot more. I think my votes that were so pro-teacher were so much largely influenced by her because of the various things that she saw were going on. And, of course, I would

discuss those situations with her. And I had kids in schools. Some were in Catholic and some were in public.

Yes, school finance again; equal education system [reading from the campaign brochure]. You're guided a lot by this. It's where the newspapers are so strong, because if you get a major periodical like the *Bee*, which is the only newspaper in your community, and they hammer every day, you'd better be responding to what they're talking about.

SENEY: How frequently would you meet with them on these kinds of things?

MADDY: I would come down Thursdays, afternoon, and there were two reporters. Eli Setencich, who's still a reporter down there, and a guy named Baker,<sup>1</sup> who's gone up in the ranks, and then Jim Boren. And sort of my deal was I didn't make it a steady diet, but what I would do would be informally just drop by on a Thursday afternoon and sit down, and frequent enough to where it was planned. I had a plan. Whether they had a plan or not, I had a plan.

SENEY: What was your plan?

MADDY: My plan was to sit down and continue to maintain, even though I knew they were going to be against me on a lot of issues and that they didn't control the editorial board, but to keep the reporters as informed as I could inform them on what was going on. And I find that there's a great desire

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<sup>1</sup> Unable to verify.

for people particularly in the reporting business and the academic world who like to have a feeling that they know what's going on inside. That is, behind the news.

SENEY: They're political junkies.

MADDY: Yes, they are political junkies. I always found that by telling enough of the inside, not exaggerating it but giving them more than they would get -- you know, 'Why'd you guys do this? Why did I duck this one?' Just like you asked, what does "duck" mean? "Why did I duck this one?" Just to tell them enough of that, I found out, number one, I didn't get burned much. I mean, they didn't write "And Maddy admits that he dodged this." I left it open. If they wanted to write it, they could write it.

My plan was if I could get as friendly to these guys as possible, and they were good guys, I enjoyed them, we liked each other, that long term I would be treated all right. The editorial board was a little tougher because it was tougher to get to the editorial board. But I always had an opportunity, whenever they went after me, to prepare and plan and come in and give them my straightforward argument and to tell them why I did something.

To the extent that the *Bee* was my major force, and I had a couple of instances: the book that I haven't brought you -- there's a big controversial book that I just couldn't carry today -- is one that talks about one incident in which I thought was probably the worst incident in my

career in terms of being treated by the press unfairly. The story was true to the extent that I knew the fellow and so on. But I'll bring it and you can read it.

SENEY: Okay. Along those lines, I'm looking for a card here. In fact, it's from the same reporter, Eli Setencich, and here's an article from him, and unfortunately it's not dated but it's '71-72 time period.

“Maddy had promised during his campaign to play them as he sees them and cross party lines when his conscience told him to. The pressure from the Reagan Administration was extreme.”

Anyway, this has to do with the mental health override. It was a very nice article and probably the product, do you suppose, maybe of one of these chats.

MADDY: My view was, I wasn't sitting out trying to feed this message today or feed that message today. It was more to come around, just like we're doing, to stop off. The guys had all afternoon, they're sitting around trying to figure out something to write, I guess, and we'd just sit around, you know, “What happened this week?” Bing, bing, bing. So they'd take some things down, sometimes nothing would come of it.

But the same as what I did to a lesser degree: I never chummed with the press up here per se, trying to take them to dinner or anything like that, but I always had what I thought was a good relationship. I think it's important. You don't become adversaries but you work every day

together in the same spot, why not try to be--

SENEY: Where did this come from, this insight? Just your natural political inclinations?

MADDY: I think so. I don't think I had any master plan.

SENEY: This wasn't something along the lines that Monagan had said, "Don't forget the press at home?"

MADDY: No. If there was anybody it was probably my friend Karney Hodge. In fact, I joked with him last night. He called and my son was talking to him. Karney used to carry a book around. I might have said this to you before too. He carried a book around. When he'd see me walking down the mall and not say hello to a certain person, he would put it down in his book and he would call me, "Why did you ignore [so-and-so]?" Those kinds of things. He was very much a clothing salesman, very much a person who got around town, and he had these little commonsense stuff. You think about it in life but we don't have time to do it in life. But his view was that that was my job now. So even though I didn't like so-and-so very well, it was important for me to stop by and say hello to them.

SENEY: I interviewed the late Congressman [John E.] Moss on his legislative career, and among the many papers<sup>1</sup> that I looked at came from his congressional career, and in there were files of his press releases. And

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<sup>1</sup> The John E. Moss papers are housed in the University Archives, California State University, Sacramento.

then they would be followed by articles from the *Bee*, and you could see where -- I'm talking about the *Sacramento Bee* -- where they would rewrite his first paragraph, quote his second paragraph, rewrite his third paragraph, quote his fourth paragraph.

Did you get to have that kind of relationship?

MADDY: No.

Do you want to get a bite to eat?

SENEY: Yes, that'd be good. Should we stop now?

[End Tape 2, Side B]

[Session 4, October 6, 1999]

[Begin Tape 1, Side A]

SENEY: Senator, I want to go back a little bit to ask you about the leadership in the Assembly in your first term. Of course, Mr. Monagan, as you mentioned, who gave you the useful advice, was the Minority Leader. Who was the deputy leader at that point?

MADDY: At that time John Stull. That was the conservatives' play, the moderate conservatives.

SENEY: So that was the tradeoff?

MADDY: That was the tradeoff, yes. I think it was Monagan and Stull was our two leaders in '71, and it stayed that way, every time we would have the split. Bob Beverly came in and took over. He was a moderate. At that time they brought in [Assemblyman John V.] Briggs, or somebody. It was always right, left, right, left within our little caucus. It didn't mean a whole lot but it was sort of the symbolic fight.

SENEY: How did the caucus work? How often did you meet? What were the purposes?

MADDY: Every day we had session we would have some caucus meeting of some kind, and then other caucus meetings in which we had important stuff to lay out.

The caucus was pretty much run by the top leaders, by Monagan and the other one or two. By that time we had more veterans, we didn't have these total changeovers, so there were people who could speak. And the fights were generally on strategy sometimes, on key issues, but frankly, we spent more worried about process and when were we going to get out of here, how long is it going to take, when are we going to work?

So in the caucuses there was not a whole great deal of strategy, but there was a strategy because we had lost, and the question was what votes do we allow to come up? and what we could move on and what were good issues for us. And rarely any direct advice from members, although there would be arguments.

We had guys like John Briggs. John Briggs was always a bomb thrower. John always had something to throw out there that he wanted to upset the caucus with.

In my view, in my first couple of years, I just kept my mouth shut basically. I did not move up too quickly, to say much, because I was one of those that they would always, "Well, we'll excuse Maddy on this." You know, "Don't worry about this. You're in bad shape. You do whatever you have to do," and so there was always that "out" for me.

But other than that, as to the leadership, once we settled we never had internal fights. When it was Stull on the right, we never tried to take over Monagan and the moderates.

SENEY: Was the caucus chair's position at that point elected or appointed?

MADDY: We elected.

SENEY: You elected both positions.

MADDY: Right. The way they do it now is they pick. In fact, my feeling is with [Senator] Ross Johnson and these guys, I think you ought to vote.

SENEY: Senator Ross Johnson's now the Minority Leader.

MADDY: The Minority Leader in the Senate.

We sort of did it both ways when I was Leader. Generally, what you did was you cut a deal anyway. In order for me to get to be Leader, I had two unlikelies: Doolittle and Bill Leonard were my caucus chairmen. They were not from the moderate wing. And it was partly political on my part: guys who were aggressive and wanted to be leaders, but at the same time, by putting them as number two, I thought I would keep their votes. I was half right. Doolittle was fine but Leonard went against me at the end.

SENEY: Doolittle, for all his right-wing kind of religious-based politics -- and he happens to be a Mormon, I understand.

MADDY: Right.

SENEY: But is quite an adept politician, isn't he?

MADDY: He's very good.

The right-wing members of our caucus are far more adept at politics and far more interested in politics than the moderates. I mean, what you'll find is that there are more public policy walks and sort of good

government folks and non-political folks.

Now, Monagan was an exception. Monagan was a moderate. I think I was an exception. I think Bob Beverly to a lesser degree. But in turning back and looking at the leadership, the moderates were more inclined to the process -- they wanted to know how to get something done -- where the right-wing group were almost exclusively, "How are we going to beat [so-and-so] next time?" It didn't make any difference what the issue was. They seemed to be more focused on that, except when it came down to the so-called beauty issues, the big issues, which was the abortion, and so on, which they seemed to concentrate all their time.

Bill Richardson didn't carry five bills a year. He wasn't there to carry legislation or do anything. Bill was there to get control of the process by the Republican Party.

And there's a role for those guys. There's no doubt there's a role for those guys, and the best overall process is to have people who are adept at everything. Because you do need experts within the caucus, if you can, in fields of endeavor. If you've got a public employees' deal, even though no Republican liked to sit on the Public Employees, that was Newt Russell's long suit. I mean, he had been sitting on that committee for years. Nobody else liked it. But you had to have somebody in the caucus when the issue came up: "Tell us what this means, Newt. What the hell does this mean if we're going to "X" number of [this or that]? In dollars

and cents, what does that mean to the employees and what does it really mean? How do we explain it when we get out in the public? If we vote no against this, are we really hurting the employees or are they ripping off the system?" and so on.

But you need somebody in every field. And of course, then that boils down into how hard each person wants to work within your caucus. Our women work very hard. When I had Marian Bergeson and Cathie Wright, and over on the East Coast another greater thinker, a gal that was great, they really pushed hard on their issues. They were much more there and intent on [policy].

SENEY: This is in your Senate time.

MADDY: My Senate time, right. We didn't have any women on the Assembly side.

SENEY: There's one article in here about one of these fights [in the Assembly], and again, this is when Mr. Briggs was raising problems and Beverly is the caucus chair, and [Assemblyman] Frank Murphy [Jr.] is the--

MADDY: Now, that's the one time we had both.

SENEY: Murphy was also a moderate from Santa Cruz.

MADDY: Right.

SENEY: That's makes sense. It's a pretty moderate area. And they tried to unseat him and they couldn't manage to do it and Briggs was very unhappy, saying that the leadership had sold out to Speaker McCarthy and whatnot.

Apparently, they weren't after Beverly.

MADDY: This was a strange battle. This was a battle only because it includes the famous Congressman, now our infamous Congressman.

When Bobby Moretti left, he wanted to anoint Willie Brown. So they put together their team of people who were going to pass on the baton to Willie: [Assemblyman] Wadie [P.] Deddeh on the one side, Jack Fenton was on the Demo side. Fenton and Deddeh were the two key players on behalf of Willie, working through Moretti. They had been key people in Moretti's group and they were going to round up the Democrats. There was little or no challenge to Willie necessarily because everybody thought that he had a group lined up among the blacks and the browns, the minorities, and of course, all that came apart later on.

But among Republicans, Moretti and Willie had some natural allies, friends of theirs that were personal friends. It was myself and Beverly and it was our little moderate caucus. In contrast to Briggs and what we call the right-wing wackos--

SENEY: [Assemblyman Robert C.] Bob Cline, is it?

MADDY: Yes, Bob Cline was one. We were the guys that logically they would come in and speak with. Well, what either Willie did or Moretti -- we don't know which one took the final blame -- but instead, they went and cut some deals with the hard right. They promised Briggs, I think, the chairmanship of Ag Committee, or something like that. They made some promises in order to make sure that they were not going to have any

trouble of any Republicans getting away from the Willie Brown side.

Well, Leo McCarthy came to me and said, "You're not one of those guys who's going to go for this same old garbage." He said, "What I'm going to promise you is I'm going to promise you some good government. I'm going to tell you, and I can name the people that will not be chairmen under my regime as Democratic Leader."

SENEY: Do you mind saying who those are?

MADDY: [Assemblyman Peter C.] Pete Chacon was one that kind of jumped out. Nothing against Peter, a sweet, sweet guy, but he wasn't a heavyweight. But when everybody was throwing out, "Who was a weak committee chairman?" it was Pete Chacon.

In those days we had far less committees than now. Everybody gets one now. You couldn't make the comparison because every Democrat who gets elected they find a committee for them. But in those days there were less committees so it was key. They generally met in some fashion to pay off. In other words, somebody was getting something for a reason, for being loyal.

And so he said, "You're for that." He said, "I'm going to promise you guys that if I can get you and Bobby Beverly and you get Murph and get the guys who generally...we'll have a chance--"

SENEY: This is Mr. Murphy?

MADDY: Frank Murphy. "And you get your little group of guys, then we'll have a

chance to run this place the way it's supposed to be run."

So we went together and organized, and suddenly, when it got down close, our caucus began splitting people off away from Willie and they couldn't believe it. Of course, our answer was, "Look, you forgot your friends."

"You guys were always going to be remembered. We were going to take care of you guys."

But I said, "How can you take care of [Assemblyman Raymond T.] Ray Seeley, for instance?" Now, Ray was a neutral. Ray was a good friend of mine. "Ray's looking to me to help him with Ag. He wants to be chairman of Ag," and I said, "You've already given it to Briggs, for godssake," and we go on and on.

"Well, we had to make our deals. We'll take care of it."

I said, "That means the only way you can do that, Bobby, is start double-crossing guys and you're not going to do that." And I said, "Willie will never go for double-crossing."

The long and the short of it is that, in the meantime, Leo McCarthy is working--

SENEY: Give me the long and the short, Senator. We want it all.

MADDY: Leo McCarthy was working with the Latino Caucus and the Black Caucus and breaking some of those people off from Willie. What they were doing was going to put 41 votes together by who they had promised how much

to. Well, then the bidding started going up and then there started to be conflict as to who wanted what. Ergo: "If you'd just gone to say to all of us, you know, you guys are our traditional friends, we'll take care of the Republicans," I don't think there would have been any reason any of us wouldn't have said to Willie, "Okay, whatever way you're going to run the show." At least those of us I'm talking about, the Beverlys and the Murphys and the Maddys, and the guys who had been their friends.

But when they began to single out, "You get [this] and you get [that]," and I think they were doing that internally on the Democratic side -- you know, "You're going to be [this], or you're going to be the Black Caucus leader," or this, this and this -- they ran out of slots. And if they didn't run out of slots, they ran out of a lot of other things. I'm sure they have a different perspective of this, but I'm an outsider looking in.

Well, when it turned out, it was, I think, 26-16. I think we provided 16 votes for Leo McCarthy, with his 26, to getting the 42. When that happened, we came back and, of course, Leo had won it.

In the meantime, the election [1974] had been a total disaster for Republicans statewide, and so suddenly Leo ends up with far more Democrats than he ever thought possible and we had lost a tremendous number. I don't know how many we lost, I don't have the stats of the year, but we lost.

SENEY: You're down to 25.

MADDY: We're down to an all-time low. And so we go in for a leadership fight, and the leadership fight is a given that it's going to be Bob Beverly. And so the battle then is over caucus chairman, and traditionally, we didn't think we needed the right wing. We didn't want Briggs or any of those guys.

Well, Briggs' whole fight was that we had screwed him royally, that everything was worked out under Willie Brown and that we had gotten involved with this "good government" stuff. In effect, what Leo had come back to say was, "Look, I have to renege. I have too many Democrats. I cannot give any chairmanships at all to Republicans." He double-crossed in the sense that he came back and said, "Even though I promised all you guys that if I was elected, I have too many Democrats. I cannot give any Republican chairmanships away. You guys are just going to have to trust me that I'm going to operate under good government, I'm going to do what I've always said, that this is going to be a place of honor," and so on, which was Leo's long stick.

SENEY: Did you accept that?

MADDY: Well, no. I mean, at this point in time we said, "We'll overthrow this." So we went back and said, "No way." There was no way Beverly and Maddy and any of us who were sort of in leadership roles could stay involved without saying something about it. But in the meantime we had to vote for caucus chairman, and that was the year [Assemblyman William

M.] Bill Thomas of Bakersfield was elected. We always used to come in and you would have your court on a closed vote. Now, rarely did we have a closed vote. We generally knew pretty well that we were going to give it to the conservatives but we didn't want to give it to them this time. And we came in, and I'll never forget it, as we're going down the line everybody walks in and they say, "Open roll call vote." This was in the caucus. Beverly gets elected, no problem. Unanimous. Open roll call vote.

And so here's Bill Thomas, freshman. He's the secretary, which means he votes last. We get down to 12-12 and he said, "Can I make a statement?" Now, Bill Thomas was one of my assignments -- Central Valley. I had been meeting with him, telling him what's going on in the caucus, this is how things work. I'm the mentor a little bit.

"Can I say something?"

I can't remember exactly who said what, but I knew that Briggs said it first. You know, something like, "Vote, you asshole. Just vote." And everybody said, "Just vote, Thomas."

Thomas went down and he stops and he said, "Murphy."

"You lousy, rotten, double-crosser!" This is Briggs' crew that gets up. "You were with us! You were in our meetings!" so on and so forth. So lo and behold, we have Beverly and Murphy get elected the two jobs, and here Bill Thomas had been attending, unbeknownst to me since he

was on our team, had been attending the other meeting with the other guys.

Now, with all due respect but ticked at that little act of sedition, as we were walking I said, “What in God’s name were you thinking about?”

He said, “We’ve been fighting for so long I thought I could bring us together.”

I said, “Why? Because you’re a professor out of Bakersfield, for chrissakes? You’re going to bring us together?”

SENEY: That’s right!

MADDY: Yes, I said, “Because you’re a professor out of Bakersfield you’re going to bring this group together?” I said I had only been there for about four years, and I said, “My friend, they’ve been doing this for 24 years or 54 years! You’re going to bring us together?!”

And so Briggs, he just went crazy. Well, this is all mixed in this, and I always tell that story about the brilliance of Bill Thomas attending both meetings. But then we came back and we went to the Willie people. By this time our caucus was saying this was a total double-cross. I went to Leo and I said, “This is just ridiculous. You can’t do this. We supported you, we got you going.”

In the meantime, there’s dissonance now back in the Demo side, all of the guys who were worried about what happened, plus they won so many more seats and Willie thinks he’s got it.

Well, we had then unanimously as a caucus come out and agreed that we'll vote for Willie Brown. So he's got every Republican now. All he needs to do is get enough Demos.

Well, Leo is smart enough to go back on party pride and all the rest of it is that they had to say that no, the Republicans will have nothing to say about this vote, that whoever won the Democratic Caucus should win, and that prevailed under the "good government." Now, he got double-crossed because allegedly he went into that meeting -- or Willie went into that meeting thinking he had the votes also. Willie wanted the Republicans to vote because he knew he had it. But he got double-crossed by a couple of key players on that side too. So a combination, I think, of the fact that Leo had won it fair and square initially--

SENEY: Now, he won it before the election, right?

MADDY: Yes.

SENEY: So now we're talking about after the election.

MADDY: After the election, and after the consequences of the election. And so, ergo, Leo ends up being Speaker and Willie loses his first big fight for the speakership. I think there's things that have been written about it.

That's my recollection of the whole sequence of events. The article was that Briggsy, who had felt he had a deal -- he obviously was the only person he had a deal with because he thought he had the votes.

But that was the outward real open fight that we had because it was

meaningless after that. The caucus chairman didn't do anything except raise money, and the conservatives never could raise any money so it didn't make any difference anyway. But it was a kick because the Bill Thomas story always made it funny. But that's how Willie lost the first one.

Our point of view, from those of us who were the ones who were Willie's friends and so on, was that Willie made a mistake of forgetting his friends initially. He counted on us without checking with us. To go back to those times now and to think what really happened, it's hard to tell, but that's still my recollection now. There's an article someplace else where Leo was criticized for agreeing not to challenge Maddy in his next election.

SENEY: Right. Did he make that agreement with you?

MADDY: Yes. He knew that was important. I think he made the deal that he was not going to take on any Republican Assemblymen directly with his caucus money.

SENEY: Right.

MADDY: He was so fat anyway that they didn't need it, and that was the deal.

Well, then Willie and Fenton came in and helped run a campaign against me in Fresno because they were so mad at me over that. Even though Moretti was trying to protect my blind side, because he was out by that time; I think he was out of the state by that time. But anyway, they

came in and ran a campaign of minor sorts against me because they were mad at me over what they thought was a double-cross of Willie.

SENEY: Well, the Democrat complained about that. He went to see Leo McCarthy.

MADDY: Well, I know it. Leo said, "My arrangement is I'm not going to take on any incumbent."

See, my view always was -- I really espoused that theory years ago that the parties should be running the campaigns. That the only way to have a civil legislative process in which we can deal with each other is a spin-off of the same thing I said about traveling together. I think it's almost next to impossible for me to serve next door to Jimmy Costa, keep track of his votes, blindside him, and come out against him during his election time and then still expect to work with him for the next four years. And I think it's impossible for leadership to do that. How can Johnny Burton continuously spend money and work against me and at the same time expect my cooperation? I don't know how that would work in real life, how practical, because there's so many subtleties to it. But Leo was the first to go out front. He did keep that promise. Now, Leo was honorable in the sense that he did feel bad about what he had done. Ultimately, of course, he gave Mobley a chairmanship and he gave me a big chairmanship. He gave me Criminal Justice.

SENEY: That was after the '76 election.

- MADDY: After I won the last one, yes, ultimately, because he was in '74.
- SENEY: He's quoted in one of these articles. I'm sorry, I can't find out who ran against you in '76, but--
- MADDY: Seventy-six was a kid that I went to college with. He was a college fraternity brother of mine who was very liberal. No campaign whatsoever.
- SENEY: But in '74, he went to--
- MADDY: Al Villa was my campaign in '74. In '76 it was -- he was a fraternity brother. Ken Leap.
- SENEY: Was it Villa he wouldn't give any money to?
- MADDY: I don't know if Villa got any money or not. Villa was well financed. They thought Villa had won that race.
- SENEY: Right, because he had a great deal of support.
- MADDY: Yes. Al was an up-and-coming shining light in the Democratic Party, being Latino and all the rest of it.
- SENEY: Willie Brown had given him a thousand dollars to shore up his bid for Speaker. But in the '76 election -- or when Leo McCarthy kept his word, which would have been the '76 election, he just said to Mr. Leap, "That's the way it is."
- MADDY: He was the first one who ever spoke out. In fact, it was the only time I ever heard anybody admit to a relationship in which there was not going to be any money spent on one side or the other. He did keep his word in that respect -- to me.

SENEY: He was an honorable guy in that way?

MADDY: Oh yes. Leo was a very honorable guy. Willie promised everything away and Leo was counting on certain things to happen, and then it all happened in different ways to hit them.

I think Willie probably, candidly, may have a different version of all this, but I think that he knows that they made the mistake initially that they should have counted -- as much as I believed in the idea of the friendship and so on, I don't think he necessarily -- maybe believed in it or not.

SENEY: Willie?

MADDY: Yes, that Willie didn't. He had a deal with the Briggses because it was the only way he knew how to deal with some of these guys, which was to make the direct promise.

SENEY: And just take you guys for granted.

MADDY: Yes. We made all the trips, we got all the perks. We did everything. We were the guys who were moving and shaking. You didn't have to be a leader to be a mover or a shaker. When the four of us would go back to the President of the United States, Bob Beverly and I never missed a trip from the first time we got to the Legislature, these so-called Speaker trips which used to be very select. It was just a very few people. There was always two you could count on from the Assembly Reps. It was Maddy and Beverly. I mean, those were huge perks.

SENEY: And then let other people know what your standing was, right?

MADDY: Absolutely. That changes your whole image. So much is image. And from image develops the power.

The other night at the event, Poochigian was trying to explain why having my name on a bill last year was important. Well, it didn't have anything to do with the bill as much as it did about what I had developed through the years. That's true with everybody. This is how things work. And you get that way several ways.

The new people have to do it now, I think, more on -- the people get credit for being bright and they begin to get credit for being able to accomplish things, the so-called compromisers. There's always a lot of very, very bright people who don't get anything done because they tilt the windmills. But there's those who show by their intelligence that they're smart, who show by their ability to compromise and make deals that they can get a piece of legislation through. So you rise to the top in one way or another. In those days a lot of it had to do with who you were close to, and more so today because everybody's new now. What difference does it make to be close to the Speaker? He was only here yesterday anyway.

SENEY: He'll be here the day after tomorrow and that's it.

MADDY: That's right.

SENEY: My understanding of the business with Willie Brown is he made a lot of enemies. I don't know "a lot," but he made enough apparently.

MADDY: Fenton and Deddeh have always been my friends, but Jack Fenton and

Wadie Deddeh were probably not the two people you were going to send out to be your emissaries of good will. They grew up under the Moretti theory: "We're the bosses, man," and you either stayed in line or you didn't.

Now, I was always on the inside so it actually never touched my life. We'd go to Reno together, travel together, we'd do things. I was on the inside. But I could also imagine, and I didn't reflect much then on what it was like to be on the outside, but afterwards I could easily see what it was like not to be on the inside.

SENEY: Describe what you think that was like?

MADDY: When the same folks always made the trip to Washington, and the same folks always sat with the Speaker at the dinners, or the same folks always did this, there was no way in the world that you couldn't develop some animosity when you're all contemporaries, you're all the same. If you're the chairman of the Finance Committee and you think you're one of Willie Brown's closest friends yet you never sit with him, you either start to think, "I have B.O. or maybe he doesn't really like me or maybe he's using me or maybe he's a crock of manure," whatever. Willie was careful and good but he was not that careful and not that good. And Moretti didn't even make any pretense.

If you were in with Bobby, you were in. If you weren't, you weren't.

And so the team they put together probably could have swung it easily and Willie would have been Speaker even longer, I would think.

SENEY: My understanding is that when the second challenge came from Willie, that McCarthy then punished him and took away his chairmanship of Ways and Means.

MADDY: I don't have any memory of that. I know that's been said and I've read it. Number one, when Willie took over Ways and Means, he revolutionized it. Johnny Foran was very good at Ways and Means. They've all tried to emulate Willie. Even [Assemblywoman Carole] Migden is trying to outdo Willie now by being so far ahead. You can get too far ahead. But Willie was clearly one of the top Ways and Means [chairs]. Number one, he moved everything quickly, and he knew more than anyone else did. It's all the things that a good chairman should do. But then when he got real rushed, he began to deprive. Where I think Carol's maybe running astray is that she's getting so fast that she's excluding people from having a say or feeling like they have a say. And again, we go back to image and what you feel your worth is all about. So she'll have to worry about the time when she thinks she may have all this loyalty built up but somebody will wake up one day and say, "You know, do you realize you never, ever let me say one word on any of my bills I brought before your committee?" Or something of that nature.

But Willie was good. I don't remember the incident where he took it

away. He kept moving after that. Willie wanted it, there was no doubt. The blame was being shifted around by that time as to whose fault it was, and being from the outside, I was only a player. Actually, it was [Assemblyman] Jerry Lewis and I who put the Republicans together. Beverly and Murphy were there but it was Jerry and I who--

SENEY: Who really put the coalition together.

MADDY: Yes, more than anybody else. That's my memory of it anyway.

SENEY: And Jerry Lewis is now in Congress.

MADDY: Yes, a very powerful Congressman.

We've all remained very close friends. But we just laid it out too. We said, "You didn't leave us any alternative."

SENEY: What was then-Assemblyman Bob Beverly like? How would you describe him?

MADDY: Oh, Bobby, he was one of the great men of all times, one of my greatest friends. Bob was a very experienced local government official. He had been a mayor, a councilman. He was elected in '67, just shortly before I got there. He was kind of a natural leader because he was very smart and bright, and had a great style about him. Bob had a great style about him and one unbelievable sense of humor. He was famous for so many remarks that have been quoted. I've used a lot of them.

SENEY: Can you give us some examples?

MADDY: Well, I'll give you two of them. One had to do with the drunk driving.

Bob and I were known to be at Fat's most evenings and have a drink or two once in a while. So when the vote was on .08 on lowering the blood alcohol, Bob leaned over to me and said -- we were seatmates on the Floor for most of our Senate career -- he said, "You're not really going to vote on this, are you, Maddy?"

I said, "It's the right thing to do." And I said, "You know, Bob--

[End Tape 1, Side A]

[Begin Tape 1, Side B]

MADDY: Anyway, it was a blood alcohol test of .08 and the vote was up and Bob said, "Are you going to vote for this thing?"

And I said, "It's the right thing to do, plus the tide has moved that way. I think we have to vote for it."

He said, "We wake up at .08 every morning." He said, "How in the world can we vote for something like this?"

But then the famous one was, we had traveled to one of these junkets and trips and the press got on it and were beginning to really push very hard about the trip and what was being said, what was being done, who was on the trip and so on, and Bob Beverly was asked a question. The first question was to ask him about the trip, and he said, "I only have one statement to make." He said, "I wasn't there and I paid my own way."

The answer for any young politician, if the press ever comes to you, just tell them that you're giving them the Bob Beverly quote: "I wasn't

there and I paid my own way.”

SENEY: As you know, I interviewed him for this project and I was very impressed with him. I could tell from the moment I met him why he was influential: the way he carries himself, his gracious manner and intelligence.

MADDY: Rarely, if ever, angry. Always very intelligent. Knows a tremendous amount about all of his subject matters when he took time to do it. He was a good natural leader.

In those days, the leadership was, particularly on the Republican minority side, far less important in the sense that there didn't seem to be all this -- well, on our side we didn't have all these guys running for Governor or something. There wasn't that part of it. So it was just kind of the leadership and the person who sort of prevailed to keep things in line, in order, and Bob Beverly just seemed to be a natural for that. The raucous and the stuff going on on the side was the right wing. That's why it was almost easier.

Why we ever took Briggsy on that day I don't know, except that Briggs was so, in many cases, offensive to everybody. We get along fine right now, but he was always just a bomb thrower.

But Bob [Beverly] was just a total gentleman and we developed this great rapport. As we've both said, we've spent more time together in the last 25 years than we have with anybody else in our lives; the times, our meals, and so on. We've just been great friends. And he's doing

reasonably well.

SENEY: Is his health good?

MADDY: He has Parkinson's disease. It's a deteriorating disease but he's doing quite well. I talk to him at least three times a week or so and we see each other every time he comes up here.

SENEY: I did notice in regards to Mr. Briggs, who's well known for his flamboyance and initiative against gay teachers.<sup>1</sup>

MADDY: Right.

SENEY: I think that's maybe the thing he's most remembered for. But I thought it was kind of interesting. You were sitting in a committee at the table and he had a big sign about putting an end to smoking in public places.

MADDY: Is that right?

SENEY: Yes. It's in the volumes that you loaned me. And I thought in that case at least he was well ahead of his time.

MADDY: He was an interesting guy, there's no doubt about it. The year we ran for Governor, Pete and I, in '78, you know, he ran and ran on that whole homophobic issue. I'll give some credit to all the Republicans in that. We all were against it except for him.

People don't bring out that there are a lot of sensible Republicans out there, but that's what's sort of strange, is that we let the issue get so far

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<sup>1</sup> Proposition 6, November 1978.

away from us that we should be for some commonsense. But Briggs loved to bomb throw. And in part he was right, by being a minority party member you don't have much to lose except throw the bombs.

SENEY: But there were those very different styles, weren't there?

MADDY: Oh yes.

SENEY: You guys were much more accommodating, you and Mr. Beverly.

MADDY: Right. The way the moderates lost the leadership was the year that [Assemblyman Paul] Priolo -- and again, we had what we called the "Dirty Seven." It was kind of a spin-off of the Monagan days. It was Monagan, Beverly, Lewis, Murphy, Maddy. [Assemblyman Dixon] Arnett got into it for a while. A few of the so-called moderate, might-be prospective leaders. I forget what was taking place in my life, but at one point in time they came to me and they said, "Priolo has leadership lined up." Now, Priolo had been sort of a moderate, and this was prior to '78, but had been more tied to the conservative side. He had lined up enough votes with the hard right again, with the Clines and the group that were on the more conservative side, to take over the leadership, which would have been from Beverly, I guess? -- I don't know, whoever it was -- for a shift from moderate to conservative. And so I called up Bill Thomas. By that time we're back in good standing and Bill was one of our group and I said, "You know, we can't let the Dirty Seven [lose]. What, are we out? We can't let these guys take over everything."

So we did one of our trips. We went up to Reno, got all the guys together. Thomas and I did a little work together and we talked and we said, "Who do you think he's got? because he couldn't have it unless he had some of our guys."

He said, "Well, I know for sure he's got Duffy and he's got Chappie."

And I said, "What in the world?"

He said, "I'm not sure what it was but he's got Duffy and he's got Chappie."

And so we go up there and we all have the big meeting, and I'm not sure of all the particulars but at some point in time we have this kind of worked out and we said, "This is just crazy to turn over the leadership after all this time."

And I said, "Not that it means that much we go on, but in my mind, I don't know what you guys think, but in my mind there's only two guys who are popular enough and have got the standing in order to knock Priolo off," and I said, "It's got to be Geno [Chappie], you, or Gordon [Duffy]. Pick the two guys we know on the other side."

Well, Thomas picks on it and we had included a couple of the other guys, and so it moves around and we said, "Well, wait a minute, can't do it, he's got too many votes, he's got 14," or whatever the number was, and we go back and forth, and so on and so forth, and Duffy said, "Well,

would be better losers than the conservatives.

We lost!

SENEY: Were you better losers?

MADDY: Oh, hell yes, we were, sure. That was it. That was the end of the battle, the same as what happens now. As soon as they knocked me off, as soon as [Senator] Rob Hurtt got it, that was the end of any discussion. We never had discussions in the caucus after that. Nobody cared about anything. It was just over. It was just the power.

SENEY: Well, Chappie becomes caucus chair, doesn't he?

MADDY: Yes. And then they tried to make an appeasement, but that was the way they did it, making an appeasement out of it. So that was Lanterman's little speech. That's my memory of it all.

SENEY: That's fascinating.

MADDY: Fascinating how it works, because it means a lot at one point and means so little in another sense.

SENEY: How did McCarthy deal with you guys during this period?

MADDY: Obviously, I was one of the insiders because I helped put the thing together. I don't recall, but I mean, they were having so many internal battles. [For example, Waxman-Berman<sup>1</sup> Everything was happening around them.

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Waxman and Howard Berman are two powerful Democratic Assemblymen from Los Angeles who worked closely together.

One of the things I tell Johnny Burton, I mentioned to you, “You’ve got to worry about having too many folks, baby.” It’s better to be close and have something to fight around than to have so much power. It’s what happened to Willie and what happened to Leo. You get so many, then you don’t know what the hell to do with them all.

SENEY: Right. And then you get into the kind of fights.

MADDY: Berman-Waxman fights. Everybody starts splitting off. And this is more what the term limits is going to bring. In those days, those guys were all starting to scramble for reapportionment, and who’s going to go to Congress, and who’s going to do this, and who’s going to do that?

Leo came to me after that and wanted me to have a chairmanship, and so I took the Welfare chairmanship and then went to the Criminal Justice Committee.

SENEY: There was a time that you flirted with changing parties.

MADDY: Seventy-four. That was Eli Setencich.

SENEY: Right. What was that all about?

MADDY: That was the second visit to Jamaica, I think. I was being touted. I mean, I started falling in love with myself a lot, I think the applause, and I was sort of at the height, and I was this and I could do no wrong. And so Eli, who was a pretty liberal, I think, reporter, kept arguing. When I’d come down to have these little chit chats, he kept saying, “Have you ever thought about it?” Well, I’d thought about it but very, very little and

hadn't given it enough thought to do any research, because by the time we had this conversation, it was already past the period of time in which you had to file.

SENEY: Sixty days before--

MADDY: No, a year. You had to change registrations by a year so you could be on the right party, and this was like sixty days later than that. I was sixty days late. And I said, "I don't know what the reaction would be." By this time I was believing nothing could hurt me.

So he said, "Do you want to run it up the flagpole?" I always use that expression, run it up the flagpole. So we ran it up the flagpole.

SENEY: You let him write about it.

MADDY: I let him put it in one of his little columns and say something about the fact that Maddy is frustrated, he's got all these options, his close friend is Bob Moretti. I think he talked a little bit about the inner circle and that Maddy was a natural for the inner circle and so on.

Oh, then all hell broke loose in the papers. Some Democrats wanted me, were welcoming me with open arms. Republicans didn't want me, they wanted to kick me out, what a traitor and so on. Well, then it takes about two hours after the whole thing's over to find out that I can't do it anyway.

SENEY: You didn't know that to begin with?

MADDY: No. When I said it I didn't know it. I'll admit that now. I don't think I

admitted it then.

So lo and behold, I made sort of a Minnesota governor move<sup>1</sup> by making a stupid statement but no way to get out.

So then a fight did occur and I think I finessed it as best I could on the basis that I was trying to figure out what was best for my constituents, I've always run on that issue, and I was trying to figure out every way I possibly could. Back home at the Capitol it didn't make much of a difference. They just sort of laughed about it. As they said, "You stepped on your tongue, Maddy," or "Stepped on your lip," or whatever.

SENEY: You were reported to be agonizing over here you have this Democratic district and how do I represent all these Democrats?

MADDY: That was the spin.

SENEY: That was a spin?

MADDY: Yes. I mean, I had to say something because I got trapped.

I've always been more a Republican. Every bone in my body I'm far more Republican than I am a Democrat, in most cases. Although, on civil liberties and civil rights, I certainly was much more liberal or moderate than most Republicans. But economically and all the things that I think really matter in life I far much more belong in the Republican Party.

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<sup>1</sup> Here, Senator Maddy makes reference to the habit of the current governor of Minnesota, Jesse Ventura, of saying things he later regrets.

Later on I was trying to figure out what I was really going to say to this dilemma and then the fight began internally within the parties -- who was going to do this -- and Republicans threatened to challenge me and send somebody in.

The long and short of it is it just kind of blew over. Number one, they couldn't win the seat, and I told them that. I said, "You couldn't win the seat without me."

SENEY: You're the only winner.

MADDY: I said, "I'm the only winner. So if you get lucky and beat me in the primary..." I think I made a promise to them: "I will promise you I won't spend one dime. I'll just see if you can beat me. If you beat me, fine, then you can go and try to win the seat." And I think I'd been a threat. I said, "But if I do this and you do run somebody against me, from this day forward I never want to have to take any of your phone calls again." I was brash then too and I've got my own style. And so we went through that little thing.

But that's an Eli deal. Setencich always laughs about that one. But that was one of those little casual conversations, a lesson in life. Before you make a statement like that, you'd better know what you're talking about. I don't think I've made a similar one since.

SENEY: Well, there were a number of clippings.

MADDY: Oh, it was played by the *Bee*. They played it up and down. And then it

got some state coverage.

SENEY: Right. It was in the *L.A. Times*.

MADDY: Sure, it got plenty.

SENEY: This was serious stuff.

MADDY: Yes, it was a serious mistake. It was serious dumb move on Maddy's part.

SENEY: Well, you know, I have to say, in reading it from my point of view rather than living it as you did, it didn't look so stupid, for whatever comfort that may bring to you. You did very well with it.

MADDY: With the spin. When we got finished with it, when I think back--

SENEY: Did it strengthen your position even maybe?

MADDY: Oh, I think it enhanced it me as a quoted independent, and the image that I ultimately developed around me was that I was thinking about these things. From a very practical point of view, vis-à-vis Fresno and the people I represented, there was no doubt with the way I was moving, and the things that were happening to me in the Legislature, for whatever reason, I have been a very powerful -- I would have been right there with Bobby [Moretti]. Even I would have had to have a key chairmanship. There was no doubt in my mind that the status would be much enhanced. Who know what would have happened? There's no doubt in my mind that, bingo, I would have been a much more powerful legislator. So to the extent that it was true in that sense, it was true.

SENEY: Did you talk to Moretti at all about this before it came out?

MADDY: No.

SENEY: What did he say to you?

MADDY: Just laughed. Stupid, you know?

SENEY: He knew it was a blunder.

MADDY: He knew it was a blunder, sure.

SENEY: But again, from the point of view of when you read the news clippings of it, it was handled very well, I thought.

MADDY: It was one of those lucky ones that you face in life and slip over and get out from under.

SENEY: Did you hear from Reagan's people at all about this?

MADDY: No.

SENEY: He would have been gone, I guess, by this time.

MADDY: Yes, he was gone. When he left, he left. Well, he came back in '76, starting to rally support for the race against [U.S. President] Gerald Ford and so on, and as I said, I was one of the early guys on his team, just out of pure admiration for Ronald Reagan.

SENEY: Well, let's talk about him a little bit, because you said the last time, when he came into your district in '70, he raised money for you and...?

MADDY: Earl Smittcamp.

SENEY: Smittcamp, right, the Senate candidate. Unbeknownst to you they had held a fundraiser in the morning that had shaken loose a lot more change.

MADDY: Yes, ripped off all the money, which I guess was typical. We didn't know

it at the time, but it was typical. I found out through somebody who leaked it to me.

SENEY: What was your relationship like with Reagan?

MADDY: When I came, I spent four years with him. I probably had one private meeting with him over a bill that had to do with the Highway Patrol. The Highway Patrol have always given me some credit because I had the law passed that said that their salaries would be based on the median salary of the five highest law enforcement forces in the state.

SENEY: San Diego, L.A. They named them, right.

MADDY: Whatever the five. And so that was a huge move. They didn't get the pay raise right away but they'd been able to point to it for years.

SENEY: How did that bill come about, by the way?

MADDY: The Highway Patrol people came to me and said, "Would you make a run at this?" And how I got it through I'll never know.

SENEY: Well, Judge Garibaldi used to lobby for them.

MADDY: You're absolutely right.

SENEY: Do you believe he had a hand in that?

MADDY: It could have been the judge. I hadn't even thought about that. I could have been the judge that gave it to me.

But the one private meeting -- the Reagan people would never let you see the Governor without having plenty of staff. How I did it, I can't remember who the staffer was -- it was not George Steffes because he told

me it was not him, but there was another guy from down in San Diego who was one of his key guys.

Anyway, I had a moment or two with the Governor. It was one of those that are impressive moments. I laid it all out. It was little bit like we're talking about my rational therapeutics and my chemotherapy treatment. "It just made so much sense to me that if we're going to have the best law enforcement team in the country, Governor, that they should be paid at least the median. I'm not talking about the high, I'm talking about the median salary of the other five largest law enforcement agencies in the state."

And he just looked at me and agreed. It did make sense. Why not? Why shouldn't we? So we set a standard, and sure you ought to negotiate it, but why not have a floor? And so he agreed. And that was one of the few times that I ever--

SENEY: Just the two of you.

MADDY: Yes, just the two of us. Bingo, they came in and got him right out of there, because you only got fifteen minutes with him. He had his time schedule so set that you couldn't get around it. I think it's the only time I ever asked to go down privately on some bill.

So it was a big feather in my cap, again, because they endorsed me for Governor, the Highway Patrol did, in '78.

SENEY: Yes, they had nice things to say about you in their newsletter.

MADDY: Oh, terrific newsletter that was published everywhere. That thing went around the block.

SENEY: And you had done other things. You had sponsored legislation to pay for their bullet-proof vests.

MADDY: I did a lot of things for the Highway Patrol. I was a strong law enforcement guy. I had been an air police cop.

And Reagan himself. Of course, for me, not having had a broad range of experience -- I told you, coming up here for the inaugural and seeing that inaugural ceremony with all those movie stars and then just being in his presence when he would invite us to his home a few times. I mean, those times were minimal, once or twice, but those were heady days.

SENEY: Give us a sense of what he was like in that setting.

MADDY: Just everything ever written about him. I mean, I'm interested in this new biography because this new biography, I guess, is tainted, and so on and so forth.

SENEY: Controversial.

MADDY: But the part about him that never seems to change is what kind of an all-around human being he was, that he was so open and so straightforward, and he loved to sit around and tell stories. And he had a horrible memory. The same ten people could walk in allegedly to see him ten times in one day and he wouldn't remember your name ever. But he would have the

parties out at the house, and Nancy monitored them very carefully. When nine o'clock came, or whatever time it was, man, you're out of there. But he loved to sit around and tell stories, and a lot of it was Hollywood stories. The things where I can relate to regaling and going home and talking to some political guys, hacks who loved politics, and throw a little inside stuff, all of us had the lure of Hollywood. He could tell a story like nobody could possibly tell a story. At least I was impressed that way.

I liked his commonsense. I mean, he really did have a sense of what I felt were -- the way when you and I discuss an issue: what made sense, what was right. And I never, ever saw any slips in terms of racism, discrimination, any of those things. In contrast to Lyndon Johnson, who you have nothing but tapes and stuff about how he really grew up as a Texan and believed that way, but you don't have anything ever said about Ronald Reagan ever making, that I know of, of any of those kinds of statements or notions about women or anybody. He was just extremely careful. But that's the way he came across. I mean, I admired him as a human being.

And then as things go in life, in '76 when he accepted our offer to help, then that was the first time you felt, well, I am getting a little closer to that inner circle. When I got married the second time and we went back, I took Norma [Foster] back, I got right in. I went in and sat down in the Oval Office, we sat down in the Oval Office, and he was just as good

as gold.

SENEY: That must kind of take your breath away, I would think.

MADDY: Are you kidding? This woman from Modesto, it really took her breath away. She never thought she'd be quite in the same court.

And the last great story was that in his last days in office as President, I get a phone call. It was the Minority Leader. And they said, "The President is having an event back in Washington." I can't remember if it was the last month, but whatever it was, and I said, "No, I regret..." And I said, "I'm not going to go back to one of those..." a thousand of, you know, my closest friends.

The next day I got a second phone call and they said, "They want to talk to you. They said they're not sure that you understood, that you're actually going to regret this thing." I got on the phone and she said, "The President's only invited 17 of you." Or whatever number of seats. She said, "You're going to be sitting in the Cabinet Room, at the seats of the Cabinet. And the President would like to speak about reapportionment." It had to be in the '90s, I guess, going into the '90s. "And there's only this short number and you were the only one out of the 17 leaders that he's chosen around the country not to be there."

I said, "I'll be there."

So we go back, and sure enough, they had Republican leaders from around the country. I think there was no more than 20. It had to be

something like 17. And we sat around and he gave some opening statements, and then he kind of went around the room and they had brief chats with him, and the subject matter was reapportionment and how we all should work together to get the reapportionment throughout the states consolidated so that we would work--

SENEY: That's interesting, isn't it, for him?

MADDY: Very interesting for him, yes. That we would do this on behalf of the Party in order to strengthen ourselves across the nation, that we all should work together.

And so when it got to my turn -- we're going around and I'm sitting over here to the left of him; they started this way and went around -- and I said, "Well, Governor, I remember 1971," and he was prepped.

He says, "Oh, how about '72 and '73, Ken?" And he goes right in and we have the longest dialogue, because we had that memorable fight with him coming in.

I said, "Do you remember that three o'clock in the morning?" I don't know if he did or not, but I'll tell you, we regaled these guys on reappo stories, and so on and so forth. At that time I was spinning over and I said, "But you held tough for us." I said, "I was going to be one of the guys that was going to be nailed but you stuck with the Party and we went to court." It was marvelous. I mean, God, if I had missed that, I would have shot myself now.

SENEY: Really? Incredible. Was Paul Laxalt there? Do you remember?

MADDY: I know Paul Laxalt very well. Paul was a good friend of mine.

SENEY: I would think he might -- he was a very good Party chairman and the one to get Reagan to do this.

MADDY: He might have been there. He might have been there at that time. It's the kind of thing Paul would do.

SENEY: I think so.

MADDY: It was a move that I'd be doing right now, frankly, if they were in charge. But they're not in charge, of course, but that's what Clinton ought to be doing.

SENEY: Well, I think the Republicans have always been better at this than the Democrats, looking ahead and thinking ahead.

MADDY: And doing some of these things.

SENEY: Yes.

MADDY: We were. At that point in time, that was a smooth move because there was so much.

I looked back and we were looking at the number of states that we controlled, both Houses of the Legislature and the Governor, in 1980 versus today. The Republicans have picked up nine states in the nation in which we have controlled both Houses and the Governor, and the Democrats have lost nine states. People talk about the Republicans are in trouble on a nationwide basis. We're in trouble in California because we

lost California, the number one state, but we have nine other states in which we've taken control. And so having control of reappo is a huge forerunner for the year 2000.

SENEY: And the congressional Republicans have been very active.

MADDY: Very active. [Congressman] Bill Thomas, my pal, has screwed up on this stupid initiative<sup>1</sup> here, I think, in terms of trying to cut our pay and making us the fall guys, but he won't get any support and he won't go anywhere.

SENEY: People don't care about it. I think the hook is that pay cut for the legislators.

MADDY: That's the only thing he's trying to run on.

SENEY: And this is your old friend.

MADDY: That's Bill, the same old Bill. We still fight and argue.

SENEY: What did you think of Reagan as Governor?

MADDY: I thought that he did many things better than most. Certainly the three after him. Number one, I think that being a citizen he really believed it, he thought he could bring in the big guys of business and change things. There's probably a mix between that and what has followed because most of the guys who have followed him was Jerry Brown brought in a lot of radicals, our other two Republicans brought in a mix of business but a lot of bureaucrats, and Gray [Davis] is kind of bringing in, I think, mostly

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<sup>1</sup> The California State Supreme Court removed this initiative, Proposition 30, from the March 2000 ballot on the grounds that it violated the constitutional prohibition against including more than one subject.

bureaucrats, you know, government pros.

SENEY: And keeping a very tight rein himself.

MADDY: And keeping a very tight rein. I found that Reagan -- maybe it was because of not being a person who zeroed in, and no doubt that Gray Davis is a policy wonk and stays on that. Pete Wilson, unbelievable policy wonk. Jerry Brown, no policy wonk at all. Duke, someplace in between. Reagan didn't care at all. But if he [Reagan] picked you, Don, as being in charge of Health and Welfare, he also was pretty goddang sure that you were going to get your view heard and understood, and if it sounds right, he was probably going to let you win on the fight, unless it was something he clearly didn't understand or didn't want to follow. In other words, he delegated authority, which is the only way I think you can run a shop this big. I don't know how you can run a shop so narrowly that has so many issues out there. And so he counted on people and did a good job that way.

Whatever this phenomena that they're writing about, trying to understand who he is, he did have a basic good commonsense: What's best for mankind? Which I think everybody really has in their heart, but he just lived it. And to the extent that he tried to be the Governor and do those things, delegate the authority, I think he did a good job.

SENEY: Why don't we leave it there, Senator?

MADDY: Okay, good. [End Tape 1, Side B]

[Session 5, October 8, 1999]

[Being Tape 1, Side A]

SENEY: Senator, there were some things I wanted to ask you about the '71-72 reapportionment, which I think is an important issue, because if we go back to the '60 reapportionment, that the Democrats controlled completely. And the Republicans felt they had done a job on them. That is, that Democrats had written it their way. Again, in '67 it was also the feeling.

MADDY: Correct.

SENEY: So there was, I would think, this kind of residue of resentment and animosity on the part of the Republicans. Was there underlying that '71 reapportionment?

SENEY: Number one, I think for the insiders, for people that are in the politics and people who had been around, there's nothing more fearful and there's nothing more frightening than the reapportionment. The public doesn't understand it, but it is no doubt that reapportionment dictates, if you will, the next decade's policy, generally speaking, for the State of California. So insiders all know what's going on.

Traditionally, the Republican Party had gone through two big ones in which reapportionment had just wiped us out, in the sense they drew seats

that there was no possible way we could ever win some of those seats. Plus the fact that the sophistication and the ability, even in the '70s, had increased so many-fold that we now had the ability of computers and so on to assist us, as well as other machines that could draw lines. So instead of sitting there counting up census tracks and various things, trying to add up the number of people in your district, you just put it in a computer and, bingo, out comes the number of places and you just move your pencil around.

I remember Jerry Lewis was in charge of ours, and the first time I visited him he had a motel rented down near the border of Mexico and in there was a computer. This is all high secret stuff.

SENEY: Well, that's what I was going to ask you. It must have been.

MADDY: Oh, high secret stuff, hush, hush, and you came down there, and Jerry had some sort of rinky-dink thing that he could draw lines over seats and then that would configure the district.

SENEY: That would have been very sophisticated.

MADDY: Oh yes, very sophisticated at the time. It would tell you the number of people. Mostly it was very fundamental stuff: who was registered Democrat, who was registered Republican, and where the lines were on the district. But it was the heart and soul of the whole 1971-72 battle, was to try to get a seat.

Now, if you noticed, most of the inclination was if we could settle

Assembly seat completely surrounding me was held by Ernie Mobley. He was completely surrounded by people that were not going to give him any breaks. In other words, the logical way says, 'How do we help Maddy, who's sitting here in this horrible district in the center of the city of Fresno while he's totally surrounded by Mobley? So let's give Mobley some Republicans from someplace, that way Mobley can give Maddy some Republicans and we can move some Democrats' -- in other words, just start moving the lines

around -- 'and even though we won't affect more than three or four people in the Assembly, we will equalize things a little bit; at least give Maddy a breath.' In other words, 'From going down to be down below 30, let's get him up to maybe 30 percent because he can't win that one anyway.'

I think it got so insider politics that it just lost all of its rationality, as I think back on it in particular. Obviously, I was struggling too. I was trying to figure out how in the world would there be a way that I could help minimize the job that I had ahead of me, which was trying to get reelected.

See, I had won in a race in which there was something like ten or eleven people running against me. Every notable Democrat ran in the Assembly seat against me who had any kind of a name ID in Fresno whatsoever. Pat Camaroda won it in the primary in 1970 because of, I will call it, pure luck. We ran a good campaign, but he was the only kind

of conservative member of the city council, conservative member of that ten or eleven, and all the rest of them are moderates or liberals: a couple former legislators, guys who had top qualifications but were always sort of identified in their voting record as liberal; another councilman or supervisor; Hermina Strauss, who was a very notable woman in town who was a liberal do-gooder sort of thing, and so I just backed in. I back in and they all blamed it on Pat Camaroda: Anybody could have beaten Camaroda.

The logical guy to run against me was a guy named Mark Stefano.

SENEY: Who was defeated the next time by Alex Brown.

MADDY: That's where luck starts rolling in, because Alex Brown, who's unemployed -- and I just quote Johnny Burton. John Burton used to say, "Alex spent most of his day trying to figure out that stuff that he was smoking was going to get him around the precincts."

But a nice enough guy. I think he was an heir of that name. I mean, it did have some connection with that bank name, the Alex Brown bank.

SENEY: I was going to ask that, the Bank of Alex Brown, yes.

MADDY: Yes, I think he had some connection. But here's an unemployed student who gets into the race with little or no money, he knocks off Mark Stefano who looks like a cinch--

SENEY: The city councilman.

MADDY: City councilman, who was well known. And Mark was a good friend of

mine, a lawyer.

SENEY: And had the Democratic Party support behind him.

SENEY: Totally lined up. Upset. A big upset. And so Maddy ends up with a Democratic Party that's kind of fractured. But in the meantime we're trying to make a deal. And we were trying to make a deal, there's no doubt. And I think at some point in there the deal was roughly 42-38 or 41--

SENEY: Right. I've got Monagan's memorandum here, Number 5, Personal and Confidential, where he says -- this is dated December 15, 1971<sup>1</sup> -- "There appears to be no--

MADDY: See, that's all the way down in December; we'd gone through the whole year. See, we're still in session in fact.

SENEY: And you've got to get these lines drawn, I think the Secretary of the State said, by February 16th, 17th?

MADDY: Because it was filing time.

SENEY: That's right. Because you had to get the primary boundaries drawn up for the election in June. And he says, "For a long time there is no barrier to our reaching an acceptable 42-38 plan if reason would prevail," and then he talks about Jerry Lewis taking care of these matters and all that sort of thing.

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<sup>1</sup> See Senator Maddy's papers housed in the Kenneth L. Maddy Institute of Politics at Fresno State University.

MADDY: And where it actually happened at that point in time was that we had an upset in that Richard Alatorre-Bill Brophy seat, and Bill Brophy, a Republican from downtown Los Angeles, knocks off Richard Alatorre in a Latino seat. I think the figures are right that I still had more of a Democratic registration, but nobody in the world would ever have expected that.

And so then suddenly, we, as we say in the racing industry, get the bit in our teeth, get a little cocky, it's 40-40 or not, and so we were almost becoming immediately into a mode that we're not going to--

SENEY: Because you think you see a trend there.

MADDY: Yes. We said what the heck, the Republicans may win this thing and we maybe can get back on. It was Reagan's second election. I mean, we had a big team in California. Reagan ran as a team in '70, which is a rare, rare circumstance, and God bless him, old [Jim] Flournoy, who was the only black on the team, was the only one beat. Part, I think, because of Jerry Brown and part because, again, when they want to knock Republicans, we were a little far out in front in terms of having a statewide candidate happened to be a black, and Reagan ran as a team.

SENEY: Flournoy's first name was--?

MADDY: Jim.

SENEY: Jim, that's right. Because there's a Houston Flournoy who was quite another person.

MADDY: Right. There were two Flournoys, and Jim always had to make sure of the photos that were running. They were concerned about that.

SENEY: Because he [Houston I. Flournoy] was State Controller and had run for Governor.

MADDY: Political fact of life.

Reagan ran the good race for California. Ivy Baker Priest. We had some good candidates out there.

SENEY: She was Treasurer.

MADDY: Yes. So the long and short of it is we ran all the right things and people began to think we could win this thing so why give, because we had (quote) "the Supreme Court." As I say, I was a little mixed. Logic tells me that the Democrats should have said 'Let Maddy run. That's the best thing in the world. We've been winning that seat forever.'

But I have to tell you, I was really at the top of my popularity. The Democrats used to complain about how the *Bee* gave me help and so on, but what it was, number one, I worked harder than all the rest of them because there were few Republicans who held the seats. So I was out at everything and I enjoyed it, and they were just reporting. They wrote stories. When you went out to the Kiwanis Club you could get a little story. You could get a little press clip. Nowadays there's no way in the world [that would happen]. You can walk from now until Doomsday and these reporters and local newspapers will not cover you unless you really

have something to say or do something outlandish. The paper will analyze democracy and what's going on. That's certainly one of the things that is going on. How much obligation they have is another question. But I was in my heyday and they would have had trouble obviously.

SENEY: Did they do polling in your district in the 32nd?

MADDY: We did very, very little polling.

SENEY: I'm talking about the Democrats. Would they have gone in and seen how strong you were and made the judgment to alter the boundary lines rather than roll the dice?

MADDY: Don, my only guess would be, and it would be a guess, is that we didn't spend a lot of money on polling and stuff of that nature in those days. You know, when you think about these campaigns we were running for fifteen, sixteen, twenty thousand bucks, we waste that much -- I mean, a guy walks in the room now and the first thing you do is you spend fifteen, twenty thousand just to see where he stands on the scale of things. You know, here's a guy who's never done anything; I can tell where he stands. He's going to get zero name ID. But we didn't spend the kind of money on that.

SENEY: You know, part of the complication was the desire of Henry Waxman to accommodate Howard Berman, to create a seat for him.

MADDY: Two good friends of mine. You know, those were the political strength in Los Angeles at that time, the Democrats, the West Los Angeles Jewish

community, which was Howard and Henry, and they, for young guys, moved very quickly into the power mode and people were scared to death of them. They were scared to death of Michael [Berman] because he was-

SENEY: He's the political consultant.

MADDY: Political consultant and one of the first guys into the computer game. So they were really nervous about what was going on in his life.

Then you had Bobby Moretti, who was Speaker, running for Governor [in 1974]. No doubt, absolutely, an agenda on his own, which may or may not have been the same as the agenda for the caucus, which is one of the things that's interesting now.

I was going to just interject. This Year 2000 reapportionment here in California, somebody ought to go back and take a look at the '70 versus 2000. It's almost analogous in the sense that we have Democratic control of both Houses, a [Republican] Governor for the first time, a major reapportionment effort and with some of the same dynamics, although not all the same dynamics.

But Moretti played a factor in there; Moretti being far less concerned about whether or not he was going to be back being Speaker for a decade. Totally different question than whether I can do whatever I need to do to make myself to look good for the Governor's race. On the Rep side, we're just survival: How the hell do we get back to where we've got a shot? And here's Reagan in his second term, popular. Why aren't we moving

mountains? Where's the sweep that we thought we would follow with Reagan again? At that time he was still popular. You know, why aren't we winning more seats? Other factors. All those things were just kicking into place.

But reapportionment, I keep saying one of the most fascinating subjects in government; if you get down to it, could be the most fascinating insider subject, but the one that's least understood, least studied, least cared about. It's only funny. But it was a day-in and day-out fun for me because I played around with it so much. And of course, it helped me in later years.

SENEY: You must have learned a lot.

MADDY: Oh, I learned a lot.

SENEY: I take it you were a blank slate at this point on the reapportionment issue.

MADDY: I knew what was going on. I wasn't a Phil Burton but certainly in the Central Valley you couldn't tell me this precinct or that precinct that I didn't know what was going on. And then, of course, it helped me later on because I was reapportioned out again in the '80s and then I was in charge in '90. We were trying to do the same thing: put together a package deal in the '90s for reapportionment. So I have been involved in the '70s, '80s, and '90s. Three decades.

SENEY: There was an impact on the Latino vote on your district. The Democrats wanted to create a Latino district, if I have this right, and that's why I

bring up the Howard Berman-Waxman business. They wanted a district for Berman that would be safe in L.A. and not make a Latino district there and instead make it up in your area.

MADDY: I don't have any real memory of that as to whether or not that was part of the play. I know it's always been part of the play in the sense, you know, you figure out numbers, not necessarily where they're going to be located, if you can get rid of the key people. And that was true in the '90s and the '80s. But my district had to be looked at. You could have made it much more Latino and still a little bit more Democrat. It would have been very difficult to do and keep the hole in the donut, to keep the strength of the blacks. See, there was only like 14 precincts that were someplace between 90 and 100 percent Democrat. Well, they were the gut issue, they were the gut votes. You know, where they were paying people to vote and so on, but the black vote was always pretty high.

SENEY: Did you have that suspicion that that was going on?

MADDY: Well, I think in the final election when it got down and looked like I might beat him, I know there was a big troop of people down there.

SENEY: This is in '70.

MADDY: Yes, '70. A lot of folks voted. But you never know. There's a lot of ways. They do it with donuts now, they do it with all kinds of things that are probably less than honorable but not illegal.

SENEY: What do you mean donuts?

- MADDY: Oh, these latest campaigns? Labor elected two or three guys. You come down and all precincts, operations and so on, bring out the organized workers with donuts and cakes and pies. There was a huge fight over in Oakland. In fact, when this Green Party--
- SENEY: [Elihu M.] Harris was defeated.
- MADDY: Yes. Elihu had, I forget, it was chicken pie and all that stuff. It's a spin-off of that. In those days it used to be a little more straightforward -- give a five buck bill.
- SENEY: Well, we're a long way from getting a job. You get a cupcake or something.
- MADDY: That's right. So there's a little of that. California, in my opinion, is literally corrupt free in that sense.
- SENEY: Yes, I would agree.
- MADDY: In terms of the broad politics that we see in the South and the East.
- SENEY: You know, one of the things that you tried to do was you had some people file an amicus brief in *Brown v. Reagan* -- this is Jerry Brown. Jerry Brown wanted the court to put into effect the vetoed bill [in 1970] which would have done the Republicans no good and the Democrats lots of good.
- MADDY: He wanted to put in the bill that they jammed over us at the end, which was sort of the "we're going to punish you" bill and this is a threat, not a compromise bill.

SENEY: Yes, that's right. It wasn't a 42-38 bill.

MADDY: It was a "we're going to screw you" bill.

SENEY: What do you think it might have been?

MADDY: I have no idea, but it was a "we're going to screw you" bill. That's sort of where the philosophy was. They didn't have to do me in but they did me.

SENEY: Well, they did a number of incumbents.

MADDY: There were a parcel of them, I know.

SENEY: Of course, you were prominent among them in terms of getting knocked out. And I just was looking at that.

[Assemblyman Don W.] McGilvrey?

MADDY: McGilvrey in Santa Barbara. Yes, Don McGilvrey was always on the edge.

SENEY: Belotti?

MADDY: [Assemblyman Frank P.] Gene Belotti was always up north. He was just barely hanging on with his teeth.

SENEY: I guess there were some Democrats who might have gotten it too.

MADDY: There was a couple.

SENEY: [Assemblyman Charles J.] Conrad and--

MADDY: Charlie Conrad was a Republican.

SENEY: Oh, I'm sorry. [Assemblyman Floyd L.] Wakefield's also a Republican, isn't he?

MADDY: Floyd was a Republican right-winger.

- SENEY: I guess what I'm looking at here is an article, the certain defeat would be for Conrad and Wakefield, and probably for Belotti and for you and for McGilvrey.
- MADDY: Charlie was down amidst of the Waxman-Berman piece. He was gone, goodbye anyway. But Belotti was an old timer up north and should have retired. They were mostly naturals but all this did was put the frosting on the cake. Instead of really going after them to beat them, let's go out there and just -- this was a giveaway.
- SENEY: You entered this successfully and you had a couple of people do this for you, a Democrat who had been on the Central Committee and a Republican in Fresno County.
- MADDY: Ultimately, John Shelton became my law partner. He's now deceased. But he ultimately became my law partner. But he was Democratic County Chairman at the time, and then Larry Wayte had been one of my original five friends and who got me to campaign. So they did it out of friendship and also just out of indignation of why mess with this when you don't have to. That's one of the first times I went to court on the issue of what constitutes the reapportionment. That's why I get that "expertise" label around me because I've been so many times. We argued what was the law, the compactness and the continuity of interest.
- SENEY: And looking at these, what I've copied here are the three exhibits, the maps. The Exhibit A would have been what they would have done to you.

B was one alternative to--

MADDY: Simplicity.

SENEY: Right. To bring it up to the proper number, which was, I think, around 250,000?

MADDY: Yes. And all I did was pick out where would be the best numbers for me.

SENEY: Yes, of course. And you made it look nice and compact. You remember this.

MADDY: I didn't remember how we do it. I would take Fresno State, which Ernie [Mobley] didn't really want. Ernie didn't want to get out much by the college. But see, I didn't cut out any blacks or browns in our little compact district trying to say 'Look, I'll be a good guy and I can still hold on no matter what.' Because once you got north of Shaw, you got out in what they called "Maddy country" and that was where the more affluent lived and they gave me such heavy votes.

SENEY: The Fig Gardens?

MADDY: Fig Gardens, the old Fig Gardens. Yes, versus in contrast to what they did. You know, I lived right in here someplace.

SENEY: You're pointing to kind of a little indentation into the district.

MADDY: Right.

SENEY: Well, you had moved. You and Zenovich had come up in the world, right? You had moved your residences.

MADDY: Not at this time.

SENEY: Not at this time? This comes later?

MADDY: When I came to Fresno I lived at the corner of Dakota and Shaw in a little \$17,000 house, and I stayed there until I ran for -- I'm trying to think. I got in trouble again because I re-registered there after I ran for Governor. But I didn't move for the first three elections. Well, what happened was I stayed at that home. I never tried to move that home or anything because the court ruled right away we were going to run on our old seats [in the 1972 election]. So we're going 'I'm all right, I'm in good shape,' and I had no money to move anyway. So we're sitting there in a nice house. Then the next go-around is when the court steps in and redraws the lines and that's the famous move out to Firebaugh, when I moved out to the farm labor camp in order to live within the district that they had drawn for me. That was the subterfuge. I kept the home but just went out and re-registered to vote. And Shelton, the boys, they had fun too because this was kind of a new law.

SENEY: I notice these briefs came out of your law firm.

MADDY: Chinello, Chinello & Maddy.

SENEY: But I thought it was interesting the two people you get to file the suit are a prominent Republican -- obviously your friend you mentioned who'd been on the Republican Central Committee -- and the Democratic County Chairman.

MADDY: The coup of coups was John Shelton, the Democrat. Everybody knew we

were close friends, buddies and contemporaries, but in the world of politics that was a huge coup.

SENEY: Did he get heat for that?

MADDY: No, no. John Shelton was a guy that couldn't take heat. He was quite a guy. A funny guy, a curmudgeon. He just told people.

As I say, by that time it was not a popular move to go against Maddy at that point in time. If you think back over your career when things are good and you weren't making mistakes and you were doing what you should be doing and so on, I was on a roll.

SENEY: I suppose, too, someone like Shelton would be concerned about the representation of the city of Fresno. That might have had a factor?

MADDY: Well, sure. I mean, I can tell you, Alex Brown, I knew him from a bale of hay, but the other one, the city councilman, Stefano, was not who he portrayed. I think he went to jail ultimately or he came close to it. But anyway, he was not what you'd call anyone who you'd take home to mama. He was not the top lawyer in town or the most reputable lawyer, anything like that. Not a bad guy. I mean, I don't want to say he was crooked or anything like that, but he was not somebody you were going to fight for.

SENEY: So Shelton was happy to go in your direction on those grounds too.

MADDY: Sure.

SENEY: There's something else you're not telling me.

MADDY: No. I was just thinking. I was trying to think of others. What made me smile a little bit was Zeno was lukewarm. Now, here's a state senator and by this time Zeno and I had already been friends before, and we got a good working relationship obviously going when we went the next step. We had been in the same building. We didn't collaborate on any of the law business.

SENEY: He practiced law out of the same building?

MADDY: Out of the same building. You know, he would never say anything bad. In fact, he'd say things good.

SENEY: Well, he did in the Governor's race.

MADDY: Yes. And even in this race. Going way back when it was not really appropriate for him to do. He was certainly not making me do anything.

In fact, one of the stories, and I'll tell it only because it's my impression of it, because it may not have been that good, but we flew down. Zeno had a fundraiser in '71 or '72, and George is a funny guy anyway: "Hey, baby." Everything's "hey, baby," and "this is the way it is." So we flew down, he flew a jet down, and Jerry Brown was Secretary of State. He was on the plane. The chairman of the Criminal Justice Committee, a very popular guy who is now deceased, was run over jogging.

SENEY: [Assemblyman Robert W.] Bob Crown.

MADDY: Bobby Crown was on the plane. I can't remember all the folks that flew

down. George Moscone was on the plane. We all flew down to do a fundraiser for George and George wanted to know whether I would do it, and I think it was at the Del Webb out on the highway.

SENEY: This is for George Zenovich.

MADDY: For George, a fundraiser for Zenovich, to pay off his debt after he had won the Senate seat. And someplace between '71 and '72, my inclination is it was more or less towards the end of the first year, and everybody gets up and they all give a speech and I'm the last guy introduced to speak. My recollection is, and a lot of people will substantiate, overwhelmingly, overwhelmingly, not even a close one, maybe just because of the phenomena of it, the audience applause and everything was me. And Zeno was -- and he did it the other day at the event at Fresno State -- he said, "Hey, baby, what are you going to do?" He says, "You can't touch this guy." He got up and said something like that. So I gave a speech, the same kind of thing, what a joy it is to work with old George, something like that.

But anyway, there was just a set of--

SENEY: Let me say that's with Moscone there.

MADDY: Big-time hitters.

SENEY: And Bob Crown, who was a big-time hitter.

MADDY: Bobby Moretti I think was there. Every major hitter.

SENEY: So this has got to be a big boost. These guys are reading the tea leaves

constantly.

MADDY: I wish I had found something but I don't think I ever did, how the paper played it. I don't think it even made a note. It didn't pass. It was one of those deals you think about how luck kind of flies.

SENEY: Right, right. That's a nice feeling to be in a political position like that.

MADDY: Are you kidding? Yes. I figured I was doing everything right.

SENEY: The final outcome, of course, of this is to give you the district we talked about before, and that is one you continue to win in, even though it's much more rural.

MADDY: Yes. We went through this election, I beat Alex Brown, and then we came back and then finally the court makes a move, the court appointees, and they draw the lines. And so in 1976, which is my third election -- no, 1974, which was Watergate years -- they had redrawn the lines and had taken this little hole in the donut seat and had spread that district out around, spreading it across four or five counties, making it one of the most, in terms of the Central Valley, one of the largest Assembly districts, most complex and diverse in terms of population.

SENEY: Let me turn this over, Senator.

[End Tape 1, Side A]

[Begin Tape 1, Side B]

MADDY: It was not necessarily worse in registration, although before the registration drives were over in '74 it probably became worse because

with Watergate that was just a horrible year for Republicans. So we had to devise a new system and a new campaign strategy. And probably if there was any that was the most clever, that was the one that we did in '74 to overcome that difficulty we had in winning. We couldn't go back to the 1970-72, which was just I went out and walked precincts within a compact area, had people like me, know me and vote for me. It was too big, too large, you couldn't possibly do it.

Actually, Howard Berman, and I don't know spellings, but Howard Berman, I think, had used a man named Ed Skallerun or something. That's the closest I can come, and I don't know how to spell it or anything else. Ed Skallerun I think was his name. But he had devised a method, again, moving into computer systems, moving into a system whereby you could try to give some contacts, so you'd have some information on the people you were going to contact before you contacted them, and try to make some "touch" with them, as we called it, and he always liked to have two touches.

So what we did is we came up with a system where I held Town Hall parties, Town Hall meetings, throughout the district, particularly all of the rural parts of my district, and I would schedule Town Hall meetings at the most inopportune, most difficult time for people to possibly be there. You know, 9:30 on a Thursday morning out in Coalinga and I would be there. I would be there with my staff and fanfare, and we'd always have donuts

and coffee, and it was an open house. What we did was take all of the people that I wanted to contact that we had some connection with, or in some way had figured out a connection, and we had written them a letter and said there's going to be a Town Hall meeting, that I'm the man of the people and so on and so forth, that we'd like you to come out and share your thoughts and views.

The hope was that nobody came. When we responded back to them, "Sorry you couldn't be there," the first connection in the letter was something in -- there was one group of people and we broke it down as many ways we could possibly do in which we had legitimate public information. We had a list of all homeowners. Again, we went back to the Armenian and Italian lists. We took people who were on the Philharmonic Board or any of the cultural activities I was involved with. We took veterans. We took people we found who were born in Oklahoma, Kansas, and so on. I broke down all my staff and broke it down into putting young people who were coming out of college who would work who'd go to the registrations office and just fill out these blanks as to where people were born and so on.

So the letter basically was something to the effect, in Coalinga just as an example, "My folks came out here from Oklahoma with a great dream..." etc. If you were from Oklahoma, Kansas, Texas, you got the connection that Maddy's roots are not too far away from where you're

from. And then we'd try to tie it in, "As a homeowner, I share the view that..." you know, responsibility. So we tried to get as many of these formatted letters--

SENEY: Or as a parent with children in school.

MADDY: That's right. And I don't remember how many we were able to put together, obviously because of time. But this was all by hand and this is all separating this thing out. And Villa complained about it at some point in time but there was never, quote, "an exposé" because I was there. I sent the letters out. And then when I would respond back, I would come back with another hit if I could -- if I knew that you were deeply concerned about the death penalty.

You know, one of the issues that we discussed at length at the meeting was "Many of your neighbors brought up the question of horrible crimes and the death penalty," and I expressed my support for the death penalty.

SENEY: And they might have written you about the death penalty.

MADDY: Could have written, and we tried it. Again, the weakness in the system was we were not as sophisticated, we couldn't do as much as we wanted to do, but the theory was fantastic.

SENEY: So you get these two touches.

MADDY: Yes. The key is, most of the people don't go to vote, and if they do they don't know who to vote for. But here's a guy, if there's the slightest bit of

intelligence or anything going for them, that they really wanted to vote. They had received something from a man who had a good reputation who was out, at least in my district, because in Coalinga nobody ever came [to the district] -- that was the other thing: "Nobody ever comes to see us" -- [but Maddy] had been out in the district and who, "God, believes the same thing I do in a couple of things."

So the in-shot was, in '74, when it was disaster time and the Republican Party takes this unbelievable bath, and Al Villa, who was a very able candidate and city councilman, well liked Latino, and I might say I don't underestimate the fact of being Latino hurt him probably on an open race selection, but by and large they declared him winner in the opening shot in the newspaper that night. You know, "Villa wins."

SENEY: First polls in.

MADDY: Yes, because the one place I'd never even laid a glove on was the west side. By this time they were sophisticated on the west side. Those 14 precincts were going the 70-80 percent Democrat they're supposed to go. But when push come to shove, I'm down there with 52 percent of the vote, or whatever it was.

SENEY: I have it here somewhere. I think it was at least that or maybe even better.

MADDY: It might have been even better than that.

And, of course, it's like a lot of things that hit you once in life: I learned all of the work that we had to do when we went out there and

pushed was to go out and--

SENEY: Fifty-five [in 1972]. You got 55 percent of the vote in 1972.

MADDY: Fifty-five in '72, huh?

SENEY: Yes. You were 26.6 percent ahead of the registration in 1972, which then was 67-28 [Democrats over Republicans] in the 32nd.

MADDY: That's about as bad as it got.

So I was, again, the phenomenon.

SENEY: No, actually, Senator, it got worse. In '74 the registration was 69-27, and then in '76 it was 67-27.<sup>1</sup>

MADDY: But in any event, it was--

SENEY: Oh, I'm sorry, you were absolutely right. The '74 race was 51 percent, and you were still 24.5 percent ahead of registration.

MADDY: And against probably the best candidate I had. Villa was a good candidate and sharp and we debated. The theory was don't debate but I debated him.

SENEY: Yes, you were told by the Republican Caucus people, "Don't go near him." The theory being--?

MADDY: No issues. That I couldn't win. They miscalculated a lot of times the issues. The *Bee* was so liberal and they were worried about me going before somebody and just letting them take a potshot, because notwithstanding the fact there were overwhelming odds against me, I was

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<sup>1</sup> In 1974, Maddy carried the 32nd Assembly District by 51%. In 1976, his margin of victory was back up to 55%.

still the incumbent and they felt incumbent was a disaster.

SENEY: Seventy-four.

MADDY: Seventy-four -- incumbent was a disaster. And I think I just overrode the incumbency factor. I mean, it was ego and all the rest of it. Al Villa was about 5'5" or 5'6". I mean, I stood next to him every time I could possibly stand next to him with my arm on his shoulder. You just did those kinds of things. Those are standard.

I tell the story, and I told you already I think, but the mayor of Huron was Latino. It's down by Coalinga, a little farm labor town, and I went down and visited the guy and stopped by one day to see him. Surprised the hell out of him. His wife, who could barely speak English, was there and she said, "I would have voted for you."

And I said "Not over Mr. Villa."

She said, "You're better looking." Simple. I tell it because sometimes politics just gets down to that, how simple that is. And not that that's a good factor but it's a factor that tells you you'd better be smart enough to know.

SENEY: That's right. What you can use and when to use it.

MADDY: Yes, what you can do and what you can't do.

SENEY: Now, I take it, back to the town meetings in Coalinga, you wouldn't necessarily want people to come because it might raise troubles and you might make people angry.

MADDY: The reporters all tried to follow me because they wanted to write something. They were hoping there's going to be controversy. Well, nobody showed, or a few people did, and they wrote it when they could. I mean, they tried to play it legit. Eli Setencich, you know, he went a couple of times. They said, "You're pulling a scam here, Maddy." I didn't tell them what it was. I said, "You people want me to get out and do these things." I said, "You just don't like being out here. It's 110 [degrees] today, for God's sake." I said, "I don't mind, this is my country."

SENEY: Right. We can't round them up and make them come.

MADDY: That's right. It was an interesting campaign. I didn't spend a lot of money on all of the fancy stuff, but we ground out this great network. And the files -- unfortunately, you think if you could keep those files up and so on it would be magnificent, but the reality is, the way things work in our life, those things change so quick. But it was, if you will, kind of masterful, but it also warned me. I mean, I think a little bit the change parties thing. Because it was frustrating to go back--

SENEY: That came into it, you mean, because here you work all the time--

MADDY: Yes. I just was down to the point of how long can I keep dragging and driving like this? Every year is going to be a different go-around. You know, it was getting tougher to do what I wanted. I knew I was being deprived of leadership in my own caucus. You know, when the Dirty

Seven would get together it was almost a cinch they'd say, "We can't run Maddy. Maddy's in too difficult a district." Well, I wanted to be leader. There wasn't any doubt in my mind. I felt right from the get-go that I was leadership quality, and so I said, "I can do things." And I was doing them. I was doing everything behind the scenes. I think everybody attributed me as being the principal guy helping Bob Beverly and all of them. I was a pusher. I was a driver.

SENEY: But their view being you couldn't get out on front of tough issues with that kind of district.

MADDY: Yes. How are you going to be a leader on all of these issues without killing yourself? Not concerned about what I'd do to the caucus but what my leadership would do to my own race: "We can't do it until you get a better seat."

So that combination of frustration, and then I have to throw it in here and I don't want to belabor it, but the marriage was getting more difficult and we were having more problems, and I knew that I had to probably get home. As we said, "fish or cut bait." I either had to take the whole family, get up and do something that was going to take me home or take the family and move them all up north.

SENEY: Because they stayed in Fresno.

MADDY: They stayed in Fresno. I mean, it was a Thursday afternoon drive down home, work all weekend, get back up Monday morning and drive back.

That's a lot different, that three hours. When you have to add three hours a week one way, coming and going, it is a long, long week.

So one of the things where that came into play was later on in '79 when Jerry Brown was trying to consider what he was going to do with Zeno. It was brought up and I said -- well no, this is before that. In '74-75 is when I went to [T. Anthony] Tony Cline because I was pretty good friends with Tony Cline.

SENEY: Right. There's a nice letter from him after the Governor's race, a handwritten letter in your files.

MADDY: I said, you know, "Appoint me muni court judge and I'll get out. You guys can have the seat."

SENEY: Well, I was going to ask you about that because you applied for a judgeship.

MADDY: He suggested that he thought Jerry might do it, and I said, "I'll get out, I'll go home," and I said, "I had my run, it's been fun." I didn't want to go back and practice law. There was a lot of factors involved with that, that were personal mostly, my brother-in-law and the law firm I tried to put up, and I had really--

SENEY: Had that become uncomfortable in some ways?

MADDY: No. My father-in-law and brother-in-law were terrific people, but I had become a star in a sense and to go back and grind out -- a little bit like it is right now. I mean, to come back and have to not be over there casting

votes and so on is a lot different than coming back and trying to grind out, as we say, the law units to make a living and billable hours and all that stuff.

I knew I probably could do something but then I had this other motive: I wanted to stay home. I think I had to stay home in order to save my marriage and I wasn't doing it. So the thought was if I got the judgeship I'd come back and say, okay, I could star and be in a judgeship. I know how it works now, I was on the Judiciary Committee. I never had any fear about being a lawyer because I had a good record, and I said there's things to do there too. And I was playing a lot of tennis.

My view is there's life everywhere. When you settle on it and if you get yourself adjusted and you work at it, that life becomes maybe better than what you have right now but you just don't know it.

So Tony worked at it and he and [Paul] Halvonick--

SENEY: Paul Halvonick?

MADDY: Paul Halvonick ultimately got himself into a lot of trouble with what he smoked.

SENEY: Right. He was forced to resign from the Court of Appeals because marijuana plants were found on his porch.

MADDY: Right. So the two of them really worked to try to get Jerry to appoint me as a judge, and I said, "I'll take muni. I just want the bottom of the barrel and let me work my way up. And I'll go home, then you guys get your

seat back.” That was just my own personal. It really never got real public.

SENEY: There were no press reports.

MADDY: No. I left it off to Eli: run it up the flagpole. This was just friends. But there was the submission of it.

SENEY: Yes. You got a letter from Carlotta Melon and you submitted the questionnaire.

MADDY: Because they really thought that Jerry might go for it. But then, again, and there’s a contradiction and I don’t know how it all fits in because I never thought about it, but that’s one they could have easily done also and probably would have been heroes. I mean, Jerry would have been given credit for giving a good judgeship to a moderate and everything would have been fine, but it didn’t.

SENEY: Did they just say he’s not going to go for it?

MADDY: Can’t do it for me.

SENEY: I don’t know if it’s appropriate for me to interject but I suggest maybe to you that that shows Brown’s insufficiently political point of view, because someone who was more in tune to the political process would have seen the advantages. That is, a guy they couldn’t beat was gone.

MADDY: Pick up an easy seat.

SENEY: You’d get points and what is a municipal judgeship after all.

MADDY: I never asked Tony and I never asked Paul as to why and what happened, because I thought there was a side of me that didn’t want to either. A side

of me wanted to stay, marriage or no marriage.

SENEY: One of the things that's interesting in looking at the papers that you let me use was the campaign brochures and watching your children grow up in the campaign brochures.

MADDY: It's amazing.

SENEY: And I know, and we'll get to that, that your son Don was a big help in the '78 Governor's race. Is he kind of a political person?

MADDY: Let's see, the jobs he's held: He worked on my campaign. He was Undersecretary of Housing, Deputy Secretary of Housing under Jack Kemp for four years in Washington. He was Deputy Housing Secretary here under Pete Wilson. He's now working with George Steffes, Inc., in the lobbying outfit.

SENEY: Mr. Steffes is a very prominent lobbyist.

MADDY: Right. And Don was Deputy Treasurer under Matt Fong. He was Deputy Treasurer of the state in Housing. So he's a housing expert and is right on the fringe. I think Don has made a good choice. I was thinking about that this morning. I woke up and yesterday was one of those bad days and so I was thinking. One of the things I talked to him about getting involved in lobbying, I said, "It's better to have the vote," but I said, "The lobbying activities, the timing and the work you do, is very similar to being a legislator, except that you have to ask for the vote rather than give the vote." And I said, "That's huge; ego-wise it's huge." But I said, "You'll

live a decent life and you've got an excellent reputation on your own, plus you get the little benefit of my name."

SENEY: I would think more than a little benefit.

MADDY: Well, he admits more than a little bit, because he said, "I get all these things they say good about you, Dad. I get the benefit of walking in and assuming I might be like you."

There's a little event going on over at Carmel Valley where I used to have my golf tournament. He's playing golf over there this morning with his wife. And that's the kind of difference he's making. He said, "I think that I could have more time at home and have to worry less about getting re-elected and perhaps make as good a living and have just as much fun in life," because he does love the politics.

SENEY: Well, probably make a better living, I would think.

MADDY: And they offered him a job. He probably could have run in the Redondo Beach seat for Congress. They've offered him a lot of shots but he's always chosen to stay, and I think part of it is because my marriage broke up with his mother. And then not that the second marriage -- that was much later -- affected him, but they just had a child. He's 40 and they just had their first child, so everything is very important to him.

My daughters have gone off and they've just done their thing. That's normal.

SENEY: Now, Deanna is the oldest.

- MADDY: She's the oldest. She's 41 and she lives here in Sacramento. Teaches school. Her youngest daughter, my granddaughter, is a freshman in Bloomsburg College in Pennsylvania. And I have a 15-year-old grandson by Deanna who is a sophomore at C. K. McClatchy. Then my youngest daughter is in Fresno teaching school.
- SENEY: And her name is--?
- MADDY: Marilyn. And she has a 10- and 11-year-old. They attended all the events the other day.
- SENEY: Yes, you said that they were there.
- MADDY: The kids, knock on wood, I thank God things worked out well for them. Their mother and I maintained a relationship.
- SENEY: You're friends still?
- MADDY: Yes, we're friends. We see each other, obviously, at all the family events. Never have been close but we're friends. The mistakes were mine, clearly, if anybody asks. It's easy to get enamored and to be totally captured by this job. Not that it isn't in any other job we have in life but perhaps more so here and particularly when I grew up. All the strokes and everything was coming your way and you could really live a pretty independent life. No relationships anywhere else, just come into this big city and, man, you're the king for the whole time you're here and you're king until you leave.
- SENEY: Applause is very seductive.

- MADDY: Oh, very seductive, and we love it. Never seen anybody who truthfully said to me it means nothing to them. As I said, truthfully said to me.
- SENEY: I was going to ask you about your first wife Beverly. Was she a political person?
- MADDY: No.
- SENEY: She didn't look like she much enjoyed the campaigning.
- MADDY: She actually did a very good job at it, and of course, in those days when we started out, Beverly's father, John Chinello, was one of the most prominent lawyers in town.
- SENEY: They were a prosperous family, were they not?
- MADDY: Not real prosperous. That's why I say prominent in the name of ID, prominent in terms of his image. We did not have a big substantial law firm. We were basically a defense law firm. My brother-in-law, who was three years older, came in as a partner with his dad and we were doing mostly what we call defense tort law work. We defended lawsuits. Trial work. And of course, my job to come in as a third man is how to make a living also and that's how I get involved in public affairs and, of course, that's the background and they're pushing me.
- SENEY: Because that really was, as we talked about before, the way you made yourself known as a lawyer.
- MADDY: That's how I had to push. Sure, I had to push. My mother-in-law in '64, when I came out -- I got out of law school in '63 -- she had another bout

with cancer in '64. My brother-in-law Jack and his wife were having marital problems. Suddenly I'm thrust in this situation where get out and get some clients, and man, you've got to support yourself and so on.

Beverly was born and raised in Fresno, knew everybody, and that's part of the joke: When I came back to town in '64 I came back as Beverly Chinello's husband. But she was a very social person and enjoyed it, and during that first campaign it was a thrill. I mean, there wasn't anything. Walked precincts. The kids got out. The kids didn't like it necessarily; Donny did more than the rest. There's some photos of him walking down the streets and smiling and handing out brochures. The two girls could have kissed it goodbye. They didn't like any part of it.

SENEY: Right, embarrassing.

MADDY: Embarrassing, sure. And Bev was good. She'd walk one side, I'd walk the other, and maintained all the things that she was supposed to do. And when we came up here, I think that she would have been excellent, because she stayed up here. She still lives and works in the Sacramento area after all these years. But our life didn't let us. I mean, she had to stay home with the kids. I drove and the same pressure was on me. You know, I would go home on Thursday evening and the first three hours was why this wasn't done and this wasn't done and that wasn't done. And it's very conflicting. Most of it [was] my immaturity. I should have been able, I think in retrospect, to handle it, and so on. But she could have

handled politics. Did politics well, was very well liked among the women. Didn't hold any animosity against me for what I was doing but felt, frankly, that how long was I going to continue to do this stuff?

SENEY: And the tendency in those days would have been for the wives and children to stay in the district rather than move up here.

MADDY: Absolutely. In my district you had no chance.

SENEY: Is that right?

MADDY: Oh, kiss it goodbye. If I had tried to stay home on those weekends, I'm not sure I could have won anyway. I'd almost bet I wouldn't.

SENEY: Stay here you mean.

MADDY: Yes, I could not have stayed here and had a regular life and still won again. No way in the world.

SENEY: That's much too possessive a district?

MADDY: Absolutely. When you're in that kind of numbers, you have to be everywhere all the time. I had to get that news everyday, all the time. Just no way in the world we could have done that.

SENEY: Some of the wives are much more politically oriented. Did you discuss political issues with her and seek her advice?

MADDY: Not a whole lot. Bev was very much of a homemaker. Her life, which she, I think, wanted, and I'm probably misstating it, and that's probably one of our problems, but I really thought what she wanted me to do in life was to duplicate what her father had done: be a prominent lawyer, have a

great reputation, raise a good family with good kids, live in a very nice home, as they did. They had a beautiful home. Be a member of the tennis club. I'm simplifying everything but she's certainly not simple in any way herself. But that was when we finally got me squared away.

I mean, she married me notwithstanding the fact I was a racetracker and took her to the racetrack. She married me out of love because I had nothing going for me. I had zero going for me. My dad had died and my mother was down working. I was a zero. And that's what all the gals, they all laugh about it now, all these gals that write these notes and stuff. But, I mean, we married for love and we wanted to stay married, but her life, I think part of the problem was I could have easily given it to her. It was there. I was not unsuccessful. I just found something I fell in love with over and bigger and that was this game.

SENEY: Well, that's the term, isn't it? Fell in love with it.

MADDY: There's no doubt. I freely admit that.

SENEY: Because there are differences between people who are in politics. I mean, I would put John Burton in that category along with yourself and Bob Moretti, and Crown would certainly be in that category.

MADDY: Bobby was that way. We fell in love with, I use the word game, which I worry about using it sometimes but I mean it in just the best sense of the term, in that life's a big game but this is just the dynamics of it. You know every aspect of what you're doing and why you're doing it and what

you can do. That's the key is what you can do.

SENEY: And figuring out what others are doing.

MADDY: That's right. It's intriguing. That's why I say I used to have more fun in a week than most people had in a month.

SENEY: And I think, too, if I may, that when you love it you take it seriously and yet you don't take it seriously. You think?

MADDY: The ones who took it too seriously, the John Vascos [Vasconcellos], and I point to John only because he seemed to take it so seriously, just make themselves beyond living. I worry about them. I'm sure he doesn't believe that, but you worry about somebody. You've got to be able to take these wins and losses, and you're going to win or lose. There's going to be lots of wins and losses. And so you've got to have the ability to take the good and the bad. I think when it clouds sometimes is you get so that you're enjoying it so much but people think you're not.

SENEY: Doing the job?

MADDY: Doing the job.

SENEY: Now, I hear, when I say this, though, that you enjoy the game and don't take it all that seriously, that if you were crossed--

MADDY: Yes, I didn't forget. I don't think I held any serious hard-time grudges because fortunately I generally won, but I took it seriously in the sense that there were a couple of things like lying and cheating and things I didn't tolerate that I thought were separate apart from me. You could do

almost anything with me as long as you told the truth and so on.

SENEY: Right. And you have to have that kind of reputation to be taken seriously, do you not?

MADDY: You have to. You have to develop a reputation around here. Unfortunately, sometimes it comes very soon and that's what term limit guys are going to face. They're going to be judged almost -- bingo -- over something they do or say and no chance to come back. Where we had a little more time to work on it, move slower.

The only thing is it's more fast paced and you get to it quicker, but I'm not so sure that doesn't happen in every walk of life. I mean, I look at these doctors I see so much of now, and I'm sure there are those docs among seven members of an oncologist team, they all have some reputation based on something in which they built through relationships. So you just have to put it in perspective.

SENEY: Let me turn this over, Senator.

[End Tape 1, Side B]

[Begin Tape 2, Side A]

SENEY: I wanted to ask about the Alex Brown campaign, what is important for us to know or sheds any--

MADDY: I don't remember anything being too important from that campaign. We went out and we were becoming a little more sophisticated. He was such a flake, that even with the registration edge, the way it was going, having

Stefano knocked off [in the Democratic Primary] was a big win. On paper he was obviously the most to be feared.

SENEY: Did you do anything in that?

MADDY: No, nothing. It just happened. We just ran a campaign. We just ran steady.

SENEY: You had no primary opposition.

MADDY: No. I don't recall any. No, I don't think I had anybody that time.

It was a plus going in but the numbers were so big, so you had to keep trying.

SENEY: He had a platform that was helpful, I would think. He wanted to adopt a statewide speculation tax; a surtax on excess corporate profits.

MADDY: He was nuts. Johnny Burton laughs about it now. He said, "Maddy had to go out there and get these guys."

SENEY: Repeal of the capital gains tax but open space tax shelter for large corporations, a comprehensive state health plan.

MADDY: I think he was a pretty consistent pot smoker. Even the press guys knew that he was.

SENEY: The odor clinging to his clothes?

MADDY: Yes, out and around him. In those days, nobody wrote or printed that sort of thing. He never had the kind of credibility that might have taken. I don't think I've ever run into him again since -- oh, going way back. So it will always be interesting what happened in his life because he wasn't a

bad kid.

SENEY: And he didn't beat Stefano by much.

MADDY: It's a wonder he won.

SENEY: Which has also got to be helpful when you look at the opposition and you see that your opponent has barely squeaked through.

MADDY: Right. And that was always the joke. The two of them almost had as many votes as I got. Somebody said, "How in the world are you going to win?"

I said, "Simple. I just pick up the losers' votes."

He said, "Not all those Democrats are going to vote for you."

I said, "How else do you explain it? Somebody has to come vote for me."

Oh, I wanted you to say hello to Don.

This is Sal Russo.

[Break in recording]

SENEY: That actually was an interruption to meet Sal Russo.

MADDY: Right, who's had a fascinating career. He's done things worldwide and from the efforts when we first started and he broke off to run my campaign for Governor. He's really done very well. He's a brilliant strategist.

SENEY: He's renowned as a political consultant.

MADDY: All over the world.

SENEY: Was he one of the ones who worked on the [Boris] Yeltsin campaign in Russia?

MADDY: No. I think that was a couple of other fellows. But he's had similar kinds of campaigns around the country and around the world. I can't think of all of them but there's a whole list of them, what he's done.

Like you say, sometimes they do seminars and stuff and bring these guys together, but there is obviously something to learn about them.

SENEY: Absolutely. If they'll talk.

MADDY: If they'll talk. A lot of them don't like to talk, right. Sal's not one. He likes to talk.

SENEY: The '74 campaign against Villa, I think we've talked enough about that.

MADDY: The whole key in the '74 was survival and the fact that we did pull out what I thought was a great piece of strategy. It taught me a lot. It did teach me a lesson: If you can find a couple of points of interest to people that you support them with, that's sometimes all it takes. In fact, that's what single issue politics is all about.

SENEY: In this case yours was the farm labor issue. He talked about political reform.

MADDY: I was less sophisticated. I mean, I wasn't even trying to find all the gun nuts or the death penalty supporters or anything. I was trying to find out whether or not you came from Oklahoma like my dad did. My commonsense approach was "that's enough." If nothing else, here's a guy whose daddy might have brought him out here from Oklahoma, so at least he knew a little bit about my life. I mean, I don't think it has to be

monumental. Maybe that's not giving enough credit, but by and large, it doesn't take a lot.

SENEY: Again, he stresses political reform, and you talk mostly about farm labor on the grounds that you've now got a district that has a lot to do with farm laborers. Prop. 14 is on the ballot.

MADDY: And see, I had also been up there, as we talked a couple of days ago, about my efforts on behalf of farm labor. I was becoming stronger in terms of putting myself forward on issues, and that was an issue I did jump into, and that was not stupid because of the whole west side. I mean, the reality was farm laborers did not vote, and the whole west side's economy was based on farming.

SENEY: And the farmers voted.

MADDY: And the farmers voted and the farmers gave money. And there was no doubt that the issue, as we saw it--

SENEY: And the small town business people depended on the farmers' vote.

MADDY: Everybody. That was the issue. Anybody who was out on the west side who wasn't opposed to Cesar Chavez and opposed to their tactics was crazy. You could make an argument that the farm workers had some rights out there but you'd better not politically go out and try to espouse those arguments because you aren't going to win.

So I tried to figure out a way to stay in front of the issue, even though I was a minor player. And I did. I actually carried some bills and

so on that received pretty good play.

SENEY: And you also, and I don't know if we mentioned this last time, coauthored the argument against 14 in the voters' pamphlets.

MADDY: Correct. And they let me do that as a privilege.

SENEY: That's not an unimportant matter, is it?

MADDY: No. It picks up later on. It helps you later on.

SENEY: And you had earned that, I take it?

MADDY: I'd been so far out in front. As I recall, on that issue I was very pushy in terms of trying to be one of the leaders, because it was a delicate issue.

SENEY: In '76 you run against Mr. Leap.

MADDY: Ken Leap.

SENEY: Was that a problem?

MADDY: No. Fraternity brother of mine. I hardly knew Ken when we were in school together. I don't think I've ever seen him much since that time. We had been in the same fraternity. A liberal. Hardly any campaign whatsoever. I don't remember any part of it, as a matter of fact. We debated a couple of times, I think. A very kind soul, nice guy.

SENEY: Well, he had been a Democratic worker and stalwart.

MADDY: Had he?

SENEY: So the articles say, and that was the basis upon which he ran.

MADDY: By that time I was also being touted as almost unbeatable, so it was tough to find somebody to come out. The city councilman and all these other

folks out there who were anxious to go after this fat [seat, but] the seat was different when you're out in a rural area. Even though it was a heavily registered Democratic seat, we're out there, and Prop. 14 having been defeated, I'm a small hero on that stand and so on. It was tough.

SENEY: Well, you had beaten a couple of city councilmen. You had beaten Camaroda and Villa. I suppose it was tough.

Why did you decide that was your last race?

MADDY: The mix was, I think, how difficult it was, the '74 how tough it was, the frustration of going forward in my leadership.

SENEY: And the numbers of Republicans were shrinking in the Assembly.

MADDY: Oh God. We were dropping, dropping, dropping, and it was getting worse. And the marriage. All these things sort of adding up saying there's not much farther for me to go, there's not much more for me to do. And going back in those days, the pay was no good. I mean, it was all I could do, because after the first year I received a little of the cut, but after that there was very little of the cut coming in.

SENEY: From the law firm.

MADDY: From the law firm. So, you know, you're making sixteen, twenty thousand a year and living on per diem. Tough.

SENEY: What was it that got you to run for Governor? What put that "bee in your bonnet," shall we say?

MADDY: It was Sal and Doug [Watts]. Well, I'll go back. I can't give them all the

credit. In 1976, when I ran against Ken Leap, Pete Bontadelli, who was deputy director in Fish and Game, or was director, now involved in Fish and Game, at the time we went out, one of the big political tools was Cogs signs. This company called Cogs almost had an exclusive on it. And they were fantastic signs for rural areas, and I was a great believer in billboards and Cogs signs in rural areas.

SENEY: Cogs is just the name?

MADDY: It's that long, sort of sign that goes up on posts and you see them everywhere during a campaign. And this one company really had a system and an exclusive on it. They'd only give out exclusives; in other words, no competition.

The only point I always pointed to is that in 1976, when I hired the Cogs signs early on to run the '76 campaign for the rural part of my area, I ended up getting a small contract for some obligation from them on the Governor's race in the primary in '78. And I have no idea now whether it was actually the Governor's race or whether it was a statewide race.

SENEY: In other words, the upshot of this dealing with them in '76, you say, "Listen, I think I might be interested..."

MADDY: I may be going on something in '78. There was some lingering thing that I began to put together right after '76 that was an indicator that I was ready to do something, and I'm not sure whether Sal and Doug had talked to me about that. They had strong connections to the Nisei Farmers

League. Sal always being kind of the brains, he realized that the expression I used -- "the sleeping giant of California politics," which was agriculture -- that we really did have something here that we ought to explore and that possibly somebody could move forward. Like he said, the thoughts might have been AG's [Attorney General], could have been a number of things, but they recognized that I couldn't stay much longer because reapportionment wasn't going to bring me anything. The next reappo was going to be just as bad. We were just as Democrat, if not more so, than we had ever been.

To say specifically what got me going, what day I said, "Okay, let's make a run at it, let's do it," the dynamic after that was the more we did, the more we kept setting goals, and we kept meeting them.

SENEY: Let me go back to the signs for a second. I take it then you made this agreement. You said, "I'm not sure what I'm going to run for but it's something, so commit to me in whatever race it happens to be."

MADDY: Right.

SENEY: And that's an exclusive commitment.

MADDY: And I don't know whether I did it in one part of the state, just in the valley, or wherever. But my only point of it is it's the only thing I can remember right now that indicates to me that I might have been in my own mind out there thinking about it, not just being pushed by Sal and Doug and all those guys.

SENEY: You know, there's a *New West* article on the campaign, which was critical, I think that you thought. And I have to say that at this remove, reading it, it doesn't sound so critical.

MADDY: I read it again. The guy came in and wanted to be a real friend of mine. The guy with all the makeup and stuff? That was the one about the makeup?

SENEY: Yes.

MADDY: He wanted to be a real buddy of mine and so on, but I looked at it then as being critical, a cheap shot.

SENEY: I can understand in the context of the campaign, absolutely, you bet.

MADDY: I can't remember now any of the content, frankly.

SENEY: Well, one of the things, and this is what I want to allude to, is that they reported in that, that in March '77 there was a meeting at the Velvet Turtle Restaurant outside Fresno -- Doug Watts was there -- to discuss your political future and ambitions, and you wrote a list of 25 names that looked like they were worth about \$280,000. And it was at this time that you -- I'm not sure you hired but at least you began to discuss hiring Bailey-Deardorf, who are the important guys here.

At any rate, do you recall that meeting out there at the Velvet Turtle?

MADDY: I don't recall the specifics of it, but when Doug and Sal pushed on and we did sort of the initial move without anyone knowing about it, which was the February convention in which we put out the buttons and there was

some brochure paid for by the small group of Nisei Farmers League -- that was not Harry Kubo in Fresno but the group up here in Stockton -- that was the big flash that surprised everybody. And then we began to have to sit down and get serious because it caught. I mean, it was one of those things that wasn't just ignored as another flash in the pan.

SENEY: There was a buzz about it.

MADDY: There was a buzz about it, right. So naturally we go back to the troops we had back at the beginning, and then in the meantime we had the Prop. 14, so I had my farmer friends: John Harris and Price Giffen and all these folks who were the ones that we had to count on for the logical money. And from one of those meetings -- it was at Velvet Turtle and so on -- we came up with this budget that we had to have -- I forget whatever it was, \$300,000--

SENEY: Two-eighty, it says here. It may have been three.

MADDY: Okay, yes. In the bank by June before it would even be feasible. Now, in those days no one had ever done that. No one had raised any (quote) "early money" (end quote).

And Bailey Deardorf -- I'll ask Sal before I leave today because I cannot remember how we pulled in the Bailey Deardorf team as being part of our group.

SENEY: They had run the Gerald Ford campaigns in '76.

MADDY: Right. But I mean how I got connected with them, I can't remember that.

We got involved with Deardorf and they came out and then they began to show us, then it was a mixed campaign.

Don Jackson, who's my former law partner, Don came up literally and took over the management of the team and the book work and so on, and Sal and Doug got full time and we really got involved in the campaign. And John Deardorf began the strategy as to how we develop a campaign that would be unique and different in California no one had ever seen, which had been true around the country in the sense that we started so early and had this spectacular first move.

How we got connected with Deardorf I can't remember, but Sal will know right off the top of his head.

What happened in '78, and moving from that point of the end of the '76 election to getting involved in the '78 campaign, some of that's a little blurry. I haven't reviewed any of this material to think about it. But as to how we made one step or another, or if there were transition steps, I'm not sure I said I want to be leader and if I get to be leader then I won't run, or I want to run for AG. I'm not sure what I was doing and thinking at the time.

SENEY: Let me go back and provide a little context maybe from the farmers' point of view here.

The "one man, one vote" decision was looked upon in the agricultural community as a big defeat, because the State Senate is now

reapportioned on the basis of population. And there's no question that from their point of view, and I'm sure they're right, that their influence declined precipitously.

Then along comes the '74 campaign against Prop. 14, which, of course, as we've said, you were deeply involved in, and the farmers felt good about their influence; it was coming back up. And this is part of it.

Your running for office segue's into this, does it not? I mean, are they not looking for someone.

MADDY: There's no doubt in my mind, I think that's what Sal and Doug had in mind, that we had this opportunity for somebody from the agricultural area who had been, so far, outspoken, had his name on the ballot proposition, for them to get behind on a statewide race.

Now, where we were going to land and what spot we would land was something to be debated. And why we went Governor versus AG right off the bat -- again, I'm going to try to share with Sal a little of that and find out what he recalls -- but all those things took place, and I know what happened is that we did too well. We said \$300,000 and we had \$300,000. We said \$600,000, whatever, and we kept hitting it, and the polls kept going up.

I can recall, and I don't know specifically the incident, but I came in one day, and I think it was the 18-18-18 poll where we were just about tied, and I said, "We've got to start thinking, boys. This could happen.

We're almost here." I'm daydreaming and thinking about who I might have in my cabinet and I said, "We're almost here."

SENEY: And you're talking about [Attorney General Evelle] Younger and [Former L.A. Police Chief Ed] Davis and yourself at 18, and [Pete]Wilson down considerably.

MADDY: Right. We knocked him off quick. There was three of us at 18 or something like that, and Wilson had already slipped off the map. [John] Briggs was nowhere.

SENEY: Right. Briggs never was more than a blip.

MADDY: He just had the homophobic issue.

SENEY: You know, when Sal Russo came in we talked about and laughed too, I guess, about the fact that you got them fired, may be the greatest career opportunity they ever had because the two of them are very prominent political consultants and very successful, I'm sure.

Talk a little about that. What happened? You must have met them simply working on political things, because they were part of the root staff on the Republican Caucus.

MADDY: I barely knew Watts. I knew Sal. He worked for an Assemblyman. I can't think of his last name. But anyway, Sal was around as a consultant for one of the Assembly people and was also in the various caucuses during the early years. So I knew Sal and liked him as an individual. As you can see, he's very aggressive and was always tied in with the ag issues

that, interestingly, I didn't pay too much attention to.

When I first told you about choosing the kind of committees I would sit on and so on, it only took me the first year to figure out that the Ag Committee, as cherished as it was for members from the ag areas, was useless. Water was made on Water. Pesticides was made on Pesticides. Nothing was made on Ag Committee. It was made up of a committee of about six guys who sat around and talked about the easy things that were to go on in agriculture. So I never was on that committee.

But Sal and Doug pushed me. I mean, Sal did. And again, how the approach came to me, to go and spend a little money, I can't remember any specifics. They had worked the whole thing out, received the money, had printed the brochures and everything, so it was just a "Will you do it? Will you show up? That's all you've got to do."

SENEY: You mean they came to you kind of?

MADDY: Yes. I did not go to them. They came to me and pushed it.

SENEY: Because they looked at you as an attractive candidate.

MADDY: I can verify that. If you want to right now, that would be fine right now if you want to do it. Will this hurt this thing? Just ask him what he thinks of this moment?

SENEY: No, not at all.

[Break in recording]

SENEY: Sal Russo has joined us on the invitation of Senator Maddy to talk about

how Senator Maddy got involved in the Governor's race in 1978.

His recollection is that you and Doug Watts came to him and sort of approached him on it with your brochures and the pins that had been made.

RUSSO: Well, we at the time had a number of agricultural clients: Farm Bureau, the Nisei Farmers' League, Western Growers. We had a long list of agricultural clients that we were organizing their Political Action Committees because they were feeling the sting of Governor [Jerry] Brown's administration, which was very hostile to California agriculture.

We had told them that it was imperative for their industry to get mobilized and get involved in politics in ways they'd never been. Farmers had a bias a little bit against being involved in politics. They had this fundamental belief that they feed and clothe not only America but the world, and in some ways were closer to God, and they didn't need to engage in the dirty business of politics.

So there was this period of awakening that was occurring, and they had pretty much decided that they were going to get involved in a big way to defeat Jerry Brown, and the question then became: "Who was the candidate?" And there was somewhat of a bias in favor of Pete Wilson at the time initially. I don't remember why that was exactly, but there was some connection to him being mayor of San Diego. Maybe it was the San Diego people or something else. And then there was a parade in San

Diego and they asked Pete to participate in something in favor of the growers, and he declined. And that somewhat enraged them and they decided that an urban legislator, an urban politician, just doesn't have the affinity for agriculture and that we could never, ever trust the city slickers. In a sense that's what that was about.

And so in one of the meetings they said, "Is there any other candidate other than Pete Wilson?" They didn't like Younger. I don't remember if Ed Davis had surfaced at that point or not. I don't remember now. But they were looking for another candidate, and so we thought that if they really were to organize that they had enough muscle statewide, and it wasn't just the farmers in the rural areas but they're also in the cities. Agriculture's tentacles and ties really span the entire state.

MADDY: Who were you working for at the time? The [Assembly Republican] caucus? That's what I was trying to remember.

RUSSO: We were working at the caucus, but we had already started our company at the time called the California Capital Consultants.

MADDY: I didn't know that.

RUSSO: And we were organizing the Political Action Committees for the various ag groups: Farm Bureau, Western Growers, Nisei Farmers' League. And so that was our side business that we did, that we had at the time.

I had been, before I went into the caucus, the editor of the *Agricultural Labor Relations Reporter*, which was one of the publications

that, you know, Bill Hauck and the *California Journal*, when they were all bundled together. And in the course of my covering the farm labor issue for the publication, I thought, in all the meetings that I was going to, there was one legislator who was particularly bright, particularly able, and was just head and shoulders over the rest of them, and that was Maddy. I was taken by how much more capable he was than the rest of them. He just stuck out.

So in one of the meetings I mentioned his name, as somebody who was extraordinary in his abilities and his talents, but they would have to really get behind him to do that, and there was a great deal of interest in doing that.

So I think Doug and I went to see Ken and asked him what his intentions and his plans were, and he said that he probably wasn't going to do anything but he was thinking about running for Attorney General. And so we said, "Why don't you think about running for Governor?" And he sort of dismissed it initially as "Well, how can an Assemblyman from Fresno run for Governor?" So we basically came up with the argument that "Look, raise your stature by being a gubernatorial candidate, and if it doesn't work out, you'll have the stature then to be a more serious Attorney General candidate." And we thought at the time -- I don't know it -- we thought that that was more appealing to Ken, frankly, than his running for Governor. That was our feeling at the time. He was not

persuaded.

MADDY: The only thing I did was during the '76 campaign, when I got the Cogs signs, I made some deal with Cogs to hold them for some factor for the '78 campaign, which is my only indication to myself that I must have been thinking about I was going to do something.

And I think the Bailey Deardorf question, as to who hired him, I think that was Don Jackson.

RUSSO: What I think happened was Ken, at this point, was reticent to do anything about it, so we said, "Look, our clients are willing to move this ball forward so you don't have to do anything. The only thing we need is a little cooperation. We need some pictures."

MADDY: That's right. You were using the words "our clients." I don't think I ever knew who the hell you were talking about.

RUSSO: I think it was \_\_\_\_\_ Yamichi, Harry Kubo. The Niseis were prime leaders in this.

SENEY: Why was that, do you think?

RUSSO: Well, I mean, because they're from the valley and they had a bias towards being in favor of a valley candidate. The Pete Wilson incident had really turned them against urban legislators. They just were not going to be reliable friends. And Ken, while he was new in the Legislature, not well known, everybody had a relatively positive view.

So we produced this brochure called "Agricultural Friends of Ken

Maddy,” that was paid for by -- we created a committee, and actually, I think our secretary, a woman named Terri Smith, was the treasurer of it, and we went and produced this brochure.

I remember as a courtesy we went in and showed Ken the copy, and as he will have a tendency to do, he took his pen out, I remember, and started to edit. I said, “We’re not giving this to you for you to have. This is our product.” And I said, “If you have anything major you want to say, we’re open to listening, but put your pen away.”

So he paused for a minute and then he just sort of threw the paper back at us and said, “Well, do what you’re going to do then.” And so that is how this brochure got produced. And we decided to use the Republican Convention in February, it was Valentine’s Day, or right before Valentine’s Day.

SENEY: This would have been February of ’77.

RUSSO: Seventy-seven, and we distributed it at the Republican Convention and got a very positive and warm reception.

MADDY: Hand-made buttons with my photo on them, and the [large] number that showed up -- these guys did a big job. For Wilson and Younger and the rest who walked in, it was a shock wave.

SENEY: Was it?

RUSSO: Yes. Was very well received. The brochure looked good, it was attractive. He was a bright young candidate. I mean, it looked good.

SENEY: What did you do to organize the people walking in with the buttons and the buzz that occurred?

RUSSO: Well, Ken had a lot of things going for him. I mean, one is the valley felt put upon always and so there was a natural inclination from the valley.

SENEY: So you had all these valley delegates.

RUSSO: We had valley delegates to work with.

He had been a leader in the Reagan campaigns. Had been the Whip in the delegation.

SENEY: The '76 national convention.

RUSSO: Plus I had worked in Governor Reagan's office for three years, so we had a Reagan connection that enabled us to get a lot of Reagan people to support him. And then he was part of the more moderate faction of the Legislature, so he had a network of friends in the Legislature that brought together a lot of the more moderates in the party. So it was a great coalition of Reagan conservatives, moderates, valley people, agricultural industry. Suddenly we started to expand into a lot of the resource industries: timber and mining and highway construction. That's how we kind of grew it from.

But when it made the news, and the news that came out of it was -- you know, Ken's always been somewhat perceived as a moderate, although I've always tried to get him to tell me what he was so moderate about. These labels, I never know quite what they mean, because he's just

a very rational, reasonable human being. I guess being reasonable means you're a moderate. But I've always thought he was as conservative as anybody was but just more rational.

So when the news went out, out of California, we got a letter from Bailey Deardorf.

SENEY: Who's looking for clients.

RUSSO: Looking for clients, and they were the hottest media firm in the country at the time, and they were famous for taking the more--

[End Tape 2, Side A]

[Begin Tape 2, Side B]

SENEY: Bailey Deardorf contacted you, in other words.

RUSSO: I think Ken got the letter, as I remember.

MADDY: Somebody, Don Jackson, or somebody. There was a connection. Don Jackson, my former law partner, was sort of our pragmatic guy who tried to run all the show for us. My memory is blurry as to how we actually made this connection.

RUSSO: I think they got it out of the news. We got the cold letter, and then Ken gave it to Don, or we called him initially. But ultimately, Don negotiated with them and they came out here and John Deardorf was very personable.

MADDY: John was the key guy. [Doug] Bailey never really came.

RUSSO: Doug didn't do as much.

SENEY: And you still see Doug on television, do you not?

- RUSSO: I talk to Doug from time to time.
- SENEY: I can't remember what he's doing now.
- RUSSO: He runs the Hotline, although he has just started a new venture where all the candidates do this "90 Seconds on the Issues" and it's available on the web site. It's going to be coming on line here shortly.
- SENEY: Interesting.
- RUSSO: So Doug's always full of ideas and always doing interesting things.
- SENEY: Bob Teeter got involved, didn't he, in doing a poll? Who did that?
- RUSSO: Bob Teeter was the pollster of choice for Bailey Deardorf. Whenever they came into a campaign, they normally brought Teeter on. And we got a proposal from Teeter which, first of all, misspelled Ken's name on it in the text of it, and then when we did the poll, we got the analysis back, and in the analysis it would switch off into Indiana, because they had just done a poll for Doc Bowen, I think, the governor of Indiana. And so it talked about how in Indianapolis Ken was starting at a certain percent. It was obviously boilerplate and they changed the name.
- MADDY: I think Don Jackson got back on that one seventeen times. You never screw Don for a dime because he's going to get you for thousands of pennies after that.
- RUSSO: But it shook our confidence a little bit.
- SENEY: Indianapolis. Did you do well in Indianapolis?
- RUSSO: Yes. We were winning consistently. But anyway, we were so young and

we brought a lot of energy, but their experience and expertise in it made for a pretty effective campaign.

MADDY: And Deardorf was very skilled and creative. The reality is that they were, I thought, very free in allowing Doug and Sal to think tank and have access, because they didn't want to do the hard work. They wanted the glory and get the money, and they wanted these guys to work. But what you folks learned was invaluable, I think. I'm sure you use some of it still today.

RUSSO: We stole everything we could from Bailey Deardorf and copied them in every way because they were right, it helped us. Everything, we copied them on, and it led us to be a national firm.

MADDY: Which was an old Don Jackson take, my law partner. The first thing he moved in was copying machines, and boy, anytime anybody lay a piece of paper down, Don Jackson would copy it. He's got a file, I'll tell you, on campaigns bigger than anybody's. He copied everything that anybody ever laid down.

RUSSO: And they had an intern. We needed help in research, they had a smart young intern that they sent out here, and that ended up being Jim Strock, who ended up being the head of EPA for Pete Wilson.

He had originally worked in that campaign for us. We teased him unmercifully that if Pete Wilson ever found out he was the opposition research person on Pete Wilson he'd never keep his job.

- SENEY: But this Teeter poll, was this the one that showed that Brown was beatable, I guess, in Indianapolis and other places as well? Isn't that the one that said that would be the issue: who could beat Brown?
- MADDY: I don't remember. I don't remember that.
- RUSSO: The poll was not conclusive in the sense that we had a great shot, but it showed that there was an opportunity to win the election. I don't remember the details of it. And the analysis was really good. There was the boilerplate portion about it that was incorrect. It was really a good poll and a valid sample.
- SENEY: Who should get the credit for these early television campaigns that the Senator did that put him so far ahead? The articles generally say Deardorf gets that. Would that be your feeling too?
- RUSSO: I would say Deardorf deserves some of it, but it was -- what's his name? The person I think was the one that was most responsible was not Deardorf but was--
- MADDY: Who worked for Deardorf?
- RUSSO: Yes.
- MADDY: The young guy?
- RUSSO: Yes. I can't think of his name.
- MADDY: There were two strategies. One was when we ran them up, and then one was the content of the ads. Bailey Deardorf had used that before in the Gerry Ford campaign. You know, how do you humanize this man? How

do you make him who he is? And as Deardorf said to me at one point in time, "Now that we've got you identified, now you're going to have to say something." Now they know who you are, now you have to learn to say something. But it was that strategy.

And then the other strategy, which was perhaps the key strategy for long-term analysis of this race, was when we ran our ads up and how we ran our campaign.

Those were the two strategies. One, what we put in the ads and how different were they from the normal? And the second strategy was when we went up on the air. And the early campaign money is being spent and the image is trying to be created. What did we have, a two minute piece?

RUSSO: Yes, we did. The early television was the innovative strategy, which at the time nobody had ever done that before. We went on early, and like I said earlier, the McClatchy poll, we got to first. We could not sustain the money and therefore couldn't sustain the message, but we did get to first place.

MADDY: From Sal's point of view, they were out there trying to keep the money going and keep things moving as quick as we can because we were making this early run. Now, Wilson was out of it, but the bitterness in all the campaigns mostly centered around Wilson's campaign, because I don't think Ed Davis ever -- I mean, Ed Davis had the right wing and they were just out there bomb throwing. Evelle Younger was oblivious. I mean,

they had all the money and 95 percent name I.D., and I don't think they ever thought they were ever threatened.

SENEY: And they kept going down in the polls.

MADDY: Yes. And Briggsy had the homophobic initiative, and that was all he cared about. So there was no contest, vis-à-vis, among us.

Dick Birkholz always used to hammer us. He was the dean of the political reporters from the *L.A. Times*, and he said, "When are you going to get to be a candidate here, Mr. Statesman? You've got to say something about somebody."

Well, I never, ever said a single word about anybody who I ran against in the Republican Primary. That was part of our image we wanted to create and so on. But they were trying to get me to come after them and everybody was going after me. I mean, the reality was that I was the upstart. They were all "He's too liberal, he's too [this]."

RUSSO: Our campaign had all the excitement. There's no question all the excitement in that campaign was in our campaign. The TV was uplifting and positive.

MADDY: There was a "Maddy's Song."

RUSSO: There was a "Maddy's Song."

SENEY: Yes, I saw the lyrics for that.

RUSSO: It was this bright, young, new leader for California. It was a very Kennedy, 1960s kind of an image that was created and Ken fit the bill

well. He was good looking, he was articulate, he was smart. He was rational and reasonable. And compared to the other candidates, we had all the enthusiasm.

The other thing is that we made -- this was another Deardorf idea -- was that we should be the candidate of ideas, and we did advance position papers on policy. In fact, one of those, I think, side notes of history is that Ken Maddy was the first candidate for a statewide major office who ran on a platform of supply side economics. First in America. And of course, Jack Kemp picked it up and Ronald Reagan picked it up after that. But he was the first supply sider to run on supply side economics.

MADDY: Jude Wanniski.

RUSSO: Jude.

MADDY: Jude Wanniski. What's the other guy's name? The guy with the Laffer curve.

RUSSO: Art Laffer.

MADDY: They still swear that if I had stayed with them and stuck with it, we would have been Governor at least. But they were espousing that and both autographed books to me and so on, telling me if we had stayed with the supply side. I still to this day believe it's a lousy issue and don't believe in it. Not that I don't believe in it. It's a lousy issue because you never can explain it. You can't tell an average person that I'm going to cut taxes

and you're going to have more. But we ran on the supply side.

SENEY: I referred to the *New West* article, which I'm sure you remember, a minute ago to the Senator. Which I am sure you [Sal Russo] remember.

MADDY: Talked to me about having makeup on my face and stuff.

RUSSO: Oh. Vaguely. Who wrote that? I forgot.

SENEY: I just brought the one page with me, but this talks about your ad, the first one, the biography one. Let me read this to refresh your memory maybe.

“The biography starts out with Maddy in the park but quickly switches to a photograph of Maddy's parents, standing behind a 1930s style Ford. In rapid succession we see Maddy as a baby, Maddy as a boy, Maddy as a football player, Maddy with a horse, Maddy in front of an Air Force jet, Maddy getting married, Maddy with his wife and firstborn. Maddy's whole life is dramatized by photographs and in an announcer's soothing voice.

“The formerly unknown Assemblyman suddenly is known to us as a native son from pioneer stock, a man of destiny, someone who has been gathering strength from his years of labor as a legislator, and now in California's darkest hour, he stands up and reveals himself for the champion he is: a man with a mission, the man who can beat Jerry Brown.”

Now, I know the tone is mocking and probably not pleasant necessarily to your ears.

MADDY: That was exactly what it was.

RUSSO: That was it.

SENEY: Was it?

MADDY: That was one thousand percent. As I say, it's not dissimilar from what's going on right today in America, with everybody switching back over, trying to say that there is something better and that we can give you more and it doesn't take much more than just a person. It's the person out there that's going to make the difference.

RUSSO: To Deardorf's credit, he saw something in American politics that people had lost. I think we see it now more clearly. And that is the quality of the man matters a lot. It wasn't where you stood on all the issues. I mean, we learned that with Reagan. And that was part of what he said, that Ken Maddy is the perfect candidate for Governor, regardless of what he thinks. If he also has a lot of good ideas, that's an added plus. And so we sold the personality, to a large extent, initially in the campaign.

MADDY: That's really what we sold to business people. And it was amazing, when I think about it, how well I captured and got so many people away from Pete Wilson, because whatever we were selling at the time sold. I mean, they liked it. These top two hundred businessmen that I met with -- we'd take them in groups of twenty -- they liked it. They wanted to have something they could hang on to and say, "The guy who leads our political life ought to be maybe a little bit better, ought to have something that we

can point to with pride.” The trouble is it gets hokey.

SENEY: Well, this sounded hokey when I read it.

MADDY: Sure. And it doesn’t sell.

SENEY: Well, I’m not sure it didn’t sell. I mean, this was the first wave of ads, wasn’t it, that created the name familiarity?

RUSSO: Here’s Ken Maddy.

SENEY: Right.

RUSSO: Can I tell him the Fred Hartley story?

MADDY: Yes, sure.

RUSSO: It’s something that only he [Senator Maddy] could have gotten away with, given what was going on. But one of the big issues in that campaign was Jerry Brown had stopped a bill on vertical integration when Pepsi-Cola purchased Pizza Hut or something, I think what it was, and so Pizza Hut couldn’t sell beer because of the vertical integration laws. And so he imposes a condition of signing the bill to exempt them, that they had to put pizza parlors in minority neighborhoods, hire so many minority managers and all these things. And so the business community was outraged that somebody would use a technicality in the law for social engineering. And it was part of our campaign as well.

We went down to a Union Oil board meeting one day to talk about it and Ken started in on this issue, and the chairman and CEO of Union Oil was a crusty old oil guy named Fred Hartley, and he interrupts--

MADDY: Who can prove to you that any asshole can get to be president [of a major corporation].

RUSSO: But he stopped Ken in the middle of this thing, and he says, "Ken, we don't really care about pizza parlors. It's only minorities that eat in pizza parlors anyway." And knowing how Ken is about issues like that, I thought, "Uh oh," and I saw Ken pause and I could see him pausing, and I thought, "Oh my God, what is he going to say now?" And Ken finally looked over at Hartley and he says, "That's exactly the kind of attitude that's wrong with the Republican Party. If we take that kind of attitude and think about minorities in that way, we're never going to be a majority party," and really went after him in front of his entire board. I mean, I thought, "Well, we've blown this one."

So anyway, we left the room and I said, "Well, you did a really good job. I think we're getting no support here."

The next day Hal Solley, who was our governmental affairs guy, called me and he said, "Well, Fred Hartley says, 'Any son-of-a-bitch that's tough enough to tell him off in front of his own board is tough enough to be Governor. We're sending you a check.'"

But it was all part of this image that Ken Maddy was something different, was something new, something exciting, that people were willing to say, "Hey, we'll take notice." It was all part of a thing that was going very, very well for a period of time -- until we ran out of money.

MADDY: One remarkable thing was it happened so quickly. That was the remarkable thing.

SENEY: Up so quick, you mean.

MADDY: Yes. We went from nothing to something right quick. The whole move was quick, and that involved so many other minor things: people we made contact with, and Bob Fluor being a co-chair, and Jimmy Boswell getting involved in our campaign.

SENEY: That's the Boswell Land Company?

SENEY: The Boswell Land Company. The old senior Boswell, who's still alive and around. But Jim Boswell hated politics, didn't want to be involved, and of course, he was a [member of the] Chandler [family], but he had the lunches. He said, "I'll put two hundred people together. I'll put on ten lunches, twenty guys each that are the hitters as movers and shakers, and I'll be there to introduce you they'll all know I am contributing to you," but he never would contribute openly or endorse. And he said, "Go sell."

SENEY: Let me go back to this wonderful story that Sal shared.

When you paused, what was going through your mind? Were you thinking about how the hell I should handle this guy, or did it just come out that way?

MADDY: Well, number one, he was an easily dislikable guy as far as I was concerned. One of the things that came out of that whole meeting with him -- and this is all just in general now because I have very few specific

recollections. Except that I did come out with a general recollection that there were a lot of men who were leading big corporations in this state who had little or no feel at all for people and their concerns. I mean, I wasn't being a moralist. I wasn't out carrying anybody's bandwagon. I wasn't some great liberal sympathizer and I didn't worry about welfare and all that. I wasn't really carrying a lot of stuff on my sleeve that I was worried about. But the way they addressed it, would openly come out and discuss these things in front of their contemporaries and somebody like myself who was running for office, I thought was appalling.

When I first went into law school, I was an ag major out of Fresno, and I said, "I can never compete with these guys." It only took me about the first two or three months that I could compete with these guys. Well, when I came out of those meetings, I did walk away with some confidence. You know, they're all talented, they all have to be important, they all know what they're doing; but there are some very lightweight people running some very big companies, and not only lightweight people but they're some stupid people. People who will make stupid mistakes. I mean, most -- 99.9, or maybe not 99.9 but way up there -- were politically smart and correct. But their reference to minorities and their reference to women and their reference to a lot of things, particularly with the old curmudgeons...

[Looking at Sal Russo] Am I too far off on this? Exaggerating it?

RUSSO: No.

MADDY: I came away thinking there's a lot we can do. And I always try to put things in perspective. That's why I keep harking back on the George W. [Bush] I think he's got this chance. I felt I would have to do so little to make such a huge difference. I mean, it wasn't a question you had to go out and just stop the world and turn it all around. You just had to make a few decent kind of moves in terms of bringing some equality and so on, that you could get so much done if people would accept it. So I came away with a different perspective in how I viewed these big guys. I never feared them again after that. And I don't know what made me say that at that particular time, but he was particularly a jerk.

SENEY: Were you, Sal, at a lot of these meetings? Did you go along?

RUSSO: I went to a lot of them, yes.

SENEY: How'd he do generally?

RUSSO: Ken was so good you could never be embarrassed. He was always good.

MADDY: I was young and I didn't know that much. I was struggling. It was a struggle. We had sort of a pat thing to say and some people didn't like that. Some[one would say] "Knock that shit off. We don't want to hear about your dad and mom." So they put you on the spot a lot.

SENEY: They would.

MADDY: Oh yes. These were big shots.

SENEY: Yes, "Don't waste our time."

MADDY: Yes, these were big shots. They weren't kind to you. There were no free rides. The key was you also learned what people are key in campaigns that make a difference for you. Jimmy Boswell's presence there, and they liked him, he was a big difference to me.

So you learn a tremendous amount. Those are invaluable lessons that could not have been duplicated anywhere.

SENEY: Did you get a lot of money out of these people? Did they cough up anything?

MADDY: In perspective and to put it in relative terms versus what would happen today, we'd have been one big campaign back then. We almost were.

RUSSO: We broke a lot of records in fundraising.

SENEY: I know you did, in terms of how early the money came in.

RUSSO: And that caused the press to treat us a lot more seriously, the asterisk in the poll, than we probably were at the beginning.

SENEY: The March [1977] poll when it was an asterisk.

RUSSO: Right.

MADDY: And that begets other popularity. When I used to walk into the Republican Central Committee meetings, the big statewide meetings, people hardly [knew me] -- now they're waiting for me. It's like that applause meter I told you about way back. Now let's wait for Maddy to walk in. Let's see what happens when Maddy walks in. I mean, it was there; there wasn't any doubt about it. We were riding pretty high.

SENEY: There was an *L.A. Times* article that spring that was important, wasn't it to you, that gave among the press some cache to the campaign as well?

RUSSO: Ken Reich, I think, wrote a couple of very good stories for us. The press was generally kind.

MADDY: Generally speaking. Actually, I always claimed that what the press did was build me up to tear me down. But you always say that about campaigns, because that's what they do. But by and large, I was treated very well by the press corps all through that campaign, even in the tough moments on the marijuana and all the rest of it. They had to write the story that day in relationship to marijuana smoking, if we get this much right now, this many years, twenty years, later. It was a huge story back in 1978.

But they all treated me well. They didn't cheap shot me to speak of. A little bit but not much. And they could have done a lot worse. I mean, I was certainly not the perfect reputation guy. If they wanted to dig back and go into what I did at night and all those kinds of things, they could have written a lot worse stories.

SENEY: They didn't do that in those days, did they?

RUSSO: No.

MADDY: It didn't make any difference what you did. So it was not a concern. The Bill Richardson campaign constantly ran it. As I said one time, if I had as many mistresses as Bill Richardson thought I had, I said I'd have been

dead now. Dead from overwork, not from anything else. But that was the Bill Richardson right-wing stuff that they constantly ran. They put white papers out on me all the time: Maddy has this mistress, that mistress. Bill Stern was always the guy who would "Maddy, it's Bill. I got another one of those papers." He said, "Deny, deny, deny?"

And I said, "What happens if I deny?"

He said, "That's the end of it."

I said, "What happens if I try to explain it?"

He said, "Then I write the story."

I said, "Deny."

SENEY: These papers would be circulated then by the Richardson people to the press.

MADDY: Yes.

SENEY: But there was just no appetite in the press for that.

MADDY: No.

The big thing that Sal mentioned, I had the Reagans. Having Ronald Reagan and having enough of the Reagan-ites, Maureen Reagan and other Reagans, behind me, even though Ronnie didn't endorse and Mrs. Reagan did not endorse, they put the word out [Russo agrees in an aside] -- I think -- that I was not going to be beat up by these guys who were friends of Ronnie Reagan or he might say something. Because I'd been with him when others in many cases had not been.

So when I could tell little old ladies in tennis shoes, they joke about, that I don't want the government in my bank roll, in my business, or in my bedroom -- ergo, going right to the heart of the consenting adults bill that I voted on, which they were just hammering me on -- little old ladies would stand up and clap. They liked that: "He said it right. We don't want government in our bedroom."

So I got away with murder, in a sense, right-wing murder, which would not have happened if I had been in a different era, a different time, and had a different background, and had not been with Reagan at the time.

SENEY: Did you do anything special, Sal, to handle the press? Was that part of your responsibilities?

MADDY: Talked to them every day, morning, noon, and night.

RUSSO: Yes, I did.

We ended up having a press secretary but I was probably the principal person that talked to the media in the campaign.

MADDY: Sal really, I think, showed all his muster and started his career off this campaign. He did so much better later on. Doug sort of disappeared, as far as I was concerned, off the deal, but Sal was the one who made the most in terms of really learning about these campaigns and developing what has always been a good relationship with the press. I mean, you have to have it, there's no doubt. I didn't ever try to manipulate it because you're always worried about the fact that you put your friends in a tough

spot. And the press, at some point in time, if you're going to share something with them, there's a point that you put them on the spot of saying, "Are you telling the truth or not telling the truth?" You don't want to do that.

But I kept good relationships with them. Sal talked to them constantly. They gave us, overall, good breaks. Even the San Diego guys, when Pete Wilson -- that big accusatory bribe thing. It was a San Diego reporter who exposed it all and said it was just a façade.

SENEY: Yes, that was kind of interesting, that Stu Spencer had allegedly gone to Wilson's campaign manager, and I guess Wilson, on behalf of, what, Robert Fluor?

MADDY: Bob Fluor was my co-chair.

RUSSO: He was the accountant.

MADDY: He was the accountant. It was David--

RUSSO: David something or other.

MADDY: Yes. David something. He was my financial accountant.

RUSSO: He was, I think, finance co-chairman.

MADDY: Totally phony deal.

SENEY: Was it? I mean, I assumed it was.

MADDY: My understanding is there was a conversation between my finance director and somebody on the Wilson group where it was said, "Wilson is so far out of it," and as I recall, "And there's going to be another roundtable

discussion with all the big guys who were all the former Reagan-ites.” He said, “If Pete would just drop out -- he’s dead anyway -- and throw his support to Maddy, that might be another quarter of a million bucks that they’re going to split, but now, one of them will have a chance to make a run.” By that time everything was filtering out and it was clear that we had our percentages, and if Evelle showed up he was going to win it.

And then this whole thing came out where Birkholz happened to be traveling with me at the time. Every single day -- Bruce Nestande’s name was mentioned because Bruce Nestande was supposed to be involved in it -- and every single day, “Did you bribe him? Were you trying to bribe him?”

“No, I didn’t do it.”

Birkholz just never let up. That was the first question in the morning and the last question at night: What do you know about? And I was into the mode of trying to tell the truth all the time. Birkholz had been another good person, as far as I was concerned.

But I don’t know who cooked it up. I don’t think Pete ever knew anything about it and I doubt it. Again, it was spending all of our time trying to beat the guy who’s third when he’s fourth, when we ought to be going after the guy who’s first.

RUSSO: I think that’s what that was. I think maybe somebody, as Ken said, inartfully said something which gave them a grain of sand and they

decided this is the way to get Pete in the news.

SENEY: Maybe besmirch you a little bit.

RUSSO: And see if they can get the momentum of that or something. Obviously, we were in no position to do that if we wanted to.

MADDY: We didn't have anything by that time; we were dead broke. We were just trying to survive from one day to the next to get to the next station where we had an appointment.

SENEY: You know, the polls were -- and this is the Field Poll. I know that there was a McClatchy one that you referred to, and this is the one that does show the asterisk for you in March of '77 before you've declared, and it shows here by April 3rd you're up to 18 percent already. I believe this is the next month. Or I'm sorry, this is in '77.

[Sal Russo leaves]

He is an interesting man.

MADDY: Yes. He's got thousands of stories. He remembers a lot.

SENEY: Clearly, he's got a memory for details. I think a person in that position has got to have a detailed mind.

MADDY: He really does, because he remembers all these aspects of these campaigns, and of course, you tie on those things to how to spin off on what you're going to do next and use in the present campaigns.

SENEY: I must say, Senator, my experience of these kind of interviews, you have a superb memory too.

MADDY: Well, thank you. A lot of it had to do with the last two or three years, trying to collect all of this data and seeing what I should keep and what I shouldn't keep. So there was a natural inclination to go back and review some of it. I think what's happening to me in life -- I mean, I am at a reflective point and I'm not up there thinking about when I'm going to be doing the next big event. I'm more looking back at a lot of things that took place. So I've had a chance to review the good times and so on. It's kind of a mix but they are good memories. There's a lot of fun things we did.

SENEY: Well, it's clear. I can see the motive that Sal Russo and his clients had in terms of shopping for a candidate and your own motive in terms of -- you know, it's hard when people come to you and say, "Are you interested in this?"

MADDY: I made the early proviso, you know, I have no money, so it's not going to be any of my personal money. I spent \$5,000 in my first campaign in 1970. I said, when I paid that back, I swore that I'd never, ever loan another dime to my campaigns, which I lived under that edict and never did loan myself another dollar after that. And so I said if you guys can do it, then you--

[End Tape 2, Side B]