

California State Archives
State Government Oral History Program

Oral History Interview

with

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

California State Assemblyman, 1963 - 1970
United States Congressman, 1971- 1975

July 8, July 14 and September 14, 1988
Pasadena, California

By Enid Hart Douglass
Oral History Program
Claremont Graduate School

RESTRICTIONS ON THIS INTERVIEW

None

LITERARY RIGHTS AND QUOTATION

This manuscript is hereby made available for research purposes only. No part of the manuscript may be quoted for publication without the written permission of the California State Archivist or the Director, Oral History Program, Claremont Graduate School.

Requests for permission to quote for publication should be addressed to:

California State Archives
1020 O Street, Room 130
Sacramento, CA 95814

or

Director, Oral History Program
Harper Hall 155
Claremont Graduate School
150 E. Tenth Street
Claremont, CA 91711-6160

The request should include identification of the specific passages and identification of the user.

It is recommended that this oral history be cited as follows:

Victor V. Veysey, Oral History Interview, Conducted 1988, by Enid H. Douglass, Oral History Program, Claremont Graduate School, for the California State Archives State Government Oral History Program.



March Fong Eu
Secretary of State

California State Archives
1020 O Street, Room 130
Sacramento, CA 95814

Information	(916) 445-4293
Document Restoration	(916) 445-4293
Exhibit Hall	(916) 445-0748
Legislative Bill Service (prior years)	(916) 445-2832

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

Oral History Program
History Department
California State University, Fullerton

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

Oral History Program
Claremont Graduate School

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

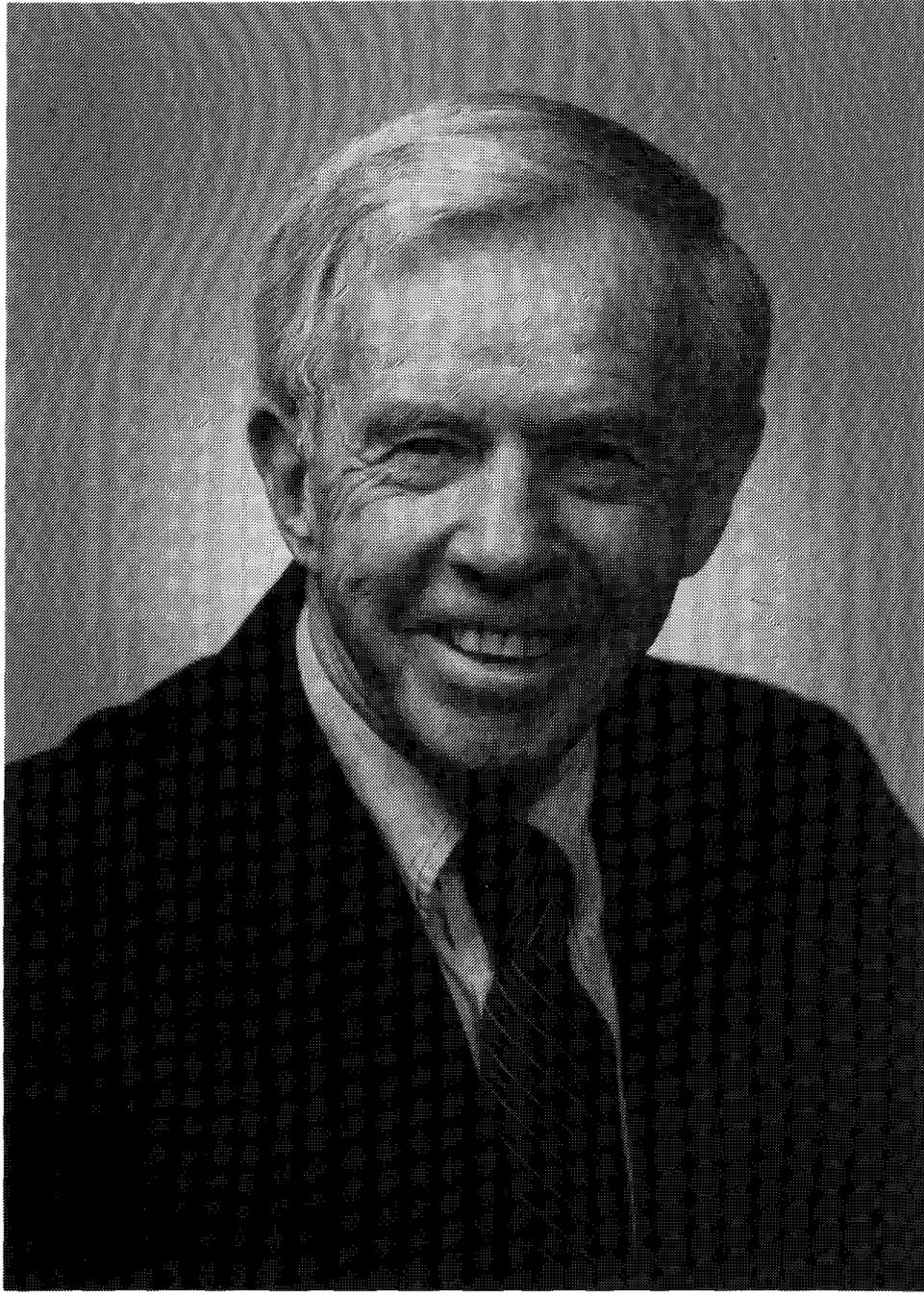
Oral History Program
University of California, Los Angeles

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

John F. Burns
State Archivist

July 27, 1988

This interview is printed on acid-free paper.



VICTOR V. VEYSEY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTERVIEW HISTORY.	i
BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY	iii
SESSION 1, July 7, 1988	
[Tape 1, Side A]	1
Family background--Father's business--Mother's background--Eagle Rock High School--California Institute of Techology undergraduate experience--Harvard Business School--Teaching at Caltech beginning 1938--Doctoral work at Stanford--Impact of World War II and return to Caltech in industrial management--Physics Three Project (rockets).	
[Tape 1, Side B]	30
HVAR rocket production--Atomic bomb detonator--Working for General Tire and Rubber Co.--1949 move to Brawley ranch--Marriage-- Running a crop farm--Election to Brawley School board in 1953--School district reorganization--Establishing a community college--More about school district reorganization--Election to Imperial Valley College board--Farm organizations--Decision to run for Seventy-sixth Assembly District-- Campaign against Leverette House.	
[Tape 2, Side A]	59
California Plan--Campaign participation of Jesse Unruh.	
SESSION 2, July 14, 1988	
[Tape 2, Side A continued]	64
Family move to Sacramento--Seatmate Gordon Winton--Capitol Office and staff--District arrangements--Use of airplane--Freshman class of 1963--Impressions of George Deukemejian-- Criminal Procedure Committee--Class reunion-- Conduct of Assemblyman on floor.	

[Tape 2, Side B] 87

Partisanship not a major factor--Partisan issues--Speaker Jesse Unruh--Full-time legislature--Lobbyists--Meals provided by lobbyists--Derby Club--Most active and powerful lobbyists--Lobbyists as information source--Education Committee staff--Chairman, Engrossing and Enrollment Committee--Refuses to engross Unruh constitutional amendment-- Finance and Insurance Committee--Lobbying and Finance and Insurance--Republican caucus.

[Tape 3, Side A] 116

1963 lockup of the assembly by Jesse Unruh-- James Mill's account of lockup--Young Turks-- Republican party politics--Gaylord Parkinson-- Death Penalty--Governor Edmund G. Brown, Sr.-- Edmund G. Brown, Jr.

[Tape 3, Side B] 146

Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown's staff-- Assemblyman Byron Rumford--Vote on Rumford Fair Housing Act--And influence of Gordon Winton--Mismanagement of State Teachers' Retirement System issue--Bill on hunting pheasants--Special agricultural vehicle legislation.

SESSION 3, September 14, 1988

[Tape 4, Side A] 163

Proposition 9 (1964)--Comparison of Veysey's and Senator Walter Stiern's districts--1964 Republican Convention in San Francisco-- Republican move to the right--1964 assembly election against Cruz Reynoso--Reapportionment enlarges Veysey's district--Uses airplane to cover district--1966 assembly election-- Campaign costs--Participation of Reagan-- Compares Reagan and Pat Brown--Reagan's reliance on staff--Select committee on campus disturbances--Witnesses Hayakawa incident at San Francisco State.

[Tape 4, Side B] 194

More on select committee on campus disturbances--School finance--Reagan and legislature--View of making full-time legislature--Failure to reduce bills--Loss of interim studies--Increased role of initiative

for making legislative decisions--His period of assembly service as golden time--1967 appointment to Ways and Means Committee--Lobbying of Ways and Means Committee--Legislative Analyst Alan Post--Willie Brown--March Fong--John Vasconcellos.

[Tape 5, Side A] 225

Assemblyman Leo Ryan work on Education Committee--1967 Veysey Act--School finance bill--School district unification and opposition to in Veysey's district--Colorado River and boundaries of California and Arizona--Quichan Indians--Tries to pass legislation dealing with relations between unions and farmers--David A. Roberti--Fails to gain senate approval as Deukmejian's Secretary of Department of Industrial Relations in 1983--Situation with labor.

[Tape 5, Side B] 256

Senate reapportionment and 1966 race between Burgener and Ashcraft--Spouses who were active politically--Property tax reform--Advantage of local government experience as testing ground--Salton Sea Advisory Committee and salinity problem--Alternative teacher credentialing--1968 assembly election--Ben Yellen--Speaker Robert Monagan--Veysey's attitude toward party visibility--Opportunity to run for congress when Tunney runs for U.S. Senate--Congressional race victory over David Tunno.

[Tape 6, Side A] 286

More about first congressional campaign--Effect of 1974 masters' reapportionment plan--Appeal to Governor Reagan to accept Burton's congressional plan fails--Role of Edwin Meese--Loses district and runs in new Thirty-fifth Congressional District--Moves to Claremont and runs against Jim Lloyd--Effect of Watergate--Loses seat--President Ford appoints assistant secretary of army--Army Corps of Engineers civil works program--Returns to Caltech Center for Industrial Relations.

APPENDIX 308

INDEX OF NAMES 310

INTERVIEW HISTORY

Interviewer/Editor

Enid Hart Douglass
Director, Oral History Program and Lecturer in History
Claremont Graduate School
B.A., Pomona College [Government]
M.A., Claremont Graduate School [Government]

Interview Time and Place

July 7, 1988
Mr. Veysey's office, California Institute of
Technology, Pasadena, California
Morning session of 1 3/4 hours

July 14, 1988
Mr. Veysey's office, California Institute of
Technology, Pasadena, California
Morning session of 2 1/2 hours

September 14, 1988
Mr. Veysey's office, California Institute of
Technology, Pasadena, California
Afternoon session of 1 hour

Editing

The interviewer/editor checked the verbatim transcript of the interview against the original tape recordings and verified proper names. Insertions by the editor are bracketed.

In September-October 1988, the edited transcript was forwarded to Victor V. Veysey. He reviewed the transcript and made extensive minor corrections in word usage for precision but no substantive changes. He submitted some additional information in writing, which are bracketed, and a written addendum (in the Appendix). He returned the approved transcript on October 25, 1988.

The interviewer/editor prepared the introductory materials.

The interviewer/editor prepared the introductory materials.

Papers

Victor V. Veysey's papers have been deposited in the Hoover Institution for War and Peace, Stanford University.

Tapes and Interview Records

The original tape recordings of the interviews are in the Oral History Program Office, Claremont Graduate School, along with the records relating to the interview. Master tapes are deposited in the California State Archives.

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

Victor V. Veysey was born in Eagle Rock, California, on April 14, 1915. He attended the local public schools and was greatly influenced by Bessie Butcher, his science teacher. At Miss Butcher's urging, Victor Veysey applied and was accepted at the California Institute of Technology. He graduated from Caltech in 1936 with a B.S. in engineering and then earned an M.B.A., specializing in industrial management, in 1938 at Harvard University. Victor Veysey married Janet Donaldson in 1940, and they have four children.

Mr. Veysey returned to Caltech in 1938 as an instructor in industrial relations and business economics. He was on leave from Caltech, completing courses for a doctorate at Stanford University, when Pearl Harbor was attacked. Victor Veysey returned to Caltech and participated in the Engineering Science and Management War Training Program, a government-sponsored project which taught civilian employees job skills related to the war effort. Mr. Veysey also managed the personnel and, later, the Foothill Metal Parts facility for the Physics Three Project, a propulsion and rocket activity, which later became part of the Naval Ordnance Test Station at China Lake, California.

In 1949, Victor Veysey inherited an interest in a farm in Imperial County from his father, and he and his family moved to Brawley. Mr. Veysey became active in farming and community affairs. He participated in the Farm Bureau and Rotary Club; and he was elected president of the local district of the California Beetgrowers Association and appointed chairman of the advisory commission to the University of California Meloland Station. He was also elected to the Brawley School District board and later became president. He actively supported the establishment of a junior college for Imperial Valley, and was elected to the board for Imperial Valley College.

Mr. Veysey ran for the state assembly in 1962 and held the Seventy-fifth Assembly District seat for four terms. Mr. Veysey's committee service included Agriculture, Industrial Relations, Ways and Means. He chaired the Education Committee. He authored the bill known as the Veysey Act, which permitted secondary school students to attend community colleges and take college-level courses for credit while still in high school. Mr. Veysey was instrumental in the creation of a state board of trustees

for the community colleges. He also was chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Educational Environment, which issued a nationally acclaimed report on the upheavals that occurred on California college campuses during the 1960s. Mr. Veysey also was a member of the Salton Sea Advisory Committee, seeking ways to control the salinity of California's largest body of water.

In 1971, Mr. Veysey was elected to the United States Congress in the Thirty-eighth Congressional District, and reelected in the Forty-third District. In 1974, his district was reapportioned out of existence. At that time, he opted to run in the newly-created Thirty-fifth Congressional District, and he was defeated by Jim Lloyd, mayor of West Covina. Mr. Veysey was then appointed by President Gerald Ford to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army with responsibility for the water resources projects of the Army Corps of Engineers and the Panama Canal. In 1977, Mr. Veysey returned to Caltech to become director of the Industrial Relations Center.

[Session 1, July 7, 1988]

[Begin Tape 1, Side A]

DOUGLASS: Mr. Veysey, I noticed that you were born in Eagle Rock in 1915. How did your family happen to be there?

VEYSEY: Only a few people of that era claim the distinction of being born in Eagle Rock, but it did happen. The circumstances were, roughly, that my father and mother relocated to southern California in 1910. Thereafter, they bought a piece of ground in Eagle Rock, which consisted of a hilltop, and they built a very nice home on that hilltop, overlooking the entire valley. I was born in that house.

DOUGLASS: Oh, you were actually born in the house. You didn't go to Glendale, to the hospital.

VEYSEY: No. Glendale was our closest supply point, but I was born in the house.

DOUGLASS: What was your father doing here?

VEYSEY: My father, in one sense, was retired. He had had a very successful general merchandise chain of stores in the Pacific northwest. Up in the timber country. That would be the towns of

Aberdeen, Hoquiam, Montesano, Elma in the state of Washington, and maybe one or two other places where he and his brothers had done business as Veysey Brothers. They supplied everything that went to people who worked in the logging industry, which was then very big. I think the story is that he started off in this area selling sewing machines. He found out that he had a talent. I guess, he was a good salesman, although his training and background was not in that area.

DOUGLASS: I have been to Aberdeen. That is near the Olympic Forest.

VEYSEY: It is close to the Olympic peninsula. It is at the start of the Olympic peninsula. That was all timber. It is now a national forest. It was being logged in those days. I remember seeing pictures of huge trees about the diameter of this room. They were getting wonderful clear, straight-grained lumber in those times. So, he and his brothers catered to the loggers and the mill people, and to some farmers who were in the area as well. They supplied them with everything, hardware, groceries, clothing, even tractors and equipment like that, later on. Everything that they might need. They would even barter and exchange with the farmers,

produce for handkerchiefs or whatever. He did quite a good business there.

DOUGLASS: What brought him to the Eagle Rock area?

VEYSEY: They had a typhoid fever epidemic in the Gray's Harbor area in 1906 or '07. I am not sure about the year. Most everybody in the community got typhoid fever due to contaminated water. And my father was very ill. A good many people died. My mother had it also. They both recovered, but my father never fully recovered his health. He was in a weakened health condition thereafter. They took some time off and went on a world tour by steamboat, around the world. He recuperated his health somewhat, but by that time he had pretty well transitioned the business over to his other brothers. They continued to operate the business in that area for years.

But he decided, based on a trip they made down to California, that he wanted to locate down here. So he did. So, in 1910, they built that place in Eagle Rock. About the same time, he acquired interests in the farming property which our family still holds in the Imperial Valley. You see, he was a farm boy. He was raised on a little potato and dairy farm in Wisconsin, in Waupaca, Wisconsin. He came out here with that sort of a background. Although, he did branch out and went away to college and

to law school.

DOUGLASS: Oh, he did.

VEYSEY: He got a law degree at Valparaiso University in Indiana. He practiced law for a time in Wisconsin.

DOUGLASS: He had these brothers.

VEYSEY: Yes, and one sister. There were way too many to be supported by a little plot of potatoes and a dairy, so he had to do something different. He went west and thought it looked good to him. Then his brother, Marion, came west to join him. Then later joined by brother, Leon and brother, Wallace. There were the four boys out there in Washington, later joined by their mother and father. Sister Harriett stayed in Waupaca.

DOUGLASS: How long did that business continue?

VEYSEY: Oh, that business continued into the thirties. It was transitioned into something else. The other brothers died one by one: Marion died, then Leon, who was the last active manager of the store, died. And then it went into the hands of Leon's children, who attempted, without too much success, to run it during the thirties when times were pretty hard, and they didn't do very well. So it was liquidated then.

DOUGLASS: But it kept that original name. Veysey Brothers.

VEYSEY: Yes. I've got some funny old pictures of the Veysey Brothers' store in operation.

DOUGLASS: So, they did very well financially, I gather. Your father came out of that in pretty good shape.

VEYSEY: Up and down. It was not all straight up for them. In those years, they had various types of financial panics and crises of one sort or another. They didn't have some of the modifying effects of the Federal Reserve System and other government interventions which try to even out the cycles a little bit. There would be a panic of no money at all; money would totally disappear. There was land speculation based on rumors as to the route of the then building railroad. In one of those early panics, they got pinched off entirely. They had more debts outstanding than they had resources. They shut down, and the two boys, Marion and Charles, walked down the coast from the Pacific Northwest to San Francisco.

DOUGLASS: Oh, my word. That is quite a distance.

VEYSEY: Right down the coast. They lived with Indians and that sort of thing. They got to San Francisco and found it to be a booming city. They got jobs on the cable cars. My father was a conductor of a cable car in San Francisco. Later, I was presented with a plaque making me

an honorary cable car conductor out of that service. They worked there for a year or two, got a little nest egg together, went back up to the Northwest, and started again. This time, they did much better. They did accumulate a lot of real estate and considerable resources. My father was a pretty good investor.

DOUGLASS: So, by the time he left, he cut himself off entirely from the business.

VEYSEY: Yes. By degrees he was out of the management of it.

DOUGLASS: So, when you were born here in 1915, what was he doing? Was he managing his property?

VEYSEY: He was essentially retired. He got into more real estate investments. Like the ranch and other real estate that he had strung up and down, all the way from Washington, Oregon and California. He managed his real estate and clipped coupons.

DOUGLASS: Was this farming oriented, most of this real estate?

VEYSEY: No. It tended to be more commercial buildings. Things like that, but a lot of it was farming oriented. He was always dreaming of buying a large cattle ranch or something like that. He never did. We would go with him to look at different cattle ranches. But he never did buy

one.

DOUGLASS: How long did your father live, since he had this health problem?

VEYSEY: He died in 1938, while I was a student at Harvard Business School.

DOUGLASS: He did pretty well.

VEYSEY: He was by no means a invalid, but he did have some health problems that caused him to be nervous. Nervousness, I think, would be one of the manifestations and stomach trouble resulting from the typhoid fever. At one time, I remember he had a considerable bout of illness. He thought that he must have stomach cancer, not a good thing to have. It turned out he didn't have it. But he had colonic intestinal problems of some sort, probably relating back to the typhoid fever. It left him incapacitated to a degree, but he was active every day. He worked both physically and mentally. A very active person.

DOUGLASS: What about your mother? Where did they meet? Where was she from?

VEYSEY: My mother's maiden name was Nettie Belle Shelley. They met in the Pacific Northwest. She was the daughter of a minister in the Christian church. His name was Rolandus B. Shelley. He used to preach on Sundays, but, as was the custom in that place and in those times, the

church could not sustain him during the week, so he worked another job. He was the city clerk, or worked in the city clerk's office, in the town of Montesano. In Washington. Which is where Veysey Brothers' headquarters were. My mother came to work for my father at his store. And then they were married. Her father, Rolandus Shelley, was one time mayor of the town of Montesano. I didn't know that until recent years when I discovered a cornerstone in Montesano.

DOUGLASS: So she came from the Pacific Northwest?

VEYSEY: Really, Oregon. Her father and mother came west in a covered wagon from Missouri to Oregon. She was born in a little crossroads called Drain, Oregon. It is as an unlikely name as you can have for a place. Something like Eagle Rock. [Laughter] She was born there. She and her brothers were raised in Oregon but later went to Washington. I don't know exactly what prompted that move. They did, in fact, relocate there with all the family.

DOUGLASS: Did you go to school in Glendale? Where did you go to school before college?

VEYSEY: I went to school mainly in Eagle Rock. But some of the time in Brawley, California, where the ranch is. We lived down there.

DOUGLASS: When you were a little boy, you went to elementary school in Eagle Rock.

VEYSEY: It was called Eagle Rock Central School, which was a grammar school. It was actually just across the street from where I was born.

DOUGLASS: Very handy.

VEYSEY: Handy, indeed.

DOUGLASS: Your family moved to the ranch for a while?

VEYSEY: Yes. We were down on the ranch for a time. I think, when I first entered school, or maybe in kindergarten and first grade or something like that, we lived on the ranch.

DOUGLASS: Oh, you did. Then came back.

VEYSEY: Then came back to Eagle Rock, which was our permanent home. My mother had asthma and could not tolerate dust, so she didn't take much of a fancy to the agricultural life. We went back and forth a lot. My father many, many times.

DOUGLASS: So, where did you go to high school?

VEYSEY: Just in the nick of time, they built a high school in Eagle Rock. Eagle Rock was growing. My older sister had to go to Glendale to high school because there was no high school in Eagle Rock. There was a little branch line of the Pacific Electric railroad system that ran between Glendale and Eagle Rock. There was a funny little car called the dinky. It has a set of wheels in the middle and balanced on those.

It was a little, bitty car. The high school kids rode over to Glendale on that. They rode it everyday.

But, just at the time I was ready to go to high school, the Los Angeles School District decided to build a high school in Eagle Rock. As a matter of fact, they purchased land from my father to build the high school on. A piece of land which was really agricultural land and also ran up over the hill, which was not good for anything at that time. They bought the flat part on the bottom and built the high school on it. And he gave the rough land which adjoins Occidental College to Occidental. But the flat land had been used for truck farming. Japanese had produce crops and vegetables, melons, corn.

DOUGLASS: So, did you go all four years to Eagle Rock High School.

VEYSEY: I was in the first class that went all the way through that high school.

DOUGLASS: First graduating class. Well, during this period, what were your thoughts about what you wanted to do? Where you wanted to go to college.

VEYSEY: I didn't have very well-developed thoughts about it. My older sisters had gone to Occidental. It was nearby, and we were friendly with the

folks over there. And I thought probably I would go to Occidental. I hadn't really thought much about it at all. It was just an idea that never entered my head. In those times, the idea of going East to college was out of bounds. You didn't do that.

But at Eagle Rock High School I fell under the influence of a science teacher there, whose name was Miss Bessie Butcher. And she was a formidable person. She took a bit of interest in me. She did a lot of exceptional work. She organized a special advanced science group including several of us, after we had finished regular chemistry and physics and all the mathematics that they had, we did special projects and things like that.

DOUGLASS: So this would be across the sciences.

VEYSEY: Yes. She taught both chemistry and physics.

DOUGLASS: And you liked science.

VEYSEY: I liked science very much. So she said, "You ought to go to Caltech [California Institute of Technology]." I said, "Well, I couldn't get in there." She said, "What do you mean you couldn't get in there. Yes, you can. The examinations are going to be next month at such-and-such a place. You go over and take the examination. I think you can get in." So I did, and I did.

DOUGLASS: So, otherwise, you probably would have gone to Occidental?

VEYSEY: I would have gone to Occidental and probably would have thought that was the right thing. Although, I had a friend a little bit older than I was who was active at USC [University of Southern California], and he wanted me to go to USC. He took me to a football game, a fraternity house party and all that sort of thing. I didn't care for that, but I would have gone to Occidental. But, it was all decided by whether I passed that test or not.

DOUGLASS: Was this Caltech's own exam?

VEYSEY: Yes. In those days, that is what they did. It was their own entrance exam. It was really tough, and I didn't think I did well.

DOUGLASS: It was probably math [mathematics] and the sciences?

VEYSEY: Heavily featuring mathematics and the sciences, but with some English and history. That was about it.

DOUGLASS: This set you on a scientific course, didn't it?

VEYSEY: Yes. But I was really fascinated with the sciences from the exposure I had had in high school. We had a little unused room in the back of the garage, and I set that up as a chemistry laboratory and did all kinds of dangerous and

marvelous experiments there. My mother would not let me bring any of that stuff into the house.

DOUGLASS: Did either of your parents have any particular influence on this kind of decision?

VEYSEY: I don't think so. My father wanted me to study law. He was big on that all the way. In fact, he thought that would be a better alternative than going to business school. But I never was particularly interested in the law. It was all right, but I didn't want to do that.

DOUGLASS: Were you the only one in your family who went into science? You have brothers and sisters?

VEYSEY: No brothers. Lots of sisters. My father was married two times, and so I had an older family of three half sisters. One of whom went to Occidental College and got her master's degree there and became a teacher. And two other girls. Then there were two redheaded full sisters. I very narrowly missed having red hair. Red hair was running through the family.

DOUGLASS: Who was the redhead, of your parents?

VEYSEY: My father had some red in his hair, but he was not what you would call redheaded. But two of those girls in his first family had red hair and both of the girls in the second family.

DOUGLASS: At Caltech, you were there for the full four years. What did that experience do to your view

of the world?

VEYSEY: Well, the first thing, I had to really learn to dig in and study in a way that had never crossed my mind up to that time. It had been very easy for me to do anything up to then. I really had to get with it because I had the shocking experience of getting unsatisfactory grades at the midterm point in my first semester. And I had to learn how to take examinations. I had to learn how to study. Had to learn much more concentration than I ever exerted before. But I really enjoyed it. I was fascinated with everything about science. And I thought that I would become a research scientist or something like that. But, that didn't last.

By the time I was a junior, I had decided to shift to engineering. And I did that. By the time I was a senior, I said, "Engineering is fine. I like it, but there is a lot more in the world than just engineering." So, I wanted something else to go with it. That's when I elected to go to Harvard Business School, again influenced by a couple of professors at Caltech who had been at Harvard Business School. One was Horace Gilbert, who is now pretty old; eighty-seven-years old. He taught business economics. The other was Philip Fogg, who was

the registrar, later left Caltech and established his own company, which grew into Consolidated Electrodynamics. Very successful. And they counseled me to go to Harvard Business School. So, I did that.

DOUGLASS: By your junior year, you had moved away from going into pure science. And engineering was more practical.

VEYSEY: It was more practical. There was not much call for pure scientists in those days. Research had not taken the central place that it has today.

DOUGLASS: So, from engineering it was not hard to step over to business.

VEYSEY: Well, I wanted the business training to round out another side to the engineering.

DOUGLASS: You graduated from Caltech in 1936. And, then, I assume, you went directly to Harvard.

VEYSEY: Yes. You can't do that today. But that was the practice in those days. Due to the counseling that we got from Gilbert and Fogg, a small number of Caltech students every year went to Harvard Business School. I think there were four of us that year, which is quite a number for that size of student body.

DOUGLASS: That is. So, you had friends, too.

VEYSEY: Yes, indeed, we had some friends.

DOUGLASS: Well, what happened in the MBA [Master of Business Administration] program at Harvard that

affected your life?

VEYSEY: I found that, after Caltech, Harvard was reasonably easy from an academic point of view. I had done very well without too much struggle, although, you had to an awful lot of writing there. You had to analyze situations and write reports. And there was always the fatal hour of nine or ten o'clock on Friday or Saturday evenings when you had to turn in your report at the library. That always crimped our social lives by making the dates start pretty late. But that had to be done. And I started to understand the case method of teaching reasonably well. And working in a team with other people was a new experience which they concentrated on there. It had not been part of the Caltech experience.

DOUGLASS: Was this a case study approach, problem solving in teams?

VEYSEY: Exactly. Yes. It was problem solving and a case study type of thing altogether. Learning the case study method was a new experience. I took several months to find out what it was they wanted me to do. What are you supposed to do with a case? You didn't know what you were supposed to do. We got that figured out. So, I followed industrial management. In the first

year, almost everybody takes the same basic courses. You take a course in business policy. You take a course in accounting and one in statistics. One in finance. In merchandising. And various fields like that. Then, in the second year, you can specialize, and that is when I went into industrial relations.

DOUGLASS: How did you happen to do that? What attracted you toward that?

VEYSEY: I just thought that the human side of organizing and using people as a resource for a business was a very important and interesting phase of things. That is going quite a bit away from the original scientific thought that I had. A quite a different direction. It was just a gradual evolution. And I thought Sumner Schlichter was marvelous and became attached to him. He was the foremost labor economist of that time.

DOUGLASS: He was a stimulating professor.

VEYSEY: So I specialized in that field. You could not get a degree, but I was majoring in industrial management. At that time, Harvard Business School did not specialize in turning out people to go to Wall Street and high finance.

DOUGLASS: It wasn't corporate finance.

VEYSEY: No. It was not. It was much more factory management, industrial management. Production, manufacturing type of thing.

DOUGLASS: That is interesting.

VEYSEY: It has changed very much. They are shifting back again. I went back last month at my fiftieth class reunion, and they are shifting back.

DOUGLASS: They are backing off of corporate high finance?

VEYSEY: Yes. They are. Their students had been going out largely into two types of jobs. One into Wall Street jobs, where they go with investment bankers or others who do investment analysis and manipulation. And the other would be to the big accounting and managerial consulting firms. And they put them on consulting teams, kind of like the case method. Going into a company, finding out what the problems are, and writing a report with recommendations. That always scared me to death because I think of the inexperienced kids going into a company they had never seen or heard of before, and then, in a matter of few days, figuring out what their problem was and writing a report recommending they ought to do certain things. They didn't know what they were talking about, of course, but they could do it in a very convincing style.

DOUGLASS: What the answers were.

VEYSEY: I still think that is a very touchy thing. But they paid very well.

DOUGLASS: What kind of a job were you looking for as you came out of this MBA program?

VEYSEY: Well, my father was pulling for the idea of then going on to law school. I didn't have any desire to do that. I pretty well closed that out of my mind. I thought I would probably go with a manufacturing company, but then Caltech asked me to come back and teach here. So, I said, "I can go back home. I'd like that."

They made up a kind of composite job that had several parts to it to get me on here. I started teaching with Phil Fogg and the others in that group. Then I was a resident associate in one of the dormitories. I taught a course in report writing, which was part of the curriculum here. I did a little financial work for the Caltech controller. That made up a full-time job.

DOUGLASS: You started out as an instructor. And then you went to assistant professor.

VEYSEY: Yes. Assistant professor.

DOUGLASS: Was there a subject assigned to you as an assistant professor?

VEYSEY: Yes. Industrial relations and business economics.

DOUGLASS: How many years did you do that?

VEYSEY: I came here in '38. I left in '49. So that

would be ten years.

DOUGLASS: You liked that?

VEYSEY: The time was broken up a bit. A number of different things intervened. I decided that if I was going to be in the college world, the best thing to do was to get a Ph.D. So, I took a leave of absence from Caltech in 1941 and went to Stanford [University].

DOUGLASS: Oh, that explains the graduate study there.

VEYSEY: I went to Stanford on the Ph.D. [Doctor of Philosophy] program.

DOUGLASS: And what was your Ph.D. going to be in?

VEYSEY: It was going to be in industrial relations, with a minor in engineering. They had an Industrial Relations Center up there at that time, which is not now a clearly-defined center. It has been merged into the business school. But I was in the Stanford Business School.

DOUGLASS: I was going to say, you were really in the business school.

VEYSEY: And then I was a teaching assistant to Paul Holden, who was a professor of industrial management at that time. And a very fine professor he was. So, I did that for a year. Then we got in the war. That changed things again. I completed all the course work for the Ph.D. And I had a dissertation topic all picked out and approved, but I never did the work to

finish it out.

DOUGLASS: You were way down the line.

VEYSEY: I was well on the way to a Ph.D [Doctor of Philosophy degree]. But the war came, and Caltech cancelled my leave of absence and called me back down here.

DOUGLASS: A shortage of teachers?

VEYSEY: Yes. A shortage of teachers. So they put me to work night and day in teaching day students. Caltech transformed and became a big center for training naval officers in engineering. The V-5, V-7, V-12 programs were all run here.¹ And civilians disappeared. Then the Industrial Relations Center and other parts of Caltech got very active in the Engineering Science and Management War Training Program, which was government sponsored. We ran the industrial management part of that program, and other parts of Caltech did the science and engineering fields.

DOUGLASS: I suppose a place like Caltech would become almost an extension of the U.S. war effort.

VEYSEY: In many ways that was true, because the research

1. These were [V]olunteer programs conducted on college campuses during World War II: V-5, naval aviation training; V-7, reserve midshipmen training to become ensign; and V-12, college training for officer candidates.

programs were all in that direction. The educational programs definitely shifted. One of our jobs in the Industrial Relations Center became that of helping to convert real estate agents, ribbon clerks, and bankers and whatever else in civilian employment over to jobs they could do in the war effort.

I headed up the industrial management phase, which was sort of the first encounter people would get in acquiring an industrial background. So I ran the industrial management course, which was the biggest by far that we had. I had about six other instructors teaching sections of that. I would lecture one night a week. And on other nights of the week they would meet in sections with other instructors.

DOUGLASS: This would be introductory class. So you would have people with a variety of backgrounds?

VEYSEY: A wide variety of people who all were moved to or could see the need to convert to the war effort. We converted all kinds of people, bankers and others over into being tool control supervisors or inventory control people, production control specialists.

DOUGLASS: Midlevel managerial positions.

VEYSEY: Yes. Midlevel managers.

DOUGLASS: And they would go out to the various aircraft industries?

VEYSEY: We were running these session not only here at Caltech, but also scattered around the countryside. We had one down in Santa Monica near Douglas Aircraft [Co.] at that time. One down near Vultee Aircraft [Co.] in Downey. One over near North America [Aircraft Co.] in the Manhattan Beach area, as well as Pasadena.

DOUGLASS: Were the people who came to the program there they be ones who would go over specifically into that particular company?

VEYSEY: No. There was no understanding like that, but we had lots of ways to introduce them to those people when they did finish up. Lockheed [Aircraft Co.] was a big user of our people.

DOUGLASS: On that end of it, did the aircraft companies have specific relationships with this operation you were running? They were tying in?

VEYSEY: All the major aircraft companies were involved in the program. They were all sponsors of the Industrial Relations Center. So there is a natural affinity there. And they worked very closely with it. Many being converted were women who had not worked or had been clerks in a store or something like that. But they wanted to get into the war effort and were needed in the war effort. So, we converted all kinds of them into doing things for Lockheed.

- DOGULASS: Did you have some women who were pretty well educated who had been housewives?
- VEYSEY: Very well educated. Sure. A good education, but had never turned their attention to industry. Well, it just was not the sort of thing that women did in those days.
- DOUGLASS: How many people do you suppose you handled through all of that? It sounds like quite an operation.
- VEYSEY: I don't know, probably several thousand. It went on and on. It was very intensive and very hard.
- DOUGLASS: What years would you have been doing that, '42 and on?
- VEYSEY: During the war period, it would be from '42 on to '45; '46, maybe, it tapered off.
- DOUGLASS: Was it '42 when you came back to Caltech?
- VEYSEY: When did we get into the war? December of '41. So that would be '42 then.
- DOUGLASS: So you were at Stanford in '41.
- VEYSEY: In '41. Then the war broke out. Everything changed. At the end of that year, I came back home.

Then another thing happened here at Caltech. As you very rightly point out, Caltech was largely converted to wartime projects. There was a large research project started here, which was called the Physics Three Project. I

don't know why it got that name, but it was really headed up by a group from the physics department. And then others were added in from chemistry and aeronautics and other places. They had a big research and development contract from the government. And they designed and developed all of the rockets that were used by the air force and the navy during the war. That became a very large undertaking.

DOUGLASS: Was that purely Caltech personnel or were they pulling in other than Caltech?

VEYSEY: Caltech personnel at first then many others. They had an establishment in Eaton Canyon. Do you remember that?

DOUGLASS: I know Eaton Canyon.

VEYSEY: A propulsion facility which made the propellants for rockets. The group laid out what is now the Naval Research Station up at China Lake. That was the test range. To test the rockets. They just pushed back the rattlesnakes.

DOUGLASS: So that was a Caltech project.

VEYSEY: It was supervised by the navy. It was not too long until they said to me, "You are supposed to know something about personnel in industrial relations work. We have got a problem because we have to hire all these people, and we don't know how to get them. So, we want you to take

an office up on Green Street and run the personnel office for the Physics Three Project, for the rocket base." The Green Street location is a medical building now.

DOUGLASS: Green near what, Fair Oaks Avenue?

VEYSEY: No. It would be Green, just west of Wilson [Avenue], I guess.

DOUGLASS: Right nearby.

VEYSEY: Yes. We rented offices there. We recruited people and hired them. Put together an organization and did all of that.

DOUGLASS: So that is this entry I found [about you]. Rocket ordnance for U.S. Navy.

VEYSEY: It gets worse before it gets better. After a while, Caltech said, "We have a lot of people here. You are supposed to know something about managing operations. We've got this facility on Foothill Boulevard that is a metal parts facility, an inspection and assembly developmental facility for rockets. Go out there and help manage that plant."

The scientists would get a request from the navy, "We need some kind of a rocket that will do a certain task. Can you do that?" We would say, "We don't know, but we can try." The physicists and engineers would then design something, and then send it out to Foothill Boulevard, where the navy had brought in machine

tools from wherever, lathes and mills. We would make a small lot of this thing, take them up to China Lake and test fire them. The propellant plant in Eaton Canyon would make the propellant for them. The first models probably would go all crazy.

Then they'd said, "Well, that didn't quite work. We can change it a little bit." Then make ten more and try those. And then ten more. And, then pretty soon you got something that worked all right. Then we made a few thousand rounds while the blueprints were contracted out for production quantities.

DOUGLASS: Where was this on Foothill?

VEYSEY: Yes, it is hard to find it now. The freeway went right through it, but the navy kept that for a long time. The most noticeable thing you can see is there is a sign there that says "Space Bank." Did you ever notice that?

DOUGLASS: Off the freeway.

VEYSEY: Off the [Interstate] 210 freeway. And one of those buildings is used for storage. You can buy a storage place. But we had seven or eight buildings there. Some of them pretty big. Which became machine shops, assembly and storage areas. And we had 1200 people working there.

DOUGLASS: Did any of this get you into top secret

clearance situations where you had to be screened?

VEYSEY: Yes, it did. All of that was classified work.

DOUGLASS: All of the rocket program.

VEYSEY: All of the rocket program was classified. I had to be cleared when I took the personnel job actually, to work on the rocket project. And, in fact, that was one of my concerns was security and personnel clearance.

DOUGLASS: So you were screened.

VEYSEY: Screening everybody, getting the FBI [Federal Bureau of Investigation] to screen them. I was screened, too. Ultimately, I became Works Manager at the Foothill facility. Meanwhile, teaching every night and doing that all day long.

DOUGLASS: You were busy.

VEYSEY: I was very busy. We had quite an hilarious time. I can tell a lot of interesting stories of the stuff that we did and didn't do out there. It got pretty wild. For example, a lot of the rocketry that we knew and understood in those days was very primitive. Actually, the Germans were quite advanced in the field. All we would be doing, in most cases, would be making Chinese copies of things they had already done.

The first phase of it went into the anti-

submarine warfare deal. Some rounds were developed that were really, basically, a depth charge against submarines to be thrown off a deck of a small vessel by a small rocket. Hedgehog was the code name for it. When they thought they were somewhere near a submarine they wanted to get, why they would just sail through this place, and fire a pattern of depth charges all over the area. And, theoretically, they were likely to get the submarine. But it was very unsure. It was just a way of throwing a pattern of depth charges over a portion of the ocean.

The second one was called a retrorocket, which was mounted on aircraft. It was wired into a sensing device that would pick up the magnetic field of anything like a submarine made out of iron that is under the water. It would fly low over the ocean, and this sensor would pick up the magnetic field of the submarine. And when that field came to its maximum, they were straight over the submarine, it would automatically trigger this retrorocket. That was a depth charge, again, that had a small rocket attached to it. It was fired backward at exactly the speed of the plane going forward, so it would drop exactly at that spot.

[End Tape 1, Side A]

[Begin Tape 1, Side B]

I remember the physicists working that out as a problem and a very interesting one.

One of the more intense ones came up later in the war, where our troops established a bridgehead in Normandy and then were bottled up there for some period of time. I remember. Weeks, months, something like that before they could move, because the German tanks controlled all the highways and you could not venture out against them. So, they needed a weapon that would be a tank destroyer. And they decided that using aircraft was the best way to get it done.

So, in a very short period of time--I think sixty days--from the time we knew of that need, we made several batches of a rocket called a five-inch HVAR [High Velocity Aircraft Rocket] rocket. Five inches in diameter. Pretty long. And they were mounted beneath the wing of the Lockheed P-38 [Pursuit-38] aircraft. They could fly the highways, and, if they saw a tank, they could zap it with a rocket and knock a hole right through the tank with a hit. They were getting more accurate and getting better all the time.

That was a very successful example of work we did in high intensity because, in sixty days,

we manufactured several small lots of versions of this. Got one that worked and got it into production, taking it out to other metalworking shops, mostly oil, tool manufacturers, and machine shops around the Los Angeles area, to get them to manufacture the parts. Brought them in, inspected and assembled them, and flew them to England, where they were mounted on the P-38s. That was very instrumental in breaking out of that pocket.

DOUGLASS: You said you did this in . . .

VEYSEY: About sixty days. It was fantastic. You would not think that would be possible to do. But we had every type of priority. We'd get any materials we wanted; we'd get any people we wanted; we could get anything we wanted anywhere. We could just come into somebody's shop who was working on something else and say, "Stop it." And we did. And they would have to do it. All of that was controlled.

DOUGLASS: What were your specific responsibilities on a project like that?

VEYSEY: I ran the metal parts fabrication, inspection, and assembly operations. There were 1,200 people on it. We ran them three shifts day and night.

DOUGLASS: So, you were integrating the employees.

VEYSEY: The employees. The tools, equipment, and technology to do this. Mostly our work became assembly later on because we subcontracted out, making the tubes, making the rocket nozzles, making the fins, making the detonators, all the other parts for the HVAR. Assembled them at Foothill. They were loaded with a propellant grain that was specially made for that tube and shipped out that way. It was very fast, and intensive work.

Later, when the war moved to the Pacific, then there was need for what they called "barrage rockets," for backing up and preparing for landing efforts on various islands. These would be fairly small rockets carrying explosive head that could be thrown from a barge or a small boat or a destroyer or a landing craft. They would saturate an area so it would be safer for the troops to move in there.

Those were of two types, both fin stabilized--it was like an arrow with fins on it--and spin stabilized. That is, the force of the gasses coming out at an angle in flight would cause it to spin like a rifle bullet. And it would stabilize through that spinning effect. That was a better way, but much harder to make. We made a lot of those. As soon as we would get a round of those ready to go, then the

navy bureau of ordnance would take it on and then they would clean up the blueprints and give them to Ford Motor Company, or somebody, and say, "Make 100,000 of these." Or a million of them.

Then in the latter stages of the war, the atomic weapon came along. Of course, that was developed over at Los Alamos. A lot of theoretical work was done here by people from Caltech. [Robert A.] Oppenheimer, [William A.] Willie Fowler, the [Charles and Thomas] Lauritsens, and others were all involved in that. They worked out the plan if you bring together a critical mass of fissionable material, it would begin to react. But the trick was: how do you bring together the components?

So, a detonator mechanism was worked out here at Caltech, using the explosive technique that we had developed for the rocket. If you take a sphere and cut it into segments, it would all fit together, and then pull the segments apart like this. [demonstrates with hands] That would be the weapon. When detonated, all these pieces would be propelled violently and precisely together at one time, and that would set off the chain reaction. We had to make a mechanism to propel those together, based on the

rocket work, and the tooling to make this possible. They were small charges.

DOUGLASS: How long did that take to solve that?

VEYSEY: Well, I guess, we were on that for over a year. The plant was divided by a fence down the middle. The security fence was put in. The one half of the plant went on a very high security basis, dealing with this thing which was called "Project Camel," a code name. Nobody knew what it was for.

DOUGLASS: What were your reactions?

VEYSEY: I didn't believe it would work. I was, frankly, a disbeliever that that would actually work.

DOUGLASS: That they could develop such a bomb and that it would work?

VEYSEY: Yes. Although, I guess, they proved to their satisfaction that it would. They developed, as you know, not only one but two versions. Two distinctly different versions. One was used at Nagasaki, and one was used at Hiroshima. Totally different bombs. We had parallel redundant paths going forward to be sure we got a usable weapon.

DOUGLASS: But the detonator part of it was the same.

VEYSEY: They were similar. The two were different but similar.

DOUGLASS: So would you have started working on that in '43 or '44?

VEYSEY: In '44, I guess.

DOUGLASS: It took about a year. Was that something you knew was going to be plugged into Los Alamos at that time? Or didn't you know?

VEYSEY: I was not in that side of it at all. I knew, yes, they were working on that project. I knew what it was about. Most of the people didn't have a clue what it was they were making. Or anything like that. And we kept it that way very deliberately. It was done with great secrecy. It was very successful, I guess, from that point of view.

DOUGLASS: Were you amazed when you heard of the first bomb?

VEYSEY: Sure. It was amazing. It was a funny thing. It was not revealed at all that this plant had anything to do with that. After the first atomic bomb, there was a little guy who had a coffee shop across Foothill Boulevard from this plant. Everybody was fascinated with the mushroom-shaped cloud that appeared. He said, "That was pretty good. I think I am going to rename my coffee shop and call it the 'Atomic Inn.'" He painted a big sign with a mushroom-shaped cloud and calls it the "Atomic Inn."

The security people just went wild. They didn't know what to do. They stewed about that

for days. And they finally decided they better not do anything. They just let him keep it. But he was a lot closer than he knew.

[Laughter]

DOUGLASS: Well, has that generally been well known that your operation was doing that?

VEYSEY: Not too generally.

DOUGLASS: Now let me place this plant physically. It is where the Foothill Freeway is now, but in relation to what north-south street in Pasadena?

VEYSEY: Well, it would be on Foothill Boulevard. On the south side of Foothill Boulevard.

DOUGLASS: But give me the north-south location.

VEYSEY: The 210 freeway comes eastward like this, and then swerves in a big S-shaped curve and then goes off to the east. That big curve went right through the plant.

DOUGLASS: That is up near Rosemead [Boulevard], isn't it?

VEYSEY: It is east of Rosemead. In that industrial area. It was not very industrialized in those days.

DOUGLASS: No. This is coming back towards Santa Anita [Racetrack] and the shopping area.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: That is fascinating.

VEYSEY: Caltech has always been very quiet about this work. Theoretically, they have been under some sort of security about that. I don't know.

DOUGLASS: The whole rocket program, I suppose.

VEYSEY: Well, of course, parallel to that, Aerojet [Aerojet-General Corporation] emerged out of Caltech research. After the war, Aerojet, which was started by Caltech scientists and first had a building in a garage, in Pasadena. First began making their jet-assisted takeoff units. Then later relocated in Azusa. Later, a factory in Sacramento and other places. That was acquired by General Tire [and Rubber Co.] of Akron, Ohio.

DOUGLASS: That was my next question.

VEYSEY: Then General Tire came in in a transitional role.

DOUGLASS: Now which was acquired by General Tire?

VEYSEY: Aerojet. At the end of the war, Caltech wanted to divest itself of wartime activities as rapidly as possible. They just started shifting right away. So, the navy took over part of our group at Foothill Boulevard. And it became the Naval Underwater Ordnance Section, a part of the InyoKern operation, which they also took over.

The Jet Propulsion Laboratory, managed by Caltech, was developed for rocketry, outer space, high-altitude rocketry. Stuff like that. Some of our group went over to the Jet Propulsion Laboratory. Then General Tire, branching out from Aerojet, came along and under

a contract took over the operation of the rest of the metal parts facility at the Foothill plant. They continued to make metal parts for InyoKern for the navy underwater ordnance and anybody else that the government said to make them for. So I continued on in that role for a year or two.

DOUGLASS: That was the rocket division of General Tire and Rubber.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: Was that full time then?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: And that was postwar.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: And were you teaching at Caltech at all or were you full time doing that?

VEYSEY: I was mostly full time doing that. By that time I was not teaching much. But then the question came, "Well, what am I going to do? I am on leave from Caltech, and I need to do something about that." Then another strange turn of events. I was pretty sick and tired of all of the weapons work. I needed something that was a little more useful and constructive. Then the question was should I come back to Caltech and continue my teaching, or go ahead and finish my Ph.D., which I really wanted to do.

But my father had died and left his ranch

property in a neglected state. I had only sisters, and they had no interest in ranching. So it looked like it was up to me to try to do something about it. I decided to go down there for a short period of time and, hopefully, get it on a better course. So I severed my relationships with Caltech and General Tire and went to Brawley.

DOUGLASS: This was in '49.

VEYSEY: In '49.

DOUGLASS: So you moved. Let's back up a moment and talk about getting married. You were married in 1940. Was your wife from around here?

VEYSEY: Yes. She was born and raised in Hollywood. [Laughter] There is a story about how we met. She went to Scripps College, but I never knew her when she was at Scripps, although Caltech people and Scripps people had a good many social activities back and forth. Both she and her sister, who was older, had gone to Scripps.

When I graduated from Caltech and went to Harvard Business School, two of us from Caltech, a fellow by the name of [Samuel Y.] Sam Johnson, and drove back together. On the way, we were tired and out of money and in the need of home cooking. "Hey," he said, "[J. Stanley] Stan Johnson, our classmate, is married now, and he

is living in Chicago. Why don't we stop in and see him?" That sounded like a pretty good idea. So, we hunted up Stan Johnson. He and his wife, Mary, were living in a little apartment. Well, it turned out to be quite a memorable visit because Stan Johnson's wife, Mary, her father, Mr. [Rudolph J.] Wig, was a very prominent man, and he was visiting there at the same time.

DOUGLASS: Rudolph J. Wig.

VEYSEY: Rudolph J. Wig. He was a little eccentric but a very nice person, and very fond of starving college boys. He took us right under his wing. He said, "Oh, no. You must stay over a few days. Rest up." He went to the manager of the apartment and hired another apartment there to move us into.

DOUGLASS: Oh, my word.

VEYSEY: That was not the end of the story because they had another visitor, who was Dorothy Donaldson, my wife's, older sister, who was on her way to do graduate work at Smith College. So Dorothy was there visiting her classmate, Mary Johnson. We all had a wonderful time. Mr. Wig took us out to restaurants all over the place. We lived just right. I got acquainted with Dorothy. When we got to Harvard, she was the only girl in the whole eastern United States whom I knew. So pretty soon, when it was time for

football season, I called her up, and we got together on a date at Harvard and then Smith College.

Another friend of mine who had gone back from Caltech, named Everette Griffith, was with us. He said, "Hey, they've got a lot of girls up there at Smith College, don't they? She must know a lot of other friends. Maybe she could introduce me to somebody." I thought maybe she could. So, we drove up to Smith College. Sure enough, she was quite willing and got him a date with one of her friends there. Although she was the only girl I knew on the East Coast, my friend Everette moved right in on that situation. [Laughter] And that was the last date I ever had with her.

DOUGLASS: Everette did all right.

VEYSEY: He took over and moved straight ahead. They got married as soon as he finished Harvard Business School. Then the question was whom to have in your wedding party. He said, "Well, I want Vic to be my best man. It is only fair." Then she had her sister as bridesmaid, and that's where I met Janet Donaldson. So that was a perfect set-up.

DOUGLASS: So that is how you happened to meet.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: So she was living on the West Coast at that time.

VEYSEY: She was living here. She had just finished up at Scripps at that time.

DOUGLASS: You finished at Harvard in '38, and you were married in 1940.

VEYSEY: She went for further graduate work at Berkeley. I was teaching here at Caltech. And, some way or another we got that all worked out.

DOUGLASS: So you both decided that you would try the farm life. So you moved to Brawley in '49.

VEYSEY: She was reluctant. She didn't know anything about farming. I had some roots down there and always had enjoyed it. But she said that she would be willing to give it a whirl. So, we went down there, presumably for six months or one year, to take some corrective action. You see, the ranch had been leased out for a long period of time, and, naturally, it gets run down during that situation.

DOUGLASS: There was a house for you to move into?

VEYSEY: No. Not a house on the ranch. The house we had lived in before had burned down. So, we lived in town in an apartment.

DOUGLASS: How much acreage did you have down there?

VEYSEY: There was one section of land. Six hundred and forty acres at that time.

DOUGLASS: Now what were you farming?

VEYSEY: Well, it had become kind of a cattle ranch. A man whom my father knew quite well--and they were kind of partners--had leased it. It first had been leased for produce for a number of years. Canteloupe, lettuce, things like that. Then it became more of a cattle ranch than anything else, run by San Pasqual Land and Cattle Company. A. J. Kalin was the man's name.

When his lease expired, we took it back. We had to do a lot of work on it at that time. We began to convert it to other crops. Sugarbeets and cotton. And produce crops. Alfalfa. Grains. So that was an interesting experience. We found, to our pleasant surprise, that life in a small, rural community was really a lot of fun. A lot of wonderful people there. My wife liked it. She found that sinus trouble was not a necessary fact of life. She had had sinus trouble over the years with the smog in Los Angeles. She got over it right away down there. That was a real stroke in the right direction. She liked it. She liked the people down there. We enjoyed it very much. We dug in and stayed on a while.

DOUGLASS: That's fascinating. How did you educate yourself about the farm? That is, the crops and

things. Had you stored some of this when your father ran the property?

VEYSEY: A little. I had stored a little of it. I had kind of a bent towards growing things. I had done a little gardening and things like that. I had a good friend down there, a neighbor, whose name was George Swink. He had been a great friend of my father's. In fact, he had leased the ranch for quite a few years and farmed it in produce. He sort of took me under his wing and said, "I will tell you a few things. The main thing to do is to go around and talk to other farmers. Drive around the road until you find a crop that looks real good. Go and see that farmer and talk to him about it. Find out what he did and what he didn't do."

So that is the way I farmed. Then they have the farm advisors and the experiment station and all that. You get a lot of technical information that way. We got along all right.

DOUGLASS: You became active in the community, apparently. Quite notably, you were elected as a member and then president of the Brawley School District board. Was that the first elected office you had ever run for?

VEYSEY: Yes. It was. That was sort of a no contest. It was a case of getting somebody to do it.

- DOUGLASS: Did a group of citizens call on you and ask you to do it?
- VEYSEY: Yes. They did. We had our children in school at that point. In elementary grades. We were not very satisfied with the way school was being run. So, several people said, "Well, why don't you get on the school board? We have a vacancy, and we are looking for somebody do it and maybe you could help." I said, "All right. I will do that." So, I went on the school board.
- DOUGLASS: You didn't have to run a hard race?
- VEYSEY: No contest. No contest at all. It was a case of getting somebody to do it, basically. I enjoyed it. It put me back in education but at a different level than before.
- DOUGLASS: What year was that you went on the school board?
- VEYSEY: You know, I don't know what year that would be.
- DOUGLASS: Can you place it in terms of the age of your youngsters?
- VEYSEY: They were in the lower grades. Mark, our youngest, was not born at that time. I can't get the exact time, but we must have been there three or four years.
- DOUGLASS: This would be about '53. How long were you on that school board?
- VEYSEY: I stayed on several terms. I don't how long that would be. Five years or something like

that. Gradually, I moved in another direction. There was a statewide movement on to establish the community college system throughout the state and covering every part of the state. Part of this movement was to try to realign high school districts and make them into unified school districts.

DOUGLASS: School district reorganization.

VEYSEY: Yes. School district reorganization. Bring together elementary and high school districts into a unified district and bring those into a community college structure. There would be several unified school districts in one community college district. I got caught up in that because the superintendent of schools asked me to serve on that committee to review the situation in the county. And I did that.

Gradually, it evolved into a mission. People in Imperial County had no higher education of any form. And they wanted it. There had been a sporadic effort to have a junior college in Brawley and one in El Centro. Neither one of them was operating. So, we decided to take an initiative in two directions. One was to establish a community college district which would be countywide. The second was to get Cal State San Diego [California State College, San Diego] to offer third and fourth

year instruction, particularly for updating teachers' credentials and things like that. We succeeded.

DOUGLASS: Did they send people over?

VEYSEY: We had a few resident professors. Other professors would come over for a course. We had great success in both of those endeavors. We did get San Diego State to do that. They took up residence in a high school building that was not needed. They are still there. And then we got the people of all these high school and unified districts to vote to establish a community college district and to approve bonds to build the college, which was the miraculous part of it. People are very conservative, very tightfisted down there. They don't spend much money. They wanted the college so bad that they approved bonds by an affirmative vote of 12 to 1. Now, you could not pass bonds anywhere by even a simple majority today. But 12 to 1, they voted to bond themselves to build this community college. So it came into being and I served on the founding board of the community college.

DOUGLASS: About when would have that been? Can you place that?

VEYSEY: It would be about 1958.

DOUGLASS: Late fifties.

[Interruption]

DOUGLASS: This kind of involvement. First, in you local school board and then on the school district reorganization committee, of which you were chairman, I noted. Then with the junior college effort, meant you saw a lot of people, got to know a lot of people.

VEYSEY: Well, again, it moved me into an entirely different type of thing than I been accustomed to doing. But it did provide a vehicle for getting around and meeting a lot of people. All the school trustees and people concerned. We had hearings in various parts of the county about what to do about the situation. And it was such a popular issue, you could not be wrong with that.

DOUGLASS: A lot of frustration over the lack of a junior college.

VEYSEY: The lack of higher education. Particularly, all their young people would have to go away to college. It is terribly expensive and they were away from home. There were a lot of low-income people down there who really could not afford to even send their kids to San Diego.

DOUGLASS: But it is possible to get some flak from school district reorganization. How did that go over down there?

VEYSEY: Well, we kind of nursed that along very gently,

didn't push that too hard. In fact, Brawley, my home base, never did unify.

DOUGLASS: Really.

VEYSEY: We just gave them that option. They were urged to do that from the state level. The unified districts, which somebody in Sacramento decided should be everywhere, just never came into existence down there in that area. And there are many other parts of that state that don't have them. They just never have changed.

DOUGLASS: That is a local feeling of independence that they want.

VEYSEY: In theory, there should be more efficiency or better education. We subdued that issue somewhat. The two high school districts in the Brawley district pooled their operations on purchasing, running the cafeteria and buses. They gained most of the efficiency which you could gain by having unified districts, but never did unify. That was true throughout the county pretty much. They opted for independence and local control.

DOUGLASS: Being in such a sparsely populated county, did you also have some situations where reorganizing was going to mean having youngsters travel a lot farther?

VEYSEY: There was another endeavor that was going along parallel. [Assemblyman Houston I.] Hugh

Flournoy, my good friend, was following this. Small rural schools, because they are so small are inefficient. That is, it takes more money per child to run them than it does a larger school. And he also contended that they gave an inadequate education because they didn't have well-qualified teachers. They didn't have as many teachers or could not provide some courses which you could get otherwise. You could make an argument of that. But, rural people don't see it that way. They didn't buy that.

DOUGLASS: That is why I am curious how all that went.

VEYSEY: Well, those little schools still exist out there. Our children went to a small rural school. Never changed. People in Imperial County are the furthest distance from Sacramento of any part of the state. They are isolated, remote from the government of the state, and they like it that way. They don't want Sacramento telling them how to do things. The less contact they have with Sacramento, the better they like it. [Laughter]

DOUGLASS: That's real independence.

VEYSEY: They are really independent people.

DOUGLASS: You ran for the founding board of Imperial Valley College. Was there a contest when you ran for that board?

VEYSEY: Yes, there was, but it was nominal. It was

nothing serious at all. Nobody campaigned very seriously.

DOUGLASS: Were you on that for one four-year term?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: Did you run for any other elective office?

VEYSEY: No.

DOUGLASS: And you were very active in the community.

VEYSEY: Yes. We were active there.

DOUGLASS: In farming.

VEYSEY: In farm organizations. We got into the sugar beet growing business and that became pretty important. I became the president of the local district of the California Beetgrowers Association down there and sat on the state board. I was pretty active in the Imperial Grain Growers Association, which is a cooperative of people who grow grain. I became active in the founding of a cotton gin, when cotton came back as a crop. Cotton has been in and out. We got into cotton. We set up with a number of other growers this cooperative gin. I was on the advisory board of the experiment station.

DOUGLASS: That is the University of California Meloland Station. You were chairman of that advisory commission.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: That must have been interesting.

VEYSEY: Yes. I learned a lot about the university and about agriculture.

DOUGLASS: Was that field station doing experimental work on the variety of crops which were growing in your area?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: Then you also were a member of an advisory commission to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Southwestern Irrigation Field Station.

VEYSEY: There are two experiment facilities. One run by the state of California through the university at Davis, which is the Meloland station. And the other one was a federal one, called the Southwest Irrigation Field Station. They did some developing of varieties of crops that were suitable there. And techniques of irrigation that would be unique to that area.

DOUGLASS: Did those two field stations cooperate at all?

VEYSEY: Oh, they were friendly enough. But they were on two different themes entirely. We were active in the church. And in the 4-H Club.

DOUGLASS: Farm Bureau?

VEYSEY: Farm Bureau.

DOUGLASS: Chamber of commerce.

VEYSEY: Rotary [Club]. All the things that you do. A joiner, my wife says I became.

DOGULASS: Well, you must have liked the small town.

VEYSEY: I did. We had wonderful friends there. Many young veterans and their families were returning. It was a great place for our children to grow up. The rural environment is excellent. Children had lots of activity but kept out of trouble.

DOUGLASS: You lived in town at this time.

VEYSEY: Yes. We lived in town in two different locations. First, in an apartment. As our family was growing, it became unsuitable. We had a great dane dog that didn't fit in very well. [Laughter] So we moved to a house we rented and lived there for a time.

Then we got the opportunity to buy our neighbor's place in the country. The next ranch. The people's name was [] Cady. They had been neighbors of ours forever. They were there before my father went down there. They were getting old and wanted to get out of the business. They sold the property and sold us the house. Earlier, when his family got large, Mr. Cady, Sr. undertook the formidable project of building a very nice house out on the ranch. They never finished it. They ran out of money and enthusiasm. It was occupiable but unfinished. A lot of the interior woodwork was

not finished. But we bought it in that condition and moved in. We finished it up, and it became our home. We have now turned it over to our son, Tom, who has rebuilt it again.

DOUGLASS: Now how far out is that from Brawley?

VEYSEY: About three and a half miles.

DOUGLASS: What, then, through all of this led you to the point that you decided you would like to run for the state assembly?

VEYSEY: I seem to be a victim of circumstances all along the line. [Laughter] What is it that one of the Smothers Brothers said, "Life is what happens to you while you are making other plans." [Laughter]

DOUGLASS: I think that is pretty true.

VEYSEY: There is a lot of truth in that for me. This involvement in education--school district reorganization--had put me in touch with Sacramento and the education policies of the state. There was a certain amount of discontent there. From the point of view of agriculture, I was becoming a spokesman for various agricultural interests. We didn't think that they were represented too well in Sacramento or in Washington, as far as that is concerned. So that led to unrest or a desire to try to change things. I didn't think much about it.

A group of friends, mostly coming out of the school board and the community college background, came to me and said, "Look, we are going to have an election here for state assembly. You ought to run. We think you could get elected." I said, "Well, I don't know. Let me think about that." I was a lifelong Republican but had never engaged in any partisan politics in any way. Never attended a meeting. I was rather slow to be persuaded about that. Finally, they kept coming back and were very persistent.

DOUGLASS: These people represented the Republican party organization at that time?

VEYSEY: They represented the Republican central committee of the county.

DOUGLASS: You never had been involved?

VEYSEY: Never been involved. Never been to a meeting. Never knew anything about it. But they had made up their mind that they could make a change. The Republicans were on an upward trend at that point, which ultimately ended with taking over both houses of the state legislature and the governorship.

DOUGLASS: As I looked at the statement of vote, it looked like there had been a reapportionment, that would be '62. That makes sense. You had an incumbent Democrat running, but it would be

within a slightly different district?

VEYSEY: No. That didn't happen. The number changing came in the congressional districts but not in the assembly districts. The first reapportionment in the assembly district didn't come until after I had been in office for a term or two.

DOUGLASS: Well, I have [Assemblyman] Leverette House . . .

VEYSEY: Leverette House.

DOUGLASS: . . . was elected in '57 in the Seventy-sixth Assembly District but now was running in the Seventy-fifth Assesmbly District. I would have to look at the book again, but, at any rate, there was not any major change. He was running in the same area.

VEYSEY: At that time, when I first got elected, was before the one man, one vote decisions came along. Assembly districts were all set up by county lines, and senate districts were set up by counties. Imperial County, as small as it was, had an assemblyman. It also had a state senator. Almost unbelievable in those days. So they had these two legislators elected down there with only eighty thousand people.

DOUGLASS: I guess, my point was, did it look like a good time to take on Leverette House?

VEYSEY: I didn't particularly think about it that way.

As I looked at a little bit more, I could see that Leverette. . . . Leverette House was a pretty good friend of mine. I knew him real well. He was very folksy, very down-to-earth sort of guy, sort of a "Senator Claghorn" type, but he had gotten swept up in the Sacramento game. He was playing the Sacramento game much more than he was paying attention to the district. He didn't come home. Nobody saw him. He didn't do anything down here. He was working with [Assemblyman Jesse M.] Unruh very closely, and he was chairman of the Agriculture Committee.

But apparently he lost touch a little bit and was moving in wrong directions for down there. I guess he was vulnerable. What happened was that I finally said, "OK, I will try it." So we got together a little committee and got organized. We didn't spend any money at all on races in those days. There was no television or anything like that at all.

DOUGLASS: A lot of volunteer help?

VEYSEY: A lof of volunteer help. Some enforced labor on the part of my boys. They got into the signmaking and sign-putting-up business. We got a lumberyard to give us a bunch of old sheets of plywood, four by eight sheets of plywood, and two by four posts to put them on. We made a

stencil and stenciled both sides. Went out and got permission from our farmer friends to put them up all over the darn place. It just went on like that and didn't spend any money at all. I expect \$10,000 total, or something like that.

DOUGLASS: You had no contest in the primary. But there was a man by the name of [Fielding] Kimball who apparently ran against House in the primary but lost.

VEYSEY: Yes. But Leverette House was the target, of course.

DOUGLASS: You were just getting geared up in the primary as you then were moved toward the general.

VEYSEY: The primary was really nothing at all to do except go through the motions. I went around and talked with a lot of people. I did a lot of precinct work, and I got good committees organized. Organized by both community and by profession.

DOUGLASS: Were there any particular issues? First of all, did you have any debates or on-scene things with him?

VEYSEY: Leverette never showed up. The Farm Bureau would put on candidate's nights, and he never appeared.

[End Tape 1, Side B]

[Begin Tape 2, Side A]

VEYSEY: It was only at the very final stages of the campaign that it began to dawn on him that he had a problem. I didn't even know about it, but the California Plan started that year. Republicans put some resources into it. They came down to visit us and advise us quite a bit and gave us some help. They were making inroads not only in that district but in other districts around the state.

DOUGLASS: It would be worthwhile to have on tape just a little summary by you about the California Plan. Because you are really saying it was effective as far as you were concerned, on the first go-around.

VEYSEY: I don't know when it was first initiated, but Dr. [Gaylord] Parkinson from San Diego, who was chairman of the state Republican committee at that time sparked this thing and raised money for it. The objective was to capture the assembly for the Republicans. He spent a lot of time going around recruiting candidates and, no doubt, the forcefulness with which I was recruited was related to that. I didn't know it at the time.

DOUGLASS: They spotted you.

VEYSEY: And they did the same thing in other places in the state. They helped with some money in the

campaign, so we didn't spend a great deal. In the latter stages, we spent some on newspaper advertising and radio spots, which is the way we had to go then. And some on billboards. And printed brochures. That was moving forward. There was a kind of dissatisfaction with the Democrats, I guess, in some ways.

DOUGLASS: But this was a well-planned, concerted effort?

VEYSEY: It was well planned, well coordinated, and very successful. It moved right along and ultimately captured the state assembly.

DOUGLASS: What about the newspapers in your county? How were you treated by them?

VEYSEY: Well, there were only two or three. There was one newspaper, which is both in El Centro and Brawley, run by the same people. I found them to be very receptive, very cordial, and very good to me. I made good friendships with them. They have always been very supportive. There were weekly newspapers in various other areas. Some of which were Democrat controlled and not particularly disposed to support me, but later became good friends.

DOUGLASS: They, of course, all sort of endorsed at the last minute.

VEYSEY: The last minute. We got several of those endorsements, and that was good. The thing that

really turned the election, though, was in the last few weeks of the campaign, Leverette House sensed that he was in trouble. He appealed to his friend, Jesse Unruh. Of course, Jesse wanted to have him back there because that was one more vote for the speakership. So Lev got Jesse to come down to make a circuit of speeches around the valley. Now, I had never met Jesse Unruh, just barely had heard of him at that point in my career.

Jesse made some speeches and went on the radio. He sort of took the tone, "Look here, you people of the Imperial Valley, I am going to tell you how it really is. Leverette House is a good assemblyman, and he represents you just fine. And I like him. Because of this fact, you are getting a lot more than you really deserve. If you don't elect Lev House again, you can just forget it. You are just like gone."

DOUGLASS: It was a threat, really?

VEYSEY: Yes. All we did was tape his speech, and then we just played it over and over again on the radio. It just killed poor Lev. It was none of his doing, but Jesse said the wrong things for those people. They are very independent. They are two-to-one Democrats in registration, but

they are independent. They do things that they want to to do. And they don't want anybody from Sacramento telling them what they have to do. And they didn't like what Jesse told them. We played that enough, and we won.

DOUGLASS: That is interesting because I have the vote here.

VEYSEY: A few hundred votes.

DOUGLASS: You had 9,464, and he had 8,779. So you won by close to 500 votes. But that was dicey, wasn't it?

VEYSEY: It was very dicey. Nobody knew how it was going to come out at all.

DOUGLASS: So you attribute this to Mr. Unruh, partly?

VEYSEY: Yes. It was a mistake he made. He misjudged the people there and what he could do. Poor Lev, he was just victimized. He didn't have anything to do with that at all, except he had asked him to come down and do it.

DOUGLASS: Well, he probably was in trouble.

VEYSEY: He was in trouble. It was going to be close. But I am sure that more than turned the tide. I always used to joke, since I won by 417 votes that I would refuse to appear with any group that was over 417 voters for fear that they would announce they had changed their mind.
[Laughter]

DOUGLASS: You must have been pretty excited.

VEYSEY: It was pretty wild and crazy.

DOUGLASS: It was going to change your life.

VEYSEY: It changed our lives in a lot of ways.

DOUGLASS: That was the election in which Nixon was running for governor, I believe, '62. You went to the '63 session. The election was in November of '62. You entered [the assembly], of course, in January of '63.

VEYSEY: That's right. Now was Nixon running?

DOUGLASS: Yes. That was when [Governor Edmund G.] Brown [Sr.] defeated him. I was just curious if the statewide election really affected you in the Imperial Valley in terms of statewide offices.

VEYSEY: He didn't come down there and campaign.

DOUGLASS: That was not an issue. And the ballot propositions were not important?

VEYSEY: No. I think that they were more significant in the '58 election. They had the right-to-work issue, the [Senator William F.] Knowland controversy. That stirred people quite a bit then. Anyway, we slid in by that small margin.

DOUGLASS: That's quite a story for a first go at a major elected office.

[End Session 1]

[Begin Session 2, July 14, 1988]

[Continuation Tape 2, Side A]

DOUGLASS: Mr. Veysey, we ended the last interview with you having been elected. I would like to start out now to ask you about your plans, in November after you had been elected, were for arranging life so that you could go to Sacramento when you needed to be there.

VEYSEY: Well, that did take a bit of doing, although not as bad in that year as you might imagine it being today. Because, at that time, the legislature was still a part-time legislature, meeting for six months one year, and just a month or so in the next year to complete a biennial. So it was a bit easier. I was actively engaged in agriculture, running our farming operation. So, this was a formidable problem, but I had a pretty competent foreman. I just had to leave things to him.

We decided, my wife and I, after talking it over a good bit, that the right and appropriate thing to do would be to take the family to Sacramento. So, we made arrangements for living in Sacramento and moved them up there.

Now, there was a slight mishap. We were loading up the stationwagon at our home in Brawley, just ready, and my boys decided they wanted to take one last jump on the trampoline

in the backyard. I had built a big trampoline for them, and they loved to bounce on that. They did so and forgot one of our cardinal rules, which was "one at time." The two boys jumped together, one landing on the other and broke his leg. We were just ready to sit down in the stationwagon.

So, that changed things quite a lot because it was a major break of the femur, requiring hospitalization for a number of weeks. It was a very traumatic thing because his leg had to be pinned, and in traction. So, we had to reverse plans. Janet and the family stayed in Brawley until Mark was able to move to Sacramento. He arrived some month or two later on crutches.

DOUGLASS: Oh, no. What a shame.

VEYSEY: So, that disrupted the best plan we had.

DOUGLASS: Did you have a house rented in Sacramento?

VEYSEY: I made arrangements to rent an apartment in a complex which was called the Fair Lake

Apartments. Which is on Arden Road, east of Sacramento. It was a new apartment complex; it was just opening up. And, so, quite by chance, several other assemblymen, new ones, landed in the same spot. [Assemblyman] Joe [A.]

Gonsalves, with is his very large family; he had nine children, or something like that. He took

two of those apartments and put them together.

DOUGLASS: Did you have three? How many children did you have by now?

VEYSEY: Yes. We had three. Let me see, how did this work. Ann was old enough to stay behind, she did not go to Sacramento with us. In fact, John might have gone right at first, but not for very long. The other two boys, Tom and Mark, were small and they did move there with us. But I think John and Ann stayed behind in Brawley; they were in school and committed to things. Also, [Assemblyman] John [P.] Quimby from San Bernardino was newly elected at that same time.

DOUGLASS: Was he in the apartments?

VEYSEY: He moved in the Fair Lake Apartments.

DOUGLASS: Well, you got to know each other.

VEYSEY: We got to know each other right away through that contact, as well as others. We met other people in that same fashion because that was a place that new people coming to Sacramento were likely to land. The most available, the most reasonable. We took a lease there.

DOUGLASS: Were the younger children in school?

VEYSEY: We put them in school.

DOUGLASS: How long would it take you then to drive from Brawley to Sacramento?

VEYSEY: That is a pretty long trip. It is about four and a half or five hours from Brawley to the Los

Angeles area. And then about another seven hours on to Sacramento. It is possible to do it in a day, but it is a very long, hard day. We would always break it up into two parts.

DOUGLASS: If you had to come down to your district for something, how did you normally travel?

VEYSEY: Travel was not as easy then because there was not very frequent air service to Brawley. There was some from Los Angeles. In those days, Western Airlines served Sacramento, Los Angeles, and Ontario. Then they flew down to San Diego, and then over to Imperial County airport, and on over to Yuma. So that was our access. The planes were much slower, but the price was right. We used to pay thirteen dollars and twenty cents to fly from Los Angeles or Ontario to Sacramento.

DOUGLASS: That is amazing. I had no idea it was ever that low.

VEYSEY: They flew then very advanced old Lockheed Electras, which was a turboprop. It was fine transportation. We thought it was miraculous.

DOUGLASS: So would that go from Sacramento to Ontario to . . .

VEYSEY: It could go Sacramento-Ontario-Palm Springs, or Sacramento-Los Angeles-San Diego-Imperial. Sometimes Palm Springs would be convenient.

DOUGLASS: How long a flight was that? How long did you have to allow?

VEYSEY: Not too long. Not too much different. Probably an hour or hour and a half each leg. It flew a little slower speed than the modern jets, but it was very good transport. We thought it was wonderful.

DOUGLASS: Yes. That compares well.

VEYSEY: And the price was very attractive. We liked that very much. So we used that quite a little bit. [Laughter] I will tell you a funny story about my first trip right after being elected to the assembly. I flew to Los Angeles and changed planes there. There would be a wait of an hour or more; so I was sitting in the terminal building. A lady was sitting nearby, and we got to talking. She said to me, "Young man, what do you do?" It was the first opportunity I had had to explain my lofty status. I said, "I am an assemblyman." She pondered that for a few minutes and said, "That's nice. Now do you work for Lockheed or Douglas?" [Laughter]

DOUGLASS: Oh, that's a good story. That took you down a notch.

VEYSEY: Right. That put me in the proper frame of mind to go to Sacramento.

DOUGLASS: When you got up there, what were the arrangements for you for office space and

secretarial help?

VEYSEY: Well, I described, the last time we were together, the circumstances under which Jesse Unruh participated in my election, and, maybe, inadvertently, sort of accomplished that election for me by doing the wrong things. I came to Sacramento under something of a cloud because I was one of those bad guys who got elected against the speaker's wishes. The Republicans gained several seats. It was not getting really nervous for Jesse, but he was moving in that direction. The speaker has considerable power but not unlimited in Sacramento, in participating in the assignment of offices and the assignment of seats on the assembly floor. But he does select the chair and members of the Rules Committee, which handles such matters.

In the case of the assignment of seats on the assembly floor, there was another Democrat who was on Jesse's not-so-good list and that was [Assemblyman] Gordon [H.] Winton [Jr.] of Merced. Gordon had run against Jesse unsuccessfully for the speakership and that was not a welcome thing. He was looked upon as being somebody who might rear his head again and cause trouble. I guess Jesse conceived that

would be kind of funny to put the two of us together. We became seatmates.

I found Gordon to be delightful, wise, and a pleasant, helpful person. We became great friends. We stayed on as seatmates, even though we didn't have to, after that time. He gave me considerable help and guidance in the early stages in telling me, "Well, I am going to vote this way, but, I think, you probably ought to vote that way, considering your district," on various issues.

DOUGLASS: I had the pleasure of interviewing Gordon Winton.

VEYSEY: You told me that. I have not seen him for several years.

DOUGLASS: I noticed that you were sitting next to him.

VEYSEY: Well, that is how it came about. But that was very fortuitous for me, actually. It didn't do Gordon a bit of good, but it was a very lucky development for me. He was really giving me sincere and honest good guidance.

Now, the second part of the question was office arrangements. I guess, for some reason or another, there were not quite enough offices to go around for everybody to have a separate office. That has evolved over the years. At one time, they didn't have offices at all, really. The secretaries were in a pool--which

was before I got there--and the members would call a secretary to the floor to bring down the mail. They would sit down there and dictate answers to the letters right on the floor as the debate went on.

We had graduated past that so that we had an assigned secretary and an office. But a few of the offices weren't such that there was a separate office.

DOUGLASS: A partition?

VEYSEY: You were crowded in together.

DOUGLASS: Did you even have a partition?

VEYSEY: Not even a partition. Another member who was also out of favor with Jesse was Dr.

[Assemblyman William F.] Bill Stanton, who was charged with being a Communist. He was a professor at San Jose State [College]. He and I were poles apart philosophically and every other way. We were crowded into the same office.

DOUGLASS: Oh, really.

VEYSEY: That was pretty hilarious. After a short time, they worked some office space out where we, at least, had separate, private offices.

DOUGLASS: Did you have your own secretary when you were with Stanton?

VEYSEY: Yes, I did. And that was Mary Adams, who became a great friend of ours. She is now retired from

assembly work, but she stayed on for years and years.

DOUGLASS: Was she your secretary the whole time you were there?

VEYSEY: No. She had a period of illness. I don't know what year that was. It was maybe two or three years later. She had a period of serious illness, with major surgery. She had to drop out for a time. I selected on another secretary. Her name was Joan Kirkaldie.

DOUGLASS: K-I-R-K-A-L-D-I-E.

VEYSEY: Yes. She now married and changed her name. She stills work up there. She works for [William R.] Bill Leonard, the assemblyman from San Bernardino area. I guess he is the ranking Republican on [Committee on] Ways and Means.

DOUGLASS: He is also running for the state senate. For [Senator H. L.] Richardson's seat.

VEYSEY: Oh, is he?

DOUGLASS: Yes.

VEYSEY: She has worked for him for several years.

DOUGLASS: Was Mary Adams just assigned to you?

VEYSEY: Well, it wasn't quite that way. The secretaries all officially work out of the secretarial pool. But then you can interview various ones.

DOUGLASS: You picked her?

VEYSEY: Yes. Still later, in 1968 and 1969, Joan

Kirkcaldie left, and Pamela Parks became my secretary. She went on to Washington, D.C. with me.

DOUGLASS: Did you have anybody down in the district working as a staff member?

VEYSEY: Not right away. But, later on, when the legislature went to a full-time basis, and I am not quite sure what year that was.

DOUGLASS: That was '66.

VEYSEY: They became more generous with respect to allowances for staff for the district.

DOUGLASS: It was passed in '66, and it would have taken effect in '67.

VEYSEY: And then I was able to have an office in Brawley. And, later, the district became much larger through reapportionment, going clear up to the city limits of Riverside. All of Riverside County, except for the actual city of Riverside and the west end of the county. I also opened an office in Palm Desert.

DOUGLASS: So, you had an office in Brawley and an office in Palm Desert.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: When you just had the Brawley office, how much staff would you have?

VEYSEY: Well, first of all, it was a one-person office. The first person I had was a woman I had know for a long time in Brawley. Her name was Mary

Riley. She was the part-time bookkeeper for our ranch.

DOUGLASS: Yes. I believe you mentioned her to me last time. She decided to try it.

VEYSEY: She decided to give it a whirl following her activity in the campaign. Personalitywise, she was well suited to that sort of thing. Gregarious, well organized, and loved to do things with people. She was very helpful. I had her as kind of an administrative assistant. Mary hired Joanna Williams right out of high school for not very much money. She received most of her education in our office.

DOUGLASS: She come to work under Mrs. Riley?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: She was a secretary.

VEYSEY: She was not really a fully-qualified secretary. She did all the office work. A wonderful young lady.

DOUGLASS: You didn't really have a lot of staff.

VEYSEY: No.

DOUGLASS: Did you have two people up in the Palm Desert office?

VEYSEY: One person. She was a actually on a part-time basis.

DOUGLASS: What was her name?

VEYSEY: She was Gretchen Paulson, a longtime Republican

volunteer.

DOUGLASS: So, you had women, basically, working for you down in the district.

VEYSEY: Yes. Later, it became possible to have an administrative assistant in Sacramento. I didn't have one there during the early stages. I just had Mary Adams, but she was very knowledgeable about the legislature. She had worked for quite a few years for Arthur [A.] Ohnimus, who was clerk of the house and she knew everything about procedure.

DOUGLASS: Well, that would have been very helpful.

VEYSEY: She knew who people were and what they did and how things moved. It was very useful to have her. And she was a most devoted and loyal person. I am very fond of her. As I say, she is retired now.

Then I took on a young man who was just finishing up his law degree at Stanford. His name was John Anderholdt. He presently practices law down in the desert in a pretty large firm down there. I took him on, initially, a year before he finished his law degree as a summertime student intern. He enjoyed that very much, and he then came on with me on a full-time basis.

DOUGLASS: He was sort of an A.A. [Administrative

Assistant] for you. And this was when you first began to have one?

VEYSEY: Yes. When that first became possible. It was several years after I got there. There was not much staffing at the start.

DOUGLASS: How long did he stay with you? Through '70?

VEYSEY: Yes. By that time, he had established law offices in Palm Desert. So, he was, in the latter stages, on a part-time basis, doing his legal work and doing my work at the same time.

DOUGLASS: During this period it went to a full-time legislature. What were your living arrangements? That changed your life in many ways. What did you about that?

VEYSEY: It changed it in a pretty major way. Well, I had to constantly place more reliance on a foreman or manager for my business affairs in Brawley. We just moved year-round to Sacramento. We moved from the the Fair Lake Apartments after two years. And then took up an apartment in the [William] Land Park area, on the south side of the city.

DOUGLASS: William Land Park.

VEYSEY: Just past the park there were apartments. It seems like legislators kind of troop together in this regard because [Assemblyman Robert T.] Monagan and [Assemblyman John G.] Veneman had an apartment nearby. It was not a big complex, a

smaller place. Monagan and Veneman had an apartment together. They didn't bring their wives, because they weren't so far from home. Veneman lived in Modesto, and Monagan was from Lodi. They could get back forth all the time. They would come up and stay a few days or a week. In contrast, we were there pretty much full time, except that I would be going back and forth.

Now, you asked a question about transportation. We improvised another arrangement. Another assemblyman elected at the same time was [Assemblyman] Stewart Hinckley of Redlands. He was a bit older. Well, actually, he was a retread, in a way. He had been in the assembly, had dropped out, and was elected back again after being out for some time. He was interesting. He was an orange grower and packer in the Redlands area. More than that, he had an airplane and flew back and forth. So, we worked out a plan to fly with him each week from the San Bernardino area.

And [Assemblyman] Gordon [R.] Cologne, who was the assemblyman from the Riverside area, and I would drive to San Bernardino to join Stew, and fly to Sacramento. That saved a great deal of time. Later on, Gordon Cologne went over to

the senate. He was replaced by [Assemblyman W.] Craig Biddle. Craig sometimes joined in that pool arrangement because we all came from the same direction. That was a very splendid accommodation. We enjoyed that very much.

DOUGLASS: Who else were the freshmen with you? You named a number as we have gone along. Were there other Republicans who stand out in your mind? You said that the Republicans gained a bit.

VEYSEY: We gained several seats. Well, Veneman had come in under a special election only a few months before. He had a little seniority and a little headstart on the rest of us. Other notable Republicans who came in at that time was [Assemblyman] George [C.] Deukmejian. We became very close friends, probably through that accident of being elected together and making a start in a new area together. George, his wife, Gloria, and my wife, Janet, and I became very close friends, and we have remained on that kind of a basis. We celebrate his birthday with him every year.

DOUGLASS: You still do?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: What were your first impressions of George Deukmejian?

VEYSEY: I found him to be an interested observer of this political life, but committed to it himself. I

remember he said to me one day, "Vic, I would like to be governor of California." I said, "George, that is a long shot, but that's fine. You make a run at it, and I will help you." So, he remembered that when he ran for governor.

DOUGLASS: So you have known him from the very beginning of his political career.

VEYSEY: That was the start. He may have been involved with something locally.

DOUGLASS: I meant on the state level.

VEYSEY: State level. That's right. We have seen him come along steadily. He moved over to the senate after a few years.

DOUGLASS: In 1965. He served in the assembly through '64.

VEYSEY: Then he went to the senate. So, he went to the senate about the same time I left the assembly. Then we saw him move to attorney general. Then on to the governorship.

To me, he has always come through as a person of the highest principle and the strongest of views of the fundamentals of life. He comes, of course, from an Armenian background, but a strong Christian background. In fact, his brother-in-law was a minister in the Methodist church in the desert area.

DOUGLASS: Oh, he was.

VEYSEY: We met him through that activity. But George

Deukmejian is very steadfast. He may be a little slow to make up his mind about things, not quick to react, but once he makes up his mind, he is as firm as a tree. Unmovable almost.

DOUGLASS: Was your impression, when you both of you were there, that he was standing back and taking a look at all of this? Maybe not just plunging in.

VEYSEY: Well, his interests were in entirely different areas than mine. Being an attorney, he was interested in the Criminal Procedure Committee. He did most of his work there, trying to tighten up the laws against criminals. At that time, the Democrats had an absolute lock on the Criminal Procedure Committee, and they were pledged to not creating any new crimes by statute and not increasing the penalties on any crimes, indeed, they sought to reduce penalties.

DOUGLASS: Was this sort of a platform with them?

VEYSEY: Absolutely. And the Criminal Procedure Committee was constituted accordingly. So, no bill that created a new crime or increased the penalties could ever emerge from that committee.

DOUGLASS: So it was a dam?

VEYSEY: An absolute block. Jesse Unruh was a part of that.

- DOUGLASS: I guess Deukmejian was working the other side of it.
- VEYSEY: He was working the other side with never any success until Jesse's hold was weakened.
- DOUGLASS: That is very interesting. I had never heard it put that way.
- VEYSEY: And Gordon Winton shared that view. He was on the committee. Maybe he talked to you about it.
- DOUGLASS: We talked about his service on that committee. And if you look at the kinds of bills he was interested in and his genuine perspective, he was doing what you were saying. He was liberalizing the protections. The kinds of things he introduced were certainly along that vein.
- VEYSEY: Yes. He was very conservative in that regard. We had a reunion of our class. This would be last year, our twenty-fifth reunion. Most all of the members attended. Stewart Hinckley was dead. He crashed in his airplane. One or two of the members were lost, and two or three others had died. [Assemblyman] Pearce [A.] Young, a Democrat from Napa, became a judge and is now deceased. A fellow name [Assemblyman John] Mareno is lost. Nobody knows exactly where he is. He was a Democrat and truly a misfit in the legislative process.
- DOUGLASS: In what way?

VEYSEY: He had been a teacher in the Los Angeles school district when he got elected. He was sort of a wildman. He spent a lot of time drinking and attending the bars in the evening. He would come home very loaded. He was just wild. He dropped out very soon. He disappeared. Somebody said they last saw him with long hair in a peace demonstration in Washington. It might well be. I am not sure. John Quimby and Joe Gonsalves, both members of that same class, facilitated this meeting in Sacramento. They had taken pictures of each one of us and made a layout.

DOUGLASS: I'd like to see that.

VEYSEY: They made George Deukmejian's picture somewhat larger, honored him by putting him in the middle. Like he was the one in the class who became governor.

DOUGLASS: Did he come to the reunion?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: And where did you have it?

VEYSEY: At the Firehouse [Restaurant] in old Sacramento. A favorite meeting place.

DOUGLASS: About how many were there in that class?

VEYSEY: I think nineteen or twenty total, newly elected Democrats and Republicans. I don't remember how many for each party. There was a considerable

turnover, a considerable group at that time. I don't know why it was, except I think the districts had been reapportioned. So, I think that accounted for the rather large number of new faces. It would be interesting to run over that group. I'll bring the picture in.

DOUGLASS: I think your point about misfits, clearly you felt Mareno was a definite misfit, but as you look at a group--and you stayed in the legislature long enough to watch this--it is interesting to think about the people who get into it right away, and then the people for whom it is a kind of alienating experience almost. So they don't know what to do.

VEYSEY: The legislature is a strange world. I didn't know the procedure and how bills became laws and what you have to do, mechanically, to move things along. It accounts, probably, for the fact that in the first several years of my term up there, the productivity, in terms of bills enacted, was pretty low. That picked up considerably towards the end of the eight years.

You learn the process. You learn the people. You learn what the moves are to make things go. And you get more clout, I guess. Particularly, if you become a committee chairman. Your effectiveness increases dramatically. But the first year is a totally

baffling experience.

DOUGLASS: So many personalities come in with a class. Gordon Winton told me that one of the best pieces of advice he'd been given was to learn the rules of the house. Now, did he give you that advice?

VEYSEY: Yes. I am sure he did. I think a few times he had to nudge me [Laughter] to make me realize that there was something I was supposed to do either to safeguard my position or to move something along. In a way, I am an unlikely person to be in politics because I am not by nature one who wants to jump into everything. I would say I am more contemplative and cognitive than reactionary or visceral about things. Some people could jump up in huge outrage over something that had been said or done, and I would be amazed. I would say, "Well, I don't quite agree with that." [Laughter] I would never make it a big deal.

DOUGLASS: So you didn't make emotional displays?

VEYSEY: No. I did not.

DOUGLASS: Either in committee or on the floor, I suppose?

VEYSEY: Probably, you begin to erupt a little bit more in the committee, early on, than on the floor. But I never did on the floor, in any great measure. I made a few gaffes on the floor. We

had a nice tradition. [Assemblyman Vincent] Vince Thomas was the dean of the assembly with the longest service. He was a very wonderful, nice, sweet man from San Pedro. They had a fine tradition that when you really made a good blunder on the floor, he would put up his microphone, and, of course, he would be recognized at once by the speaker. Then he would make a short speech and congratulate you and present you with a copy of the constitution. [Laughter] I earned a few copies.

DOUGLASS: That was a rather unusual procedure.

VEYSEY: It was delightful. I thought it was very, very nice. Everybody would laugh and things would subside to normal again.

DOUGLASS: Was the tone on the floor pretty much one in a friendly spirit?

VEYSEY: Oh, very much. It was very collegial. We were very deferential to each other in public utterances and contact. On the theory that, "Well, I may be totally opposed to what you are doing or saying today, but, tomorrow, I may need your vote. So, I am not going to say things that are inflammatory or personal. So, I am going to say that you are the most wonderful assemblyman that I can every remember coming from that area, but I have to disagree with you on this issue." Very collegial in that regard.

That has disappeared a lot from the state assembly in recent years, I am sorry to say. They even now indulge in physical violence on the floor on occasion and abuse each other. And say absolutely outrageous and insulting things.

[End Tape 2, Side A]

[Begin Tape 2, Side B]

DOUGLASS: That is interesting. We are into the Unruh speakership period when you entered the assembly. One of the earmarks is said to be partisanship, and more acrimony, more adversarial things happening. But you say, when you first got there, you felt it was fairly collegial?

VEYSEY: Very much so. Partisanship was not a big part of the process. It was vital and of paramount importance in the election period and in positioning yourself for election. But in the normal operations of the legislature, partisanship was just not an obstacle or a thing people really raised, with the exception of a few issues. There would be three, four, five issues a year in which the caucuses would take a partisan position. And then another assemblyman might say, "Personally, I can understand your concern, and I would like to help you on this, but we happen to be locked into a party position. I can't violate that. Because there would be repercussions if I did."

DOUGLASS: Were those issues varying or could you name a few issues that seemed to be the ones that the caucus would take a stand on? What types of issues they would have to take a position on?

VEYSEY: One would be with respect to balancing the budget, for example. That would be almost an annual issue. The constitution requires a balanced budget. But Governor Pat Brown, with the aid of Hale Champion, invented a series of most ingenious manuevers to be able to spend more than was coming in but to have it appear to be a balanced budget.

For example, accrual accounting was one of the inventions. The rule had always been, you count the money as income in the year in which it was received. Well, the accrual accountant would say, "Well, no, we really undertook some obligations to get that in this year. So we will accrue it into this year, although the money is not received this year. It may come in next year, it may never come in, but we accrue it into this year."

Then the question of acceleration of collection of taxes. Moved that up by several increments. Items like that, which were very ingenious, I thought. And, had I been in their position, I would have been happy to think of those same things, too. [Laughter] So, we always exclaimed a lot over that, trying to bring out the point that this is not really meeting the constitutional requirement of a balanced budget. We are living on income we

don't have.

DOUGLASS: So, budget finance would be one of these kinds of issues.

VEYSEY: Then the question of issues around handling of criminal actions. The Criminal Procedure Committee. That always became partisan. We were always trying to withdraw bills from the committee to get them out on the floor, where we hoped a lot of Democrats--they didn't like crime any better than Republicans did--would vote with us on that if they had a chance to. But the bills were locked in the committee, and you could never get the bill to the floor. Jesse Unruh had carefully crafted that committee to be able to hold any bills.

DOUGLASS: So, they would hold back anything that you people would be inclined to be for.

VEYSEY: Anything. It was an absolute barrier on anything that increased penalties or anything that created a new crime.

DOUGLASS: That would be something you would hang together on. And I suppose reapportionment.

VEYSEY: Reapportionment. It becomes, first, a partisan issue, and then it becomes every man for himself towards the end. [Laughter] You grab and run if there is daylight.

DOUGLASS: I hear you saying that only on these major

things would you caucus and take a partisan line.

VEYSEY: Partisan votes would be on the election of the speaker and on what he would term to be upholding his authority to organize the house and to run the house. He would get all of his Democrat votes on that, and the Republicans would oppose.

DOUGLASS: But people switched over some even on that.

VEYSEY: Yes. Over time, they would on occasion. By and large, the speaker would command a solid party vote. The Republicans would tend to be the other way around on that, voting for Monagan or somebody else for speaker.

DOUGLASS: I suppose in any situation, no matter which party is going to get the speakership, there is a small overlapping pool of people who will go either way and make the difference?

VEYSEY: That's right. It is something like the Gang of Five now that could have, at least, theoretically, by going with the Republicans, elect somebody other than Willie Brown as speaker.¹ But they never put that together on a

 1. Five dissident Democrat assemblyman who began challenging Speaker Willie Brown in early 1988: Gerald R. Eaves, Gary A. Condit, Rusty Areias, Charles M. Calderon, and Steve Peace.

vote for speaker, they just threatened. So that's a possibility right at the moment. Yes, there is always a group like that.

DOUGLASS: Who would have been in that category during your years there?

VEYSEY: There were some Democrats who would switch over and vote with the Republicans. For example, a very conservative Democrat like [Assemblyman William E.] Bill Dannemeyer. Bill Dannemeyer, now a Republican congressman from Orange County, was a Democrat assemblyman in those days. He would oftentimes vote with the Republicans on these fiscal issues and other things like that. And, on our side, there were some Republicans who were pretty flexible. [Assemblyman] Allan [G.] Pattee was one who would go with Jesse, maybe, on issues that he could stand at. He just believed if you go along with the speaker, you come out a little bit better. And I think he did. And [Assemblyman] Hale Ashcraft would sometimes switch. He would often vote with Jesse Unruh. Unity became a matter of some concern within the Republican ranks at times.

DOUGLASS: Well, let's go back and talk about your committees. We were talking about your initial experience of coming in. And that leads us to discussing Unruh. I think you had started to talk about the fact that, of course, he had

fought you in the district. You were sort of a known person when you came up there.

VEYSEY: Let me say something about Jesse in that context. Jesse thought it entirely appropriate to express his displeasure with your election, such as assignment of seats on the floor or such as assignment of office space. That was really the appropriate thing to do for somebody who came in against his wishes. A sort of a hazing proposition. He would do it laughingly. Jesse was a good-natured guy, in the main and easy to get along with. Of course, I stood in fear and trembling over his power and ability to do things.

I still have never seen anybody with the ability to walk on the floor in the middle of the debate and sense where the votes were and know what could be done on some touchy issue, if it was going to be a close call. He could do that. He had a wonderful perception and a sense of the politics of the situation. He could use that most effectively.

He was a marvelous speaker in many, many ways. And he was never abusive to me after these first little things. It was something that I should expect, coming into there as I did. I was surprised to get an office at all, I

guess. He was of the school that we should be collegial with each other. He was very much that way, although in his private life he was sometimes outrageous. He always knew that while he could not agree with you today, tomorrow he may need your vote badly on some issue. He didn't want to create a barrier that could not be overcome. He was a very practical in political operations.

DOUGLASS: Was his private life sort of over here on one side and people were aware of it?

VEYSEY: Well, he was a big, fat, jolly guy who drank an awful lot and ate an awful lot. He had some close associates on the Democrat side who drank with him and ate with him. They fooled around late at night and did a lot of things like that together. His image would not be terribly appealing or attractive to the people of the state. And, indeed, we found that out later, when he ran statewide.

DOUGLASS: As far as the legislature was concerned, that side of him was separate?

VEYSEY: Yes. He was by far the brightest and most effective speaker that I knew.

DOUGLASS: In what way? You described that he had this sixth sense when he came onto the floor. Would he stop and talk to people?

VEYSEY: Yes. He moved around the floor. Talked with

different people, exchanged a few words with them. Probably shared his view on this and that.

DOUGLASS: Do you think he created almost a bandwagon environment when he did that, just by the way he did it?

VEYSEY: Possibly so. But then after listening around and hearing the debate for a little while, he would go back to his desk and make his speech on the subject, which would instruct his followers as to what he wanted done and bring the issue into focus very sharply. He was an eloquent speaker. Very compelling, I thought. Very wise. You could see a lot of political wisdom in anything he did.

He saw the need that we should have a full-time legislature and people should be paid more in the legislature. It was almost a volunteer job when I first went there. And he saw that the staff should be greatly increased. He made it really a profession, a real occupation. I would give him credit almost solely for achieving that. It was a great change. It has not all been good, but certainly it is much better than it was.

DOUGLASS: Having worked under both conditions, you are in position to comment on the difference.

VEYSEY: It was a burden on people who had a business or profession to go to Sacramento as a legislator. They really didn't get paid anything appreciable, considering the trouble they went to and the expense. There was no way to reimburse them for their trips, except one trip a year and back. No telephone expense to call the district. Anything like that in any way. No substantial help by way of staff in the district. He brought all of that about and changed the assembly dramatically.

Now, of course, the downside of that is that we have developed a sort of professional environment for legislators in which some people chose to go into that for the monetary reward, which is not the best of all motivations. But it has made it possible to diminish greatly the influence of lobbyists. The lobbyists had a very strong grip on members of the legislature before this change. But, thereafter, two things happened. The financial status of legislators was greatly improved so that they were not actually almost forced to bum a meal off a somebody to keep their expenses down. Secondly, laws were passed which made it increasingly more difficult for advocates to buy the attention of the legislators, as they had been doing.

DOUGLASS: In the first few years you were there, the

lobbyists were running heavy?

VEYSEY; Yes. They were.

DOUGLASS: Were there constant invitations available to you, say, to go to lunch or dinner?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: How did you handle that?

VEYSEY: I guess I listened to Jesse. He often made the statement: "Anybody who can't drink a lobbyist's booze, and eat his food, and play around with his woman and then vote against his bills does not belong in Sacramento." He believed that strongly. I thought that was probably correct. But it doesn't work that way because some legislators were very much subject to the lobbyists. They would go to lobbyists' hotel rooms every night for food, drink, and to play cards. A lot of arrangements were made. It was not a good thing. There was an overarching influence of lobbyists on legislation. And that needed to be backed off, not that it can be eliminated entirely.

DOUGLASS: Say, if you went to lunch. I am sure it was the only game in town, going to lunch with a lobbyist. Would it be singly or in groups?

VEYSEY: That would depend. There were two or three standing arrangements for lunch in the middle of the week, on Wednesday and Thursday. Not one

lobbyist but several lobbyists would pool together to support a particular meeting, and, say, they would go to the El Mirador Hotel. There was an institution called "Moose Milk." I don't know why. It was a luncheon put on by lobbyists, and all the legislators were invited. It was an open sort of thing. You would go over there and have lunch and then go back to work.

DOUGLASS: You could go every week?

VEYSEY: Every Thursday you could count on that. There was another one on Wednesday and on Tuesday. So, it worked a lot like that. I never sensed that there was any pressure put on. You never got lobbied on those occasions.

DOUGLASS: There was no pitch made.

VEYSEY: No pitch made. No programs. A few drinks and lunch.

DOUGLASS: Was this an informal opportunity to talk to other legislators?

VEYSEY: Sure. It was. Both assemblyman and senators would be there. From the assembly side, we did not see the senators that much. So, it was a good chance to get acquainted with them. There was another organization called the Derby Club.

DOUGLASS: What was that?

VEYSEY: Presumably, it was an exclusive group that met at Posey's Restaurant. I was a member of it at one time. It was limited. All legislators were

not invited. It was limited to the members of that group. You had to go through some mysterious process to gain membership. After several years, I was invited to join the Derby Club. It was sustained and sponsored by lobbyists, both on the Republican side and on the Democrat side. You weren't pushed in any way.

DOUGLASS: It was sort of a bipartisan, select group? How big a group would it have been?

VEYSEY: Oh, there were probably forty members.

DOUGLASS: Was this assembly and senate?

VEYSEY: Yes. Assembly and senate. And they affected the wearing of derby hats at their meetings.

DOUGLASS: Were there programs?

VEYSEY: The Dills Brothers would often perform.

DOUGLASS: This was [Senator] Ralph [C. Dills] and [Assemblyman] Clayton [A. Dills]?

VEYSEY: Clayton is now dead. Yes. Clayton and Ralph were the two brothers, one short and one tall. And they were quite musically talented. The Derby Club put on a big annual, blacktie dinner for themselves each year in which they paraded from Posey's through the capitol and on to dinner.

DOUGLASS: It was quite an institution?

VEYSEY: Quite an institution.

- DOUGLASS: Had it been around a while when you came?
- VEYSEY: A long time. [Senator] Randolph A.] Randy Collier was president when I went in.
- DOUGLASS: But there was not a specific cause for which you could be lobbied or committed on in connection with that group?
- VEYSEY: No. It was spread among a number of different lobbyists with quite different points of view. There would be somebody from labor. Somebody from the business community. Somebody from the brewery industry. Someone from agriculture. They would all be together. They didn't particularly advocate or push any position at those meetings.
- DOUGLASS: It sounds like this kind of thing was going on quite a bit.
- VEYSEY: There is another phase of it in which a lobbyist would take one or a group of legislators to some particular dinner he would arrange or some particular outing or something like that. For example, one time the railroad people put together a group and ran a special car on the rail from Sacramento up to Reno with liquid refreshment on the way up and dinner, with a short time to visit the casinos, then back on the train and down to Sacramento. Things like that.

Or, an advocate might take a small group of legislators to a dinner party at one of the restaurants there or down the river at some of the restaurants. Typically, the lobbyists who had been active in helping fund your campaign to start with, and you were kind of inclined to support their positions generally would do that.

DOUGLASS: They thought you were friendly?

VEYSEY: Yes. The people that were on the opposite side would generally not make those invitations to you. But it was a common practice for lobbyists to pick up the tab for drinks for legislators who just might stop in a bar without any invitation.

DOUGLASS: What groups were the most active and powerful for lobbying?

VEYSEY: Well, there is a whole book of lobbyists. Many of them you never hear of. They were authorized and licensed lobbyists.

DOUGLASS: I realize that. I mean if you had to name five or six.

VEYSEY: Well, the distilled spirits and the breweries came in pretty heavy in importance and in money that they spent. The railroads had very strong lobbies. The oil group, both the independents and the major oil companies, had strong lobbying influence. Agriculture, the cattlemen, beef growers, all different segments of the Farm

Bureau all put together had considerable influence.

Then probably real estate developers and people in that category. Then, without particular money to spend but very many things they wanted to get accomplished, education. That would be both the teachers, the administrators, the school boards, and Parent-Teacher Associations. All different levels of education would be involved. Increasingly, I got into that more and more, as time went on.

DOUGLASS: Those would be the major clusters?

VEYSEY: Yes. I may have omitted some, but those are typical of the types.

DOUGLASS: And the ones with the most money to spend were?

VEYSEY: The liquor and the racetrack people, probably would have the most money to spend. Railroads, the wine industry, they had not one lobbyist, but a whole stable of lobbyists.

DOUGLASS: Did you view the lobbyists as possible sources of information and insight for you in dealing with legislation?

VEYSEY: Oh, yes. Very much so. They were probably better informed as to what the issues in any bill were than anyone else, often better informed than the author of the bill.

There was a kind of a tradition among the

lobbyists, and believed in by members of legislature, that a lobbyist had better tell you the truth, in terms of the effect of a bill he was advocating in your district, or he better not come back again. If he deceived you and led you into a trap on something like that, why, he was just x-ed off the list. Word would pass very quickly, and he could no longer lobby in Sacramento.

DOUGLASS: Do you think that really worked at keeping them pretty honest?

VEYSEY: Sure. It did. They tried to be very honest. Sometimes they would not tell you everything about a bill, but they would give you a lot of good information. Interestingly enough, I found the research group that the Teamsters Union had up there was one of the most knowledgeable, best informed, and really had the best answers on a lot of the bills that came before the Industrial Relations Committee, particularly, dealing with unemployment compensation and workers' compensation. They had really studied those. They had very competent people. The A.F. of L. [American Federation of Labor] representatives never knew anything. They were hopeless. But the Teamsters really knew it. They had a very good group up there. And they would share that information with you.

- DOUGLASS: They could be very complicated.
- VEYSEY: Very complicated and very highly technical. Now, on the education side, even more complicated are the education finance formulas, which are unreal. [Laughter] You never could find out the truth about those.
- DOUGLASS: Yes. Well, did committee staff in education, did they fill that void?
- VEYSEY: They had to do what they could. When I became chairman of the Education Committee, I had a couple of good, young men working on that. John Mockler is one--he now represents a lot of school districts throughout the state--and Jim Murdock. They were both very bright and very able and would ferret out what really happened. But, later on [in the time] when I was chairman of the Education Committee, the Department of Education became very cooperative. They would send over competent financial people to tell us exactly how the financial formulas would work and what would happen, and how the formulas could be changed, if need be, to accomplish whatever we wanted accomplished.
- DOUGLASS: Wouldn't it be true in those first few years before you went to a full-time legislature, that, indeed, maybe, the lobbyists were an essential source of information? Because you

didn't have very much staff.

VEYSEY: Yes. They were. There was little staff. The author of a bill often did not really know what it does. He is trying to do something, but he does not realize that his bill also affects other areas.

DOUGLASS: What the implications are. Well, could we make the link that the role of the lobbyist may have been partly diminished when you got the full-time legislature and the staff as a source of information?

VEYSEY: Perhaps as a source of information. Although, often the staff was getting the information from the lobbyists. The lobbyists still could most accurately report what their supporting group-- be they farmers or teachers--what their view of that particular legislation was, so you knew who would support and who oppose. Whose vote would you encourage by voting for it, or who would you offend if you went the other way?

DOUGLASS: They gave you the practical feedback?

VEYSEY: Yes. I found them to be almost always scrupulously honest in telling you that. "This is going to bad in this area."

DOUGLASS: This was not a threatening kind of situation but just cold information.

VEYSEY: Never a threat.

DOUGLASS: That's interesting because most of us have a

different stereotype of the lobbyist.

VEYSEY: Yes. I never found them to be that way. I heard a lot of stories about some wrong and evil things that happened under the pressure of lobbyists. Even before I got to Sacramento, it was noted that an amendment to a bill that was offensive to some powerful group would somehow disappear by magic. According to the stories, they drove across the Sacramento River and dropped them in the river. Or the entire bill that was detrimental to some interest group could disappear. That was a serious thing in the early years.

We'll say the liquor interests did not want to be taxed. Ofttimes, there would be serious, meaningful efforts to tax them. And other times, there would be just pressure tactics on the part of a legislator to get their attention. If he puts in a bill that would levy another dollar a gallon on beer, that gets their attention right away. The lobbyists come right over and talk to him about it. Then he is able to bargain. But to correct the problem of the bills disappearing caused the creation of the committee of which I became chairman, Engrossing and Enrolling [Committee]. [Laughter]

DOUGLASS: Yes. I noticed that.

- VEYSEY: A wonderful committee.
- DOUGLASS: I was fascinated with that. You and Carlos Bee and Jesse Unruh were on that. Do you want to tell the story on that?
- VEYSEY: Yes. Jesse always operated in the spirit of bipartisanship after the assembly was organized. He always appointed some Republican chairmen of committees. Not too many, but he appointed those whom he felt he could pressure their appointment as chairmen to get a vote from them on occasion for something he needed. Indeed, that was a clear understanding. "I will appoint you chairman, but there will be a few votes I've got to have, and I will call you on that." And you might say, "Well, that is not too bad." So that's the way a speaker gets power and influence in the legislature. And he would use it.
- DOUGLASS: This is 1968.
- VEYSEY: Yes. He appointed me. I guess he needed another Republican chairman because Engrossing and Enrolling is like a noncommittee. It gains you no political advantage. But it was put in as safeguard to assure the accuracy of legislation. Every amendment and every bill had to be engrossed when it was in process to assure it was correctly presented to the assembly. Then it becomes a permanent part of the record,

and there is no way that anyone could mismanage it.

DOUGLASS: So, the minute the bill is introduced and starts through the system, it is engrossed.

VEYSEY: Engrossed. If it is enacted, then it is enrolled.

DOUGLASS: Did the engrossing involve the changes that happened to it?

VEYSEY: Every amendment. Every change which is made in that bill is engrossed to assure accuracy.

DOUGLASS: In a committee or on the floor?

VEYSEY: The amendment may be introduced in a committee, but it is then referred by the committee to the floor to be incorporated into the bill.

DOUGLASS: So it is engrossed the next time when it goes from committee to the floor. And then it goes to the other house.

VEYSEY: This process of engrossing and enrolling was handled as pretty much a routine clerical matter by the clerk of the assembly, who had a couple of staff people who just saw to it that every single bill and amendment was accounted for. There was a paper trail created on everything. This day, this amendment was engrossed. This day, this bill was enrolled. And each transaction had to be signed off by the chairman of the committee.

DOUGLASS: I see. So you were the oversight group for this operation.

VEYSEY: To see if this was done technically correctly.

DOUGLASS: So the staff was reporting to you.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: When was it created, this committee?

VEYSEY: I don't know. Long before my arrival. But we heard the stories about the bills disappearing and amendments being presented and just never being found again.

DOUGLASS: So this was not a chairmanship that took a lot of your time?

VEYSEY: No. It did not. I just had to sign a lot of papers all the time.

DOUGLASS: Yes. But this was to keep the system honest and have the legislature involved beyond just staff doing it?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: I see.

VEYSEY: An interesting incident took place in connection with that. One time Jesse had a constitutional amendment up. I can't even remember what the constitutional amendment was, but I didn't favor it at all. I refused to engross it. [Laughter]

DOUGLASS: A little revolution there.

VEYSEY: Jesse said, "Well, I guess I can get a new chairman." I said, "You sure could." But he never did. He just dropped the issue, not

wanting to have the heat over firing a committee chairman.

DOUGLASS: He really did? My word.

VEYSEY: He didn't think it was worth the flak that he would take.

DOUGLASS: But it was a constitutional amendment.

VEYSEY: Yes. But it was far from being enacted. I just wanted to kill it at the very beginning. I can't even remember what the issue was.

DOUGLASS: It must have been something you felt strongly about.

VEYSEY: I did, I guess, to go that far. I did this without party support or direction. I knew it would not be a popular thing with the Republicans generally, but there was no caucus position on it.

DOUGLASS: As far as you know, he never took that out on you.

VEYSEY: No. He never did. He had his option. He could have replaced me. Then I could yell to the press, "Look, what he is doing. This is the way he plays the game." He just decided that was not worth the candle.

DOUGLASS: A game of percentages.

VEYSEY: He just let it go. [Laughter]

DOUGLASS: That is a good story. Let's go back again to that first session and your committee

assignments. You indicated that once the little symbolic negatives for you were over with, with Unruh in terms of office, there seemed to no acrimony. Were these the committees of your choice?

VEYSEY: They were good committees. I could not get on Agriculture the first year because that was filled. But they had a sort of a subcommittee which was called Livestock and Dairies. They put me on that. I didn't have any dairies, but livestock, yes. That was fine, and I stuck with that. I was interested in industrial relations, and they thought I might have something to contribute there [Committee on Industrial Relations]. I didn't ask for Finance and Insurance at all, but they needed somebody like me on there to balance that up, I guess.

DOUGLASS: That is a potent committee.

VEYSEY: Yes. That is a potent committee and very interesting. Then the Education [Committee] I was particularly interested in and asked for that and got it. So, there was no retribution or anything like that.

DOUGLASS: Would Education and Agriculture, considering your district and you past experience, have been your first choices?

VEYSEY: Yes. They would.

DOUGLASS: I want to ask you about [the Committee on]

Finance and Insurance because that is usually considered a plum. I was rereading Houston Flournoy's interview, and if you'll notice, Flournoy is on that committee.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: And also Veneman. And [Assemblyman James R.] Mills was chairman and [Assemblyman George] Zenovich was vice chairman. Mills and Zenovich were considered Unruh people, I believe.

VEYSEY: Yes. They were.

DOUGLASS: I wonder what your reaction to this was? Flournoy thought that possibly Unruh had put some moderate Republicans on that, which he considered himself, and, perhaps, you would be in that category, purposely, to put you in a position of having to vote against some things that would not be popular with the electorate. Did you ever have any Machiavellian theory about why he put you on that committee?

VEYSEY: No. I never knew. I never understood why that would be, but that is a possible scenario that may be correct. I had thought that he was probably striving for more balance of different parts of the state and different influences of conservative and liberal. And, also, probably, the lobbyists from the banks, savings and loans, and other financial institutions might have had

some input. They would be consulted, probably, by the speaker as he made up his committee assignments. They might say, "Why don't you consider putting Joe Doakes on that? We happen to know that he is interested in this, and we think he is a good guy." So, he would consider that.

Jesse had another great ability and that is knowing who had the money for political purposes. As you know, Jesse identified "money as the mother's milk of politics." And he knew that he would want to raise money from those lobbyists. So, he might wish to do some things of a minor type by way of pleasing the lobbyists and showing them that he was a reasonable, good guy. Then they would contribute. The lobbyists, of course, don't cling to party lines. They often will contribute to both candidates in an election. It was a shock to me to find that out. [Laughter]

DOUGLASS: A litte here and a little there. Hedge your bets.

VEYSEY: Right. Hedge your bets. They consider that just guaranteeing them that they can walk into your office and be greeted cordially.

DOUGLASS: It is access.

VEYSEY: Yes. Access money. It didn't buy any positions.

- DOUGLASS: Were you heavily lobbied, you people on Finance and Insurance?
- VEYSEY: Yes. We were pretty thoroughly lobbied. Financial institutions and insurers have access to major funds. Well, all committees were pretty well lobbied. No question about that. Education, Agriculture, Ways and Means [Committees].
- DOUGLASS: I suppose that one was considered one out of which one could leverage more money for your campaign base?
- VEYSEY: Yes. Finance and Insurance, they have pretty substantial sums of money for political purposes.
- DOUGLASS: Did you ever have, in your sort of agricultural district, support from savings and loans in your district? In other words, what lobby groups would have affected you?
- VEYSEY: I got political help from the banks and savings and loans. Both.
- DOUGLASS: How about insurance?
- VEYSEY: Well, it is a little hard to say about that because there would be a lobbyist representing the independent brokers. Insurance brokers are everywhere all over the state. They would have some positions. And then there would be lobbyists representing the casualty insurers and

the fire insurers and the life insurers and all different kinds of insurers. And it is pretty diffused that way. I had financial support from them. They sometimes would contribute to campaigns. Particularly to incumbents--and it looks like you are going to get elected again--they tended to be a little more free.

DOUGLASS: That first year or two, people are a little hesitant about approaching you, I suppose.

VEYSEY: When you are running against an incumbent who looks like he ought to win again, they are very spare with their money. You have to do that with other kinds of money, if any. In my first campaign we didn't spend any money, really. I guess I told you that.

DOUGLASS: You gave a figure that was very little, in that first campaign.

VEYSEY: Which is a ridiculous amount in today's campaigns. Mostly, we used volunteer labor and local contributions. Materials contributed by somebody.

DOUGLASS: In regard to the Republican caucus at that time, [Assemblyman] Charles [J.] Conrad was the minority leader. Were you quickly introduced into that caucus? And how did it function? We talked about, in general, what the caucus would do, but what were your first experiences with the caucus and with Conrad?

VEYSEY: Charlie was an interesting enigma to me. He was a nervous type of person. But he had been in the legislature a long time. I didn't sense that he took any role early on in encouraging me to run or getting me elected. [Assemblyman Joseph C.] Joe Shell, the minority leader, was more forward in that regard. I remember, Joe flew his own plane, and he made at least a couple of trips down to Brawley.

DOUGLASS: On your first campaign?

VEYSEY: Yes. Not for public appearances, but just to talk about it and to see how it was going and try to help me in that way. That was very helpful.

DOUGLASS: But Conrad was not visible at that time.

VEYSEY: Not so much. He may have come down one time.

DOUGLASS: Conrad was rumored to be partly in Unruh's pocket.

VEYSEY: Well, you heard those rumors about different Republicans from time to time. Maybe about me, I don't know.

DOUGLASS: I was just curious.

[End Tape 2, Side B]

[Begin Tape 3, Side A]

VEYSEY: I think it would be true at any time and for many purposes that the assembly Republican leader and the assembly Democrat leader would sit together and work out deals in which one could comfort, support the other on some issues and dissuade on other issues. I am sure that was done, and it always has been done. I suppose that seems somehow wrong and treacherous to the public. They sort of conceive of them as being this sworn adversary, at each other's throat on everything.

That is not true. At least it was not true during my time there. They agreed that the state's business was the most important thing that they had to work on. Sure, they were going to try to elect some more Republicans in the next election or some more Democrats. To be sure all their members were protected. Certain positions were supported. They would get together and oftentimes say, "Now, really for the good of the state, we've got to move forward in this area. Let's give a little and take a little."

So, political progress is achieved through the art of compromise. The public likes to think of people with strong principles who were elected, and they are going to die for those

principles. But that is not really the way it works. Not usefully. Some people try. But you have to be willing to compromise and to understand the other fellow's position and point of view. And let him have something. Let him save face. So, there would constantly be those "deals" and there always have been.

DOUGLASS: And that is a period when some chairmanships were given to the minority party as a matter of course.

VEYSEY: Those could be taken away anytime the speaker got mad.

DOUGLASS: But, at least, they were there.

VEYSEY: He could jerk them up and replace them with Democrats. And sometimes that has happened.

DOUGLASS: But, I mean, just the fact that, initially, some bipartisanship was shown.

VEYSEY: That was the tradition, and it had always worked that way.

DOUGLASS: Well, why don't we move to the lockup. It comes right away. You had not been there very long. It was July 30, 1963 that was the lockup. I would very much like for you to walk through that thing and tell your version. And then I also brought along Senator James Mills' book, A Disorderly House. And I also reread Hugh Flournoy's account of this. It would be

interesting to get very specific on this.

Number one, let me ask you. You were living in your own apartment at this time. This is the first year. There was a group who had an apartment because that is part of how the story devolves. That group, at least, according to Hugh Flournoy's account, Flournoy, [Assemblyman William T.] Bagley, Monagan, Veneman lived in this apartment on O Street. Now, why don't you tell the story from your viewpoint.

VEYSEY: I don't remember the story quite the same way Jim relates it. I have not seen Hugh Flournoy's account, so I can't comment on that. Certainly I was on very friendly terms with the group of Republicans that you mentioned. I considered them among my very best friends and political supporters.

DOUGLASS: Now did you know any of them before or was this just something that developed since you had been in the legislature?

VEYSEY: Since I was in the legislature. I had heard of Bagley. He had been there quite a long time. I knew of Flournoy from education circles. I had met Monagan through his activities in the party. Of course, I heard of Veneman through his victory in that special election.

DOUGLASS: But you found that you had a mutual viewpoint with these people?

VEYSEY: Very much so. They were among my best friends and close associates. They were Republicans, but moderate. They understood the problem I had in a two-to-one Democrat district. They played cards quite a lot together. And drank quite a bit together. I have never been a cardplayer. I don't have any principle against it. I did not consider it that enjoyable, and I don't drink very much. So, I was a little outside in some ways from them and the whole legislature.

DOUGLASS: Also, too, which is in an interesting point, you were there with your family, which leads to one lifestyle a little bit. And lot of these people were there "baching" it. That leads to certain other kinds of relationships, too, I suppose, and activities.

VEYSEY: Sure it does. We would tend to associate more with other families for that reason.

DOUGLASS: So you were not out in the evening.

VEYSEY: No. Not very much. I don't remember exactly where this idea generated, but no one thought it would result in the lockup. But I had pretty strong feelings about trying to see that education was appropriately taken care of in the budget. And we had heard disquieting rumors about the assembly Democrats, led by Unruh, making some kind of deal with the senate

Democrats to handle the budget process in a certain way.

You have to remember, the budget is the singular vote of the entire year in which two-thirds vote is required by the constitution. So, the Democrats had to have a considerable number of Republicans vote with them to pass a budget. And that is always a delicate thing because it gives the minority party a chokepoint on the political process there. I was disquieted, and others were disquieted, by the fact that we heard the education money was in a separate transaction, although it is a very big part of the whole budget.

DOUGLASS: It had been separated out.

VEYSEY: It had been separated out. For probably very good reasons, it had been kept a closely guarded secret. There is always a tension between the large districts and the rural districts. How much is going to go to each area? They kept that very quiet because they didn't want that difference to erupt in the whole process. But that looked ominous to me. And we were afraid that they had shortchanged education and favored welfare or something like that. This was an overriding Democrat orientation and counter to Republican sentiment at that time. And we didn't want that to happen.

DOUGLASS: When you say "we," this group?

VEYSEY: We, in talking to Monagan and that group. It occurred to us, in our discussions, the only way we could be sure about that is to drag our feet on the budget and cause them to bring up the education bill. So, we agreed that was probably a right tactic.

DOUGLASS: Now, was this agreed at the last minute, or had you been talking about this for a while?

VEYSEY: We had talked about it off and on for a while, but it didn't come to any big, climactic discussion.

DOUGLASS: And was this in a group or one by one?

VEYSEY: Almost one by one as I remember it. It was not a group meeting or anything of the sort, but we talked about it. The upshot of it was I decided that I would make a motion in the caucus that we would not vote for the budget until we saw the education bill. Not necessarily approve it, but saw what it was. And saw what we were up against in terms of financing education. And the others thought that was a pretty good idea.

So, sure enough, the next day or so, we had a caucus meeting, and I presented that motion and all other Republicans said, "Yes. That's a good idea. Let's do that." They pledged to say that they would not vote against the budget, but

not vote for it either. Just simply not deliver their vote until we were informed, briefed as to what the education bill covered. That was the position we took.

So then when the budget came up during prolonged debate, we questioned them about the education component. And they were not forthcoming with respect to what that education money would be and how we would find out the details. So, when debate ceased, the speaker called for the vote, all the Democrats voted, and that was all that happened. And they were far short of the two-thirds that they needed. And he repeatedly called for the vote and put on a call of the house. Everything stopped. We waited and nothing happened. I feared that about the second time around, some of the Republicans, including Republican committee chairmen, would break and then a whole bunch of them will. But they didn't. Not one.

DOUGLASS: They held fast.

VEYSEY: This infuriated Jesse. He really departed from his normal, rational approach to things. He got very mad about it.

DOUGLASS: Why do you think he got so very ticked off about it?

VEYSEY: He probably had represented that he could get the budget passed. I mean, he would deliver

the vote to the governor, and here he was not delivering. So he was outraged, and probably with some justification. He may have had understandings with Conrad and Monagan, and felt betrayed. There is a moral obligation to vote, one way or another.

DOUGLASS: On the budget.

VEYSEY: You just can't sit there and not vote. You are not supposed to do that. He was offended by that as a breach of the proper procedure of the house. And really it is not right. There is an elaborate arrangement for when you put a call of the house. Then the sergeant-at-arms is sent out to find and bring in, physically if need be to the chamber, any absent member. Then, he, thereupon, is expected to vote one way or the other. When you take the oath of office, I don't think it says you will vote on everything, but it implies that. You are suppose to be there to vote.

DOUGLASS: He was not willing, apparently, in the beginning, to concede some information on the schools. At that point, it may have begun to be a posturing situation?

VEYSEY: I am afraid he was locked in a position with the senate having negotiated this secret arrangement with them. It was sort of a nervous negotiation

to get the senators to go along with it. Part of the thing was that he would not reveal what the deal was.

DOUGLASS: Perhaps he really could not?

VEYSEY: He thought he really could not, and he stated that he could not reveal that out of the commitments he had made. But that made it seem all the more sinister to us. There is important information we ought to know, but we don't know. Is this all right?

DOUGLASS: For you, personally, it sounds to me that this was very important. The school finance bill, knowing what was in it, was very important to you?

VEYSEY: Yes. I was strongly committed to trying to improve the educational situation of the state. A long time ago I had feelings for that. I had been a school board member. I knew a lot about that side of the thing. To me, that was the most important part of the whole budgetary process. Why are we expected to deliver this two-thirds vote, which is the only real control that we have over anything, and not know what the implications of the situation were?

So, out of that, you can conjure up all kinds of black thoughts about what the proposed budget did, taking the education money and putting it into welfare or whatever. Of course,

they hadn't done that. But we felt that was very critical that we know. I guess Monagan, Flournoy, Conrad, and those felt it was politically a good posture for us to take. Then, totally unexpectedly, it developed into a nasty scene with Jesse, in which his worst side was exposed.

DOUGLASS: Do you mean politically, in terms of principle and the budget?

VEYSEY: On education, standards and quality for education.

DOUGLASS: Yes. Then it is about, at this point in this incident, to cycle into making the speaker to look bad, in a way?

VEYSEY: That was not our intent really at all to begin with. That developed, and Jesse did that to himself without us. We just sat there on our hands, and he just got worse and worse.

DOUGLASS: As the afternoon moved along, he put a call [on the house], were you really surprised that it had come down to that?

VEYSEY: Yes. I really was. I was totally astounded that it worked into that sort of a situation. An infuriated, tipsy speaker became determined to break a Republican caucus position. I was just dumbfounded to see Jesse do what he did at that time. He did put on a call of the house,

and then he would retire to his chambers with some of his cohorts, and they would have another round of drinks and come back and it would be even worse than before. He got thunderous, he got loud, he could not even speak clearly.

DOUGLASS: He was really angry?

VEYSEY: He was really out of himself, with anger and liquor.

DOUGLASS: Yes. So that night he was beginning . . .

VEYSEY: Oh, he was in terrible shape. At dinnertime, he kept the call of the house on but then wrote out passes for his Democrats to go to dinner. He went out with his friends again, and they had some more drinks. It was a sad thing to see that happen, in a way.

DOUGLASS: So that sounds like part of the Mills' version may be fairly accurate.

VEYSEY: Pretty much right.

DOUGLASS: You spent the night in the assembly. Where did you sleep?

VEYSEY: On the floor right by my desk.

DOUGLASS: Flournoy said that he and a couple of others slept . . .

[Interruption]

. . . slept in [Assemblywoman] Pauline [L.] Davis' bathroom, because she had one, being the only woman. They asked her.

VEYSEY: Yes. She had a special ladies room. That may

be true. I never saw that.

DOUGLASS: But you were on the floor by your desk. And you had some food brought in.

VEYSEY: Yes. The caucus chairman sent out to Frank Fat's or some place and got the food brought in for all of us. So we didn't starve or suffer.

DOUGLASS: Did it begin to become a hilarious party, the atmosphere?

VEYSEY: Yes. It became pretty silly after a while. Everybody was laughing and joking, being quite lighthearted about a rather serious matter. There were only Republicans in the chambers by then. Jesse would come back in periodically and demand a vote again, and nothing would happen. No one would budge.

DOUGLASS: Well, did the Democrats come back after dinner?

VEYSEY: Some did. But they had passes to go and come.

DOUGLASS: But this would be pro forma by now because if he even got you to vote, there would not enough people on the floor to vote?

VEYSEY: They had already recorded their votes. It was on the board. Here are all these green lights down there and no red lights, but lots of blanks.

DOUGLASS: That vote was on record.

VEYSEY: Yes. And then you could add to it.

DOUGLASS: I thought the vote had to be all at once.

VEYSEY: No. The members could add to it, or change votes during a call. As a matter of fact, your seatmate could vote for you.

DOUGLASS: So it was between you and him at this point?

VEYSEY: Not me.

DOUGLASS: I don't mean you personally.

VEYSEY: I don't think he even knew I had any role in it at that point.

DOUGLASS: I meant the general "you," the Republicans who were on the floor.

VEYSEY: Well, it was sort of a test of strength and of wills and of procedure, at that point.

DOUGLASS: Did he get angrier and angrier as the evening went on?

VEYSEY: He got very angry. He was really out of control. Finally, with the call of the house still on, the Democrats all went home and slept. Early the next morning, somewhere or other, Unruh and some others got together and decided to. . . .

DOUGLASS: Now, didn't [Senator] Joseph [A.] Rattigan come over from the senate and tell you what was in the bill?

VEYSEY: Yes. That was ultimately the way it was done. Joe Rattigan explained the education bill.

DOUGLASS: Did you respect Rattigan?

VEYSEY: Oh, yes. He is a fine man. We knew that he would tell us pretty straight what it was. A

lot of our conjured-up apprehension was not true at all. It was not that bad of an arrangement, except for the secrecy. But we, I guess, were just standing on the principle that we needed to know. And Jesse was standing on other arrangements that he had made whereby we could not know.

DOUGLASS: To take it one further step, at least Mills reports in here that even after Rattigan came and talked, Hugh Flournoy got up and still made a speech on the floor that you would have to see the bill printed. Do you remember that?

VEYSEY: I don't very clearly remember that. I am not sure. No doubt Flournoy was stressing a constitutional principle, saying that a bill has to be in print and on the desk before you can vote on it. But we were not voting, technically, on that bill. But we were voting then on representations that Joe Rattigan made as to what was in the bill. Everybody believed him. We knew him to be an honest, straight guy.

DOUGLASS: Well, finally, Unruh backed off.

VEYSEY: Yes. He did.

DOUGLASS: I am trying to remember what happened then. He backed off in terms of locking you out?

VEYSEY: He took off the call of the house, which released everybody to go. Then the leadership looked over the bill. I was not even involved

in this. I was a very junior guy. I was not involved in the negotiations with Unruh as to how to get out of the lockout. Or, in the final arrangements, as to how the vote was delivered. But it was agreed and Monagan with Conrad and [Assemblyman Don K.] Mulford. I was convinced by Rattigan that the education bill was all right. The caucus would, in fact, release us all from our commitment not to vote for the budget. The budget passed. Everything passed.

DOUGLASS: That is an amazing experience for the first year in the legislature. [Laughter]

VEYSEY: It was a running start.

DOUGLASS: As I look at Mills' book, I suppose the part of it, according to you, that really does not track is when he says you had gone over to have lunch at O Street at the apartment of Flournoy and that group. In fact, he does not name Flournoy in the book, which is interesting. And that it was on a walk back to the capitol grounds--it is right in here--that you made the suggestion about the school finance bill. Of course, I think Mills makes it appear that it was a strategic move. He gives you a quote in there.

VEYSEY: It may have happened that way. I don't have a very clear recollection.

DOUGLASS: Flournoy didn't have that either. Flournoy said that they did have lunch.

- VEYSEY: Well, I am sure that Mills' quote is not a correct quote at all.
- DOUGLASS: I guess the thing that is kind of interesting in this is that I got the feeling from Flournoy that this group--Bagley, Monagan, Veneman--had spent a lot of time debating how they could "get" Unruh.
- VEYSEY: I would not be surprised, although I was never in any discussions like that.
- DOUGLASS: That is what is interesting to me about this. Perhaps they were more into that because they had been there a bit longer than you. Would that be accurate?
- VEYSEY: That would be entirely accurate. I suspect, and I don't know this for sure, but Bill Bagley had different perspective on a lot of these things. He had been there a long time and had a good bit of political experience. He was a great one for games playing. This sort of thing would have appeal to him as being a pretty cute way to put Jesse in a spot. I didn't think of it in that sense at all. I certainly don't think that I ever suggested it as a means of showing that Jesse didn't have control of us. My orientation was entirely towards the education bill and the right to know what it contained, because it is a very major part of the budget. Why shouldn't we know, if we were to vote?

DOUGLASS: Talking about this group, which was called the Young Turks, your name isn't listed, if you look at the various things written. People who did come along were Cologne and a couple of others. People who came in to the group or had been there and decided to affiliate with the group. What did you feel your relationship was? Did you consider yourself a Young Turk? In terms of the group of people. Let me add. [Assemblyman] Chet Wolfrum. People who have been discussed as joining Bagley, Flournoy, Monagan, and Veneman were Wolfrum, [Assemblyman] Clark [A.] Bradley, and Gordon Cologne.

VEYSEY: Wolfrum was gone before my time.

DOUGLASS: Yes, he served 1960 to '62.

VEYSEY: So I didn't know him.

DOUGLASS: Clark Bradley went out in '62, too.

VEYSEY: Clark Bradley went on to the senate. And Gordon Cologne went to the senate. I was very close to Gordon Cologne. We had adjacent districts. He was very helpful and friendly to me. I just never participated in any discussions with them, like we were going to revolutionize the house or the world.

DOUGLASS: So you were just a peripheral friend?

VEYSEY: Peripheral. I had an affiliation with them because in most cases they represented rural type of districts, with the exception of Charlie

Conrad. Rural-type districts with the similar types of problems with which I was confronted. And we were Republicans, and we could see the rising tide of Republicanism throughout the state.

DOUGLASS: Apparently, they initially started when they first came into the legislature in indignation over the '61 reapportionment. I gather that was the nucleus. Unruh's stamp was heavy on that.

VEYSEY: There was a lot of bloodletting in that reapportionment, tough decisions. And I was not part of that process at all.

DOUGLASS: Yes. Well, it is fascinating to get your version of the lockup. Anything else about the lockup?

VEYSEY: No. Nothing in particular. I didn't visit Pauline Davis' quarters or anything exciting of the sort. I just lolled around in the lounge and sat around on the floor and talked. Some of the cardplayers had a card game going.

DOUGLASS: It sort of became a mild party?

VEYSEY: Yes. It did. A mild party. Everything was in kind of suspended animation. The house rules were that you can't move on to consider another matter until this is resolved. You are blocked on that. Without unanimous consent, you can't change the agenda.

DOUGLASS: Well, let me talk about a few general things that were going on in this first term that you were there in '63. In terms of the Republican party, up to this point you had not been very active in the party.

VEYSEY: No. I had not.

DOUGLASS: Did you become active in that first term on a state basis?

VEYSEY: When you run for the nomination of the party, you become active locally, at least. Well, I guess, the Republican central committee of Imperial County recruited me into that role. So, I became pretty active with them, and they were very supportive and they did what they said they would do in working the election. And then I did become increasingly active in the state party. I began to attend the Republican party convention and meetings all over the state.

DOUGLASS: In this particular period, the conservatives within the Republican party apparently did launch a program to take over the official and unofficial organs of the party. That is, the volunteer organizations and the state central committee. They went out of their way to defeat so-called "moderate" candidates. What is your view of that?

VEYSEY: I didn't hold any office so I was not heavily involved in that, but I viewed that struggle

somewhat dourly because I felt that was a split in the party that we didn't need and should not have. The conservatives did indeed take over the leadership of the volunteer organizations. And that ultimately continued in its development up through the [Senator Barry M.] Goldwater presidential campaign and the convention in San Francisco.

There was a good bit of stridency within the Republican party. And, thereafter, the moderate organizations subsided. Either they were taken over or had lessened influence. The more aggressively conservative organizations forged ahead. The complexion of the party changed. I didn't think that was a good development. I thought there were too few Republicans, and we had better keep them altogether.

DOUGLASS: As I understand it, they even went to the extent in elections in districts like yours of working against moderates who were running for elected office.

VEYSEY: That might be. I think I have heard of instances like that. I don't have any experiences of anything of that sort. As it turns out, the conservatives were foretelling a considerable wave of conservatism that has

swept through the state and through the national political scene. This ended up with the election of the majority of Republicans in both the assembly and the senate of Republicans, and the election of Governor [Ronald] Reagan, and then his further move to the presidency. Which has all been a continuation, I think, of that same conservative momentum.

But I have never been, well, I am certainly not a liberal. But I have never been fully comfortable with the archconservative side of the party.

DOUGLASS: So where would you place yourself? A moderate? Within the party.

VEYSEY: A moderate conservative.

DOUGLASS: Well, at this time, Gaylord Parkinson became the state chairman. Did he help coalesce the conservative elements?

VEYSEY: I don't remember that he particularly had that role. His role, as I recall it, was the California Plan, which elected Republicans and not all extreme conservatives. I was one of them. There were many others who were not too conservative. I always took the posture that a far right-wing conservative would have a more difficult time getting elected in most of these districts that have predominant Democrat registration.

My experience had been that a moderate can get Democrats to vote for him or her, whereas a philosophical conservative might have some difficulties. That is not to say that a lot of Democrats are not conservative, too, because they are. Down in my country, that is the way it worked. Parkinson was the architect of this California Plan, which he put together very skillfully, I thought.

DOUGLASS: And the much-quoted eleventh amendment?

VEYSEY: Yes. It has been pretty much adhered to with beneficial results.

DOUGLASS: It is still being quoted widely. It is about ten words. "Speak no evil of another Republican."

VEYSEY: Yes. Basically, that is it. It speaks to harmony and breadth in the Republican party.

DOUGLASS: Well, interestingly enough, the state central committee, during this time, did call for a resumption of cross-filing. Now, how would you have felt about that?

VEYSEY: I felt that cross-filing was very beneficial to an incumbent. And I would have liked that from the personal comfort point of view. I would support that arrangement. It makes it difficult when you are trying to acquire new districts because it gives the advantage to the incumbent, and he might be a Democrat. It works against

you in that quest. It saves an incumbent a lot of trouble and difficulty. He can win reelection in the primary. That was frequently done in the past. And, still, the tradition endures that most incumbents do get reelected if they do a reasonable job. So it would be a matter of efficiency and personal convenience.

DOUGLASS: Personally, it would not have affected you, but, on principle, you were dubious about it?

VEYSEY: It is a two-edged sword. It would tend to make it very difficult to acquire additional districts. But, from my own personal side of it, I would have liked it because it would make my political life simpler.

DOUGLASS: In terms of a couple of things that went on in legislation. This was the period when Governor [Edmund G.] Brown [Sr.] has just come off of a reelection. He is urging a moratorium of the death penalty. It did pass the assembly by one vote and died in the senate Judiciary committee. How did you feel about all of that? That was one of the major issues under Brown.

VEYSEY: Yes. It was one of the major issues, and I was opposed to what he was trying to do. I felt that for at least some classes of particularly heinous, premeditated, cold-blooded crimes, that the death penalty was appropriate. While I was

told over and over again, the death penalty is not a deterrent--and it well may not be in some cases--I felt that if the crimes you are talking about are premeditated, first-degree murder, you think about that quite a bit. Certainly, one thing you might think about would be, if there is swift and sure justice at all--which I don't think we have necessarily--but if there is such a thing, where the penalty is going to be your death, you are going to think quite a bit longer about it, and it would be a deterrent. And I still feel that way.

DOUGLASS: What do you think this meant politically to Brown, his focus on this stance? What was this doing to the atmosphere in, at least, the assembly?

VEYSEY: Well, I think a lot of people respected him for his moral principles, not having the right to take the life of another person, however serious his transgressions might seem to be. But, at the same time, it was not a popular issue by any stretch, and it is not popular today. Of course, we have gone through a whole cycle where the death penalty was, for practical purposes, not in effect, due to supreme court decisions. Then the laws had to be reenacted again in conformity with some standards which may be entirely appropriate. And our justice

system is anything but swift and sure.

DOUGLASS: What I was getting at: Did this hurt Brown politically? How was this met in the assembly, in terms of so many people who did not agree with Brown? Was this a cloud over Brown's administration?

VEYSEY: Yes. It weakened his influence there. [Edmund G.] Brown, Sr. was very friendly, very easy to talk with, [an] understanding sort of a person. Pretty much in sharp contrast to his son, [Edmund G.] Brown, Jr., who was anything but that. Who was very difficult to communicate with. People liked Pat Brown. I don't think people liked junior very much at all. But the same moral issue ran through both of their administrations. It got more intense because junior was very strong on that, out of an entirely conscientious view on his part. Plus, a lot of people support that position. In my view, it is not and never has been representative of the majority opinion of the voters of the state.

DOUGLASS: So would I be correct in saying as far as Edmund Brown, Sr. was concerned, this was not too great a problem in that it was viewed as a personal commitment he had made, and people liked him anyway? So, it was not a big problem?

VEYSEY: Not that big a problem. No. They liked him. He was very friendly with the legislature. He invited us over to dinner. We would talk a lot. You might be sitting in the coffee shop having a cup of coffee, he would come in and sit down beside you. "I know you could not vote for this and this, but now there is something else. I need help on."

DOUGLASS: He was very personable?

VEYSEY: Yes. He was. He was a very friendly, folksy, comfortable person to talk with.

DOUGLASS: When did you first meet Edmund "Pat" Brown?

VEYSEY: When I first was elected.

DOUGLASS: How did he get to know you personally?

VEYSEY: He made a point of knowing who the legislators were. And he would do that on a very friendly, folksy basis. I guess that Sacramento was a small town in those days. But he was of that nature.

DOUGLASS: Did you, as a Republican, feel you had access to his office?

VEYSEY: Oh, sure.

DOUGLASS: Would you drop down there if you had something to talk about?

VEYSEY: Yes. I had no problem at all.

DOUGLASS: So it was an open door?

VEYSEY: Yes. Absolutely. Any legislator could walk in.

DOUGLASS: Did he ever come up to an office in the

assembly? Walk around.

VEYSEY: Yes. He came up to the legislature on occasions to deliver the state of the state address and various events like that. And, occasionally, you would meet him around the halls. In view of the separation of powers, no governor would interfere with the legislature. He would not come to your office.

DOUGLASS: But you would see him around the corridors. So, you didn't feel, as a member of the minority party, you really had a terrible problem in terms of dealing with the governor?

VEYSEY: No. Not at all. I would have entire confidence if I had a bill that was in the best interest of the state, he would sign it. He would not say, "No. I will not sign that. It is a Republican bill."

DOUGLASS: Would he call you in and ask you about a bill he had a concern about? Or something he wanted information on?

VEYSEY: No. I don't remember him doing that. Of course, I was pretty young, a junior member, and not one he would seek that way. But he would walk in the coffee shop and sit down with you, uninvited, and would say, "Now, I have a bill coming along, and I would like you to take a good look at this."

DOUGLASS: You mean the cafeteria upstairs?

VEYSEY: Yes, there or elsewhere around town.

DOUGLASS: Oh, really.

VEYSEY: He was very folksy about that.

DOUGLASS: So it didn't take long until he would personally talk to you?

VEYSEY: Yes. We have been good friends ever since.

DOUGLASS: Really?

VEYSEY: [Laughter] This goes into another area. After he was retired and practicing law in Los Angeles, he had some clients down in the desert, some country clubs which wanted to build in some areas there. There was a flood problem. I had, at that time, the Army Corps of Engineers who were dealing with flood control issues. He would call me up and say, "Vic, could you meet me down in the desert? I want to talk to these people there about flood control." He was getting a fee from them for doing that. But he'd asked me if I could come down. If I could, I would arrange it. I would meet him there and meet these other people and talk about what the Corps could and could not do in terms of handling the flood control problem, so that they could enlarge the golf course or their ground, or whatever else. So, we have been on a very friendly terms.

DOUGLASS: So that was a continuing relationship. Well, I

guess, it was the personality, very gregarious one.

VEYSEY: The personality. I can well remember meeting Jerry Brown. The first time he came in, he came around to the office. This is before he was elected.

DOUGLASS: To your office?

VEYSEY: Yes. To pay his respects. He had just been elected as a trustee of the community college district for Los Angeles. I was in education at that time. So, he came in to pay his respects and to let me know that he was interested in education.

DOUGLASS: What was your impression of him?

VEYSEY: Oh, he was very unsure of himself. He didn't quite know what he was supposed to be doing in the education field or in other things. But he was getting his first political foothold at that time and beginning to move up. But he was rather timid.

DOUGLASS: Was he socially at ease?

VEYSEY: No. He had a totally different personality than Pat. Pat was an oncoming, large, diffusive, friendly, gregarious sort of a person. Jerry is closed in. It is hard to understand what he was thinking, and hard for him to express what he was thinking.

DOUGLASS: That's interesting. Such a contrast. Some people have said that he is more like his mother, but I don't know enough about her personality.

VEYSEY: She was very pleasant. We only met her on social occasions.

[End Tape 3, Side A]

[Begin Tape 3, Side B]

DOUGLASS: You were entertained in Brown's home for dinners.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: Groups of you with your wives?

VEYSEY: Yes. It would be with the wives. They were very nice, social occasions. Beautifully arranged.

DOUGLASS: Would these be barbecues or served dinners?

VEYSEY: These would be served dinners. Usually, catered in.

DOUGLASS: Groups of twenty or so?

VEYSEY: Maybe less. Ten or twelve or twenty.

DOUGLASS: You said that if it was a hot evening. . . .

VEYSEY: On a hot evening, I have known Pat Brown to exclaim over the weather, and then lead a group--he would go and put on his swimming trunks and throw a towel over his shoulder--across the busy street to the Mansion Inn. This was all without bodyguards or security or anything else. He'd swim in the Mansion Inn swimming pool and then come back across the street.

DOUGLASS: He had an arrangement, I guess.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: Then later, I guess, a group of Pat's friends built a pool.

VEYSEY: They did. They did, indeed, build at the

Mansion [Hotel]. There also were other matters by way of fire security in the old structure. Mrs. Brown expressed considerable concern and fear that they could get trapped there in a fire. So, various things were done about that.

DOUGLASS: Well, it sounds like there was a very open track between the legislature and the governorship at that time. And you as a Republican felt . . .

VEYSEY: I would have no qualms about going to the governor's office if there was something of importance that I wanted to discuss with him or a member of his staff. And I know that many other Republican legislators, likewise, would just go right down to the governor's office if they wanted to.

DOUGLASS: Were there any particular people on Brown's staff who were noteworthy? People you dealt with or that you either particularly liked or didn't care for?

VEYSEY: No.

DOUGLASS: Was there someone in education whom you might have dealt with?

VEYSEY: Not particularly in education. I don't remember anybody in Pat Brown's office in that particular period. You see, education does not really come under the governor. It comes under the elected superintendent of public instruction. So, that

has always been a tenuous and strange arrangement there. But, the superintendent of public instruction would always have people visiting with the legislators, explaining bills, and helping us find our way through the formulas. And they were most helpful under any administration. They have always been professional, helpful people.

DOUGLASS: Well, later, Reagan did have people who did that.

VEYSEY: Yes. He did. But I don't remember anybody in Brown's office that was in education.

DOUGLASS: Then any staff people?

VEYSEY: Well, Hale Champion was there, and he was a very powerful influence on the governor. And a fine person. Very bright, very knowledgeable, well educated. I liked him. We would often communicate. Of course, Jackie Habecker, who is the receptionist and has been the receptionist for a thousand different governors.

DOUGLASS: Was she there under Edmund, Jr.?

VEYSEY: Oh, yes, before, with senior.

DOUGLASS: Is she still there?

VEYSEY: She is still there.

DOUGLASS: The same one?

VEYSEY: The same one. She is very pleasant, very effective. She tends the gate there.

DOUGLASS: Yes. She does a good job.

VEYSEY: A very fine job. It does not matter what the party is.

DOUGLASS: Well, Hale Champion did not prevent you from getting to the governor. In other words, you got satisfactory responses out of him, or else you could talk to the governor. OK. Well, anything else about Pat Brown?

VEYSEY: No. I think that is pretty much it. I considered him a very good governor, except the one flaw was in the fiscal area, where I could see we were heading into trouble. Because we were constantly pushing problems ahead, ahead, and ahead. And there was going to have to be something else done; either expenses cut or taxes raised, or both.

DOUGLASS: One other thing that happened in '63 was the Rumford Fair Housing bill passed that summer. And I did notice that [Assemblyman William Byron] Rumford sat near you.

VEYSEY: Yes. He certainly did. Right across the aisle. We became very good friends. I liked Byron very much. He has a marvelous sense of humor. He is funny, but was very intelligent and very bright. The Fair Housing bill was probably the hardest vote I had to decide about in that year. Byron, of course, represented his side of it, as he should, and spoke with me about it. But I just

had a feeling that a lot of constituents, including an awful lot of Democrats who didn't see it that way, although how needed or desirable that they had to have the arrangements.

I think Gordon Winton probably cast the crucial thing with me. He said, "Vic, I think you better vote for this. It is going to be a long remembered vote. The trends are going forward in this direction. I just think you better take a stand with it." And I did.

DOUGLASS: You did? That's interesting.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: Well, do you think Winton was right?

VEYSEY: Yes. I am pretty sure he was right. Not that there have not been abuses and excesses. Of course, there always are those things. He was really right. The trend is in that direction. It has gone a long ways, and it is irreversible.

DOUGLASS: Do you think it was Winton as much as Rumford who made the difference in your vote?

VEYSEY: I don't think Rumford could have alone because I saw him as representing a partially black, fairly liberal district. A black man himself, carrying the torch for the groups who wanted to see those changes made. That didn't have much credibility with me, in terms of a vote for my district because we didn't have that down there.

We had some blacks, but not very many.

On the other side of that, we probably had a lot more conservative Democrats who didn't want the blacks running everything and telling them what they had to do. In terms of the district vote, I was inclined to say, "Well, I had better just say, 'no.' We don't need this." But Gordon Winton was the one. He tried to analyze it from the point of view of my district, which may have been much like his district. How are you going to come out?

DOUGLASS: In the long run.

VEYSEY: In the long run.

DOUGLASS: That's interesting. He really went with you with empathy into your district and tried to think it out with you?

VEYSEY: Yes. We talked about it and tried to think it through. In fact, that is the way most votes were done up there. You were never criticized by anybody if you took a position that "my district wants it this way, and I am the representative of those people. And that is the way I am going to vote." That's what you did. Nobody could criticize that.

DOUGLASS: Nobody really held that against you.

VEYSEY: No. Never.

DOUGLASS: That must have been difficult. You must have

been torn. What your own view of something was. At times, it must have been hard to do it?

VEYSEY: Yes. It certainly would be true. And that Rumford bill vote was typical of these difficult ones, where I would philosophically take the Republican point of view. We don't need more government to tell us what you have to do and what you can't do. The blacks can get out and make it on their own just as well as anybody else. And they should. They should not lean on the government to tell somebody that he has to take in a black. Certainly, I think, the trends since that time have upheld Gordon Winton's position. He explained it carefully to me. I think that he was right.

DOUGLASS: Did you have any Mexican-Americans . . .

VEYSEY: Oh, many.

DOUGLASS: Who voted?

VEYSEY: They didn't tend to vote very much. And they were all Democrats. There were many Mexican-Americans down there. Some of whom were citizens and eligible to vote, and many of whom were not citizens and, therefore, not eligible to vote.

DOUGLASS: I was curious as to how they would have viewed this vote.

VEYSEY: They would not have gone with it.

DOUGLASS: They would not have.

VEYSEY: No. There is a considerable opposition between the blacks and Latinos over issues like this. If the blacks want it, the Latinos don't want it.

DOUGLASS: Pick up today's newspaper. The whole business of the [Los Angeles] county board of supervisors was written up in the newspaper.

VEYSEY: The Latinos and the blacks just have never gotten together on a lot of issues like that. There was an incident that took place early, and I should have mentioned this. Right after I was elected, Jesse Unruh sent the Elections and Reapportionment Committee down to hold a special hearing in Brawley to see how that could have happened. What they were doing was not exactly accusing, but asking the question: Had we some way intimidated Mexican-American voters so that they didn't go to the polls?

DOUGLASS: You mean . . .

VEYSEY: How could I defeat Leverette House. Could it be that we had intimidated Latino voters to the point that they didn't go to the polls and vote. They would be registered Democrats, and they would vote for House.

They focussed not on me so much, although the hearing was held right in Brawley, my hometown, but rather on the county registrar of

voters. Harry Free, his name was. He had taken the position in advance of the election of pointing out that it was a felony to vote, if you were not a properly registered voter, which is right. But the Democrats said, "Well, that is intimidation. You are trying to scare these Mexican-American voters who have a right to vote." Well, that really was not his intent at all. He was concerned about Mexican nationals crossing the border to vote. So, they flapped around a bit, but they did not find any irregularities at all, and went away.

DOUGLASS: This is after the '62 election?

VEYSEY: Yes. I am sure Jesse Unrudh told them to go down and do that.

DOUGLASS: This is another part of the game?

VEYSEY: Part of the hazing process. [Laughter]

DOUGLASS: Well, that is very interesting. How did your fellow Republicans feel about your vote on the Rumford Fair Housing Act?

VEYSEY: I don't remember how the vote broke out on that. I know several Republicans did vote for it, including Allan Pattee and [Assemblyman] George [W.] Milias, I believe.

DOUGLASS: They must have or it would not have passed.

VEYSEY: Yes. It passed well. I have not examined that vote. I do know that several other of the moderate or liberal Republicans would go with

it. A lot of the others, the Orange County Republicans, would not. Some others would not. Alan Pattee, I almost sure he voted for it. Probably Veneman and Monagan and maybe Flournoy did. I suspect others in that group would vote with it. But I am sure that the San Diego, Orange County, the hard right Republicans would not.

DOUGLASS: Did you get any immediate repercussions out of your district on that?

VEYSEY: Nobody said anything to me about it at all. It was one of those things that is a monumental barrier when you are facing it. It happens and then nothing happens. [Laughter]

DOUGLASS: I wonder how many times that really happens to you. Where you think something is going to make or break you, it is a terrible, excruciating decision?

VEYSEY: I did have a black minister down there who was a good friend of mine and quite a good supporter. He knew about the vote and talked with me about it. Thanked me for it. But that is the only thing I ever heard.

DOUGLASS: You got the one positive feedback and no particular negative one?

VEYSEY: One realtor commented that was pretty bad, to put that sort of a burden on realtors. Because

they could very innocently accidentally cross the law. It is a troublesome law.

DOUGLASS: Just to round out that first term and then we will quit. The legislation that you were involved with was mostly education. It is on the sheet, 1963-1964 First Extraordinary [Session]. The committee assignments.

VEYSEY: Oh, yes. There is one thing I need to comment about here. As a freshman assemblyman, I didn't know what I was doing up there or what I was suppose to be doing.

Don Mulford, who was chairman of the Republican caucus in the assembly, was from Berkeley. Do you know him? A big guy who had been a former musician but was an insurance broker. He died a loyalist to the University of California, Berkeley. He played football. Well, he counseled me one time. He said, "You know, as a member up here, you have to find some issue that you can project into the media on a statewide basis that will be a concern of people all over the state and get identified with that issue." I said, "I don't have any issue like that." He said, "Well, just look around."

A little scandal came up in respect to the state teacher's retirement system. And it sounded pretty bad. I knew teachers all over the state who had their retirement money in that

system. The system could not produce a statement to any of them as to what their balance was. How much money they had. The system just broke down completely. In the wake of that, there were implications that maybe the money is not there. Maybe it had been stolen. Maybe the pension plans are bankrupt. Terrible, terrible things.

So I, being interested in education, got into that and was prompted by some teachers who had concerns and said, "Can you find out what is going on?" I got into that and did quite a bit of work. You will see a series of bills over several years that deal with the state teachers' retirement system. And that was a sexy issue as far as the teachers and the press were concerned. That was my first effort to try to escalate anything to a major issue. And it worked.

DOUGLASS: Particularly, the composition of the [state teacher's retirement] board is interesting. Do you recall this A.B. 2286¹? Do you recall what that requested? You included one member from every school district governing

1. A.B. 2286, 1963 Reg. Sess., Cal Stat., ch. 2286.

board.

VEYSEY: One member from the school district governing board. This broadened it out because it was a close-knit, little group in Sacramento who ran the thing before. When you could not get any information out of them, you'd say, "Well, maybe, there is something wrong, maybe there isn't. We don't know. I'll have to be investigated."

DOUGLASS: So these people had expertise. You had the public at large.

VEYSEY: We thought a broader board would safeguard against that, and they would just bring some expertise in investing of the funds. Life insurance people, a bank official and others like that. Only three members who are within the membership of the organization.

DOUGLASS: Do you think that worked? Was it successful?

VEYSEY: Yes. I think it was a good change. I don't know if it was entirely necessary. I think what happened was that there was a breakdown in the office capability of being able to get their accounts together.

DOUGLASS: Managership of the office?

VEYSEY: Managership more than anything. But that was an opportunity to give it a broader base and probably try to restore confidence in the system. Actually, the money was safe. And

before too long, we were able to get information out of as to how the accounts stood. But it was a big scandal for a while, and the press loved

DOUGLASS: So that launched you.

VEYSEY: Yes. It was funny how that worked. It was exactly as Don had predicted. The first thing you knew, I got on this and then the press were coming by to get an interview and talk about it. Have a press conference, which I didn't know anything about.

DOUGLASS: The other one that was intriguing to me. The one about the pheasants, amending the Fish and Game Code.¹

VEYSEY: That was purely a local thing. Imperial County does not have much of a native population of pheasants, but it is a good hunting ground for pheasants. So pheasants were raised up around Chino, on pheasant farms, and brought down and released. I was personally shocked and offended to see the hunters follow the truck, which they knew had the birds on it. When it stopped and then opened the door, the hunters all lined up and banged away at the poor birds just released, before they had a chance to take cover.

1. A.B. 3006, 1963 Reg. Sess., Cal. Stat., ch. 1674.

DOUGLASS: So you had seen this happen.

VEYSEY: That was purely a local thing. The idea came from local hunters and also [Department of] Fish and Game. There was no law which said you could not shoot the birds as they jumped out of the truck. As long as you didn't shoot the guy driving the truck, it was all right to do.

DOUGLASS: That's a case of a very specific, observed phenomenon being responded to with a bill.

VEYSEY: Yes. The next bill is the same type of thing. Cotton was again being grown in our area, and the Vehicle Code precludes pulling more than one trailer, but this bill made it possible to tow two cotton trailers, which was a common practice. But only from farms where the cotton was grown to the gin and back.

DOUGLASS: In other words, getting it to market.

VEYSEY: Just for the cotton ginner and cotton farmers down there.

DOUGLASS: You people in agricultural districts have a lot of these things.

VEYSEY: A lot of special things. We do. Because we have a lot of special problems.

DOUGLASS: Well, the whole business of vehicles. Because you have all these different farm vehicles.

VEYSEY: I had to work a lot with the highway patrol specialists in legislation to get them to go

along with some things. If you tried to put a bill like that through against their opposition, you probably could never do it. So you would have to get it lined up with them. They would say, "Well, yes. But if you limit it just going to the gin and back again to the field, well, OK. Because that is not very far."

DOUGLASS: So they would not come before the committee and oppose it?

VEYSEY: You worked that out in advance. If they came and opposed, it would have a very short life.

DOUGLASS: Yes. I know. So you consulted with the vehicle people and the highway patrol.

VEYSEY: As soon as you put in a bill like that, they would be right over to see "What are trying to do?" As it was introduced it probably said that you could tow two trailers anywhere you wanted to. And they would not go for that.

DOUGLASS: It got their attention.

VEYSEY: You had to narrow it to cotton trailers from the field to the gin. You see, there is sort of right in the law for farmers to drag any type of agricultural equipment down the highway. Even though it does not conform at all to the code for other vehicles.

DOUGLASS: Now is that in the Vehicle Code or in the Agriculture code?

VEYSEY: Vehicle Code. It has been long established

because farmers have particular necessity to move strange looking things from one field to another.

DOUGLASS: But you still thought that you had to go to the specific because it was putting two things together.

VEYSEY: Two trailers.

DOUGLASS: Yes. In fact, I remember Senator [James A.] Cobey had a number of bills on combinations of vehicles. So that was the catch. It was not that they could not do it with one vehicle.

VEYSEY: You could take one, but not two. But that means two trips.

DOUGLASS: Is this a good time to stop?

VEYSEY: Yes.

[End Session 2, July 14, 1988]

[End Tape 3, Side B]

[Begin Session 3, September 14, 1988]

[Begin Tape 4, Side A]

DOUGLASS: Mr. Veysey, I noted in our last interview in your interesting story of your vote on the Rumford Fair Housing Act, that you did finally vote for it. Picking up in 1964, Proposition 14 was put on the ballot. It was a nullification of the Rumford Act, and it passed. I wondered if you had any repercussions about your stance on this throughout this period in your district?

VEYSEY: I was always apprehensive about that vote. I did consider it a critical vote which would be looked at by a lot of people. But I never really got any strong reaction from the district.

DOUGLASS: Even when the proposition came up?

VEYSEY: No.

DOUGLASS: That is very interesting.

VEYSEY: It never became any sort of an issue. I was never asked any questions about it. People seemed to be unaware of it down there, and I certainly did not make it a campaign issue.

DOUGLASS: It sounds as though during this period that people tended to put their trust in you. You may have had quite a bit of freedom.

VEYSEY: I think that is probably true. As you know, and as I have pointed out to you, as a Republican I was always running in a two to one Democrat

registration district which makes it a chancey sort of a thing. If the Democrats have a good issue to focus on, they could easily make a change in their representative. I was well aware of that. So, I think the fair housing issue could have become a rallying point for some Democrat, but my vote on the Rumford Act would weaken their argument against me.

DOUGLASS: And you didn't lose your conservative base.

VEYSEY: No. Now, the Democrats in my district, in the main, were not great liberals. They tended to be southerners who had migrated to California from Texas, Oklahoma, or the South and taken up farming down there. And they were pretty conservative people.

DOUGLASS: This is the way Senator Walter [W.] Stiern described his constituency in the Bakersfield area and, of course, he was a Democrat but a fairly moderate or conservative one. As a member of the other party, he looked at that same situation. A really conservative, agrarian Democratic voter.

VEYSEY: I think there would be great similarities between Walter Stiern's constituency and mine because many of his people came from Texas and Oklahoma and settled in the south part of the San Joaquin Valley. And I think he represented them very well.

DOUGLASS: Yes. Interesting. Well, in that year there was a lot going on in terms of the national scene. [Senator Barry M.] Goldwater defeated [Governor Nelson A.] Rockefeller in the primary in California. Were you at all involved in national politics?

VEYSEY: I was to a degree. I went as a delegate to the Republican national convention in San Francisco. That really was my first venture at a national convention. It was pretty astounding, I thought. While I always considered myself to be conservative, I was a little uncomfortable with some of the Goldwater rhetoric and some of the camp followers of Goldwater, who were really extremists in a lot of ways.

I remember one young man from my district, who was a delegate for Goldwater at the convention, came to me and said, "We know that those Rockefeller people are going to try to keep us from getting to the floor to vote at this convention. And I am carrying a big knife." He showed me a large knife that he was, I guess, prepared to use. Actually, nothing like that happened. Although I thought--while I was not exactly a total admirer of Nelson Rockefeller, I think he had a great political career--he was treated very badly by the Goldwater people at that convention.

- DOUGLASS: I guess there was hooting.
- VEYSEY: Very rude, which I thought was inexcusable.
- DOUGLASS: Did that make you a little nervous about where the party was going?
- VEYSEY: Yes, it did, along with a good number others in the state legislature. Bob Monagan and Bill Bagley and other Republicans of that group were very uncomfortable about the extreme turn to the right that the party took. The right wing sought to throw out the moderate volunteer organizations in the Republican party and had been very important up to that time, from the Warren days all through. I thought that was a poor thing to do. Republicans could ill afford to be fighting other Republicans. [Laughter]
- DOUGLASS: Were you for Rockefeller, or were you sort of between? When you went to the convention, did you have a view?
- VEYSEY: I probably would have been for Rockefeller going into the convention. But it was clear where the votes were, very soon. Goldwater, of course, introduced a new note of conservatism in the party. Then, ultimately, the California Republican party went a good bit in that direction.
- DOUGLASS: That is about the time that the California

Republican League was organized, I believe. As I understand it, that was to coalesce people who felt anti-Birch, anti-Goldwater, anti-conservative. Were you at all involved in the formation of that?

VEYSEY: Not really in the formation of it. I attended some meetings. I was a member in the early stages. I don't believe the League was anti-conservative and anti-Goldwater. It was a home for moderates who were uncomfortable in UROC [United Republicans of California] or the Republican Assembly.

DOUGLASS: I guess people like Monagan and Flournoy were probably involved.

VEYSEY: Yes, they were. Southern Californians tended to be much more conservative and in the Goldwater direction.

DOUGLASS: Yes. So, you were sort of a passive participant in whatever the Republican League did?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: But I gather you supported what they were trying to do.

VEYSEY: Yes. There were a lot of moderates in the Republican party, and I didn't want to see them extinguished or left with no place to go at all. I thought the League was a good idea.

DOUGLASS: I did pick up in June of '64 that the moderate group did manage to get legislation passed in

the state legislature which would allow incumbent legislators and congressmen to name nine members each to the central committee. I gather that was an attempt to maintain some kind of moderate control, assuming those who were incumbents were concerned about this. Did you have anything to do with that legislation?

VEYSEY: I didn't have anything to do with that at all. I was aware that it happened, but I was not involved. There was lots of discussion among the other Republicans as to what the best way to go was. There was legislation enacted about that same time that favored the incumbents, in terms of their ability to make appointments.

DOUGLASS: Yes. That is what I was referring to. That passed in June. It would let incumbent legislators and congressmen appoint nine members each. So it would give them a higher percentage or influence.

VEYSEY: That's right. That can be debated along philosophical lines and practical lines as well. But that was an attempt to protect incumbency in the shift of the party into hands that were new and differed with many of the elected incumbents.

DOUGLASS: Which were more moderate than what you saw out there?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: All right. I think we can move to your second term, which would be '65-'66. You ran in '64, and it was interesting to me to note that your Democratic opponent was Cruz Reynoso. I was wondering if you can reflect on that race? You beat him clearly. I have the vote here. It was 12,383 to 9,135. How did he happen to run?

VEYSEY: Well, Cruz Reynoso was a young attorney who came to Imperial Valley. I think he first worked, as many young attorneys do, as a deputy district attorney.

DOUGLASS: He wasn't from that area, was he? Or had he grown up there?

VEYSEY: He was actually born and raised in Orange County. He had some connections down that way. He was an attractive, articulate Hispanic, and so he had a good bit appeal, I thought. I was a bit concerned about that. I can tell you what another friend of mine, who was chairman of the Democrat central committee said, "Well, don't worry about this. We are not going to help Cruz any."

DOUGLASS: Was this the county committee?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: Who was that? Do you recall?

VEYSEY: Yes. [] Ed Rutherford, a prominent cattleman and rancher. He was chairman. While Hispanics

might rally around another Hispanic name out of loyalty, the money-raising people just didn't do anything to help Cruz. He ran probably one of the weakest campaigns I had seen.

Actually, I don't think he really had his heart set on trying to win the district. He wanted to move up politically, yes, but I don't think it was a clear objective in his mind, to win the election. Actually, one of the best things a young attorney can do is to become a candidate for office. He gets to move around and meet a lot of people he would not otherwise.

DOUGLASS: It is a familiar syndrome. [Laughter]

VEYSEY: In this process, a lot of people like him. He gets their legal business. So, he benefits one way or the other. In fact, Cruz Reynoso never showed up at any of the face-to-face candidates' meetings. You know, the Farm Bureau or the chamber of commerce would put together a candidates' meeting, and he would never show up.

DOUGLASS: Perhaps he was the most likely candidate the Democrats could come up with anyway. Maybe he was their best.

VEYSEY: Perhaps that is what they thought. I think they were just out of prospects.

DOUGLASS: Let's see. He defeated a man named Nick A. Pricola in the Democratic primary.

VEYSEY: Nick Pricola was the mayor of Brawley. He is a produce man. Later, he was my Democrat chairman in Brawley.

DOUGLASS: Oh, was he? Why do you think Reynoso was able to defeat him, do you suppose, in the primary?

VEYSEY: I don't know. I guess probably Reynoso appealed to the large Hispanic vote.

DOUGLASS: A new face?

VEYSEY: Yes. He was young and a new face, and nobody had anything against him. He had a good Hispanic name, so they would say, "Sure, why don't we try that."

DOUGLASS: Did you get to know him later at all?

VEYSEY: Oh, yes. I knew him at that time and followed his career later. I have seen him a good many times in Sacramento and San Francisco.

DOUGLASS: Were you surprised when he was appointed to the state supreme court?

VEYSEY: Yes. I really was. While he is a likable enough chap, and clearly had political objectives, I didn't think he ever demonstrated the type of competence in the legal profession which you should have to be on the supreme court. So, I think he was a misfit. I guess the last time I saw him we accidentally both got on the same bus going from Sacramento to San Francisco, and we sat together. That was

several years ago, before the [California] Supreme Court reelection came up.

DOUGLASS: Before he and Rose Bird were pinpointed.

VEYSEY: They were targeted later. Which is, in a sense, a strange process. But that's what happened.

DOUGLASS: Yes. It is because it can happen either way. Well, I was just interested in your vignette of Cruz Reynoso. I gather you thought of him as a pleasant, likable attorney.

VEYSEY: Pleasant. Likable. Attractive. Articulate. Very liberal in his views, naturally. And he held a couple of other appointive offices. Something in Washington and something else before he got to the supreme court.

DOUGLASS: But he never held an elected office, did he?

VEYSEY: Not that I know of. I don't remember if he ever was elected. And he never tried again for the assembly.

DOUGLASS: Well, you didn't have any difficulty defeating him, although he pulled a reasonable number of votes.

VEYSEY: Yes. But that is nothing like the narrow margin that I first won by. [Laughter]

DOUGLASS: Those are the thrilling ones. [Laughter] All right. Also '65, as you came into your second term, was the year that state supreme court case

of Silver v. Brown came down in September which said that the assembly must also be reapportioned without a population variation of more than fifteen percent.¹ There had been things going on from '61 on, in terms of that. Were you at all involved in any of the reapportionment discussions during those years in the legislature?

VEYSEY: Yes, in a way, I was. The legislature, of course, was Democrat controlled, and reapportionment has heavy partisan overtones, as you know.

DOUGLASS: Yes.

VEYSEY: That is what it is all about. So, the minority members were not consulted as fully as the majority members would be. But, in the case of that first reapportionment. . . . You see, previously districts had been along county lines. Imperial County, which has a small population, stood as a separate district. What they said was, "Well, we'll just have to take a major part of Riverside County and add it on to Imperial County." Well, there was a community of interests. Agriculturally, financially, tourists, and all that around the Salton Sea and

1. Silver v. Brown, Sup., 48 Cal. Repr. 609 (1966).

up to Riverside. That sounded kind of reasonable to me. Although it is a strenuous undertaking for an incumbent to add twice as many people from the new district.

DOUGLASS: It is a new geographic territory.

VEYSEY: New area. New problems. So, I had to spend a lot of time traveling that district.

DOUGLASS: In terms of any bargaining going on, even though the majority party would be in control of it, sometimes it comes down to some give and take, and some people are sacrificed and others are not. Were you at all involved in that? Or did you feel that your interests were involved at the crunch of that?

VEYSEY: I thought their decision, if that is the law, was, for me, probably about as benign as it could be. They just had two ways to go. Whether to go north into Riverside, which I thought was more logical. Or to go to across the mountains to San Diego, which I thought would be less logical. Other than those options, the district was bounded by Mexico and Arizona.

DOUGLASS: It would be harder.

VEYSEY: The districts are on another basis now, across the mountains, although the law says you cannot do that.

DOUGLASS: So, actually the way the district turned out, adding some of Riverside County, was not the worst of all worlds for you.

VEYSEY: It was not the worst of all. There were lots of similarities in those areas. The Blythe area is very closely related to Imperial Valley, agriculturally. The Coachella Valley is closely related agriculturally. They shared a common interest in the Salton Sea problems. Of course, Palm Springs was different, except in climate.

DOUGLASS: Whose assembly district would they have been before then?

VEYSEY: They would have been in Gordon Cologne's. He had an assembly district which was much oversized. He had all of Riverside County, and he was very helpful to me in the transition.

DOUGLASS: Of course, you had a very underpopulated district, so you were bound to have something added.

VEYSEY: Yes. So, I didn't think that was done viciously or anything of the sort. I was quite willing to go with that. I just got busy and got acquainted with those Riverside people. But that was two-thirds of a district of new people.

DOUGLASS: Two-thirds? Really? It was that much of a population change.

VEYSEY: Oh, yes.

DOUGLASS: It meant a bit more traveling for you, too.

VEYSEY: Oh, a lot more because it was another 150 miles to travel.

DOUGLASS: That put you, geographically, into one of the bigger assembly districts, didn't it?

VEYSEY: Yes. Not the biggest. The east side of the Sierras was the biggest one. Probably mine was next.

DOUGLASS: That is a lot of driving.

VEYSEY: A lot of driving. And I took up flying at that point.

DOUGLASS: Oh, yes. You mentioned that you went to Sacramento. But did you personally start to fly?

VEYSEY: Yes. I went to flight training school and learned to fly and then flew all over the district.

DOUGLASS: And to you keep a small airplane yourself?

VEYSEY: I didn't own one, but I had a good friend, Wally PanKratz, who did our ranch cropdusting, and he kept a stable of planes. I could rent a plane from him.

DOUGLASS: What kind of plane would you fly?

VEYSEY: A Cessna.

DOUGLASS: Are those six-passenger?

VEYSEY: They are different sizes. There is a two-place one called a "150." There is a four-place one

called a "180." And then there are six-place ones.

DOUGLASS: Would you take an aide or somebody with you? Or would you often go alone?

VEYSEY: I would often go alone. My aides were not always heroes!

DOUGLASS: What would be the typical usage you would make of a plane flight?

VEYSEY: I would arrange ahead to meet with my campaign chairman or committee, or whoever, say at Banning or at Blythe or at Palm Springs or at Winterhaven. I would fly there, and they would drive out to the airport and pick me up.

DOUGLASS: Now did you use this mostly for campaigning or would you use it also for district business?

VEYSEY: Regular district business.

DOUGLASS: But you operated out of Brawley?

VEYSEY: Yes. I had an office in Brawley, but when the district expanded, I opened an office in Palm Desert. So, we had two offices.

DOUGLASS: You would arrange with the person in charge there to . . .

VEYSEY: To have somebody meet me and go to a meeting, the Rotary Club, or whatever it was, to speak or look at whatever.

DOUGLASS: Now did this occur about this time, '65, '66, that you started doing that?

VEYSEY: I started before that. Maybe, '63. It took me

about a year to finish all the flight requirements and get licensed.

DOUGLASS: Did you like flying?

VEYSEY: Oh, I loved it, but I have not been doing it recently. I don't much enjoy it in the populated Los Angeles area because of smog and traffic problems. In my rural district, you didn't have to have any traffic control or flight plan. There were lots of little airstrips you could land on, many without even a control tower.

DOUGLASS: I gather you felt that just from an efficiency viewpoint, this really was the way to go to cover your district.

VEYSEY: Yes. It was. I had one other thing, too. My campaign committee bought a van that was equipped with a mobile phone like an office. And I drove that a great deal through the district. But that was for campaigning purposes as well as regular assembly business. "Assemblyman Victor Veysey" was on the side of it. I thought the best campaigning was taking care of legislative business before the campaign started.

DOUGLASS: Why don't we talk about that '66 election, since we got into reapportionment. You had no Republican opponent in the primary, which meant

you dominated that situation clearly, I gather. Then you ran against Bob J. Myers, who was the Democrat. I do note, of course, the total vote is way up because it is a bigger area.

VEYSEY: Yes. It is three times as much.

DOUGLASS: Yes. You outpolled him by three times, 36,421 to 12,565.

VEYSEY: Bob Myers was a neighbor of mine from Brawley. It seemed like a strange strategy, if the Democrats were really trying to beat me in a reapportionment year. I was dealing with two-thirds new people. Why they didn't get a candidate from in the Riverside County part of the district. But they did not. He is a neighbor and a farmer down there, not originally a farmer, but he married into a family who had a lot of land and farming interests. He was a bright, interesting type of guy with a lot of ideas and political ambition. Later, he went into the [President Jimmy] Carter administration as an assistant secretary of agriculture in Washington. He got into some kind of a jam back there. I have forgotten what the details were.

DOUGLASS: Let's just take that election. What was the form in which you campaigned? Were there meetings in communities? Was there radio? Did you begin to use television? Did you have

debates with him?

VEYSEY: No. I never had any debates with him. We would appear, as I recall, at side-by-side presentationns before various groups. But I don't remember that he did much in the Riverside part of the district at all. His friendships and interests were all in Imperial County. I guess he felt that was still the district, because he never got up into the Coachella Valley. I never saw him in Blythe.

DOUGLASS: And you had name recognition, at least, having been in the assembly.

VEYSEY: I had the incumbency status. I had a lot of help from Assemblyman Cologne. He delivered over to me a lot of suspects for campaign people. Community committee chairmen and people like that.

DOUGLASS: What was Myers' approach? What do you think his platform was? What did he figure he might have the chance to beat you on? Was there an issue?

VEYSEY: I don't think there was any. I am not aware that he ever raised any particular issue at all.

DOUGLASS: It doesn't sound very truamatic. It might have been kind of fun maybe.

VEYSEY: Although, it was a wrenching thing to seek out and find twice as many people than you already knew and get acquainted with them.

DOUGLASS: What did that mean in terms of campaign costs to you?

VEYSEY: Well, of course they escalated. And television was beginning to come in. We had television stations in the Palm Springs area and in Yuma, which reached across to Imperial Valley. And we were beginning to use television a bit. I always used a lot of radio which reached rural people even in their pickup trucks. So, the costs were going up. But not anything like the numbers you see today.

DOUGLASS: Did the Republican party give you some financial assistance?

VEYSEY: Well, I think both the Riverside and the Imperial central committees did give some. But, by and large, they mostly raised money to do voter registration and activities of that sort, and put on an event or two. I don't remember the details, but the state Republican party probably funded us in a very minor way. They helped materially in my first election. I suspect they did, too, in this campaign, but I don't remember. As an incumbent, I was expected to make it on my own.

DOUGLASS: What would be your fund-raising devices to get money?

VEYSEY: We held higher priced fund-raising receptions

and dinners, usually at a country club, the Imperial Valley Country Club, or up in the Palm Desert area. We raised money that way from the Republicans.

DOUGLASS: How much a plate, do you remember? What would be higher priced?

VEYSEY: Oh, I think fifty dollars was high, maybe seventy-five.

DOUGLASS: For a dinner or lunch.

VEYSEY: For a dinner or lunch. Then we spent that money in barbecues, where we gave out free tickets to more working-type of people who would not buy a ticket to a political event, but they would come and bring the family to eat. I always adopted the practice of trying to be at the food line to shake hands with the person just when the meat landed on the plate. [Laughter] That was the most likely time to be susceptible to whatever political influence. An awful lot of Mexican people would come to these events. A lot of them I knew. They thought it was great to have barbecued beef and beans, for free.

DOUGLASS: Wasn't it a great advantage to be a farmer? A person who operated a farm.

VEYSEY: Yes. It was. On the fund-raising side of it, Farmers are not that numerous, in terms of their voting strength, although they are pretty activist. Certainly that was an advantage.

- DOUGLASS: I was just thinking in terms of working people that you actually employed people and ran a farm. That might be an advantage.
- VEYSEY: Yes. I think it was. And we knew a lot of these people. A lot of them had either worked for us or knew us or had a relative who had. They would like to talk about that. That was the way we went about it, in the main. Now, let me see. Was that the year that [Ronald] Reagan ran?
- DOUGLASS: Yes. That was what I was about to get into.
- VEYSEY: He came down to Imperial Valley.
- DOUGLASS: Did he come down and pitch for you?
- VEYSEY: Yes, early in the campaign, and did a barbecue at the fairgrounds in Imperial [County] for me. I remember that very well. My committee really arranged it, but I thought it was very fine that he did. He makes a great appearance, as you know, at an event like that. He put on a five-gallon hat. I think the committee presented him with a pair of pistols. He made a good speech. I remember one thing about the arrangements. It turned out that he was actually reluctant to fly in an airplane at that point in his career. So, he drove down.
- DOUGLASS: From the Los Angeles area, probably.
- VEYSEY: Yes. He drove down to Imperial.
- DOUGLASS: He had to change that later, I guess.

VEYSEY: Yes. He changed that very extensively later.

DOUGLASS: Had you met him before that?

VEYSEY: It seems to me I had one time. I remember one of the first times I saw him, I was sitting with the now Governor George Deukmejian. We were both sizing him up. He was a candidate at that point. George and I both agreed that we had never seen anybody who made a better candidate appearance than Ronald Reagan.

DOUGLASS: This may have been when he and George Christopher were running for the primary.

VEYSEY: That is possible.

DOUGLASS: I was curious. Who did you support in that primary? Christopher or Reagan? Who did you favor?

VEYSEY: I knew George Christopher well and favorably. I probably didn't get involved with that. I tried to maintain a posture of not supporting one Republican or another in primaries. I thought it was divisive. Half the time you would be wrong, and you would come out bad.

DOUGLASS: In your personal feelings, did you feel it was about a draw in your mind between the two?

VEYSEY: I thought Reagan was much the more attractive candidate. Just from the appearance, the way he handled the audience. Although, I respected George Christopher and liked him.

DOUGLASS: He, apparently, had quite a following.

VEYSEY: Yes. He had quite a following. He was a good man.

DOUGLASS: The irony was that the Democratic party apparently felt it would be easier to beat Reagan. [Laughter] That's what I read, anyway. When he came down and supported you that was your first real contact with him?

VEYSEY: Yes. I think it was.

DOUGLASS: Any other comments about that?

VEYSEY: It was a pretty big event. A lot of people came to it. It was held at the fairgrounds.

DOUGLASS: Did you feel that was a boost in your campaign?

VEYSEY: Sure. It really got attention.

DOUGLASS: A little later on. I would like to talk about him. Well, in fact, why don't we just do it now. As you jump ahead to his governorship, you now have a Republican governor after having Pat Brown, how did this affect your life in the capital?

VEYSEY: I had been on pretty friendly terms with Pat Brown. I may have mentioned this in an earlier interview that I considered him very folksy, very friendly. I didn't agree with the fiscal manipulation that he was undertaking to put up a so-called "balanced budget" every year with different novel devices by which it would balance. Accrue the income from the next year.

DOUGLASS: Yes, you did discuss that. And you did point out that you felt you had access.

VEYSEY: I did. Sacramento was a much smaller and quieter place in those days. If you were in the coffee shop having a cup of coffee or something, he would come in and sit down next to you and say, "I want to talk to you about this. I know you can't vote for this, but I would like to have you help me on this one." He was very, very friendly. I found him to be a delightful, pleasant person.

DOUGLASS: So what happened when Reagan came into office?

VEYSEY: Well, Reagan was seen much less. He would not be the type to walk in the coffee shop and sit down and talk with you. In fact, it was rather difficult to get an audience, even as a legislator, with the governor. He would do it for a bill signing or something like that. He would give you a pen and a photo as a souvenir. Things of that sort. But to have any meaningful discussions was a very difficult thing.

I think his style became clearer to us over time. He has some strong philosophical views and beliefs that he stays firmly attached to. He can announce those in a way that is compelling and attractive to an audience. But, in terms of detail of legislation, he didn't

even attempt to study the bills and really know what they were. He relied on his staff to tell him what to do about that.

DOUGLASS: Did that mean, if you were interested in a particular piece of legislation, you would be dealing with a staff member if you felt the need for executive branch help?

VEYSEY: Yes. I would call them up. I guess this would be a little bit later, but when I was chairman of the Education Committee, then I had the opportunity to carry the education finance legislation those years. Of course, education always needs more money. Their customary posture is just send a lot more money and don't ask a lot of questions. Well, we asked a lot of questions, but we did arrange for legislation that gave the public schools the greatest increase they ever had in education funding. I was somewhat daunted by the prospect of trying to get that money away from Reagan, who was not thought to be very favorable to education and was certainly tight on the money.

So, I arranged for a conference to come and talk to the governor and the staff people and explain the bill, so they would know and hopefully get their support. The meeting was set up. Then just before it was time to go to the meeting, it was called off. So we set it

for another date. And it was called off. Then, finally, never did have the meeting. Never did meet with the governor on this. Verne Orr, who was then director of finance for the governor met with me, and we went through it. Shortly after that, the governor came out in full support of it. But I don't know whether he had any idea really what was involved in it or not. The Department of Finance said, "Yes, we can do this. We will do it."

DOUGLASS: Did you ever have any dealing with Alex Sheriffs, who is someone he did consult on education and other matters?

VEYSEY: Yes. I heard from him sometime this summer. He called me just out of the blue. I had not talked with him for a long, long time.

DOGULASS: What sorts of things would you talk to him about?

VEYSEY: More on policy issues, not so much on money issues, with respect to education. You have to remember the troubled times on the campuses were taking place in the late sixties--'66, '67, '68, '69--and they had the riots in Berkeley, burning buildings and throwing rocks and all that. At San Francisco State University [S. I.] Hayakawa came on the scene. That all was very exciting, but most of the educational focus was on what

is the matter with our schools? What is the matter with our students? What is the matter with the faculty? What is the matter with everybody? Administrators, that they are not handling this thing a bit better.

Maybe I am jumping sequentially out of turn here, but out of all this--this would be '68-- Bob Monagan set up a select committee on campus disturbances. Because I was chairman of the Education Committee, he made me chairman of that also. So, we pursued an intensive program of about a hundred days of hearings. We listened to students, faculty, administrators, and parents, and police officers. Everybody who wanted to have anything to say about what was going on, on the campuses. We wrote an interesting report which was judged by the Association of State Legislators as the best legislative research report done that year.

DOUGLASS: Would this have been done '68 or '69?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: And was this a bipartisan committee?

VEYSEY: Yes. It had members of both parties.

[Assemblyman] Willie [L.] Brown [Jr.] was a member. It was a select committee that was set up separately and had its independent staff and everything.

DOUGLASS: We started talking about Sheriffs. Did you

talk to Sheriffs about this? Is that why you were. . . .

VEYSEY: Yes. That is what led me into it. He was active at that time. Let's see. He was over at Berkeley, wasn't he? Vice chancellor?

DOUGLASS: I believe so. He had been there.

VEYSEY: And then he came over?

DOUGLASS: Right. I gather he may have been the principal person that Governor Reagan consulted on education matters in the broad sweep.

VEYSEY: I think that's right. And then later Hayakawa. As chairman of this select committee, I was there the famous day when Hayakawa became a household word, when he disabled the sound truck in front of the San Francisco State campus.

DOUGLASS: This was in conjunction with this select committee?

VEYSEY: Yes. I was over there because of the select committee, and the word was out that there going to be a big to do over at San Francisco State. So I went over there to see what would happen. I was standing out in front, milling around with everybody else, when the sound truck was parked there and blasting away and telling students not to go to school and go on strike.

I didn't know Hayakawa, but he came along there and listened to that for a while. Then he

stepped up to the young man who had the sound truck and said, "Excuse me, would you let me take the microphone?" No way. [Laughter] They were not going to let him do that. So, he reached over in the back of the sound truck and pulled out a large handful of wires. Of course, it went dead. They were yelling about beating him up. He reached into his pocket and pulled out his card and said, "My name is Hayakawa. Sue me." [Laughter]

DOUGLASS: So you watched all this.

VEYSEY: The press was all there, and it was reported quite a bit. That is how he became a household word.

DOUGLASS: Certainly, in Reagan's own mind and probably in those close around him, there was a lot of concern about what has happening on the campuses. I wondered how you perceived that since you were the chairman of the select committee? What was the chemistry going on there?

VEYSEY: Well, maybe I should refer you a little bit to what the select committee came out with, its findings. We concluded that the students were doing a lot of things we wished they would not do and that were probably illegal and disruptive. But we also concluded that they had some very legitimate concerns and gripes about

the quality of education that they were getting. And that these concerns needed to be addressed by the faculties and administrators of the colleges.

Among them, of course, we were sending our brightest young minds to Berkeley, we'll say, and they were going up and thinking, "We will be sitting at the foot of these great professors." They can see their names in the catalogue. Well, they never could find those great professors. They were always off doing research or something and they would sit at the foot of a teaching assistant about one or two years older than they were. They didn't feel that was appropriate.

Of course, they were upset by the Vietnam situation, which was pressing on them a lot, giving them a lot of concerns. The police didn't always operate constructively. And the administrators just sort of ducked the whole thing. They could not cope with it, and they just preferred not to see it. Let whatever happened, happen. We chided all of those, saying they ought to do things differently.

DOUGLASS: Did you feel, since you had a Republican governor, that you could be independent in your view of this? I was trying to get a notion of

the chemistry between what was coming out of the
governor's office and . . .

[End Tape 4, Side A]

[Begin Tape 4, Side B]

DOUGLASS: We were talking about your independence.

VEYSEY: That committee operated totally independently from the Education Committee and from the governor's office. I think people from the governor's office attended one or more of the hearings and testify as to their views about this. We had administrators from the University of California, from the state universities, community colleges, public schools. They all came and testified. But we were pretty independent in that. John Mockler was a young consultant for that committee. He did a super good job, I thought.

DOUGLASS: I was going to ask about staff. He was your principal staff?

VEYSEY: Yes. He had been on as an assistant staffer for the Education Committee, and we took him over to the other committee. He worked that whole agenda, put the hearings together.

DOUGLASS: Was this committee appointed by Monagan, who was then speaker?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: Can you mention the other members? You said Willie Brown was on the committee.

VEYSEY: Willie Brown was, and that was interesting. Willie was new in the legislature at that time and tended to be a little wild. Untamed, I

guess, was the situation. He would launch into great rhetoric, a kind of a black radical rhetoric, which he tended to use at those times. He has subsided a long way since then.

[Laughter] He is much more quiet these days. I was apprehensive about how he would perform on that committee, but he became a very constructive member. He gave us several good ideas, which we incorporated in the report. He said, "Don't ever attribute this to me. But this is what we ought to do."

DOUGLASS: So Monagan had tried to balance the committee if he appointed Brown.

VEYSEY: He did. I can't remember all the members of the committee.

DOUGLASS: Was it a large group?

VEYSEY: It was a sizable group. About a dozen or so.

DOUGLASS: You said it simply submitted this report, which was highly valued, I gather. The ripple effect, some of what it did, would have carried over to your work on the Education Committee. I noted a couple of bills. One I see here was a 1969 bill, A.B. 1286, which had the Subcommittee on Educational Environment as its sponsor.¹ You

1. A.B. 1286, 1969 Reg. Sess., Cal. Stat., ch. 1427.

being among those.

It added chapters to the Education Code having to do with colleges and universities. Obviously, it had to do with disciplinary action concerning student behavior and disturbances on the campuses. And when you could declare a state of emergency, in terms of campus capabilities of handling the situation. It even got into, if you got state financial aid, there would be a repercussion. Do you remember that?

VEYSEY:

Yes, but I don't remember the details. A number of bills came out of the select committee work. But one of the issues that had been raised was that some of the students proclaimed the campus to be an enclave that peace officers--from the county sheriff, or the city, or the state--could not enter. They sought to stake out an area where only campus police, who are pretty mild--they are really not law enforcement officers, as such, mainly dealing with traffic tickets and minor things--only they could have any jurisdiction there.

We thought that was entirely wrong. You can't let somebody or any group establish an enclave that police officers cannot enter. The thrust of this legislation was to try to make that point entirely clear. Of course, you would use campus police initially, but if things got

out of hand, then it was the obligation of the administrators to call for assistance from law enforcement outside, whether it be the sheriff, the state troopers, or whatever.

DOUGLASS: It is a very interesting name. The Subcommittee on Educational Environment. Was that a product of those few years, do you think?

VEYSEY: I guess it was. [Laughter] I don't even remember how we got that name. For sure, the educational environment was being disrupted.

DOUGLASS: I was really fascinated by that. Well, did the select committee go around the state and hold hearings? Were you in southern California and did you meet at UCLA?

VEYSEY: No. In the main, we met at Sacramento. People came there. I think we met a time or two in the [San Francisco] Bay Area.

DOUGLASS: That had the potential for being a fairly contentious kind of a hearing, I would think, as we moved around and covered the subject.

VEYSEY: Usually, we didn't have the opposing factions present at the same meeting. We would hear from one and then the other.

DOUGLASS: To go back to Governor Reagan and his style, did you have any specific dealings with him during the time you were in office and he was governor?

VEYSEY: Not so much. I guess we talked a bit about

education financing, and about philosophy.

DOUGLASS: You mentioned that you carried the governor's bill. Now would that have been in '68 that you covered that bill?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: You were asked to do that I gather. Or did that come upon you as chairman of the Education Committee?

VEYSEY: That would come to me as chairman of the Education Committee. He would normally not necessarily do that.

DOUGLASS: And you talked about finally getting to Verne Orr about that.

VEYSEY: Yes. We had achieved the largest increase in school financing that had ever been given to the public schools in California. So, I had real concerns about Governor Reagan supporting that because he was generally thought to be anti-education or, at least, against some things that were going on in education. And real tight on money. After we attempted to have two or three conferences to try to explain the legislation, that effort failed. Then we got to Verne Orr.

DOUGLASS: It just wasn't his style. This was quite a change from Brown then?

VEYSEY: Yes. Distinctly different.

DOUGLASS: It sounds as though, from your viewpoint as a legislator, it might have been almost easier,

in some ways, to work with Brown.

VEYSEY: Yes. That's right. You could come to grips with the problem directly. But I never had an indepth and meaningful discussion with Reagan while he was governor on any issue.

DOUGLASS: Did he ever hold any kind of an event for the Republicans in the legislature or Republican assemblymen? Would there be an informal social occasion?

VEYSEY: Yes. Socially, the governor and Nancy would invite groups to dinner. He did that several times.

DOUGLASS: So you went to those. Would that be just you or you and your wife?

VEYSEY: With my wife.

DOUGLASS: This was purely social. No substantive things to be discussed.

VEYSEY: Social. No substantive things would be discussed.

DOUGLASS: This was just a friendly affair. Groups of what, twenty-five, thirty? More? Big groups of people at a time?

VEYSEY: Probably twenty.

DOUGLASS: I guess that generally Reagan's style was to sort of deal with the legislature at an arm's distance. One subject that I guess became almost a problem in those dealings was the whole

withholding tax question. Bagley carried a bill for the withholding tax. That's A.B. 1001, which supposedly was the governor's bill. It was a tax bill. It failed because he would not compromise on withholding. Were you involved in any of that argument over the withholding tax?

VEYSEY: I heard a lot from Bagley about it. Bill Bagley, besides being very bright, had a kind of mischievous style about him. He would love to play games with different issues that way. He thought that would be just a lot of fun to play with the withholding tax. But I wasn't involved in it.

DOUGLASS: Did you feel, though, as an issue, it was a problem as to whether a withholding tax could be passed and where the Republican governor stood on it?

VEYSEY: Of course, we had federal withholding already. State withholding has the one-time effect of bringing next year's normal income into this year. So, in that regard, it seemed that it was part and parcel of the package of things that Pat Brown had done to do balance otherwise balanced budgets. So I was not very enthusiastic about withholding. It opens the way to make it easier for the state to collect taxes, and, of course, the government will always spend all they can get.

DOUGLASS: Let me go back just a moment. In covering '66, I did want to ask you about Prop. 1A, which was the constitutional revision which made you a full-time legislature and allowed you to get the high sum of \$16,000, rather \$6,000. I wondered how that affected your view of serving in the legislature. Did that affect your plans one way or another?

VEYSEY: Well, of course, it did. This required us to become almost year-round residents of Sacramento. Before that, we had been on the biennial system with about six months of session one year and maybe one or two months of a session for the budget session the next year. We had a good bit of time available so we could attend to our own personal business. Well, that came to an end. While there is no real need for the legislature to be in session all the time, they will find reason to because they are getting per diem for staying there. So, they can always arrange to have things to do.

DOUGLASS: It sounds like you would have been happier the way things were.

VEYSEY: I would have been. This change has brought about the development of a whole class of professional officeholders, which I am not sure has served us to the best advantage. I liked

the idea of a citizen representative for a while and then returning back to his normal lifestyle. But we don't have that much anymore.

DOUGLASS: Did this put more pressure on you to spend more time in Sacramento? You always kept an apartment or something up there, I gather, didn't you?

VEYSEY: Well, for the months we were in session, I had a different apartment every year. A couple of years, when the family could not leave Brawley, I lived at the El Rancho Motel hotel complex, which was right across the river and pretty convenient. Several of the legislators lived there.

DOUGLASS: So you would have to spend longer spans of time there.

VEYSEY: Yes. In the later years, I was in Sacramento much of the time.

DOUGLASS: Do you feel that in terms of being a reform, so-called, it really was effective? That is, were there fewer bills to deal with? More bills to deal with? What's been the end result? What did you see as the end result? You were there for four years after it occurred.

VEYSEY: Well, probably more bills are now dropped in the hopper, most of which are totally unnecessary. The legislature has to thrash through them. But if you have the time and you are in Sacramento,

why that's what you do is put in bills. The jam of legislative work toward the end of each session has not been relieved at all. The argument was, "Oh, well, you could proceed now on a logical, well-planned course. There would be no longer last minute all-night sessions and passing a whole bunch of bills on consent calendars because you didn't have time to read them and not knowing what is in the bills you voted on." But that has not changed a bit. It is worse now than ever.

DOUGLASS: I heard one interesting comment and I wonder how you feel about this. The two-year session, with the constant pressure, has really been a loss in the sense that there used to be interim committees that would more thoughtfully deal with problems, without pressure, and would actually go more on site. That is, move around the state. What would be your reaction to that comment?

VEYSEY: Yes. That is definitely true. Because of the short sessions, you did a lot of bills during the interim where the subject matter was in some depth and you wanted to explore it further. If there was not great urgency about them, they would be sent to interim study and would be considered during the course of the year with

some hearings. But I don't think that happens so much anymore. They do this some, but there really isn't much of an interim.

DOUGLASS: There isn't a time of relaxation or to look at things differently without having to make an immediate decision?

VEYSEY: No, there is not. That's unfortunate. And whether legislative sessions are a few months or all year, the tough decisions always pile up at the end.

DOUGLASS: The comment was also made that the hearings become almost farcical because there is such a limited time. Often they get called off. People have to come to Sacramento and all the frustrations that go with that.

VEYSEY: There are a lot of problems in the present legislative process. I don't know how to handle them exactly. Some of the legislative hearings are now not designed to gather information. Legislators now act almost imperialistic and are often abusive to witnesses.

DOUGLASS: Did you see in those four years--it is interesting because, you were there during that transitional period--the focus clearly coming on Sacramento more? That is, was this clearly the place where the lobbyists could concentrate their efforts? Clearly, where most business was transacted because everyone was there in one

physical location, more than before?

VEYSEY: I am not sure if it is more than before. The lobbyists have always been an important part of the scene in Sacramento. They were very prominent in the years before [Proposition] 1A. Indeed, they could be, in the old days, somewhat more manipulative than they are able to be today. They are limited now in their financial expenditures and in their entertainment of legislators. The process of the mechanical handling of bills and amendments is pretty well safeguarded. There were lots of stories in the earlier years about how a distasteful amendment somehow would just disappear.

DOUGLASS: Never would see the light of day.

VEYSEY: Nobody knew quite how. They said they dropped them in the Sacramento River off the bridge. [Laughter] I don't know if that was true or not. That practice had been eliminated long before I arrived in Sacramento.

DOUGLASS: So you don't really think that changed, particularly.

VEYSEY: No. The lobbyists are and always will be an important part of the legislative process. But they can't be permitted to be the dominant part of it by pulling the strings, or unduly influencing the legislators. The liquor

lobbyists had a lot of money to spend.

DOUGLASS: I was just really wondering whether the fact that before you were out in your home district more. And here you were really pretty much all right there in Sacramento, whether it made it easier to concentrate purely on Sacramento.

VEYSEY: For sure, you would concentrate more on Sacramento. You see other legislators, you see lobbyists, you see staff. All those people would be together. But it does not seem to make the problems of getting legislative solutions any easier. They still all seem to pile up to the last night of the session, or ignored.

DOUGLASS: Maybe it is human nature.

VEYSEY: Yes. Well, it is very much human nature among legislators. They will always, if there is any opportunity to postpone or defer a hard decision, they will always postpone until they are right down to the wall, in terms of time. Only then will they make a decision.

DOUGLASS: Do you see that as now being carried over into quite a strong reliance on the initiative process to be the final decision maker?

VEYSEY: The initiative was rarely used in the earlier years, but it has been discovered recently. For example, four initiatives on the insurance business this year. The legislature had failed in its lead role of trying to set policy. They

are fearful of acting because an initiative may be used to counter whatever they do. Or they simply say, "We cannot resolve the differences among us, so it is better to let the people vote on it."

DOUGLASS: But it can be an opportunity to opt out.

VEYSEY: It can certainly be. And they have done that. And so the main decisions are now being made by initiative, rather than by the legislature. That's too bad. I have to be all in favor of the people deciding a lot of these things, but it is an impossibility on complex legislation to have the people really understand. Then, too, the framers of initiatives are tempted to include a few outrageous provisions which will be unnoticed.

DOUGLASS: Certainly these insurance initiatives are a perfect example.

VEYSEY: You have four of them going at once. The problem is compounded. You pass two or three of them and defeat one of them, and then what do you have?

DOUGLASS: Do you see any answer to that? To the situation we are now in.

VEYSEY: I am sure we are not going to do away with the initiative. The people must have the option. If the legislature would act in a timely way

with appropriate leadership, it would remove the need for initiatives in many cases. I see the growth of the initiative process as being a black mark on the quality of the work that the legislature does. I was there at a very fortunate time with Jesse Unruh and Bob Monagan. Things were better.

DOUGLASS: You felt that the legislature was more proactive and problem solving?

VEYSEY: More proactive. I think it was the golden years of the California legislature. It was a better legislature, a better quality legislature in the old days. And they had time and staff enough to work on problems carefully, but they did so with almost a minimum of partisanship. There would be some partisan issues, but, in the main, the issues were not dealt with on a partisan basis. The committees were not structured on a partisan basis. There would be Republican chairmen, and there would be Democrat chairmen.

DOUGLASS: And did you tend to all speak to each other socially, regardless of where you stood politically?

VEYSEY: Sure. There was quite a collegial air about the place. At least, in their public utterances, members would always be courteous, even flattering, to others who they didn't really think were that great. Today, there might be

fistfights on the floor and they cuss each other out. The decorum is pretty bad.

DOUGLASS: To move on a bit. In '67, you were appointed to the Ways and Means Committee with [Assemblyman] Robert [W.] Crown as the chairman. How did it happen that Unruh appointed you to that committee? That is considered a pretty potent committee.

VEYSEY: I don't know how it happened, exactly. I explained earlier that Unruh and I got off to a shaky basis at the start. But we became very good friends later. I think he liked and respected me. And I certainly gained a great admiration for his abilities, his understanding of political process and his ability to manage things. Somehow or other, I don't know how those committee decisions were made. I think they were worked in part by the speaker and part through negotiations with the minority party leadership.

DOUGLASS: Was Monagan the minority leader?

VEYSEY: Yes. He was the minority leader. He would have been involved in that. Bob liked me, and we got along well. And, so perhaps it was through his intervention, I am not sure. There had to be a partisan balance on the committees, more or less proportionate to the balance in the house.

Of course, if the Democrats were in charge, they would have a slight margin in every committee. Not one-sided.

DOUGLASS: Would it be a correct generalization to say that possibly you were viewed as more acceptable to Unruh in a way than other people on the moderate side? Like Flournoy, who had more openly, perhaps, challenged him.

VEYSEY: Yes. Flournoy had more openly challenged him. I have forgotten whether Flournoy was on Ways and Means or not.

DOUGLASS: No. He was not. I have the list here if you want to look. [Shows him the list]

VEYSEY: [Assemblyman E. Richard] Barnes was extremely conservative. [Assemblyman Frank P.] Belotti was among the moderate Republicans and [Assemblyman Carl A.] Britschgi, also. [Assemblyman John L. E.] Collier was very conservative. [Charles J.] Conrad. [Pauline L.] Davis. [Stewart] Hinckley. Mulford, as Republican caucus chair, would be pretty much the partisan. I don't know how they figured that out. But there are two or three very moderate Republicans and two or three conservative Republicans on that committee.

DOUGLASS: Well, you must have been pleased to get that appointment.

VEYSEY: Yes. That, coupled with the Education Committee

(which is a big consumer of the budget), made it a pretty important position to work from. I liked that.

DOUGLASS: This is a powerful committee. What kind of lobbying went on with you as a member of that committee?

VEYSEY: I don't remember that it was particularly different except, being more immediately directed to expenditures because Ways and Means would be dispensing funds to projects. Whereas the Education Committee would be dealing philosophically, arguing permission to have this and that type of program but appropriating no money. So all the money had to come through Ways and Means. I guess it would be more intensive in that respect, but I don't remember anything significantly different.

DOUGLASS: Same faces?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: Name a few of the lobbying interests that typically you would have calling on you.

VEYSEY: The liquor people--beer, wine, and distilled spirits--would always have lobbyists there because that is a likely source to increase taxes to try to get additional funds for whatever and spend it. The education people would have representatives from the school

boards' association, teachers, and administrators.

DOUGLASS: CTA [California Teacher's Association].

VEYSEY: Yes. Well, and teacher's unions. The United Teacher's Union. The administrators were there. They would be sparring for the money and how it would be distributed. The large urban districts versus the rural districts. There was always tension there. Los Angeles, San Diego, and Fresno would always try to get as much money as they could and leave the little districts without very much.

DOUGLASS: Are you speaking of school districts?

VEYSEY: Yes. The cities and counties were always in there for their share of the funding. I guess those are the major contenders.

DOUGLASS: Was your chief interest or focus on that committee this carryover from education? In other words, was that where you might have spent most of your effort or time?

VEYSEY: Yes. I think it really was. Although, of course, we voted on a lot of other issues as well. There would be some education things that would come in. The Education Policy Committee and the Ways and Means Money Committee, coupled together, was a pretty good place to work from.

DOUGLASS: How was Crown as a chairman?

VEYSEY: Bobby Crown was a bright, thoughtful person. I

think he was pretty respectful of the rights of all members to have a chance to state their point of view and to bring witnesses on any of these issues. He sometimes, it seemed to me, let the committee run on overly long in getting a decision. You know, there are always more bills. A ton of bills.

DOUGLASS: Yes. The pressure on that committee. Probably a lot of hours.

VEYSEY: A lot of hours. He sometimes would be uncertain and would let things go on, it seemed to me, longer than was needed because you get a pretty good sense of where the votes were. And the members were ready to decide.

DOUGLASS: So, sometimes the hearings went on longer than you needed to get a vote?

VEYSEY: Yes. We had more hearings than you needed. That was for sure.

DOUGLASS: Was a lot of your work accomplished in subcommittee in Ways and Means? Or did you meet pretty much as a full committee?

VEYSEY: Mostly, the main decisions would be done in full committee.

DOUGLASS: How about staff for that committee?

VEYSEY: It had good finance people. And, of course, we always had the Legislative Analyst, [A.] Alan Post's people. I considered they were the real

gems in the whole operation, in terms of money matters because he was pretty independent, pretty nonpartisan and analytical. So, the legislative analyst would always be there to give us his opinion, which might be quite different than either of the other parties.

DOUGLASS: Did Post himself usually come?

VEYSEY: Often. Not always. He had the work delegated out to a lot of people, but he would come frequently. I got to know Alan Post very well.

DOUGLASS: Did you? How?

VEYSEY: I considered him a great person. As a matter of fact, when the congress, in 1974, had its budgetary revision and set up a congressional office of the budget which would be the counterpart of Alan Post's office, I tried to get Alan Post appointed to that job. Unsuccessfully. He wanted to do it, although he was about at the point of retirement. He said that he would do it for a short time, but the partisan nature of the congress precluded that happening.

DOUGLASS: Did you depend on him quite a bit, in terms of your analysis and conclusions about things before you?

VEYSEY: Yes. A great deal.

DOUGLASS: Not only in Ways and Means, but in education and other fields?

- VEYSEY: Yes, in education and finance, but more particularly in Ways and Means. His office would really come into focus on the costs and the benefits of particular legislation, and on the effective uses of funds by state agencies. Education is more philosophical and special in how you want to try to do it. Whether you give the local boards permission to do certain programs or take certain authority.
- DOUGLASS: But then you were carrying, as you say, the finance bill.
- VEYSEY: The finance package came to Ways and Means. You see, the education finance bill didn't go through Education at all.
- DOUGLASS: Right. But you were the person who put that bill together.
- VEYSEY: Yes.
- DOUGLASS: Well, anything else about Post? I suppose we could go on a long time about him. Any anecdotes about Post?
- VEYSEY: He is just a delightful person. He liked to vacation in Spain. He spent a lot of time there. He learned to play the flamenco guitar. His wife is a most interesting person, who is a sculptress. She carves totem poles, among other things. [Laughter] They are very different people but very delightful.
- DOUGLASS: So, socially, you enjoyed them.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: And you felt he was bipartisan in his analysis?

VEYSEY: I thought so. I thought he was very fair. He tried to make his analysis just what the benefits and what the disadvantages would be to the state in doing any particular thing. What the consequences were. What the costs would be. I thought he was very good about that. He had some very good people working for him.

DOUGLASS: Did you have the feeling that other legislators felt the same way about it? That he was bipartisan.

VEYSEY: In the main, they did. Although if you had a bill that he didn't support, you would think otherwise. [Laughter] I believe most legislators of both parties respected him.

DOUGLASS: Did you ever, in talking to him personally, find out where he was really coming from on some subject and find out that was quite different from what you were hearing? In other words, from an ideological viewpoint he might have felt a certain way about a particular subject. Did you ever put that together with trying to think about how he toed this line? Which would very difficult to do, I would think.

VEYSEY: It is very difficult. He had to be very circumspect about that. But, in the main, he

dealt with, not the policy issue, like education or agriculture or something like that, but the money issue. How much money could the state appropriately use in this way? What would be the benefits in that? What would be the costs? Sometimes he recommended increases; sometimes decreases.

DOUGLASS: And what are the implications?

VEYSEY: And what it would mean on down the line. So, he analyzed those aspects. He had really good people.

DOUGLASS: All right. That is an interesting comment. Well, going along in '67, you were on the Education Committee and [Leroy F.] Greene was chairman. There were some interesting people on that committee. Willie Brown.

VEYSEY: Yes. He was new.

DOUGLASS: Was he new on the committee?

VEYSEY: He might have been new in the assembly.

DOUGLASS: Brown was elected in '65. At any rate, I gather this style he had on the select committee was one he used in general on the committee. Would that be true?

VEYSEY: He was very subdued on the select committee. He kept a very low profile, but he was very helpful behind the scene.

DOUGLASS: I see. The flamboyance that you saw was more when he was not on the select committee.

VEYSEY: Yes. On the assembly floor. If he thought the press would be listening, he would go into his oratory.

DOUGLASS: Playing to the house.

VEYSEY: Did I tell you the story about the Black Panthers coming to the assembly?

DOUGLASS: No. I don't think so.

VEYSEY: You know, the Black Panthers were pretty well organized and were thought of as being a dangerous or unpredictable group in a lot of ways. One day they came to Sacramento and decided to make a media event of being there. So, they came to the door of the assembly and pushed open the door and knocked down the sergeant-at-arms who was tending the door and came on into the room. I didn't know exactly what happened, but I was sitting in the back where the spectators usually sit and where you go to confer with another legislator. And I was there with Willie Brown. We were talking about some bill before the Education Committee. I have forgotten what it was.

This commotion seemed to take place over in the other corner of the room. Willie grabbed my arm--I turned to him and he was as white as this paper--and said, "Vic, we are in trouble. Those guys have got guns." Sure enough, they had

large guns strapped on their hips. They didn't shoot or brandish their weapons or anything like that. It was really, for them, strictly a media event because they had a television camera right behind them taking their picture, bursting into the chamber and yelling a little bit. Willie was genuinely startled and, I think, fearful of what could happen.

- DOUGLASS: That must have made you pretty fearful.
- VEYSEY: I didn't even know too much about the Black Panthers.
- DOUGLASS: Maybe he knew too much. [Laughter]
- VEYSEY: [Laughter] He knew plenty.
- DOUGLASS: How long did that little scene last?
- VEYSEY: I don't know. Ten minutes or something like that.
- DOUGLASS: Did the sergeant-at-arms get them out?
- VEYSEY: Several sergeants-at-arms closed in on them and forced them back out into the hallway. They yelled around for the press a bit.
- DOUGLASS: That would have been '67.
- VEYSEY: I think it would have been about that time. That was a startling event.
- DOUGLASS: That must have gotten your adrenalin going. Was that an evening session?
- VEYSEY: No. That took place during the day.
- DOUGLASS: That's pretty exciting. Well, any other anecdotes about Willie Brown while you were

there?

VEYSEY: He told me on this select committee on campus disturbances that he could be helpful to us, but he was not going to take any high profile on it. And he didn't. He didn't have very much to say at the hearings, didn't raise issues or anything like that. But he would confer talk with us a good bit about it. John Mockler knew him pretty well--I think he may have worked in Brown's office one time--and he got quite a bit of input from Willie that way.

And Willie was actually very supportive of the idea of trying to bring reason and decorum back into the educational process. He didn't like the disruption of education that was taking place. He came down on the side of the serious student, as opposed to the demonstrators. He was willing to support the idea of the police coming in to enforce the laws.

DOUGLASS: Did he have contacts or sources, say, on the Berkeley campus, that would be helpful, in terms of his knowing what is going on?

VEYSEY: I suspect he did.

DOUGLASS: That's interesting. So he fell on the side of trying to quiet the situation down.

VEYSEY: He was very responsible on that, I thought. And he didn't give you any of his high-flying

rhetoric, which is part of his style. But he didn't do that at all when we were working with him. He is a very intelligent, very bright person. And a lot of fun to work with, too. A funny, funny guy.

DOUGLASS: So how did the Republicans respond to Willie when he came to the legislature? Obviously, when you got to know him, you thought pretty well of him. Was that generally true? Did people like him after they kind of got used to him?

VEYSEY: Well, he changed. He has become more subdued. He came off the wild rhetoric and jumping up and stomping out of meetings because he didn't like what somebody said. Things like that. He got adjusted to it and became more of a regular participant. Unruh gave him, I guess, unusual opportunities on the floor to display his oratorical style. It was sort of amusing to some people, but then it got boring after a while. They tolerated it.

DOUGLASS: Another person who is on that committee which would be fun to get your reflections on is [Assemblywoman] March Fong, who became March Fong Eu. What was she like as a legislator and, maybe, in particular, as a member of that committee where you might have known her better?

VEYSEY: I got to know March pretty well. She was a

quiet, modest person. I guess her interest in education came about. . . . I think she had been involved in the educational training in schools for dental technicians.

DOUGLASS: She had been in the East Bay area, in the Oakland, San Leandro area.

VEYSEY: Yes. Of course, she was very interested in those things. She was a pretty thoughtful, serious student. At time I had a vague feeling that she really didn't know quite what was going on.

DOUGLASS: Was she more of a listener at that point?

VEYSEY: Tended to be. She just didn't have very much of a grasp of what was going on in the committee. But I appointed her chairman of a subcommittee. I think it dealt with teacher's credentials.

DOUGLASS: Was she industrious?

VEYSEY: She never could get to meetings on time. There was always a long wait for March to get there. It seemed like she really didn't quite know what you were talking about.

DOUGLASS: Were you surprised later when she ran for secretary of state?

VEYSEY: She got all of her name recognition and fame through that pay toilet bill. [Laughter]
Yes, I was surprised. The secretary of state really is a political office, and she goes

around and does her thing there. The office has run very competently for years and years by the people who are in there. How to register the corporations and how to deal with all the functions and how to do the elections. She does not have to do anything, really. She does the political side just fine.

DOUGLASS: Another name on here is [Assemblyman John] Vasconcellos, who had just been elected. I would be interested to know your reactions to John Vasconcellos as he came into the legislature.

VEYSEY: John sat near me on the floor. He struck me as being a pretty wild hare. He was nonconforming and very intolerant of listening to anything except what he wanted to hear.

DOUGLASS: Oh, really?

VEYSEY: Oh, yes. He has mellowed a great deal over time. I remember one interesting thing. He and Ike Britschgi were seatmates. As it turned out, they were both products of Santa Clara University. Both Catholic boys. And Ike Britschgi just could not abide Vasconcellos because Vasconcellos would not get his hair cut, or dress very neatly. His hair was straggling down. Britschgi was on him all the time to shape up his appearance and act like he was from Santa Clara. [Laughter] So, they had a

constant tension about that. It got kind of funny.

DOUGLASS: Did Vasconcellos, at that point, seem to have quite a driving interest in education matters?

VEYSEY: Yes. He had strong interests in education matters. But I think his interests were in broad social and psychological things. He wanted to improve everybody's esteem and things like that. He spent considerable time in meditation and on retreats.

DOUGLASS: He hit the ground running, it sounds like.

VEYSEY: Yes. He had a very big agenda. But then he would disappear from time to time and go off to visit some guru and get pumped up on what was going on. He would withdraw from the process almost at times because he was not tolerant of other points of view.

[End Tape 4, Side B]

[Begin Tape 5, Side A]

VEYSEY: One other thing about Vasconcellos, his interest in the education field dealt much more with the philosophical and psychological areas. He joined with me, though, in a project which became of some interest later. I carried legislation to establish a joint committee to try to state the goals and objectives of public education in the state. He gladly joined me on that. Probably, his goals and objectives would be a little different than mine.

DOUGLASS: Was that around '68?

VEYSEY: It was probably '68. In fact, I chaired that joint committee while I was there, and I think he became chair of it afterwards and continued the work. They ultimately did come up with some statement of the goals and objectives for our public schools. Which was probably more valuable not for the statement but for the process.

DOUGLASS: Was this kindergarten through 12th grade?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: The process of doing it was beneficial, do you think?

VEYSEY: Yes. Thinking it through was worthwhile and was conciliatory to the different sides of it. So, we end up with a short statement of what the goals and objectives are and nobody knows what

that says anymore. [Laughter]

DOUGLASS: But it was an exercise.

VEYSEY: There is one other member of the Education Committee and that was [Assemblyman] Leo [J.] Ryan.

DOUGLASS: Oh, yes. Right. I don't have him on this list. Was he on earlier? Later?

VEYSEY: He was on Education in '69. But not in '68. But he was on Ways and Means. He, like I, was a member of both of the committees. Leo, as you may remember, was a former school superintendent. He was a teacher, then an administrator in a small district near the south part of San Francisco. Leo was a very intelligent and very thoughtful person, a little bit wild at times. He was a great believer that the way you brought about legislative support was that you set up tours or special goodies for other legislators and got them to share the benefits. He set up a tour in which we went all over the United States to visit schools that we had heard of as being particularly good, in terms of the quality of education.

DOUGLASS: Did he draft or control the lists of schools you decided to visit?

VEYSEY: Yes. He pretty well did. He had a staff member whose name was Dennis Doyle. Maybe you know of

Dennis Doyle. He is active. In fact, there was a piece in the L.A. Times a couple of weeks ago on the editorial page written by Dennis Doyle. He is working with a group in Washington. Dennis was enamored of the voucher plan of education, and he still is. He is working in the general direction of loosening up the process and giving consumers of education more of a choice as to where spend their money. The voucher plan never really prevailed, although we gave it a good go while I was in the assembly. We set up a trial for it in California.

DOUGLASS: That was tried in a small district, wasn't it?

VEYSEY: Yes. Near San Jose. But the administrators and many teachers were so deadset against it and so fearful of it that they managed to frustrate the effort to try it.

DOUGLASS: You mean you didn't feel it was a fair trial?

VEYSEY: I don't think that they gave it a reasonable chance. But I still believe there is a lot of good in the voucher plan. But it was running counter to the current theme of integrating the schools, which maintained that all you had to do was mix the blacks, whites, and Hispanics together, and you would have a good school. This may be socially desirable, but does not make great schools. The voucher plan would give users the choice, and the integration-type

people were fearful that the whites would all go to one school and the blacks would go to another. It would frustrate their objectives. I don't think it would necessarily do that, but we didn't know.

Leo Ryan was a very thoughtful person and had had considerable experience in education. He did a lot of work on trying to loosen up the credential requirements for teachers so that they didn't do as much silly business requiring education theory courses. Also, he was quite comfortable with awarding merit pay to particularly good teachers. And that strikes a bad note with the unions.

DOUGLASS: He was against the flow of his profession?

VEYSEY: He really was. He was a counter voice there. Anyway, he set up this tour, which I enjoyed. We had a wonderful time. We went to schools in New York, Boston, and in Florida. All around.

DOUGLASS: Were these high schools or elementary schools?

VEYSEY: Elementary schools, mainly. Some high school level, too.

DOUGLASS: They were selected on what basis? Why would you visit them?

VEYSEY: Because they were particularly interesting. We went to a famous public school with a number in New York City, which was an experimental school

in a very difficult location in Spanish Harlem. Half the students were black and half were Hispanic with language problems. But they had an absolutely super-good school going there. Because they had a principal who was very bright. He was Jewish. They gave him a pretty free hand to find the best teachers. And he did. And he gave them a free hand to teach. He brought about great community involvement. He built a really excellent school. So good that all the smart little white kids, the Jewish kids and so on, would get on the subway and go across New York to go to that school.

Later, we had that principal come out and speak to our Education Committee to educators in California. And Leo went on to congress, as I did. Later, as you know, he was murdered in Guyana.

DOUGLASS: Oh, yes. In that Jonestown affair. What a tragedy.

VEYSEY: It was. He was a very bright guy.

DOUGLASS: Out of that tour, did any specific policy change come, in terms of legislation?

VEYSEY: I think Leo carried some legislation which dealt with loosening up the credential requirements for teachers, making them more content related than theory related. In terms of trying to give administrators freedom to have a good school, to

run a good school. To make it a neighborhood community-related school. And to get parental participation, which was part of the success in New York. And he made attempts to and did get a master teacher status for teachers who were exceptionally good teachers. I think they got extra pay, as well as recognition.

DOUGLASS: So, he carried some bills out of that.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: Why don't we go over a little bit of the education legislation. Incidentally, Ryan appears in the committee rolls in '69, so that must have been when he first had gone on the Education Committee.

VEYSEY: Yes. Apparently that is true.

DOUGLASS: I found the committee lists here. He is not on Education in '68, but he is on definitely in '69. He was on Ways and Means in '69, too.

VEYSEY: It's strange that he would not have been on Education all along because of his educational background.

DOUGLASS: But he was not, apparently. He shows up here in January of '69. Let's talk about the Veysey Act,¹ which was A.B. 2364. Which passed in 1967.

1. A.B. 2364, 1967 Reg. Sess., Cal. Stat., ch. 1719.

What is the background on that?

VEYSEY: The idea for that was brought to me by the superintendent of a community college in my area, Imperial Valley College. It gained a lot of support throughout the school business because it had a meritorious objective and, even more among educators, because it gave them more money. The law simply permitted students who had particular educational needs, in their junior or senior year of high school, to be able to get these courses at a community college, and to get credit in the high school and also college-level credit.

It was intended to be for very bright students who wanted to take college-level work, but who were not out of high school yet, so they could take advanced mathematics or science. It was intended for those who were musicians or performers in the arts because they could get advanced theatrical work or something like that. It was also intended for those who were pursuing a vocational program, because, typically, the community college would have better shop equipment than a high school.

So, those were the classes of students who could use it. They could easily make this arrangement to take some of their courses at the community college. The interesting part, from

the point of view of educators, was, both the high school and the community college got the ADA [Average Daily Attendance] money. Sort of a double pay. That is the reason it was so popular with the educators.

DOUGLASS: Nobody lost.

VEYSEY: Nobody lost. Anything that brought them extra money and used the facilities better looked good to them. The bill was very popular. It has been used widely throughout the state. Everywhere I go, people recite many instances where it is being used.

DOUGLASS: Was it the head of Imperial Valley College who brought this to your attention?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: How did he come to that conclusion? Did he see a need?

VEYSEY: I don't really know. He was seeing it particularly for the gifted students who had exhausted all the science or the math that they could get in their high school and wanted to get into something higher. And that's a good thing. And those also in the vocational programs who didn't have facilities and equipment to pursue machine shop work or auto mechanics.

DOUGLASS: Do you recall his name?

VEYSEY: Dr. Milo Johnson. I got well acquainted with

him because I was on the founding trustees of Imperial Valley College. We hired him from Santa Monica Community College to be the president of Imperial Valley College. He did that very successfully and built a needed and useful school. After he had it built and going, he decided to move on to another challenge of a similar type at San Jacinto College, which is near Hemet. He is now retired. He lives near Banning.

DOUGLASS: Is that the bill you are probably proudest of in terms of your involvement in education?

VEYSEY: It is probably best remembered because it is different. I guess the educational money bill would probably have had the broadest effect. It is always a little daunting when they "tombstone" a bill, when they put your name on it. You don't know what terrible consequences will come of that. It could turn out to be the world's worst bill.

DOUGLASS: I suppose carrying the school finance bill though, involved the greatest amount of your time and energy?

VEYSEY: Yes. Very much more. A.B. 2364 was an easy bill to carry because all the education communities stood up and said, "Oh, yes. That's wonderful. That's exactly what we want." They never mentioned the double pay. In fact, that

was not really understood when it was passed.

DOUGLASS: There were no losers on that one. And Alan Post didn't get after you on that one? [Laughter]

VEYSEY: He let us get by.

DOUGLASS: OK. I was looking at the bills in this year because they are indicative of where your time was spent. Of course, this whole business of school unification was going on all through this period. In fact, didn't you hold some hearings? I think I noted that in an earlier special session period, maybe as early as '66, on school district unification.

VEYSEY: The theory was that all school districts ought to be unified school districts. That was based--some of this came from Flournoy, I think, who was an advocate of this approach--on the theory that that would make larger districts, well-integrated programs from kindergarten through twelve. They would be more efficient and effective in administering education. And you can make a good argument for that. Indeed, there are a lot of very good unified school districts.

But I had a lot of rural school districts that are not unified, and they didn't want to be unified. They could see their local school as the focal point of their community and social

life, and they didn't want it to go. So, I was not an advocate of requiring that all districts became unified districts.

The way it ultimately worked out was a county committee on school district organization was established in every county. And it was charged with having hearings to see if unification could be accomplished. They were supposed to unify as many districts as they could. Although, down my way, it just didn't work very well. I was on that committee in Imperial County, but we didn't get much unification done.

DOUGLASS: The county committee was not a big force for unification?

VEYSEY: Did not bring that about. Brawley is still not unified. Brawley Elementary School and Brawley High School are not unified.

DOUGLASS: Did you have consultants come in, say, your county when this was being considered?

VEYSEY: Experts came down from the state. Yes. I guess you can call them consultants. The state Department of Education was in favor of unified districts. They saw it as a simplification. We have a very large number of school districts in this state. An overly large number, I would have to agree. It would be a lot simpler if they had a smaller number of larger districts to

administer.

Even more than that, the thing they really had their eyes set on--this was in the days when schools raised most of their money from the property tax base--they could see a little elementary school out in the country, surrounded by all this farmland, with a huge tax base for the number of students there. That would be unfair, they would say, as compared to an urban school which just had houses to tax--there is not much money in those--and a lot of kids to educate. Well, new legal decisions equalized the money so that they all get about that same now. But at that time the wealthy rural districts did very well, and the urban, poor districts did badly.

DOUGLASS: That scenario has changed.

VEYSEY: It has changed.

DOUGLASS: Also, didn't it in some cases involve perhaps putting kids on buses and taking them a distance if you unified? Was there resistance?

VEYSEY: It would not necessarily do that, but everybody feared that it might. "Oh, you are going to close down my school, and the kids are going to have ride eight miles into town on the bus." That could be the result. Because they would see that the voting strength in a large, unified

district would be in the city and the country people would not have any influence.

DOUGLASS: The loss of control.

VEYSEY: So, Hugh Flournoy and I had a lot of differences over that.

DOUGLASS: I believe that Hugh Flournoy might have been open to and had a lot of advice from a group, actually at Claremont Graduate School who were very interested in unification and that may have skewed his [thinking]. They were school administrator types who did a lot of consulting. I think that is where Hugh got some of his data. This is certainly arguable. Many people in education can argue your side, too.

VEYSEY: You can argue it both ways. Anyway, the whole complexion didn't change, except the funding ultimately did so that the state balanced up the discrepancy. Now, they don't raise much money from the local tax base under Prop. 13. It is very limited.

DOUGLASS: You were there in the heyday of the era when school unification was sort of a password.

VEYSEY: That's right. That was a big deal.

DOUGLASS: That was not suitable to your constituency.

VEYSEY: We turned it around down there. That same committee became the instrument for creating the community college district as we got together, after unification hearings. Also, running along

with this was the idea that every part of the state should be in a community college district. And we didn't have one in Imperial County. So, we brought all the high schools and unified districts together in a countywide community college district, and got that voted in, to almost everybody's amazement. We got it approved as a district and bonded by a 12 to 1 vote.

DOUGLASS: Yes. You said that. That is quite a success. So that was the upside to this for your area?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: In '67, there was one thing that got my attention. You carried a bill--this is out of education--having to do with the boundaries of Imperial and Riverside Counties in conjunction with the Colorado River Boundary Pact. You carried two bills. Do you recall anything about that?

VEYSEY: Yes. The Colorado River, historically, has been the boundary between California and Arizona. It flows along Riverside County and along Imperial County to Mexico. But the trouble is the Colorado River has moved around over time. Sometimes by slow--I had to learn about this--accretion where it slowly eats its way to a new channel over years. Over many years, it can

move quite a long distance. Or by the opposite avulsive process, where it suddenly does it in a floodtime, and it moves quickly and substantially. Then where is the boundary? Does the boundary move to where the river is, or does the boundary stay where we used to think it was?

So, this was a big controversy down there between Arizona and California. This was at the time when the water dispute was raging between the two states. There were lots of complications because people with houses or ranches or businesses didn't know which state they were in. They could be taxed by both states? Or would they have a liquor license or a contractor's license in Arizona or California?

DOUGLASS: [Laughter] Down to the nitty-gritty.

VEYSEY: All kinds of silly problems existed. And we even had an Indian tribe there, the Quichan Indians, who were very upset about the boundary. They were in the pact to try to get that stabilized. Well, ultimately, what happened out of that legislation was a boundary commission was appointed. They studied it. They said, "Well, yes, indeed, if the boundary change came by an avulsive act, that is a sudden flood or something like that, then that does not really count. But if it is by slow accretion, then the

boundary moves. Then they established and marked points at the various crossings and reconstructed the boundary in between. They surveyed the whole boundary.

DOUGLASS: Did they go back and recreate the situation and go back to some point in time?

VEYSEY: As well as they could, but they could not, totally. They finally staked out where they believed the state line should be, which is not necessarily where the river is now. It is somewhere near it.

DOUGLASS: Any future changes will be . . .

VEYSEY: The state line will stay.

DOUGLASS: As the river gradually changes, that line will move a little bit.

VEYSEY: No. I think they've now settled it. It is now there. It is marked, and has been accepted by both states and by congress.

DOUGLASS: Oh, that's it. I see. It will not change. It is permanent.

VEYSEY: Until they change it. [Laughter]

DOUGLASS: I mean, as far as that law reads, that is where the line will be from now on.

VEYSEY: Yes. There are some advantages; some clarifications, anyway. People will know which state they are in. Anyway, that is all settled now.

DOUGLASS: It sounds complicated, but a very real problem for your constituents?

VEYSEY: The Indians take a little different point of view toward this. They say, "We are a nation. We are not in any state. We are ourselves. You can't do that to us."

DOUGLASS: They can span rivers.

VEYSEY: [Laughter] I can remember the Quichan Indians sent a great expedition up to Sacramento on this issue one time. They sent the Indian tribal band with their instruments and a lot of people up there. They played a couple of concerts on the steps of the capitol. They met with Governor Pat Brown because they thought he said that he would do certain things for them and had not done them.

DOUGLASS: Also, that same year, you had a couple of bills about Colorado River fishing. Whether you had to be a resident of Arizona and have special stamps.

VEYSEY: This was another complication of the boundaries. You didn't know in which state you had to have a fishing license to fish.

DOUGLASS: So this went along.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: Both intriguing things as I went through.
[Laughter]

VEYSEY: Not monumental but interesting. There was

another bill, maybe you have it on your list somewhere. It never became a law. I could perceive, as an agriculturist, there was a need for legislation dealing with the relations between unions and farmers. This was as Cesar Chavez was coming along. He was beginning to work throughout the state and give some excitement to it.

So, on two different years, I carried legislation which I just wrote myself, patterned very much after the National Labor Relations Act [NLRA], which purports to be evenhanded. It guarantees the rights of employers to do certain things. And it guarantees the rights of employees to organize, free of interference by employers. It adjudicates the jurisdiction, that is, what is an appropriate bargaining unit. It adjudicates unfair labor practices by the parties. It is supposed to be fairly neutral in that regard.

I don't think the NLRA is universally regarded as evenhanded by a lot of employers, and it is not considered strong enough by unions. But it works pretty well by establishing rules for the conduct of collective bargaining. Agriculture is excluded from the NLRA; so I wrote legislation. We were dealing

VEYSEY: with agriculture just for California.

I could not get the support of either the farm worker's union--Chavez and his people--or of the agriculture groups for that legislation. The farm worker's union said, "No. We are going to get something that is much stronger than that to bring those guys down to their knees. We are really going to fix them." The farmer group said, "We don't have to have unions in this state, and we are not going to have them. We don't want anything that opens the way for them to officially become proper unions." So, without support of either of the groups, I could go nowhere.

Ultimately, when the [Governor Edmund G.] Jerry Brown [Jr.] administration came along, they enacted the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act, which is very one-sided.¹ It was written to suit Cesar Chavez. It was tilted entirely towards his side and cut the employers practically out of the equation. That passed and became law. Then there came a big surge in the Chavez union. They organized almost everybody in agriculture, all over the state.

1. S.B. 1, 1975 Third Ex. Sess., Cal. Stat., ch. 1.

Employers then decided to boycott the Agricultural Labor Relations Board. It was supposed to be a board of some union and some employer people. Farmers would not serve on it. So, it just lingered along for a while, but it gave a lot of pretty one-sided decisions.

Chavez totally misplayed his opportunity, I would say. He organized almost all of the farm workers in the state, but then neglected to take care of their needs. He was on more of a social crusade than he was on legitimate trade union organizing. So, many workers dropped out after a year or two. He socked them high dues and did little for them. Today he is back down to representing very few, but is using boycott tactics.

DOUGLASS: What two years would that be that you tried for this bill?

VEYSEY: I don't know, '67 and '68, or '68 and '69. I am not sure. Right in there somewhere.

DOUGLASS: You don't happen to have a bill file?

VEYSEY: All my files are at the Hoover [Institution for War and Peace] Library. All my legislative materials.

DOUGLASS: OK. The papers are at the Hoover.

VEYSEY: And you can get them there if you really want to be an historian. [Laughter]

- DOUGLASS: I can get at that another way. Of course, I checked the bills that passed.
- VEYSEY: This didn't pass, you see. Didn't pass in any committee.
- DOUGLASS: Did you bring this to the Agriculture Committee?
- VEYSEY: No. I suspect it might be referred to the Industrial Relations Committee. I could not even get any support at all. I introduced the legislation, but it didn't go anyplace. It had no supporters. You can't do anything with that.
[Laughter]
- DOUGLASS: You don't get very far with that.
- VEYSEY: No. I decided to give that up. It was a well-intended effort, but it didn't work. Today, it might be what is needed.
- DOUGLASS: That's interesting. You were ahead of your time perhaps on that.
- VEYSEY: I think it would been a good thing had it passed, but neither side could see it as the solution then.
- DOUGLASS: In the year '67, I know you have a story about [Assemblyman] David [A.] Roberti. Roberti served from '67 to '71 in the assembly. So I am going to ask you. I don't know what the story is, but I would like to get the story.
- VEYSEY: About his assembly days?
- DOUGLASS: Yes. This has been mentioned in casual conversation when I have been over here. You

were being kidded about that. Maybe it was not having to do with his assembly days.

VEYSEY: That incident came much, much later. Dave came on as a new assemblyman. He had an interesting oratorical style, which he would display, on occasion on the floor. He would become suddenly all excited about some bill and get up and just rave, and nobody paid an awful lot of attention to him. It was pretty hard to impress by theatrics that group! I don't remember him doing anything significant in the assembly. Then he soon went over to the senate, and then, to my total surprise, became president pro tem over there and has remained so for quite a long while. I don't know how many years.

DOUGLASS: He grasped the power from James Mills.

VEYSEY: That's right. Jim, of course, migrated across to the senate. Oh, no. That isn't right. It was Howard Way.

DOUGLASS: Howard Way was in there, too.

VEYSEY: How did that go? Howard Way was in there one time.

DOUGLASS: For about a year.

VEYSEY: And then Jim Mills. And then Roberti took it from Mills.

DOUGLASS: That was in '81. It was when Mills went out of town and Roberti called him up and said he had

the power to take over.

VEYSEY: I guess that's right. Jim Mills was an interesting guy. Have you seen his book?

DOUGLASS: Yes. The Disorderly House. We went over that in terms of the lockup. Do you have a story on Roberti when he went to the senate?

VEYSEY: My story has nothing to do with my legislative work at all. This came in 1983, after I was back here from congress days. Governor Deukmejian got elected, and he asked me to become his secretary for industrial relations in his cabinet. So, I went up there and joined the governor.

But David Roberti and the senators would not confirm me. It was very strange because it was represented to me, and I think it was factual, that the governor showed Roberti all his proposed nominees for the cabinet, and Roberti looked that over and said, "That looks fine. I don't think you will have any trouble getting confirmation with any of those." Certainly, Roberti had always been on good terms.

But what happened was that Deukmejian defeated [Mayor Tom] Bradley [of Los Angeles] for governor. Also, Jerry Brown lost his bid for the senate at the same time. So, the unions, which were feeling somewhat beleaguered

because their membership has been falling for quite a few years, lost both of their political bets. They didn't have a governor they could go to, nor a senator. And they were under great pressure back home. The boys at the union hall were asking their leaders, "How did you spend all that money and get nothing?"

They suddenly felt the need to show they had clout in Sacramento. They knew they could not move any legislation. They knew Governor Deukmejian was not going to sign any bills favorable to organized labor. They could get them through the legislature with votes to spare, but they would die on the governor's desk.

But they knew they had the votes to stop something. So they picked my confirmation as the thing they could stop. In this way, they were registering a protest against the governor. Not that they disliked me or anything like that. It was a symbolic sort of a thing. They wanted to be able to go back to the boys and say, "Look what we done."

DOUGLASS: So, Roberti said he would not approve.

VEYSEY: Well, he really never said, although he was heavily under union pressure. He waltzed it around. They had a confirmation hearing for me.

DOUGLASS: In the senate.

VEYSEY: In the senate. In the Rules Committee, which is the way it works, Roberti turned that into a sort of a public demonstration for the labor unions. He scheduled it at the time that the AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations] held their state convention in Sacramento. So, hundreds of labor representatives turned out and packed the whole room. They stomped and yelled.

[I was permitted to call several witnesses, including [Robert H.] Bob Finch (former lieutenant governor), [Senator] Howard Way (former president pro tem of the senate), Bob Monagan (former speaker of the assembly), [Harold T.] Bizz Johnson (Democrat congressman), and a number of friends and associates from academe, labor, and business who knew me and my work in industrial relations.]*

DOUGLASS: What were the ostensible reasons for opposing you? What kinds of jargon?

VEYSEY: They said Caltech is not a legitimate school in the industrial relations field. They sent a man from the operating engineers over to see if

*Victor V. Veysey added the preceding bracketed material during his review of the draft transcript.

Caltech was an engineering school. He came back and said, "Well, they don't have very many union officials enrolled in their courses and programs." Which is certainly true. Then they made, as they did in the recent hearings for the state treasurer, a considerable point of my legislative history, both in the assembly and in congress. They would say, "He never voted for the things that labor wants. How could he be secretary for industrial relations." So, I stayed on one year only.

DOUGLASS: And weren't confirmed. Was that '83?

VEYSEY: The year of '83. I went there in January. I stayed on there for the year. They sort of clouded the issue. The Rules Committee never would vote one way or another. I had a lot of friends on it. Roberti among them. He said, "I know you. I know that you are not a bad guy. But the labor people are just all over us on this." The union spent all their lobbying efforts on that one issue. They promised the prolabor senators that they wouldn't ask them for another vote all year.

DOUGLASS: You became symbolic.

VEYSEY: It became a symbol for them. [Nicholas C.] Nick Petris, another old friend, was on the committee. And [Henry J.] Mello, whom I had not known. [Also, members of Senate Rules

[Committee] were my former assembly seatmate, Senator Ray Johnson, and Senator William [A.] Craven. They were Republicans who would vote for confirmation. Roberti, Petris, and Mello did not wish to vote.]* They never would vote one way or another. They finally sent it to the floor, where it just stayed on the file. They never took it up. [Laughter]

Finally, at the end of year the governor infuriated the Democrats further by signing that Don Sebastiani thing which would have redone the reapportionment. In a frenzy, they just wiped all remaining actions off the file in one action.

DOUGLASS: That was it. So, you had to start from square one again the next year.

VEYSEY: Well, you couldn't start again. The rules are that you can go for a year without being confirmed.

DOUGLASS: But that's it. Nothing. It dies.

VEYSEY: It dies.

DOUGLASS: How did Deukmejian happen to appoint you?

VEYSEY: Well, we were longtime friends. He knew me. He knew of my longtime interest in industrial

*Victor V. Veysey added the preceding bracketed material during his review of the draft manuscript.

relations and labor work. I guess he thought it was a good idea. So he asked me to do it. I said, although it meant giving up my post at Caltech, that I would do it.

DOUGLASS: You had gotten to know him through the legislature.

VEYSEY: We came in in the same class to the legislature. We became close friends, his family and my family. He was probably my best friend in the assembly. He told me one time when we were both assemblymen that he would like to be governor someday. I said, "Well, that is a pretty big step. But if you decide to do that, I will help you." So, he called me on that. But the labor people had other ideas. They were split on it really, but their final decision was to oppose my confirmation.

[John Henning, the longtime secretary of the state AFL-CIO, told me, "We would prefer a labor man in the job, but we will not oppose your confirmation." But, in the executive council of the AFL, that was turned around. So Jack Henning appeared at my confirmation hearing to oppose me.]*

*Victor V. Veysey added the preceding bracketed material during his review of the draft manuscript.

- DOUGLASS: Were you and George Deukmejian drawn together in the legislature because, philosophically, you came from the same direction?
- VEYSEY: Oh, I am sure. We didn't have very many common interests. He was an attorney, and he worked in criminal law quite a bit. I was not interested in that at all. I was an educator and a farmer. We didn't have very much interaction there. Never on the same committee or anything like that.
- DOUGLASS: It was more that you enjoyed each other socially. And that tie kept up after you left Sacramento.
- VEYSEY: Yes. We liked his family orientation.
- DOUGLASS: So, when he became governor, he looked to you as a person he could call on?
- VEYSEY: I guess so. The union people tended to say, "OK. This is the Department of Industrial Relations, but we feel this is really our labor department. It has got to be somebody from organized labor." Clearly, I was not from organized labor. I was not from the management community either, the owners' side. Being an academician, you would think neutral. But that wasn't what they wanted.
- DOUGLASS: Had the person who had that position before had a particular background?

- VEYSEY: Oh, yes. Jack Henning, who is secretary for the AFL-CIO, was Secretary for Industrial Relations for many years. Dan Vial, a union official, held the office just before I came in.
- DOUGLASS: So he was definitely a labor person. They didn't want a change.
- VEYSEY: They wanted to own that operation, despite the fact that union members are now only 17 percent of all employees. Well, in fact, the department was largely populated by labor people because during the Jerry Brown years they added a large number of union people.
- DOUGLASS: I see. So they felt that was their territory very definitely.
- VEYSEY: That is the Roberti episode. I am sure Roberti didn't do that out of any personal ill will toward me. We had always been friends, and he disliked doing this to a former colleague. He said, "All our guys have got to get that labor vote. We have to have it. So, we've got to do this." They never openly took the step of voting against confirmation.
- DOUGLASS: It was all sort of in the background.
- VEYSEY: They just let it die.
- DOUGLASS: I guess that is a pretty common story. In '68, the community colleges board was created. A state board of fifteen, which was quite a landmark. Did you have any involvement with

that? I know you didn't carry the bill.

VEYSEY: Through the Education Committee, we had a considerable interest in that. Because we felt that of the higher education institutions, the community colleges didn't have any central, single voice to speak for them in Sacramento.

[This legislation established a central voice and a coordinator for the community colleges, but, unlike the University of California and the [California] State University System, the community colleges were independent units. It has proven difficult to coordinate them.]*

[End Tape 5, Side A]

*Victor V. Veysey added the preceding bracketed material during his review of the draft manuscript.

[Begin Tape 5, Side B]

DOUGLASS: To go back a minute to Republican party politics, you mentioned that there was an interesting race going on nearby your territory after the senate reapportionment, which we are assuming was the 1966 election.

VEYSEY: Yes. I think '66 is the right year. Well, Republicans, just as Democrats, don't always see eye-to-eye, philosophically. And there were considerable differences among my friends who served in the assembly. This particular election turned out to be a mighty struggle between two Republican assemblymen. They were [Assemblyman] Clair [W.] Burgener and Hale Ashcraft. They were both elected in the same year that I joined the assembly.

DOUGLASS: This would have been the primary fight because they were both Republicans.

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: This was a new seat.

VEYSEY: I think it was a newly-created senate seat because of the population growth and because of the population growth in San Diego County, and because of reapportionment.

DOUGLASS: So, one of those many opportunities at that time for an assemblyman to move to the senate?

VEYSEY: A rare opportunity. But, of course, that involves surrendering your assembly seat in

order to do it because you must run in every election in the assembly. So, these two good friends of mine were in a head-to-head conflict right in my backyard. There was quite a lot of maneuvering among the other Republicans on the assembly floor to try to see who would help this one and that one.

DOUGLASS: Where would you put Burgener in terms of the spectrum of the Republican party?

VEYSEY: Burgener was more moderate than was Ashcraft. I felt that Hale Ashcraft was quite doctrinaire in his approach and was closely aligned with Senator [Jack] Schrade and Richard Barnes and the very conservative group in San Diego County. Burgener had had long experience on the city council in San Diego before he went to the assembly and was much more seasoned and more moderate.

DOUGLASS: And closer to your views?

VEYSEY: Yes. Finally, I came down on his side. But that strained relationships with the other parties, naturally, and made it a little bit awkward.

DOUGLASS: What do you do in a situation like that? Do you back off and try not to commit for a while and stay out of it, if you can?

VEYSEY: You do, indeed. I had hoped to stay out of

altogether, but I finally got dragged into it and came down on Burgener's side. He ultimately won and later went on to congress. In fact, he served in congress at the same time I did. It can become a very uncomfortable situation.

I, generally, tried to pursue a policy of noninvolvement in Republican primaries. I think there should be room enough for various branches or any philosophy within the party. I don't like to be attached to one over the other. But I will tell you that the very conservative element, which was having at that time a real upturn in its fortunes in the state were very aggressive and very narrow in their interpretation of things. That would be Jack Schrade in the senate and Richard Barnes in the assembly, [Senator] John [G.] Schmitz in Orange County, and others of that type. It was the hotbed of conservative thinking in California.

DOUGLASS: So they would have been in favor of a preprimary endorsement situation. I gather you were not in favor of that.

VEYSEY: No. I would never want to do that. I went to a few events that Clair Burgener put on, and that is about as far as I went in the conflict. I think the Ashcraft group clearly sensed that I was pulling on Burgener's side, and they were quite upset by that. It made it kind of

awkward.

DOUGLASS: Did that blow over after a while? Of course, Burgener won and Ashcraft was out of the assembly.

VEYSEY: Ashcraft was out and then was appointed by Reagan to, I think, the workers compensation appeals board, which was a political reward. Ultimately, Hale moved out of state. His wife and I served as joint chairmen of the [state] Republican platform committee some years later. That would be 1972. Strangely enough, Hale's son worked for me in 1983, in Sacramento.

DOUGLASS: She was very active in the party?

VEYSEY: She was very active. Hale had not been really active in political things up to the time of his election. But Burgener had had a lot of experience.

DOUGLASS: That is an interesting question. During the era you served in the assembly, did you sometimes find that there was a spouse--of course, in those days it would have been usually a female spouse--who was maybe more politically savvy and active than the person who had been elected? I have heard a few stories of this.

VEYSEY: Yes. There were some very effective and very competent and very aggressive wives involved who were excellent people in organizing campaigns,

in working particularly behind the scenes. An example would be Candy Danielson, wife of Assemblyman, Congressman, Judge George [E.] Danielson.

We had a few women in the assembly. Not very many. March Fong. Pauline Davis had been there for a long time. She was a widow who had succeeded her husband. So we didn't have anybody else on that side. March Fong later married [Henry] Eu, and we didn't see anything of him.

DOUGLASS: So, I suppose there were some wives around who were pretty into this.

VEYSEY: Yes. There were. Mrs. Frank Belotti, in her own quiet way, was an effective campaigner in the northern part of the state. There were others. Alan Pattee's wife was very active in Republican women's events.

DOUGLASS: How did your wife view all of this political life? You were in a political life from the time you ran for the assembly through congress.

VEYSEY: She, of course, was pretty busy raising our four children. That is a high and demanding occupation all in its own. She did all the things that political wives are supposed to do. You know, went to the events and everything like that. She says these days that she sure is glad that she does not have to do that anymore.

There are a lot of things about [political] life she didn't favor, mainly, the stressfulness of it, the demands of it. And being away from home quite a bit. That was the most difficult part.

DOUGLASS: Yes. The moving around.

VEYSEY: But she managed to keep things organized and going on the homefront very well. Also, she made speeches in my behalf on occasion, and attended an endless number of meetings.

DOUGLASS: Her share, I am sure. Well, let's go to '68 because in the '68 election the Republicans regain control of the legislature with 41-39 in the assembly. And 21-19, squeaking by in the senate. Do you think this was a long-range result in the California Plan?

VEYSEY: Yes, that prepared the foundation for it. When the California Plan started, the numbers were only in the high twenties on the Republican side. Then they climbed up every year, every year, every year.

DOUGLASS: And I suppose the Reagan landslide gave it another boost.

VEYSEY: The Reagan movement turned the tide and brought the balance to the Republican side. Yes, it did.

DOUGLASS: In '68, Proposition 1A passed, which was a seventy dollar residential homeowner reduction in property tax. That, in itself, is not

notable, but it was the beginning of what became a series of tax reforms which we are still dealing with. At the time, what was your perception of this tax reform movement, which, in retrospect, we can say was the beginning.

VEYSEY: At that time, I didn't give it that much consideration as a trend until Proposition 13 came along, which, of course, was the big watershed decision in taxation.

DOUGLASS: But then there was also Reagan's Proposition 1, which failed later.

VEYSEY: There has been a surge throughout the country of initiatives in that direction. These initiatives have always made difficult situations in Sacramento. Legislators are being torn between doing what they think is the responsible thing to do from the point of view of state inflow of funds as measured against all the requests and demands for funds to be spent on, and their desire to do something that is popular with the people at home, that is, reduce the taxes and give them a refund. That creates a constant, ongoing conflict. We have seen a lot of people who took strong positions in opposition to Proposition 13 get battered by that initiative.

DOUGLASS: As you look at that in retrospect, were you beginning to see the pressure about homeowners

and their ability to stay in their homes? What we saw later as an assessment problem. The threat that some people felt about whether they could afford to keep their homes and perhaps a need to rethink about that as a tax base.

VEYSEY: Yes. There were certainly signs of that. We were encountering inflation, which got even worse in the seventies. This aggravated the situation and made it impossible for people on fixed incomes to stay in their own home. Especially when the taxes were stepping up to meet rising costs of government. I think homeowners certainly needed someone to champion their particular cause.

Intertwined with that was the idea through this initiative that we are going to teach those lawmakers in Sacramento that they have got to listen to the people more carefully. That is the heart of the initiative process. Strangely enough, Proposition 13, which was supposed to hit at the Sacramento government crowd, actually hit at local government very much harder than it did Sacramento. As a result, Sacramento had to come to the rescue of local governments the next year.

DOUGLASS: Did you have any sense while you were in the legislature of a problem in terms of people who

were elected who had not had any local government experience? That is, as a locally elected official. Now, you had been a school board member. You had met the public across the table. You saw them in the store later the way a councilmember would. As contrasted to the person who ran for the legislature and had not done that. I am generalizing because maybe in that day that didn't happen very often. I was wondering if you felt it was an advantage to you to have that experience at the local level?

VEYSEY: Yes. I felt it was. In local government, you find out whether you have the patience, the interest, the willingness to endlessly hear constituent positions and complaints and patiently work with them to have them going away with a feeling that you were going to do whatever could be done, or explained the situation to them. That takes a lot of time and a lot of patience. I think that is a real test. A lot of people just don't enjoy that. They don't like it and don't want to deal with people and their problems. So, they should not try to go into government at a higher level where you just get it a little louder and clearer, with more pressure.

DOUGLASS: Although, certainly, the criticism today is that people are avoiding that by either not coming

home to their district or letting the staff be a buffer.

VEYSEY: There is a lot of that done. Nothing can substitute for the direct interaction between representative and constituent.

DOUGLASS: Perhaps they are getting away with that more than they used to.

VEYSEY: There is one thing though. Ultimately, during the election process you have to encounter the voters. So if they just saved up their complaints and grievances for a couple of years and dump them on you right before the election, that won't get many problems solved. But, you are right, politicians today do use staff to buffer these problems to a considerable degree, or just plain duck them.

DOUGLASS: I suppose that was not really possible when you served. You didn't have that much staff.

VEYSEY: I had very little staff.

DOUGLASS: I wanted to ask you one question about a bill, in '68, having to do with the Salton Sea. It was the Salton Sea Advisory Committee. What was the story on that?

VEYSEY: The Salton Sea was right in the heart of my assembly district. Some years before, the state [Department of] Fish and Game had established a fishery there by importing certain types of

gamefish, such as the Orangemouth Corbino from the Gulf of Lower California and planting them in the Salton Sea. They did flourish and grew in great numbers very rapidly. It became an excellent sport fishery, widely used by southern Californians. Then the information became known that the Salton Sea was increasing steadily in salinity. At some time in the future, these fish would be endangered or probably eliminated, totally. They would not be able to survive in the Salton Sea if salinity exceeded certain levels.

So the advisory committee was to look at that problem and see if anything could be done about it to save the values of the fishery, which by then was a pretty big business. Fishing was enjoyed by an awful lot of people, not so many in the district, but many from the Los Angeles area. Most big industrial firms had Salton Sea fishing clubs, and they would come down by the busload to fish and have a wonderful time. A pretty low-cost outing for them and a lot of fun. And it was good for the economy in the district, too.

It is a very difficult, intricate problem. A dual problem. One, of controlling the size of the Salton Sea; and, two, controlling the salinity. The sea has no outlet. All the rain

VEYSEY: that falls east of Banning and west of Arizona goes into that basin. That is fresh water. But the irrigation wastewater of the Coachella Valley, the Imperial Valley, and, to a lesser extent, the Mexacali Valley flows into it. All that water carries quite a bit of salt. But, with strong winds and sunshine of the desert, evaporation out of the Salton Sea is high. That leaves the salt behind. The Salton Sea has no outlet. So it may become a dead sea in a few years.

I worked on that problem for a long time. Local property owners got organized for and against it. The agricultural people tended to take the position, "Well, the Salton Sea is just a place where we dump our wastewater. And we don't want anybody to get any fancy ideas that it is always going to have fish or waterfowl, or be useful for other purposes. Because we want to dump anything we want to dump in it."

DOUGLASS: Wastewater from irrigation?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: It would carry the nitrates.

VEYSEY: Yes, nitrates, pesticide residues, and it would carry a lot of salt. You see, we put tile lines under the ground to drain the salt out of the ground and carried it to the Salton Sea. So it

gets to be pretty thick stuff sometimes. Many farmers would rather everybody would forget about the Salton Sea for recreation and leave them alone.

DOUGLASS: They were not interested in it as a recreational facility?

VEYSEY: Some of them were fishermen, too. So, they wanted it both ways. But the fisher people and the developers and those who sold bait and tackle and boats were keen about it. They studied for some time and finally decided it was an issue that would have to involve the federal government because it is federal water.

DOUGLASS: Why is it federal water? It is a man-made body, isn't it?

VEYSEY: No. Not true. It existed originally as an arm of the Gulf of Lower California. The ocean came clear up in there. The ocean.

DOUGLASS: I see. It is a remnant of that.

VEYSEY: Then the ocean subsided or the land rose. I don't know which. Anyway, the delta of the Colorado River cut off the Gulf, then the Salton Sea evaporated down to a small lake of very saline water. I understand that geologists have determined that the Colorado River has formed a freshwater lake periodically in the Salton Sea over the last two thousand years. In 1905-1906, the Colorado River broke out of its banks, and

flowed into the Salton Sea for about one or two years--the whole flow of the Colorado River--and built it back up to a sizable body of water again. The break from the Colorado River was later controlled. But all the agricultural waste water, plus rainfall, has been keeping the Salton Sea full.

DOUGLASS: And the rainfall is the source.

VEYSEY: That is relatively minor.

DOUGLASS: Why is it federal?

VEYSEY: For one reason, it was too big a project for the state to undertake. Secondly, it comes from the Colorado River, which is a federal irrigation project. Anyway, we studied it first at the state level. And they said, "Yes. Some things could be done." And they even devised some very interesting, innovative solutions to the problem. We did declare in state law that the Salton Sea is not just an agricultural sump, but it is water to be used for multiple beneficial purposes, including recreational, fishing and so on. So we got that much done.

But the foremost approach that looked likely to win was the one in which they would dike off a portion of the Salton Sea, forming two lakes: one fairly fresh, and one very saline.

- DOUGLASS: So it would separate the fresher water.
- VEYSEY: The Salton Sea would be in two parts. The very saline part would no longer sustain fish or wildlife, but it could be used for motorboat racing or something like that.
- DOUGLASS: And that is where the farmers could still dump their wastewater?
- VEYSEY: That was the project, but it involved a lot of money. I worked on that in the legislature, and when I went to congress, I worked on it there. But the feds just didn't think they had that kind of money or the priority to undertake it. Then I left congress, and no one has really pursued it.
- DOUGLASS: So that still is out there?
- VEYSEY: Yes, the dire predictions haven't quite come true yet, but will some day.
- DOUGLASS: Right. It is still there. In terms of other legislation, in education, there is a bill you carried on alternative teacher credentialing procedures, A.B. 1424, which says that over a two-year period, a hundred teachers may be licensed with a probationary credential if they have composite scores of over 50 percent on the GRE [Graduate Record Examination].¹ And there

1. A.B. 1424, 1968 Reg. Sess., Cal. Stat., ch. 1307.

is another bill on the GRE. Was this an attempt on your part to do some of the things that Leo Ryan was interested in?

VEYSEY: Partly that. But it was more directed at meeting a considerable shortfall in teacher population. We were getting rapid expansion of school population from babyboomers coming into elementary and high school. There weren't enough teachers. This was to give them another way to get pretty good people who didn't have quite the technical education qualifications. I had felt for a long period of time, and Leo Ryan certainly did, that teacher credentialing requirements were set by teachers to keep people from becoming teachers more than to enhance the quality of teaching. So, we were trying to develop a pilot project. Quite a bit of credentialing is done that way now. People with less than full credentials can be very good teachers.

DOUGLASS: There are other ways to do credentialing than to do it through the state. There is institutional credentialing, which can have a lot more flexibility.

I noticed, too, this year and, in '69, your bills on work experience. The one in '68 was an appropriation of money to aid school districts

in obtaining federal funds. That would have been a matching fund. Then, in '69, you had one including community college students in work experience programs. In other words, you seemed to be interested in expanding the work experience opportunity.

VEYSEY: I felt that the school system had gotten highly oriented to the needs of the standard academic type of program but not very well attuned to the needs of the larger number who didn't even intend to get a high school diploma but who wanted to learn some skills in the workplace. We were under quite a bit of pressure to try to solve unemployment problems in that way. I wanted to provide more opportunity to learn saleable skills.

DOUGLASS: Was this directly reflected out of what you were seeing in your own district, too? Was this a problem?

VEYSEY: Yes. It was. We had quite a lot of unemployment in Imperial and Riverside Counties. There was a low level of desire to go on for higher education and get a college degree. Many young people needed vocational education. They now get a lot of it through the community college. This could be true of nurses training or mechanical work or construction. All kinds of skills are much needed in our world. And

they are pretty well paid.

DOUGLASS: Not a bad way to earn a living.

VEYSEY: If you become a plumber, you have it made. But there just was not much emphasis on careers on that type. In fact, the old tradition of having shops and instruction in shop subjects in schools had almost disappeared. There was very little of that left. So, I felt that the vocational side of things needed to be emphasized.

DOUGLASS: OK. Let's go to your last election for the assembly, which was 1968. You were not opposed again in the Republican primary. You seem to have that pretty well sewn up all the time you were there.

VEYSEY: There weren't many Republicans. I could have talked to both of them to get their votes.
[Laughter]

DOUGLASS: So you were relieved of any primary trauma. Then you ran against a man named Ben Yellen. I heard thirddhand about him. In fact, someone urged me to go interview him some time. He sounded somewhat like a character. Who is Ben Yellen?

VEYSEY: He is a medical doctor who lives in Brawley. When we first went to Imperial Valley in 1948, he was our family doctor. He was raised in

Brooklyn, New York. Jewish. Very bright. Very competent. He got on a political kick somewhere between the time when he was our doctor, when he was nonpolitical, and years later on. He has, in turn, run for everything, every office there is in Imperial County, and he runs for some office each election.

DOUGLASS: Was he active in the Democratic party?

VEYSEY: He was a Democrat, to their embarrassment, mostly. He was not a standard Democrat. He was just doing Ben Yellen's thing always, which is quite a bit different. He publishes a little mimeographed newsletter, which is called "Yellen's Yellowsheet" or something like that. He attacks everybody, every public figure, in a most vitriolic manner without any real grounds for doing it. He pamphleteers and distributes the sheets himself. He stands on the street corner and hands them out. He goes into the grocery stores and sticks them on the shelves and clerks follow him to remove them. All that sort of thing. Years ago, he was the chief doctor for the Imperial Valley Farmer's Association. The association had the program of bringing the Mexican nationals in as contract labor and assigning them out to the farmers.

DOUGLASS: What we call bracero program.

VEYSEY: The bracero program. They were housed by the

association in labor camps. He had a very lucrative contract as the doctor. He would go to the camp every morning. Anyone who was not feeling well would come to him. He checked them over and gave them some medication or whatever. He took care of all of them, and he got a good fee for that.

DOUGLASS: That would be a full-time job.

VEYSEY: Not full time. The Mexican nationals were mostly young and healthy, free of medical problems. He still practiced in his office, on the side. For whatever reason--I never fully understood this--the association found fault with either what he was charging or what he wasn't doing. They took the contract away from him and gave it to another doctor. That outraged him. Then he went on a campaign against the big farmers, and he has been eternally a critic of the big farmers. He had taken up the water issue, the power issue. He ran for the irrigation district board many times unsuccessfully. He ran for city council. He did get elected to the Brawley City Council one time after numerous tries. He would go to city council meetings and go to sleep there. Totally uninterested in the routine city business.

DOUGLASS: Was this before he ran against you?

- VEYSEY: It was before. He had run for county supervisor. He ran for sheriff. He kept his name on the ballot for every election for years and years and years. I thought he did it because, as a political candidate, he could say anything he wanted to without fear of prosecution or libel and to get the publicity. He did gather a group of "little people" as supporters.
- DOUGLASS: Were you surprised when he showed up as a candidate opposing you?
- VEYSEY: I thought it was hilarious. He didn't organize a campaign at all. It was just another one of his times on the ballot.
- DOUGLASS: Was there any particular issue he took on?
- VEYSEY: Big farmers are bad.
- DOUGLASS: And you were associated with that?
- VEYSEY: I was a farmer. Dr. Yellen and I are kind of friends. I still see him once in a while. As time went on, he became really kind of paranoid. He is a single man, with few friends. They finally kicked him out of the hospital because of some of his strange and bizarre practices. He still practices medicine somewhat down there. Not too much. He is pretty old now.
- DOUGLASS: In terms of the campaign, this was your last assembly campaign. If you compared it to your first one, was there a dramatic difference in

the amount of money you had to spend?

VEYSEY: I didn't spend any money at all. Ben Yellen, I knew, was not going to win. He had a little following of disgruntled people that he catered to. But I knew he was not going to get many votes. They didn't even know who he was up in Riverside County. He was an Imperial County oddity

DOUGLASS: So you didn't feel like you really had to do much.

VEYSEY: No.

DOUGLASS: In the next assembly election, when you ran for congress, the Republicans won the seat. A woman named Susan Marx, a Democrat, ran against the Republican, Raymond [T.] Seeley

VEYSEY: Raymond Seeley, a farmer and horseman from Blythe, was elected. Mrs. Marx was was the widow of one of the Marx brothers. Ray Seeley succeeded me in the Seventy-fifth Assembly District. He was a supervisor in Riverside County.

DOUGLASS: The Republicans did retain the seat. But it was fairly close: 30,625 to 28,370. That was much tighter than anything you experienced. Did you give him your endorsement?

VEYSEY: Yes. I tried to help him. Ray Seeley was a farmer--sort of a cowboy--from Blythe. He was from an old, established family, but he didn't

have a lot of education or background. He had been a county supervisor, so he had a pretty good political base in Riverside. I helped in Imperial County, and I think he won in that county.

DOUGLASS: He was a Riverside County person?

VEYSEY: Which is where you really ought to be to represent the district.

DOUGLASS: Because there is more density of people.

VEYSEY: Two-thirds of them are in Riverside.

DOUGLASS: Well, then in '69 and '70, Robert Monagan was the speaker because the Republicans had a majority. What was that like? Compare Unruh, in style, to Monagan, in style. What was the change in their leadership style?

VEYSEY: Bob Monagan is much less of a political animal than was Unruh. Unruh just had all of the instincts built into his bones and glands to do politics. Bob Monagan had a much more cognitive type approach to it. Very thoughtful. Very sound. I liked Bob very much, but Jesse Unruh had superior political senses and skills as compared to Bob.

Bob ran the assembly in a little more benign manner than the heavy-handed days of Unruh. Unruh had gone through different phases. He had been Big Daddy and very rough and tough.

Hard drinking, partisan type of thing. But Monagan was not of that type at all. He ran it pretty benignly, it seemed to me. Maybe, in some ways, he didn't have the requisite toughness to make it really work to his ultimate advantage. But I thought the house was well run.

DOUGLASS: By benign, you mean he didn't tend to threaten people or pull power plays?

VEYSEY: No. He didn't think in those terms. He didn't have that type of a mentality or those types of skills.

DOUGLASS: Did he try to run perhaps a more bipartisan speakership than Unruh had?

VEYSEY: Maybe so. But I can't really complain that the state legislature during my time there with Jesse Unruh was strictly partisan. It was very partisan for election purposes, and, for a few issues which you could count on the fingers of one hand each year would be really partisan. The rest of the time everybody tried to vote their district's interest and the best interests of the state. And you would find the Republicans and Democrats crossing lines very frequently.

DOUGLASS: Let me put it another way. Perhaps, because there was a bipartisan nature to both speakerships, you didn't notice a lot of change?

VEYSEY: Not that much change in that regard. As you noted, in Unruh days I became a committee chairman, a very minor committee to be sure. One that had only technical duties. It never met publicly, but there had to be such a committee. It was common to have a certain number of Republicans as committee chairmen in a Democrat administration and vice versa. And that is one of the ways a speaker builds a base for himself that is larger than just his partisan support. He has leverage on a few committee chairmen who would vote his way, if they could, on an issue rather than lose their chairmanship.

DOUGLASS: You were fairly close to Bob Monagan. You had known him since the beginning. As I recall, you had been associated with many ideas you and he shared. Was there any specific place in the party heirarchy that you assumed because of this change in leadership?

VEYSEY: No. I didn't become an officer of the caucus or anything like that. I always felt that because of my Republican orientation, but with the heavy Democrat registration in my district, it was probably well not to go into any conspicuous partisan position. Bob Monagan appointed me as chair of the Select Committee on Campus

Disturbances, and I campaigned with him and others in rural areas of the state.

DOUGLASS: Having a big role in the party was not something you necessarily wanted.

VEYSEY: No. I did certain things. I attended state Republican state party meetings and all those things, but I didn't want a conspicuous role. And, indeed, I have felt that partisanship is somewhat overblown in our political process. Neither party has all the right answers. You are much better able to move a little bit in between.

DOUGLASS: It becomes real partisan when you go to the reapportionment issues. [Laughter]

VEYSEY: Reapportionment is a very partisan issue. And a few other issues during the year but not very many. As compared to the congress, only a few issues in the state legislature would be partisan issues. Today, the assembly has become much more partisan than it was, I think.

DOUGLASS: In '70, Unruh ran for the governorship and was defeated. The Democrats, though, did regain control of the assembly. So that swung back.

VEYSEY: I got out of there that year.

DOUGLASS: Is that part of the reason why you decided to leave?

VEYSEY: No, I did not guess that would happen. I had an opportunity and I went on to congress.

- DOUGLASS: I know that. What made you decide that you wanted to leave the assembly?
- VEYSEY: Congress was a larger challenge. I was not very happy with John [V.] Tunney as a congressman. I didn't think he was very effective, or very good. I was growing increasingly discontent with that. I was being egged on to run against him for the congress.
- DOUGLASS: Who was egging you on?
- VEYSEY: Friends who had supported me in other elections, Republicans in the district. That probably would have been a futile effort. I don't think I could have won. I was almost at the point of doing that anyway when he announced that he was going to run for the senate. So that left that congressional district vacant. That is looked upon, commonly, as a once in a lifetime opportunity to move on to a larger circuit. After some consideration, I decided to try it. That was a tough election on both the Republican primary and in the November general election.
- DOUGLASS: Yes. I noticed that there were five Republicans running in the primary. Everybody saw their opportunity.
- VEYSEY: Everybody saw an open district. That is the way you go.
- DOUGLASS: Were there other assembly people running?

VEYSEY: No.

DOUGLASS: I mean any other people who had had experience in the state legislature?

VEYSEY: No. I looked it over and talked it over with both Gordon Cologne, who was by then a state senator, and with Craig Biddle, who had his own assembly district within the congressional district. Neither one wanted to run for it. They thought about it, but they decided they didn't want to try it. So, there was nobody else who had a strong base from which to run. Let me see. Do you have the names?

DOUGLASS: I don't. Not in the primary. I have the general election.

VEYSEY: The strongest Republican was [William] Bill Norris, who was a very attractive, bright, young fellow. His wife was some way related to the McMahan furniture stores. In fact, Bill had been a manager for one of them. He ran from that base. There was a chain of those stores all down through the district. He is a good-looking articulate candidate.

Another fellow was [] Dick Purviance, who was an educator. He had run for the assembly a long time ago but never got elected. There were three other less well-known Republicans.

DOUGLASS: Was that a tough race? The primary?

VEYSEY: Yes. I won the primary by a fair enough margin. Bill Norris was the strongest contender, but voting split up quite a lot. The others got a small number of votes. But then the real work started to try to unite the Republicans and win the congressional district, despite heavy Democrat registration.

DOUGLASS: Who was David [A.] Tunno? He was the Democratic candidate.

VEYSEY: David Tunno was the administrative assistant for John Tunney in Washington and in the district. The similarity of names was confusing. Tunno and Tunney. He had been doing most of the work, actually, legislative and constituent contacting work that John Tunney would normally do. So, he was commonly thought of as being the congressman by many people.

DOUGLASS: And, again, the congressional district was probably more heavily registered Democrat.

VEYSEY: Yes. It was. It included all of Riverside County. Part of San Bernardino County, a little bit over into Los Angeles County, to Ontario. It included all of Riverside County and all of Imperial County, at that time. It has been changed a couple of times since. That was a tough election. I only won that by a little over 1,000 votes.

DOUGLASS: I have the figures here. You pulled 87,479 and Tunno pulled 85,684. So, you won by just under two thousand. That was quite a large area to cover, too.

VEYSEY: Very large. There was lots of flying around, lots of running around.

DOUGLASS: Now about the expense of campaigning in that race?

VEYSEY: That was markedly increased. We used radio, television, and print media. There, of course, the national republican congressional campaign committee entered the picture. They sent out people to help on the campaign. They advised us to hire professional campaign coordinators: once for media, one to help with Republican women.

DOUGLASS: So you got quite a bit of help. They saw this as a seat that the Republicans could capture.

VEYSEY: They saw it as one they wanted to get. They sent a lot of help. They sent out a lady who was a specialist in working with the women's group. Somehow or other, we got a lady who was a real experienced public relations person.

[End Tape 5, Side B]

[Begin Tape 6, Side A]

DOUGLASS: We were talking about the congressional race.

VEYSEY: As to the organization of the campaign, my campaign chairman was [James] Jim Morris in Riverside.

DOUGLASS: Now had he been head of your office in Riverside?

VEYSEY: No. He was a CPA [Certified Public Accountant] with his offices in Riverside but interested in things political. I succeeded in getting him to be my campaign chairman. So, a lot of decisions were made out of his office. He set up a pretty fine committee that helped in policy decisions, prominent people from both Imperial County and Riverside County. We didn't do very much in San Bernardino County because the part of San Bernardino County that was included in the district was a largely minority area on the west side of the city of San Bernardino. It didn't have many votes for us in there. But we did organize into the Chino area, among the dairymen, and out into Ontario.

We organized for campaign purposes along two different lines. We would have a community chairman, or cochairman, in every community to head the campaign, and he or she would organize a committee there in support of it. And oftentimes we would have a Democrat chairman,

also, in these areas.

DOUGLASS: Democrats for Victor Veysey.

VEYSEY: We worked hard to win the Democrats over to our side because we needed a lot their votes. And then we organized crosscutting lines by professional and occupational lines. The CPAs, the lawyers, the teachers, the farmers. Each had their own organization.

DOUGLASS: Were you pitching the moderate side of your Republican [record]? Or did you pitch different audiences? In other words, if this was a Democratic registration district, being a moderate Republican might have been an advantage, particularly since Tunney had held the seat before. What did you do?

VEYSEY: Well, I tried all the way through not to mention a lot about my Republican affiliation because that didn't get Democrat votes. My pitch to the Democrats was in terms of basically conservative issues. They prided themselves on trying to pick the best person, regardless of party. They could be persuaded to cross party lines, and that was a fortunate thing. Tunney, of course, was not a radical. He was Eastern, [a John F.] Kennedy [supporter], and somewhat more liberal than I would be. I stressed the fiscal conservatism of my approach as compared

to his, low taxes and less government. And then, around March Air Force Base and Norton Air Force Base, I got quite a bit of support from the defense establishment. In some areas, I stressed my agricultural and education experience.

DOUGLASS: Had David Tunno pretty much taken the mantle of Tunney? In other words, was it assumed he was pretty much of a clone? He represented what Tunney had represented.

VEYSEY: Yes. He was very close to him.

DOUGLASS: What was his big issue? What would his pitch be?

VEYSEY: He would say, "I have been there. I have been doing all these functions. I am experienced in Washington, I know what I am talking about, and I can do it for you better." But he had not ever run as an elected official, nor voted as a legislator.

DOUGLASS: Were there any substantive issue that were on the line in the election?

VEYSEY: No. I don't think strong policy issues surfaced.

DOUGLASS: This must have taken a lot of time. Did you have to abandon the assembly while you raced out and did this?

VEYSEY: Oh, for a year, you spend all your time that you can just getting out and speaking to groups,

going around. A lot of door-to-door campaigning. That is an amazing process. I don't know if you ever had to do that in Claremont.

DOUGLASS: Yes. I have done it. But you multiply that by who knows what. [Laughter] It is hard to imagine.

VEYSEY: It is an impossible project to cover a whole congressional district, or even to go to a significant number of doors. But it is popular with people to think that you do that, so the publicity is good.

DOUGLASS: That you'll bother to do it.

VEYSEY: Bother to do it. People are absolutely stunned, almost lightning-struck, when you appear at their door. "Why, nobody has ever come here before." Then the biggest hazard is that they will invite you in and want to entertain you. Serve you iced tea, coffee, or cake. "I'll just go make a cake." [Laughter] If you just sit there, your time is burning up and you won't reach many houses. You have to keep moving.

And we developed pretty good techniques. We used a lot of young people. I would go out with a team of them. They would go in front, knocking on the doors, and talk to people and say, "Assemblyman Veysey is here." And then

they would shunt you back and forth. Some people were not interested or didn't have the time or weren't home, or whatever else. They would just pass them by. You get the ones you could get. You can cover four or five times as much ground that way. You can walk a lot, though. Then you would be sure your activity gets played up in the local papers.

DOUGLASS: What was your plan if you were defeated for congress? Were you going to go back to being a farmer?

VEYSEY: Sure. I was still a farmer all this time, as well as I could. Not always successfully but as well as I could.

DOUGLASS: As you came to election eve, how did you feel it was going to turn out?

VEYSEY: I never had too clear a feeling. I was sort of numb by then. Just totally exhausted and tired. You don't want to hear anything more about it. We would typically take off and go down to Mexico. To Cabo San Lucas or someplace like that and lay on the beach for a week and try to recuperate.

DOUGLASS: All right. You ran again in '72 and defeated a man named Ernest Z. Robles quite overwhelmingly. Were you contested in the primary on that?

VEYSEY: No.

DOUGLASS: Was he out of local government?

- VEYSEY: A nice chap. He was out of the Corona or Norco area. He did not have government experience or a political base. As they did with Cruz Reynoso, they thought an Hispanic name would get a lot of votes. But it didn't work.
- DOUGLASS: That's interesting. Well, let's come to the reapportionment in '74, when the masters' [Special Masters to the Supreme Court] plan was ordered. Between the legislature and the governor [Ronald Reagan], who would veto the plans, no plan had evolved and the court ordered the masters' plan in '73, which resulted in your not having a district. That must have been quite a blow.
- VEYSEY: That was quite a shock. That really was. I remember when I first received the news, I thought, "That's stunning." I don't believe they will do that." My wife just about fainted.
- DOUGLASS: Of course, having the masters' plan, meant you really didn't have the feedback or the knowledge you would have had if it had been done the normal way.
- VEYSEY: The way the masters' plan was done. . . . The normal process deadlocked on a reapportionment plan. The legislature passed a plan, and the governor would not sign it. I thought that was too bad, because it had been a good district for me.

In fact, several of us, who were in the congress and were concerned about that plan came out to San Diego to see the governor to talk to him about it and try to plead our case. The governor was speaking to the Republican state central committee meeting in San Diego, I believe it was. That's why we were there. Like my experience in trying to confer about the education appropriation, we could never see him, but we talked to [Edwin] Ed Meese [III]. Ed listened to us, but that didn't change anything at all.

DOUGLASS: Did you have a feeling why he really insisted on vetoing it?

VEYSEY: I don't know the details about that. The governor considered that was an incumbent protective bill, which it was. I and other legislators favored it for our own selfish points of view. The governor wanted to shake things up or loosen the system up more.

DOUGLASS: So he was willing to take his chances with a masters' plan?

VEYSEY: The masters' plan was not in existence.

DOUGLASS: No. But that's where it probably was going.

VEYSEY: He was willing to take a chance with something else. That is what his office, politically, decided they would do. Then the issue went into the state supreme court, as you know.

[Laughter] Governor Reagan decried the plan that had been developed because it had been drafted by [Congressman A. Phillip] Phil Burton. And Phil, while he was partisan, was a master of the numbers and every detail about these districts. He carefully talked with everybody and worked out ways that pretty well protected almost all of the incumbents, so he got legislative and congressional support. So we were all happy with Phil's bill. But the governor would not agree to that. We never could really get an audience. Although we were sent out specially from the Republican caucus in congress to talk to the governor, we never could talk to him.

DOUGLASS: Do you think that it possibly was that the governor felt that because Burton had done it that it was per se wrong?

VEYSEY: His published point of view of this was that this was another Burton, outrageous reapportionment. The hilarious thing about it was--of course, he could not have foreseen this--it went to the state supreme court. They took a look at it and said, "What do we know about reapportionment? We will get a Special Master to do this." Which is what they do with technical subjects. And the person that they hired to do the staff work was Phil Burton's

principal staff person on the other reapportionment. So, [Laughter] they came back with another version. A much rougher version of the Phil Burton reapportionment.

DOUGLASS: Theoretically, they didn't take into account at all incumbent seats. They blindsided it and looked at it. By the numbers?

VEYSEY: Yes. The Special Master had no need to get legislative votes, so they threw out the incumbent approach. And they ignored the other guidelines that were written in the law. Districts are supposed to be contiguous and compact. They are supposed to represent a community of political, economic, and social interests. They are not supposed to cross great regions of the state, that is coastal, mountains, desert.

But the masters' plan does, in fact, ignore some of these. For example, the southern congressional district which is now represented by Duncan [L.] Hunter, goes from coast, across the mountains, across the desert, clear over to Arizona. This was exactly what the law said that they should not do.

In an attempt to minimize gerrymandering, they started off with the theory of trying to combine two assembly districts to make one senatorial district, that is, make district

lines common. That works all right. Then they tried to group these other districts as well as possible to make congressional districts.

Well, the numbers are not right for that. They started off up in the top corner of the state with district number one, and the lines pretty well fit. But by the time they came to the south part of the state, it did not work out. We had forty-three congressional districts, forty senatorial districts, and eighty assembly districts. They just don't fit with common boundaries.

If you start at one corner, and they just happened to start in the north, the pattern is crazy when you get to the south. It does not work at all. So by the chance of being in the south, bad things happened.

DOUGLASS: So, at that point, your district just disappears?

VEYSEY: Yes. My district, the Forty-third, received the most violent treatment. I had become calloused, as a recipient of many minor reapportionments. [I took some comfort that any reapportionment enacted by the state legislature would be reasonably incumbent protective, much as Phil Burton might like to squeeze a few Republicans and replace them with Democrats.

But when the issue locked between the governor and the legislature and went to the Special Masters, Phil was able to have his input without the restraint of having to get the necessary legislative votes, and free of personal blame for the outrageous partisanship.]*

DOUGLASS: And, yet, on the plan he originally came up with, you were still there.

VEYSEY: Yes, I would have been all right.

DOUGLASS: Do you think this was Reagan simply going his own way on this issue? Or do you think he was getting advice out of his staff, people like Meese?

VEYSEY: I never knew. But Meese was real cold. He listened to us. He said he would speak to the governor about it, but I doubt that he did.

DOUGLASS: You didn't feel he was responsive?

VEYSEY: I didn't think he was into it at all. He felt that the issue had been closed. Our delegation didn't get anywhere on that. I feel reasonably sure that the governor never thought of what Phil Burton's people thought of, that is, splitting my district into three districts.

*Victor V. Veysey added the preceding bracketed material during his review of the draft transcript.

DOUGLASS: You mean when his staff did the final masters' plan.

VEYSEY: Yes. He didn't do violence in the first reapportionment, which could have been perfectly satisfactory to me. There would be no problem. But the masters' plan split it into a northern, central and a southern third and joined each of those thirds onto two-thirds of the adjacent incumbent's district.

DOUGLASS: In the congress. I see, so the lower (southern) slice went to [Congressman Clair W.] Burgener.

VEYSEY: They joined two-thirds of his district in San Diego with one-third of my district in Imperial County. The other middle third was joined to two-thirds of [Congressman] Jerry [L.] Pettis' district.

DOUGLASS: Which put it with . . .

VEYSEY: San Bernardino County and up that way. And the northern one-third of it was joined on with [Congressman] George [E.] Brown's [Jr.] district, which was Colton and Ontario.

DOUGLASS: So, you just evaporated.

VEYSEY: There was no district there. Of course, by the mathematics that created an extra district with no incumbent in it. That came up around Pomona.

DOUGLASS: Right. That was a new district.

VEYSEY: A new district was created. It centered on

Pomona, went to West Covina and into San Bernardino County for some distance but not to the city of San Bernardino.

DOUGLASS: Let me go back. Are you saying, under the masters' plan, the fact that Burton's people were doing it probably didn't help you. At that point, having your district evaporate was not going to bother them very much.

VEYSEY: Oh, no. Probably some of them thought it was a good idea. This might get rid of a Republican.

DOUGLASS: In other words, you are saying the fact that that staff did the masters' [plan] was a real irony for you because what they didn't do in the official plan that Burton came up with, they did do in the masters' plan?

VEYSEY: Yes. They could not have gained legislative approval for the masters' plan.

DOUGLASS: You had a decision to make about what you were going to do.

VEYSEY: Yes, the first thing I and my committee did was to try to see if we couldn't appeal this. [Laughter] This was a strange point in my career for a non-attorney. I got a hearing before the state supreme court on it.

DOUGLASS: You did? You appealed the masters' plan.

VEYSEY: I went to the supreme court and talked to them about it. Showed them all the reasons why it was an illegal and undesirable reapportionment.

The justices of the court just sat there and quietly slept through it all. They were not going to do anything except take the masters' plan. They didn't know what else to do. Reapportionment is clear beyond their capability.

DOUGLASS: And I suppose they felt it was just opening the can of worms again.

VEYSEY: Oh, yes. They couldn't do it. Time was short. They just listened very politely, and changed nothing. The masters' plan was put in. Then the Republicans came to me and said, "You have been dealt badly on this, but that creates another district, the Thirty-fifth, over here. You ought to run in that district. You can run as kind of a phony incumbent. You can say you are an incumbent."

DOUGLASS: Did you move to Pasadena?

VEYSEY: No. I moved to Claremont.

DOUGLASS: Oh, right. You did.

VEYSEY: We made Claremont our home base, with district offices in Pomona and Covina. Ran in that election against Jim Lloyd and lost by over one thousand votes. I should not have lost the election, but I did. That was the Watergate year. We know of 10,000 Republicans who just would not vote.

- DOUGLASS: You had the advantage of having been a congressman, and running campaigns, but it was must be hard to pick up and put yourself with a different base.
- VEYSEY: It's terribly hard. You lose all your people. None of your friends can really help you. There was not a single constituent I had ever had in that district. Not any. We had to start all over. Yes, we knew how to organize and how to campaign, but you didn't have the same relationship of having lived and worked with those people a long time. Of course, Jim Lloyd, appropriately, labeled me a carpetbagger. In fact, he developed a lot of publicity about going down to Imperial County to investigate me. He came back and said, "Gee, I found out that you have a lot of friends down there."
[Laughter] But the Watergate issue was the deadly one. Republicans failed to vote.
- DOUGLASS: Because the registration is Republican.
- VEYSEY: The district has the best registration I ever had.
- DOUGLASS: Jim did have a local base, having been on the city council.
- VEYSEY: He had been mayor of West Covina. He had a good local base. We could not penetrate West Covina at all. He rolled up a lot of votes in West Covina. The other thing we could not do was we

could not get the Republicans to turn out and vote. And we know the Republican vote fell way off because of Watergate.

DOUGLASS: Well, even at that, it was awfully tight. It was about 700 votes.

VEYSEY: Yes. It was close, but not close enough.

DOUGLASS: That year must have been a heartbreaker for you.

VEYSEY: That was a bad year. Anyway, when you go into this, you know there will be times like that.

DOUGLASS: Where did you move to in Claremont?

VEYSEY: I took an apartment on Bonita [Avenue].

DOUGLASS: Bonita Terraces?

VEYSEY: It sounds right.

DOUGLASS: You operated out of there.

VEYSEY: For a year. Two years maybe. You see, because of the reapportionment, I was technically able to move into the new district and be the incumbent with staff and offices available there. I opened district offices in Covina and in Pomona.

DOUGLASS: So you had that. Who did you use for your campaign manager? Did you pull in somebody you had used in other campaigns or did you have to get a new person?

VEYSEY: My campaign chairman was [Admiral Charles F.] Charlie Horne [Jr.].

DOUGLASS: Oh, yes. General Dynamics [Corporation].

- VEYSEY: He was just retiring at that time as the active head of that organization. But he had been in Pomona for years and years and an active Republican. Charlie is getting along in years, these days.
- DOUGLASS: He was on the board of the Claremont Graduate School and University Center. He is probably an emeritus member now. Do you think there was any particular issue that Lloyd used against you that hurt? Of course, the carpetbagging issue.
- VEYSEY: The carpetbagging issue. He used the Nixon Watergate. While he never actually said that I was involved in Watergate, because, of course, I wasn't, but he said Republicans are doing bad, bad things in Washington, from his point of view. Inflation was rising rapidly and getting uncomfortable. People were feeling the stress when they went to the food store. He used that quite effectively, because he had good public relations skills.
- DOUGLASS: After you lost, had you already had a plan of what you were going to do if you did lose?
- VEYSEY: No. I didn't have any particular plan. I thought I would come back to California and go back to work at whatever you do. Then [President Gerald R.] Jerry Ford asked me to be assistant secretary of the army. So he appointed me to that position.

DOUGLASS: How long were you there?

VEYSEY: Two years. During the Ford administration until President Carter came in. That was very interesting, very enjoyable, quite different. It is in the political area. I had to make quite a few appearances before congress on legislation and on budgets.

DOUGLASS: What was your responsibility?

VEYSEY: Nonmilitary, totally. I didn't know anything about the military. Because I was an engineer, they gave me the Army Corps of Engineers civil works program. That is all the water resources projects involving flood control, power generation, water storage, and harbors and navigation. They have about 20,000 employees.

Then I had the responsibility of the Panama Canal. I became the chairman of the board of the Panama Canal Company and also supervised the governor of the Canal Zone. That was during turbulent times. They had been negotiating for some years toward a modified treaty down there, but they was no agreement on anything during the time I was in that office. But then President Carter changed the requirements when he came in. That was most interesting. I spent a fair amount of time in Panama. Also, I sat in on the army secretary's policy council and listened to

them talk about what the Russians were doing.

DOUGLASS: I am trying to think who the secretary of the army was then.

VEYSEY: [Howard G.] Bo Calloway, a former congressman who had run for governor of Georgia. He ended up in a three-way race getting the most votes. A Republican, a Democrat, and an Independent were running. They split the votes and nobody got a majority. Under Georgia law, the decision goes into the legislature. The legislators were mostly Democrats, so they decided the Democrat won. Bo was a West Pointer and a fine leader to the army during most of the Ford administration. Then [Martin J.] Marty Hoffman came later.

DOUGLASS: How did Ford happen to appoint you to that position?

VEYSEY: He knew me very well. He liked me.

DOUGLASS: As a congressman you had gotten to know him?

VEYSEY: He was our majority leader. The next thing we knew he was the vice president. Then he was president. Yes, he knew me and helped me move to the Appropriations Committee in the house. The Republican people knew of the circumstances of the California reapportionment and that I had tried to accommodate them by moving over to a new district to fight the long battle. They undoubtedly thought I deserved something out of that. There were some people in the Ford White

House who knew me pretty well. Actually, I never even knew there was such a job, so I didn't request it. And I got it.

DOUGLASS: That sounds very interesting.

VEYSEY: It was most interesting. The job had been created several years before but had never been filled. So they filled it at that time. I was the first assistant secretary for civil works.

DOUGLASS: That was the title?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: Well, you were tailored for that.

VEYSEY: Yes. I traveled quite a bit. The Alaskan pipeline was being built. I got involved in the environmental issues. I went up there two or three times. I visited many other places.

DOUGLASS: The sites where the corps of engineers were operating?

VEYSEY: Yes. Concern for the environment was just beginning to be recognized as a force. I did help the army improve its sensitivity on this issue.

DOUGLASS: When the Ford administration went out, that ended that. Then what did you do?

VEYSEY: I came back to Caltech.

DOUGLASS: Was the title of this organization [at Caltech] the Center for Industrial Relations? Has it stayed the same or has the title slightly

changed?

VEYSEY: When it was first established in 1939, the title was the Industrial Relations Section. I never knew what it was a section of.

DOUGLASS: That is when you first came here.

VEYSEY: Yes. Then, in the meantime, while I was away, they changed the name to the Industrial Relations Center. It was that way for quite a few years, actually thirty-seven years, under Robert Gray, who preceded me as director. I had worked for him when I was here as a young assistant professor. Then after long service, he was in poor health, and about to retire. They approached me to come back as director of the center.

DOUGLASS: You came back here as director?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: Was that in 1976-77?

VEYSEY: Yes.

DOUGLASS: You never had the problem of looking around. Did you get any breaks between these various jobs?

VEYSEY: Not very much. No. I went flowing right from one thing to the next.

DOUGLASS: That is interesting that you came back to where you began.

VEYSEY: Yes. It was pleasant in that respect. I knew the people, a lot of them. Caltech is a very

challenging and exciting place. I also accused them of being very forgiving or being very poor recordkeepers to let me come back four times. I think I have been in and out of Caltech four times.

DOUGLASS: You had quite a bit of play. But there was a war involved. Let me thank you for this interview, and I appreciate your patience.

[End Session 3]

[End Tape 6, Side A]

APPENDIX

Addendum written by Victor V. Veysey

Although this does not flow smoothly from the discussion format of the oral history interview, I feel moved to offer a few generalized observations based on my political service in the California State Assembly and the United States Congress.

1. I was fortunate to have served in the Assembly during the 1960s when the changes and improvements were made by Speakers Unruh and Monagan. I consider that period to be the "golden era" of the State Legislature.
2. Coming from a background in nonpartisan local government, I found partisan politics to be a tough, ruthless undertaking. While partisanship may be essential to our form of government, it often betrays us by placing partisan victories above the good of the people.
3. The California Constitution provides several safeguards which assure better rules of procedure for our state legislature than those in the Congress. Examples would be: all amendments to bills must be put in correct legal form by the Legislative Counsel; a file, if amended, must be printed with the amendment included and available to every legislator before debate can continue; partisanship and seniority are not the exclusive criteria for authoring bills, chairing committees, and participating in leadership; two-thirds vote requirement on revenue bills, urgency bills, the budget, suppresses the option for one-party legislating; and the initiative process provides an over-ride for legislative excess or inaction.
4. Decorum and collegiality were carefully observed in the state assembly of the 1960s, in sharp contrast to the legislative practice today. Public witnesses were almost always treated with courtesy and respect. I believe the legislature was generally viewed as providing a higher standard of public service then, than now, with less self-serving activities. The heavy use of the initiative process today may relate to this perception.
5. Excessive build-up of staff positions does not necessarily guarantee good legislation, good constituent services, nor responsiveness to public needs.

6. Public service should be viewed as a high calling which should attract the best qualified and motivated citizens in each community, willing to give a few years for the common good.
7. Legislative life is very stressful. Heart attacks, alcoholism, divorce, and illegal activities all take a heavy toll. With longer sessions and increased staffs, these problems seem to increase.

INDEX OF NAMES

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page</u>
Adams, Mary	71-72, 75
Anderholdt, John	75
Ashcraft, Hale	92, 256-259
Bagley, William T.	118, 131, 132, 166, 200
Barnes, E. Richard	210, 257, 258
Bee, Carlos	106
Belotti, Frank P.	210
Biddle, W. Craig	77-78, 283
Bradley, Clark A.	132
Bradley, Tom	247
Britschgi, Carl A.	210, 223
Brown, Edmund G., Jr.	140, 144, 243, 247
Brown, Edmund G., Sr.	63, 138-144, 146-147, 241
Brown, George E., Jr.	297
Brown, Willie L., Jr.	189, 194-195, 217-221
Burgener, Clair W.	256-259, 297
Burton, A. Phillip	293, 295-297
Butcher, Bessie	11
Calloway, Howard G.	304
Champion, Hale	89, 148-149
Chavez, Cesar	242-244
Christopher, George	184
Cobey, James A.	162
Collier, John L.E.	210
Collier, Randolph A.	99
Cologne, Gordon R.	77, 132, 175, 180, 283
Conrad, Charles J.	115, 123, 132-133, 210
Craven, William A.	252
Crown, Robert W.	209, 212-213
Danielson, Candy	260
Danielson, George E.	260
Dannemeyer, William E.	92
Davis, Pauline L.	126, 210, 260
Deukmejian, George C.	78-82, 184, 247-248, 251-253
Dills, Clayton A.	99
Dills, Ralph C.	99
Donaldson, Dorothy	40
Donaldson, Janet	41
Doyle, Dennis	226-227
Eu, Henry	260
Finch, Robert H.	249
Flournoy, Houston I.	49, 111, 118, 129, 130, 132, 210, 234, 237

Fogg, Philip	14-15, 19
Fong, March	221-223, 260
Ford, Gerald R.	303
Free, Harry	154
Gilbert, Horace	14-15
Goldwater, Barry M.	135, 165
Gonsalves, Joe A.	65, 82
Gray, Robert	306
Greene, Leroy F.	217
Griffith, Everette	41
Habecker, Jackie	148
Hayakawa, S. I.	188, 190-191
Henning, Jack	252, 254
Hinckley, Stewart	77, 81, 210
Hoffman, Martin J.	304
Holden, Paul	20
Horne, Charles F., Jr.	301-302
House, Leverette	56-58, 61-62, 153
Hunter, Duncan L.	294
Johnson, Harold T.	249
Johnson, J. Stanley	39-40
Johnson, Mary	40
Johnson, Milo	232-233
Johnson, Ray	251
Johnson, Samuel Y.	39
Kalin, A. J.	43
Kimball, Fielding	58
Kirkaldie, Joan	72-73
Knowland, William F.	63
Leonard, William R.	72
Lloyd, Jim	299-300
Mareno, John	81
Marx, Susan	277
Meese, Edwin, III	292, 296
Mello, Henry J.	250-251
Milias, George W.	154
Mills, James R.	111-112, 117, 129, 130, 246-247
Mockler, John	104, 194
Monagan, Robert T.	76-77, 118, 123, 132, 155, 166, 189, 195, 249, 278-280
Morris, James	286
Mulford, Don R.	130, 156, 210
Murdock, Jim	104
Myers, Bob J.	179
Norris, William	283-284
Nixon, Richard M.	63

Ohnimus, Arthur A.	75
Orr, Verne	188, 198
PanKratz, Wally	176
Parkinson, Gaylord	59, 136
Parks, Pamela	73
Pattee, Alan G.	92, 154, 260
Paulson, Gretchen	74
Petris, Nicholas C.	250-251
Pettis, Jerry L.	297
Post, A. Alan	213-217, 234
Pricola, Nick A.	170-171
Purviance, Dick	283
Quimby, John P.	66, 82
Rattigan, Joseph A.	128-129,, 130
Reagan, Ronald	136, 148, 183-184, 186- 187, 197-199, 293
Reynoso, Cruz	169-172
Richardson, H. L.	72
Riley, Mary	73-74
Roberti, David A.	245-251
Robles, Ernest Z.	290-291
Rockefeller, Nelson A.	165
Rumford, William Bryon	149-150
Rutherford, Ed	169
Ryan, Leo J.	226, 228-230, 271
Schlichter, Sumner	17
Schmitz, John G.	258
Schrade, Jack	257, 258
Seeley, Raymond T.	277
Shell, Joseph C.	115
Shelley, Nettie Belle	7-8
Shelley, Rolandus B.	7-8
Sheriffs, Alex	188, 189-190
Stanton, William F.	71
Stiern, Walter W.	164
Swink, George	44
Thomas, Vincent	84
Tunney, John V.	282, 287
Tunno, David A.	284-285, 290
Unruh, Jesse M.	57, 61-62, 69-70, 81, 92-95, 97, 106, 109, 112-113, 119, 122, 125- 126-128, 131, 153, 209, 278-279
Vasconcellos, John	223-224, 225,
Veneman, John G.	76-77, 78, 111, 118, 155
Veysey, Charles	1-8, 13

Veysey, Harriet	4
Veysey, Leon	4
Veysey, Marion	4
Veysey, Wallace	4
Vial, Dan	254
Way, Howard	246, 249
Wig, Rudolph J.	40
Williams, Joanna	74
Winton, Gordon H., Jr.	69-70, 81, 150-151
Yellen, Ben	273-276
Young, Pearce A.	81
Zenovich, George	112