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University History Series

Jack W. Peltason

POLITICAL SCIENTIST AND LEADER IN HIGHER EDUCATION, 1947-1995:
SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
CHANCELLOR AT UC IRVINE AND THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

With Introductions by
Richard C. Atkinson
and
Austin Ranney

Interviews Conducted by
Ann Lage
in 1998

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Jack W. Peltason, 1993. Courtesy *California Monthly*

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Family and youth in Kansas and Missouri; education at the University of Missouri and Princeton in political science; study of political processes in the judiciary; teaching at Smith College, 1947-1951; University of Illinois Department of Political Science, 1951-1960, and dean of Liberal Arts and Sciences, 1960-1964; founding vice chancellor of UC Irvine, 1964-1967: developing academic plan, recruiting faculty; first chancellor of the University of Illinois, 1967-1977: African American student and antiwar protests, academic programs, athletics, efforts to diversify student body and staff; president, American Council on Education, 1977-1984; chancellor at UC Irvine, 1984-1992: medical school issues, fundraising, community relations, the Irvine Company, partnering with Hitachi Corporation, recruiting faculty, diversity issues, new academic programs, administrative staff; shared governance at UC; selection as president of University of California, 1992, crises over executive compensation and state budget; restructuring Office of the President, selection of four new chancellors, relations with the Board of Regents, campus chancellors, Academic Council, the press; securing state budget increases; debates over tenth campus, student fee hikes, employee retirement plans, technology transfer initiative, affirmative action in admissions and hiring; retirement as president, 1995; service on corporate and foundation boards; role of wife, Suzanne Toll Peltason; fatherhood and grandfatherhood; reflections on Dan Aldrich, Clark Kerr, Donald Bren, David Gardner, Charles Young, Ward Connerly, and others.

With introductions by Richard C. Atkinson, President, University of California, and Austin Ranney, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley.

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PREFACE

When President Robert Gordon Sproul proposed that the Regents of the University of California establish a Regional Oral History Office, he was eager to have the office document both the University's history and its impact on the state. The Regents established the office in 1954, "to tape record the memoirs of persons who have contributed significantly to the history of California and the West," thus embracing President Sproul's vision and expanding its scope.

Administratively, the new program at Berkeley was placed within the library, but the budget line was direct to the Office of the President. An Academic Senate committee served as executive. In the four decades that have followed, the program has grown in scope and personnel, and the office has taken its place as a division of The Bancroft Library, the University's manuscript and rare books library. The essential purpose of the Regional Oral History Office, however, remains the same: to document the movers and shakers of California and the West, and to give special attention to those who have strong and continuing links to the University of California.

The Regional Oral History Office at Berkeley is the oldest oral history program within the University system, and the University History Series is the Regional Oral History Office's longest established and most diverse series of memoirs. This series documents the institutional history of the University, through memoirs with leading professors and administrators. At the same time, by tracing the contributions of graduates, faculty members, officers, and staff to a broad array of economic, social, and political institutions, it provides a record of the impact of the University on the wider community of state and nation.

The oral history approach captures the flavor of incidents, events, and personalities and provides details that formal records cannot reach. For faculty, staff, and alumni, these memoirs serve as reminders of the work of predecessors and foster a sense of responsibility toward those who will join the University in years to come. Thus, they bind together University participants from many eras and specialties, reminding them of interests in common. For those who are interviewed, the memoirs present a chance to express perceptions about the University, its role and lasting influences, and to offer their own legacy of memories to the University itself.

The University History Series over the years has enjoyed financial support from a variety of sources. These include alumni groups and individuals, campus departments, administrative units, and special groups as well as grants and private gifts. For instance, the Women's Faculty Club supported a series on the club and its members in order to preserve insights into the role of women on campus. The Alumni Association supported a number of interviews, including those with Ida Sproul, wife of the President, and athletic coaches Clint Evans and Brutus Hamilton.

Their own academic units, often supplemented with contributions from colleagues, have contributed for memoirs with Dean Ewald T. Grether, Business Administration; Professor Garff Wilson, Public Ceremonies; Deans Morrrough P. O'Brien and John Whinnery, Engineering; and Dean Milton Stern, UC Extension. The Office of the Berkeley Chancellor has supported oral history memoirs with Chancellors Edward W. Strong and Albert H. Bowker.

To illustrate the University/community connection, many memoirs of important University figures have in turn inspired, enriched, or grown out of broader series documenting a variety of significant California issues. For example, the Water Resources Center-sponsored interviews of Professors Percy H. McGaughey, Sidney T. Harding, and Wilfred Langelier have led to an ongoing series of oral histories on California water issues. The California Wine Industry Series originated with an interview of University enologist William V. Cruess and now has grown to a fifty-nine-interview series of California's premier winemakers. California Democratic Committeewoman Elinor Heller was interviewed in a series on California Women Political Leaders, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities; her oral history was expanded to include an extensive discussion of her years as a Regent of the University through interviews funded by her family's gift to The Bancroft Library.

To further the documentation of the University's impact on state and nation, Berkeley's Class of 1931, as their class gift on the occasion of their fiftieth anniversary, endowed an oral history series titled "The University of California, Source of Community Leaders." The series reflects President Sproul's vision by recording the contributions of the University's alumni, faculty members and administrators. The first oral history focused on President Sproul himself. Interviews with thirty-four key individuals dealt with his career from student years in the early 1900s through his term as the University's eleventh President, from 1930-1958.

Gifts such as these allow the Regional Oral History Office to continue to document the life of the University and its link with its community. Through these oral history interviews, the University keeps its own history alive, along with the flavor of irreplaceable personal memories, experiences, and perceptions. A full list of completed memoirs and those in process in the series is included following the index of this volume.

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Harriet Nathan, Series Director
University History Series

Willa K. Baum, Division Head
Regional Oral History Office

INTRODUCTION by President Richard C. Atkinson

Like a distant predecessor, Daniel Coit Gilman, Jack Peltason served as president of the University of California for three years and had an impact on the institution out of proportion to the brevity of his tenure. When he took office in October 1992, the university was shaken by two crises: a crisis in leadership brought on by the prolonged public controversy over departing President Gardner's retirement package, and a budgetary crisis precipitated by the California economy's plunge into the worst downturn since the Great Depression. These twin crises were the defining events of his presidency.

They were not the only storms Jack Peltason navigated during his administration. As this oral history makes clear, he soon found himself dealing with sensationalized media attacks on the university and its senior officials, a demoralized Office of the President, controversies on several campuses over fiscal management and chancellorial leadership, electronic eavesdropping on a Council of Chancellors meeting (during which candid comments were made about some members of the state legislature that, when they became public, brought down a barrage of criticism from Sacramento) and, in his last months in office, a wrenching public debate over affirmative action. Any institution as large, decentralized, and complex as the University of California expects a certain amount of conflict. Yet few presidents have had to face so consistently challenging a tenure.

Jack Peltason's foremost gift as president was his ability to see beyond the controversies and contentiousness to what really mattered. He restored confidence in the university's leadership and the Office of the President by simplifying the university's executive compensation policies, streamlining its administrative operations, and responding candidly when controversy struck. He protected the quality of the university's academic programs by working tirelessly with legislators, business leaders, and members of the UC community to halt the university's dangerous budgetary slide. A critical achievement of the Peltason years was a four-year compact with Governor Wilson, which stabilized UC's funding from the state and enabled the university to begin focusing its energies on the future.

Jack's success as president derived, in part, from his inclusive management style--a combination of geniality, optimism, good sense, and an unrelenting determination to see the university through. In part, it was the result of the wisdom and experience he had gained as dean and then chancellor at the University of Illinois in the tumultuous 1960s and 1970s, as head of the national American Council on Education in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and finally as chancellor of UC Irvine for eight years before he became president. But perhaps most important of

all was his obvious integrity as an individual and a leader. This quality was indispensable to convincing the university's internal and external constituencies alike that it merited their trust and support.

Among the important accomplishments of his tenure were the selection of a site for UC's first new campus in more than thirty years; the appointment of four new chancellors; success in preserving access to the university despite budgetary stresses; an expansion and strengthening of academic planning; and a rigorous examination of the university's organization in agriculture and clinical services. In these and other ways he laid the foundation for the university of the new century.

At the time of his appointment in 1992, he told the regents that the University of California had never been stronger, and it had never been in greater peril. By the time he left, the university's strength was intact. Its peril, thanks in large measure to his leadership, was past.

Richard C. Atkinson
President, University of California

November 2000
Oakland, California

INTRODUCTION--by Austin Ranney

I first encountered Jack Peltason in 1951, when he came to the University of Illinois from Smith College as a young (and even younger-looking) assistant professor of political science. Since then we have been each other's best friend. Neither time nor distance has weakened that friendship, which has survived mutual experiences ranging from service in the same department through navigating rented houseboats on the English canals and Lake Shasta and driving trips in England and Provence to serving as volunteers for Hubert Humphrey in two national Democratic conventions.

For the purposes of this oral history, I think it is important to note that Jack has had two distinguished careers. The longer and better known is as a university administrator, beginning in 1960 with his appointment as dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Illinois and ending in 1995 with his retirement as the sixteenth president of the University of California. The shorter and probably less well known is as a scholar and teacher of political science beginning in 1947 with his receipt of the Ph.D. from Princeton University and overshadowed--but not entirely ended--with his first administrative appointment in 1960.

As a scholar, Jack Peltason is best known and most influential as the founder of a new approach to the study of the judicial process and the inescapably political nature of judges' decisions. His first published statement of this approach was made in "A Political Science of Public Law" in the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* in September 1953. He noted that while the political scientists of the time had made important contributions to the study of judicial decision-making, "we have not developed a tool or method of analysis that gives our discipline any special competence. Our contributions have been those of reporters, editorial writers, historians, lawyers, or psychoanalysts."

The way for political scientists to make a special contribution to the study of judicial decisions, he declared, is to stop considering judges and courts as somehow operating outside (or above) the political system and see the "judiciary as a facet in the group struggle and relate the activities of judges to that of other groups" and "we can begin to develop a political science of public law without trying to 'out-history' the historian, 'out-law' the lawyers, or 'out-psychology' the psychologist."

His new approach rested on two main foundations: (1) the new realism and "behaviorism" with which such post-World War II political scientists as V. O. Key, Robert Dahl, Heinz Eulau, Harold Lasswell, Warren Miller, and David Truman approached the study of political

parties, voters, public administrators, legislators, and executives; and (2) the conceptualization of politics as exclusively the conflict among social groups for power and influence first advocated by the philosopher Arthur F. Bentley, notably in *The Process of Government*, first published in 1908.

Jack's first full statement of his new approach to the study of courts and judges was made in his book *Federal Courts in the Political Process*, published in 1955. That book set forth four main propositions, which together became the intellectual foundation for a new school of political scientists. Those propositions were:

1. Political scientists should study judges and courts as parts of the political process, not as phenomena outside that process. As he put it: "Judges make decisions and write opinions. Their opinions are orders to their subordinates and explanations to their constituents. These opinions and decisions can and should be described in the same framework of analysis as the decisions made by congressmen, administrators, and other groups, governmental and nongovernmental."

2. The essence of the political process in the courts as in other agencies is the conflict among interest groups for favorable government action. Again, in his words: "The activity of a single human being may be of great significance, especially if that individual is a President, Supreme Court Justice, trade-union official, or the like. But only as the action of that one human being is related to and supported by the activity of others does it become relevant for our study of the political process."

3. The political process in the courts has significant differences in style from the process in other agencies of government, but it is essentially the same process. The political process in the courts relies far more heavily on the skills, training, and special outlook of lawyers than that in any other agency, and practitioners at their peril violate the fiction that "the law" is somehow above and beyond politics.

4. What happens after the Supreme Court makes a decision is just as important for analyzing the judicial process as the decision itself. Most scholars in the old tradition, Jack Peltason said, regarded their job as complete when they had parsed and criticized the Supreme Court's decision on a matter. But, he argued, such a decision is in fact far from the end of the matter. Its real significance also depends in part on how subordinate courts interpret and apply it to new cases and in part on whether government agencies, the affected and similar parties carry out, modify, or ignore the Court's conclusions. As he put it: "The subordinate judge's task of applying the Supreme Court's mandates is no more mechanical than is the Supreme Court's task of applying the Constitution's mandates. The high court decisions which are supposed to guide and control the subordinates are frequently just as ambiguous as is the Constitution or statute which is supposed to bind the Supreme Court, and they admit of many interpretations. Hence, just as it is said that the Constitution is what the judges say it is, so it can be

said that a Supreme Court decision is what the subordinate judges who apply it say it is."

Jack used his new approach most fully in the last book he published before becoming a university administrator. In *Fifty-eight Lonely Men: Southern Federal Judges and School Desegregation*, published in 1961, he studied what southern legislatures and school boards actually did in response to the Supreme Court's decisions in 1954 and 1955 declaring racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional and ordering southern school districts to desegregate "with all deliberate speed." He found that many school boards, backed up by their state legislatures and governors, adamantly and successfully resisted school desegregation in many ways, such as ignoring the decisions entirely, discouraging black parents from bringing lawsuits against the resisting school boards, harassing agencies such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which tried to provide the parents with the legal help for such suits, and as a last resort closing public schools and replacing them with private schools to avoid desegregation. He found that in fact there was very little desegregation of southern schools in the first six years after the Supreme Court's decisions.

Probably Jack Peltason's leading scholarly legacy has been the founding of a new school of political scientists who have approached the study of the courts much as he recommended. Among the most prominent members of this school are such scholars as Samuel Krislov of the University of Minnesota, Lawrence Baum of Ohio State, and Malcolm Feeley, Robert Kagan, and Martin Shapiro, all of the University of California at Berkeley.

Accordingly, Jack's contributions as a scholar, while made over a much shorter period than his contributions to the administration of universities, have lasted over forty years and continue to influence political scientists to this day. Thus the contributions to knowledge that he made and inspired in others at least match his contributions to the dissemination of knowledge in American higher education and deserve to be equally remembered and honored.

Austin Ranney
Professor Emeritus of Political Science
University of California, Berkeley

August 24, 2000

INTERVIEW HISTORY--by Ann Lage

When he retired as president of the University of California in 1995, Jack W. Peltason could look back on nearly half a century of teaching, scholarship, and exemplary administrative leadership in the academic world. His oral history, while focusing on his three years as president and his chancellorship at UC Irvine, also explores his family and childhood in Kansas and Missouri and his experiences in higher education from Massachusetts to Illinois, Washington, D.C., and California.

After receiving a bachelor's and master's degree from the University of Missouri and a Ph.D. in political science at Princeton University, he began teaching at Smith College, arriving in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1947 with his young wife, Suzanne, and a newborn daughter. By 1951 he had published two textbooks, *Understanding the Constitution*, with constitutional law scholar Edward Corwin, and a college textbook, *Government by the People*, with James MacGregor Burns. Both books have had long lives and significant impacts on the teaching of political science in American universities.

At the University of Illinois, from 1951-1960, his scholarship and his teaching, as Austin Ranney has pointed out, created a new framework for the study of judges and courts by investigating the American judiciary as an integral part of the political process. In 1960, he was chosen dean of the College of Arts and Letters. At age thirty-seven he had begun his career as university administrator.

Not many scholars and administrators have a chance to create a new university from the ground up. That opportunity, and the sunny beaches of southern California, drew Jack Peltason to the University of California system in 1964 as academic vice chancellor for the new campus at Irvine. His oral history describes the process of recruiting top faculty and drawing up an academic plan for UCI, and recalls the extraordinary leaders he worked with, particularly Chancellor Dan Aldrich, architect Bill Pereira and UC President Clark Kerr.

An offer to become the first chancellor at the University of Illinois drew him back to Champaign-Urbana in 1967, just in time for the great explosion of student protests that characterized those years. His recollections of managing campus unrest and unhappy trustees and legislators, while protecting academic freedom and fostering diversity in the student body--all the while working to keep the day-to-day educational program running--provide a rich account of that turbulent era on university campuses.

Seven years as president of the American Council on Education, from 1977 to 1984, took the Peltasons to Washington, D.C., and further broadened Jack Peltason's command of national issues in higher education. As ACE president, he dealt with reform of intercollegiate athletics, affirmative action in education, defining the role of university administrators' spouses, and lobbying the federal government on student financial aid, indirect costs, and mandatory retirement.

In 1984, UC President David Gardner invited Jack Peltason back to UC Irvine to serve as its second chancellor. The oral history gives a detailed account of his eight years as chancellor during an expansive time of good budgets, new programs, and new facilities. He describes his management style as hands-on--"administration by walking around"--and discusses his efforts to attract a diverse and outstanding faculty, improve student life, build relationships with the community, and institute creative new programs, such as the Global Peace and Conflict Studies Program and the Humanities Research Institute.

In 1992, at an age when most people look forward to retirement and take on the mantle of elder statesman, Jack Peltason was selected president of the University of California, to lead a statewide system of nine outstanding university campuses. His appointment, as Richard Atkinson describes in his introduction, coincided with an acute budget crisis and a public controversy over the retirement package granted to his predecessor. In his three years as president, Jack Peltason confronted and dealt with these crises, making a four-year pact for an improved state budget with Governor Pete Wilson, and trimming executive compensation packages. He also steered the university through the divisive regental consideration of, and ultimate vote against, affirmative action in admissions and hiring.

These were the most visible presidential actions, but as Jack Peltason reflects, the real story of accomplishment in a university is a less visible one: "Progress in a university is quiet, incremental, unheralded." It results from efforts to get "better professors, more labs, new programs." The five chapters of the oral history devoted to his presidency give a firsthand account of some of the quieter efforts and a behind-the-scenes look at some of the more public moments.

Certain themes emerge in this oral history with Jack Peltason. Among them is his longstanding commitment to social justice for African Americans and other minorities. It was this concern which propelled him into the field of political science. At Illinois he started Project 500, an affirmative action program before the term or even the concept had been thought of. At UC Irvine, he created the Think Tank on Diversity and the Target of Opportunity program. And as president, he sought, within the bounds of his authority, to brake the Regents' effort to overturn affirmative action policies.

Another recurring theme is his commitment to the democratic process. At one point in the oral history he comments, "If I have any religion, it might be the Constitution and democracy." In his leadership positions, he showed his astute understanding of the political process within the university and a strong commitment to the traditions of shared governance. You can see these core values applied in his respect for divergent opinions and insistence that all sides be heard, as well as in his managerial style: he was strongly collegial, broadly consultative, and worked to develop consensus before making decisions. His understanding of the roles of the various constituencies within the university and the proper relationship with the Board of Regents are well illustrated in his January 1994 letter to Regent Ward Connerly (Appendix D).

Finally, there is, throughout the interviews, evidence of Jack Peltason's great gift for friendship, his devotion to his wife and family, and his recognition of Suzanne Peltason's essential role in his work as dean, chancellor, and president. (An oral history with Suzanne Peltason is in process.)

Discussion with Jack Peltason about recording an oral history began in 1997, when he was writing an introduction for the David Gardner oral history. He agreed that it was timely and important, President Atkinson provided the necessary funds, and we got underway in early 1998. We worked out together the basic outline for the oral history, and he provided names of numerous colleagues from the various phases of his career. I contacted them, sending the proposed outline and asking for suggested topics and specific recollections that might prompt his memory. This undertaking was essential to fleshing out the interview plan and shaping the lines of questioning. For the Smith years, the recollections of Mrs. Patricia Krevans, wife of the former chancellor of UCSF and a student of Jack Peltason's at Smith College in 1949, helped paint a picture of the young professor. The full responses from colleagues at the University of Illinois were particularly helpful, since I had no other background on Illinois. I want to thank Paul S. Riegel, Jack Briscoe, Lucius Barker, and Nina Shepherd for their help, and especially Joe Smith, who provided many memories and some of the appended material as well.

For the discussion of his work as a political scientist, *Courts and the Political Process: Jack W. Peltason's Contributions to Political Science* (Institute of Governmental Studies, UC Berkeley, 1996) was invaluable. For background on the Irvine campus, *UCI: The First 25 Years* (1992), Sam McCulloch's *Instant University: The History of the University of California, Irvine, 1957-1993* and helpful colleagues were essential. For the presidency, we built on previous oral histories with UC presidents David Saxon and David Gardner, spoke with colleagues, and researched minutes of the Board of Regents and newspaper accounts. We would like to thank David Gardner and former Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien

for their suggestions, and the staff of the Office of the Secretary of the Regents and the Office of the President for helping to find needed records and information for appendices.

Twelve interview sessions were recorded from February to July 1998, a total of nearly thirty hours. Our procedure was to exchange thoughts on upcoming topics via email or phone prior to our meetings. I would provide a fairly detailed outline, and he would come to the sessions with his own list of events or issues to include. (A typical interview outline is included in the appendices.) Three sessions were recorded when Jack Peltason was in the Bay Area, on university business or visiting his daughter and her family in Oakland--one at the Office of the President in Oakland, and two at The Bancroft Library on the Berkeley campus.

Most interviews took place in the Peltasons' comfortable home on the Irvine campus. Jack was relaxed and attentive during our two-hour-long sessions, with his characteristic humor and informality much in evidence during the interviews. We would record up to four hours a day, with a break for lunch with Suzie at home or a visit to a local restaurant. It was evident that he maintained a busy schedule and was still actively involved in campus affairs, as well as serving as president of the Bren Foundation. Visits to children and grandchildren and other travels also spaced our sessions.

The interviews were transcribed in the oral history office and lightly edited for clarity and continuity by editor Lisa Jacobson. The 889-page transcript was then sent to Jack Peltason for his review. Thus began a two-year process of mutual editing and proofing, first of the transcript and then of the text in its final format. Changes were primarily for clarity and accuracy; a few written additions were made, and are marked in the text. In this review we enlisted Suzanne Peltason and Patricia Pelfrey, Jack's assistant in the Office of the President and now assistant to President Atkinson, both of whom we thank for their careful work. Suzanne Peltason, the keeper of the family scrapbooks and photos, provided a wonderful array of photographs from which to choose for inclusion in the volume. Germaine LaBerge constructed the index.

President Atkinson and Professor Austin Ranney wrote the introductions to the volume, and we thank them both for their contribution. We also want to thank President Atkinson and Vice President C. Judson King for their understanding of the importance of documenting the history of the University of California and their support for university history projects, including this oral history.

The Regional Oral History Office was established in 1954 to augment through tape-recorded memoirs the Library's materials on the history of California and the West. Copies of all interviews are available for research use in The Bancroft Library and in the UCLA

Department of Special Collections. The office is under the direction of Ann Lage, Acting Division Head, and the administrative direction of Charles B. Faulhaber, James D. Hart Director of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Ann Lage
Interviewer

April 24, 2001
Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library
University of California, Berkeley

Regional Oral History Office
Room 486 The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name Jack Walter Pelton

Date of birth August 29, 1923 Birthplace St. Louis, Missouri

Father's full name Walter Bernard Pelton

Occupation Merchant, Personnel Mgr Birthplace St. Louis, Missouri

Mother's full name Emma Hartman Pelton

Occupation housewife Birthplace Chillicothe, Missouri

Your spouse/partner Suzanne Toll Pelton

Occupation Housewife Birthplace Santa Barbara, California

Your children 1. Wang Elliott 2. Trinity Pelton
3. Jill Redding

Where did you grow up? St. Louis, Kansas City, Columbia, Mo.

Present community Grinn, Ca.

Education B.A. & M.A. University of Missouri
M.A. & Ph.D. Princeton University

Occupation(s) President, Assoc of California, Chancellor - University
of California, Grinn, President AAE, Chancell. Univ of Illinois, C. U.
Prof of Public Science

Areas of expertise American Government, the American Constitution &
the Supreme Court. & Federal Courts

Other interests or activities _____

Organizations in which you are active APSA + members

Civic Organizations - Unit. Way, Iron Health Fund, Arch. Soc. Four

SIGNATURE Jack W. Pelton

DATE: 3-25-2001

I FAMILY AND YOUTH

[Interview 1: February 18, 1998] ##¹

Parents

Lage: We didn't really talk about how we're going to start this early period, but we want to get enough personal background to see where you came from, what made you who you are, and one of my questions is why everyone says you're such a nice guy. That must have something to do with your family.

Peltason: I had a very fine family, that's true. I grew up in Missouri, was I think the third generation to be born in Missouri, to loving parents. They used to tell us stories about how they met at the University of Missouri. And my aunts and uncles met at the University of Missouri. In fact, when I was a young boy, when people would talk about Columbia--they'd go to Columbia University--I thought there was just one Columbia: that was University of Missouri.

Lage: At Columbia.

Peltason: At Columbia, Missouri. My mother [Emma Hartman Peltason] and father [Walter Bernard Peltason] met; they got married. My father's parents died when they were in college. His mother was dying of cancer, and he got a call that his father had died of a heart attack. So they got married, I think, in their senior year of college. Neither one of them actually finished college.

Lage: They got married and then dropped out?

¹## This symbol indicates that a tape or tape segment has begun or ended. A guide to the tapes follows the transcript.

Peltason: I think after my father's parents died, then my mother and father decided to get married, because I suspect he was lonely. There is a lovely letter in the family from my mother's mother, his future mother-in-law, approving of the pending marriage but saying that Emma was so young and she hoped they would wait at least a year. I think when my father's parents both died, they decided to go ahead and get married. It was almost a year after my grandmother's letter I believe. He never talked about his parents. But I think the fact that he was an orphan--I've always had this terrible fear of being an orphan or being left alone. I always tease my wife, who's an orphan, that the reason I married her was because I felt so sorry for her because she was an orphan.

I knew my mother's parents, my grandfather and my grandmother, and her side. I knew my father's family too. He had an older brother named Paul who was a broker in St. Louis, and a younger sister who moved away, Bernice. I didn't see much of her.

My mother was one of three daughters. She grew up in Chillicothe, Missouri.

Lage: Is that a rural area?

Peltason: It's a small town in Missouri. My grandfather was a merchant in Chillicothe, Missouri. I remember he used to be very proud of the fact that he was a member of the Anti-Horse-Thief League. I used to laugh and laugh as a child but when I got older I realized that it was not something to laugh about but to be proud of. I realized that that was the anti-Klan league. That was really a substantial act of courage.

Lage: But he didn't talk about it in terms of what it signified?

Peltason: No. I was just five or six at the time. We'd go back to Chillicothe, Missouri, and I remember my childhood. It was a very happy childhood then.

Lage: Did it have a southern influence then, in Missouri?

Peltason: No. It was rural Missouri.

Jewish Heritage

Peltason: My parents were from German Jewish background.

- Lage: Both of your parents?
- Peltason: Yes. They were very proud of their German heritage. They were in a Reform Jewish movement; it was so Reform that by the time they died, they were Unitarians.
- Lage: Literally?
- Peltason: Literally. They never denied that they were Jewish, and when we lived in Kansas City and St. Louis, the big cities, most of their friends were Jewish. But when they moved into the small towns and we went to Texas, they had friends who were non-Jewish. It happens to lots of Reform Jews. They become so secularized that in some ways they lose their Jewish traditions. Although socially, that was part of the environment that I grew up in.
- Lage: Socially in terms of friends and going to temple?
- Peltason: Friends and growing up. When I was in high school, I initially didn't get invited to fraternities. When I went to high school, one of the big changes in my life was going from Kansas City to Columbia, because I moved from Kansas City, where I was part of a German Jewish community. When I went to Columbia, all of a sudden, I was the big shot. I came from the big city, where the fact that my father had a Packard was more important than what religion he had. I became a fraternity boy and moved from being kind of a pariah to being more integrated.
- Lage: That's interesting. You'd think the smaller setting--or was it a smaller setting?
- Peltason: Yes, Columbia was a university town.
- Lage: I see, so maybe it was a little more cosmopolitan.
- Peltason: Cosmopolitan. One high school.

Grandparents and Great-grandparents

- Lage: Do you know why your grandparents came here?
- Peltason: Yes. Well, they always used to claim they came in the great German immigration of 1848. Among the German community of St. Louis, that was like saying you came over on the Mayflower. I'm not exactly sure they did. Only after I've grown up and my

wife has tracked these things down, we see that maybe it was the 1860s they came.

Lage: This was your father's family?

Peltason: No, it was my mother's family. I never knew my father's parents. My grandfather used to always claim that he remembered Lincoln, but he couldn't have possibly, I think. When he was a child, he said he thinks he saw Lincoln's stovepipe hat. That was my grandfather on my mother's side.

Lage: [looking at photograph] Now, this is August 1868, the St. Louis Criminal Court. That's where your great-grandfather became a citizen.

Peltason: Just recently from relatives I learned about him. He was called Pelta Peltason. He went out with a guy named May to sell goods to the miners in Colorado, and May went on to California and started the May Company. [discussion of spelling of Peltason] Anybody with the name Peltason is a relative of mine, my father said. I have never found anybody who had s-o-h-n or s-o-n who is not a relative. And the P-e-l-t-e-s-e-ns tend to be Lutherans.

Birth Names and Nicknames

Peltason: But back to my parents: I think it's kind of interesting--at least my kids find it interesting--how I have a sister (she just died recently, five years younger than I) and her name was Jill, and my name is Jack. We always asked my mother and father how that happened. When they were dating in Columbia, Missouri, there was some musical comedy that said, "We're going to get married someday and have a Jack and Jill." So that was kind of their romantic dream, and they did.

But when I was born, my mother said, "I'm not going to name him Jack. I'm going to name him Walter Charles Peltason, after his father and his grandfather." My dad said, "You can name him anything you want, I'm going to call him Jack." I didn't know that my name wasn't Jack Walter Peltason until World War II and I went in the army and had to get my birth certificate, and it said, "Walter Charles Peltason." I said, "That's not my name." So my father and I went down to the St. Louis courthouse and for fifty cents changed my name on the birth certificate to Jack Walter Peltason.

Then when my sister was born five years later, my mother said, "Can I name her after my sister, Carlyn?" She was going to call her Carol, I think. My dad said, "Okay, name her anything you want; I'm going to call her Jill." I always tell my students that when they get worried about what to name something. I say, "Name it anything you want; it's what you call it that counts."

I don't think we ever actually formally changed Jill's name, because I think we just changed mine. But she was always known throughout her life as Jill, and I was always known as Jack.

Lage: Well, I wondered, because Jack is more of a nickname.

Peltason: When I graduated with my Ph.D. from Princeton many years later, I had a very distinguished professor by the name of Alpheus T. Mason. He called me into his office and he said, very seriously, "You've got to change your name." I said, "Why?" He said, "You can't go out in the world as a scholar named Jack. That's like being called Billy or Chucky. Nobody will take you seriously." He so scared me, I went to the chairman of the department and said, "Should I do anything?" He just laughed; he said, "No."

But I now do sign all the things I wrote as a scholar as J. W. Peltason, because he made me feel slightly embarrassed about having the name Jack as a real name.

Lage: So you started that at the time, the J. W.?

Peltason: Yes. Also, when I became dean at Illinois, my best friend, Austin Ranney, said, "You have to sign your name so often. The shorter you make it, the better." We also compensated for that when our son was born. I said, "He's got to have a real name." So we named him Timothy Hopkins Peltason. Hopkins after my wife's family; she was an orphan brought up by her Aunt Emily Hopkins.

So I called up my mother and said, "We have a son, his name is Timothy Hopkins Peltason." She said, "Well, I'm slightly disappointed that you couldn't have done something for your father." "Oh," I said, "yeah, that's right, we just named him Timothy Walter Hopkins Peltason."

Lage: So he has four names?

Peltason: He's Timothy W. H. Peltason. I said, "That's great. He can be Tim, or Timmy, or T. W. H."

Lage: What has he picked, Tim?

Peltason: Tim. He's very informal. And he's a distinguished scholar at Wellesley. But that's how he got his name.

Family Clothing Business

Peltason: Back to my parents: they went to work with my father's uncle in a shirtwaist factory.

Lage: This was after--

Peltason: After they got married, right after World War I. He worked with his uncles, but that didn't work out, so he and my mother started women's ready-to-wear stores all over Missouri and Kansas. When I was under five, I can remember living in hotels, going with my mother and father to start these stores in Lexington, Missouri; Trenton, Missouri; Lawrence, Kansas; and Topeka, Kansas. We lived in each of these towns until they got the stores started, and they were quite successful. By the time I was five years old, we were for those days wealthy. We had two maids, and lived in Topeka. They were just in their twenties.

Lage: Was that the ordinary thing, to have almost like a chain store?

Peltason: I don't know if it was ordinary. They named these stores; I remember one was called Jack's or Jill's Corner after my sister was born. But they were well on their way in their late twenties to becoming very well-to-do.

Lage: And they did work together?

Peltason: Oh, yes, my mother was always down there helping my father. Then we moved to Kansas City, which was the headquarters for all of those stores. They survived the Crash all right, but then when the bank failure came in the thirties, Dad lost his stores, because although he had the assets to pay off his creditors, he couldn't get to them because the banks had closed.

Lage: So he didn't actually lose his money, it was just a temporary setback?

Peltason: No, he lost his money, because he lost the stores. And we moved to a smaller house.

Lage: We didn't even put on tape when you were born. You were born in '23.

Peltason: Yes. August 29, 1923.

Lage: So when this happened, you were about nine?

Peltason: Yes, nine or ten. It happened in '32 or 33. In my first five years, we moved around and lived in boarding houses and got these stores started. Then when we moved to Topeka, Kansas, that's when we had the big house.

Lage: Then you were more settled.

Peltason: During the first grade. Then for reasons I don't remember, we moved to Kansas City. From there on out, we moved around all over.

Depression Years

Lage: Then were you in Kansas City when the reversal of fortunes occurred?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: Do you remember that as being a dramatic thing?

Peltason: No. We lived well. Even in those days, you had to move from house to house because the banks owned all the houses in those days, and people couldn't pay for them. So they would put them up for sale, \$5,000, \$6,000. We could live in them and rent for fifty dollars a month in the nicest neighborhoods in Kansas City. We always had a maid, because these were women of German ancestry who came, and they would come and stay with us, and we'd give them room and board and I think five dollars.

But we moved a lot, and I always knew when the end of the month came, because we'd go to the movies the next week but not that week. We always went out for dinner on Sunday nights. We were carefully instructed to buy only a hamburger and French fries for twenty-five cents.

Lage: Those were the days.

Peltason: My father was on the road. The hardship of the Depression was that he had to travel a lot. He left home on Monday and would come home on Friday night.

Lage: Did he continue in women's wear?

Peltason: He was selling clothes and women's fur coats, but my parents had a good time, they had good friends. I asked my father once, "What was it like to lose all your stores?" He said because it happened to everybody, there wasn't any sense of personal failure. It was a condition that you went through.

Lage: Of course, some people did take it as personal failure.

Peltason: Yes. I think it was much harder for my father when he was older, after World War II, when his brothers-in-law became rich and many of his friends became rich. My mother's sister, Aunt Carlyn, married a man named David Wohl, who started the Wohl Shoe Company. As long as I can remember, Uncle Dave was a multimillionaire. My father's brother, Paul, was a broker, and he was well-to-do. Whenever I would go to St. Louis, I would go visit my rich relatives, my cousins. I was close to my cousins, and I would go and spend Christmas and go to the country club, and they had chauffeurs. I think it was harder on my father after World War II when he was comfortable but he wasn't as rich as his brother or brothers-in-law.

It was hard at the end of the thirties when Dad had been traveling a lot. The reason they moved to Columbia, Missouri--

Lage: When did they move to Columbia?

Peltason: '39, I believe. They moved to Columbia because my dad as a traveling person could live in Columbia as well as in Kansas City, and I could go the University of Missouri. And my mother got a job. My Uncle Dave, my rich Uncle Dave, gave my mother a job running a millinery department in one of his shoe stores. She went to work every day selling hats. She had a wonderful time. My dad traveled.

Then at the end, as World War II came along, they moved back to St. Louis where my dad became employed as a manager of a department store. Then they moved to San Antonio, and then they moved to Wichita Falls, Texas, and then they moved back to San Antonio.

Lage: They really moved around.

Peltason: They moved a lot. They became Texans at the end of life. They loved Texas. I used to say my father was such a strong Texan, he even loved Wichita Falls, Texas.

Lage: What was it about Texas that attracted them?

Peltason: I don't know. The weather, the openness, the vigor of the place. They had lots of friends. My father was well liked.

More on Parents: Values, Interests, and Aspirations for Their Children

Lage: What were your parents like, aside from all these financial comings and goings?

Peltason: Well, they were middle-class people who had a good time in life. They were not intellectuals, but they were learned, especially my father. My father always said he made a mistake, he should have been a professor. My friends always liked to be with my parents; I was always proud of them because they were younger than most people's parents. They were more able to relate to teenagers. When we lived in Columbia, Missouri, we actually took in students to live with us, both because we needed the money and because also they wanted me to have the experience of having college students around. They became mentors to those college students who lived with us. We always had a good time. They played bridge a lot.

Lage: Was there a lot of reading in the home?

Peltason: There was always reading in the home. Always books.

Lage: Before television.

Peltason: No television. But they were proud when I decided to become an academic, and that was an honorable thing to do. I remember my rich Uncle Paul saying--how did he put it once?--"You won't drive a Cadillac, you'll have to drive a Chevrolet, but you'll have a wonderful time." That's a patronizing way of saying, "It's a nice career, but you won't make any money." I remember my mother teasing me once and saying, "I don't mind you becoming a professor, but that means your wife will be a professor's wife." I said, "What do you mean?" She said, "Well, she'll be reading the New York Times, the house will be dirty, and the kids will be running around." She had this stereotype.

Lage: Interesting how she thought about it.

Peltason: Then I became an assistant professor at Smith College. I was so pleased to bring my parents and have them meet these sophisticated women. Because the Smith College faculty were very sophisticated and well groomed. I used to tease my mother, you see, about these professor's wives.

Lage: Did they encourage you in your studies as a kid?

Peltason: I remember my father would do homework for me. When he'd come in from a party, he'd always laugh: before he'd go to bed, there would be some problems on his desk he'd have to do. But they weren't particularly demanding that I make good grades. I had academic difficulties in the sixth grade, if I remember correctly, and the teacher said, "He needs a tutor." My mother said, "Okay, you can have ten dollars worth of tutoring."

Lage: Kind of, "Do it, or don't do it."

Peltason: Well, she always said, "He doesn't need a tutor, he's very smart." I don't quite remember why I had some academic difficulties, but I remember I didn't relate well with the teacher or something. They just refused to take it seriously. Then when I did better in high school, they were proud. A lot of people in those days would reward their kids, give them money for grades. They just said, "Fine."

Lage: Makes you inner-directed, it seems to me.

Peltason: Yes.

Boyhood Interests

Lage: What about boyhood interests? What kinds of things did you like to do?

Peltason: I did ice skating. I used to get teased a lot, because that's the only time you could hold teenage girls, put your arm around them. This was a very social thing to do. And I played tennis. I was pretty good at playing tennis in the summertime. I read a lot. I was interested in sports. Sports were part of your life. I went to the Kansas City Blues games with my grandfather.

I remember one time my mother sneaked me out of high school to go to the opening game with my grandfather. We had to come out the back door. She wanted me to go to the ballgame with my grandfather, and the school didn't want us to, so she said, "I'll sneak him out."

But it was just the usual things: sports, school.

Religion and Affiliation with the Jewish Community

Lage: Did you take an interest in religion?

Peltason: Not particularly, although I did get confirmed. In those days, I never heard of bar mitzvah. I don't know whether it was that Reform didn't have it, but we did get confirmed, and that was a big social occasion. You stayed at your house, and you put on a white coat, and people came and gave you presents. I went to Sunday school, and it was really Sunday school; we met on Sunday and got some religious instruction, which didn't take very much.

Always the thing I remember, the book said BCE. That meant Before the Christian Era, and I thought it meant Before the Common Error--before everyone made the mistake. [laughter]

Lage: Kids really don't get it so often!

Peltason: But I was aware of the fact, because living in Kansas City--that was what I mentioned earlier--

Lage: Yes, tell me about that experience. Was there a Jewish community?

Peltason: Yes. And when you went to high school, you didn't get invited to the fraternities and the sororities, you weren't part of the in-crowd. I didn't feel particularly deprived or anything, but I studied and had my friends.

Lage: Were your friends mainly from the Jewish community?

Peltason: Yes, mainly Jewish kids. It was a big, well-educated group. But you weren't part of the athletic crowd or the popular crowd, the fraternity crowd.

Lage: The big men on campus.

Peltason: I wasn't a big man on campus. Then in my junior year, I went to Hickman High [in Columbia], and I was a big man on campus.

Lage: Now, why were you a big man on campus?

Peltason: I don't know particularly why, but I saw my name in the student newspaper, I dated the prettiest girls. June Anderson was the prettiest girl in the high school, and Massey Watson, who was the big shot on campus, became my best friend. Also my grades accelerated. I mean, I did well at Southwest High, I made A's.

Lage: Southwest High was in Kansas City?

Peltason: Yes.

Early Graduation from High School

Peltason: By the time I got to Hickman, I was so far ahead of everybody. See, Kansas City only had eleven grades. When I went to Hickman, I went to college in the middle of my senior year. In the middle of my senior year, the principal of Hickman High called me up and said, "If you go and become a freshman at the University of Missouri, I'll count that as the last year of your senior high school."

Lage: So you must have been quite a good student.

Peltason: I was.

Lage: You'd think Columbia, being a university town, would have had a higher level of education.

Peltason: I would have thought so, but I--

Lage: Maybe you were just accelerating and maturing.

Peltason: I was in advanced placement before they knew about advanced placement. The university was actually closer to our house than the high school. So I went back and graduated from high school. I was only in Hickman High for maybe a year, but it was a traumatic experience--whatever the positive word for traumatic is.

Lage: Positively traumatic.

Peltason: Positively traumatic experience of confirming that I could do well academically and moving me into the popular social order. There were two high schools in town, although I wasn't even aware of it. One was the African American high school--that's a new term--and one was the other high school in town. But in the town, the kids from the country would come in, and although we were middle class in St. Louis, we were well-to-do in Hickman. I came from the right side of town, and my parents had gone to college.

Lage: That gave you a little head start.

Peltason: And also gave me my love for living in a college town.

College Town Life and Dating in Columbia, Missouri

Peltason: I just moved to Columbia, Missouri, that was the most wonderful thing. There was the University of Missouri, there was Stephens College, there was Christian College for Women, and the whole town was a college town. The moment you arrived in town, it was a college town.

Lage: Now, how were you aware? Was it the number of young people, or the intellectual atmosphere?

Peltason: The whole atmosphere of a big university in a small town. The athletic programs, the football games, the basketball games, the lectures, the student culture. In those days, you could go have a date for ten cents called a jelly date. I don't know where it came from, but you'd go to the place and buy a coke or a beer for ten cents, and they'd have an orchestra and you'd dance for a couple of hours--like from four to six--and eat your dinner, and then go to study--the library being a central, social occasion. Having been a town boy, I had a car--although my dad was still traveling, so I had to wait for the car. He used to say he couldn't tell whether I was anxious to see him on Friday or the car.

Lage: So when he'd come home, you'd take the car?

Peltason: I'd take the car. I used to go date the girls at Stephens College and live in dread they'd find out I was a high school student. I would tell them I was a college freshman.

But I really enjoyed the University of Missouri. That was before World War II.

Family Political Discussions and Religious Attitudes

Lage: Let me just go back to your family. Since you ended up in political science, I'm curious if politics was on the screen in your parents' home. Was it a matter for discussion?

Peltason: Yes, it was discussed. I remember talking politics with my parents. I remember one day--actually, I don't know why this stuck in my mind--driving in a car with my father, and there was a newspaper, Kansas City Star, by him, and it said, "Hitler Becomes Chancellor of Germany." That was the first time I had ever heard about Hitler. They were, like most people of their generation, all for Roosevelt. I can remember Dad talking about Al Smith.

Lage: In a favorable light, he told you about Al Smith?

Peltason: Yes, he was for Al Smith.

Lage: So he was a Democrat.

Peltason: He was a Democrat.

Lage: Probably everybody there was a Democrat.

Peltason: Everybody was a Democrat. I remember seeing Alf Landon in Topeka, Kansas. When we lived in Topeka, Alf Landon was the governor of Kansas. But as a result of the Depression, they all became Democrats.

Lage: How did your parents react to Hitler?

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Peltason: One time they got to know one couple with some children about our age, and I remember that man showing me pictures of World War I and he was in the German army. I remember my parents being slightly critical of this German refugee, who came in and was so proud of the fact that he'd been a patriot of Germany. Critical was not quite the word; they were wondering why he was so proud of that.

But in the thirties, the refugees started coming to Kansas City. There was an awareness of the persecution, but there wasn't any sense of a Holocaust about to take place.

My father was very skeptical of the Zionists in those days. He felt that it created dual allegiances. He changed as he got

older and as it developed, but he was, like many Reform Jews at the time, worried that people would feel that somehow or other it was a dual loyalty; he felt that the home was America. There wasn't that particular identification with Jews around the world. In fact, among the German Jewish community, there was a certain snobbery about the Russian Jews.

Lage: Yes, I've heard that.

Peltason: I remember one time having dated a girl, or being seen on the beach in Michigan once with a girl, and I was told, "She's not our kind," and I didn't quite understand what they were talking about. "Well, she's from Detroit. She has a flower in her hair. Our kind comes from St. Louis and Cincinnati." There was a feeling that Eastern Jews were loud and boisterous. In fact, as my father got older, I said, "The difference between a Reform Jew and a Unitarian is the Unitarians aren't anti-Semitic."

Lage: [laughter] You told your father that?

Peltason: Well, we just laughed. He wasn't anti-Semitic, but--

Lage: Maybe an uneasiness with--

Peltason: Uneasiness, yes. My father was proud of his Jewishness, but I didn't get religious instruction.

My father was kind and generous and was not anti-Semitic, but he was impatient with and embarrassed by Jews who were not willing to become more assimilated to American culture.

Lage: Well, did they expect that you would continue to identify as a Jew, and to marry a Jew?

Peltason: No. I mean, we didn't have Seder dinners, and we didn't celebrate the holidays. We had Christmas trees.

Lage: So they were very assimilated.

Peltason: We had bunny rabbits on Easter. They had no concern that I either marry or not marry a Jewish girl.

Lage: That didn't come up.

Peltason: When I told my father that I was in love with and hoping to marry a woman who was a devout Episcopalian, I remember him saying, "You've got to remember that she will be marrying into a religion that some consider to be a pariah." He was more

worried that she might find this a problem than he was that I would find it a problem.

Lage: Did he tell her that, "You're marrying into a pariah religion?"

Peltason: Just, "You need to be sensitive to that fact," yes. It was my religion, not hers, that he thought might create a trouble for our marriage.

Development of Interest in Politics

Lage: You mentioned the other high school being primarily--it must have been called colored at that time.

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: Did you have any consciousness of that social fact at the time?

Peltason: Yes, from very early on, I was concerned and exercised about racial discrimination. And my parents were very positively pro-civil rights. I don't even know the words we would use in those days. But it was quite clear that the way Negroes were being treated was a social evil. There was little that one could do in those days about changing the political scene, but my parents stressed the importance in one's own relations of treating all people with respect and dignity.

Lage: So that was something that was taught in the home?

Peltason: Yes. I just never remember that ever being a question. It was small things, like shaking people's hands, and calling them Mr. and Mrs.

Lage: You mean, this was something they trained, or promoted?

Peltason: I remember when an African American man worked in Dad's store in Wichita Falls. Jim was his name, I think, and he used to call me "Mr. Jack." I remember the care with which we went out of the way to be sure that he wasn't put down. That was always part of the conventions with which I grew up.

Lage: Was that something that was noticeably different from your friends' families?

Peltason: Oh, yes, and we got into arguments with neighbors when offensive jokes were told or comments were made. Because in

those days, the hostility towards Negroes--that's what they were called--was quite open among white, middle-class people. There weren't any in the neighborhood or in the schools. I grew up in the part of Missouri which was Southern in that respect.

Lage: Do you think that awareness stayed with you as you went along in your career?

Peltason: Yes. There are two things I think that propelled me into political science. One was the social injustice of the way in which Negroes were treated, and the other was the Pendergast machine, which was a corrupt political machine.

Lage: Now, did that touch your life as a young person, or was this something you became aware of in college?

Peltason: The existence of the Pendergast machine touched your life even incidentally. I remember driving with my parents by the Kansas City Union station and seeing a crowd of people and being told that there had just taken place a gangland shooting, the Kansas City massacre, that flowed from conditions created by the Pendergast machine.

I was also much concerned, as I grew older, about the rise of Hitler, and was very sensitive to the debates between the interventionists and the isolationists.

Lage: What side did you take on those?

Peltason: Oh, I was an interventionist. I'm an anglophile, always have been. So I was pro-democracy: I mean, I believed in democracy as a superior system of government. I might say if I have any religion, it might be the Constitution and democracy. I remember early on, as a freshman, the debates raged in college debating, and being for Roosevelt, who was leading the country to intervene. But I never had any doubts that that was the right thing to do. Nor did my parents. I don't ever remember having a political argument with my parents.

Lage: But you did discuss politics.

Peltason: Well, not a lot. The same is true in my own home. Politics is more what I do when I go to work in political science, not what we talk about at home. I remember once when my daughter, Nancy, was in college, or high school, one of her teachers said to her, "Well, you ought to know about that because your father studies the Constitution." She said, "What do they think, we

sit around the table talking about the Constitution?"
[laughter]

Influential High School Teachers and Important Friendships

Lage: Let's just pause for a second--we're going to go back and see if there's more we want to get from your boyhood.

Peltason: Oh, yes, I've got a couple of things here that I'd like to mention.

Lage: Okay, good.

Peltason: One of the most important influences on my being in political science, I think, was a wonderful teacher in Hickman High. Her name either was Miss Poe and became Mrs. Sutton, or she was Miss Sutton and became Mrs. Poe. She had had infantile paralysis, and she was on crutches and in a wheelchair. She had lots of vigor, and I took a course from her in civics. The textbook was Magruder. I was the star of the class. I think that's when I realized that it was a subject in which I was both interested and could excel.

Lage: So already in high school you--

Peltason: In high school I think I was moving in that direction. Among the teachers, she's the one I can remember most vividly. She had lots of excitement. She took a personal interest in me and encouraged me. I think she's the one who probably told the principal, "Send him to college. He's already way beyond what we're doing here."

Then I got to know Massey Watson, I mentioned him before. Massey just died this year, a very sad death.

Lage: Now, who was he again?

Peltason: He was a classmate of mine in high school. He became my best friend in Columbia, Missouri. At first he came to visit me because he was interested in the girl next door, but then we became good friends. He went to the University of Missouri and then he went on to Harvard Law School. He was an avid Democrat, and his uncle owned the newspaper in Columbia, Missouri. Massey was my first swinging friend.

Lage: Swinging, did you say?

Peltason: Swinging, we used to call it. I mean, he was the social leader of the high school, and I think he was a Beta in college. He was the popular guy. He and I just got to be good friends. He did not live up to his promise. He was really smart, but he didn't grow out of being a fraternity boy.

Lage: I see. That does happen. He went to law school, though?

Peltason: He went to Harvard Law School, came back and practiced law in Columbia, Missouri. Had a couple of marriages. When he died, he was all by himself, and I think Suzanne and I were some of the few people to either go see him or buy him a television set. He'd come from a prominent family in Columbia; a street was named after him. But he was a positive influence in my life at a time in which I needed good friends.

I had another good friend named J. T. Miles. J. T. is still alive; I've lost contact with him. But I had good friends, and I had a great teacher. I think those were some of the things that really impressed me about Columbia, Missouri. I owe a lot to Columbia, Missouri. I still like to go back there.

Lage: You still visit?

Peltason: Not much. I told you my mother and father met there. When I graduated from college as an undergraduate, I had not met Suzie, my wife.

Lage: You did not meet her in college.

Peltason: When I graduated, I said, "I'm the first Peltason to graduate from Missouri and not meet the woman he's going to marry." I went off to the army, and we'll get to that later. Then when I came back, the first day in class I met her.

Early Work Experience as a Bellhop

Peltason: One other work experience that had a big impact on me--

Lage: Yes, that's what I wanted to ask you, if you worked during these teenage years.

Peltason: It was during World War II. My parents had moved from Columbia to St. Louis, Missouri, and I had to get a summer job. I got one as a bellhop in the Hotel Jefferson. I got the job because

during World War II they could not find somebody older. I was underage and was bringing drinks from the bar and restaurants to rooms. It was illegal for a minor to hold such a job, but nobody told me or said anything. It was very profitable. I was well into my assistant professor days before I made more money than I did during that summer as a bellhop.

I first went to park cars for two or three days, but that just drove me crazy. I went to work as a bellhop, and it's where you really got treated like you were a crook. I saw what life was like as a blue-collar worker. The first day I went to work, I came out from work, and the house detective was there, and he wouldn't let me go because I had driven my father's car to work. He said, "What is a bellboy driving a Packard for?" I had to wake my father up in the middle of the night to bail me out.

Lage: So you were just automatically a suspicious character.

Peltason: Suspicious. My mother said she wouldn't meet with me in the hotel, because decent women didn't talk with bellboys. My father would come down and have lunch with me.

I worked with older men who were race touts. You know, they would take bets. They were crooks. I remember when I went up with another bellboy the first days I was working there, when we checked some people into the room, the guy gave me fifty cents, I think, and I put it in my hand and I walked out. I said to the guy, "Here's your quarter," and he was bawling me out. They don't trust each other. You take the money in your hand, and you don't put it near your pocket, and you open it as you get into the corridor. I think that's kind of the suspicious attitude toward each other.

But it was a glamorous summer. I was told by the house detectives that if any woman of ill-repute or prostitute comes to any room after you've been there, you're automatically fired. Doesn't make any difference if you had anything to do with it. I said, "I don't know anybody, I couldn't do that." But I remember it was during the war, and they'd come in and ask you, "Find me a woman." I'd say, "I can't. I'd lose my job." And they wouldn't believe you. They'd offer you twenty dollars, twenty-five dollars.

I met William Saroyan. None of the other bellhops knew who William Saroyan was. I said, "Are you the famous William Saroyan?" He said, "Yeah, that's me. Famous like hell." He drove a Cord. Every day I would come home, and I would pour the money out of my pocket, and my mother and father and I

would count up how much money I made, and I would tell them all the glamorous bellhop-in-a-big-city-hotel stories.

Lage: Now, was the money you made tips?

Peltason: All tips.

Lage: Despite not finding the women.

Peltason: That's right. I had to work two shifts. Because I was the junior one, it started at seven o'clock in the morning and quit at twelve, and then I'd come back to work at six and then work until twelve at night. The next day you'd work from twelve to six, and on weekends, I would work all night. But I think I had the experience of seeing what life is like when the management thought you were a crook, when the people you worked with treated you like a crook. This has helped make me sensitive to people who serve you, who need to be treated with dignity and care. But I used to always tell the stories about being a bellhop in the Jefferson.

I remember the manager of the hotel was particularly mean to me. No, I take it back: he was just mean to everybody, but especially to bellhops. They were just fixtures. What great joy I had after I joined the army--I was in the ROTC--and we were taken down as young officers to Fort Leonard Wood, and there he was as an enlisted man, serving us food. I said, "I used to work for you."

Lage: Did you treat him with respect?

Peltason: I treated him with respect, as he served up my potatoes.

I had lots of little jobs, but I didn't really work. That wasn't part of the environment. I always had a job in college, but I didn't work my way through college.

Lage: Your parents supported you?

Peltason: They supported me. They borrowed the money from my uncle. In college, I think as I said earlier one time, my mother sold a ring, they sold my father's car.

Lage: He sold his Packard?

Peltason: Sold his Packard. He loved that car, too.

Lage: Oh, my. This was to keep you in college?

Peltason: To keep on sending me to college, yes. But again, I don't remember anyone being hung up on it.

Lage: You didn't have guilt feelings?

Peltason: No, and my parents laughed about it more; they didn't have a sense of "Woe is me" or "horrible" or "What a wonderful thing we're doing." It was just routinely done.

Lage: Did they get some other kind of car?

Peltason: Well, for a while they didn't have a car, and then they got another car. As World War II came on, my father's financial fortunes got better.

II COLLEGE AND GRADUATE EDUCATION, 1939-1947

College Education, University of Missouri

Lage: Shall we turn and talk about your college undergraduate years?

Peltason: In a way, we've already done that.

Lage: Well, not very thoroughly. You started young. You must have been about sixteen.

Peltason: I think so, sixteen or almost seventeen. I went to the University of Missouri.

Lage: And lived at home.

Peltason: And lived at home. Lived about two blocks from my classes. That was the first time I discovered that I really liked academic work, that I was good at it. I remember that freshman year, I was a senior in high school and I took these classes. I studied and I studied and I studied. And to my surprise, I made A's, although in Missouri they were called E's. I made all E's, and I was overwhelmed by that. When your teachers start treating you positively, then you respond positively. That was the first time that I knew that I could excel at academic work.

Lage: That you weren't the ordinary student.

Peltason: Yes. In those days, the grading system was E, S, M--Excellent, Superior, Medium, Inferior, and Failure. In those days--it was before grade inflation--most people got M's. A few people got S's.

Lage: Was that considered the equivalent of the gentleman's C that I've heard people describe?

Peltason: Yes. Well, in those days, it was more a normal curve of distribution of grades. Professors hadn't been bullied into giving everybody A's and B's.

I didn't start off in political science, but I had some great history classes, and I became much intrigued by psychology. I can't remember the name of that first professor, but I remember the textbook was green. He became a family friend, and I took some more classes and liked psychology. Then I got into the third year of it, and it was more quantitative and biological than was my taste, and political science then became the thing that I was most interested in. I was on my way to becoming a lawyer.

Lage: Oh, so you were thinking political science into law.

Peltason: Into law. Or, political science into history. But I had no particular belief that I was going to become a college professor. I was just going to study. Then I took a course from a guy named J. G. Heinberg, Comparative Government, and got to know my political science professors--Bill Bradshaw and Chesney Hill and Martin Faust--and they started talking to me about going to graduate school.

World War II and ROTC Training in College

Peltason: Then World War II came along, and I enrolled in the ROTC, and they made me a corporal and sent me back to college, and they started telling me what to take.

Lage: To take in order to go to graduate school?

Peltason: No, by then I had to take courses in order to become an officer. During World War II, as a condition of being in ROTC, they approved your courses. I remember being in the ROTC class when they called us out to hear President Roosevelt's speech on--see, the bombing [of Pearl Harbor] was on Sunday, and I think we declared war on Monday or Tuesday.

Lage: You were already in ROTC.

Peltason: As a condition of going to the University of Missouri, all males had to take two years of ROTC. I was in the compulsory ROTC. I had no particular interest in becoming an officer and joining the ROTC. I made A's or E's in everything except compulsory ROTC, where I just goofed off. After World War II

broke out, I remember the board asked me, "Well, what changed your mind?" I said, "The war." [laughter] "I'd rather be an officer than an enlisted man."

In those days, unlike recent wars, every young man wanted to go to war. It was done by everybody. Your parents wanted you to, you wanted to, your friends were all going off to war. But I'd rather have gone off as an officer than as an enlisted man, so I became a cadet in the ROTC and actually became a lieutenant colonel. Because it was wartime, we actually had to wear our uniforms. The lieutenant colonel's bars were two diamonds that from a distance looked like a captain's bar. I remember walking down the street in Texas and having soldiers salute me, and then they would see I was an ROTC candidate, and their salute would go from a salute to a--

Lage: [laughs] To a wave.

Peltason: --to a, "I can't believe this kid."

Lage: Was it always expected, being in ROTC, that you'd finish school before you'd be called?

Peltason: Yes. They put us in what was called the enlisted reserve corps, made us corporals, and sent us back to school under control of the commandant of the ROTC. The sergeant of the ROTC was a sergeant the day before the war; the day after the war, he was a major. He was a sergeant in active duty and a major in the reserve; he got called up. Then we took our military very seriously.

We were on our way to Fort Sill, and I finished out the two years of ROTC in college. By that time, the college had dwindled down. There were just V-12's.

Lage: What was V-12?

Peltason: That was one of those World War II things where the navy was sending people back to train. The college was made up of 4-F's, women, and people in the ROTC and V-12's and other things.

Lage: So it wasn't a normal college experience at all.

Peltason: Totally changed. We went to classes on a Saturday.

Lage: Was it expected you'd accelerate?

Peltason: Go through as fast as you could. Social life stopped, the numbers dwindled, and the war was very much on your mind, invasion day and so on.

Aborted Military Service

Peltason: I was all set to go, and graduated from college. Mine was the first class that was not made second lieutenants upon graduation, but you had to go to an officer training school, OTC, during the summertime. I went home with orders to go to Fort Sill in two weeks, and I went to visit my parents in San Antonio expecting to go to Fort Sill in two weeks. Then my orders got delayed, and I kept sitting around waiting for the orders. Then I got mononucleosis. And in those days, they didn't know quite what to call it. It was called kissing disease, or glandular fever.

I was halfway in the army but not in the army. They didn't know quite where to treat me. I went to military hospitals, and they said, "You have to go home, you're in the reserves, you haven't been called up." So I went to a civilian hospital, and it took me all summer to recover.

Lage: You must have had a pretty bad case of it.

Peltason: I did. I had jaundice, and in those days, there was not much treatment for it. It was the first time I had ever heard of it. They thought maybe I had leukemia. Just tremendous lethargy; I could hardly move.

Then when I got well, by this time, it was like August. I'd been sent home in June, got well in August. I took a physical exam, and they said, "Okay, you can be called up. By the way, we have too many field artillery officers. We're going to send you to be a hospital administrator. But you still have to go out, so we'll send you orders." Every day I would wait for orders to come, sitting around, sitting around.

Lage: And you were in Texas?

Peltason: In Texas with my parents. One morning, the doorbell rang, and there were my orders: to go immediately to one of the military bases in San Antonio, to be processed to be sent off to officer's candidate school. I remember I told my father, "You must take me out there now." He said, "Oh, no, we'll have lunch, and I'll get you out there. It doesn't make too much

difference. They've been waiting all summer; the army's not waiting for you." I said, "No, you must take me now." So he got up and he took me out there now.

As I got there, the examination I had taken that said I was well had not showed up, so they said, "We'll give you another examination." They walked me through the examination and I was taking some tests, and all of a sudden I got called out and they said, "You're going to be discharged." I said, "Why? I just passed--" "Because you have calcified lymph nodes in your chest."

Lage: Calcified lymph nodes?

Peltason: Yes. And they said, "You have TB." I tried to talk them out of it and couldn't talk them out of it. I had to call my mother and father, and they came out to get me. Everybody was in tears. The other guys around the military camp said, "Oh, you must have done something horrible." So I immediately went back to the doctor who had taken care of me, and he said, "You don't have TB." They called it childhood TB. "Everybody has calcified lymph nodes. It's like having bones in your feet." I said, "Am I supposed to do anything?" "Oh, no, you're just fine." "Well, why did I get discharged?" He said, "I haven't the slightest idea." So I went back to the military again. The doctor there said, "I don't know. Maybe they had too many officers. Anyhow, you're discharged." It was the end of August.

Lage: This was '43?

Peltason: '43.

Lage: Did you have mixed emotions?

Peltason: Oh, I was devastated.

Lage: You were devastated. You didn't have mixed emotions.

Peltason: No. Everybody was devastated. My father said, "Well, it's God's will. He has other things planned for you."

By that time, I had nothing to do. I called back to the University of Missouri and they said, "Come on back, we'll put you into teaching." I actually had been teaching as a senior in college. I taught my first class as a senior, I taught American government.

Lage: To some of the military people?

Peltason: To college freshmen, before I had been called up, because they ran out of people. So the Missouri people were very anxious for me to come back, because they needed people to teach. They brought me back on a full fellowship, and I came back in September.

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Lage: Okay, we got you back to Columbia.

Peltason: If you were honorably discharged, and I got an honorable discharge, there were little buttons that you could put in your lapel that I wore with pride, and could show that you had been honorably discharged. But I never claimed any veteran's benefits or joined any veteran's groups. I was entitled to some small benefits from being discharged honorably, I think even the G.I. Bill of Rights. But having never been exposed to risk, and then not having my education interrupted, I just said I would never do that. In those times, a lot of my friends were overseas, and my cousin got killed in the war. So I've never claimed to be a veteran, or that I ever went through World War II.

Lage: But you got a veteran status from this ROTC.

Peltason: Yes. I actually think I sent back a couple hundred dollars they sent to me. I don't know what ever happened to that. But I just never claimed to have been involved in the war, because I wasn't.

Master's Degree and Master's Thesis, University of Missouri

Peltason: Then I went back to the University of Missouri to get my master's degree and to teach.

Lage: So you got your master's degree at Missouri?

Peltason: Right.

Lage: I see. I didn't realize that.

Peltason: I got two master's degrees: one at Missouri and then I went to Princeton. When I got my master's degree at Missouri, two more important things happened. By this time, my parents had moved, and I was just living in a rooming house. The first day, I took a class in intellectual history, and on the fourth floor

of the University of Missouri Library was a young girl named Suzanne Toll. I met her, and she became my wife three years later.

Lage: Did you take an instant liking to her? Is there a story there?

Peltason: No. She was a pretty young girl, and a Delta Gamma. We chatted a lot. She asked for my pen, and it apparently had my name on it. We dated a lot during that year, but at first we were just dates. There wasn't anything particularly exclusive about it. But that was a whole new experience. Since we were dating during World War II, it was not like my earlier prewar collegiate experience. I was always telling Suzie, "You should have been here before the war. This is not a collegiate experience." There were so few students, athletics were curtailed, the social life minimal.

The other thing that happened to me which changed my life was J. G. Heinberg said to me, "You ought to go to graduate school and become a professor." I never had thought about it until then, and I didn't even know about how do you go to graduate school, what do you do in graduate school, where do you go to graduate school. He said, "Well, I have connections in Princeton, but you should also apply to Wisconsin and Columbia." Columbia wrote me back a letter and said, "We're not really prepared, because the war is still on, to take graduate students." Wisconsin said, "We'll offer you a graduate assistantship. We're processing everything, but we'll offer it to you now," but it never did come. I've since teased my friends in Wisconsin, saying, "Where's that promise?" Princeton offered me a full fellowship. So at the end of that year, I went to Princeton.

But I guess the third thing that happened to me: I wrote a master's thesis and I got it published when I was still a master's student, called The Missouri Plan for the Selection of Judges.

Lage: And you wrote that while you were still at Missouri?

Peltason: During that year. I had to write a thesis, and Bradshaw, one of the political science professors, was a delegate to the constitutional convention. He told me, "Why don't you come down here?" I wrote about how Missouri had adopted this plan for the selection of judges. I actually think I'm the one who gave it the name; it used to be called the Nonpartisan Plan, or the Kale Plan. But lo and behold, not only did I write it, but at the end of the year they said, "We'd like to publish it."

So I had my first publication when I was eighteen. Every now and then I read it, and--you know.

Lage: What do you think when you read it?

Peltason: It was naive. It's like reading somebody else's work. But I was proud of the fact that I wrote that at eighteen.

Lage: You must have shown a lot of promise, if your professors were encouraging you to go on.

Peltason: Well, there were very few people around. [laughter] But I got both a wife and a career out of going back to Missouri, and being shepherded by a small group of professors who took special interest in me, especially Heinberg, because of his connection with Princeton. And also, I suspect, because there wasn't much competition. So I went off to Princeton.

Social Life at the University of Missouri

Lage: Let me just ask one more thing about Missouri: before the war, were you involved in the social life on the campus? Did you join a fraternity?

Peltason: I didn't join a fraternity, because my father had been a ZBT [Zeta Beta Tau] at the University of Missouri, which was the Jewish fraternity, the high-society one. The ZBT's wanted me to join. "Your father joined." I remember sitting around our living room in Columbia, Missouri, and they came in and they said to Walter, "You should talk Jack into becoming a member," and he said, "It's up to him."

But I didn't want to join a Jewish fraternity. By that time, I had gone to Columbia, Missouri, I had friends who were both Jewish and non-Jewish. I felt that it would exclude me from more integration with everybody else. The others didn't offer me, and I don't know whether I would have joined then, because most of my friends were Betas, or Sigma Chis, and others--.

So I was not of a fraternity, but I went to fraternity dances and sorority dances. Columbia was a very social occasion, and it's a big enough place that if you're not in a fraternity or sorority, you're not necessarily cut off from the active social life. Because I had so many friends in all those

fraternities and sororities, I had a wonderful time. I was a town boy, as I say.

Hitchhiking Experiences

Peltason: Oh, yes, that's something else about my childhood that I was talking to my wife about the other day and she said, "You should mention that to show what a different time it was." When I was in high school in Columbia, Missouri, I hitchhiked all over Missouri and Kansas. And my mother and father let me. There was no sense of being in jeopardy. My friends and I--we'd go out to Columbia, Missouri, and one would stand on one side of the highway and one on the other. We'd end up the weekend either in Kansas City or St. Louis, depending on which ride we got.

Lage: You just went where the ride took you?

Peltason: When I went to visit my cousin in Ponca City, Oklahoma, the only instruction my parents said was, "Every night, you have to send us a telegram and tell us where you are." In those days, for a quarter you could send a telegram, like, "Congratulations to mother and daughter." Or, "Happy Birthday." And that would tell them where we were. I remember once being in Coffeerville, Kansas. And my father said, "If you're ever getting in a car that you want to get out of in a hurry, just tell the driver that you feel sick at your stomach and you might throw up, because everybody will let you out of their car."

Lage: [laughs] Did you ever have to do it?

Peltason: Once. But I took rides, I knew every filling station on the highway. That just shows what a sheltered life it was, that college students and high school students could hitchhike, and parents didn't object. Mine were very solicitous, careful parents; they didn't just let me do what I want to do. But that, they did. That was just reminding me of my times in Missouri. I just loved it there, because I had so many friends. We'd go to Lawrence, Kansas. I remember when a bunch of us drove to Lawrence, Kansas, to a Missouri-Kansas game, we went to some fraternity house. They were brothers from Missouri, and they put us up, and we ate there.

It was a carefree time. The Depression was over, the war hadn't started. It was like the movies picture a Midwestern college town. You'd go to dances at Stephens College. They'd

have name bands. Frank Sinatra was all the rage. You'd go to see all these name bands, and go to dances on Friday and Saturday night, wear tuxedos, white coats. The biggest thing in the world was whether you should wear a white coat or a black coat. Enjoyed the classes.

Lage: So for two years it was a normal college?

Peltason: Normal college, and then the war came, and then that became your purpose in life.

Princeton University: Adjusting to a New Environment

[Interview 2: February 19, 1998] ##

Lage: Okay, where are we? You told about how you happened to go to Princeton.

Peltason: I went to Princeton because J. G. Heinberg told me to go there, and made it possible for me to go there, because they offered me a full fellowship.

Lage: What was his name again?

Peltason: I think John--we always called him J. G. Heinberg. I was about the third or fourth person that he'd sent from Missouri to Princeton, because the people at Princeton respected his recommendations. He used to smoke a cigarette the way Franklin Roosevelt did, with a kind of jaunty thing. He had an office right at the top of the stairs, and he would call me in, and he would chat with me. He was the first one who ever talked to me in terms of the profession of political science, the first one that ever opened my mind to the possibility that I could become a college professor, and that I could get a Ph.D. I always thought Ph.D.'s were for geniuses.

My aunt Ruth, my father's brother's wife, had a famous uncle called Uncle Isadore Loeb. He had become a dean at Washington University, and his was a name that was spoken with hushed reverence: "Dean Loeb." He was a real academic. In fact, I remember Suzie and I went to talk with him. We were engaged, I think. We went to his house in St. Louis, and he encouraged me to go into the academic world.

But when I went to Princeton, that was the first time I'd ever crossed the Mississippi River to go East.

Lage: Was it a culture shock?

Peltason: I was just amazed that all those people lived over there, millions of them. I used to say, "None of them have ever heard of me or my parents." Having grown up in Missouri and gone to little towns in Missouri, Kansas City, there were always friends or relatives. To be in a world that I'd only read about or seen in movies--it wasn't culture shock, it was just exciting, and I was lonely, because I didn't have any contacts. I left the University of Missouri, where I had lived in the town and been a town boy, and knew my way around, and had lots of friends, to go off to Princeton.

Lage: And you left your future wife.

Peltason: Left my future wife. I was very lonely when I went to Princeton graduate school. I used to tease people, I said I thought that Chicago and New York were neighbors. I remember the first time I went to New York, it was just like the movies: the New Yorkers actually talked like New Yorkers were supposed to.

It was during the war, so there were very few graduate students. But I later on met a guy by the name of Bill Dowey, who became my best friend at Princeton and remains today one of my best friends. Bill was also in the Department of Politics, and I think when I walked into the department for the first time, there was Bill standing there. We became good friends.

Lage: What was his background?

Peltason: He was a son of a Presbyterian minister. His brother was a Presbyterian minister. Because of the war, the Princeton graduate school, which is way out from the main campus, didn't serve meals. So Bill made me an honorary member of the Friars Club, which was down the way between the graduate school and the main campus of Princeton. The Princeton Theological Seminary had no connection with Princeton; it's a very distinguished theological seminary in Princeton for Presbyterians. Since Bill's father was a Presbyterian minister and his brother was a Presbyterian minister, we became members of the Friars Club and ate our dinners at the Friars Club.

Bill had a car. I didn't have a car, of course; I had a bicycle. During those first two or three months, I was extremely lonely and missing Suzanne--and I missed her much more than I thought I would. I mean, I went off not knowing how much I would miss her. Then she started writing me letters about dating other boys.

- Lage: [laughs] This must have made the transition hard.
- Peltason: I think from September to Christmas, I was very lonely. "Depressed" takes on clinical connotations. I don't think I was clinically depressed, just lonely and adjusting to Princeton.
- Lage: Did you feel like an outsider, coming from Missouri to the East?
- Peltason: Yes. I used to tease and say, "I'm going to put J. W. Peltason III on my briefcase, and if anybody would ask, I would say it was the third briefcase." I felt very much in the Ivy League. Again, the faculty was very positive and responsive. It was a great, small department, during the war. Princeton even in full capacity deliberately limits its graduate program. Unlike some of the big graduate schools, it had in those days a relatively small graduate program, and it was very monastic. The requirements were that you had to live in the graduate college.

Engagement and Marriage

- Lage: What if you were married?
- Peltason: Well, to get ahead of the story a little bit: during my third year, I had a Procter fellowship, which was the best, and it gave you your choice of the rooms in the graduate college. The rooms in the graduate college were splendid. We had our own fancy bedroom and living room, and a manservant who came and fixed the fireplace. But I had the Procter fellowship my third year, and the terms and conditions of it were that you couldn't be married. I was the first Procter fellow who was allowed to get married.
- Lage: You had to have special dispensation?
- Peltason: I had to sit next to the dean, because by that time, the war was over. They started meals again back at the graduate school, and the dean of the graduate college would come over and have dinner with us once a week. By that time, Suzie had moved there and we had gotten engaged. This is getting ahead of the story a little bit.
- Lage: That's okay.

Peltason: But she came to live with her aunt in Rye, and then we got engaged, and then she moved down to Princeton and she got a job as a secretary at the Center for Advanced Study. Harold Sprout, who was one of my senior professors, said to me, "When are you and Suzanne going to get married?" I said, "When I graduate, because I can't get married, because of the terms and conditions of the Procter fellowship." He said, "That's ridiculous. Why don't the two of you just live together?"

Lage: That's a surprise, in that day and age.

Peltason: That was not an option that our parents would have countenanced, or her aunt would have countenanced, and I thought he was teasing. But he was an avant-garde professor. He said, "I'll go ask the dean."

Lage: If you could live together, or if you could get married?

Peltason: No, if we could get married. So for about three weeks, the dean, Hugh Taylor, would come over, and I would sit next to him, and he would kind of grumble. He was a famous mathematician. In those days, we were all talking about the recent explosion of the atomic bomb. That was very much in the conversation. Between telling me the world would blow up, he finally said, "Okay, you can get married."

Then he was very generous. The Procter fellowship was free room and board, plus I think maybe \$100 or \$150 a month, which was a gigantic sum. He allowed me to have an allowance.

Lage: In lieu of room and board?

Peltason: In lieu of room and board.

More on Graduate Years at Princeton

Peltason: Then, of course, after World War II, Princeton's monastic tradition broke down. That is when the veterans came back.

Lage: So many of them older.

Peltason: Older. Princeton had the view that you came to graduate school, lived at the graduate college. I told another one of my distinguished professors, Alpheus T. Mason, one of the great constitutional scholars of all time, that Suzie and I were going to get married, and his first comment was, "You won't get

much work done." But then he went on to congratulate me. But they also had the view that you came in and you got out in a hurry. Princeton didn't want you to take forever to get your degree.

Lage: Well, I noticed you were only there three years. That seemed fast.

Peltason: Yes. Their view was, "We will give you support during the three years you're here, but in your fourth year, you're on your own, and you should be out and into the world." I think that was the tradition of the Department of Politics, as it is known at Princeton. I think it's also the tradition at Princeton, and one which I've applauded. As a university administrator, I've tried to put pressure on departments. Some departments will keep graduate students five and six and seven years. I think that's not good for the university, nor for the graduate student.

Another thing that Princeton did was put the graduate students in our own seminar. Dean West had fought Woodrow Wilson over this and made the graduate college a separate entity. The graduate students were separately housed, separately taught in seminars, taken very seriously, not allowed to become teaching assistants until the very end. But the notion was, you're here full time to get a graduate degree and nothing should get in the way of that.

Lage: It was intense.

Peltason: It was intense. It still is intense, I think, many years later, but they no longer require you to be single. It was also all male in those days. We lived at the graduate college, had a nice group of friends. But it was relatively small. There were lots of foreign students, from China, and then there were just relatively few of us--either veterans or 4-F.

Major Professors and Mentors at Princeton

Lage: And the professors: were they older? Were the younger professors off at war also?

Peltason: Yes, but to my twenty years old, these were all very old. My guess is they were in their forties! But I thought of them as old.

Harold and Margaret Sprout

Peltason: The department treated you as colleagues. I worked with Harold and Margaret Sprout. She was not on the payroll, because in those days, Princeton wouldn't have had a spouse on the payroll, I don't think. But she wrote books with Harold.

Lage: So she was a political scientist also?

Peltason: She was a political scientist, and they would have us out at their home for meals. He would talk to me for hours about how to get ahead, and he was very practical. "Get your book reviewed on the front page of the New York Times Book Review, and you're made forever," he would say. Because his book was. I became his assistant, and he was beginning to talk about realpolitik, international studies in terms of not just the formalities of the law, but we studied where coal was distributed. I do remember teaching a class for him once, talking about realpolitik to some students who turned out to have been marines who had been in the real world.

Alpheus T. Mason

Peltason: There was Alpheus T. Mason, who was one of the best teachers I ever had.

Lage: What was his specialty?

Peltason: Constitutional law and American political theory. He loved to teach; he was an outstanding undergraduate teacher. He would really make you work in his seminars.

Lage: So the professors went back and forth between the graduate and the undergraduate programs?

Peltason: Yes, they taught both graduate and undergraduate, but the graduate students were specially treated. We'd be ten people in a seminar, is all. Again, I got to know him and his wife and his daughter, and after we got married, all these people took us in and had us in for meals. I worked for Alpheus, although I don't think I called him Alpheus. I called most of them by their last names until I was in my fifties, I think. He was the biographer of Brandeis, and I helped him with that book. I don't remember the kind of chores. I would also serve as his assistant in teaching his class.

Every undergraduate at Princeton has to write a thesis and defend it. Some young man was defending his thesis, and I was there with Professor Mason. As the young man left, I said, "Thank you very much for coming," and complimented him that he'd done very well. Professor Mason said, "Don't do that. The whole point of this is to send them out in the world humble. They already think they're too smart. Don't compliment them." But he was actually very good to the students, to generations of students.

There was a feud in the department between Alpheus Mason and a man by the name of Carpenter. I didn't know about that. When I first went to Princeton and Mason asked me what courses I was taking, I told him I was taking one with Carpenter, and he said, "Why do you want to study with that fool?" Or some words to that effect. As a student, I didn't know that professors talked about each other that way.

Lage: Was it a philosophical disagreement?

Peltason: Fortunately for me, they didn't involve the graduate students. I took Carpenter's course. I found out that's not untypical in academic departments as I grew up. As a graduate student, it was both revealing and shocking.

Harold Childs, George Graham, and Edward Corwin

Peltason: Then there was Harold Childs, who introduced me to the study of public opinion. Sweet, gentle soul. There was George Graham in public administration, straitlaced, a man of great integrity and generous with his time, and sound with his advice. And then there was the most famous name of all, [Edward S.] Corwin, with whom I took courses in the Constitution. Corwin by this time was a giant. I did not go to Princeton because of my professors; I went to Princeton because of its reputation. Then when I got there, I found out who the professors were. Although my field became public law, I didn't write my dissertation under Corwin, and to this day I don't know why I didn't. Partly I think he had retired, or was retiring. I can't remember why I didn't, because it would have been a natural. I did, as I will say in just a moment, work with him. He asked me to index one of his books, and I did. And later on, he and I became co-authors.

Ph.D. Dissertation on the Reconversion Controversy

Peltason: I wrote my dissertation under George Graham. [telephone interruption] George said to me, "Why don't you write your Ph.D. on the reconversion controversy?" The controversy had gone on during the end of World War II between the people who wanted to start getting ready to reconvert to a civilian economy, as against the military who said we shouldn't think about what we're going to do after the war; we can't relax, because the military needs all the support we can give.

It became a battle between the New Dealers, who were worried about the economy and unemployment and who could remember the Depression, and the military. George said, "I'll get you into the records that are now being released. You have to go down and spend a summer in Washington, D.C., and we'll pay you the money to go down there." So I went down there and stayed at the YMCA in a very hot Washington summer. I went through the records and did my dissertation on the reconversion controversy.

Lage: It was a very current issue.

Peltason: It was a then-current issue, and it got me involved in the politics of public administration. That wasn't my major research interest.

Lage: It wasn't really constitutional law, now, was it?

Peltason: It had nothing to do with the constitutional law; it had to do with the politics. It was a battle between the head of the War Production Board, Donald Nelson, and the head of military supply, General Somerville. It taught me how to go through government records, and how to write, and it actually became published as an essay in a book, a series of case studies. But I think it was just because George gave me the subject, and for reasons I don't understand, I didn't write it under Mason or Corwin.

Lage: And Graham was not a constitutional law specialist?

Peltason: No, his field was public administration. He was chairman of the department.

Lage: Did you know that you wanted to be in the field of constitutional law?

Peltason: Well, not particularly. Princeton didn't get you specialized. It was a comprehensive graduate program in political science. This was before the behavioral revolution; it was still institutional. The avant-garde-ness was that in international politics we were going beyond just treaties and laws.

Lage: Is that why you mentioned realpolitik, that you were going on what really happened rather than the formalities of the law?

Peltason: What really happened, and national security policies.

Changes in the Study of Political Science

Lage: Was the study of political science greatly affected by the war?

Peltason: It was still where it had been before the war. It was the beginning of the study of public opinion, which Harold Childs had pioneered. It was the beginning of quantitative survey research, finding out what people thought; it was beginning to go beyond looking at documents and institutions to actually sampling what people thought. You could see the study of international politics beginning to emerge in the postwar world, but it hadn't taken off yet.

Lage: Is that in looking back now that you see the new trends emerging, or did you have a sense then that it was changing?

Peltason: It was looking back. I went to Princeton not understanding the issues about how to study and write about political science beyond what my graduate teachers taught me. I've frequently been amused by people who upon leaving graduate school think they have the truth, the only truth, and nobody else has the truth, but their version of truth depends on the accident of what their professors taught them to be true.

But Princeton was good. When you say you're a specialist at the graduate level, that means you've taken one or two seminars. It's more an indication of what you're interested in, rather than what you know.

First Job Searches

Peltason: Princeton felt its graduate students should know about everything. In fact, when I went out to get jobs, it was slightly embarrassing. One time, Harold Sprout had recommended me for a job at Yale. I went off to Yale and I met Arnold Wolfers, a distinguished historian at Yale College. There he was with his fancy dinner pumps, and his wife was an elegant English lady, and we sat down. He was very nice, but he chuckled about Harold Sprout sending his graduate student, and he was looking for a senior professor.

Lage: Harold must have thought well of you.

Peltason: His view was, "If we trained them at Princeton, Yale is lucky to get them."

Lage: [laughs] Princeton didn't play second fiddle.

Peltason: It was a pleasant experience, and they were gentle souls. They didn't blame me for any of that.

Lage: But it wasn't what he expected.

Peltason: That would have been the field of international politics.

I went to Dartmouth also for a job offer for international politics. I also had a feeler from UCLA, which was the first of many I have had from various University of California campuses. The University of California still needs to improve the way it deals with job prospects. In the course of my career, I almost went to almost every campus of the University of California. My experience was not positive. They would invite me to apply, then I'd get a form letter a month later as if they'd never heard of me.

Lage: You mean after you had applied?

Peltason: After I had applied. I always wanted to go to California. I always had this belief that California was the place to end up. My mother's father and mother had spent the winters in California. California was glamour; it was the place to go.

Lage: So you had heard about it as a child and as a young person.

Peltason: Those were the lucky people. That's where life is glamorous and pleasant, and the sun was shining. The University of

California's reputation even in those days was very distinguished.

Lage: But UCLA was still something of an upstart.

Peltason: It was something of an upstart, but it was part of the University of California. I can't remember, somebody said to me, "Would you be interested in a position at UCLA?" and I said, "I'd love it," and they said, "Well, send in your application." I did, and I think I probably never heard from them again. I had a similar experience with Berkeley some years later, and I'll tell you how I almost got to Santa Barbara twice.

But the other job offer: I went up to Dartmouth, and they wanted me to do international politics. But the White River Junction seemed to me like it was right next to the North Pole. I went to the Hanover Inn, very lovely bunch of people. I mean, nice; I had a very positive experience. But then the other job offer was at Smith College, which we did take.

More on Engagement and Marriage

Peltason: Let me go back to Suzanne. I wrote her passionate love letters, and cried; back in those days we didn't have e-mail, or phone even, then.

Lage: Well, you wouldn't consider making phone calls of that distance.

Peltason: I don't ever remember chatting with her on the phone, or my own parents on the phone. You wrote letters. But she agreed to come after she graduated. She had one more year of college, so I had the first year there by myself. Then when she graduated, she had the choice between living with her aunt who brought her up, who was really her surrogate mother. She lived in Kentucky and was the lay person head of an Episcopal school. There was also an Episcopal sister, that is a nun, who was head of that school. Or she could stay with her other aunt in Rye, New York, and I persuaded her to come to Rye, New York. She lived in Rye, New York, for a year and had a job at Vick Chemical Company. I spent many a weekend going back and forth from Princeton to Rye, New York.

That's where we agreed to get married, with the encouragement of her aunt and uncle, who encouraged the marriage. She had one aunt who discouraged the marriage.

Lage: The one back home?

Peltason: No, the one in Kansas City. She mildly discouraged it, not openly, but she felt that she could do better. But the aunt and uncle in Rye, New York, were very positive toward me and towards our getting married.

So we got engaged. Let's see: the first year she was at the University of Missouri getting her baccalaureate degree. The second year she was living in Rye, New York, working at the Vick Chemical Company in New York City. And then the third year, after we were formally engaged, she moved to Princeton, and she worked at the Center for Advanced Study, where we hobnobbed with very distinguished people, including Einstein.

Lage: Really hobnobbed?

Peltason: Well, we saw him all the time. He was at the Center for Advanced Study. There's a family joke: for years, I've been telling my kids that I used to go out and have tea at the Center for Advanced Study at four o'clock. I sincerely and honestly and intensely remember standing there talking to Arnold Toynbee, a very distinguished historian, when Professor Einstein came into the room and saw Toynbee and headed towards him. I had the honor of saying, "Professor Toynbee, I'd like to introduce you to Professor Einstein," and sat there and chatted about the weather.

Suzanne remembers it entirely differently, says I didn't introduce them. But I have no idea. [laughter]

Lage: So I wonder what really happened!

Peltason: Frank Aydelotte was the director of the Center for Advanced Study, and Suzie was the secretary for some very distinguished economists. Then, after the dean had allowed us to get married, we got married in December 1946. We were married by a friend of Suzie's family who had become the Bishop of New Jersey, and his cathedral was in Newark. We went up to Newark and got married, and then lived in housing provided by the Center for Advanced Study. They had a coal stove, and I'd never had a coal stove. I tried to light a coal stove with a match. We had to get the maintenance people to come and teach us how to run the coal stove.

So we lived in the Center for Advanced Study housing during the second half of my third year at Princeton. On our honeymoon--she again teased me about this--I took her home to be with my parents in Wichita Falls, Texas. We went to a political science meeting in Buffalo on our way to Texas, for I was looking for a job. By the time we got back to Princeton she was pregnant. She stayed in Princeton to have Nancy while I went on ahead to Northampton to begin to teach at Smith.

Oh, one other thing about the Princeton experience which was very significant. It was the bicentennial of Princeton, and as a graduate student, I was allowed to attend that bicentennial. I carried luggage, and we got out of the graduate school to let these distinguished, world-famous scholars from all over the world come to Princeton for a week. So I got to associate with and meet and be in sessions with them at the graduate college.

Smith College Job Offer

Peltason: But then I got a job at Smith College.

Lage: Now, was that a first choice for you?

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Peltason: I went up to Smith College, got interviewed and offered a job. I think they offered me \$1,800. They also offered me some help in housing; I think they said they'd pay anything over \$60. If I couldn't find anything under \$60 a month, they'd help me with the rent.

Lage: Isn't that amazing?

Peltason: But I got that job for the following fall, and I had that job by January or February.

Genesis and Publication of *Understanding the Constitution*¹

Peltason: I'd finished my dissertation. Suzie was working and pregnant. I was helping teach classes at Princeton. I helped the man teach a course in American government. He asked me to go find something to assign to the students about the Constitution. I looked and looked, and I couldn't find anything except legal treatises, which were too comprehensive for undergraduates, or baby treatises, which just glorified "our grand and wonderful Constitution" but didn't really explain it.

So I sat down to try to write something to be given to the undergraduates of Princeton which would explain the Constitution phrase by phrase, and it suddenly dawned upon me, well, I might write a book. I still really can't remember the episode that caused me to think that it would be a book, but I started work on it. The terms and conditions of my fellowship were that I couldn't take any other employment. I had finished my doctoral dissertation. I wasn't going to start my job until the fall. So I had about three months in which I wrote this book.

Lage: How did Corwin get in on it?

Peltason: Corwin had another book out called The Constitution and What It Means Today, which was a famous classic.

Lage: But you didn't think that was adequate?

Peltason: It was too comprehensive for undergraduates. It was for graduate students, for lawyers, for people who really wanted a comprehensive understanding of the Constitution. I wanted just a fifty- or hundred-pager to give to undergraduates.

But somehow or other, after I started writing this book, it dawned upon me that I'd better go explain this to Professor Corwin. I hadn't told him that I was doing this for another class. So I went to see him. He said, "You know, I was thinking about doing that." He said something like, "What if the two of us became co-authors?" Here's a graduate student being asked to be a co-author by the world's most distinguished scholar of the Constitution. I jumped at the chance. In all of our 200 years' history, of the four or five most distinguished constitutional scholars, Corwin is there. Here

¹Edward S. Corwin and J. W. Peltason, Understanding the Constitution. (New York: W. Sloane Assoc.) 1949.

was this senior distinguished professor asking if he could co-author the book.

Lage: A book that really you were well into writing.

Peltason: It was well underway.

Lage: So how did it work? What did he contribute?

Peltason: He contributed confidence that what I was saying was correct. I doubt if anybody would have published a book by a graduate student, but once it got Corwin, it was more publishable. He contributed flowery language; he improved the language. He went over the manuscript. But he was very generous and very kind.

By the way, the book got a lousy review in the American Bar Association journal, where the reviewer said, "This shows what happens when non-lawyers write books about the Constitution. Of course, the troublesome parts of it are undoubtedly attributable to the junior author, because Corwin wouldn't have written those things."

Lage: He said that?

Peltason: Yes, in the review. In fact, the things he was jumping on were the things that Corwin had written.

Lage: Oh, how funny. Of course, you couldn't make a reply of that nature.

Peltason: No. He had noticed that the co-author had helped index Corwin's The Constitution and What It Means Today, and he ought to stick to indexing books.

Lage: Oh, that must have been a hard one to take!

Peltason: It was very hard.

Lage: Do you think he was reviewing it not understanding it was for undergraduates?

Peltason: No, he was reviewing it because Corwin was not above criticizing the court when Corwin thought the court had misinterpreted the Constitution, and this lawyer just didn't happen to agree with the interpretations that Corwin and I were making. The legal profession sometimes believes that they're the only valid interpreters of what the court says.

But Corwin and I became good friends as a result of that project. By this time, he was among the most, if not the most, distinguished scholars of the Constitution. I actually presided over his retirement banquet. It was just the fortuitous circumstances that I happened to be there toward the end of his great career. Many people came back, and as a graduate student, I remember feeling overwhelmed by the responsibility of organizing the retirement banquet for one of Princeton's greatest scholars.

But it was also partly the fact that the war had just been over, Princeton was not fully back to doing all the great things that it traditionally does, because it's one of the world's great universities. It was then, and it is now.

The other thing that I remember about my Princeton experience: again, I had finished my work for my degree, we weren't going to Smith College until September. They asked me if I wanted to teach a course during the summer, and I said I'd love to. They said, "International law." I said, "I've never studied international law." They said, "That's all right, you can read, can't you?" I taught international law. I got a famous law book by Briggs, read it before the undergraduates did, and then rather enjoyed teaching that class. So at Princeton I was very well treated. The professors were positive.

Anti-Semitism and University Life

Lage: Did you encounter any anti-Semitism in the Eastern schools, Princeton and Smith?

Peltason: No. I was never conscious of it. I never felt any kind of constraint. Again, my best friend, Dowey, said to me that he'd fix me up with a date with some young girl, and he said something like, "I hope you don't object, she's Jewish." I said, "No, I don't, my mother and father are Jewish. I'm used to it." That was said light-heartedly, not seriously.

Lage: I've heard that a tradition of anti-Semitism in the universities continued longer in the East than in the West.

Peltason: It did continue longer in the East.

Lage: But maybe it had fallen by that time.

Peltason: I remember Dean Loeb saying to me that, "You probably can never end up being a president or even the dean," because there was discrimination against Jews. But I never personally felt it, or was even aware of it. As graduate students, we lived by ourselves, and we would go to undergraduates' parties, but they used to say we weren't really Princeton men, we were graduate students. It's like they used to tell a joke, where they told the lady from France about the difference between the undergraduate and graduate student: "That's where you go to the main campus for four years, and then you go for three more years at the graduate school," and she said, "Well, we have our dumb ones in France too." [laughter]

More on Understanding the Constitution

Lage: Did you and Corwin see eye-to-eye in the way you wanted to approach this book?

Peltason: Yes. Of course, he was a very gentle soul. If he didn't, there wasn't any debating. He'd been studying the Constitution for fifty years, and I had been studying it for six months, so I didn't challenge anything he had to say. I wouldn't have had the confidence to have done so.

This gets out of sequence, but I remember once after I'd started treating the materials differently from Corwin, I went back to him and tried to explain that this wasn't a repudiation of what he and his colleagues had done, but he and his colleagues had done it so well that it didn't need to be done over and over again. Therefore I was approaching the study of constitutional law in the courts in somewhat a different fashion. He said, "Don't apologize. If I were starting over again, I'd do precisely what you're doing."

And in fact, again with retrospect, I realize his great tradition was that he had again not treated the court as handing down revealed law, but had understood that it was part of the intellectual culture and politics of its time.

Lage: He'd always incorporated that.

Peltason: Yes. So what he said was congenial to what I finally ended up doing, but his view was that it was time to move on to a new way to study courts.

Reflections on the Princeton Experience

Peltason: I've always been grateful to Princeton. They gave me fellowships, the professors treated me well, and I acquired a wife and good friends out of the process, and was very honored when many years later Princeton gave me the [James] Madison Medal. Our son Tim joined us at Princeton [for the award]. So it was a very positive experience, starting off very negative. Not because of what Princeton had done, but because I was just so lonely and felt so isolated and so far away from home. But once Suzanne came, and then I got Bill--.

Lage: You got Bill for your friend.

Peltason: Yes. It was probably a good experience to have a break with your undergraduate tradition, to be a professional, no longer just a student. If I'd stayed at Missouri or back in familiar territory, it would have been very easy to have retained the attitudes of an undergraduate--the fifth and sixth years of undergraduate school, rather than the total break in atmosphere and attitude.

I remember when I went to Princeton, that's the first time I found out that grown-up he-men liked serious music. You know, when I was an undergraduate at Missouri, among my friends concert-going and listening to serious music was not done. When Bill Dowe started playing serious music and introduced me to it, it was a growing-up experience. And that's Princeton. I think that pretty well exhausts Princeton.

III SMITH COLLEGE, 1947-1951

Birth of First Child and Relocation to Smith College

- Lage: Yes, that's a wonderful discussion of Princeton. Shall we take you up to Smith?
- Peltason: Let's go to Smith.
- Lage: You left your wife alone to have her first child.
- Peltason: Yes, she had her first child.
- Lage: Did she have her aunt in attendance?
- Peltason: No, my mother came.
- Lage: And why didn't she come up with you?
- Peltason: Well, Nancy, our first child, was born the first day of class at Smith. We had no money. I don't remember why she didn't come; it just was easier for her to stay in Princeton and have the baby, and then move.
- Lage: She probably had her doctor there.
- Peltason: She had her doctor there, and the hospital there. So I went to Smith College without her, to find a place to live. The Smith College experience was very positive, because Smith treated new faculty members as if we were established faculty members. I was not made to feel like I was a junior member of the faculty. I went up there first to do two things. I was to teach a class in social science with a distinguished sociologist by the name of Charles Page and a young economist by the name of Ed Taber. So we went up there and stayed with the Pages to develop the course.

Lage: So it was like team teaching?

Peltason: Team teaching. And, to find a place to live. This was right after the war. Housing was very difficult to come by. We didn't have any money. The first place I found for us to live was in Goshen, which is fifteen miles outside of Northampton. I didn't realize it was so far and so rural, or so high up in the hills. I drove out there, and here was a house. A lady I think showed me this house for fifty bucks, and it was a big house. I said, "Well, gee, that's fine. That didn't seem very long to come out here." I went there in the summertime, didn't seem like anything to me.

So I rented the house, and the lady said, "Have you ever lived in the country before?" I said, "No." "So, are you sure you want this house?" I said, "Well, it seems fine to me. What's the problem?" "Well, we have kerosene hot water." She showed me how to fix the kerosene hot water. We were to live in half the house. It was spacious and well furnished, and gracious, so I rented it for us to live in.

In the meantime, Suzie was back there having the baby. My mother wasn't there--Suzie had had her baby. She lived with her brother and sister-in-law, and her brother was an undergraduate at Princeton. He had been in the navy, came back to Princeton after the war, and they lived in the barracks. His wife was also pregnant. So my poor brother-in-law was taking care of these two pregnant women while I was up teaching.

The first day I was teaching, I was up in Goshen, I remember the phone rang, and they said, "Suzie's gone to the hospital." So I got in the car. We got a car, by the way, when we got married. Getting cars was very difficult.

Lage: During the war?

Peltason: This was right after the war. My mother's best friend in college, Selma, had married Howard Green, and Howard Green owned the Chevrolet company. He did us the favor of selling us a car.

Lage: Back in Missouri?

Peltason: Back in Missouri. We drove it across the country on our honeymoon. It took us five days because the car didn't work. We had to keep stopping at garages to get it fixed.

But anyhow, we did have a car, so I drove back all day to Princeton, and remember getting outside of Princeton and calling up and hearing Charlie say, "You have a little girl." My mother then did come to Princeton after Nancy was born, and she and Suzie and I and Nancy, the little baby, got in the car and drove back to Northampton.

Lage: That must have been quite a trip.

Peltason: It was not a very nice trip.

Lage: [laughter] With a tiny baby.

Peltason: Tiny baby in the back seat, Suzie sitting on a rubber tube, my mother--the tension between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law and son. All our concern about taking care of the baby. Being apprehensive about Suzie's well-being. Going to places that none of us have ever been to before.

But we got up to Goshen, and my mother said, "You can't live here. You go to work, and your wife and baby will be out here fifteen miles from Northampton. They won't have a car, she'll be isolated. You're not equipped to live in the country." I said, "We've already done it." Also I remember the man came to fill up the oil tank, his name was Outhouse. We called him Mr. Out-house, but it was pronounced Oo-thoos.

My mother took charge and said, "Well, whatever it costs, we'll take care of it." She found us a place at Leeds, Massachusetts, which was just outside of Northampton, down out of the mountains, and we moved. We had to tell the lady--we forfeited our deposit, forfeited the oil we put in the tank. We went down and stayed in this house in Leeds, which was an apartment--we called it the White House. Much better--much closer to town--for Suzie and Nancy to stay while I taught at Smith College. Mother bought \$400 worth of furniture for us.

Lage: Your mother was very supportive.

Peltason: Yes. But there was a lot of tension about that, because a young married couple doesn't quite want their mother to take charge. On the other hand, she was quite right in saying, "No matter what it costs, or how much inconvenience, you can't leave your wife and child isolated." So she got this apartment for us. We stayed there for a year, and then we moved into town. The college finally got an apartment for us right across the street from where I taught, and after that, it was wonderful.

- Lage: Was that a new facility, or they just weren't able to make it available?
- Peltason: No, I don't know how it was. It was an old house converted into apartments. We lived right across the street from where I taught, Tyler Annex, and we spent four wonderful years at Smith. I wasn't much older than the students.
- Lage: I'll bet. You were twenty-four, is what I figured out here.
- Peltason: Twenty-four.
- Lage: That's very young.
- Peltason: Except those--we called them girls in those days. Now they would be offended by that.
- Lage: Right, they wouldn't stand for it.
- Peltason: They became babysitters, and some of them have remained friends to this day. Not close friends, but we exchange Christmas cards and so on. I taught for four years, met some very good friends, met some very distinguished people. Again, they treated you as a colleague. We were young and unsophisticated. In those days, the way you entertained was you had bottle parties. You'd go to people's houses after dinner and bring your own drinks, and take home the bottles you didn't drink. The conversation would flow.

For the first year after Nancy was born, we were such intimidated parents that if she'd cry, we wouldn't leave her alone.

- Lage: So you didn't go out quite as much?
- Peltason: Didn't go out very much. I worked almost every night. Suzie, I think, had a pretty lonely existence there, because she was stuck in the house with Nancy.

Teaching Environment at Smith College

- Lage: So you would work on your research, or your teaching?
- Peltason: Chiefly on the writing and the teaching. Teaching was intense. Perhaps the best students I've ever had were at Smith College. They were mature and not afraid to express an intellectual

interest. They were very appreciative and very demanding. I would teach a great big class, and if I would end up with a quotation from Oliver Wendell Holmes or the Constitution, I'd get applause. And if you weren't well prepared, they'd let you know.

In those days, the students all knitted in class. They used to ask me if I objected, and I would say, "No, it will be a challenge to see how many times I can get you to put the knitting needles down."

Lage: [laughs] So was it the lecture system?

Peltason: The famous course was Government I, which was patterned after Harvard's Government I. In Smith Hall, as the auditorium was called, it seated 200 or 300, and it was a lecture.

Lage: So there were 200 or 300 students?

Peltason: In that one class. The rest of my classes were small.

Lage: So it must have been a required class for everybody.

Peltason: Yes.

Course on Political Parties

Peltason: One of the things that I did which I remember with great fondness and for which I got a lot of credit at Smith: I taught a course in political parties. The class got divided into Democrats and Republicans, and I went downtown and got the Democratic party of Northampton and the Republican party of Northampton to take these young women into the party organization. They actually became real workers within the party. They got out voters' lists, they manned the precincts, they knocked on doors. It was a bipartisan effort, supported by both political parties, in which the students got real practical political experience working for a candidate. I've had many a student write me a letter and say that began her interest in politics.

Lage: How did the class break down?

Peltason: Well, there were more Republicans than Democrats.

Lage: I would guess, at Smith.

Peltason: I remember keeping neutral. I've always felt that a professor should not use the platform to promote his own views. In those days, I was quite active in the Democratic party and the ADA [Americans for Democratic Action]. I remember after the 1948 election, the faculty just couldn't contain our glee as we walked to class the next day. I remember standing in front of the library. Some of the Smith students were in black because they were for Dewey. I heard one young lady say to her friend, "Why do you think the faculty are all for Truman? Because everybody I know was against him." Her friend said, "The faculty are from underprivileged classes."

Lage: Was this all in great seriousness?

Peltason: They were serious about it.

Lage: But was this true: was the faculty from a different social class from the students?

Peltason: Well, it's probably true, but it--

Lage: Not underprivileged, necessarily.

Peltason: Not underprivileged.

I also learned a lesson in that class. These Smith women were from very distinguished families. One time I was teaching a class in political parties, and a man and two women came into the classroom and sat down in the back. We frequently had visitors. I was explaining to the students how Wendell Willkie's forces had worked the Republican convention to get his nomination. I explained it to them all in great detail. After it was over, this man came up and said, "Professor, I enjoyed your lecture. My name is Samuel Pryor. I was Mr. Willkie's campaign manager. This is my wife, Mrs. Pryor. And I want you to meet Mrs. Willkie."

Lage: Oh, no! They were all three there.

Peltason: Yes. But he and I became friends. His daughter, Tay Pryor, was in the class.

Lage: Did she know this was coming up? Is that why she had them there, do you think?

Peltason: I don't think so. It could have been. Then he and I became good friends. He was then vice president of Pan American. He said, "If you want me to, I can help get cabinet members and senators to come before your class." Because I also ran mock

conventions. I had the students run the Republican convention and the Democratic convention. I would tell him, and he would fly up in a Pan American airplane distinguished people who would come teach my class.

I remember the Democratic convention of '48; he had a cabinet member from Truman's cabinet all lined up to come. I called him up and said, "You might not want to have a cabinet member come, because these students I don't think are going to renominate Mr. Truman. You don't want a cabinet member to be presiding over a mock convention." So he said, "Okay," and he got an assistant attorney general. Subsequently, the poor guy got indicted. But he presided over the [mock] Democratic convention.

I think we also had in attendance at the Republican convention the governor of Massachusetts whose daughter was in class. Those classes were lively and spirited and good-natured.

Lage: How did you get the idea to do these mock conventions? Was it unusual to do this much kind of practical application?

Peltason: I don't know where I got the idea, but I got praised for it, and the students liked it, and the senior faculty liked it, and the administration liked it, because it gave real life and vigor to the political parties in the courses they taught. Fortunately, I was in a town that was small enough that you could get involved in the political parties, but big enough to have political parties, and bipartisan enough that there were things for Republicans and Democrats to do.

Involvement with Americans for Democratic Action

Peltason: Another experience I had there was I learned that there were enemies on the left. I came there as a card-carrying Democratic, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Truman, civil-rights liberal, and got involved with the ADA, which was a group created by Eleanor Roosevelt and Walter Reuther and Paul Douglas.

Lage: Americans for Democratic Action?

Peltason: Americans for Democratic Action. I always called it the good ADA. It was liberal. But in '48, if you remember, there was the Progressive party of Henry Wallace. There was something

called the Civil Rights Congress, and I started going to the meetings of the Civil Rights Congress because I was for civil rights. I was called aside by some of the senior professors and told not to do that, those people were Communists. The only people I ever heard talk about Communists were right-wingers who exaggerated and called everybody Communists. So I said, "I can't believe that. How do you know?" They said, "We used to be Communists."

Lage: Oh, the professors themselves?

Peltason: Trotskyites.

Lage: They were Trotskyites?

Peltason: Probably. They said, "These people are as much opposed to democracy as the right wing." So we spent as much of our time fighting to keep infiltration out from the far left as we did from the far right. That's where I learned to be a moderate in politics, that there are enemies on the left as well as on the right. That's where we first got into debating the question, Could a Communist be a good teacher or not?

Lage: So these debates were going on--this was the same time that UC was having the loyalty oath controversy.

Peltason: Right.

Lage: And that kind of debating was going on at Smith?

Peltason: All over. I became chairman of the Hampshire County ADA, and we were responsible for getting Foster Furcolo as our candidate. I remember running the campaign headquarters for Hampshire County. We were all of a sudden taken seriously. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., was one of the leaders of the ADA.

Lage: He was involved in the campaign?

Peltason: Yes. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., was, I think, chairman of the statewide ADA.

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Peltason: I went to an ADA meeting in Boston, and down the stairs came this young kid. I started to get up and tell him, "This is an important political meeting, not for some graduate student." As I started to think about trying to guide this young man out of the room, the rest of the people in the room got up and said, "Oh, Congressman Kennedy." [laughter]

Lage: Before you created--

Peltason: Before I could chase him out. I don't know that I would have; I just thought to myself, What's this young guy doing at this important political meeting?

Lage: Did you have an impression of him at that time, aside from his youth?

Peltason: Well, he was charismatic and attractive. But then he came out to Northampton, and I remember him at a meeting at Wiggins' Tavern, where he was seeking the endorsement of the Hampshire County ADA to run for the Senate. We told him, "No, we won't endorse you." We said, "We'll endorse you for governor, but not for senator, because we agree with your domestic views." But remember, Joseph Kennedy had been an isolationist, not a very loyal member of the Roosevelt team, so we were worried about John Kennedy's foreign policy views.

Lage: Had he expressed them, or were you still just thinking about his father?

Peltason: Again, this is just a vague memory of our sitting around and chatting with him, and finally after he left, deciding, no, we can't endorse him for senator, but if he wants to run for governor, we'll endorse him for governor.

Smith Faculty Members

Peltason: A lot of very distinguished faculty were there. There was Daniel Aaron.

Lage: This is at Smith?

Peltason: At Smith. He was an English professor of great distinction, an Americanist, who now is emeritus professor of Harvard. There was Robert Gorham Davis, another very famous professor of English, who went on to Columbia. There was Newton Arvin, the great Melville scholar. In Tyler Annex, when I was upstairs laboriously working on my book, I could hear Newt's typewriter down there going click, click, click, click. He wrote polished prose right out of the typewriter. He didn't write very often, but when he did, it came out polished.

That's where I met Bill [William] Leuchtenburg. Bill Leuchtenburg had been involved in ADA. He came to Smith.

Lage: Was he a political scientist?

Peltason: He was a political scientist then, and he didn't have his degree. I remember having a long conversation with him and saying, "Bill, if you're going to go into scholarship as a career, as bright as you are, you still need a Ph.D." So he decided to go down and get a Ph.D., and he chose history rather than political science, and he was quite clear about it. He said, "Political science is now becoming systematic and quantitative--that's the way it should go. But I don't want to do that. I want to be writing narrative materials." His view was, "Rather than being marginalized in political science, I'm going to become a history professor where what I want to do is valued."

He went down to Columbia, and in the shortest possible time wrote his doctoral dissertation, became a protege of [Henry Steele] Commager, and ended up having a tenured position at Columbia University.

Lage: He made the right choice.

Peltason: But Bill was a colleague of mine, we became close friends, and he was part of the social group that we were in, along with Dan and Janet Aaron. Janet, Dan's wife, was a very gracious, very active lady, who taught us the social mores. Robert's wife was Hope Davis, herself a distinguished novelist and poet. The Pages, Charles and Leonora Page, and the Barbers--these were sociologists.

Lage: I did talk to Mr. Barber [in preparing for the oral history interviews].

Peltason: Oh, you did?

Lage: Yes. He was interesting.

Peltason: Did he remember?

Lage: Yes. He gave me kind of a sociological run-down on Smith.

Peltason: Bernie was a sociologist. Then at 142 Green Street where we lived--upstairs were Irving and Roberta Siegel, who also became some of our closest friends. They lived upstairs, we lived downstairs in this kind of converted apartment. They were at that stage childless. Irv was a child psychologist, and he used to give Nancy tests. I'd say, "I'm testing to see what kind of child psychologist you are." [laughter] Roberta was a political scientist suffering the fate that women suffered in

those days. She was having a hard time getting her professional career launched because she was "the wife of." Although Smith was better than any other place.

Lage: Was she a Ph.D.?

Peltason: She was getting her Ph.D., I think, at Clark University. She has since gone on to become a very distinguished political scientist, but getting a job was difficult. Although Smith was still a better place for a woman to be than any other place, it was still harder for women. I mean, Smith had a man as president.

Lage: Here you were, preparing all these intelligent young women.

Peltason: That's right. The revolution was just over the hill.

Smith Students and Gender Discrimination

Lage: Did you think of your students as possibly going on in the profession? Or what were you thinking about their futures?

Peltason: I don't think I was very conscious of that. I remember one time saying something which today would have been considered offensive, but at the time, it was considered a joke. I told the class one time, "Don't worry, a young lady who flunked this class last year married a millionaire this year," and they laughed.

And I also remember, there was another good friend there by the name of Jack [John] Ranney, who was the man who hired me. He died prematurely. Not to be confused with Austin Ranney.

Lage: Not related?

Peltason: Not related, didn't know each other. But Jack used to tell the story about walking with a student down the campus once, and there was another student behind her. They turned around and said, "Come join us." She said, "Oh, it's Mr. Ranney. I thought it was a man." [laughter] What she meant was, he was a professor--she thought it was a boyfriend, rather than a professor.

But the tone was good-natured and friendly, and they were serious students, and were taken seriously. But I wasn't

conscious of the issues that were to become the issues of the sixties.

Lage: What about with Mrs. Siegel? Were you conscious of her difficulties?

Peltason: Roberta? Conscious, but I must say, I wasn't sensitized to be concerned. I was still of the notion that the man got the job and the woman stayed home, and for Roberta to get on in her profession, that was so much the better, and I was all for it. But I didn't consider it the rancor of discrimination that became the norm in the sixties.

Social Mentors and Friendships

Lage: You mentioned somebody teaching you the social mores. What were the social mores?

Peltason: Well, you know, here we were, a twenty-two-year-old and a twenty-four-year-old. Suzie had been an orphan, brought up in orphanages and in homes and never had a mother who told her about the social conventions. I had always depended upon the parents to tell you what to do, what letters to write, how to behave. To come into this high-powered faculty atmosphere, it would have been easy to have been squashed by that. But they went out of their way to say, "Don't worry about it. You're one of us. Just enter the conversation. Your thoughts will be taken seriously, you'll be treated with appropriate dignity."

When kids got sick, they were there to tell you about how to take care of them. Suzie I think had never had a dinner party in her life. She had to learn how to entertain and be a gracious hostess.

Lage: And somebody was there to help her?

Peltason: They helped, and they were models. I remember when we had our first dinner party, she had to learn to cook. I had been a traditional husband: I go to work, she takes care of the children. So I think they were role models. We had good friends as a result of that.

See, Irving and Roberta babysat for our children. Our son was born there, and Irving went to the hospital with me. Nancy stayed with them. They always tell the story that after we'd gone to the hospital for Suzie to have Tim, Nancy then was

about three or four. She was walking around, and came in where Irving and Roberta were in bed. They said, "Come on in, Nancy," and she said, "Oh, it's you. I thought it was a Smith boy and a Smith girl." [laughter] She was perfectly innocent, because she was only three or four years old.

The whole Connecticut River Valley was a wonderful place to live. We knew Peter Sylvester Vierick at Amherst. He had been at Smith but then he went to Amherst. He was a poet and historian. I remember going to his house, and he had all of a sudden decided his son, Alyosha, needed attention. Right in the midst of the party when his wife Anya was doing all the work, serving all the guests, Peter kept following her around and pestering her to pick up Alyosha.

He once tossed Alyosha playfully in the air, but got lost in his thoughts so he forgot to catch him on the way down. Peter was a genius. He and Anya got a divorce. The whole Connecticut River Valley divided: you were either on Peter's side or Anya's side. Then they got back together again, but the people who had been on their sides--[laughing]

Lage: Were still divided! Was divorce pretty uncommon? It sounds like it.

Peltason: Yes, it was uncommon, but--

Lage: And not totally accepted?

Peltason: Well, it was traumatic. But there were only 200 members of the faculty, and we got to know each other. At the end of the four years, we knew everybody.

Faculty Demographics and Retention at Smith College

Lage: Was it a place where it was expected that the young faculty would move on?

Peltason: Well, it was a great college, had a better faculty than it deserved at the time. Things have since changed. But this was right after World War II, and so they had great faculty because there were many women faculty who couldn't get jobs elsewhere because they were being discriminated against, and they taught at Smith because that's the best place they could get to. There were husband-and-wife teaching teams who were brought there when the rest of the world wasn't inviting husband-and-

wife teaching teams. That's the only place that both could teach. There were a lot of single women who lived in dormitories there. And then, as I say, there were a lot of people who would rather starve in New England than go to the Middle West. They had graduated from Harvard, and the idea of going to the Middle West was just beyond their comprehension. Then there were a handful of what I would call one breadwinner in the family and the wife would stay at home.

I don't think Smith expected us not to stay there, but they just couldn't compete to keep us; [young faculty] couldn't afford to stay there. We decided to leave there for two reasons. One, financially--I mean, there were senior faculty in those days who couldn't afford tickets to go to the concert.

Lage: So they really weren't able to pay much?

Peltason: They have since caught up, but at that time, the inflation came, and they hadn't caught up yet. It was right after the war.

And then, two of our close friends died, Jack Ranney and Ed Taber. Also, we were really midwesterners. Our son and daughter-in-law have lived in New England for thirty years now and love it there. I frequently tease them and say, "If I couldn't live in the United States, then I'd rather live in New England."

Lage: So you didn't feel really a part--

Peltason: Well, I didn't--it was charming. We had good friends. I just didn't think about growing old and dying there. I really like the big, comprehensive university. I like the life of being on a Missouri or an Illinois or a Cal campus. It just seemed to me a more exciting place to be. Although it wasn't so much a negative as a belief that for the long term, we'd be better off in a big university atmosphere.

New Job Offers

Peltason: I got several job offers at the time, and that's when again I got an offer from Santa Barbara. And boy, were we excited about going to Santa Barbara. Suzie had been born there, that was California, I thought Santa Barbara was the most glamorous place to be. I got this job offer to be an assistant professor at Santa Barbara.

Lage: A real offer?

Peltason: A real offer from the department, but it hadn't been approved by the Office of the President yet. But that was just to be a formality, don't worry about it. This was in February.

So I went and told the people at Smith College, "I'm leaving, I'm going to Santa Barbara." We sat down thinking about how we were going to drive out to Santa Barbara. I think it was April or May, I got a letter from Santa Barbara saying-- I don't remember if it said the Office of the President--"We can only make this an instructorship. We can't offer you an assistant professorship."

Lage: This was in '50 or '51?

Peltason: Yes. So that was my second attempt to almost go to California. UCLA had asked me to send my credentials. Santa Barbara had asked me, and actually had told me a job offer was coming, but when it got here finally--

Lage: It was an instructorship.

Peltason: I don't even think they offered me an instructorship. They just said, "And therefore, we can't live up to what we've promised." I had to go tell the head of the department, "Well, I'm staying here after all." She was very pleasant about it. They were very glad to have me there.

Lage: Santa Barbara wasn't very up and running by then, was it?

Peltason: Well, I wasn't aware of that at the time. I just thought, Santa Barbara. I'd go to Santa Barbara--the University of California at Santa Barbara. We'd be in California, and as far as I knew, it was an emerging campus of the University of California.

Then Illinois offered us a job. I had never been to Illinois. In those days, they didn't invite you to come to see the campus. I met the senior professors at a political science meeting and they made me an offer to go to Champaign-Urbana.

Lage: So that's where the deals were made, at the meetings?

Peltason: At the meetings. I never thought to say, "Well, we've got to look over the place," and they never thought to invite me to come--

Lage: To be looked over.

Peltason: --to be looked over. These were the senior professors.

Then I also had an experience which was again traumatic. I got an invitation to come to Johns Hopkins to be interviewed for a job. I took the train down, got off late in Baltimore. I was met by a distinguished professor named Carl Swisher. I walked into his office, he was mad. I couldn't quite understand why he was mad at me. Between the time that he'd invited me to come down and the time I'd sent him a letter about what I was doing, I had said I had published The Missouri Plan for the Selection of Judges. I told him I had published Understanding the Constitution. I told him I had published The Reconversion Controversy. That was like two years out of graduate school, and I was kind of pleased with that. I said, "I'm working on an American government textbook."

He looked up, and he said, "I didn't know when I invited you that you were working on a textbook." I said, "Oh." He said, "We can't have you." That day, he took me around and, I would say, rudely introduced me to the president, saying, "He's writing a textbook, we don't want him." He said it right there in front of me, ignoring me.

Malcolm Moose, a professor there who was also working on a textbook, was very charming. Then Swisher took me to the edge of the campus in the afternoon and said, "Good-bye." I learned in the course of conversation he felt it was totally inappropriate for a young person without tenure to work on a textbook. I should be working on scholarly books. It was arrogant to think I could write a textbook. I subsequently learned that he was working on a textbook.

Lage: He was probably afraid of the competition.

Peltason: I don't think that was it. I think his concerns were genuine, and he was quite right, in a way; it was inappropriate. But he so scared me that I stopped off at Princeton on the way back and went in to see George Graham. I said, "Am I doing something wrong and immoral?" He said, "Not immoral, but Swisher is probably right to guide you. But if you feel strongly about doing a textbook, you should go ahead."

I still went up and called up Jim Burns and said, "I can't write this textbook with you, because I learned this is bad for my career," and Jim talked me into it.

Lage: We need to go back and get the story of the textbook.

Peltason: That's right.

But I was subsequently so pleased when at the next political science meeting I was down there, and Corwin came up and put his arm around me and said to Swisher, "Carl, do you know my co-author, Jack Peltason?" Then I was also pleased subsequently that Swisher's textbook did not do as well as ours did.

Lage: Was his textbook--

Peltason: American government--

Lage: --just as yours was. That's gratifying.

Peltason: That's why I didn't get to Johns Hopkins.

Genesis and Publication of Textbook, *Government by the People*¹

Peltason: But back to the textbook, that was another thing that did happen to me there. I didn't know in those days anything about the publishing world. A guy named Bill Pullen from Prentice-Hall stopped in and knocked on the door one day and said, "Have you ever considered writing an American government textbook?" I said, "No." He said, "Well, I've been to Princeton, and I've talked to Mason and Sprout, and they think that you're a good prospect. I'm looking for somebody." At that time, the established book was Ogg and Ray [Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray, Introduction to American Government (Century Company, 1922-1948)]. Everybody used Ogg and Ray. He said, "I want to write a book that stresses people and activities."

Lage: So the publisher came up with the idea of a different twist.

Peltason: Right. He gave me the idea. I said, "Well, I have this book on Understanding the Constitution, and I don't have a publisher for that yet."

Lage: Oh, that hadn't been published yet?

Peltason: So I guess it hadn't been published yet. I think it was published in '49, so he must have called on me in '47. He said, "Well, I'll consider that, but I already want you to do

¹Government by the People: The Dynamics of American National Government, by James MacGregor Burns and Jack Walter Peltason (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952).

this other book." I said, "Well, I'll think about it." Playing cool. He left the office, and I put a piece of paper in the typewriter and started working on a book. He said, "I want you to write a sample chapter." So I wrote a sample chapter on Congress.

Lage: Right off the top of your head?

Peltason: I had never thought of writing a textbook.

Lage: Did you draw on the way you were teaching?

Peltason: I think so. I just wrote a chapter on Congress. I sent it to Bill, and I subsequently learned that he had sent it to a young distinguished professor at Yale, Jim Fessler, who subsequently told me that he'd read the chapter and was positive about it. Bill came back and said he didn't want to do Understanding the Constitution, but he did want me to do a textbook for Prentice-Hall.

Lage: So he didn't publish Understanding the Constitution?

Peltason: No, I got somebody else to do that. That was published by William Sloane. I don't remember how I got that contact. I remember Jim Van Toor, the nice man who came around and did publish it. In the scrapbooks, I see references to the first edition of it, so I guess I had published it by the time I talked to Swisher.

After I worked on the textbook for a while, Bill Pullen also came and he took me and Suzie out to dinner, and that was a thrill.

Lage: Now, why was that a thrill?

Peltason: Well, a free dinner by a publisher. I even remember what we had, where we were. Because in those days, we didn't get invited out to dinner. A book publisher: that was somebody from the world of glamour and excitement.

Collaboration with James MacGregor Burns

Peltason: Then I said to Bill Pullen, "I need a co-author. I have now learned it would take four or five years if I did it by myself. I can't afford that, so I need a co-author." So he started helping me find a co-author. I talked to a very distinguished

professor at Texas by the name of Emmett Redford, and I liked him, but I realized if I did the book with him, I would be the junior author, because he was so much older than I was.

I talked with Charles Cherrington at Harvard. But he was always breaking his appointments to talk with me and I decided that he would not make a good co-author. Then Bill Pullen said, "How about this guy named James MacGregor Burns at Williams College?" I had gotten to know Jim a little bit in the ADA. So I asked Jack Ranney to ride with me over to Williams College, and I walked in to meet Jim Burns, and in ten minutes I knew I had a co-author.

Lage: Because you had good relations?

Peltason: Good chemistry. He had the same ideas about the book that I did. He was already a distinguished political scientist. He'd written a book, Congress on Trial. He said, "I can't get going on it for a year because I have to go on sabbatical to England."

Lage: Where was he in his professional career? Was he a tenured professor now?

Peltason: I can't remember. I think he might have been an associate professor. He was a tenured professor, I think. He'd gone to Williams.

So he went off to England for a year, and I worked away on the book. When he came back, we spent an intense year. I'd slip and slide on the road to Williams College, he'd come back; I'd work every night. We worked on that book practically around the clock. I got to know him and his family, and he and I got to be good friends. A co-authorship is like a marriage: it either works or it doesn't work. This one worked.

Lage: How did you work together? Did you write separate chapters?

Peltason: We wrote separate chapters. We have different styles. I'd always finish my rough draft when Jim hadn't even started. I remember one time we sat down and he said, "What are we going to call this chapter?" I said, "I don't know. We'll write it and we'll give it a title." He said, "Well, how can we know what we're going to write until we know what to call it?" He liked to think it through, he had it in his mind, he would write polished prose. Whereas I would write a rough draft, and it was sloppy. It takes me ten drafts to be where Jim is in one draft, but he thinks it through.

Lage: But you started faster.

Peltason: I started faster, and we ended up about the same. But we enjoyed each other. Bill Pullen was a great editor.

Lage: Who smoothed it out to make it all one work?

Peltason: Jim was the stylist. The other thing you have to learn is you have to be very free with each other's prose. I would write into his chapters and he would write into my chapters so they didn't become his and my chapters. Neither of us had pride of ownership, nor did we get our feelings offended. We had some arguments, but they were all friendly. Like in some subsequent editions, I would take him on in argument. One time on the sixth or seventh edition, Tom Cronin had joined us, and they had both run for Congress--

Lage: They were running for Congress?

Peltason: They each had run for Congress and gotten defeated. I remember one time, we had one chapter when we came out of it moving from the third to the first person in which I said, "If you both are so smart, how come you lost when you ran for Congress?"
[laughter]

Jim has always been more for discipline in parties, more interested in leadership. I've been more interested in political systems. In those early days, neither one of us had any idea that we were about to write a book that would take over our lives, and nobody thought we could beat Ogg and Ray. Everybody was always talking about how young we were. I have often commented that when I started my career, people often would say to me, "You are so young to have published a successful textbook," or "You are so young to be a dean." When I ended my career people were saying, "But he is so old to be the president."

Jim and I enjoyed each other's company, and Bill Pullen was a wonderful editor who kept us focused on the task of getting the book written. Every now and then we would be diverted into some other professional responsibility, and Bill would bring us back to the book by saying, "You don't understand how important this book is going to be."

Lage: So he realized there was a need for a new text.

Peltason: He did. He became famous because he'd gotten this book started. I didn't know that at the time. He was totally, intensely dedicated to this book. When the three of us would

meet, he would never have time for small talk. He would work and work, and then we'd want to sit back and say, "How are your kids," and so on, and "Where have you been?" He'd get back to the subject of the book. He said the goal was to write a book that somebody would want to read, even though it hadn't been assigned to them.

Lage: That's unusual, for a textbook.

Peltason: These students, he said, are exposed to Time and newspaper stories. American government is an exciting prospect. It shouldn't be made dull. It came out in a trade edition and actually was adopted by a history book club when it first came out. We talked him into having a trade book cover on it, so it didn't look like a textbook. He also said, "It's got to be a red book, because of all these books on the bookshelf, I want it to stand out so the professor will see it."

Again, I didn't know at the time anything about publishing. We just signed the contract. We subsequently found out that we should have negotiated for more; we had lots of discussions with Bill. It never changed.

Lage: Was he the one you would negotiate with for the contract?

Peltason: Yes. Prentice-Hall had been founded by Edinger, who was a very conservative type. He published a lot of how-to books, and Norman Vincent Peale books, and so on. Prentice-Hall has since become a very distinguished label, but at that time, it was not. But we didn't know any of those things.

That was, again, a life-changing experience that wouldn't have happened to me if I'd gone immediately from Smith to a big research university; the notion that a youngster should write a textbook before he'd established tenure or written any scholarly articles, that the teaching enterprise was to be equally rewarded with the research enterprise. I wouldn't have met somebody like Jim, I don't think so readily. Nor would I have been encouraged by the atmosphere of a big research university to go ahead and write a big textbook. Although when I went to Illinois, they were very proud of me for having done so. But at the time, I did not have anybody to advise me, except Swisher, who told me in such a hostile way.

Work on Subsequent Editions of Government by the People ##

- Lage: [telephone interruption] Okay, now we're back on and saying that we're going to look at the history of these two books.
- Peltason: About Government by the People: again, I had no notion that the book would be that successful and last such a long time, or that it would be such a part of my life. My life has been measured by editions of that book.
- Lage: You mean in terms of the work of--
- Peltason: The work. Every three years. I'm now working on the eighteenth edition.
- Lage: That's really amazing. How different is this eighteenth edition from the first?
- Peltason: Every now and then, I go back and look. Well, now it's four-colored illustrations. In the early days, they had cartoons; that was considered revolutionary.
- Lage: But in terms of the message?
- Peltason: The book has kept a balanced view of politics. Niche books have come out, theme books have come out, and our book has been the comprehensive book. Something that's most unusual about the book is that Jim and I have been able to pass it on to the next generation. Most books die with senior authors, but we brought in Tom Cronin ten or fifteen years ago, and then David Magleby, and made them part of the team, and the book has moved on.
- It's still, I think, the best seller, but it doesn't dominate the market the way it did in the beginning. There must be fifty books out there now.
- Lage: Yes, there must be much more competition.
- Peltason: I think over time we're still the best seller. At one time, we had, I don't know, half the market. Now I don't even know what we have--about 10 percent of the market.
- Lage: Did you ever cut a better financial deal?
- Peltason: Yes. It was hard to negotiate. In order to bring in the other co-authors.

The other thing that was fascinating about the book was that in 1968, I became an administrator, and I've always made it a condition of my employment that I be allowed to work on the textbook during company time, that I didn't have to feel guilty about working on the textbook. So I became an administrator; I had to learn how to use fifteen minutes. I'd have to work on the textbook all the time, because I can't wait until I have three months off or six months off. I had to learn how to bring out the book and work on it in between meetings or conversations.

I can remember when our kids were young, on vacations taking along a typewriter. I remember writing that chapter on federalism eighteen times. I remember the fifties and the sixties and the seventies, meetings with Jim, strategic meetings we'd plan. The book, of course, has been financially successful. People exaggerate the book. A lot of people say, "You're the wealthiest political scientist." The book is about the same as having a two-income earning family. It permitted us to do a lot, about the same as if Suzie had been a lawyer or a professor.

Lage: So it's her payment for putting up with your being so involved in this book.

Peltason: That's right. Well, people exaggerate. I don't want to minimize it, but we didn't have any idea when we started off that we would be able to live as well as we have or be as comfortable as we have or be able to support our children as we have. That book gets the lion's share of the credit, but it didn't make us multi-millionaires, as everybody in the profession seems to think.

Lage: How much would you revise it each time? Would you take into account current events, or new thinking in political science, or what?

Peltason: The reason you revise a textbook is not, as "the trade" thinks, in order to get rid of competition from the secondhand market and increase your royalties. That's not the reason. We do it because nobody will adopt a book that's two or three years old. You have to be current in order to be competitive. So there are two kinds of revisions. One is what I call the current events revisions. You've got to put in the name of Clinton rather than Bush. You have to have an illustration of the president's power to direct foreign policy, you have to have the new Gulf War rather than the old Gulf War. People won't adopt the book if it doesn't have current illustrations. You

have to talk about impeachment, and I'll have to revise it now in terms of [the impeachment talk about Bill Clinton].

Lage: This will be an interesting chapter.

Peltason: That's right.

Then there are what I call changes in political science that come because of new ways of looking at voting behavior, and new ways of analyzing institutions, and new ways of talking about democracy. Or studying why democracy is strengthened and is maintained.

I think one of the reasons the book has lasted so long is that we have really worked hard to keep it both current and up-to-date political science, so that the book doesn't have the flavor of the fifties or the sixties. Dealing with it so that I think when people look at the book, it looks fresh. It looks like it's been written recently. Now, each edition we revise some chapters more thoroughly than other chapters.

Lage: Let me ask you: it seems to me that the younger generation--I'm thinking of my own children in their twenties--are much more cynical about America and American government. I looked at an old edition of your book--early sixties, I think. Did you revise your tone in terms of your embracing the democratic process?

Peltason: Oh, yes. If you look at the first chapter of the most recent edition, in which I have a lead change, it says right away, "This attack on politicians is something that you ought to think about seriously." It's a defense of politics and politicians as the instruments for self-government. If you get rid of politics, you get rid of self-government.

Lage: So you confront that cynical attitude.

Peltason: And this is a book that tries to explain that self-government requires politics and compromise. To accuse a politician of doing something because he wins votes is about as profound an observation as accusing a businessman of selling shoes because he wants to make a profit out of it. Nobody says the businessman is supposed to sell you the shoes because he's worried that your feet will get cold. So it's because of that cynicism, and because these are eighteen-year-olds. We try not to preach. We try to say, "Look, this is what we think. Now, here's how it really operates."

We're more interested in giving them an understanding and getting them excited about the process, so that they won't become cynical. If you give them the civics approach, that everybody is out there, and citizens are all just motivated by what's good for the country, they get disillusioned. If you give them the cynic's approach, they won't understand that the process does work. We've had self-government for over two centuries and it has only broken down into a civil war once. That is not a bad accomplishment. Despite all our differences, Americans share the same general values and a belief in working through our differences via the democratic process.

We do work hard on the book, and Prentice-Hall is supportive with all kinds of web pages and supplementary teach aides.

Subsequent Editions of *Understanding the Constitution*

Peltason: The other book that I kept going all these years is the Corwin book. I kept that going long after Professor Corwin died in the fifties.

Lage: And then you changed the name.

Peltason: I call it Corwin's Understanding the Constitution. His name is still on the front page, but I've been revising that by myself, although I've had help from other political scientists who read the manuscript. I've enjoyed keeping that alive. I'm proud of that book, but I think now I've done my last edition. I've got another co-author who will work on it next time, and I'll help her rather than doing it by myself.

That one is now in its fourteenth edition. It's gotten to be more and more technical. In fact, it's used both by community colleges, and it's used as a pony by law students, although they don't tell their colleagues about it. Because it's easier to revise and make it comprehensive than go to the level of generalization. It's hard to generalize technical materials for the general public. It's just much easier to speak to a professional audience.

Lage: And so that's what you've tended to do?

Peltason: Yes, it's gotten more political science-y and legal, and less generalized. Even so, if a lay person asked me, I'd still probably give them a copy of that book, because you can

understand the Constitution, I hope, at a professionally responsible level, but still not so technical that you have to go to law school.

Lage: I would think these revisions would require constant attention to new developments, new interpretation.

Peltason: It does. It has compelled me to keep up with my discipline. I've said you can be a part-time teacher, but it's hard to be a part-time professor. That's really an all-demanding job. So I never have claimed that I've kept up with the profession the way I would if I'd been a full-time professor. But because I've had these two books to revise, and deadlines, and co-authors, and a financial incentive, I think I've kept up with the literature. I read more journals and more newspapers than I would have if I'd been an administrator and didn't have these two books.

I think having deadlines is a discipline. It's much easier to put off something. You come home awfully tired, you can put it off, to do next semester. But if you've got a deadline--

Lage: And other people counting on you.

Peltason: And other people counting on you. Then you do it. I also think it's helped me be a better administrator, because I don't have hobbies, I don't play golf, I don't sail, I don't travel much other than business. So keeping up in my discipline of political science has been my hobby, my serious hobby. It's given me something to do other than to worry just about the university. Then you worry about getting that chapter on state constitutions right, and finding out what happened in New York: did they or did they not have a revision commission, and what did they say?

Lage: This is very technical.

Peltason: Yes. By the way, the computer has also saved me. I think I would just be bored to death typing about federalism. But having it on a computer disk, and being able to get the web pages, the kind of the "gee-whiz"-ness of it, the kind of excitement of it, the convenience, has given me a new shot on life in the last ten, fifteen years.

Lage: Did you get into using computers right away?

Peltason: Not right away. In the 1970s.

Lage: Well, that's pretty early on.

Peltason: Seems like yesterday.

Lage: Okay. Shall we stop here, and go to Illinois in our next session? I think that makes sense.

Peltason: Okay.

More on Children and Role of Wife

[Interview 3: March 3, 1998] ##

Lage: We talked last time, almost finishing up with Smith College. Let's start today with what reflections you might have had in the two weeks since.

Peltason: I never know whether with history like this how much to be personal and how much to be institutional. But I'm not sure I said enough about my children, who are a critical part of my personal history and my professional history. I want to be sure that I acknowledge the role that Suzanne played.

We got married at a time when traditional gender roles prevailed, and I grew up that way. I always had the advantage all my life of having a full-time wife. She, by being such a good mother and assuming those responsibilities, freed me to devote myself full time to my career, and still kept us as a close family. So all the time we were at Smith College, she had to stay at home. I would work late at night, and during that time, Nancy was born at Princeton, and then Tim was born while we were at Smith College.

I'll get to Jill when we get to--

Lage: We'll take them one at a time. [laughs]

Peltason: Well, we always say, she got called Jill because she came tumbling after, many years after.

Lage: Oh, so you have a Jill too.

Peltason: Yes. I have a sister Jill and a daughter Jill. But we just had two children when we were at Northampton.

Lage: Did you take much role in fathering?

Peltason: Well, again, the traditional father's role: I was gone and working hard. My children are kind enough to say that I was a good father, but as I see what my sons and sons-in-law do, I was not nearly as much involved with the children's upbringing as the generation that followed.

Lage: Did you change diapers?

Peltason: No.

Lage: Were you home at dinner?

Peltason: I was home at dinner, but I'd go back to work at the library on the books after dinner. But again, we were a close family. Suzie did the cooking. We did it in the pre-World War II fashion, of the father going to work and the mother staying at home. Suzie did not know how to cook. As an orphan, she hadn't been brought up in a family. We now laugh about it. I told her when we first got married that I loved soup, so we had soup. soup, and soup. Finally, when she had peanut butter soup, I said, "That's enough soup." [laughter]

She worked briefly at the Center for Advanced Study at Princeton, but then, as I told you, she got pregnant right after we were married. So then from that time on, after we went to Smith College, she did the domestic work and I did the professional work.

Lage: Well, that was certainly the pattern.

Peltason: That was the pattern. That was the pattern in which I grew up, and didn't know there was any alternative. It wasn't a conscious decision; we just did it because that was what each expected from the other. I think Suzanne has been very comfortable in that role. After I became an administrator, then she had a full-time job.

Lage: Right. Then it became almost a career of its own, I would guess.

Peltason: It is a career, and she made major contributions. I've often said that any success I might have had was because she was so active in the community and such a warm person. She's very careful about a letter she writes; they are really works of art. She doesn't just write thank-you letters, "Thank you for the dinner." She goes to considerable trouble. So her letters are famous, and she created lots of friendship and support for me.

When I became chancellor at Illinois, my mother would come to visit and she was very much involved in the Champaign community. With my wife and my mother out making friends for me, it was relatively easy. It's hard for them to think that Emma's boy or Suzanne's husband could be a Communist or a fascist. During the tough times, I think the fact that Suzanne was involved was a very great asset.

Lage: You know, it might be nice to do an interview session with Suzanne. Do you think she'd agree to that?

Peltason: She's very shy. I had to make a promise when I became a dean that she never would be asked to make a speech.

Lage: This isn't really a speech, though.

Peltason: I know, and she's not at all bashful, and she's very articulate. If we're sitting around a room talking to ten people, she participates in the conversation. But if you say, "Now, make a speech to the ten," she freezes. Two or three times, I've been unable to avoid her having to get up and say something. She's done very well. Including the time she won the awards.

Lage: Well, you can start working on her with this thought. I think that her generation of women is not properly credited.

Peltason: And I would say that some of the battles we had--both at the American Council on Education and as president and chancellor--trying to carve recognition for chancellors' wives and presidents' wives, I think are a significant part of administrative history of American higher education. There are tensions between building that role and at the same time not disadvantaging women who do not have spouses, or spouses who do not want to participate. The expectation that boards have about the spouse's role is still one which creates some tensions.

Lage: Well, that came up in a major way at UC.

Peltason: It did indeed.

[As I reread this history, I note a major omission re the role played by our children.² They were always supportive of my career, at some considerable sacrifice. Moreover, although it

²The bracketed section was inserted by Mr. Peltason during the editing process.

would not be true to say that they never caused us any concerns, for all children do that, they have been, and as adults, continue to be wonderful children. They did well in school, got along with each other, made great choices in their spouses, produced the world's greatest grandchildren, and remain our most important product and source of joy and satisfaction.

We actually had two families. Nancy was our first born and also the first grandchild for my parents. Tim came along at Smith, three years after Nancy, and became the scholar in the family. Then Jill came along eleven years after Tim. We named her Jill after my sister, but Jill always said it was because she came "tumbling after."

I cannot remember if I mentioned it earlier, but when Jill was born Suzie had considerably more duties as a dean, vice chancellor, and chancellor's wife than she did with Nancy and Tim. But we had more money so we had living with us young college girls who served as a "nanny" for Jill. This was help, but no substitute for parents.

Perhaps my major regret in a life that does not have many is that I was not more involved with my children during their growing ages. I have profited from watching my children and children-in-law who spend much more time with their children's activities than I did. Suzie was always there with and for the children and very much involved in their daily routines. I came from the tradition and I suspect temperament, in which the father did the outside work and the mother did the work with the home and children. I was so immersed in my professional life as political scientist, teacher, and administrator that I lost many lasting experiences as a father.

Also along these lines, whenever a better professional opportunity came up for me, we did not weigh much in the balance how a move might upset our children. As a result we took our children out of one school, moved them into others, at very difficult times for them--Nancy came from Urbana High to California during her senior year, Tim moved back and forth in three years from Illinois to California, and Jill was moved from Urbana High School to Washington during her sophomore year, if I remember correctly. I don't think we gave proper weight to what was good for the children.

As adults they have been kind enough not to reproach me for "father knows best" or "what is best for father" decision-making.)³

Reflections on the Smith Experience

Peltason: I think now we're ready to go to Illinois, aren't we?

Lage: We really are, unless is there anything in a general way you want to say about Smith, and what you might have taken from that experience of teaching in a small liberal arts college?

Peltason: Again, I don't want to repeat what I said last session. But it was a very positive experience. Some of the best students we ever had, close friends, the fact that I left graduate school and then immediately assumed responsibilities and was treated as a full member of the faculty, was not treated as a junior member of the faculty. It was a maturing experience. I went there, and I had positive feedback about my teaching ability. I was made to feel I could be successful. We left there feeling very warm about Smith but very anxious and very pleased to go back to the Middle West and to a university. I think I said we went to Illinois sight unseen.

Lage: Yes. That's kind of amazing. Or was that not uncommon at the time?

Peltason: I don't remember at the time feeling any deprivation about that, or any apprehension about it. Having grown up at the University of Missouri, I knew the University of Illinois would be like that.

³End of inserted section.

IV UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT, 1951-1960

Relocation to Urbana, Illinois

Peltason: We got in our car, and I drove to Illinois, two children in the back seat. We had a dog, Clinker, who came to adopt us. He drove out with the driver of the truck carrying our furniture. I still tease Suzanne about the fact that she insisted we bring along the bricks that we used to make a bookcase. In those days, college professors had very little money, and you could get bricks and planks and make a bookcase. We piled the bricks on the top of the car. We drove bricks all the way from Northampton, Massachusetts, to Urbana, Illinois.

Lage: That must have been a good sign of a junior faculty member.

Peltason: Right. World War II was still very much with us, and we lived in these barracks. We drove to the barracks. I remember driving to Champaign-Urbana with the kids for like three or four days. We got there, and we went to the Urbana Lincoln Hotel, which was a very fancy hotel. We went downstairs with our two children and had a dinner, and that was the first time we'd been in Urbana-Champaign.

Lage: Is Urbana-Champaign one city?

Peltason: Twin cities. Remind me to tell you about the merger fight. That was one of the big things I got involved with.

The Urbana Lincoln subsequently became Jumer's Lodge. In those days, in 1951, it was a typical university town. I think I might have said last time that I love college towns, and I've said that my favorite place to live would be a middle western college town located in southern California. [laughter] People laugh, they think I'm teasing them when I say that we have had the good fortune of living in wonderful places: Orange

County, California; Georgetown, they understand; the Bay Area; and then we say Champaign-Urbana and they think we're joking. But we're not. It's flat--you've got to learn to see beauty in the plains. But it's a college town.

Lage: Now, in what way? What do you mean when you say a college town?

Peltason: The University of Illinois is a great big university in a relatively small town, these twin cities. We got there, and by the time our furniture arrived, we were in barracks. I loved those barracks. We paid forty-three dollars a month, which included all the utilities except the telephone. We didn't have much money. In fact, the guy rolled up with our furniture, and it turned out to cost \$100 more than we thought it would. He wouldn't unload until I had the money, and I had to call up my dad on a public phone saying, "Send money."

Lage: So he had to wire you money to pay the furniture-moving bill.

Peltason: Yes. I can't remember how we got the money. He must have wired it, or I must have talked the guy into [believing] it was coming. But we got unloaded, and lived at J56C for just over a year (Labor Day 1951 to Christmas 1952).

Housing

Lage: So these barracks were military housing that was turned into faculty housing?

Peltason: Faculty and graduate student housing. Again, we quickly got some very good friends, because that's where you share common experience. People we still know as good friends. We joined a babysitting pool where you'd put in hours, and then you could draw out hours. We babysat for each other's kids; none of us had any money; we were all starting our academic careers together. As I said, it's a quick bonding experience.

Lage: Was there bonding across disciplines in that kind of setting?

Peltason: Yes, yes. People we met were in chemistry, and German, and theater, and philosophy. For many years after in Champaign-Urbana, we'd say we lived in J56C, Champaign.

Lage: It's significant just that you remember that, J56C.

Peltason: And then we kept looking at housing, and houses in those days cost \$16,000, \$20,000. My salary was \$4,500. There were two or three houses we wanted to buy but we didn't have a down payment, so I had to borrow some from relatives. But finally, we bought a National Home, the kind that comes in a truck.

Lage: Oh, that you assemble?

Peltason: No, it's assembled; we didn't personally assemble it.

Lage: A prefab [prefabricated] house.

Peltason: Prefab. As Suzanne said, that was probably the biggest improvement in our quality of life. We went from 400 square feet to 800 square feet, and it cost \$11,700. We got the deluxe one with a big garage. It had 800 square feet; it had a dishwasher that didn't work very well, but each of our two kids had their own bedroom. That was at 1205 Briarcliff Drive, Urbana.

Lage: Now, was that prefab very common?

Peltason: Yes, in the Middle West. In fact, not only did we enjoy the benefits of it, but ideologically I was all for it, because I always have thought that housing is, as somebody wrote, the industry that mass production forgot. I thought prefab homes were going to become the wave of the future. And they were then rather big in the Middle West. I think our mortgage was fifty dollars a month, and we had a car. That was a big improvement in our quality of life.

In the early days, housing and architecture was very much on the minds of the young faculty. People on the East and West Coasts always think that people in the Middle West are unsophisticated. But Champaign-Urbana is very sophisticated, both in terms of modern architecture, music, culture.

Political Science Department: Key Members

Peltason: I probably learned more about political science as a young assistant professor at Illinois than at any other place. In graduate school, you're taking courses, and at Smith I taught and learned about teaching. But I became part of the profession of political science at Illinois, and became involved. There I met Austin Ranney, who has turned out to be

my best friend for fifty years now. We were young assistant professors then.

Lage: Did he come at about the same time?

Peltason: He had come there I think directly from Yale, where he had gotten his Ph.D. four years earlier. He had spent four years at Illinois, and I joined him in '51, having been four years at Smith College.

Lage: So you were just about at the same place.

Peltason: But it was a very warm department, and this was just as political science was beginning to change its orientation. I met there people who have since become very distinguished in political science: Murray Edelman, Gil Steiner, Austin Ranney, Bob Scott. We were the young assistant professors, the "young Turks" of their day.

Lage: Were there people in the old school there?

Peltason: Yes. It was like an extended family. Charles Kneier, Clarence Berdahl, Val Jobst, Francis G. Wilson, Phil Money Penny, Charlie [Charles B.] Hagan, Ed Lewis, Royden Dangerfield. These were the senior professors. They didn't quite understand what the young ones were up to, but like parents who are proud of their children who might have learned something that they don't understand, they thought we were foolish but they were encouraging. I remember when we got our first calculator in the department. People like Charlie Kneier and Clyde Snyder couldn't understand what a political scientist would want with a calculator.

But it was still formal. On Sunday afternoons, the senior professors could come visit you.

Lage: In your homes?

Peltason: Come visit your homes. We were assistant professors living in our barracks. The Kneiers and the Snyders came to call on us.

Lage: With their calling cards?

Peltason: [laughs] No, I don't think they quite had calling cards, but it was that same attitude. It was their job to see to it that the young people were taken care of. I always remember one little slightly embarrassing experience, because Clyde and Lois Snyder, who became good friends, were very warm middle western people who did not drink. Alcohol was, I think, against their

religion. But they were kind, gentle people. They came to visit us I think the first or second Sunday we were there. Nancy, who was just four, instead of serving tea asked them if they wanted a Martini. [laughter] I don't remember if they were even regular Martinis in those days.

Lage: Only those young Turks were drinking Martinis, probably.

Peltason: But it was a good department. Francis Wilson was the conservative member of the department, and the sour member of the department, but we treated him as everybody does an eccentric uncle.

Lage: Now, when you say conservative--if it's time to get into this, I want to talk about how the profession was changing.

Peltason: Well, he was conservative both in his approach to the study of political science, but he was [also] a political conservative.

Lage: I see. Did they go together?

Peltason: Not necessarily.

Political Activities of Political Science Department Members

Peltason: Like all young political scientists in our early days, we were all active in the Democratic party.

Lage: Why was that?

Peltason: In my generation, if you came out of World War II, you were for Roosevelt, you were for the New Deal. Especially political scientists. It was the central thesis of much political science and history, of a progressive movement, that there was a need to be more vigorous in incorporating civil rights and taking care of the poor. I don't know if we were intolerant liberals, but we were all liberals.

Clarence Berdahl was active in the Democratic party. Austin Ranney and Phil Money Penny and I became active in the Democratic party as precinct workers. And in fact, the professors were Democrats, but Champaign-Urbana were all Republicans. One of the things I'm proud of was I was the campaign manager for the first Democrat to get elected from the sixth ward of Urbana since the Depression. Austin ran for alderman in the seventh ward; I was his campaign manager.

Lage: So you not only campaigned, but some of you actually ran for office?

Peltason: He ran for office. He didn't get elected. He got the Democratic nomination, but he got defeated by a Republican in the seventh ward. That was the upscale ward. I remember one time Nancy campaigned with me saying, "Daddy, don't we ever win?" [laughter]

Up the way on Briarcliff Drive, I found Joe Connolly. I forgot all about Joe. He was a junior high teacher, and I got him to become the Democratic candidate for the sixth ward. I knocked on doorbells with him. We had fliers for the people living on the top of the hill and the people on the bottom of the hill.

Lage: Do you mean angled a little differently?

Peltason: Angled a little bit differently, about drainage. I remember one time knocking on a door with Joe Connolly and making my spiel. We needed a vigorous representative from the sixth ward, and the man we were talking to said, "Well, I'm sure I can't run. I'm busy." So I said, "Well, if you can't run yourself, here's Joe Connolly." We got Joe elected, and he then became very much involved in the Democratic party. I remember going out and talking to the Democratic leaders in the rural areas.

The Democratic party, though, was in bad shape in Champaign-Urbana. Austin and I used to laugh and say it shows democracy works, because our candidates never won. One woman ran for the legislature from Champaign County on the Democratic party. She didn't understand that she wasn't going to Washington. She always was talking about when she got to Washington. We told her, "No, it's Springfield."

Lage: This was one of your candidates?

Peltason: That's right. [laughter] Her platform was, "I'm for legislation that's not against the law."

But the Democratic party finally in Champaign-Urbana got to be a real alternative party, and some of the people that Austin and I and Phil Moneypenny got involved in the Democratic party subsequently became leaders in the Democratic party.

Campaign to Merge Champaign and Urbana

Peltason: It was an interesting campaign that I got involved with. We put on the ballot that Champaign and Urbana should merge. Here was one community, but two cities. For the people who grew up there, these were deep divisions. In fact, they tell stories. One time Champaign went on daylight time and Urbana did not. The university is right in the middle. So as young professors of political science, we were part of the merger committee, which consisted of the more liberal members of the community, and we worked with people from the community.

Lage: Were there social class differences between those two communities?

Peltason: Champaign was much the bigger community. Urbana was more the university community. We'd been in town for about three weeks, and one day Nancy and I went out for a ride, and we came back and got Suzie and said, "There's more. There's Champaign." We came in from the east and never went across to see the big city of Champaign.

I always said that the merger campaign made the battle between Democrats and Republicans seem like child's play. I mean, people really felt strongly about that. I remember debating with some guy in the city council of Champaign, and he said that we had been sent there by the one-worlders. We were going to merge Champaign-Urbana, and that would be the beginning of the end of national sovereignty. They said we should vote against merger because everybody knows that the crime rate is bigger in large cities than in small cities. They also said it was against religion, because what would happen to the First Presbyterian Church of Urbana and the First Presbyterian Church of Champaign? One would have to become the Second Presbyterian Church.

We lost that campaign in both cities. It was actually to Urbana's advantage in those days, because most people in Urbana did a lot of their shopping in Champaign, and the sales taxes were being redistributed back. But that was the end of the merger campaign.

Wright Street, right down the middle of the campus of the University of Illinois, divides the cities of Urbana and Champaign.

Lage: Oh, so the campus actually is in both?

Peltason: It sits astride both cities. When I was chancellor I moved the office from the English building to a building across the street, which was in Champaign. The city fathers of Urbana objected because the headquarters of the university were officially supposed to be in Urbana, not in Champaign.

Lage: Did they ever merge?

Peltason: No, they never merged. In Urbana, there was the political group, the Green machine, the old-timers. The law firms were against the Champaign law firms and the bank. I think that dissipated; I've not been there in a long time, and I think people probably think it's not worth opposing or it's not worth being for any more. But in those days, it was part of the political life of the young political scientists at least to be involved in the politics.

Influence of Arthur Bentley on the Study of Political Science

Peltason: The most important part of my early days was, as I say, becoming involved in learning about political science and also other social sciences. There were lots of opportunities to socialize. We had clubs, we would meet, and we would discuss each other's work. I learned about what was going on in economics and sociology.

The one person who gave a theme to the department was Charles Hagan. Charlie was one of these few genuine scholars who didn't write very much but who was a real intellectual in that he read everything seriously and pondered it. He had gotten involved with Arthur Bentley's work, and he turned almost all of us into Bentleyites.

Lage: Now let's talk about that a little.

Peltason: I had never heard of Arthur Bentley when I came to Champaign-Urbana, and got to know Charlie and liked him very much and his wife Dorothy. They were a fascinating couple. Dorothy was a very distinguished musicologist from New York City, a Jewish intellectual, married to Charlie Hagan, who was a down-home guy from Tennessee.

Lage: How old was Charles Hagan?

Peltason: He was ten years older than I was. He was by that time an associate professor or maybe a full professor. Arthur Bentley

had written a book, I think in 1908, about the importance of describing the political process in terms of the way people behaved and what they did, and not trying to get into their minds, but to describe their activities and understand that politics is people having conflicts over values or interest. He writes in a convoluted fashion, and he's easily misunderstood. I still see people who misunderstand him, who believe that he was talking about organized interest groups, or believe that he's talking about all politics is nothing but a clash of self-interest. But he really meant it as a way to look at and understand and explain the political process.

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Lage: Did he have an influence broader than your circle here in Illinois?

Peltason: Oh, yes. David Truman, a very distinguished political scientist, had written a book and applied a Bentleyan approach to the understanding of the whole American system of government. No, it was not just an Illinois movement. It was a national movement. My guess is that Bentley gets rediscovered about every twenty years.

Lage: I see. Because he'd been around for a long time.

Peltason: He's been around for a long time, but as I say, his writing is not easy to understand, and it's easy to misunderstand.

Genesis and Impact of Federal Courts in the Political Process

Peltason: Because of Charlie's influence on me, I then wrote a book called Federal Courts in the Political Process (New York: Random House, 1955), which was just a very small book, a couple hundred pages, which I believe is the most significant contribution that I made to the study of political science, and which I think probably had the biggest impact. Up to that time, political scientists tended to study the Supreme Court as if they were lawyers, or philosophers, or historians. They'd done very fine work.

Lage: Now, how would you characterize that approach?

Peltason: Well, they would describe Supreme Court decisions: "The court said so-and-so, and here's what it meant, and here's how it

decided." But it's essentially an analysis of what the Supreme Court Justices had said.

Lage: Analysis of their opinions.

Peltason: Of their opinions. I actually had written an article, and then expanded it in this Federal Courts in the Political Process, where I said that, as political scientists, we should see the court as part of the political process, not over and above it. The conventions of that time were that congressmen and the president are in politics, and the state legislatures are in politics, but these nine God-like people sit above the political process, look up the law in books, standing outside the political world, but not part of it.

Lage: Had this troubled you before?

Peltason: No, it hadn't. As I said in our earlier talks, Corwin, without being explicit about it, viewed the court in the context of the ongoing political battles of which it was a part. Some people seem to think that when one describes the role of the Supreme Court justices as being part of the political system, you are making an accusation that the justices are behaving improperly, that you have caught them doing something they should not be doing. That was not my point. I merely said that to understand what courts do, you have to understand that they exist in and not above the political process. That to continue to study courts in the ways that had been traditional would be just as misleading as if one were to study legislative bodies in terms of analyzing what one member of Congress said and try to describe what it did merely by looking at the statutes it enacted.

Lage: Or the speeches.

Peltason: Or just looking through speeches. See, what Congress does--appropriately--is related to what happens in the country. And what the courts do is not divorced from what happens outside the courts. They're part of the political process and its continuing battle.

Behavioral vs. Attitudinal Approaches in Political Science

Peltason: That book, I think, did change my generation and helped start a revolution in the study of the courts. There was another revolution also going on, another school of thought that

started to study judges in terms of their attitudes. My approach was not in terms of trying to discover the judges' attitudes, but in terms of what they said and did.

Lage: Their "activity."

Peltason: Their activity.

Lage: See, I've looked at your book. Was "activity" a Bentley phrase?

Peltason: You didn't have to be a Bentleyite to agree with Federal Courts in the Political Process, but Bentleyites would agree with it.

Lage: But some of the phrases you used in there. You used the words activity, interest group--

Peltason: Interest group, activity--

Lage: Struggle.

Peltason: Struggle, conflict--that's all Bentleyite language. [C.] Herman Pritchett, a very distinguished professor at the University of Chicago, started keeping box scores on justices. There was Glen [Glendon] Schubert at Michigan State, who tried to categorize them in terms of their attitudes.

Lage: Now, this is the other approach, the attitudinal?

Peltason: Yes, and it was part of the agitation that was going on at that time in political science and constitutional law. I always felt that although I had an impact on the field of public judicial politics, judicial process, I didn't have as much impact as I might have had if I had studied the Congress, because those of us who studied the courts were still not in the mainstream of political science.

Lage: You mean just by virtue of studying the courts?

Peltason: Just by virtue of studying the courts. So I think our work didn't get as much attention in the main body of political science. On the other hand, I had a big influence on a relatively small field, which now in the 1990s has become an important field. Almost everybody now studies the courts as part of the political process. Today, the general public even knows the names of the Supreme Court justices and understands that they're not just priests looking up some kind of revealed law, that they are part of the political process.

Some people are upset when they discover that judges do not just discover the law but by necessity must participate in making it. This fact neither upsets me nor makes me cynical about the judicial process. We just have to grow up and accept the fact that there are no gods to protect us, that judges are part of the political system, and that this is good, not a bad thing. Because political scientists have for a long time recognized that judges and courts are in the best sense of the word political actors, it isn't a great revelation to us that politics is involved in the judicial process. Some of our colleagues in the law schools, upon discovering that judges are in politics have become cynical and critical, concluding that since "the law" does not totally control judicial decisions that it has no role. My attitude is different: judges are not just legislators in robes. They play a different role, are located in the political process to reflect different interests.

Lage: So they have a different context in which they operate?

Peltason: They have a different context.

Lage: Now, how did these attitudinal scholars explain the process?

Peltason: They would study [Felix] Frankfurter's opinions and go from his attitudes to his opinions.

Lage: Sort of like the traditionalists.

Peltason: I felt they were like traditionalists. They thought they were breaking away from the traditionalists, because they were trying to get at what was inside the judge's mind, whether they were pro-First Amendment rights or--

Lage: But you didn't think in those terms, of how the individual justices might have been shaped by their own experiences?

Peltason: I was more interested in the structure and the process. I remember saying that Frankfurter is as much a part of the political process as [William O.] Douglas. They were two antagonists. I also thought if you really want to understand why the Supreme Court, for example, in 1954 ruled that segregation was unconstitutional, and in 1896 ruled that it was permissible, you have to look at what happened to the country.

Lage: You wouldn't look at Earl Warren and his personal experiences.

Peltason: The fact that Earl Warren got onto the court was as much the result of the changes in the country as a cause of them.

Lage: Oh, I see.

Peltason: Even if Earl Warren had never been born and Frankfurter had never been born and there had been nine other people on the court, I believe it's safe to say that the United States after World War II would not have a Constitution that allowed states to segregate African Americans. The reason for that is the whole social and economic change, the whole change in attitude. Now, the court plays a role, but it is as much effect as it is cause.

But then others went on to do very distinguished things. Murray Edelman became important in symbols of politics.

Lage: Is that a behavioralist approach?

Peltason: Well, no, they're all modern. The word behavioralist, in the most general sense, is the sub-part of that.

Lage: Is it behavioralist or behaviorist, or does it matter?

Peltason: Behavioralism. Essentially, political science at the end of World War II said, You've got to look at the way people behave and find out why people vote the way they do. A lot of it was focused upon studying the behavior of voters. It got quantitative and systematic, testing hypotheses, asking how do you know, what is the evidence, and involved the use of large numbers. Now we're back to what's called neo-institutionalism, back to being concerned about institutions and structures.

Before World War II, political science tended to be descriptive and formal, a sub-branch of law, one dealing with political institutions.

Lage: Why do you think this behavioralist approach caught on at this time, and why was it so exciting? Two questions.

Peltason: Well, I don't know why it caught on at that time. I suppose each generation has to question the one that came before. Disciplines develop that way. When I became a dean, I was surprised to discover that there were some similarities between what was happening in social science and what was happening in biology.

But the excitement was, when you're young, the guys that came before you were old fuddy-duddies, and you've got to just change the world. There was a little bit of arrogance too. Lots of departments broke up over that.

Lage: That's interesting: did this happen just on your campus, or lots of political science departments?

Peltason: Lot of political science departments around the country. The behavioralist battle took over, and in a way, they won the revolution but still split the department.

The University of Illinois department in the 1960s did divide, and it's still divided. It's never recovered.

Lage: Over this issue?

Peltason: And other issues. But in the 1950s, it was a good nurturing place to be, and a very positive place. But as I say, the senior professors didn't believe that what we were doing was that revolutionary and would argue with my comments, but it was not contentious.

Courses on Constitutional Law, Civil Liberties, and Civil Rights

Peltason: Another thing for which I want to take some credit in political science was the course on the Constitution. The man I replaced, whom I never met, was named Matthews. He was a very reclusive man. I kept trying to find him to tell him how honored I was to take his position, but once he retired, he came back to the department at night to get his mail. He had been teaching a course called The Constitution and Industrial Legislation, which focused upon the commerce clause. It focused upon the issues of 1935, '36, and '37, which were the issues of constitutional law before the country, involving Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal being resisted by the Supreme Court and his counterattack on the court.

But when I got there in 1951, I said to the senior professors, "That's not the exciting part of the Constitution any more. The debates now taking place are around civil liberties and civil rights. I'd like to teach such a course." And they said, "Sure, go ahead."

Lage: So they didn't exercise control?

Peltason: No, they said, "Whatever you think." I believe I taught the first course in undergraduate political science in the Constitution and civil liberties and civil rights. It is now the course taught in political science departments. But there

weren't any textbooks. There was one law book that came out called Emerson and Haber, and I remember it cost \$36 in 1951. That would be like \$300 today.

Lage: I'll say. Could you assign that?

Peltason: I assigned it, and I apologized to the students. But it became a very popular course.

Lage: How did you develop that course? Were you just looking at the current situation?

Peltason: It looked at freedom of speech, the McCarthy period, Fifth Amendment questions, First Amendment questions, and then Fourteenth Amendment questions: the debate over the Congress passing civil rights laws, how much power Congress would have to protect civil rights of African Americans, how the Fourteenth Amendment should be interpreted, debates over Brown v. Board of Education, which was on the horizon. The NAACP and the Legal Aid Defense Fund had been attacking segregation in a series of cases.

So it was where action was taking place, and I would guess most of my undergraduate students were on their way to law school.

Lage: With case studies.

Peltason: But with cases. I also taught a general survey of the Constitution; I think it was called Political Science 354, something like that. It enrolled a couple hundred people each time, and I still get letters every now and then from people telling me how excited they were by the class, including people who have become judges.

I enjoyed teaching that class because it was an interesting subject, and I had responsive students. But again, it's illustrative of the fact that the senior professors permitted us to go our way.

McCarthyism and University Life

Lage: Was there any controversy around that? Here we are really in the middle of the McCarthy era, and you're in a conservative community, as you described it. Was there any repercussion?

Peltason: You mean, did I feel any pressures?

Lage: Yes.

Peltason: No, no. Like most universities, we didn't hear about political correctness in those days. But I've always said about political correctness: every profession has its conventions. If you work for Ford Motor Company and you get very high in the organization, you're not going to drive a General Motors car to go to work. If you're in a bar association, in a law firm, you're not going to be attacking the legal profession. So there was convention, and the ability to raise and debate questions such as this.

I wrote a little thing for the League of Women Voters on the Constitution and civil liberties. I even forgot I ever wrote that until this moment.¹

I do remember my objection to McCarthyism was that it gave anticommunism a bad name. His exaggeration, his attack upon people who weren't Communists, his decreeing liberals to be Communists, I think made it difficult to recognize there were Communists who were dangerous.

We did have some legislators who attacked us. I was there under George Stoddard. By accident, I happened to be in two universities where popular, distinguished presidents, great names in the field, got fired by the board of trustees: George Stoddard and Clark Kerr.

Lage: George Stoddard then was at Illinois?

Peltason: He was at Illinois.

Lage: And why was he fired?

Peltason: For a variety of reasons. He was too liberal. He was a backer of the United Nations.

Lage: Well, see, here's a little McCarthyism at play.

Peltason: Yes. That's oversimplifying. He was very popular with the faculty and got summarily fired.

Lage: Was there an incident?

¹Constitutional Liberty and Seditious Activity (New York: Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, 1954). Freedom Agenda series, no. 12.

Peltason: There probably was, but I wasn't knowledgeable about those episodes. He had gotten involved attacking a professor named Andrew Ivy, a very distinguished scientist, who got involved with Krebiozen, which was a phony drug that was supposed to cure cancer. Every now and then, you'll find a great scientist who gets to the end of his life and goes kooky. George Stoddard had appropriately taken issue with Andrew Ivy.

Lage: And that was unpopular with the board?

Peltason: He attacked the very distinguished scientist, and the board didn't like him for doing so. Everybody said George was probably not too diplomatic in dealing with the board. He had a wonderful wife named Maggie Stoddard, who knew everybody's name. Even as this young assistant professor, we were invited to the president's house, which was a great mansion in Champaign-Urbana, the center of social activities. To go there for a dinner or a reception was a great thing. We came from our barracks, and Maggie Stoddard knew our names, asked us how we liked Smith College, glad to have us in Urbana. She was a charmer.

George was a faculty type, and when he got fired, the whole faculty rallied around.

Lage: And protested? Did people protest?

Peltason: Well, we had parties in his behalf, and we were downhearted about it. He had really liberalized and moved the University of Illinois forward, and brought a lot of distinguished faculty members there. Illinois was very strong. It had world-famous chemistry and physics departments, and the political science department. We used to say about the University of Illinois, it's an under-appreciated university. The East and West Coast think of it as a cow college.

These anecdotes keep coming back to me. On the board against George Stoddard was Red Grange, the great football hero. Red Grange was a nice guy.

Lage: He was on the board of trustees?

Peltason: He was on the board of trustees. I subsequently got to know him a little bit. He was a sweet man, but at the time, he wasn't too sophisticated, and he could be manipulated by the people who were out to get George Stoddard. They accused Stoddard of being too liberal, too much involved with the United Nations, too critical of Andrew Ivy, too anti-McCarthy. He was out of touch with his board.

But the Red Grange story was: purchase orders used to go to the board of trustees. There was a purchase of pianos for the School of Music, which was a very distinguished school of music. He said, "I thought we already had a piano." [laughter] But it was a very distinguished school.

That reminds me again, we had people like Soulima Stravinsky, and Françoise Stravinsky, very Continental people. He was a great pianist and composer who had to live under the shadow of his father, who was the world's most distinguished, internationally recognized composer.

But again, we had many warm friends. We enjoyed very much being part of the professoriate where you saw each other at the grocery store, your kids went to the same nursery schools. It was a reinforcing community because there weren't lots of things to do in Champaign-Urbana. But by the time we left there, they'd gotten the Assembly Hall and the Krannert Center for Performing Arts, and really took off.

Work on *Fifty-Eight Lonely Men*

Peltason: The other political science thing that happened to me was Harcourt, Brace had an editor by the name of Jeannette Hopkins, and she came to a political science meeting. I don't know why, but she asked me if I'd ever thought about writing a book about the implementation of Brown v. Board of Education. Out of my conversation with her, she said, "You ought to try your hand at a trade book." I had textbooks out by that time, and some monographs, but I had not written any trade book for the general public.

Lage: Was that the normal thing that a political scientist might do?

Peltason: Again, I don't know if it was normal or not. One thing I didn't do was write a bunch of monographs aimed at the professional journals. That's the more normal thing.

Lage: And you never went in that direction?

Peltason: I never went in that direction. I don't know why. Today I would have, because I would have been told to do so by my senior professors as a condition of getting tenure. But both at Smith College and at Illinois, I didn't have senior professors trying to tell me what to do. It wasn't so much the

convention then that peer-reviewed articles are what you spend your first ten or fifteen years doing.

But out of the conversation with Jeannette Hopkins, who was a great but tough editor, she talked me into writing this book, which became Fifty-Eight Lonely Men [Southern Federal Judges and School Desegregation, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961].

Lage: That's interesting that that's where the idea was generated. Did she know about your class?

Peltason: She knew about my class, and I told you about Bill Pullen being the editor that got me started on Government by the People.

Lage: Yes.

Peltason: They were both at Harcourt, Brace by this time. I think Bill had told Jeannette about me, and she came and she helped me learn how to write for a trade publication on a subject of interest both to political science and the general public. I started writing that book in the late fifties.

Travels and Research for the Book

Lage: What was involved with writing that book? It sounds like it was more than just taking out your pen.

Peltason: It was. What was novel about it was that I actually got a grant. I can't remember what it was, the Social Science Research Council?

Lage: Yes, it was. [laughter] And the research board of the University of Illinois.

Peltason: You remember. By this time, I was entitled to take a sabbatical. I was quite honest about it. I said, "I want to do the work I need to get abroad, but I don't want to go abroad to do work. I can work in Champaign-Urbana." So we postponed the sabbatical, but I got this money that gave me enough to have a leave of absence to travel. I traveled in the South.

Lage: Did you take your family?

Peltason: They went with me on one trip. One trip we went to Florida, stayed at a fancy motel. I kept taking them to these seedy

motels, and they kept telling me, Go to these fancy ones, and I said, "We can't afford it." So they finally talked me into going to a fancy motel in Florida, and I discovered it didn't cost much more than a cheap motel. So we started living in motels. That's when Tim learned to swim in those motels. We were in Florida--froze to death in Florida--but we were in Florida, we were going to go swimming.

But most of the time I went on my own, because the kids were in school. Suzie stayed home. But I went to every town in which there was a current controversy going on--like in Nashville, and in Little Rock, and New Orleans. I had credentials. The local newspaper gave me credentials as a correspondent.

Lage: How did you arrange that?

Peltason: I knew the editor. He said, "Sure, I'll write some sidebars, and here's your credentials as a journalist." The law dean gave me a letter. He and I got to be good friends; his name was Russell Sullivan. He said, "He's not a lawyer, but he's almost as good as a lawyer." I could knock on doors and say, "I'm a member of the NAACP," which I was. In order to talk to the white supremacists, I just said, "I'm from Texas."

Lage: And that worked.

Peltason: It worked. I went down and I interviewed school board members, plaintiffs, attorneys for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, and, what was unusual, prosecutors and judges.

Lage: That would have been unusual.

Peltason: I couldn't talk to all of them, but I was in Nashville right after they had troubles. I was in Little Rock when the 101st Airborne came in. Orval Faubus was there. I talked to the prosecutors. You couldn't talk to the judge there; I talked to the judges in Virginia. One of the best interviews I had was a two-hour interview with a Judge Hoffman in Norfolk, Virginia. He stood out in the outer office and talked to me for two hours about why he couldn't talk to me. [laughter]

Lage: Did you take notes or tape record?

Peltason: Both. I couldn't set up a tape recorder in many places. Then at Vanderbilt University, they had the Race Relations Law clippings.

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Peltason: The Ford Foundation gave a considerable sum of money to create at Vanderbilt University a weekly newspaper and collection of old law reports and newspaper clippings of all the things that were happening to implement Brown v. Board of Education.

Lage: That must have been valuable for you.

Peltason: I used that. But I sat in lots of hearings, talked to people like Harry Ashmore of the Little Rock Gazette. As I say, I had all these credentials. I was able to interview people on both sides. I couldn't cite judges; today, I think there would be less constraint on their part.

Lage: But they were right in the heat of the battle.

Peltason: Right in the heat of the battle.

Lage: How did you get them to talk?

Peltason: Well, I got more of what I would call the good guys to talk to me than the bad guys. The good guys would say, "Here comes a political science scholar from the University of Illinois." They were more likely to tell me about their woes than some of the very reactionary judges. There were judges in Dallas in their eighties and nineties who from the bench were segregationists, and they weren't going to budge. I had a hard time getting them to talk.

I found out, you don't talk to the prosecutor, you talk to the assistant prosecutor. Everybody interviews the prosecutor. Talk to the assistants. But I would read their opinions, I would go listen to their speeches. They were generally part of the community. The judge in the Little Rock case, I felt so sorry for him, he was assigned from North Dakota.

Lage: So he wasn't part of the community.

Peltason: He wasn't part of the community, but he sat in that hotel lobby, and nobody would talk to him, and he wouldn't talk to anybody. I remember actually hearing the trial. I talked with a judge in Nashville. I remember going out to the country club, and his name was Taylor, if I remember. They're educated people who realized they were part of history and wanted to get on record their perceptions. They didn't break any confidences. The attacks upon them were frequently reported in the newspapers. So talking to them wasn't essential to the study, but it gave me confidence that I was accurately reporting it.

Conceptual Framework of the Book

- Peltason: Jeannette Hopkins taught me how to write for a trade publication. I was trying to describe the conditions under which these cases were tried. Instead of saying fifty-two Negroes, as we would say in those days, were lynched in 1932 or whatever the date was, she taught me to say one a week.
- Lage: Just make it more vivid.
- Peltason: More vivid, to convey the reality of how bad the conditions were, and what a great social revolution was taking place.
- Lage: Were you making use of the framework you developed in Federal Courts in the Political Process?
- Peltason: Yes, because my message in Federal Courts in the Political Process was that when the Supreme Court decides a case it doesn't resolve all the issues. You cannot assume that everybody's behavior is going to change to conform to what the nine justices of the Supreme Court have decided. Some of my graduate students did their doctoral research by focusing on what happens after the Supreme Court decision; how is a decision implemented? And the implementation of Brown v. Board of Education was the focus of my book, Fifty-Eight Lonely Men.

What happened in the implementation of Brown is not that much different from what happens in other decisions. It was a dramatic example, and with the tensions so high the conflict over implementation was obvious and came to the surface. How a decision is implemented is influenced not just by what other judges decide but by what happens in school board elections, what happens on the floor of the Congress. In many decisions the president of the United States participates on deciding how a decision is implemented. When you try to change the behavior of large numbers of people, what these nine people in Washington decide is significant, but not decisive.

So I thought I would see what happened after the Supreme Court made its pronouncement. I looked at how it affected the lives of the trial judges who lived in the communities and had to carry out the mandate of the decision.

Brown v. Board of Education was, in effect, a national majority imposing its will upon a regional majority. But people's behavior really was changed only after Congress and the president got into the act. They moved in behind the Supreme Court, they were reluctant to do so.

Lage: In other words, they left it to these fifty-eight lonely men.

Peltason: Yes. I was critical of the court for not being more definitive in what it expected from the district judges. The court, for what it thought was a very good reason, knowing that social change was going to be hard, gave the white South time, "with all deliberate speed." It said that you ought to work with the local federal judge and work it out. We'll give you time. I think, as the court learned subsequently with hindsight, that really made it impossible for the local school board. But the local school board wanted to be able to blame the Supreme Court. What the local federal judge wanted was to be able to say, "The court said I had to do it."

Lage: Yes. "He made me do it."

Peltason: "He made me do it." Then the judge could say to the school board, "You've got to do it," and then the elected school board could say, "It's not our fault, it's all those horrible federal judges." But by saying, "You guys work it out," the court put tremendous pressure on the judge and the school boards.

But it was really a major social revolution. It took a lot longer than most of us thought, and we were impatient. But when you think of the change from a totally segregated South to today, schools are still a problem, and residences are still a problem, but access to jobs and access to restaurants is much improved. In 1954, African Americans couldn't even get a lunch. They couldn't travel. They were denied jobs.

Lage: Of course, you'd been in the South, so maybe the impact of your visiting there wasn't as--

Peltason: I'd been in the South, but I'd not been a Southerner, in the sense that I didn't grow up in the South. I had visited. The one thing I discovered in writing this book is that everywhere I went, they said, "We're not a typical Southern city." The typical Southern city is this Hollywood idea of plantations and mint juleps. But in Atlanta, they would say, "We're different," and Nashville, "We're further north," and New Orleans, "Because we have this long Creole tradition."

And by the way, the Catholic church was one of the leaders in desegregation.

Lage: Did you interview people from the church?

Peltason: Yes, especially in Louisiana, where the parochial schools took the lead and provided the moral leadership to follow what the court said.

Paul Douglas wrote the preface to that book.

Lage: How did that happen? He was senator from Illinois.

Peltason: He was senator from Illinois. I don't remember how it happened. [laughs] Without remembering, my guess is Jeannette Hopkins said, "It would be helpful if you had some public person write a preface," and I probably wrote to his office. I had known him casually, because I had known him from Illinois. By the way, that's also where I came to know Paul Simon, who then became a senator, but he was in the Illinois Legislature. He was part of the Democratic liberal community.

But I want to go back and talk about my graduate students now.

Reception of the Book

Lage: Okay. Did we say enough about Fifty-Eight Lonely Men? Let's just talk about reception of the book.

Peltason: It was well received and subsequently got put out in a paperback edition. It was a logical follow-up to Federal Courts in the Political Process.

Lage: How about in your department: was this kind of trade book well regarded?

Peltason: Yes. The department promoted me slightly ahead of normal speed, treated me well. Actually, Fifty-Eight Lonely Men didn't get published until after I became a dean, but I was working on it as a political scientist. It got well reviewed in the political science journals, and it's frequently cited in the political science literature, probably cited more than Federal Courts in the Political Process, because it had a wider interest. I'm not sure the title was a good one, because it had a subtitle, Federal District Judges and School Desegregation. But I'm not sure people would know in looking at a book called Fifty-Eight Lonely Men that it was about the implementation of Brown v. Board of Education.

Lage: Did you come up with that title, or your editor?

- Peltason: Again, conversation back and forth. She was a very active editor.
- Lage: Yes. It sounds a little more like the publisher's end of the job.
- Peltason: My guess is it was the publisher's idea, but I probably concurred, and we tried out lots of different titles. But she was a tough, good editor. I give her credit for having directed my attention to the need for such a book, and how it logically followed from Federal Courts in the Political Process.

In Little Rock When the 101st Airborne Arrived

- Lage: It must have been quite an experience, just doing that research.
- Peltason: It was. It's the kind of research which you can do only if you're a full-time professor, because it involved not just looking at books or articles but actually getting out and talking to lots of people. I talked to plaintiffs, I talked to the attorneys, sat in the cases, heard some of the great lawyers and judges of our time debate these issues.

As I say, I even remember the day that the 101st Airborne came to Little Rock. I was using my journalist credentials, and I was in the bar, I guess it was, where the journalists gathered. It was a journalists' hangout; it was their club. Eisenhower, who had not been very vigorous in implementing the Brown case, then finally sent in the 101st. Orval Faubus forced his hand, and the 101st came. It was like seeing the cavalry come to the rescue.

By the way, that's another interesting thing. A very good friend of mine, Hal Chase, who since has died, was in political science in Minnesota. Hal and I had gone to graduate school together. He wrote a book on the appointment of federal judges. He has a little section in there which he used to tease me about. He went and talked to President Eisenhower and showed him where I criticized him in Fifty-Eight Lonely Men. President Eisenhower said, "That chap doesn't know what he's talking about." [laughter] Hal used to love to tease me about that.

Influence of Charles Hyneman

Peltason: By the way, one other person ought to be mentioned who was a great influence in my life: Charles Hyneman. He was a good friend of the Hagans and the Ranneys, and then got to be my good friend. He was at Northwestern University and then went to Indiana. He was one of the great storytellers of political science, one of the great teachers of political science. He really took to helping out youngsters. A blunt-spoken man.

He tried to lead the political science department at Northwestern into a more coherent direction, so it wasn't just a bunch of professors teaching what they wanted to the way they wanted to. He taught me that in political science you talk about politics, but it's hard to talk about political science in a coherent way. That department got great attention. I came up there with Austin to be a consultant in that department and then became a disciple of Charlie, who again encouraged us to be realistic.

Lage: When you say a disciple, now tell me what you mean. Was it his way of thinking about political science?

Peltason: I would just go chat with him and talk with him. At the Midwest political science meetings, he was the man we'd always go to. He saw to it that Austin and I were invited to conferences, and we were promoted in the discipline around the Middle West. Then he became president of the association (APSA).

Divisions within the American Political Science Association

Peltason: That's also, by the way, when I got to know Evron Kirkpatrick, a graduate of Illinois, and Jeane Kirkpatrick. Very early on, I got on the council of the American Political Science Association. I was on the council when we hired Evron Kirkpatrick to become our executive director. Evron Kirkpatrick came to Champaign-Urbana quite often and brought his young bride, Jeane Kirkpatrick. In fact, they came through on their honeymoon trip. That's why we got to be close personal friends with the Kirkpatricks, all these many years we've known them. Well, Kirk died a couple of years ago.

I got involved in the politics of the Political Science Association and helped get Kirkpatrick elected executive

director. That was one of the better things I did, I think. There was always some controversy about Kirk. Austin wrote a book with Willmoore Kendall, one of the great, most controversial figures in political science.

Lage: Austin Ranney wrote a book with Willmoore?

Peltason: Willmoore was one of the smartest men in political science, and one of the most reactionary men in political science, and a very intense teacher, very bright. Austin was a card-carrying liberal Democrat, has always been. But they wrote this book, a very fine book, together. We went to a party once for the Ranney-Kendall book, and I felt like when you walked into the room, you had to say, "I'm a friend of the bride or friend of the groom."

Lage: [laughter] Two sides to the room?

Peltason: Kendall and Kirk and Austin were friends, and I saw both Kirk and Austin get unfairly treated because they were a friend of Kendall. People would assume that you couldn't be a friend of Kendall without having his reactionary ideas.

Lage: And when you say reactionary here, you're talking about a political reactionary? Not the discipline.

Peltason: He was a political reactionary. [laughs] Well, he was a reactionary on everything. Very smart. Well, let's be fair to him. He was a conservative before conservatives became fashionable. But he also thought McCarthy was being unfairly attacked by us liberals. He actually was a little "d" democrat--he was a majoritarian.

Lage: Kind of a populist?

Peltason: He felt that the people and their conservatism were right, and the academics, liberals, were wrong.

Lage: Was he at Illinois?

Peltason: He was at Yale, but he had gotten a degree at Illinois. Austin got to know him when he was at Yale, and they wrote this very good book together. Kendall was a very fine scholar and a very brilliant man, but when everybody else just assumed without even arguing it that McCarthy was an evil man, Kendall would say, "Well, he's not so bad." And he would say it in a very provocative way. He was a good friend, a very intense person, but totally out of step with the rest of the academic community.

Because he was a friend of Kirk, there were people who didn't want Kirk to become executive director, because how could you be a friend of Willmoore Kendall's and not be unsympathetic to academic freedom? Kirk was a very strong believer in academic freedom. He shared Kendall's anticommunism, but he didn't share his belief that in fighting Communists it was appropriate to use allies like McCarthy.

Lage: It sounds only normal that a political science association would be highly politicized.

Peltason: It was. Then subsequently, in the sixties, Austin and I were opposed to the so-called Caucus [for a New Political Science], which felt that professionalism was phony objectivity, pro-status quo, and that the political science profession ought to become an activist group.

Lage: And take antiwar stances?

Peltason: Take antiwar stands, move the convention to places that were politically acceptable, pass resolutions with respect to current political issues, and use political standards in evaluating what got published in the journals and who got promoted and who didn't. The caucus believed that a scientific, professional approach to political science was just a façade to protect the status quo and preserve white males in power.

So that became a big issue, and Austin and I were Kirk's allies in keeping the political science profession safe, from our perspective.

Lage: Where were you when this happened? Were you chancellor at Illinois?

Peltason: No, I was professor.

Lage: Oh, well, then it's coming up here. You left there in '64.

Peltason: I guess I was dean then. When I became chancellor, I took a vow of neutrality, and I said I'd given up my freedom to be for or against anything except the university.

Lage: But I don't think the timing is right, because they wouldn't have had these kinds of battles before '64. And you left and went to Irvine.

Peltason: I'll have to call up Austin and say, "When was the Caucus?" He remembers all those things.²

Graduate Students

Lage: Now, we didn't talk about your graduate students.

Peltason: I had about five or six graduate students at Illinois, all of whom did well, two of whom did especially well--Lucius [J.] Barker and Robert Salisbury. They were among my first graduate students, and they remain some of my older friends, especially Lucius, who came to work with me in Illinois when I was chancellor.

Lucius Barker

Peltason: Lucius graduated from Southern University in New Orleans, and he and his brother Twiley [W. Barker, Jr.] got to Illinois, because this was before Brown v. Board of Education. The state of Louisiana paid African Americans to go outside of Louisiana in order to avoid having to put them into Louisiana State University. The Supreme Court in Missouri vs. Gaines case said, "That isn't good enough," but the Barkers would rather go to Illinois than Louisiana.

Lage: So they took the money and ran.

Peltason: They took the money and came to the University of Illinois.

²To get this history straight: the name of the organization to which I belonged was the Ad Hoc Committee for a Responsible Political Science; it was founded by my friend Don Herzberg. The first protests within the association became visible at the annual meeting in Washington when Merle Fainsod was president, 1968, I think. The caucus was formed about then or a year later and grew in size through the years 1969-1973 under the presidencies of Bob Lane, Dave Easton, Heinz Eulau, Bob Ward, Avery Leiserson, and Austin Ranney. These men all won against a caucus candidate in a contested election. Then Jim Burns, who followed Austin, was not contested, and the caucus faded during Jim's presidency. It continued to run its own panels at the meetings but stopped contesting APSA elections. So the period of its strength and activity was roughly 1968 through 1976. All this based on Austin's much better memory. --JWP, 8/99.

Lage: How welcoming was the University of Illinois?

Peltason: Very welcoming. Lucius taught a course, and I remember some of the senior professors expressed some apprehension about a graduate student beginning to teach a course.

Lage: Some of the senior professors?

Peltason: They weren't opposed to it; they were apprehensive. They were apprehensive, and it had a slightly negative touch to it, like, "Are you sure you want to do that? Is it fair to him?"

Lage: Was it unusual for a graduate student to teach a course?

Peltason: No. It was unusual for an African American student to teach at the University of Illinois in the early 1950s. But he did without incident, as far as I know. At least he never reported anything to me, and I never saw any evidence that he was treated differently from anybody else. Now, I am sure Lucius would have some stories, but he never communicated that to me, nor did I see any evidence of it. I think in those days, I would have gone out of my way to be sure that it didn't happen.

Lage: Would you assume that some of the students would be negative?

Peltason: I didn't. Some of the senior professors assumed that some of the students would be negative. Some coming up from maybe the southern part of the state. There weren't too many African Americans in the University of Illinois; there were some, but a handful.

Lage: Even as undergraduates?

Peltason: Even as undergraduates. But as far as I know, there was no episode, but I'm sure Lucius would have known how to deal with it. He was a very successful and very popular teacher, we know that, and got very good remarks from students.

African American University Students and Integration

Peltason: In those days, one of the things that I remember doing as a young assistant professor was fighting to get African Americans the right to have their hair cut in the barbershops next to the University of Illinois. They were not allowed to do so, and we got a group that would do testing. We would go into a barbershop and get our hair cut in the barbershops in the

neighborhood around the campus of the University of Illinois. The barbers would refuse to cut their hair because they were "too busy" or "had other appointments" or "didn't know how to cut a Negro's hair." So we got a group that would do "testing." A white person would go into a barbershop and get his hair cut. Then an African American would go in and be refused. It was a way of gathering evidence that African Americans were being discriminated against.

There were the same problems with respect to housing. Suzie and I were active in the Committee on Racial Justice, which was the local liberals and ministers, who did their best to see to it that when African Americans moved into what was then considered a "white" neighborhood, that they were well treated. It took an organized effort to ensure that African Americans could live in other than what was considered the "Negro area" on the north side of the two towns.

Lage: Did you start this early on there?

Peltason: Yes. In the early fifties and through the fifties. We were both active in groups designed to protect civil rights. The issues were not voting, but they were the right to get your hair cut, the right to eat in a restaurant, the right to rent or buy a house. There was resistance in the housing side. The university was also protective of African Americans' right to rent university homes and stay in university protected institutions. But it was a struggle.

Lage: Did this come out in the class you taught about civil rights and civil liberties? Did you use any of those local battles?

Peltason: No, I don't remember. I think there were the classes I was teaching, and then my activity in the community.

Lage: Because at Smith, you told how you got students involved in politics.

Peltason: Yes. No, I didn't teach the courses in political parties or involvement.

Lage: You didn't get them out protesting for civil liberty.

Peltason: No. This was not a period of student activism. It didn't dawn upon me to say anything to the students about this. That was my private battle as an individual, not as a professor of political science. I've always made a sharp distinction between these two. The difference was at Smith College, I wasn't having the students be involved to protest, I was

getting them involved to learn, and use the community as a laboratory.

In fact, I remember when I did my book and we'd go down and meet Lucius and Twiley in the South, I was very conscious of the fact that we couldn't take Twiley in to have dinner with us or lunch with us. He talked to us outside of our hotel. Emmett Bashful was another one of my students who also was from the South.

Lage: And was also black?

Peltason: Also black. My daughter Nancy used to refer to him as Mr. Shy. But I remember Emmett taking me in Florida--he was quite active in Florida--to black hotels and places to eat with him in a very nice middle-class neighborhood. The South was segregated, and Champaign-Urbana was more liberal than anyplace else would have been because it was a college town, but still having to fight to protect their rights.

More on Lucius Barker

Peltason: I advised Lucius not to write his dissertation on civil rights, because I thought he needed to establish his reputation as a political scientist who was black, rather than thinking that black political scientists only dealt with civil rights issues. He wrote his dissertation on the Tidelands Oil controversy. There was a big debate about whether the Tidelands Oil of Louisiana, Texas, and California belonged to the California or to the national government. So Lucius wrote his dissertation on the Tidelands Oil controversy. He got his degree, he did very well. In fact, he and I wrote a long book review together on the Tidelands Oil controversy. He was very successful at Illinois. He went back to teach at Southern, where he had been an undergraduate, which is a very fine institution.

Lage: Is that a black college?

Peltason: It is a historically black college. In fact, I went down there and gave some lectures. Lucius and Twiley were both from there.

Lage: Was his brother also in political science?

Peltason: Twiley was also a political science student at Illinois, studied under Clyde Snyder. He was Lucius's older brother.

Twiley taught at Chicago Circle after that. Very sweet, gentle soul. They're very close, and I got to know the Barker family.

But then one day, after Lucius had been down in the South, he called me up.

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Peltason: He called me up one day and said that he loved Southern, but that was his undergraduate institution, and it's a historically black college, and he felt that for career purposes, he wanted to be a political scientist who was black rather than a black political scientist, and could I help him get a job out in the North?

This is where sometimes the formal affirmative action process is getting in the way, because in those days, I got on the phone and called my friends.

Lage: The old-boy network.

Peltason: Old-boy network. In about two or three weeks, we had, if I remember, three offers for Lucius. One was at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; one was at Beloit [College], Wisconsin. I can't remember where the third was; maybe it was just two offers. I know that Lucius then went and got interviewed at Beloit, and concluded, quite rightly, that for an unmarried African American living in a small town, his social life would be restricted. He felt the college would be a positive experience, but he would rather live in Milwaukee. So he went up to Milwaukee, where he met Maude, his wife, and from there on, launched himself into a career where he ultimately ended up being the president of the American Political Science Association and holder of a named chair at Stanford, where he is today.

Lage: Did he go on then to look at civil rights issues?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: After he'd established himself.

Peltason: Yes. Now he has an established reputation. He's written biographies of Jesse Jackson. He and his brother have written a book on civil rights as it affects the African American community. He's been a very vigorous person, but he established his reputation as a constitutional law, political process, public law, courts scholar, and has written in that field as well.

Emmett Bashful

Peltason: Again, I want to talk about two others. I don't want to talk about all my graduate students, but it's hard to talk about some without slighting the others. Emmett Bashful wrote his dissertation on the Florida Supreme Court. I remember when he got some interviews with people and went down to talk to those people, that's the first time they knew that he was African American. But he said they treated him well. Again, my own interest in trying to get people to study courts other than the Supreme Court of the United States.

Emmett went on to a very distinguished career. He got involved in the civil rights struggles in Florida and ended up being president of the New Orleans campus of Southern University. He's since retired.

Robert Salisbury

Peltason: Another graduate student was Robert Salisbury. Bob did his dissertation on the Court of Appeals of the Seventh Circuit, and then became very much interested in interest groups, and became the known scholar about interest groups. Again, I got him a job by calling up a good friend of mine who was dean and chairman in political science in Washington University. I said, "I've got an outstanding political scientist," and he said, "I'll take him." The old-boy network worked.

Lage: Now, he wasn't African American?

Peltason: No, he was not. That reminds me: the man who gave him the job was Tom Eliot. I think I might have said in my first interview that I'd gone to work in the summer in Boston, worked for the Little Hoover Commission under Tom Eliot, who was a congressman from Massachusetts. He let me know when I wrote to him and thanked him, when I wrote to "Mr. Elliott" with two L's and two T's, that he was one L and one T; that's the Boston Eliots. Tom then became chancellor of Washington University in St. Louis and took Salisbury on my say-so. Times were expanding then, so there were jobs, but this was before there was any formal process. Bob Salisbury has also become an outstanding political scientist, and is now retired.

Lage: Has he also followed the study of interest groups?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: So you must have made quite an impact on your graduate students.

Peltason: I'm pleased to say I think they did it of their own volition, but like most graduate students, they've followed the leads of their senior professor, and they've gone on to great careers.

Other Graduate Students and Teaching Undergraduates

Peltason: Then there are three or four other graduate students. They had very fine careers. One of them was Richard Johnson, who's now dean, who wrote on, I think, the symbols of the Court. He was a student of mine with Charlie Hagan, and he's gone on to be very successful. And then Gordon Patrick did one on what happened after the Court declared school prayers were unconstitutional, how in fact school boards evaded that decision.

Lage: Similar to your federal fifty-eight lonely judges.

Peltason: Then Ron Dowling went on to Missouri and wrote on the Missouri plan for the selection of judges, and I've lost track of where he is now. Then Gordon Schull was another graduate student who wrote on the politics of the Presbyterian church.

Lage: Was that unusual?

Peltason: No, but again, it was part of the interest groups. The church's involvement in politics should be seen as part of the political process. He was interested in the Presbyterian church, and went on to teach in religious schools.

Lage: You had a lot of graduate students here, for a fairly brief time.

Peltason: I did, very briefly.

So that takes up my career as a political scientist in the first decade. I was a full-time professor only from 1947 to 1960 when I became a dean.

Lage: What about teaching undergraduates at Illinois? Was that substantially different from your Smith experience?

Peltason: No. It was a more diverse group of students, less selective, but there were some very bright ones. I enjoyed that experience. As I say, I taught that big course. I also remember learning never to make short-term predictions. I always tell the story: I taught a class at one o'clock, and the big thing was Truman had seized the steel companies in the Korean War, and the case was wending its way to the Supreme Court. I for twenty minutes gave lectures about how the Supreme Court would not accept jurisdiction in that case, and they would leave it to the court of appeals, gave them all these good reasons. About one-twenty, some kid put up his hand in the back of the room and said, "But Professor Peltason, on the radio coming over, I heard the Supreme Court had accepted jurisdiction." I told my graduate students, "Don't ever make short-term predictions."

But I enjoyed teaching there, had good students. I think I did well. At least I had good rapport with the student.

Lage: Did you have bigger lecture classes?

Peltason: I had big lecture classes. I taught American government and worked on revisions of the American government textbook, the edition of Government by the People during those days. Jim and I did another book called Functions of American Politics, which is more on the public policy side, which was then considered new. My kids were growing up in Champaign; they loved Champaign-Urbana.

Lage: It's a good place for young children?

Peltason: Good place for kids. They could walk to school, ride their bikes, get piano lessons, be involved in Illinois sports. My son and I went to basketball games together, went to football games.

Limited Administrative Duties

Peltason: I'll tell you what happened to me, somewhat to my surprise. I was not much involved in the administrative life of the campus. I got to be on the Committee on Student English. That was my only non-political science responsibility. I got to know the woman who ran it, Jessie Howard. It was a requirement of the University of Illinois that no student could graduate whom we had not certified as competent in being able to write and speak English properly.

So there was a test; if they didn't pass the courses, then we would administer the test, and that was the first and only campus job I had other than in the political science department. I knew people in other fields through social occasions and the rich club life. I mean, we had the Philosophers Club, we had the Cosmopolitan Club where we'd get together and talk about books and ideas.

Lage: Did you participate in those clubs more than the average professor?

Peltason: Not more than the average, but those things did appeal to me. I became a full professor in 1959, so I'd been a professor for only one year when I was asked to be a dean.

Lage: Were you active in the governance in the department?

Peltason: Not particularly. Again, this was a department in which the seniors ran things, although we all would go to department meetings. I was involved, but not active. I'd never been department chair, I'd never been on the executive committee; I'd been just a professor.

Lage: What about choices of new faculty and promotions within the department?

Peltason: We were always involved. I didn't have any particular administrative skills. In fact, all my administrative experiences had been negative. For example, Austin and I used to complain that the department did not have rigorous standards for hiring or promotion. Then one time we interviewed a candidate--he wasn't very good--but as he finished the interview he said to the two of us, "I would sure like to join this department. It would mean a lot to me." Austin and I looked at each other and said, "We can't vote against this guy." So despite our tough talk, when it came to hiring and promotions we were not very demanding.

I remember being on a committee for the AAUP, and getting up to speak at a AAUP meeting, and a senior professor chopping me down, saying, "That's dumb," or something like that. I just shriveled. I thought, I'm not good at this sort of thing. So I had no particular administrative experience or exposure.

Departmental Promotion Policies

- Lage: Just cleaning up a little bit more on the department: were there any controversies over hiring of new faculty along the lines of, Should we go behaviorialist or should we stay more descriptive?
- Peltason: There was a little bit of that, but it was more we felt that the department was hidebound by seniority. The department view was, raises and promotions go by order of seniority, and as young people, we felt there was not enough attention to merit. We felt that our seniors were not rigorous enough in their standards. There was a man in our department; he'd been a permanent assistant professor, George Manner. George was writing this book on international law that was going to change the world. For twenty years, he'd been writing this book. I remember we finally said, "George has been punished enough." We got him promoted to associate professor, Austin and I and some of the others. The seniors went along with it, and so did the department, so did the campus.

But our general feeling was that the department needed toning up, more rigorous standards. It needed to accelerate the promotion of the young people or it was going to lose them to other universities. In fact, in the 1960s, that's what happened: most of these younger friends of mine dispersed, because the department seemed to be too, in a sense, congenial rather than interested in what was happening to the profession of political science. The department seemed to be too immersed in its past, in the great days before World War II, when it was the home of some of the giants of the profession, Garner and Fairley. Our senior people who were youngsters then would talk with reverence about those great days.

- Lage: And they were gone by the time you--
- Peltason: They were gone, and we thought the department ought to move on. But I think it was more the impatience of the young than it was something that we spent a lot of our time worrying about.

Cold War Politics and the Discipline of Political Science

- Lage: Now, somebody like this Francis Wilson you mentioned: he's also mentioned in the book I told you about, Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford [by Rebecca Lowen

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). He was conservative in terms of antibehaviorialism, it sounds like?

Peltason: Antibehaviorialism and politics.

Lage: Was he conservative in politics also?

Peltason: Yes. Francis was always grumpy. But again, we all liked Francis, we'd always tell Francis Wilson stories. I remember when Charlie Hagan got his Fulbright, we said, "Go tell Francis." We said, "What did he say?" He said, "Well, you're going to get seasick on the way over." [laughter] When I got to be a dean, Francis called me in the office and said, "Well, you're not as bad as some they might have picked." [laughter]

Lage: That's great. Would you describe his approach as philosophical and humanistic?

Peltason: Yes. But he did some work on public opinion which was rather pioneering. He was out of sorts with the way the discipline was going. But again, this was a department in which he was respected.

Lage: How would he line up on things like the McCarran Act and McCarthyism?

Peltason: Well, I suspect he was for it, but he was probably smart enough not to say anything.

Lage: The reason I ask is that in this book, Creating the Cold War University, the impression I get is that she's tying the behaviorialists to the Cold War outlook.

Peltason: I think she's wrong on that. I think it's the other way around. There were the institutionalists who were just that way because that's the way they'd been trained and they were too old to learn anything new. Then by the sixties, the radicals came along; they thought the behaviorialists were too irrelevant. I mean, here they are studying minutiae and quantifying things, when the society was crumbling. No, they tended to feel that the Cold War was a fiction, made up, that there wasn't any real threat.

But both those for whom fighting the Cold War was an urgent need and those for whom the Cold War was merely a scare tactic of the conservatives tended to be against behaviorialism. Behaviorialism tended to say, "Let's study political science systematically and carefully, not getting into these cosmic,

sweeping arguments about political events. That's not science. That's just editorial work, that's journalism."

Lage: Later, the criticism in the sixties would have used the word "relevance" a great deal. But the work you did certainly had relevance.

Peltason: That's right. I wasn't in the avant-garde of the behaviorialist revolution.

Lage: And you weren't doing quantitative research.

Peltason: My work was empirical, and I did study more than nine justices. I studied fifty-eight people; it didn't use statistics to hold everything constant but to focus on one or two variables. It wasn't monographic, it wasn't systematic in the way--

Lage: In the way that a certain wing of the behavioralists went?

Peltason: We didn't really have that in our department. Austin's work isn't that way, Murray's isn't that way.

Lage: So the quantitative wing maybe didn't have a strong hold?

Peltason: That tended to be in the voting behavior side Austin did. That was our good friend Warren Miller and the people at the University of Michigan that led that battle. We were all sympathetic to what they were doing, but we weren't doing it ourselves. And Francis just thought we were all crazy.

Lage: [laughs] Okay, we can move on. I think we've done the department, unless something else comes up here.

Appointment as Dean, College of Liberal Arts and Science, 1960

Lage: So should we talk about becoming a dean? There must be a good story there.

Peltason: Oh, yes. The College of Liberal Arts and Sciences is the biggest college in the university. The dean was a man by the name of Lyle Lanier, who became provost. To me, I never had thought about being a dean, didn't know what deans did.

Lage: So Lyle had been the dean and became provost?

Peltason: He became the provost, and there was a vacancy, and there was a search committee. I didn't have any notion about how search committees work, nor any suggestion of becoming the dean. In fact, we had a Fulbright all lined up to finally take our sabbatical. I got a Fulbright to England, which in those days was a rare honor. I had been assigned to teach at Exeter College in west England. I had written to the people there about coming to Exeter. We had reservations on the Queen Mary, I think it was, and we were all excited about going to spend a year in England--except the kids were slightly apprehensive. That was what I was totally focused on. I was working on Fifty-Eight Lonely Men.

The only inkling I ever had that I was under consideration as the dean was in the elevator once, when a member of the history department said to me something about, "Well, Jack, I didn't realize you'd gone to Missouri and Princeton." I said, "Yes," and we talked about it. Then later, another person said to me something about, "How did you like it at Smith College?" It still didn't dawn upon me that I was being considered for dean, and I don't know why it never dawned on me. Well, I hadn't been a departmental chair, I hadn't had any administrative experience. Deans to me were older people who were figures to be revered but not anything I ever thought would happen to me.

Then somehow or other, I can't remember why, I got called in, I was told, "Go see President Henry." David Henry had come in after George Stoddard had been fired, and David Henry during his early years had actually been involved in the famous Leo Koch case. Leo Koch was a visiting or a part-time professor in biology who had written a letter to the Daily Illini saying that premarital sex isn't necessarily bad. That was in the Daily Illini that got circulated the day all the high school kids were on campus for the basketball tournaments.

David Henry, under tremendous pressure, had to dismiss Leo Koch, which offended all of us, including me, because we thought it violated the norms of academic freedom. I didn't think that David Henry was a bad man when I first met him, but I thought maybe I couldn't work for him as a dean. If he asked me to be dean, I had some apprehensions about working for a man who had been on that side of the Leo Koch case.

But when he called me in, he said, "I want to take a chance on you and want you to consider being dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Science. It's against all my instincts." He said that he believed administration was a profession to be taken seriously, and he would not ordinarily give

administrative responsibility to a person with so little experience and so young. "But the search committee has recommended you with enthusiasm, and I want you to seriously consider it."

Lage: How did you react?

Peltason: I was overwhelmed, flattered. Then the search committee invited Suzie and me out. It was headed by a very distinguished professor of English.

Lage: Had you known him?

Peltason: Yes, I knew him, and liked him, because I'd gotten to know him at the Allerton Conferences where all the faculty were brought out to a retreat. Ed Davidson was his name, and he and I had been to one of the Allerton Conferences together. These were all-university weekends held at the university's conference center which were then held yearly and were attended by several hundred faculty and administrators. Ed was a very quiet-spoken man. I told the search committee members I had never been a dean and didn't know what a dean was supposed to do. I didn't know anything about the -ologies on the other side of the campus, what they studied, had no sense of quality in those fields; I didn't know a good chemist from a bad one.

Lage: This is a broad-based deanship.

Peltason: It had twenty-four departments, anthropology to zoology. Then I went to talk to Lyle, who had worked for David Henry and who shared my values. He assured me that David Henry was a good man, that I could work with him, that the Leo Koch case was an exception, that Henry might have made a mistake. Lyle Lanier, who had worked as his second in command, could assure me they could get along.

I was just flattered. I remember saying to Austin, "What am I going to say to all my friends who all say, 'I wouldn't be a dean if asked'?" He said, "Well, they haven't been asked. [laughter] You answer, 'Why did you become a dean?' 'Because they asked me.'"

Lage: Well, what did you think about getting into administration?

Peltason: When I thought about it, I thought, gee, they have private secretaries, they have air-conditioned offices. I liked the perks of the job. I had been teaching now for thirteen years. I could do it without having to move my family. I could have retreat rights, because I'd still have my tenure.

Lage: So you could go back to--

Peltason: Go back to teaching. But I also had to give up the Fulbright. That was another big thing, because David Henry said, "If you're going to be dean, you've got to be dean right away; we can't wait for you." David Henry didn't believe in acting deans. He said, "The whole college would stand still. It's not fair to the college."

I talked to Suzanne about it, and my parents, and they all wanted me to do it; they were all proud of me. Just to be a dean: that is a big deal. I said, "Yes," and David Henry said, "Okay, but you can't tell anybody for two weeks, because it's a secret. Until the trustees have acted upon it, you can't tell anybody." For two weeks, I had to dissemble and pretend like we were getting ready to take the Fulbright.

Lage: But you had told Austin?

Peltason: Yes, I must have told Austin, because he and I didn't have any secrets. But I would meet people on campus and they'd say, "When are you going on your sabbatical?" This was like in June. I'd say, "Well, we're still making the arrangements." Then David Henry said, "Come to the trustees meeting. I'll introduce you to the trustees, and they'll make you the dean."

They made me the dean. I walked out with David Henry, and there were two colleagues of mine from the political science department saying to me, "Do you know who the new dean is going to be?" I said, "Yes, I'm going to be the new dean." They said, "Oh, what a joke! Big deal, you're going to be the dean." Then all of a sudden, David Henry came up and put his arm around me, and you could see the two guys, the look that came over their face: He's the dean!

Lage: That was a well-kept secret.

Peltason: It was. It was a big thing in Champaign-Urbana. It was banner headlines in the newspapers.

Lage: Because of your age?

Peltason: No, just being the dean--this is a college town. Being a dean in liberal arts and science at the University of Illinois is a banner headline story, because it affects many of their readers. Because it is, as I said, a college town. That's where I got stuck with the "boy dean" thing, because that night we were having a party and the phone rang. All of my friends were calling me up, congratulating me, and telling me, "You're

so young to be a dean." After about the fifteenth call, I guess, I answered the phone, "Jack Peltason, boy dean," and it was a reporter from the newspaper. So she put it in the newspaper the next day.

Lage: Now, how old were you?

Peltason: Thirty-six, I think. It was 1960, and I was born in '23. I was thirty-six, about to be thirty-seven in August. I remember also a reporter calling up and saying, "Are you having a party?" "Yes." "Are you having your friends or your associates?" We said, "Our associates are our friends."

So we gave up the sabbatical but decided instead, with David Henry's permission, to take a whirlwind trip around Europe. So I wrote the people on sabbatical, but they were very generous. I said I had this opportunity to become the dean and had to renege on my commitment to the Fulbright, and they said they understood.

So we in almost no time ordered airplane tickets, ordered a car to meet us in Paris, took our kids, had a place to go, to land in London. Then we went to Paris, picked up the car, and drove the car for six weeks all over Europe.

Lage: That must have been wonderful. With the children?

Peltason: With the two children, Nancy and Tim. Had a wonderful time. I had a better time than Suzie did, because we were in a small Renault car, packing and unpacking, and she had to do the laundry. We had no reservations and not too much money, so we would stay at a fancy place one night and a cheap place the next night, because it was the only one we could get. That's where Austin always teased me, because I told him, "Oh, we have to go to Paris to pick up our car. We have to get there on Friday but we can't leave until Monday because we're stuck in Paris over the weekend." He was always interested in the man who got stuck in Paris over the weekend.

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Peltason: Let me just say that I was offered the salary of \$16,000. I think as a professor I made \$9,000.

Lage: Oh, no wonder you wanted to be dean!

Peltason: So that was a big jump in salary, so I said when we had that much money, we had more money than we ever had in our lives and more than we ever thought we would have. By this time, we had

left our National prefabricated home and moved into a modern home, and why don't I just stop with that, and I'll tell you about our modern home?

Lage: We'll start with your modern home next time.

V MORE REFLECTIONS ON POLITICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

[Interview 4: March 5, 1998] ##

Valued Political Science Mentors

Lage: You had something you wanted to add to our last interview.

Peltason: Oh, yes. I mentioned Charles Hyneman as one of the great teachers of political science and a mentor of mine. Another one was E. E. Schattschneider, Elmer Schattschneider--one of the outstanding political scientists. He was a professor at Wesleyan in Connecticut, a great student of political parties. Again, he's another one of these senior professors, one of these important names who always went out of his way to be helpful to young political scientists. Another outstanding political scientist of those days was V. O. Key, Jr. at Johns Hopkins. He wrote the great book on southern politics. He, too, was especially considerate and kind.

Lage: In what way would they help?

Peltason: These were great names, but we would go to the meetings and they would go out of their way to see us and take us out to dinner. They would be responsive to questions and things that we would send to them. They would encourage us.

Lage: Look at your work and respond to it?

Peltason: Acknowledge the work and look at it, yes. I think I told this story about how I was treated, I thought, so non-professionally by another senior political scientist.

Lage: At Johns Hopkins.

Peltason: Yes, at Johns Hopkins. Having been treated that way, and then seeing the example of these other men, I have tried as I've gotten older to be responsive and helpful to young ones by

reading their materials and writing them letters to compliment them when their work has been positive. You write and you work on something and then you send it out and nothing ever happens.

Thoughts on Reviewing the Work of Other Scholars

Peltason: Also there's another thing that I didn't mention but it's traumatic. I still get nightmares. I wake up at night in a cold sweat wondering why I did it. When I was a young assistant professor of political science at Illinois, I was asked to review a book. When you're young and insensitive, you're more interested in scoring points than you are about the person against whom you're scoring--especially with something anonymous. I wrote a critical book review of a woman's published dissertation. It was a wounding review, and I scored points and said what I thought was bad about it. You know, a month later I woke up and said, "That was dumb of me. I didn't really intend that." I tried to retrieve the review and couldn't get it back. It had already gone to press.

Lage: Was it unwarranted?

Peltason: I don't know whether it was unwarranted or not. It was unwarranted in the sense that I should have been more sensitive about how it would have been read by the person who wrote it, and recognized that this was a woman who worked hard on her dissertation. That kind of cheap-shot, critical comment was not called for.

Lage: Did that affect you later, as you say?

Peltason: I remember the lady's name. I often wonder how she received that. I actually wrote her a letter of apology. She wrote me a letter, and I remember what I had said, and I keep feeling like I ought to atone in some way.

Lage: Maybe you've been atoning all these years.

More on the American Political Science Association

Lage: Is there anything else to say about the professional meetings and organizations and the role they played?

Peltason: I always enjoyed going to political science meetings and being an active member of the American Political Science Association. Very early in my career I was on the executive committee of the APSA. I think I was one of the youngest members. I became a vice president of the association. I knew most of the presidents because they became colleagues of mine. I knew the executive director, Kirkpatrick.

And then I told you I became active in the "wars." A man by the name of Don Herzberg created what is called the ad hoc committee, consisting of those of us who were traditionalists, who wanted to keep the association non-political. We had to go to the meetings to save Kirk's job; he was accused of being a CIA agent.

Lage: So this was an ongoing thing over a period of years.

Peltason: Yes, and it was intensified by the troubles of the sixties. In the American Political Science Association in the past, the president was selected in terms of his or her contributions as a political scientist. It was usually a non-contested thing, as is true of most learned societies. For a while it became a contested election. My side was the ad hoc committee, and the radicals were the caucus.

Lage: I see. So you were the ad hoc committee to--

Peltason: The Ad Hoc Committee for Responsible Political Science [see pp. 107-109].

Lage: And the caucus was the more politicized--

Peltason: The more politicized group who wanted to contest the elections of the establishment. For a while they had their own journals. This happened in almost all the social science learned societies.

Lage: What were the issues revolving around?

Peltason: They were the issues of the time in which they felt that the American Political Science Association should actively oppose the war and the association itself ought to be involved in political contests, and that it was immoral to be neutral.

Lage: Did the young--I'm saying "young people," but maybe the people in the caucus weren't young.

Peltason: They weren't necessarily young.

Lage: Did they do a different kind of political science?

Peltason: Theirs was a more activist, more advocacy kind of political science.

Lage: And who won?

Peltason: Eventually the ad hoc committee won in the sense that the association is now run not along political lines. But the American Political Science Association did respond to the times with special committees to promote women's rights and to be sure that women were more adequately represented in the association and that political science was broadened to focus on the concerns of minorities and women, all of which I was for and the ad hoc committee was for. Kirk, who was the man under attack frequently, was the leader in opening up opportunities in the association and went out of his way to ensure that minorities' and women's concerns were more aggressively represented in their work in the political science association. But those were the wars of the sixties, and they went through all learned societies.

Lage: Did Kirk survive and keep his job over that period?

Peltason: Yes, he survived, and the association prospered under his leadership. Then the association was subsequently headed by Tom Mann, another good friend of mine. Now it's being ably run by Catherine Rudder. I'm presently helping them as a co-chairman of the campaign committee. We're working to raise one million dollars for the association, which is a new development, because professors are more accustomed to receiving grants than to making grants.

Lage: So you're trying to raise money from the membership.

Peltason: Among the members in order to strengthen the work that the association can do for the discipline and in order to lay the groundwork for raising money from outside. Outside groups like to say, "If your own members don't make a contribution, why should we?"

International Political Science Association

Peltason: I was not too active, but I did get involved in the International Political Science Association [IPSA]. I remember once making an application for a travel grant, and you had to

give the reasons why you wanted to go. I said, "Because I like to go to meetings with my friends abroad." I got a small grant for honesty. [laughter] One time I came home and said to my wife, "I'm sorry I can't go to the meetings." She said, "Why not?" I said, "I applied for a grant and I only became an alternate." She said, "Can't you go?" I said, "Yes, but I didn't get a grant." She said, "Well, you can spend your own money, can't you?" I said, "I never thought about that." [laughter]

Lage: Who would make these grants?

Peltason: Various groups helped. But as I got older and could afford it, I went on my own.

Lage: Did those international meetings have a different flavor or a different set of issues?

Peltason: It was an opportunity to meet political scientists from around the world. We had a meeting in Paris, and I went to Montreal for a meeting. I went once with a group of scholars to Germany to talk about constitutionalism. I got involved with my political scientist colleagues from England, especially Tony King and David Butler. I went to several meetings with American scholars and American journalists and English journalists at Ditchley House.

I remember one time at the Paris meeting after we'd spent about three days, I said to my political science colleagues, "We've come here to Paris, but we've spent most of the meeting talking to each other. So tonight we're going to meet for dinner, but each of us is to bring some non-American to the dinner and introduce them." I met a man with a very strong English accent who was teaching in England. I brought him to the group and said to him, "Where were you born?" He said, "St. Louis, Missouri." [laughter] Richard Rose. He had spent most of his life being a professor in Scotland.

Lage: He certainly picked up the British accent quickly.

Peltason: I think we can move on. I think that's enough political science.

Campaigning for Hubert Humphrey

Peltason: I did want to mention that Austin and I did become involved in the Hubert Humphrey campaign.

Lage: Yes, I wanted to ask you about that, too. It's right here in my follow-up list, because you've only mentioned local politics.

Peltason: In 1956, Kirkpatrick, who was very close to Hubert Humphrey, and Max Kampelman, another political science friend of mine who is a distinguished lawyer in Washington, asked Austin and me if we would like to come work in the Humphrey campaign in Chicago. I'm going to get these dates confused; we need to call up Austin. I worked for Humphrey in '56 and '60.

We worked at both of the conventions, and we also worked in his headquarters in Milwaukee in the Wisconsin primary against Kennedy. In the Wisconsin primary against Kennedy, I knew we were in trouble because they had Austin and me going out, as I used to say, to some county whose name we couldn't pronounce to meet some local politicians whom we had never met about an issue about which we had just been briefed. My good friend James Burns was working for Kennedy. We went over to see Jim and I could see batteries of secretaries and phone answerers and I knew this was a real professional organization. Humphrey's was intense, but it was made up of college professor types and volunteer types.

I became a great admirer of Humphrey's. He was a man of great courage. He had great energy. He was a man of the greatest integrity and who would have nothing to do with personality attacks upon his opponents. We worked with Orville Freeman, who was then the governor of Minnesota. When he came over to Wisconsin he was just a worker with us. Eugene McCarthy--

Lage: He was on this campaign too?

Peltason: When we went to the convention, we slept in the cheese room, where they served cheese during the day. At night, that's where the workers slept. In 1960, that's when [Adlai] Stevenson threw the vice presidential campaign open. We went around, Austin and I, at two in the morning. I remember going to the Connecticut delegation, talking to Chester Bowles and trying to get Humphrey support. I thought I told you this story--it was in 1960 when I was in charge of telling the press what was going on in the campaign.

Lage: I don't think so.

Peltason: Again, I remember thinking, Where was I getting most of my information? I was reading the newspapers and telling the newspapers what was going on. [chuckles] We were there at the Chicago headquarters of Humphrey when a telegram came in. Someone alleged that they had some dirt on Senator Estes Kefauver--some scandal in his life involving some woman. Austin and I, as young assistant professors reading about these things, thought, Ah, this is going to be a big deal. The telegram was shown to Senator Humphrey, he looked at it and tore it in two and said, "We don't do that sort of thing," and that was the end of it. He had no hesitation. His immediate thought was that it's got nothing to do with politics. I think about that as against the current headlines.

Lage: Oh, I'll say. What a sea change.

Peltason: As I said, Austin and I were close to Kirk and Max, who were very close to Humphrey. So we were next to the inner circle. Because the senator was out campaigning all the time, my job was to find out what was happening in the Senate the day before or in the newspapers the day before. I would brief him on the civil rights issues. We would meet with him in the morning, and we would go around the room, and it would take him about two seconds to understand what was going on. He knew right away.

He also engaged in a debate--it comes back to me now--with Kennedy. We briefed him on that. I guess it was a radio debate. He was asked questions from the press. We had to brief him on that. It was a very good experience for me to see a real live vice presidential candidate work hard.

Lage: But was this for vice president or was he going for president this time?

Peltason: He was running for vice president in 1960. One of the few times someone actually ran for vice president. [chuckles] It wasn't until '68 that he ran for president. It could be I'm confusing my dates. I think maybe I worked for him in '60 and '64.

Lage: In '64 he became Johnson's vice president. And '68 was the memorable convention.

Peltason: That's right.

Lage: I bet we get to that when you're chancellor at Illinois. Or should we get to it now?

Peltason: Well, in '68 I was not involved personally there, but I remember Kirk and Jeane Kirkpatrick telling me about how horrible it was and how bitter most of us who were Humphreyites felt towards Eugene McCarthy because he didn't support Humphrey. We felt that if McCarthy really supported Humphrey the way we hoped he might, that he would have won and beat Nixon in '68. It was a close election.

When I first went to work for Senator Humphrey, I had only known him by reputation. The reputation was a man who talked a lot and was maybe a little pompous. I had known that he had led the fight for civil rights early on and that he was a man whom I generally supported, but I didn't particularly admire him as a person. After I got to know him, I came to admire him as a person both because of his integrity and his brightness and because of his personal generosity. His instincts were always to like people and be positive.

Association with Senator Paul Simon

Peltason: Among the public figures that I've gotten to know during my life, Paul Simon is another senator from Illinois whom I admire. I'm still in contact with him. He was a legislator in the Illinois legislature when I was there. He wrote plays about Lincoln. His wife, Jeanne, was a fellow legislator in the Illinois legislature. When I became president of ACE [American Council on Education], Paul was head of the most important committee in the House of Representatives, so I got to work with him there. He did the honor of consulting with me--not with me alone, but with me and probably a thousand other people; we worked to push him to run for Senate. Then I supported him when he ran for president.

One little episode of when he was running for president. By that time I was chancellor at the University of California, Irvine. Once I became an administrator I dropped out of any kind of involvement with partisan politics. When you're a chancellor you can't have any personal political life without involving the university. I believe very strongly that universities serve all the people--Republican and Democrat, liberal and conservative--and if you take a job as a chancellor you forego any right to be a partisan. So I've been very careful.

But I was in my office one day and the phone rang, and I picked it up, and there was Paul. He has this deep, booming voice. I said, "Where are you?" He said, "In a car on the way to the Irvine University Club. You and Suzie should come down and be with us." I said, "Paul, I can't come because--is it a fundraiser?" He said, "Yes. There is a cocktail party for some givers, and then there will be a dinner party for the large givers. You and Suzie should join us." I said, "I can't do that because I can't involve the university in politics." He said, "I understand. But come on down; nobody will know." [laughter] It was against my better instincts, but I called Suzie and I said, "He's a good friend and I might make an exception this time. We'll just go sit in the back of the room." Paul promised me that no one would know we were there. Well, he must have forgotten, because as we came in the room he said, "There's Chancellor Peltason, my good friend! Come up here."

Lage: Oh, no. Did you feel a little used, perhaps?

Peltason: No, because I knew that Paul wasn't using me. He was just friendly. There were reporters there, but in Orange County it would be bad to see the headline "Chancellor Attends Fundraiser."

Lage: So how did you handle it?

Peltason: Well, we were stuck. We stayed for dinner. But either the local reporters didn't think it was a story or they were responsible enough not to publish it. That was the only time, I think, as chancellor that I ever jeopardized my responsibilities as chancellor by getting close to partisan politics. But that was because of my close friendship to Paul.

Association with Senator John Tower

Peltason: Another good friend of mine, which really surprised a lot of people, was John Tower. I taught at Smith College. It was a nine-month job, and the pay was so low that we had to find a job in the summer. My parents lived in Wichita Falls, and I got a job once teaching at Midwestern University. I applied to them for a job to teach in the summertime. They were very kind. They knew I had my Ph.D. from the East--they weren't exactly sure whether it was Harvard, Yale. They said, "You're going to teach American History." I said, "No, I'm a political scientist." Somebody said, "Oh, you can teach history." I was

told, "You're lucky they didn't ask you to teach zoology." So I taught a course on history during that summer at Midwestern University.

I met this young man, John Tower, who was teaching there. He was the son-in-law of one of my parents' best friends in Wichita Falls. During that summer John and I got to be good buddies. He was a Republican. He told me he was going to run against President Lyndon Johnson; [chuckles] that was the craziest thing I ever heard. He was very conservative and a very nice, decent man. On the civil rights issue, which we might have had some difference about, he was on my side on the grounds that that was getting in the way of building the Republican Party in the South. He wanted to get that issue out of the way so he could be active in Republican politics. He and I retained our friendship. In addition to Paul, the only United States Senator I really knew by first name was John Tower, a very conservative Republican.

When I was dean at University of Illinois, John came and debated. We had a big debate--I can't remember against whom he debated. I presided over it. I saw him very little when I was at ACE, but we always kept in touch. Then he separated and divorced his wife, who was the daughter of our good friend, but that didn't break our friendship. John's office was always responsive. As I revised a book or would need things, I could write to his office as well as Paul's and get things.

I was active, as I said, as a political scientist in the Stevenson campaign and the Douglas campaign.

Lage: I didn't hear about the Stevenson campaign.

Peltason: I was active only in the sense that I was the local door-ringer. [chuckles] I wasn't advising Governor Stevenson. Those were the days of my partisan Democratic politics.

End of Participation in Partisan Politics

Peltason: Then as I became a dean and vice chancellor and a chancellor, I ceased to be active in partisan politics, because it wasn't professionally as helpful and because of my obligations as a university administrator. All during my administrative life I've taken the view that the institution is neutral. One of the reasons I retired was I have a feeling I've told my stories to so many audiences it's time to stop. [laughter] But I've

always said that we're in real trouble when the Academic Senate acts like the United States Senate or the United States Senate tries to run the universities. If we want to defend the right to search for truth, we can't be instruments of power; we're instruments of truth.

Lage: This probably comes up over time as we continue the interview.

Peltason: Yes, in the 1960s when I was pressured to sign petitions.

VI DEAN AT ILLINOIS, COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES,
1960-1964

Move to New Home and Birth of Daughter Jill, 1962

- Lage: Okay, let's pick up with where we left off last time. Your last words were, "I'll start with the new house." And then we're going to talk about the deanship in Illinois.
- Peltason: We moved from our prefabricated National Home to a modern flat-roofed architect-designed home. My wife Suzanne, I think, if she had had her choice in a profession, she would have been an architect. She's really good at designing things. In fact, if our third child hadn't been born, she might have actually gone back to school to become an architect.
- Lage: So she thought of this?
- Peltason: She thought about that for a while. She worked with a local architect. Champaign-Urbana had a lot of modern architecture, and they built a flat-roof house, which as the royalties from Government by the People came in permitted us to move up in life. We built this house and got into some financial trouble because--I can't remember precisely--it was supposed to cost \$25,000 and it ended up costing \$35,000.
- ##**
- Peltason: That was the house in which I was a professor then and became dean. And Jill was born there. Jill was our third child.
- Lage: What year was she born?
- Peltason: She just had her birthday, and she's thirty-five. Suzie was thirty-six when Jill was born, and she was born in '25.
- Lage: That would make it '61. [Jill was born March 1, 1962]

Peltason: That's right. I was dean in '60 and Jill was born in '62. I always said that it was inappropriate for a dean to have a pregnant wife and a small child; that's what graduate students do. [laughter]

Lage: But you were happy to have Jill.

Peltason: We were happy to have Jill. She was named after my sister. This meant that since Nancy was born nine months and three days after we were married, and Jill was like eleven years after Tim, we've had children all our lives. I've always been surrounded by a cute little girl: from my sister to now my granddaughters. And sweet young boys: nice young sons and grandsons.

Lage: Even if you haven't changed diapers.

Peltason: [laughs] I still got through without changing diapers.

Lage: Okay. [chuckles]

A Perpetual Education as Dean

Lage: Now tell me about being a dean.

Peltason: I didn't know whether I would like being dean. I remember the first day I was a dean I sat down in my office and the phone rang. That's the first time I had ever had my own big private office with a secretary and an assistant. As I say, in those days there was little air conditioning. To get an air-conditioned office in Champaign-Urbana you had to be an experimental animal or a dean. [laughter] The phone rang and somebody said, "Dean Peltason, what is your policy about such and such?" I said, "I like the ring of that 'Dean Peltason,' but my policy--I never thought about it in my whole life."

Lage: You were just winging it.

Peltason: I had no prior administrative experience.

Lage: Were you given any guidelines, or did the president have an agenda? How did you get to be picked to be dean?

Peltason: I don't know why I got picked to be dean.

Lage: You told how, but you didn't really tell why.

Peltason: I wasn't privy to the conversations. It was a real gamble. I've had a lot of experience in picking administrators; I don't think I would have picked myself. I think the man who should have been dean and subsequently became a dean--and he became a good friend--was a man by the name of Bob Rogers, who was the head of the English Department and a very distinguished scholar. I was so unknowledgeable about the politics of the college that I didn't know he was a candidate. He called me very generously after I became dean and promised to be cooperative and was very helpful. I think the search committee couldn't arrive at a consensus about the known candidates, and since they didn't know anything about me, they took their chance on a young professor.

Lage: Do you think writing a textbook made you more attractive?

Peltason: I don't know. I don't think so. I had no known particular reason to be a dean. I had only been a full professor for one year. I knew a lot of people and liked a lot of people. I hadn't made any enemies, I guess. I was known for my commitment to teaching and scholarship.

But I discovered I liked being a dean. You're not supposed to say that. It's part of the conventions of the academic world that you yearn to get back to teaching, and that you're just being an administrator as a kind of sacrifice. You need to camouflage your interest and enjoyment in being an administrator. But I found it to be a perpetual education. I didn't know anything about what they did in the other departments, but when you're the dean the finest people in the world invite you to the department to tell you about their work. I happened to be dean just as the biological revolution was taking place.

Lage: And you were dean of the sciences?

Peltason: There were twenty-four departments, if I remember correctly. I used to say I'm an outsider in twenty-three and a meddler in one. [laughter] From anthropology to zoology. In Illinois, unlike California, a dean has charge of the budget. It's still consensual, but the money is allocated to the dean, who with the work of an executive committee, reallocates it to the departments--including the salary money. The first time somebody came to the dean's office to get some funds for something--I can't remember what it was--I had no notion that I could allocate money or how much money I could allocate. I remember calling up Lyle Lanier, who was the provost and who became a close personal friend, and he said he would help me.

I said, "This man wants me to allocate something like \$5,000." He said, "Well, do it." "You mean I can?" "Yes."

Lage: It's really pretty amazing that you would be thrown into this with so little training.

Peltason: I learned as I went along. We had an executive committee which was very helpful. Like most of those offices, women who worked there for twenty or thirty years, who had seen deans come and deans go--in those days we called it a matriarchy--they would guide you and tell you what to do and what to say. But I learned quickly and I had the support of a strong, well-regarded provost. I told you I took the job with some apprehension about David Henry and quickly learned that he was a man of real great strength who supported me and encouraged me. When I would do things that he thought I did properly, he let me know.

Lage: And vice versa?

Peltason: Yes, generally. I discovered I liked the excitement. I liked the fact that you're learning new things. It made going to work an adventure. I worked with departments and I got to know the heads of these very powerful departments. In Illinois, department heads are also persons of real importance. I got to know my fellow deans, and I got to know the trustees. I had to appear before the trustees. And as the dean of the largest college, I played a prominent role in the whole campus.

Lage: Were the other deans deans of professional schools?

Peltason: Deans of engineering, journalism, agriculture, law. I can't remember them all. Fine arts. These people became good personal friends.

Lage: And then Lyle Lanier--

Peltason: He was the provost.

Lage: Did that put him above all the deans?

Peltason: Yes. He was the second in command. Illinois was growing in those days. It was exciting to be there. I learned to go with them to Springfield, so I got to participate in making presentations to the legislature.

Lage: This was good training for your future career.

Peltason: Good training. I remember learning about the biological revolution. At this time, molecular biology was beginning to take hold of biology, and there were great battles between the traditionalists and the molecular biologists. It's very reminiscent of the battles that were taking place in political science. The modern molecular-based biologists would say about their other colleagues that they weren't scientists, that they were just descriptive--they just classify things, they're not real scientists. The traditional biologists would say to me about the new ones that they're not really biologists, they wouldn't know an animal if they saw one, because all they did was molecules.

We helped bring Illinois into the modern day. There was a man, the director of the School of Life Sciences--which was part of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences--by the name of Doc Halverson. The Illinois chemistry department had distinguished chemists and microbiologists. There were people like Sal Lurie, who went on to get a Nobel Prize. I can't remember all their names now.

Lage: Did you reorganize the departmental structure?

Peltason: Gradually.

Controversy over Revilo Oliver and Defense of Academic Freedom

Peltason: The first baptism by fire that I got, however, as dean was--I think I told you that when Willmoore Kendall would come to town, one of his friends was a guy named Revilo Oliver. Revilo is Oliver spelled backwards. Revilo was a professor of classics. He was a monarchist. People say he didn't join the John Birch Society because he was too reactionary. Revilo used to call me the "Red Dean." [chuckles] Revilo was a good classicist presumably, but he was against fluoridation. He fought the anti-flouride campaign. He would make speeches all over the country, and I would get all these words back about Revilo. I called him in once and said, "Revilo, when you go out and speak, be sure to make it clear you're speaking for yourself and not on behalf of the university." So the next day, he went to Dallas and said, "I'm here to speak against communism, but my dean specifically asked to make it clear I wasn't speaking for him."

Lage: How funny. Did you get along well?

Peltason: He was always gracious socially. I think I told you about the party I went to when Willmoore Kendall and Austin's book came out, and as I say, you have to be the friend of the bride or the groom. Revilo's wife was called Gracie. So when I introduced myself, I said, "Oh, yeah, I've heard about you. You're the Burns of Burns and Allen." [laughter]

He was always attacking me for being a radical. One day I went to work as dean, I looked in my drawer, and there was a slightly frayed shirt. And I thought to myself, "Oh well, nobody's going to see me today. I'll wear that shirt." I got to work and the director of public relations called me up and said, "Jack, have you ever read--" I can't remember the name of the magazine; some John Birch magazine. I said no. He said, "I want to send you down a copy. Get ready: NBC, ABC, and CBS are down to interview you, because Revilo has just published an article titled "Marxism in Dallas" in which Revilo said the reason Kennedy got assassinated was because he was a Communist, but he hadn't delivered the country to the Communist party." This was right after Kennedy's assassination, so the country was still raw from that.

Lage: Boy, this guy was wild. So the Communists assassinated Kennedy because he didn't carry through.

Peltason: That's right. This story had just broken, and CBS and ABC were down to interview me. I called up Gracie and said that I needed to talk to Revilo, and she said that he was teaching. I said, "He's going to be interviewed." She said, "Oh, my. He didn't mean to cause all that trouble." I called him up and I said, "We'll protect your right to teach your class. If you need any help in answering these questions--." He said, "No, I'll take care of that."

I had to defend Revilo Oliver's right to write that article. Before the morning was out, I had been interviewed by all the national networks. I tried to explain to them that there was no evidence that he was anything other than a distinguished classicist who taught his classes and wrote his books, and those were his own private views. We weren't going to bring any action to fire him or discipline him because there was no reason to do it other than we didn't agree with his article.

One reporter asked me a very good question. He said to me, "Would you hire him again?" which is a tough question. I said, "Well, I need persuasive evidence he's the finest classicist we could find." [chuckles]

I found it helpful because during my career I've had to defend the rights of professors, and most often it's the right attacking the left. My first defense of academic freedom came in defending a right-winger. It later made it somewhat easier to defend left-wingers, to indicate it wasn't my support or sympathy with the person's views but my strong commitment to academic freedom, the right of a professor to teach and engage in research in their chosen field, subject only to supervision by their professional colleagues, and as citizens to engage in the exercise of their constitutionally protected freedom of speech.

By the way, this gets ahead of the story, but I remember when I was chancellor at Illinois, going to Springfield and being attacked by a senator there wanting me to take some action against some radical left-wing professors, and I refused to do so. I got an award from the AAUP [American Association of University Professors] for defending academic freedom and for my courage. The point I made to them was it took absolutely no courage, because I knew I would come home a hero. What takes courage, I said, is to defend people that you--the faculty or students--want me to discipline. I remember having to defend the right of some people from Palestine to attack the Zionist cause and protect their right to be on campus to speak. I had to defend people accused of being anti-feminist. That's when it takes courage, because there you're going against the pressures from people whom you work with every day. It doesn't take that much courage to defend someone in the academic world from the right--during my career--but protecting academic freedom from enemies on the other side of the spectrum is harder.

Lage: Did they understand that? Did the AAUP respond to that?

Peltason: They do in general, but not in individual cases. [laughter]
In individual cases it's always, "We believe in academic freedom, but not in this particular case."

Efforts to Create an Honors Program

Peltason: The University of Illinois has a very distinguished faculty and lots of very smart students. The other thing I tried to do as a dean, but I was unsuccessful, however, was I tried to create a school within a school, an honors college. I learned a couple of things about that. When I first started creating an honors college, I would call in the dean and the chairs of the

departments and say, "I want you to put aside some money for an honors program." They said, "No, no, we don't have enough money." So the next year, instead of giving them all the money I had to allocate, I kept some back and said, "You can have this if you start an honors program." They all came forward to do it because they said it's the dean's money, not their money.

Lage: [laughs] They didn't realize it's the same pot.

Peltason: I learned a rule: as you go up the hierarchy, don't get in a battle with the person who allocates the money. They always have the last word. It's a dean's trick--just don't allocate it all out. Hold back some so you can exercise some initiatives. When I came back to Illinois, I did finally get an honors college. I think it was called Unit One. Again, I can't remember whether it was as a dean or a chancellor. But I was always working to create within these big universities smaller units. I always thought the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences lacked a core. Engineering schools have a professional core. Law schools have a professional core. But the faculty and deans of liberal arts schools don't have too much in common. The reason I mention that is I think it has subsequently affected the development of Irvine.

I tried to create an honors program so that a student would feel identified with something broader. Departments are very successful units. That's where faculty live and die. By the time you get to be a junior or a senior in a big liberal arts college, you're taken under the shelter of a department, and there's some coherence to your academic program. But during your freshman and sophomore year, if you're in a liberal arts college and an undeclared major, it's hard to get good advising. It's hard to have any coherent program. That was one of the things I was always struggling with in the big university.

Stint as Acting Provost and Acting President

Peltason: I enjoyed being dean. I felt that I was successful. In fact, I remember one year--again, I can't remember the precise year--Lyle went off to India, so I became the acting provost while I was the dean. Then the University of Illinois went to the Rose Bowl, so David Henry went off to the Rose Bowl. So for that Christmas period of about two weeks, I was the acting president, the acting provost, and the dean. I always want to

put down on my vita "acting president, '63-'64," or whenever it was. [laughter]

Lage: That's right--an apparent two-year period. [chuckles]

Peltason: A two-week period. I also had the experience when I was acting provost of turning down a recommendation I had made as dean. I say it was justified; it was good for the college but not good for the campus.

Lage: You did actually do that?

Peltason: I actually did that.

Lage: What was it? Do you remember?

Peltason: I can't remember what it was.

Lage: So did you just see it in a new light?

Peltason: I don't remember. The dean wanted it, but the provost didn't. I also became during that time the world's greatest expert on what to do in snowstorms. It was finals time and it started snowing on a Sunday, I remember that. I was in charge of the campus. Lyle was gone, and David Henry was gone. By the way, I never called him David Henry until much, much later; he was always "President." I had gone to sleep, I had been very tired, and I was awakened about five o'clock in the morning on Monday morning by the head of the physical plant saying, "You're going to have to do something. Finals are planned, we have been working all night, we can't get the students into the building. What should we do?" I was sleepy enough to say, "I don't know. Turn on the radio and find out what they say."

He said, "No, you don't understand. You're the one that's supposed to tell them on the radio what to do." He said, "We're going to send a police car out for you. You come into the office here; we have to do something." Suzie shoveled the snow, I remember, the police got me to work. By this time it was about five-thirty. I got calls from faculty who had their plans made and didn't want to postpone finals. I got calls from student leaders saying we have to postpone the finals. We finally decided we would postpone them on Monday and reschedule them on Sunday morning.

Lage: On the following Sunday?

Peltason: Yes. I was told, "You're going to be in serious trouble scheduling finals on Sunday. Every minister is going to call

and complain." I said, "Tell them that God made it snow, so we are rescheduling finals on his time."

Lage: Did you get complaints?

Peltason: I don't remember. Not enough that I remember. I don't think so. But I learned the complications of closing the university. We were arbitrating claims for years after that. If you close the university, then you have to pay double time to all the people who came to work. So we kept the university open and rescheduled finals. That's when we--like they say in Washington--told only the essential workers to come to work. [chuckles] When I came to California I said I was glad to be here, because if there's a snowstorm I know exactly what to do. [laughter]

Role in Faculty Recruitment and Retention

Lage: Did you get involved in recruiting faculty as dean?

Peltason: Yes, very much so. Recruiting and retaining faculty. In those days there was great competition for faculty. And Illinois was a good enough institution to have faculty that other people wanted, but not so good that people wouldn't consider pending offers. Unlike California, Illinois has more individualized salary schedules and terms and conditions.

Lage: So each one is separately negotiated?

Peltason: There's much more flexibility. It took only three people to make a firm offer: the chairman of the department, the dean of the college, and the provost. And usually the dean of the graduate school. The four of us would get together and make an offer. I remember in those days saying, "Thank God for California's bureaucracy," because with their sunshine and all of their strength, if they can move as fast as we did we would never win against California.

Lage: [laughs] So you recognized the bureaucracy from a distance.

Peltason: California takes forever to make a decision compared to other universities.

Lage: You had had that experience yourself.

Peltason: That's right.

Lage: So the four of you could get on the phone and offer a contract.

Peltason: Well, we'd have to go over the credentials. We'd say, "Professor so-and-so has just gotten this offer from Michigan or Wisconsin or Berkeley or Caltech or something. The head of the department says he's an outstanding person and here's the document. We need another \$300 or \$500 or \$3,000 to meet the offer, and it's got the support of the head of the department, who's consulted with his advisory committee." The dean says, "I'll go along." The dean and the head would have to find the money for it. And the provost and the dean of the graduate school would look over your shoulders and say, "It makes sense to us."

Lage: And there it was.

Peltason: And there it was.

Lage: What about hiring? Did that have more of a process involved?

Peltason: Much faster process. Again, I don't want to give the impression there wasn't a lot of consulting, but there were fewer formal steps than in California. People get consulted, but they get consulted in a less formal manner. Fewer documents have to be produced. But as the dean I was involved in all of those decisions, and recruiting and retaining faculty was one of the most important things.

Spousal Hiring

Peltason: Also, by the way, another thing that I started doing then--I was aware of the fact that the faculty was chiefly all white and all male. I fought two battles to change that. One, we had a strong nepotism rule which said that you couldn't hire a child or a parent or a spouse of a faculty member. That got translated as you couldn't hire a wife. Around the University of Illinois were a lot of brilliant women who were doing part-time teaching but could never get tenure.

Lage: So they could be hired on the non-tenure track.

Peltason: That's right. They could never make a career out of it. This had the consequence of discriminating against women, this so-called anti-nepotism rule. Now you argue that nepotism means you shouldn't hire people because they're a relative, but it didn't mean you should discriminate against people who were

otherwise eligible because of a relative. I took the first case involving tenure in the same department--the psychology department--and I pushed the case and advocated the case. I remember the executive committee kept saying this is bad for the marriage. I said, "I'm not asking you to marry her. I'm asking you, Is she qualified to be a professor in the same department with her husband?" I made the case, it went to Lyle, and Lyle said, "We'll create an outside review committee to double check." It was the first case of a wife being given tenure in the same department as her husband. The unhappy ending was they did get a divorce. [laughter] But I broke the rule of the absolute prohibition. We got the rule changed to require some outside documentation but still made an appointment possible.

Lage: Did that rule apply just within departments or anywhere in the university?

Peltason: It was anywhere in the university but especially within a department. We established special procedures that neither one could be part of the consulting process recommending that the other be hired or given tenure. Nowadays at all universities, we frequently hire husbands and wives, in fact lots of special attention is paid to finding places for spouses. There are many husbands and wives on all faculties these days. But in the sixties, it was most unusual. I am please to say that I was one who pioneered this breakthrough.

Recruitment of Minority Faculty Members

Peltason: The other thing I pioneered was I wrote to the heads of the historically black colleges and asked them to give me the names of the outstanding students who had gone on to graduate school from the historically black colleges, so that I then had names of the graduate students who were now in graduate school and gave those to departmental chairs and said, "Here are names for you to consider in your employment." I was trying to provide them with a pool of highly qualified African Americans so that they couldn't say, "Well, we couldn't find anybody who was qualified." I had considerable opposition to this.

Lage: How did people respond?

Peltason: Generally positive, but there were some people who felt--for the same reason some people have always been against affirmative action--that this was a discrimination in reverse.

But there were so few African Americans on the faculty of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences that I felt aggressive recruiting needed to be put into place.

New Directions and Key Goals as Dean ##

Peltason: While I was dean, I also got us involved in the social life of the college. When I was a professor, my social life revolved around the political science department. When I became dean, it started revolving around this college. There were no funds for entertaining in those days, but they told you that's one of the reasons you got this big salary--you can use some of that money for entertaining. [chuckles] Suzanne was very good, and we started having college-wide parties, and we started getting invited to other departments. It was enriching socially and personally as well as professionally to enlarge your friendships from just your department to the whole college and other deans and other schools. I got to know the other deans and would travel with them on various activities.

Lage: Was there a sense, not just in these social settings but in your meetings, that you were moving the university in a certain direction or just kind of taking care of business?

Peltason: Taking care of business, but moving in the direction of trying to improve the quality of the faculty. This was an expansion period. It still wasn't that far away from the non-growth of the forties and fifties. I know that one of the battles that Lyle had had when he was dean was to gain more space for the college that did most of the teaching. But it's hard to get space for the liberal arts colleges as against the professional schools. So I had an ally in the provost, who was helping us get more space. So in those days we were all crowded, especially as the social sciences and the biological sciences became more experimental and needed more laboratories and more space.

I also used to say that when you're a dean it's like having twenty-four children. Twenty of them get along fine; you spend most of your time with the four. I would go to bed at night counting, Well, that department's in pretty good shape, but that one needs help. You never had all twenty-four of them working properly. As a dean, one thing I learned was that even though you don't know anything about the field, you can know quality when you see it and you can know which departments are working well, recruiting good graduate students, teaching their

undergraduates properly, and being aggressive about building the quality of the institution.

Universities are highly competitive, not just on the sports field. You want to have the best physics department, you want to have the best chemistry department, you want to have the best political science department, and the best English department. Deans of liberal arts play the game just as a football coach does, of knowing that under your leadership the teaching and research have gotten stronger and better, and also trying to improve the quality of life for the students and the faculty.

Involvement in Student Life

Lage: Was that part of your role? Or was there a student affairs office?

Peltason: There was Student Affairs, but I was still dean of the students. I got them to call the students by their last name. I went in the hall once and saw the associate deans calling students by their first names, and they thought I was crazy.

Lage: Was that something that had been in your own background?

Peltason: I don't remember why. Generally the dean of the college became the dean of the faculty and let professionals run the student life. But I took seriously my responsibilities for student life, and I worked with some nice people. I was also soft-hearted in letting students back in for second chances that were appealed to me.

We had a considerable number of students who in their freshman year didn't do well. Sometimes they would start in the engineering schools because their father wanted them to be an engineer and they weren't cut out to be an engineer. But they would do so poorly during their freshman year that by their second year they had to go up straight in order to balance out. The rule at Illinois was that at the end of your second year you had to have a C average. If you made bad grades in your first year you had to make twice as good grades to stay in. I think it was by the time you were a junior you had to have a C average.

Lage: I see. After two years.

Peltason: I remember being concerned about the students at the big campuses. I believe Illinois generally does treat its students sensitively by providing guidance and help and support.

Lage: How about student athletes? Did you have to give special consideration to any of them?

Peltason: No. In all my years as a professor and a dean, I never had to withstand any particular pressure. The coaches would ask about the students' grades and we would tell them, and the athletic association provided them with special tutoring. But I was never asked to change the grade for the star player. That was especially the problem with football players. Basketball players generally did better, but the football players who did badly the first semester could not play in the second semester. I don't remember having to withstand any particular pressure. I was a strong sports fan.

Lage: You went to games?

Peltason: I went to games. I never had gone to graduation until I was a dean, and I remember at the first graduation there were thousands of people in the stadium. It took place in the football field, and the deans of the colleges were to go down there and meet their graduates. I didn't know where my graduates were; I was walking all over the football field trying to find them, going in the wrong direction. Also, that was the time that at graduation I went up to meet the students and their parents and I went up to some parents to congratulate them, and they said to me, "What department did you graduate from?"

Lage: Oh, no--you weren't that young.

Peltason: I said, "I don't want to walk up to somebody and say, 'I'm your son's dean.' The next time I go I want a sign." So they started putting up signs, so that the parents would come and say Dean Peltason or Dean Rogers or whatever their names might be. It was more embarrassing to the parents than it was to Suzanne or to me.

Lage: Well, it's probably because Suzanne looks so young.

Peltason: That's what it was. [laughter]

Recollections of President David Henry

Lage: You did a tell a story in the speech that you sent me a copy of about ROTC and President Henry.

Peltason: That's right. I learned from watching President Henry. Frequently faculty would rather you make noise than be effective. They want you to thunder. They want you to get up and attack the enemies. Even if nothing changes, they say, "Boy, our dean's done a wonderful thing," or "Our president's done a wonderful thing, fighting the honorable fight, speaking out on our behalf." I watched David Henry get things done. An issue in those days was that every male student at the University of Illinois had to take two years of ROTC as a condition of attending. By the sixties this no longer had the support of the faculty, it couldn't be defended educationally, and it wasn't particularly helping the national defense.

So the Senate, and I as the dean, felt that that needed to be changed. It required some legislative adjustment, and David Henry said, "Now just don't say anything. Let me take care of this." He was well-liked among the legislators. A lot of the faculty were suspicious of him as being too conservative, too quiet, too timid and unwilling to take on the community leaders of Champaign-Urbana or the Illinois legislature. David Henry went to Springfield, called in some of the chips, and talked to a few key legislators. Without any fanfare, they amended the law, and we got rid of compulsory ROTC. But he got very little credit from the faculty for that.

Sometimes you have to choose between being popular and being effective, and that leadership comes in many ways other than making speeches or manipulating the symbols. He actually made a change. That was his way; he was quietly effective. I think because he lived long enough and people began to appreciate what he was doing, he retired respected if not revered. But in his early days a lot of the faculty thought of him as not very effective because of his quietness.

Lage: Did you ever have any disagreements with him over policy?

Peltason: I remember one time, now that you mention it, we were hiring people who were not citizens of the United States. There was some concern about this, as expressed by some of the legislators. David Henry said to me, "You know, there's some merit to that." I said, "Dr. Henry, the merit is we want to be sure that the person understands American education, can speak English properly, and is sympathetic with what we do in our

universities. So I tell you what we'll do: anytime we are considering a non-citizen, we'll create a special committee to reassure us that although not an American citizen, this person understands and is sympathetic and has the tools and can meet our needs." He said, "Fine." Once I put it into a context, it gave him assurances that we were picking people who were not only distinguished scholars but understanding what was expected from them at a big Midwestern university. It also provided him with the protection in case we were attacked, that allowed him to explain it in a way that made sense to people: that we were going to get the finest faculty we could from around the world, and that we were a great university and not just a parochial university, and we were sensitive to the needs of having people brought in. Then when I became chancellor under him later on, when we went through the sixties, he was very supportive.

Lage: That must have been trying times for him.

Peltason: Yes. But he also grew in the job and became more secure.

Lage: What other campuses did Illinois look at as their peer institutions?

Peltason: Michigan, Wisconsin--the Big Ten--and California. I was very actively involved with the deans of the Big Ten in those days. The University of Washington was after a lot of our faculty. Illinois was then and is today an underappreciated university. It's a very sophisticated, cosmopolitan place. David Henry, when I was dean, got the Assembly Hall and the Performing Arts Center. I enjoyed my time there. I wouldn't have left. And that moves us on to when I came to California.

Lage: Okay. I'm going to ask one more question; it may not be relevant. Did you have a role in seeking funding to support faculty research?

Peltason: Not directly. I knew about, in those days, indirect cost money and helping faculty, but as in most universities--especially the liberal arts school--research funding comes from non-state sources. Agriculture got some direct research money. It was the faculty who applied for the grants from the NSF, NIH, and the Defense Department. Those funding agencies were in place then. But I personally didn't have any outside fundraising responsibilities, other than going to banquets and being deployed by the fundraisers.

VII THE FOUNDING OF UC IRVINE, VICE CHANCELLOR FOR ACADEMIC AFFAIRS, 1964-1967

Initial Recruitment as Dean

- Lage: Should we move to how you got out here to sunny California?
- Peltason: As I told you, we had almost made it to Santa Barbara. [laughter] Suzanne and I both have always wanted to live in California. In the fifties, my best friend Austin Ranney's mother lived in Corona, California.
- Lage: Corona Del Mar?
- Peltason: Not Corona Del Mar but Corona, which is about thirty miles inland from Newport Beach. Austin and Betsey were out here with his mother, and they said to Suzie and to me, "Why don't you drive out and spend a summer? My mother has a beach house in Newport Beach." This was before Jill was born. In the fifties, Austin and I were associate professoring together. So we drove across the country, and Austin met us in Corona. We spent two weeks with the Ranneys. We stayed at Mrs. Ranney's house in Corona. I think we went to Disneyland together; it was just after it opened, I think. We stayed at the beach house in Newport Beach. I said to Austin once, sitting on the beach, "If you ever start a university in Newport Beach, California, count me in." [laughter]

In 1963 I got a call from Ivan Hinderaker. Ivan was a colleague of mine in political science. He said, "I'm recruiting for this new campus of the University of California in Irvine. I talked to Austin the other day, and he suggested that you might be interested," and he told me about that conversation. He said, "I'm looking for a dean of social science, and I'm working with this guy named Dan [Daniel G., Jr.] Aldrich." I said, "I'm just starting being a dean here. I enjoy being a dean here. We're happy here. But California

has always been in the back of our minds. If we ever left here, it would be for an offer in California. But I'm dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Dean of social science sounds to me like a much smaller job." Ivan says, "Let me come talk to you." Ivan came out and talked to me. It was a beautiful spring day on the campus.

Lage: Did you know Ivan very well?

Peltason: Yes. Ivan Hinderaker was a long-time political science friend. I think I had written some books in the 1960s, some Henry Holt readers for political science, and Ivan had written one of those, maybe as my editor. I used to always tease Ivan Hinderaker because in those days there weren't very many Republicans, and he was one. I said, "You're our token Republican. You get our affirmative action. Put Ivan on a committee." I remember Ivan subsequently told me that he thought he would never persuade me because he came out and it was a beautiful spring day in Urbana and a big university. He was recruiting for a university that had no buildings.

Lage: Irvine wasn't even a town then. Or was it?

Peltason: No, there wasn't any town.

So Ivan invited me out to meet Dan. Ivan picked me up at LAX [Los Angeles International Airport]. In those days the freeway wasn't down there. Ivan is the most enthusiastic Californian I've ever known. He thinks everything about California is wonderful. We were now leaving LAX and he said, "Look around. Isn't it wonderful?" If you look around outside LAX it's oil wells, and I thought, This isn't the California I had in mind.

Lage: No, it's ugly. [laughter]

Peltason: I thought I'd better call up Suzie and tell her that California has changed. [laughter]

Lage: So there was no freeway?

Peltason: I think there was a freeway down to maybe Long Beach. Then I guess we went down Highway 1. Ivan and Birk, his wife, have a beautiful house, and they entertained me and put me up at the Newporter Inn. I then met Dan Aldrich. He was tall, vigorous. He said, "We were going to create a major university here."

Lage: Was he filled with idealism?

Peltason: Filled with enthusiasm and idealism and knowledge. He was a sophisticated man and knew the University of California backwards and forwards. He took me out to the headquarters, which was then in what we called a Butler building on the north campus. There weren't any buildings showing. He introduced me to about two or three other people, the vice chancellor of administration. There were about three or four people in those days. I think Ed [Edward] Steinhaus, the dean of biology, had been picked. And he persuaded me that this was a wonderful opportunity and that Dan was a charismatic man.

Ivan was an old friend, and he and Dan said, "We don't know much about it. You're very experienced." By that time I was an experienced dean. I used to always say, "Out of my vast experience as a dean--for a year or two." I then said to them, "I would like to come. I've always wanted to get to California and the opportunity to start a new campus of the University of California is a challenge. But I have some problems," because I really would have a problem explaining it to my Illinois colleagues. When you are a dean of a major college in a major university and leave them to go help start a place that doesn't even exist and take on a much narrower range of duties than you have at Illinois, it could be construed as an insult to Illinois.

Lage: Were they still talking about dean of social science?

Peltason: Yes. I said, "Let's think about it." They called me back. I can't remember the sequence of events, but somewhere in those conversations they said, "Come out here as dean of our College of Liberal Arts and Sciences." I said, "But you don't have a College of Liberal Arts and Sciences." They said, "We do now." [laughter]

Lage: You mean that job was created for you?

Peltason: For me. They said, "You'll be the general dean of the faculty, and the school deans will report to you." I liked that plan they had because, as I told you, I felt this was a novel idea to make these schools, which were bigger than a department but smaller than a whole liberal arts college, into meaningful units--one for biological sciences, one for physical sciences.

Lage: And you didn't have that at Illinois. They all reported directly to you.

Peltason: Well, we started creating schools there to create subunits. But still, subunits were being created by the college rather than starting with the subunits. I went back and explained to

Henry and Lyle and my colleagues, and they were gracious. They didn't make me feel guilty. They said, "We're sorry about that. We have a big future and a plan for you here, but we understand the challenge." And Lyle understood the lure of California. I think I told you the story of how Dan said, "I can make you a dean in no time, but it will take me six months to make you a professor." So we started that process, and we drove across the country.

Lage: But you stayed a whole year back in Illinois [academic year 1963-1964].

Peltason: That's what I did. I stayed a whole year because I had to give them notice. I was the lame duck for a year. It wasn't fair just to leave right away. I think I told them in July and stayed for another year. I did a little informal consulting with Ivan, because I remember he and I went to Chicago and recruited Jim [James G.] March to become dean of social sciences. Ivan would call me up, and I would join him in making calls, so the recruiting went on.

But I stayed back and helped Illinois, and Bob Rogers became my successor. All of a sudden I had to learn how to become a lame duck. To me that's one of the reasons I feel so strongly that the way we go about recruiting administrators is wrong. We ought to make it possible to do it much more quickly.

Relocation to Newport Beach, California

Peltason: My kids were devastated. Nancy was a senior in high school and had a boyfriend. Tim was happy in Uni High. Jill was too small to care. But when we left Champaign-Urbana, the drive out to California I had nothing but tears. We spent the first night in Springfield--we had just got started--and I had crying children. Nancy now as a grown woman has said to me on many occasions, "I forgive you." But it took a long time to forgive.

Lage: And how did Suzanne feel about it? Was she happy?

Peltason: We were excited about going to California. We drove across the country. We drove to San Antonio to see my parents on the way. Then Suzie and Jill and I guess Nancy flew on to Newport Beach, where we had a house. By the way, when we arrived in Newport Beach to find housing, I think my salary was like \$21,000, and

the real estate lady kept showing me houses right on the ocean for \$100,000 or \$150,000. I said, "I can't afford those houses." She said, "Everybody who lives there makes less than you do." I said, "How do they do that?" She said, "They buy a house with me for \$150,000 and immediately list it for \$200,000 and borrow as much money as they can." When we came back years later, those people were living as millionaires.

We bought a house that was on sale for \$38,000, but a speculator got a hold of it and sold it back to us for \$40,000. Three years later I sold it for \$40,000, thinking I had made a great deal because I lived there for three years.

But we arrived in Newport Beach and--have I told you this story?

Lage: I don't think so. You must have been talking to someone else. [chuckles]

Peltason: The furniture was in, and Nancy was still crying. Tim and I drove across the country together. I remember coming into Jamboree Road through the hot desert, rolling down the window, and to my surprise it really was moderate. We had a wonderful house on Bamboo Drive.

Lage: Did you buy a house right in Irvine there?

Peltason: In Newport Beach.

Lage: Was it near the beach?

Peltason: On a clear day you could see Catalina. I used to say, "What is so wonderful about seeing Catalina?" Because everywhere we went they would say, "On a clear day you could see Catalina." [laughter]

Appointment as Vice Chancellor

Peltason: I called up Ivan. I think it was on a Friday. "We're here, Ivan. I'll see you on Monday." Ivan said, "Well, I have a little bit of news for you." I said, "What's that?" He said, "I'm going to Riverside as a chancellor." I said, "I'm sorry to hear that. I was looking forward to working with you. But congratulations. Who's going to be the vice chancellor?" He said, "You are." I said to Suzie, "I've done so well I got promoted." I said, "What about the dean of the College of

Liberal Arts and Sciences." He said, "Well, that was just created to get you out here."

Lage: So that was just done away with without much concern.

Peltason: He and Dan had decided to make me vice chancellor. You understand how quickly we could do things in those days. I think they must have called up Clark Kerr. I came to work as a vice chancellor on Monday.

Lage: That was a nice surprise. Maybe you could look forward to that \$100,000 house.

Peltason: The salary was less. As a dean in those days you got your professor's salary plus an administrative stipend. But the vice chancellor's salary was set in a different way, and if I remember correctly I had \$500 less as vice chancellor than I would have had as a dean. But it was a more honest title. And it made me feel better that I was moving in the right direction in the administrative hierarchy. It was just more natural. It seemed appropriate.

Lage: Was that sort of the equivalent of provost at Illinois?

Peltason: Yes. I was then the second-in-command, so then Dan and I became the campuswide academic administrators. They'd call me in these days executive vice chancellor, but that was the role. I was disappointed not to work with Ivan but pleased for him that he was going to be chancellor of Riverside, and he was quite excited about that. But I got promoted before I even went to work.

Lage: That's amazing.

Dan Aldrich and His Vision for UC Irvine

Lage: Okay, we're at Irvine, you've been appointed vice chancellor--

Peltason: And started working with Dan. My admiration for Dan--I have several funny stories about Dan. Dan didn't drink. He's a real jock, a real competitor.

Lage: Was this a health thing or a religious thing?

Peltason: Both health and religious. He just didn't need it. Clark tells the story about how Dan said to him, "I can't take on

becoming a chancellor because I don't drink alcohol." Clark laughed and said, "That is not a requirement for being a chancellor." Dan wanted to be social and generous and he had no objection to other people having a cocktail, but he didn't know how to make drinks.

So one of my first jobs as vice chancellor came about when Dan said, "We're having a party at University House and I don't have any idea how to create a bar." So I ordered the drinks and served as bartender at the Aldriches' party in University House.

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Lage: And your training at Illinois and Smith helped with that?

Peltason: I wasn't too sophisticated--I didn't know if it was white wine or red wine--but you offer people drinks and just put them in the pantry in the chancellor's residence. I showed him how to ask people what they wanted. [laughter] He was a quick learner, but he never did drink. He was a great athlete. I used to tell all these Dan Aldrich stories. Dan was a very nice man, but he was a big man, a powerful man, and a tough competitor. So when he would play tennis with the faculty, I'd have to tell the faculty afterwards, "No, no, the chancellor's not mad at you. No, he's a nice man, he's just a tough competitor." The young assistant professors would come back from playing with Dan, and apparently he was very intense about it.

Lage: Did you play with him?

Peltason: No. I wouldn't dare. [laughter] The campus at Irvine is rather large, and it's said that every building was within a ten-minute walk to every other building. I said that that's Dan Aldrich's ten-minute walk [laughter] and not anybody else's ten-minute walk.

Lage: Did Dan have a vision of what he wanted to create there?

Peltason: He did. I learned a lot from Irvine. It wasn't overly planned. Of the three new campuses, Santa Cruz was the biggest departure from convention. San Diego had a jumpstart because they had Scripps. And Irvine--Dan says he wrote out the academic plan in Hawaii on a veranda. It had some special features to it, and I think it made sense. It said to go get the real smart faculty and let them fill in the details of the plan. Let it grow.

But Dan had the following vision, which I think was essential to Irvine's success: the day we opened we would be comprehensive. He claimed for us and got into the plan some professional schools. We really didn't have the resources to start an engineering school. But I think it was very smart to get it into the academic plan and grow into it. We had postdocs and freshmen the day we opened. The campus was planned on the assumption that we were going to 27,000 [student body]. It was built with the idea that we ought to recruit the kind of faculty you want when you're already grown up--not to grow up slowly but to be bold about the growth. Dan was very outgoing. He'd come from the land-grant tradition. Although he was a New Englander, he had a Wisconsin and Arizona background. He believed that what happened on the campus ought to involve the whole community, the whole state; we shouldn't build walls around the campus.

Lage: Would he talk like that with you and faculty members?

Peltason: Yes. I remember he and I had lunch at the Newporter Inn, and I knew right away that his vision and mine were congenial, and that he was just the right chancellor. Remember, we were in Orange County, and there was some apprehension about starting this school in Orange County. Orange County had a reputation in those days of being the home of the John Birch Society. Dan was a non-drinking, straight-shooter, agriculture dean--very religious and very committed to the academy. When you met Dan Aldrich you were meeting somebody of real integrity.

Lage: Did he have a political point of view?

Peltason: It wasn't much expressed. I always thought he was a Republican, but he was never aggressive about it. His point of view was that his party was the University of California. I do remember that I used to tease him a little bit because I thought I was the liberal and he was the conservative. When we started the dormitories--this was just about the time visitation in dormitories became an issue--Dan said, "Sure. These are young men and women. They'll behave properly. We'll create our dormitories." He thought young students could be counted on to behave, and you could count on them to be mature. I said, "Dan, you're going to be the first chancellor to be accused of having two communists under the bed: a boy and a girl." [laughter]

Lage: So they were coed dorms?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: Co-ed floors or--?

Peltason: I don't remember the details, but I remember Dan was quite venturesome, and he was very fond of the students and very close to the students. They called him Chancellor Dan, and he would stride the campus. He gets much of the credit for its growth, along with Bill [William L.] Pereira. Bill Pereira was a consulting architect. People were all recruited to Irvine by dreams; they had nothing to show us except the architect's drawing.

Bill Pereira's Architectural Vision for UC Irvine

Peltason: I remember when I got recruited, one of the first things that happened to me was they took me to Bill Pereira, who was a world-famous architect. He looked like a movie star. He drove a Bentley, he was chauffeured by a beautiful woman. I went to his headquarters, and there was a crackling fireplace--very sophisticated. He showed me the models of Irvine, and that's what it looks like today. I've almost never seen an architect's dream and then thirty-five years later you can see his drawings, and you say, "That's the campus."

Lage: Because it was planned for this large population.

Peltason: He planned the campus. The Irvine Company was planning simultaneously the city of Irvine, and Bill Pereira was the consulting architect to the Irvine Company as well as to the University of California at Irvine. Bill had really traveled the United States to plan this campus. He wanted to build a campus that would avoid two mistakes: one was called the Westwood mistake, where the surrounding neighborhood is so tony that faculty and students can't afford to live there. A more common mistake around each campus is a blight, with broken-down rooming houses.

So we had plans for the campus, and we had plans for the so-called inclusion areas. The Regents had gotten 1,500 acres: 1,000 acres from the Irvine Company was given to the Regents, and then the Regents bought another 500 acres for inclusionary areas: faculty housing and other things that go around the campus. It was all in this physical plan. And then Dan had made the academic plan so that each quadrant is for each school. Also this would be a campus in which technology was to play a major role.

Lage: You mean computer technology?

Peltason: Computers.

Lage: It seems so early for that.

Peltason: It was too early. We could talk the language, but we were ahead of the curve. I remember when the first computer came we all went over and looked at the computer. Dan had recruited a very distinguished dean of the graduate school by the name of Ralph [W.] Gerard. Ralph was a senior member of the faculty. He was a National Academy member, had been at the University of Chicago, a distinguished professor. He knew his way around. Ralph was the old man of the crowd, because in recruiting to Irvine we recruited relatively young people.

UC Irvine's Successes in Recruiting Faculty

Peltason: By the way, that's one of the best recruiting jobs I know of. I think by the time I got there, there were seven academics. We opened a year later with 157. Thirty-five years later there are two Nobel Prize winners, a lot of National Academy members. I'm very proud of the recruiting job we did: one of the largest numbers of people recruited in the shortest period of time who turned out subsequently to be distinguished academics. The only other recruiting task I know of was Woodrow Wilson's famous recruitment of fifty preceptors to Princeton at the turn of the century. They always say that forty-nine of them were very distinguished and one not.

Lage: And the average age, according to Sam McCulloch's book,¹ was thirty-six when you opened. That's amazingly young.

Peltason: That's right. We got comers--Ralph Gerard was the only established name. We recruited from both inside the University of California and outside the University of California.

¹McCulloch, Samuel, Instant University: The History of the University of California, Irvine, 1957-1993 (Irvine: 1996).

More on Dan Aldrich, Bill Pereira, and UC Irvine's Early Growth

Peltason: But before we get to recruiting, let me talk a little bit more about Dan. Dan and Bill Pereira were the team. Bill Pereira and Dan had the physical plan, and when you're recruiting people you can't show them anything, and there aren't any students, and there are no alums; you're selling them a dream. Bill Pereira was a very persuasive salesperson, as was Dan.

Lage: So Pereira even helped in this recruiting effort?

Peltason: Yes. We'd bring in the recruits, and this very sophisticated, world-famous planner spent a lot of time helping us recruit faculty. Although he built the Transamerica building and a lot of famous buildings, I think building the Irvine campus was one of the things of which he was proudest. Another thing I remember: one of the first jobs I had, Dan Aldrich said, "I want you to go to Berkeley to represent the campus as we're planning the hundredth anniversary of the University of California." [laughs] I said, "I've never been on a job where you have no faculty, no students, no history, and I'm here to plan the hundredth anniversary of the University of California." [laughs]

Lage: That's kind of a telling thing, though.

Peltason: I mean, it's a miracle that major campuses were built in such a short time. It was the genius of the University of California and the wealth and the strength of the state of California that you could do so. There was the excitement of one of the world's greatest universities giving you a fresh start to go out there and start over.

Also Clark Kerr was president, and he gets a lot of credit for UCI. Although I was the second-in-command or third-in-command of a brand-new campus, Clark was available to consult and advise. I had known him by reputation, and I got to know him. He was knowledgeable. He and [UC vice president] Harry Wellman were two giants who guided us but didn't try to tell us what to do. They gave us a Senate Advisory Committee first made up of the historian who then became the chancellor at San Diego, John S. Galbraith, and a professor of English from UCLA who became chair of it, Tom Swedenberg. They didn't try to micromanage; they were there to help. This wasn't the case of the established faculty being afraid that we wouldn't live up to standards. They were very supportive.

Lage: So they didn't look over your shoulder as you were recruiting.

Peltason: We had to bring recruits to them, but we said, "Look, we have to recruit 150 people in a hurry." They made us document our case. They were supportive. I think it's a miracle the University of California could move that fast.

Lage: It is a miracle. [laughter]

More on Faculty Recruitment and Development of the Curriculum

Peltason: Dan was always a presence. But again, he looked to me to recruit the faculty. He had written the original academic plan, and he wanted us to be creative and innovative. But he was smart enough to know that no university can be written in the shadow of one person, nor can a bunch of people do much more than give you a direction and tell you to go. And that helped us in the recruiting of people: here's a general plan, but come out here and make this plan work. During that first year, we said we would meet twice a week, and there would be about ten or fifteen of us sitting around the table.

Lage: This would be the deans and yourself?

Peltason: Deans and the department chairs that we would recruit. Ralph Gerard and I presided. We fleshed out the academic plan. Dan said to me, "You have to write the catalog." I didn't know that catalogs were written; I just thought they came from forever.

Lage: So this means developing the curriculum.

Peltason: Yes. I put a piece of paper in the typewriter and looked across, and there was Hazard Adams, who was then head of the English department. I said, "This is a moment of history. You realize the university is being created, and we're writing the catalog?" I wrote the draft, then we took it to this group.

Lage: So you wrote the draft for every course offered?

Peltason: It wasn't a catalog yet. We designed the courses, wrote the catalog.

Lage: Now, what did you draw on?

Peltason: I had a bunch of other catalogs in my own experience, and the conversations we had had with Dan where we outlined the academic plan. We put a great deal of emphasis upon what

you've learned rather than the courses you have taken. I read the catalog ten years ago, and I was rather pleased that it has the sparkle and the innovation which has helped launch Irvine. Then we circulated that catalog around, and we made the requirements. You could tell, as the people went around the room, where they were from. The guy from Chicago wanted to turn us into a little Chicago, and the guy from Berkeley wanted to turn us into Berkeley. We discussed and we discussed and we developed a consensus.

We had this tremendous burden: in a year, 1,500 students were going to show up. We had to recruit the faculty and have the courses all ready for them. We worked very hard. One day we got the word from Dan, "Come to an emergency meeting." We all dashed. Dan's message was, "You're working too hard. I want you to take the day off. You're in California." Jim [James L.] McGaugh, who was then a young assistant professor and who is now a celebrated developer of psychobiology and created the Center for Neurobiology of Learning and Memory, came to work all nicked up; he'd dashed over shaving. He said, "What's happening? What's happening?" We said, "Dan wants us to take the day off." He said, "I was going to stay home." [laughter] Again, it was a bonding experience. Sherry [Sherwood] Rowland was there, who has now won the Nobel Prize. Sherry and Ken Ford helped me recruit. Ed Steinhaus was the dean, and Ed helped recruit in biology.

Lage: Did you actually go out and recruit the scientists too, or would you have Ed Steinhaus do that?

Peltason: He did the biologists, but I helped. By that time he had the heads of the departments. I made him change the name of one department because I was afraid that I would be embarrassed in pronouncing it. He had three departments: cell biology, evolutionary biology, and organismic biology. I said, "I know I'm going to slip up." [laughter]

Lage: What did they change it to?

Peltason: I can't remember, I think something like Molecular Biology.

Another note, with the help of Sherry Rowland, then head of Chemistry, and Ken Ford, then head of physics, we recruited Fred [Frederick] Reines to become the first dean of Physical Sciences, who won the Nobel Prize recently, the same day that Sherry Rowland did.

Innovations in UC Irvine's Academic Plan

Peltason: Another story that I love to tell--we had a sense that we were making history, but the original academic plan had the Department of History in the School of Social Science. Sam [Samuel Clyde] McCulloch was the first dean of humanities, and I think he and I and Jim March, who was then the dean of social sciences, agreed to move the department from social science to the humanities. We did it in two seconds. Never again in the history of this institution will a change like that be made.

Lage: It would be years.

Peltason: We moved departments around, and we had to make our case to the external advisory committee. But they were very supportive of what we did. The humanities weren't as innovative as I wanted us to be. The social sciences were very innovative. We recruited Jim March, who integrated the social science program without departments.

Lage: No departments. Did you think that was going to work?

Peltason: I thought it was a good opening gambit but it wouldn't last forever. Jim thought it would. I thought it was sensible for us not to try to compete during our first years with the established institutions. We would cut our niche for ourselves: we would provide for a quantitative approach to the study of the social sciences.

Lage: So that was a real thrust there. You weren't bringing in the historical and the theoretical approaches.

Peltason: No. If you wanted to come study social sciences, there was the Irvine kind of social science. The humanities were very traditional, the physical sciences were very traditional. We were able to start biology on a clean slate and start with modern biological sciences.

Lage: Did you say that this quantitative approach has lasted?

Peltason: There has been a regression to the mean, especially with respect to the social sciences. When I came back as chancellor it was time, and I helped to establish the traditional social science departments.

But some of our innovations have lasted. We started with a freestanding computer science department that still exists.

As I reflect back on those days some of my proposed "innovations" never made it off the ground. I urged the establishment not of the traditional language and literature departments organized around specific languages, but advocated that we have one language department to teach all languages, including English, and one literature department to study all literatures. Let's put everybody who teaches languages in one department and urge these people to make their research about how best to teach languages. Whereas the study of literature is a totally different subject matter. But no, the initial faculty wanted a Spanish department, a Russian department, and so on. I didn't fight them about this. Essentially we recruited a dean, who recruited a chair, who recruited the faculty, and these are the ones who planned the initial educational program.

Lage: So you delegated also to your new deans.

Peltason: Yes. They had to agree essentially with the notion of the importance of teaching. That was one thing that Dan wanted to insist upon, that we wanted to be as good as Berkeley in terms of research and as good as the best undergraduate college in terms of focusing on teaching.

Lage: When he was recruiting you, did they talk with you about your commitment to teaching?

Peltason: Yes. We didn't want anybody to come to Irvine and say, "I'm not interested in teaching undergraduates." That was part of their responsibility. The other purpose of ours was to be user friendly--although we didn't call it that in those days--but a place where students would feel welcome.

Creation of the Intercollegiate Athletics Program

Peltason: Let me tell one athletic story and then I'll quit. We were aware of the fact that we were going to have to sell this campus to students. Dan was a big jock. He wanted to start out with big-time intercollegiate athletics. In those days I was for intercollegiate athletics, but I, like most academics, felt that they had distorted the mission and in most universities had gotten out of control. So I put together an advisory committee to advise the chancellor, and I had three guys who I knew weren't going to be too enthusiastic about intercollegiate athletics and two who would be all for it. I

thought I was sneaking something by Dan. The vote came in 3-2: Let's go all out for intercollegiate athletics.

Lage: So you misjudged your crew.

Peltason: One person I picked, an intense biologist, had been at the University of Chicago, and I felt sure he was going to vote against a Division I type of intercollegiate program. So after the report, I said, "How come you voted with the jocks?" I made the usual spiel about how athletics had gotten out of control and reminded him that the University of Chicago had led the way in de-emphasizing intercollegiate athletics. He said, "Fifty years ago when the University of Chicago started, they had under the leadership of Alonzo Stagg a very powerful intercollegiate program. At that time so did Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. When we get to be as good as those places, then we can de-emphasize athletics." His name was Jack Holland. He went to University of California, San Diego, and became an outstanding scholar.

Again, I remember these battles were all fought intensely but good-naturedly. We felt like we were on a ship all by ourselves. We had faculty meetings in our living rooms. Being in Orange County we felt a little bit isolated, although the people of Newport Beach were very generous and very kind to us. They were excited about having a campus there.

Lage: Do you want to follow through with what you did with the sports program? Or should we save that?

Peltason: Of the three new campuses, Irvine had a Division I everything except football--a comprehensive program. And I think it's helped. We have Division I basketball and a women's program. Dan was great. In fact, he would go to the basketball games and scream for the team. Our first game was with Riverside, and Dan and Ivan tipped the ball, and I threw it up.

Accounting for UC Irvine's Successful Development

[Interview 5: March 17, 1998] ##

Peltason: Let me just add something to the record from our conversation last time. I told you that we had the good fortune of having a very supportive Academic Senate. The All-University Senate--I guess it was out of the Office of the President--created an Academic Senate for us since we had no faculty or Academic

Senate. It was a committee that was advisory. The first one was headed by John Galbraith. John Galbraith subsequently went on to become chancellor at San Diego. A wonderful man and historian--he had a hard-boiled veneer, but he was a sentimental person. He was very supportive of the Irvine campus and didn't try to micromanage. He was followed by Tom Swedenberg, a professor of English at UCLA. Tom and his wife were very cordial to us. He, too, carried out the responsibilities to ensure to the Academic Senate that the new campus wasn't undermining standards, but we would be free to develop our own plan and then try to do it just the way they would have done it at UCLA and/or at San Diego. So we were blessed by good support from the statewide Academic Senate and the Office of the President.

It gets ahead of the story chronologically a little bit, but the very last responsibility I had when I left here to go back to Illinois was to appear before the Board of Regents. I remember that was when [Governor] Ronald Reagan came down to the meeting. That was the first time I met him. They had asked me to give a report on what we had learned, and I remember emphasizing then, too, that positive support we received both from the faculty senate and from the Office of the President, and how they had been supportive without trying to be controlling. I think that's very important in the development of new campuses. It helps explain why the University of California has been so successful in permitting new campuses to develop and in maintaining quality. I don't know if I said this in my comments last time, but somewhere in these memoirs I do want to talk a little bit about why I think the University of California is unique in its ability to have quality campuses other than at the first campus. The Office of the President was very helpful. Clark was always available.

Lage: What kinds of things would you go to Clark Kerr about?

Peltason: I remember chatting with him--it was kind of amazing to me, now that I think about it--two or three times about appointments. I did most of it through Harry Wellman, but Dan gave me permission or encouraged me, rather than him, to have all the conversations with the Office of President. I would be on the phone and talk with Clark about terms and conditions of employment. The first year we were just chiefly focused on recruiting. I don't remember the content of the conversations so much as being pleasantly surprised at how knowledgeable they were and how accessible they were.

Lage: And hands off, it sounds like.

Peltason: Hands off, although I think it's because they had confidence in Dan and I think in me and the others. They were watching three campuses.

Building Up the Library

Peltason: We opened with 100,000 books in our library. The Office of the President--I think it was in San Diego--put together three packages of 100,000 books for each of the three campuses.

Lage: That was good foresight.

Peltason: Yes. We were quite worried in the early days about how we could recruit faculty when our library resources were so meager. But three things happened. One, we had our own core undergraduate library. Two, we ran daily a bus to UCLA, where we were able to use the UCLA library.

Lage: To send people back and forth or just send books back and forth?

Peltason: Both. Our faculty could order books from the UCLA library and they could be there the next day, and also they could go up there and work in the library.

Thirdly, we deliberately designed the academic program so that the initial programs weren't so library dependent. For example, in physics, we were strong in theoretical physics because we didn't have the laboratory equipment right away. One of the reasons we moved in the social sciences the way we did was that they were more dependent upon computers and quantitative methods and less on a rich literature.

Lage: So it was circumstantial as much as being ideological?

Peltason: It was tactical. For example, in the Social Science Division we recruited Jim March. He is and was a genuine social scientist, one of the few people who is at home in all the disciplines, both in terms of the knowledge of what was happening in those disciplines and the people in the disciplines. Jim's whole approach to social science was to build an integrated social science school which would de-emphasize disciplinary and departmental lines. Jim did that because he thought that was the way social science should develop. I fully supported him, but to me that was a tactical move. There was no point in trying to compete in the opening

days with the Berkeleys and the Illinois and the Harvards and the Yales and the Princetons in the traditional disciplines, so we were kind of niche players. The Social Science Division to this day reflects its origins, although it's regressed to the mean and now has departments.

Lage: Does it reflect its origins in the quantitative emphasis, too?

Peltason: Yes, although less so. But because the social sciences were rigidly quantitative and theoretical in the early years there emerged at UCI what is now the School of Social Ecology to fill the needs of students interested in the more traditional and applied aspects of social sciences.

Lage: I see. That's what the School of Social Ecology does.

Peltason: That's right.

Recollections of Clark Kerr

Peltason: One other thing: one of my first assignments with Dan was to go represent the campus at the Office of the President for planning our hundredth anniversary. That's the first time I actually met and interacted with Clark Kerr. His great reputation, of course, I knew about. I knew many people, like my good friend Robben Fleming, who was a close friend of his. Robben Fleming was at Illinois and subsequently became the president of the University of Michigan. He told me about Clark Kerr. But I was very much impressed when I went out there and met him.

I don't know whether it was that meeting or a subsequent meeting, because Dan frequently sent me to represent the campus. And by the way, it's something that I'm forever grateful to Dan for. He took me along to come to the chancellors' meetings, and he gave me his support and status within the university system. When I met Clark Kerr, I remember it was at the time of the Free Speech Movement. I, like everybody else, only knew what I read in the newspapers. An academic liberal assumes that there are misunderstood students, that the administration made some mistake, and why did it have a confrontation with its students over where the table could be located? That's the kind of superficial thing you get from the newspapers--only to discover that Clark Kerr said, "You don't realize what's happening here. This is a revolution that's about to take place." He was the first

person to talk about a student revolution--something significant happening in education--and he said it's going to spread around the world. I thought he was paranoid.

Lage: Was this in the early days?

Peltason: This was the early days of student unrest. Kerr sensed that something significant was about to happen to higher education.

On other occasions I have pointed out how bad we are in higher education in predicting what's just around the corner. The years of so-called student unrest that were to rock higher education during the late 1960s and early 1970s hit us unexpectedly. We were not much better in predicting in the late 1970s that the days of financial support and student growth were about to stop. When the funds dried up and enrollments slowed down, we were slow to predict when the waves of students would return to the campus in the 1980s.

Lage: Were there other things about Clark Kerr that you could say that you found to be particularly impressive?

Peltason: It's hard for me to remember; I've now known him so long and so well and am so impressed by him. It's hard for me to remember with any accuracy precisely my first impression of him, except he was a giant in academic administration and he was appreciated throughout the system. Of course, I was on the fringes; I just knew a little bit about the friction between [UCLA Chancellor] Franklin Murphy and Clark. Dan never was much for gossip. He would go to the meetings. This reminds me of other things: the time that Dan told me he wanted to make me a vice chancellor--in those days the chancellors couldn't pick even the vice chancellors. We had to meet the Regents first.

Lage: The Regents reached down that far?

Peltason: Yes. So I had to go to Berkeley for the first time. I didn't know my way around. I flew back from Europe--I can't remember why I was in Europe--so that Dan could introduce me to the Regents. I said, "What are they going to do? Look at me?" [laughter] But apparently, somewhere in the history of some Regents' meetings, some regent said, "Why should we approve this person? We've never met him." So the practice came that you had to show up in person. I stood up, and they looked at me, and they made me vice chancellor.

Lage: They didn't grill you about your philosophy?

Peltason: No, I just stood up, and Dan said, "I recommend Jack Peltason as the new vice chancellor," and that was it. But I had to be there physically in order for them to do that. In fact, in those days, that was another thing for which Clark Kerr needs to get considerable credit: without his reforms, the success of the new campus would not have been possible. There was great delegation of responsibility back down to the campuses during his time.

Even so, in '67 I remember one time we recruited somebody and we processed the papers for September. He announced he could come in July, we were opening a new campus, and that was great--we needed him in July. We had to go all the way back to the Regents to move the starting date from September to July. Much of that has now been cleared out. And Clark gets credit for that.

Lage: There was a lot of red tape, I gather, partly from an interview you did with Sam McCulloch way back, sort of your exit interview when you left in '67.² You complained quite a bit--I don't know if "complain" is the right word.

Peltason: Well, time filters. I do remember saying to the Regents--I think in a kindly way--that it was the Senate that was more apprehensive about giving the new campus its freedom to make decisions than were the administrators.

Lage: The Academic Senate of UC.

Peltason: The Office of the President has to champion the new campus. I now know that from my own experiences three decades later. Existing campuses don't understand the need for new campuses.

Lage: They're a competitive threat, aren't they?

Faculty Recruitment Strategies

Lage: What about recruiting faculty from the existing UC campuses? Did you do much of that?

Peltason: We did more of that. Somebody else asked me that question once and I answered, "Not too much." But then when I went back to

²McCulloch interviews on UC Irvine history, in UC Irvine Archives.

look at where the people came from, the fact is that a considerable number of them did come from other UC campuses.

Lage: Was that ever a problem? Was it resented, do you think?

Peltason: No. In those days, the only constraints upon us were recruiting from the California State University [CSU] system. We needed Harry Wellman's permission to recruit from CSU. The president was very sensitive to the fact that he didn't want the criticism to be from the taxpayers and the legislature that these new campuses were cherry-picking the best faculty from CSU. On the other hand, there were very good faculty at CSU, and some of our most distinguished faculty came from there, but we needed approval from the Office of the President to recruit there.

We were encouraged to recruit from the other UC campuses, or at least not discouraged from it. The way that we recruited the faculty was we picked the deans, the deans picked the department chairs, and they picked the faculty. I think it's one of the more successful recruitments. I remember very vividly that the only case where we didn't do it in that order was in physical sciences. We had the departmental chairs share a role in it--Ken Ford in physics, Sherry Rowland in chemistry, and Bernard Gelbaum, a mathematician. I remember the day that I went to tell them that we had successfully recruited Fred Reines to be the first dean. Subsequently, he and Sherry Rowland became our first Nobel Prize winners; they were announced the same day. I remember recruiting Jim March. Sam McCulloch had recruited Hazard Adams in the English department. These are very powerful academics.

Lage: And it's certainly a departure from the usual recruitment, with approval by the budget committee.

Peltason: We had it approved by the advisory committee and Harry Wellman. Harry acted for the Office of the President, and the advisory committee served as our budget committee.

Lage: Did you have to document each individual?

Peltason: Yes. I know I was complaining about that because unlike the University of Illinois, where I had come from, where you could move quickly and where documentation was much less extensive, at California you had to take the time to build the written record. At Illinois, if somebody you were recruiting held a major post at another comparable university, it took relatively little additional evidence to make him or her an offer. At California, however, even if you are recruiting very

distinguished people, you nonetheless have to go and get letters of recommendation and document your case. It is a good system but it moves slowly. But we were given a little leeway because we had to recruit so quickly in order to open. We also had to build the buildings. We had to design the curriculum.

Curriculum Innovations

Peltason: We had some special things that we were trying to do in those days, too. We created some very significant all-university events. In our opening year we had two innovations, which I'm sorry to say dropped out, as frequently happens over time. Each incoming student would be put in a seminar of eight or nine or ten, taught by a faculty member, and it was to be a nondisciplinary course. You had to find something to talk to the students about. It had to be academic; it couldn't be a hobby--you had to know something about it. It might be "Politics in the Novel." We actually created a little college. It was my idea that I tried to do at Illinois; I was able to do it here.

Lage: Had you tried it previously in Illinois as a dean?

Peltason: I had tried at Illinois to create a college within the college.

Lage: Did that not last?

Peltason: It lasted into the seventies when the budget cut constrained the program. Frequently what happens is innovations get started, there's some initial enthusiasm, people work at it. Then after five or six or seven years, it gets to be more routine, and then comes the budget cut.

Another exciting innovation, I think, was each quarter we would have one theme day for the whole campus. Everybody in classes would teach about that theme, and then we'd have All-University speakers and convocation. I remember one of them had to do with the problem of individual responsibility. We showed the Nüremberg trials, and everybody talked about the responsibility of an individual citizen, individual soldier, and an individual member of a corporation. The philosophers talked about it, the social scientists talked about it, the historians talked about it, then all the students saw the Nüremberg trials. Then we had speakers, and we talked about it. So it was an integrated theme. These are things that a new campus can do that compensates for the fact that you don't

have all of the resources of an established campus. It's the pioneering spirit and doing new things.

Lage: Was that well received by the students?

Peltason: Oh, yes. I used to tease my colleagues, and we were all talking about how we were going to be just as good as Berkeley in twenty-five years. I said, "No, no, it's going to take at least thirty." There was a "new kid on the block" excitement. Everybody was a little bit self-conscious because most of the attention in those days went to Santa Cruz because it's really a departure from the Berkeley and UCLA pattern. A lot of attention was paid to San Diego because of its distinguished senior professors out of Scripps. We were much more the conventional campus having to explain, "Well, what's new about you?"

Computer Science Program

Peltason: One of the things that was supposed to be new about us was that we were to be the campus to bring in computers and instruction. The trouble was, as I said, we all could say the words but we couldn't sing the tune. [laughter] Ralph Gerard was very enthusiastic. Computers were to be the thing. But in those days computers had not been developed to the point--

Lage: People didn't have PC's, did they?

Peltason: No. We'd all go look at the computer.

Lage: So you had the big mainframe?

Peltason: Yes. Computer-assisted instruction was just developing, and in order to get involved with the computers people would have to change their career patterns. There were a lot of early adventures in computer-assisted instruction that didn't work in those days. The computers tended to be just used to ask questions.

Lage: Just kind of rote.

Peltason: I remember when the Regents came down here for the early meetings they were actually given some computer-assisted instruction, and somebody made the mistake of leaving the Regents' answers to some of the questions on the computer.

Some reporter got a hold of them and found out that some of the Regents didn't know how to respond.

We did develop computer science as a program. We couldn't figure out where to put it, so we actually left it as an independent computer science program, where it remains today. I think I might have mentioned that then as vice chancellor I apparently wrote a letter saying, All right, we'll try it here for five years, but at the end of the fifth year it has to have an academic home. When I came back as chancellor in 1983, it still wasn't in a home and somebody sent me a copy of my letter and said, "You went away and nobody else remembered your letter."

Lage: So did you do something about that? Or did you just let it stay?

Peltason: I think it turned out to be a good idea. It turned out to have, like all academic decisions, some advantages and disadvantages. It has developed into a very strong program now.

Lage: It makes more sense now, it seems.

Peltason: It makes more sense now than it did then. We knew it was an emerging discipline.

Student Life and the Beginnings of Student Unrest

Peltason: We had good faculty, good enthusiasm. The student unrest was just then beginning to be an issue.

Lage: Was it an issue at Irvine?

Peltason: Not at Irvine. We were too small to have student unrest. And Dan was very outgoing. Dan was out there with the students. They loved him, and they called him "Chancellor Dan." He was very devoted to them. I think I told you he was very liberal in terms of his attitude towards them. He permitted visitation in the dormitories. He met with the student leaders. I remember we had dinner in the student leaders' homes. It was a small enough campus with enough faculty and enough student attention.

- Lage: Did the students get called by their first names or their last names out here? You mentioned that at Illinois you called the students by their last names.
- Peltason: I don't remember the answer to that question. But it was a positive, friendly tone. Student radicalism was just now beginning to develop. Berkeley was where they were going. The Vietnam War hadn't been an issue yet. The turmoils that were just around the corner didn't quite hit here, at least not during the times I was here. I think I told you somebody came in once and told me that students were smoking marijuana in the little student commons we had. That was the first I had ever heard of that. We got rid of it by just keeping the place clean, and they went somewhere else to smoke their marijuana, I guess. There was some high concern when Clark Kerr got fired.
- Lage: Among the students?
- Peltason: And the faculty.
- Lage: Were you at that meeting?
- Peltason: Not the Regents' meeting. I remember Dan Aldrich standing in front of the plaza because the students out there were protesting, the faculty were out there protesting. I thought they were crocodile tears, because some of the students and faculty most critical of Kerr were out there protesting his firing.
- Lage: Were out there protesting?
- Peltason: Protesting. At an Academic Senate meeting some assistant professor got up to introduce a resolution that the Regents keep their hands off the internal affairs of the university. We had to explain to them that the Regents were part of the university. He wanted to have a protest strike, we'd all quit, and I explained to him that would be a half-day story. There was genuine concern because Ronald Reagan had announced his criticism of the administration.
- Lage: In the election campaign even.
- Peltason: Yes. But Dan got up and said he regretted that--Clark Kerr was his friend, but the university had to move on. I remember that being the cause of--protest would be too strong a word for the Irvine campus.
- Lage: Did you and Dan feel serious concern for the future of campus governance or university governance?

Peltason: We were apprehensive, but I don't think any of us at those stages realized that this was the beginning of something that would take five years to play its course. It seemed to us to be a more temporary thing that would pass, and we would go back to the normal way of doing business. At least I don't remember having a sense of discontinuity. I didn't leave Irvine and go off to the University of Illinois with any sense that I was going into a different environment than the last ten years had been. It didn't take long when I got to Illinois before I realized that times had changed. They all thought, Well, that's something at Berkeley. It's the Berkeley students. It has something to do with the Berkeley situation. It has something to do with Ronald Reagan, and not that there are some systemic changes taking place.

Lage: Except that Clark Kerr seemed to have some sense of it.

Peltason: Clark Kerr had a sense of it. I was sorry to see him fired as president. He was a great American, and I really felt that the Regents had made a mistake and was apprehensive about what Ronald Reagan would do to the university. But the day-by-day life at Irvine went on.

UC Irvine's Relationship with the Irvine Company

Lage: We haven't talked too much about community relations and the Irvine Company.

Peltason: I was essentially the inside administrator. We were well-received by the Newport Beach community, and Dan had to carry the brunt of community relations; he was out in the community a lot. We were well supported in those days by the community. The city of Irvine was not here; it was essentially a Newport Beach community. The Irvine Company, to me, in those days was just a distant group. Bill Pereira was my chief contact with the community. I met Ray Watson then, who was the vice president of the Irvine Company. He's now vice chairman, but in those days he was a planner. People like L. E. Cox on the physical planning side--they had day-by-day contacts with the Irvine Company.

Dan's first office was actually an annex in the Irvine Company, an office on the ranch. By the time I came, we were in our own independent quarters on the north campus. This was just a little Butler building. Behind us we actually had research going on. In fact, in the building behind us, once a

snake got loose. We all stopped to find this snake.
[laughter] It was used by the biologists in the building
behind us.

Recollections of Deans and Faculty Members

Peltason: Again, I should mention Ed Steinhaus, who was a wonderful first dean of the School of Biological Sciences. He came from Berkeley and recruited an outstanding biology department and died prematurely right after I left. We had a man named Crawford in physical education who also died prematurely and who was a colleague of mine from Illinois. He arranged for me to take my son to the Super Bowl.

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Peltason: I went to him and said, "I'd like to take my son to the first Super Bowl in the Coliseum." He said, "It might cost as much as fifteen dollars each." [chuckles] I said, "It's all right. Can you get them for me?" He said he would use his connections, because he knew people from the Bears, and he knew that Papa Bear Hallas was not coming. So Tim and I paid our fifteen dollars each and went to the first Super Bowl in the Coliseum. That was Ed Crawford.

Lage: And that was the very first Super Bowl?

Peltason: The very first Super Bowl. It wasn't even full. I saw Pitching Paul Crissman, who was an ABC sports announcer. When I was a kid at Hickman High, I watched Pitching Paul Crissman be the quarterback for the University of Missouri. It wasn't full. They didn't sell it out.

Lage: You didn't have to have influence.

Peltason: You didn't have to have influence. But we got wonderful seats.

Sam McCulloch was the first dean of humanities. He built a very strong school.

Lage: And what's Sam's background? Where was he recruited from?

Peltason: He came from San Francisco State. He's an Australian. It was a good group of faculty, most of whom remain on the faculty to this day. We didn't keep everybody, but we kept most. And

almost all have built successful academic careers and were very devoted to the campus.

Recollections of the Openings Days of the Campus

- Peltason: I could think of episodes that are of no great world-shaking significance. I remember when we had our opening convocation. There was the first Regents' meeting, and Max Rafferty was superintendent of instruction.
- Lage: I remember him.
- Peltason: He got mad because we asked him for his ticket to get into the reception. He held a press conference. I can't remember the issue, but I know he was critical of us.
- Lage: Who was your first speaker at the first convocation?
- Peltason: I believe it was Francis Keppel, director of the Office of Education. It wasn't the Department of Education in those days, but there was the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- Lage: This is the federal Health, Education, and Welfare.
- Peltason: Yes. We had our first convocation and he was the speaker. We had our first Regents' meeting down here for the inauguration of Dan Aldrich. Again, I want to come back to the important role that Dan played. He was a towering figure and inspired confidence in the community and in the faculty and was a great defender of the campus. He had a wonderful laugh and an outgoing personality. He helped give the character to the campus.
- Lage: It does seem that it must really set a tone for the campus to have a person like him at the helm.
- Peltason: Yes.
- Lage: You have to hand that to Clark Kerr, too; he picked some very good leaders for those new campuses.
- Peltason: I always said in those days, you've got to know where each of the chancellors is from. Emil Mrak was the chancellor at Davis, and he fit the Davis campus. Each of the chancellors of the new campuses seemed to me to be reflective of them. Dan,

with his agricultural background, here in the Irvine ranch, fit Orange County. I think Clark deserves a lot of credit.

Lage: Do you have any significant memories of LBJ's opening the campus? [Dedication Day, June 20, 1964]

Peltason: That preceded my coming. (We arrived two weeks after that.)

Lage: Oh, it did? So you weren't at that event.

Peltason: I was not at that event. But it was much on everybody's mind. Everybody told me about his coming.

Lage: Were you here for the first day of classes?

Peltason: Yes. I came in July of '64, and we opened classes in September of '65. I was here for at least a year before they opened the classes, during the recruiting stage and the development of the catalog stage, and the making of decisions.

I think I told you they kept asking me questions about keys. I didn't have any idea what they were talking about. They were saying, "How do you want the campus keyed?" I said, "Well, I want keys in the doors." "I know, but should a dean have the keys to all the buildings of the campus?" So I made these decisions. I think we opened the campus with four keys-- Dan had the four keys that would get you into every building. I had three of the keys. Dan had the key that got into the pharmacy. We had to make decisions about keying the buildings, how the bells would ring.

Lage: Things you wouldn't even think of.

Peltason: As I told you, I was overwhelmed when they said to write the catalog. We wrote the catalog, we got it approved, we developed the academic plan, we recruited the faculty, and we met the community, and we were there right when the campus opened. The day we opened this campus we had from freshmen to postdocs. That was another thing that Dan was concerned about, that we be a comprehensive, grown-up campus from the day of the opening.

Lage: Did you have to recruit some of those students? It wouldn't be a natural to come here as a grad student, maybe.

Peltason: We had to have an office of admissions, we had to have a housing officer, we had to have all those things, and we had to be able to handle the students when they got here and have the library open and get the buildings open. You can't recruit the

students and then not have the buildings ready for them. A lot of the faculty brought their postdoctorates with them. Our first Ph.D. was a man who is still here, I think, as a professor of engineering. (Roland Schinzinger, who has just retired.)

Lage: Did he come with a faculty member, more or less?

Peltason: Yes. We had postdocs, we had faculty members with research grants, and we had undergraduates, we had freshmen. We had the whole gamut of students from undergraduate to postdoc in all the fields. That's another thing that needs to be mentioned in the history of the University of California. And I want to talk about the medical school coming.

Professional Programs: Engineering, Business, and Public Policy Schools

Peltason: We opened with an engineering school and the Graduate School of Administration, as it was called in those days, and a public policy institute, as well as a comprehensive undergraduate program, even though we didn't have sufficient resources for all of these. Dan made the wise decision to start with some professional schools, even though we did not have the resources we really needed, rather than to wait for another ten years or so because by then there would likely be opposition to starting new colleges from both inside and outside the campus. He wanted from the very beginning a balanced program with professional schools, so for lack of resources we deliberately kept them small, niche players for the first ten or fifteen years in order to claim the right to be involved in those fields. So the engineering school when we started was very small.

Lage: Did you just have one area?

Peltason: We had three areas. When I came back as chancellor I thought it was time to really build the professional schools. None of them were of sufficient size to have critical mass, not the medical school, and especially not engineering or the Graduate School of Management. The Graduate School of Management, this was one of Ivan Hinderaker's great innovations: it was to take care of education administration, business administration, and public administration. It was to be a generic school of management--an experiment which Yale had pioneered. We were the only other place to try that. In the subsequent years, the

school of management has gotten more and more of a focus on business management. It was an experiment that didn't work. At least we didn't have the resources to do all those areas, so it's now become primarily the School of Business Administration.

We had a public policy institute; that's one of the things that Clark Kerr wanted: to create in the University of California kind of a RAND [Corporation], focused on the state of California. That did work, and it was one of our innovations.

Transfer of the California College of Medicine to UC Irvine

Peltason: There was an osteopathic school of medicine in Los Angeles, and it was proposed that it be transferred to the Irvine campus. I was not privy to these conversations, and it was not a decision of the University of California to seek that medical school. It had powerful champions in Sacramento.

Lage: In the legislature, as I understood it.

Peltason: In the legislature. So the legislature, almost by decree, transferred that school to UCI as our college of medicine. It was called the California College of Medicine.

Lage: Wasn't one of the connections that a legislator was an osteopath?

Peltason: He was also a powerful senator.

Lage: Steven Teale.

Peltason: That's right. Now I didn't have too much to do with any of these negotiations. Dan handled these. I wasn't in that loop. But when the College of Medicine was transferred here very early on, I was waited on by the biologists and other scientists, who were quite apprehensive and quite opposed to its coming. They said, "We are going to be overwhelmed by the clinicians in this medical school. It's not a world-distinguished medical school, and it will tarnish our reputation and drag us all down."

I remember meeting with them and saying it's what I call the Johns Hopkins problem in reverse. Johns Hopkins' medical school is so prestigious that people sometimes forget that it

has other programs. UC San Diego was also starting up a medical school from scratch. We had long discussions, and one of my jobs was to help calm them down and have them understand that a medical school would be a very desirable thing to have in order to do biology in the future. Without a clinical population, the rest of biology would suffer. Secondly, it wasn't a question of if we had an alternative to having a medical school from scratch. It was either this medical school or no medical school. I remember Dan and I saying to them, as to the fact that it didn't have much prestige, that it was our responsibility to build it forward.

Lage: But you had to take the staff of that medical school.

Peltason: The whole school came. Before they came, Ralph Gerard led a discussion, and we were going to try to really integrate them so that the basic biology would be the biology for the medical school. The medical school wouldn't have to have its own basic biology. They actually transferred down here after I left, but I was involved in the politics of the medical school, and Ralph Gerard led the battle.

Lage: Did Ralph Gerard accept the medical school or was he fighting against it?

Peltason: He accepted it. After some early discussion, I think we lost one distinguished young biologist, Jack Holland. I'm not sure that he left for that reason only, but that's one of the reasons he went to San Diego. There was some reluctance on the part of the biologists, but when it was clear that it was inevitable, then I think they were running around saying, Let's do our best to build the medical school and take advantage of its presence.

I think that's been one of the great assets of UCI. It's also been the chief problem. It's because there wasn't any hospital, and when I get to my time as chancellor I'll tell you in great detail. We didn't get an on-campus hospital. The California College of Medicine took a long time before it became incorporated into the university, and the relationship between the biologists and the school of medicine are today very positive. But that was a hard battle, and Dan spent much of his time with that--even when I came back as chancellor it was my number one problem.

Lage: I know you had other problems, too.

Peltason: And building the clinical department and making the hospital financially viable. I believe that the Irvine campus has been

assisted by the fact that Dan was smart to start us with these professional schools so that today we have engineering, and medicine, and business administration. I believe that he was right: if we had waited and said, "No, we don't have the resources to do that" in the 1960s and, "No, we'd rather not take somebody else's College of Medicine and have our own," we'd still be waiting to start those schools.

Lage: Santa Cruz just started their engineering school.

Peltason: Santa Cruz and Santa Barbara, I think, would have been stronger institutions easier and faster if they had had more professional schools. Of course, if we had had our way we would have preferred to have the resources at the beginning to build these schools, and if we had had our way we would have preferred to have built our own medical school from scratch. What's the old cliché? When you're given a lemon you make lemonade. I don't mean to say the school was a lemon, but it would have been easier to start from scratch, but that wasn't our option.

VIII CHANCELLOR AT ILLINOIS: YEARS OF STUDENT UNREST, 1967-1972

Family Adjustments to Move from Illinois to California and Back

Peltason: When we came to California, we thought and expected it would be forever, that we had left Illinois for good. We loved being in California, but we were still nostalgic for our friends in Illinois. For our children it was much harder, they really missed Illinois.

Lage: You mentioned how hard it was for them to move. Did they settle in okay?

Peltason: I told you my older daughter cried so much. She had a boyfriend back there. I told her that if she would quit crying and graduate from Corona Del Mar we would send her back to Illinois for college. She did. She went back to Illinois. Although I lived there for thirteen years, we paid out-of-state tuition to send her back to Illinois. I think it was in her sophomore year, I called her up and said, "That's crazy. We have wonderful schools in California." So I persuaded her to come transfer to UCLA, where I think she stayed for a year. Then we moved to Illinois, and I had to pay out-of-state tuition back here in California. [laughter]

Our son was a great success at Corona Del Mar. He was very lonely at the beginning, but he met some friends and was a great success there. I remember first having to take him out of Illinois, then having to tell him we're going to move back to Urbana. He was not as devastated returning to Illinois after making the adjustment to California, because for him it was going back home.

Lage: Did he finish high school here?

Peltason: No, he went back. He went back to Uni High. But we had no inkling that that was in the cards because it was never part of our thinking--we intended to retire in California.

Lage: So you thought you'd be at Irvine--

Peltason: Forever. I had no thoughts about going anywhere else. I had a wonderful time and had lots of good friends and loved California. The relationships with Dan [Aldrich] were very positive. Suzanne loved California. Jill, our little girl, was getting along well in school. We lived in a wonderful house on Bamboo, which we had bought for \$40,000.

Lyle Lanier, the provost at Illinois, came to see us. I had no notion other than he was passing through. He said, "I've been sent by David Henry. We're thinking about going to the chancellorship system. Would you consider being the first chancellor of the Urbana-Champaign campus?" We thought about it, and it was a family decision, although I think Suzanne said that going back to Illinois she had tears in her eyes. It was a career move. We loved California but we loved Champaign-Urbana. But when you're vice chancellor and somebody asks you to be chancellor of a major campus--again, it was attractive to me because I would be creating the first chancellorship system.

Lage: Another innovative thing.

Peltason: Yes. I can't remember the sequence of events, but soon we communicated to Lyle that if he asked me we'd probably come. Lo and behold, they did ask me, and Dan was very generous. He said, "Of course, you know it's a professional opportunity. Thank you for what you've done for us. It's a great university. Go with my blessing." So that's how we went back to Champaign-Urbana after having left for California.

Lage: And it was only three years.

Peltason: Yes. But those were three indelible years.

Lage: Yes, it seems that way.

Peltason: We sold our house for \$40,000, and I thought what a clever thing that was. I sold a house that we had lived in for three years. Maybe I told you that when we came back in the seventies, Suzie kept wanting to buy a house here. By that time, these houses were worth \$100,000. I said, "No, no, it's much too expensive." She won't let me forget that when we came back in the eighties, those houses were \$600,000. One of the

reasons we thought we would never get back to Irvine is we thought we had been priced out of the housing market there.

We went back to Illinois. Poor Nancy, after I had gotten her to California, but she stayed here at UCLA and then met Bill, now her husband. So she graduated from UCLA.

Lage: Did she meet him at UCLA?

Peltason: Yes. Tim went back to Uni High and stayed back a year. He could have graduated much earlier. He always was an outstanding academic student. And Jill went back. We were quite concerned about what would happen to Jill, because Suzie was aware of the fact that we would be out a lot. We would be out almost every night.

Lage: How old was she?

Peltason: Five. So we started a pattern there of having a college girl, a Mary Poppins, live with us. Some of those have remained good friends to this day. Most of them worked very well; they became another daughter, but their job was to take care of Jill because we were gone so much. Jill's the one who suffered the most from moving back in terms of the fact that she had lost the constant attention of her mother. By that time Tim was grown up and Nancy was off to college.

Lage: And the chancellor's wife gets very involved, it sounds like.

Peltason: Yes, especially in the Champaign-Urbana type of community. It's a small town. And especially Suzanne, who's very much concerned about connecting with and being kind to students and others.

Creating a Chancellorship System at the University of Illinois

Peltason: So we went back. There wasn't any chancellorship system. There wasn't an Office of the Chancellor, there wasn't anything. I went back because I knew David Henry and Lyle Lanier and had a great deal of confidence in them.

Lage: And now you had had experience with this systemwide administration.

Peltason: The University of California system. That's one of the reasons, I think, they asked me to come back. Because they

created a chancellorship--two in Chicago, one for the Chicago Circle campus and one for the medical school--and one for Champaign-Urbana.

Lage: So those were the three campuses? The medical school, the Chicago campus and the--

Peltason: Chicago Circle campus, it was called in those days.

Lage: Was it a full-fledged campus?

Peltason: It was an emerging campus. It had grown out of Navy Pier after World War II and became a major emerging campus. But Urbana-Champaign dominated the system in the way Berkeley did as UCLA was emerging.

Lage: Is it Champaign-Urbana or Urbana-Champaign? I keep hearing or seeing it different ways.

Peltason: They're twin cities. Champaign is the big city. [chuckles] Champaign has maybe 100,000 and Urbana has 50,000. The university's right in the middle. There's a street down the middle called Wright Street. When I first went there they created an Office of the Chancellor on one side of Wright Street in the old English Building--a very splendid office. But five years into my chancellorship, I moved the chancellor's office across the street and I was waited upon by the leaders of Urbana, threatening lawsuits and all kinds of things because the official headquarters of the university is in Urbana. So I moved across the street physically, but the mail address was left as Urbana, and they insisted they call it Urbana-Champaign rather than Champaign-Urbana.

Lage: Because you usually say Champaign-Urbana, and I think in his paper Joe Smith called it Urbana-Champaign.

Peltason: All the official things were Urbana-Champaign. Urbana is the smaller town.

When I got back there I remember the first thing I did was ride in a Fourth of July parade, and there were big signs: "Welcome, Jack" and "Jack's back." But there wasn't any office, there weren't any secretaries, and there weren't any assistants. And there wasn't any structure.

Lage: Was the president's office right there?

Peltason: Right there. Lyle Lanier was the provost, he wrote a letter telling me, "Now don't tell the people at Chicago Circle."

[laughs] He delegated to me and the Urbana campus a lot more final authority than to anybody else, which couldn't be kept a secret very long.

Lage: Was he in the president's office then?

Peltason: He was the provost. The two people I dealt with were David Henry, who was the president of the university, and the executive vice president or provost, who was Lyle Lanier.

Lage: He was systemwide.

Peltason: He had been the man who had preceded me as dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences--a very fine administrator, one of the best administrators, very hard-working, introspective. David Henry was external president, and Lyle was internal president. They delegated to me a lot of responsibility. Unlike California, however, the alumni association--the foundation--was universitywide. It was a generous delegation.

Lage: They probably knew what was coming and were glad to get rid of it.

Peltason: They were glad to get rid of it, I think so. [laughter]

Some of David Henry's friends said that I saved his life. I mean literally saved his life--not his administrative life. Again, ahead of the story, one of the reasons that the chancellorship emerged so quickly in Urbana-Champaign was student unrest. When I first got there nobody had heard of a "chancellor." They knew there was a president of the university. Chancellor? What is that? What do you do? Is that like dean of students or something? But as the student unrest unfolded and the newspapers had headlines like, "Chancellor Peltason Negotiating," it gave a prominence to the office in a hurry. [chuckles] Because the Office of the President said, "That's the chancellor's responsibility."

Lage: That's interesting. It probably really affected how that independence grew.

Peltason: It gave stature to the office because it became the headline office where all the activity took place.

Lage: And the president probably didn't want any part of it.

Peltason: He was very glad to support me and tell the students, "Go talk to the chancellor." And he was very supportive of me too, by the way. They were apprehensive, especially in the early days

when I did some things which I don't think they necessarily approved of, but they were prepared to go along.

Lage: What did he keep for his own field?

Peltason: The relationship with the trustees and the statewide relationship and the relationship with the legislature. Not unlike the president-chancellorship relationship here. He lived in the big house, the president's house.

Chancellor's House and Office

Peltason: By the way, that was one of the worst things I had discussions or arguments about: the chancellor's geographical, physical identity. If the chancellor just had an office down the hall from him and no official residence, there's no way that the chancellorship system could be made to work. Then they ought to just call you the vice president. I think they understood that intellectually, but emotionally it was hard because the president had been so long living in this big mansion and having the big office and the big administration building. When we first moved to town there was no chancellor's residence, so they rented two apartments side by side. We personally paid for one as our own personal residence, and we had a door cut through, so we ended up having two kitchens. It was the official apartment until they could actually buy a house into which we would then move.

Lage: So the apartments were temporary.

Peltason: That was a temporary thing. But there was no office. They created a nice office for me, but I had no staff.

Lage: Where was your office?

Peltason: It was in the English building. They built a very nice office with oak paneling, but they didn't have that when I first got there, so I stayed in the Office of the President in the first days.

Assembling a Staff, and an Early Controversy

Peltason: I started to assemble a staff. I had the good fortune of getting back the secretary who had been my secretary at liberal arts. Carolyn Higgs had been my secretary in the political science department and in the dean's office.

Lage: She was with you a long time.

Peltason: A long time. I had always been very lucky with assistants. In those days they were called executive assistants.

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Peltason: I called Lucius Barker, who was my former student and close friend, who at that time was at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, and asked him to become my chief assistant. I think associate chancellor was the title. Lucius said he would do so. He and Maude--I don't think they were there when I first got to town, but they were on their way. I don't know why I knew that something had to be done, which we today call affirmative action, but it was one of the things that I sensed the time was right. The University of Illinois had always been hospitable to--we didn't call it diversity, but in those days the minority we focused on were African Americans, although then the title was Negroes.

Lage: You had said that as dean you had encouraged recruitment of minorities.

Peltason: It's always been one of my goals. Not as a crusading goal, but I just knew that a new chancellor needed to have some work in that area. That's when I met Joe Smith.

Lage: He was already on the campus?

Peltason: He was on the campus. I can't remember what role he had. He was in the English department. He had some role in administration. I asked him if he would come work with me and be in charge of helping me be sure that the campus is hospitable to our recruits and find opportunities for Negroes--both faculty and staff. It's funny, it's a word now I find difficult to pronounce; in those days it was not a word anything other than of honor. Now I've gotten so accustomed to saying African American or black.

Lage: Had you known Joe Smith before?

- Peltason: No, I met Joe for the first time. He said that he would help, but he wanted to make clear to me he was not particularly good with teenage kids in the inner city, sympathetic as he was to their concern. I mean, he's an educated middle-class person.
- Lage: Very refined, he sounds on the phone.
- Peltason: Very refined. But he came to work for me. My first two appointments were Lucius, who I went after because he was a close friend and I had great respect for him. The fact that he was African American was incidental; it was not a credential, it was just a fact.
- Lage: What was his position?
- Peltason: He was the associate vice chancellor. He was a professor. He got appointed as a professor in the political science department and was associate chancellor.
- Lage: And he continued teaching, he said when I spoke with him.
- Peltason: Yes. He came, and Joe came. So my first two appointments were African Americans. It was less accidental in Joe's case; because of the particular assignment, that was a great virtue that he himself was African American. He had experienced discrimination and could help.
- Lage: Was he a professor also?
- Peltason: He was an assistant or associate professor of English--I don't remember his rank. Joe and Lucius and I held interviews for our chief receptionist. We interviewed about ten women. It so happened that by far the most sophisticated and best educated with the best temperament was an African American woman. There was about a ten-minute conversation between us: will people think that I'm trying to make a statement or something? Maybe we ought not to just pick this woman. At the end of ten minutes we all came to the same conclusion: of course we have to pick her; she's the best candidate. We can't not pick her because we have two African Americans out of 10,000 on the whole campus. So we picked her.
- Lage: What was her name? Do you remember?
- Peltason: Her name was Loretta Davis. She was a beautiful woman, very talented, poised. She became part of the original team that started out with me.

The first problem that I ever faced there as a chancellor was they had the opening football game scheduled for one of the Jewish holidays.

Lage: Was that traditional or it just happened that year?

Peltason: No, it just so happened that that was homecoming. I was then waited upon as chancellor by lots of Jewish students and others that it was unfair, that we wouldn't have put homecoming on Christmas. Of course, this was printed in these football schedules in advance, and there are tens of thousands of people lined up. I was helped by a rabbi who came to see me, and he said, "Don't pay any attention to them. If their religion doesn't mean more to them than a football game--now, I'll be supporting you, but whoever schedules anything where students don't have the option, like an exam, or if you're not sensitive to it in terms of the academic program, I'll be on your back." That was the first confrontation I had as chancellor.

Lage: Did he speak up for you?

Peltason: Yes. He said, "I'll lead the parade of protest if the university is so insensitive that it schedules an exam or classes or something that forces students to choose between their religion and their academic progress. But if the choice is between a football game and their religion, that's not worth fighting for." But it did sensitize me to that, that it was a problem, and I thereby sensitized the schedulers not to do that again.

Then we moved into the English building and started the chancellor's office.

Lage: Did you have any other staff members?

Peltason: We started building the staff, yes. By the time we opened we had a whole retinue of staff. That was kind of the inner group that started building the staff.

Lage: Did you get a reaction to having African Americans?

Peltason: No. Nobody ever said anything. I got some words from some trustees. In those days you didn't have the words "politically correct." They wouldn't have ever said anything to me about it. I wasn't trying to signify that it's a new day, although people began to be aware of the fact that it was a new day. The University of Illinois, even though it was in the southern part of the state, was enlightened and sensitive, so there wasn't any problem.

The Student Power Movement: Unexpected, Unexplained, and without Long-Term Impacts

Peltason: For the Illinois days, rather than covering chronologically what happened, I think by theme might make more sense. Let me talk about what became the overwhelming concern not only of the University of Illinois but the whole academic community. That is what was called student unrest. [chuckles]

Lage: Right. That covers a lot.

Peltason: From '67 to about '72.

Lage: So you arrived there in September of '67?

Peltason: July of '67. Just on the cusp of all these things.

Lage: Except for Berkeley. [chuckles]

Peltason: Except for Berkeley. Up to that time we said, "Well, that's Berkeley. That's not going to happen anywhere else." But we went through, all of higher education, a period of five or six years that I don't have any explanation for, nor have I read anybody who satisfactorily explains why it happened, why it started, nor why it stopped. We used to think it happened because of the Vietnam War, but it happened all over the world. It happened in big schools, it happened in the small schools, it happened in religious schools, it happened in white schools, it happened in black schools. Then the explanation was that the university administrators mishandled it, they called the police too soon or they called the police not fast enough. Some explanation was given because of the troubles in this particular town or this particular thing or this particular faculty. But then it happened all over the United States, and then it stopped. As I say, I don't understand it, but they were desperate times.

I remember going to national meetings. We had a meeting in Chicago--somewhere in the early seventies--in which we were wondering if we could keep the universities open. How can you run a university when you have to have the state police and national guards and you can't have a convocation where you spend all of your time worrying about people's safety? But the United States went crazy and the campuses went crazy. Whatever happened to the rest of the world happened on campuses, only somewhat more exaggeratedly so.

It was not a good time to be a university administrator. [laughter] It's the only time in my life that I've been an administrator feeling noble. Most of the time I enjoyed being a university administrator, and I never felt that I was doing something sacrificial. But it got so that there were some times there in which you really felt like you were fighting to keep the universities open and to prevent the people from the two extremes from winning. The people on the two extremes were doing their best to turn the universities into political instruments.

Lage: Looking back, you still don't have more sense of why it happened?

Peltason: No.

Lage: Dr. Spock, perhaps? [laughter] That explanation has come up again.

Peltason: That's right. But it happened in Europe. In fact, the United States got through that student revolution period with the least permanent damage of any of the universities in the world. We made what I call cosmetic changes but not cosmic changes. Universities emerged pretty much unscathed. The fundamental changes were the civil rights change and the role of women. Those changes have had permanent consequences. The war issues, the student power movement really didn't amount to much. There were a few students on committees, but we didn't fundamentally change the way we ran our education. We didn't politicize our universities. We didn't turn them over to student governments, as happened in some European universities.

The world will never be the same because of the change in the role of women and in the role of civil rights. In that period the universities were essentially white, male-dominated institutions. Women were being locked up in dormitories at ten o'clock at night. African Americans were essentially segregated into a few institutions. There wasn't any outreach. Those two changes--and I think positive and great changes--emerged, but the student power movement and the issues of the war dissipated.

Lage: Do you think those other changes would have occurred without the student unrest?

Peltason: They might have occurred. In some ways I thought they [the student protests] impeded the movement. I don't want to make too much of it, but I sometimes think the reaction against the Vietnam War would've taken place sooner and faster. It became

effective when the middle class turned against the war, and some of them were so put off by the student protests that they didn't actually join the protest movement against the war as fast.

I think the feminist revolution would have taken place without it. At the beginning of the student unrest movement women were still not playing a dominant role--they were getting the coffee. The old SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] was not one in which the women played an active role. That came towards the end of that period. That came with Title IX, that came with affirmative action. It came with the breakdown of in loco parentis.

Pressures to Change Dormitory Visitation Regulations

Peltason: When I got to the University of Illinois--a small, Midwestern college town--women students had to be in their residence halls like at ten o'clock, and on weekends they could be let out until twelve o'clock. [chuckles] Men had no such rules. The university had all kinds of rules and regulations for social conduct in loco parentis--acting in place of the parent. By the time I left there weren't any in loco parentis rules. I used to say we went from in loco parentis to in loco grandparentis. [laughter] Students said, "Don't run or regulate us; just love us and take care of us, but don't try to regulate us."

I got there, and I was waited upon by women saying, "Why do we have these rules and regulations? What happens in our residence hall is none of your business." I finally caved in to that pressure and went to David Henry. I said, "Here's what I propose to do." I remember I first said to the parents, "This is a decision the parents need to make. The day is long gone; now students can vote at eighteen, they participated in the war. If you want your children to live in dormitories where there are no men or where visitation is not permitted, you decide." So I inaugurated visitation by saying that every student will be asked a question as they come to the university: if your parents are paying your tuition and you're under twenty-one, here's a card. It said, "This student is given permission by a parent or guardian to live in a residence hall where members of the opposite sex will live."

Lage: And both men and women students got this?

Peltason: Right. Parents could also sign a statement that they wanted their son or daughter to live in a dormitory where "no visitation would be allowed." Visitation was the word we used to indicate that members of the opposite sex could visit in student quarters.

I used to argue with the students and I pointed out to them that outside of the university in people's homes and elsewhere, it is not considered proper for unmarried people to entertain members of the opposite sex in your bedroom. The students responded, "We only have one room." [laughter] They said, "It's our living room."

But we finally proposed to give the parents the choice: "We want our child to live in a residence hall where students will be allowed to vote upon the rules and regulations covering visitation," or "We do not." I proposed that the students could adopt whatever rules they wanted except they could not have visitation for more than twenty-three hours and fifty-nine minutes, because I didn't want students of the opposite sex permanently living with each other.

David Henry and I went to the board of trustees and he said, "Whoever thought we would be sitting here making these recommendations?" I brought student leaders there. One of the trustees said, "You played dirty pool, bringing these nice-looking young people up here." The board of trustees voted that this was a decision that the chancellor can make. [laughter] Neither side thought they had enough votes to win. So that's how visitation came.

Lage: Did it take you a while to come around to that way of thinking?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: This is something where you were pushed by the students.

Peltason: I was pushed by the students to rethink my position. As I have said, I told the students, "It's just not considered proper for unmarried men and women to spend time in each others' bedrooms." Of course, they often do, but when they do so they don't get official sanction and approval beforehand. I remember once telling some student leaders, "If you persuade a young woman to let you into her rooms, I suppose that's her business, but I don't want you to be able to say, "The chancellor says it's all right." [Laughter]

Lage: Did it help that you had children of this age group?

Peltason: I don't know. I used to say that I thought at first the fact that I was young to be a chancellor was an advantage, that the students would consider me not like David Henry, who was of an older generation and more formal. And the fact that I was less formal, and that I had children that age, would help. But students treated me better when I became grandfather-age. I got much more deference from the students. At Illinois, I was more their parent. I was their first authority figure. They couldn't get at their parents, they couldn't get at Richard Nixon, but they could get at the chancellor of the university.

I was persuaded that it was not wise for me to battle the students over visitation and regulation of their social life. It was not just a question of taking on a few radical students, but this concern about deregulating their social life--I got it from every kind of student: fraternity leaders, sorority leaders, non-protesting kids, middle-class kids. I finally said, "Well, okay. If your parents don't think it's bad, I don't know that I should be standing down here trying to say to 32,000 students how they should behave outside the classroom." I remember the ministers of Mattoon protested, and there was some legislative protest. But you know, this was a midwestern college town, and I think it took place because of the transition involving the parents. I think it was rather smart of me then.

Lage: I think so too. [laughter] You put it back on the parents, who were getting pressure from their kids.

Peltason: That's right. And I got a letter from parents saying, "You tell him no. We can't tell him no." [laughter] I said, "If you can't tell him no, I can't tell him no."

Staking Out a Position on Student Unrest

Peltason: Another hot issue was recruitment by Dow Chemical recruiters on campus.

Lage: This must have been in relation to the war.

Peltason: This was beginning to be opposition to the war. By the way, I made an inaugural address to the University of Illinois when I came back. At the opening assembly hall I made a speech, which I read the other day, and I'm proud of that speech. I must have been anticipating the troubles on campus. I tried to stake out my position with crystal clarity, where I said I

reject the two extremes. One extreme is what I call the "finishing school": students should come and take their classes, we should civilize them, and they should be nice, quiet, gentle students and come out just like their parents but only knowing more and getting good jobs. I started getting pressure from a lot of people from outside the campus to make the kids cut their hair and dress up. They said, "How do you allow them to look so sloppy? Tell them to be quiet and tell them to study and not to protest." That was one extreme that I rejected. [See Appendix A]

The other extreme, which I also rejected, was that the university should be turned into an "instrument of the revolution." I rejected the notion that as chancellor it was my duty to speak out against the war and to use my office in behalf of political causes, including those about which I felt strongly. To me, the university is not an instrument of politics, but a community of scholars engaged in teaching and the search for the truth, with a little "t." I defend the right of students to engage in political protest, even to use the instruments that are more appropriate for the civil society than they are for a university. In a university the chief instruments are persuasion, debate and discussion, and willingness to listen to all sides, including the side of those whom we strongly oppose.

That was before any particular issue had developed. I made my statement to get my position on the record. I wanted to be clear.

One of the issues those days was whether or not students were entitled to some kind of special privilege if they broke the law. The contention of some was that the campus was a sanctuary and that any administrator who called the police to arrest students on campus violated some kind of special academic rule. My view was not that. If people, whether students or not, barricaded offices or interfered with the legal rights of other people, you called the police. You didn't say, "Oh, they are students so it is okay for them to take over a university office and stop the university from doing its business."

Lage: So in a way you had a little time to think these things through, as opposed to, say, Clark Kerr and Ed Strong in Berkeley in 1964.

Peltason: That's right. I had some notion because there had been the Reagan attack upon Kerr and there had been discussion around the country about how you should respond to disruptions. At

that opening speech, before we had any trouble, I made it clear. I went out all during that period and spent hours with the faculty. I met especially with the faculty, and I pulled the faculty in to many of my decisions, and I had "chancellor chats" with the students. Even before we had trouble I made it clear. I actually went to the Academic Senate once and said, "Let me tell you what I'm going to do in case of a crisis." We actually debated that. I wouldn't be quick to use force, the police. I'm going to keep the campus going and open and protect the people's right to engage in peaceful protest, but if they start to block doors or close the campus or keep other people from holding their classes, I'm going to call the cops.

Lage: So you must have had some inkling that this was going to come to Illinois.

Peltason: I must have. Because it started coming very quickly.
[laughter]

Antiwar Protests against On-Campus Recruiters

Peltason: We did have to arrest some students over the Dow recruiting program. I remember talking to a young lady in my office who said these people from Dow and General Electric were evil. I said, "Well, a lot of people think you're evil. They want me to kick you out of school because you want to protest. You have a right to protest. You can picket, and you can choose not to go to class. But we will not compromise on this issue, by saying these groups of recruiters can come and these can't." I think the University of Illinois got through that period of student unrest with considerable success because the faculty by and large backed me and because I wouldn't allow the faculty not to get involved.

Lage: Not to get involved in this kind of support for your stance.

Peltason: Faculties are divided between what are often called "the cosmopolitans" and the "locals." Most cosmopolitans do not get involved in the official business of the university, the Academic Senate, but spend their time in their laboratories or working with their colleagues around the world. I can remember on several occasions I called meetings of all the department chairs and leading faculty members. I said, "By and large it's fine that you are too busy to be much concerned about the workings of the campus, but this is a crisis. You have to help

me carry its flag and keep the place going. You can't just expect the chancellor to do it without your help."

Project 500 to Boost African American Student Enrollment

Peltason: The first big disruption was the now-famous incident in the Illini Union. That happened during my first year there, in my attempt to expand the recruitment and involvement of African Americans in the student body. There was a plan already in place to gradually build up support services and African American students. I got there in '67, so for '68-'69 we anticipated that we would have about two hundred specially recruited students.

Lage: That was in place when you got there?

Peltason: That program was in place, and I was accelerating and supporting it.

Lage: Is that Project 500?

Peltason: That became Project 500. We would have done it under our own pace slowly. We would have gotten the financial aid for the students, and we would have gotten the special support services.

I used to make speeches in those days, saying that I and the University of Illinois are proud of the fact that it was one of the pioneering campuses for disabled students. We had special ramps, we had buses, we had counseling. But the students actually took the regular courses and met every standard.

Lage: Two of your former students are on the staff of our office doing a project to document the disability rights movement.

Peltason: That's right. Timothy Nugent at the University of Illinois was one of the pioneers of that program. He came out of World War II and came to our campus. He's having a big party right now at the University of Illinois. I had parents write me letters saying, "We couldn't find anyplace to send our son or daughter." It's a simple program. There is no compromising the graduation standards. There is no special program academically. But we get them to the classes, and we have physical education programs and places for them so they can get around the campus and have access.

We originally designed our program for the economically disadvantaged--that was the euphemism--not African Americans. Chicanos did not become part of our program until later. In those days the people who come from families where their parents lacked the resources to prepare them now had a chance to go to the schools that prepared them.

Lage: Was that more a euphemism? Were you really targeting the African Americans?

Peltason: It was a euphemism also because I felt then that such a program was less politically vulnerable. We would recruit in the inner city and most of those students would be African Americans. But we were recruiting them not because they were African Americans, but because they had not had the opportunity to get the preparation in their high schools for college because they came from families where their parents had not gone to college. They didn't know how to apply for financial aid.

What I used to say was that we're doing the same thing for the economically disadvantaged that we always had done for the physically disadvantaged. Nobody says, "It's unfair to have a bus for the people who can't walk. They don't give me a bus." Or nobody said, "Why do they build ramps to the third floor? That's a special privilege." No, it's because we were just trying to compensate. The program we were putting in place was to compensate people who didn't come from middle-class families, where they knew about financial aid and they knew how to apply. We were building that program slowly. Then upon Martin Luther King's assassination--

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Peltason: --the African American students, not only on our campus but in the Champaign-Urbana community, pressured me to go faster. They were led by a man who subsequently became a good friend, John Lee Johnson. John Lee Johnson was a genuine, charismatic, smart person who had not had any formal education. So we made a commitment to have by the next school year at least 500 students in our special educational opportunity program. It became known as Project 500. I look back now, and I don't know why I did it. I mean, we had no financial aid for them, we had no plans for them. We were going to go from less than 100 to 500.

Lage: But there was a sense of crisis after Martin Luther King's assassination.

Peltason: There was a sense of crisis. Martin Luther King's assassination, I thought, called for dramatic action. I acted without having secured the approval of the board of trustees, without even talking to the faculty about it, without even talking to the president of the university about it, but I made the commitment. Then I went out to mobilize support, and by and large I did get support for it.

Lage: So you got support after making the commitment.

Peltason: After making the commitment. I called in the deans, called in the faculty. The commitment was to move faster than we had been.

Lage: You had already had the program in place.

Peltason: The program had been in place to be built up slowly. I recruited the staff. There was a woman by the name of Jean Hill in the Dean of Students office. Clarence Shelley--he's still there. He became my special agent. He was in Detroit, and I said, "Get down here in a hurry." I remember calling the Ford Foundation and said, "I need money." [chuckles]

Lage: Did Illinois as a state have a lot of inner-city unrest?

Peltason: There had been some problems in Chicago. We recruited these students from Philadelphia, from Chicago. And when school started we had 500. I remember talking to David Henry, and he said, "We're going to have a special experimental education program. We'll make it experimental. That way it'll be more politically acceptable in the state."

So we recruited these students and put the team in place. We got faculty to sign up to be special tutors for them. We got the financial aid packages put together for the Financial Aid Office. The Ford Foundation--I called in all the chips that I could. We got the deans and the faculty behind it. There was a great deal of enthusiasm about it and a great deal of support for the program. But it was experimental and new.

Lage: Was there special housing?

Peltason: No, we distributed them in the regular residence halls. But part of the preparation for them was to bring them in two or three weeks earlier in the summer, just before school started, to give them special assistance. So they came two weeks ahead of time, and they were put in the best dormitories and given financial aid packages and special tutoring explaining about what was in store for them. I remember walking across the

campus with Lucius, I think it was, and I saw these students and said, "There they are, Lucius. I wonder how long it will be before they're protesting in our offices," [laughter] little knowing that a major crisis was around the corner.

Illini Union Protest by African American Students

Peltason: These students came to campus, and I was out of town one day--I had a meeting somewhere in the state--and the call came to me to get back to campus in a hurry. The students at the end of their two weeks were dispersed from the dormitories where they had been before school started to the regular dormitories. Some of them said, "We aren't going to go. It's happening to us again. You put us in these nice dormitories, and now you're putting us in the old dormitories." They took this as a racial slur. There was one woman--Yolanda was her name--that just wouldn't move. The students started rallying around her, and then they started protesting that their student financial aid wasn't appropriate. Then they started having a whole list of grievances.

Lage: And they hadn't even begun class!

Peltason: They hadn't even begun class yet. They went to the Illini Union to have a rally outside. It was raining, and they went inside. The next thing I knew they had barricaded the doors of the Illini Union. There were 200, 300, or 400 students inside the Illini Union demanding to see the chancellor. Clarence and I and everybody went to my office to decide what to do. We were in the middle of a crisis, and it was getting to be about ten or eleven o'clock at night. Then the word drifted out to us. We could actually hear the crashing and smashing into the Illini Union shop to get the candy bars, et cetera. There were other guests in the hotel rooms in the Illini Union, and the students had barricaded and taken control of the Illini Union.

I called the faculty leaders and said, "You come down here." Again, I knew that a tough decision was going to have to be made, but I wanted to preempt as many people as I could. I got the leaders of the black faculty to come down there. What had happened is that some of the town kids--high school kids--had gotten inside the student union. Some of them had gotten drunk, and there were a couple of people--gang leaders-- who had gotten these students all excited. They demanded to see the chancellor, to see "the Man."

Lage: [laughs] Is that what they called you?

Peltason: Yes. One of the principles that I had announced is that I don't show up on demand. I'm not going to go negotiate under those conditions. But we sent people back and forth from my group.

Lage: Was Joe Smith in on this?

Peltason: Joe Smith was there, Lucius was there, Clarence Shelley was there. Clarence was the chief administrator for this program. The mayor of Champaign was there, the mayor of Urbana was there. By this time the whole town had been alerted. Remember, this was an experimental program which I had taken considerable political risk to start, and this was at the very beginning of it. They were very tense times. We were worried about when the school opened in the morning and the students couldn't get into the student union. We had black students inside the student union and white students on the outside trying to get in, people living in the hall, and sounds of all kinds of glass being broken and kids in trouble. About two or three in the morning, I made the decision--it was my decision, but I had there the leaders of the senate and others--that for the safety of the students we had to get them out of there, and we would go arrest them to get them out of there. We had to assemble enough policemen to do it. I was told that if you send one or two policemen you can't do it.

Lage: Had you had any conferences with police before this in anticipation of potential problems?

Peltason: I don't remember. I do remember the police chiefs became some of my best friends. [laughter] There were three police departments involved. The University of Illinois had the biggest police department, there's the Urbana police department, and the Champaign police department. It took us about two or three hours to assemble seventy police officers in the middle of the night. Along about six o'clock in the morning they broke in and arrested the students. Now when you've arrested 250 students, what do you do with them? We had to then be sure that they were taken care of. We gave them plenty of warning, and some of them actually did disperse. I think there were 400 or 500 of them there, but by the time we arrested them we had arrested in the neighborhood of 240 or 250 students. We got them out of there without anybody getting hurt.

Lage: Did they go limp?

Peltason: They went limp, and policemen took them down there, and they were booked and sent back to their classes right away. [chuckles] At the time I thought that this was the end. For a chancellor to use the police to arrest students, especially black students, I thought I was going to be in trouble with everybody. In a way it helped--somewhat to my surprise--I think because I had gotten the leaders of the senate and the black faculty, and they had agreed with me that for the students' safety I had no option but to break this thing up. The only criticism I got was the Chicago Tribune attacking me for what took me so long. [laughter] The headlines the next day read, "\$50,000 Worth of Damage: Students Run Wild."

Lage: Was that true? Was it that much damage?

Peltason: It turned out to be about \$5,000 worth of damage, and the students were peaceful and were arrested. It established a pattern for my administration, that calling the police isn't the worst thing you can do to a bunch of students. But it took two years to process these students. I wanted to prosecute the ringleaders, and I tried to get the state's attorney not to prosecute the others. He prosecuted them all, but eventually nothing ever happened to them. The student academic discipline system went through a trial by fire because we had to discipline 204 students.

Lage: So you disciplined them internally as well as civilly.

Peltason: Yes. There are two separate questions that always arise in these cases. They violated university regulations, but they were also violating the laws of the State of Illinois. My view was to discipline severely the ringleaders but let the rest of them go. It took years to process those cases. I finally called Albert Jenner, a very distinguished lawyer from Chicago, to come down and to preside over the hearings. He took forever to do the hearings. I don't know whether he did it on purpose, but the consequence was by the time they finished with the hearings, everybody had forgotten the episode of two years ago in the past, and the students were in school, and the program had gone on.

Lage: It's interesting that this whole group of students that you had recruited were now sort of outlaws.

Peltason: Yes, but you know, their relationship with me remained pretty positive. I remember appearing before a bunch of people mad at me and mad at them, and they were sitting there explaining how their mothers had called them. I said, "My mother called me. She was worried about me." [laughter] I don't quite know why

the dynamics of it were that an episode like that did not have a permanently divisive effect. The program went on.

Lage: Did they have other concerns besides just being moved out of the dorms?

Peltason: No, there weren't any legitimate concerns. I think if it hadn't rained that night they wouldn't have gone into the Union. They would have had a protest meeting and gone back to their dorms. I think if it hadn't rained that night, and they hadn't actually been whipped up by some local town leaders-- they were ordinary decent students. They had come to college and it was an exciting adventure.

Lage: And maybe a little scary, too.

Peltason: They were scared. If we had stayed in there and gone into negotiations, it would have been days for them to get out. I do think it was a wise thing--the fact that we brought in enough police to get them out of there and got them booked and brought back; they could go back to their studies, they engaged in political protest.

Subsequently, years later, I met a lot of students who said, "Hello, Chancellor Peltason. I was in Project 500." "Did I arrest you?" [laughter] For reasons I don't quite understand it did not create a permanent breach in my relationship with the student leaders. They knew by and large that I had championed the program and that I was in large part responsible for their being there. They knew that they engaged in a protest, and they had gotten arrested, and that was the end of it. And they went back. I think it also established to the student body that if he's dumb enough to arrest the black students, he means it when he says, "If you don't get out of that building by five o'clock, you get arrested." It established the fact that that wasn't a traumatic thing.

I want to get over the notion that somehow or other students have a special immunity. My view was you're grownups. You have no more or less right to take over my office than anybody else. If somebody takes over my office, I'm not going to come negotiate with them. I'll always talk to you about your demands in discussion. But when you use force to take over my office you've stopped our conversation. I think that helped me get through that period.

Circumventing Problems with the Police

- Lage: Did you have problems with police brutality, which seemed to happen at most every university? Or at least the cries of it.
- Peltason: The cry is always made. But I worked with the police. The University of Illinois police were not brutal. After every one of these arrests there was always a charge that the police had beaten somebody, and there's always a pregnant woman who was beaten by the police. After every episode there was always the charge that the police misbehaved. But I had faculty observers go along with the police.
- Lage: You learned a lot from watching the earlier instances, it seems to me.
- Peltason: I don't know where I learned it, but I just knew that the world is full of critics who always the next morning will tell you you should have done it this way and that way. My view is to get them involved and in the process.

Chief Shirley headed the Champaign police. Now Chief Shirley was Hollywood's idea of a redneck cop: potbelly and all. [laughter] He was always insisting that students should not be mollycoddled, but at the same time he rather enjoyed confronting them. I worked with him, and the chief from Urbana, and we met a lot and established a sense of comradeship. I was able to persuade them that I was not some fuzzy-headed radical who just let the students run wild, but on the other hand I expected professional behavior from our chief of police and from the various police forces. I was helped mightily by Paul Doebel who was in charge of the university police. But any time you have 5,000 people on the loose, especially in the middle of the night, there's bound to be some episodes. I got rather close to the police and spent a lot of time with them.

Impact of Project 500

- Peltason: That was Project 500. All during that five-year period there were always negotiations with the African American students and their leaders.
- Lage: Did this program continue at an accelerated pace?

Peltason: Yes. It has changed the face of the University of Illinois forever. African American students from Chicago and other places started coming, and many of these students went on to graduate and became successful and became leaders. There have been ceremonies where they came back--they became part of the history of the University of Illinois. Then it was subsequently followed by a movement towards Hispanic students. Then it got into that whole period of affirmative action with the federal government being on the side of these programs and supporting them. But we were a little ahead of the game. These things had to be done just at the right time. If we started to do this in the fifties you wouldn't have had the political support to do it, and by the seventies you wouldn't have needed to do it. I think what we did was accelerate a trend. That was one of the more successful things that happened, despite the trauma and despite the fact that all during that time there were episodes and incidents.

University's Relationship with Local African American Community

Peltason: The other problem had to do with the relationship with the black community of Champaign-Urbana--the "North End," as it was called. That's where the African American community lived. One of the things that I did was open up the facilities. When white alums came to play basketball, they were allowed to play basketball in our gyms. If they came over to the Illini Union, nobody would chase them out. But if black teenagers came in, they got chased out. I announced that we couldn't do that anymore.

But we had some tense times. For example, the Illini Union subsequently became on Friday and Saturday night a teenage hangout--especially for the African American community. It got to be so that we had to have twelve policemen in there, and we finally had to chase kids under eighteen out, whatever their race, because it became a teenage hangout.

Lage: Was it right on the border of a black community?

Peltason: Nearby. Then the African American students would have dances and the teenagers from the high school in the community would come and break up their dances. I would get requests from the parents of the African American college students to chase the teenage kids out. It wasn't a racial issue anymore; it was high schoolers versus college students.

Lage: That can be tense.

Peltason: There are always tensions. Some are serious, some are less serious. Joe Smith and I always laugh about the wilted roses episode. The student body had opposed homecoming queens; they said it was an obsolete idea. It was a frivolous, middle-class idea. But then they made an African American woman the queen, so it wasn't politically correct to oppose that anymore. I didn't pay much attention to who got to be the homecoming queen. But when this African American student became the homecoming queen, I wanted to be sure she was properly treated, so I invited her and her mother to sit in our box at the football game, and I chatted with her and we had our picture taken.

Lage: And that was not the usual?

Peltason: Not the usual thing. I thought the weekend went well. On Monday morning I came in to work and David Addison, who was the leader of the African American student body, met me there. (He and I subsequently became friends; he's a charismatic man.) He was mad because we had insulted the queen. [laughs] I said, "What have we done to insult the queen?" "Her roses were wilted." [laughter] I said, "Joe, you and I have to sit here with a straight face and deal with the wilted roses."

Lage: How did you deal with it? You do have such a good sense of humor, but it may not have been appropriate then to laugh.

Peltason: We said we'd look into the matter, instead of saying, "Aw, come off it. It's not such a big deal." I don't think the young lady was insulted. I don't even think David Addison had his heart in it. It was part of the political tension of his building the community. It was just one more time to protest.

Assessment of University's Progress Toward Racial and Gender Equality

Peltason: Again, we never made the progress that I had hoped at Illinois or at California.

Lage: Where did you fall short of what you hoped?

Peltason: Many of us had hoped that with a little bit of extra effort, affirmative action, that our campuses would become integrated, with an appropriate number of African American students and

faculty and then we would no longer need these special programs and could dissolve them. But this revolution still hasn't taken place. There are not that many African American students coming through the high schools to go on to graduate schools and then to join our faculties. We still need affirmative action.

In the case of women, the integration has come much faster than for African Americans. In the case of women, when you broke down the stereotypes and the overt discrimination, there were enough middle-class women all around the campuses that they moved right into law schools and medical schools and other graduate programs. Unlike African Americans, women as a category hadn't been discriminated against at birth or when they went to elementary or high schools. They had been kept out of universities by overt discrimination. I mean, faculty members actually said, "We can't give women fellowships because it will be wasted since they will have babies and not be able to teach or do research." And there were stereotypes that it was not the thing to do for women to become lawyers or doctors or professors.

But in the case of racial minorities, you had to do more than just break down the barriers. Integration of universities requires action, not just at the university level. Back in the sixties, the civil rights revolution was mixed up with war protests and the student power movement.

Student Power Movement

Peltason: The student power movement was where the students were trying to take over running the universities.

Lage: Could you separate that out from the others? You did say it got mixed up, but was there a core of people who were interested in student power?

Peltason: There were core people who wanted to get rid of required courses, and they wanted to have students on all committees. I used to always tease the student power advocates: the universities are designed to be places with really nobody in charge. So you take over the chemistry department. What are you going to do with it? Your job is to get an education. The student leaders got mad at me because they wanted to have student representation on the faculty senate. They wanted

fifty-fifty. We had a big battle over fifty-fifty. I said no fifty-fifty.

Lage: Fifty-fifty?

Peltason: Fifty percent of the senate would be students and 50 percent would be faculty. That was a serious movement on the campus. They said, "How many students are you in favor of?" I said, "To the point where it makes a difference. I don't mind you being decorations, but I'm not about to turn over the Academic Senate to the students." They wanted students to run the Union and student government should be part of the government structure. I was always a traditionalist on that. I'm prepared to have student views and student perceptions, but I always used to say, "We charge students and pay the faculty because the faculty is supposed to know more than students." That was a movement that swept through the United States, and that was part of that time. The student power movement leaders were different from the civil rights revolution leaders, from those who wished the university to deregulate students' social life, and then you had the war protesters. But they were often allies.

Lage: You are looking at your watch because you know that the war is a big topic. [laughter]

Peltason: I'm sorry it takes so long to get to the war. [tape interruption]

More on the University's Relationship with the African American Community

Lage: We're going to fill in here with the relationship with the African American community, to talk about some of the incidents Joe Smith told me about.

Peltason: In addition to John Lee Johnson, who was the street leader of the North End, there was an establishment on the North End-- people of the churches, middle-class people. Joe Smith was very good with those people, and we used to have Mrs. Matthews and the Honeys--these were the elderly, the dignified members of the North End--come to campus. You have to be careful they don't become a patronizing kind of relationship. The fact that we had been active in the civil rights community, and Suzanne had been involved with them and they were always socially involved, mitigated against that. Mrs. Matthews and the

Honeys--when we started having trouble with teenage gangs, these grandmotherly types kind of stepped in and squelched some of those kids. [laughter] We had real gang trouble, but many of them were just teenage kids. But Joe was the liaison.

Lage: Joe mentioned helping out the Francis Nelson Health Center, helping get furnishings.

Peltason: We did our best to build the structure of the community and positive relations. Again, my justification is that the well-to-do part of Champaign-Urbana was involved: they had gone to school there, they were part of the alumni association, they knew their way around the university, they attended the sports events and the social events. The problem was how to welcome the North End so that they also identified with the university, because they hadn't attended it. There were many special programs designed to bring the leaders in and get them involved in the community, with the expectation that once they got there they wouldn't need any special help.

Antiwar Protests

Peltason: Let's talk about the antiwar protests.

Lage: And again, you think this is a different group.

Peltason: Well, there were overlaps. An episode in the North End would precipitate protests on campus. There was some police brutality; there was a case of it, and I can't remember the details, with police shooting somebody in the back and an arrest in the North End. There had been a protest on the campus. But many of the protests were related to the personal student opposition to the war, the growing dislike of the war, and an attempt to keep recruiters off the campus, and we had to arrest students.

William Kunstler Episode

Peltason: There were two or three other episodes. One was the infamous or famous Kunstler episode. William Kunstler had been the attorney to defend the Chicago Seven [seven protest leaders at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, 1968], and some of the protest movements on the campus had scheduled him to

come down--it was in March of 1970--to speak in the assembly hall. David Henry called me. Some of the trustees wanted me to not let Kunstler come on the campus. He and I agreed we couldn't do that. We had no justification to do that. Furthermore, to do that would probably create more problems than to allow him to speak. There had been protests going on. The students had been marching, property had been damaged, merchants in the town were concerned because windows had been broken, and then Kunstler was to come to town.

David Henry was very good about this. He said, "I told the chairman of the board that we couldn't act on his request. It would take an action of the board." So they called a special board meeting. They called David and me to come to Chicago for a meeting. We met in Chicago for a board meeting in which we debated with the board. After a long debate, the board, by a vote of six to three, ordered me not to let Kunstler come to campus.

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Peltason: The board wanted me to say that he should not be allowed to come at the moment because of the unrest on the campus and the protests. I think the night before, 5,000 students had marched through the city.

Lage: Was this near the time of Kent State? There was the invasion of Cambodia [April 30, 1970] and then there were the killings of students by the National Guard at Kent State [May 4, 1970].

Peltason: It was in the spring of 1970. It was before the shootings at Kent State, but the campus was in a state of distress, and there had been protesting. Whenever there is a bunch of students marching up and down the street, if you get 5,000 students at night, somebody's got to do something. Even the leaders tried to keep it peaceful. Windows had been broken and property had been damaged and buildings had been occupied. So I said, "Under these circumstances, if you're going to do it, say because there's a clear and present danger, rather than just absolutely forbidding him to come on campus because you don't agree with what he has to say or because he's going to agitate the students." So by a six-to-three vote they instructed me to cancel his coming into university buildings. They couldn't keep him out of Champaign-Urbana.

Lage: Did they take your advice as far as justifying the cancellation?

Peltason: Yes, a clear and present danger at the moment. Leaving it vague as to when there wouldn't be a clear and present danger. [laughter] We had a public press meeting and for the first time in his life David Henry actually made it clear that we were doing this because the board had ordered us to do it. Ordinarily David Henry's counsel and my counsel is that if you work for the board, you do what the board says unless you have to quit. But he and I both made it clear that against our advice, the board had passed this resolution. And in view of the fact that the resolution didn't keep him off university property permanently--in fact, I made it clear he could come the next week--I expected having him right away. He then spoke for himself and said that no, he wasn't going to come if he couldn't speak on university property. So by the time I got home, all hell had really broken loose.

Lage: And that was the instigating event?

Peltason: The protests, and then the fact that Kunstler couldn't come. What I told the Regents is if he comes to town there may be trouble. If he doesn't come to town, I'm sure there will be trouble. No way I could have guaranteed them--because of all the agitation going on--that his coming to town wouldn't have been the match to ignite even more unrest. So the mayors and I called the governor of Illinois, Richard Ogilvie, with whom I then became good friends.

Lage: Was he a Republican or Democrat?

Peltason: He was a Republican governor. And let me just say he was a wonderful governor. Many governors of many states were taking political advantage of the unrest on campus. He said to me, "You're on the ground. I'll follow your lead. If you need the [National] Guard, we'll send the Guard." He left the call to me and to the mayors. It was out of control. Students were moving up and down, windows were being smashed.

Lage: On campus?

Peltason: On the campus and by the campus. There was rioting going on. So we called the governor to send the National Guard in. He sent the National Guard in, and the mayors declared a curfew in the city and I declared a curfew on the campus. I didn't know I had the power to declare a curfew. [laughter] I remember my mother was playing bridge in the town, and I said, "Mother, you can't play bridge tonight; there's a curfew." [laughter] She wanted me to let her go play bridge. The National Guard came in, and to our good fortune, the guy in charge of it was a guy

named General Richard Dunn, who was an attorney for the Illinois state system in his civilian life--that's the other system.

Lage: State college system?

Peltason: Yes. Furthermore, he had been involved in the Chicago riots, so he knew about riots. He came to town, and he helped me contain the situation without letting it overreact.

He said to me, "I've got the National Guard in town. I want to tell you, but you are not to tell anybody else: they don't have any bullets in their guns. The ammunition is outside of town. But I'm not going to bring eighteen-year-old National Guardsmen into this situation."

Lage: So he understood his own troops also.

Peltason: Well, he understood that these were college students and this was not a case of coming out with guns roaring. The reason I know it was before Kent State is because it never dawned on me to ask that question; it was he who did that. The Guard came into town twice, and the other time was with Kent State. This was the first time. I think it was the Kunstler time that they came in.

I also remember that the next day--I think it was a Sunday --we called the governor and said, "Governor, things have calmed down. I can't guarantee that there won't be any trouble, but it's better to get the Guard out of here now than to keep them around." So he said, "You don't just do that. Mobilizing the National Guard is a very expensive thing." The whole town wanted protection because this was a dangerous situation. But we got them in and got them out without any episode. It can really bring tears to your eyes to see the National Guard on the streets of a university. The general helped in a way that I couldn't have done, because we had the state police in town, we had the National Guard in town--but when the National Guard comes in town, he takes command.

Lage: Of all the police forces?

Peltason: He coordinates. He was standing there with his military outfit, and he could gentle down the police and the state police in a way that the chancellor of the university couldn't have.

Lage: You were fortunate that he was the head of it.

Peltason: He was a very statesman-like general. There was another episode I think in '72 when we had the Guard in again. There was a strike in '72.

Lage: Another one?

Peltason: Yes. I do remember that I was impressed after Kent State with how lucky we had been that General Dunn had been in charge, that he had the foresight to think about disarming the National Guard, so to speak, when he brought them into the situation so there wouldn't be a precipitated event. And he had done that before Kent State had happened.

Lage: What did you think about the protesters? Were they mainly students or were there these ubiquitous outside agitators?

Peltason: No, they were mainly students. Around every college town there are people who are perpetual students, but I never did think these were just all made-up things; these were genuinely concerned students, persuaded that the war was an evil thing that required extraordinary treatment. I think many of them had peaceful intentions, but if you get 5,000 people moving back and forth in a relatively small area it takes only one or two to turn a peaceful event into one where there is violence. And you can always count on two or three faculty members to be there to lead the protest.

Faculty Participation and Legislature Pressures

Peltason: Let me just say one other thing about that time: the faculty generally were on my side, but for two or three faculty members. As a result of this episode, I got called before the legislature. The legislature demanded that some of them be fired.

Lage: The faculty who had supported the students? Or the incident you're about to tell me?

Peltason: It gets blurred in my mind as to what happened when, but in the spring of '70 and then in the fall of '70, after these episodes, the Illinois legislature got into the act and kept calling me over to ask me why I didn't stop all this. I remember once going to work, my office windows had been smashed. Some woman was on the phone wondering why I allow that to happen. I said, "Lady, they're throwing rocks at me. [laughter] I'll do my best to prevent it from happening."

The student leaders were mad at you for not being more actively opposed to the war, and the community was mad at you for "how did you allow the students to do all this disrupting and protesting, and why did we have to send the National Guard in? Didn't we pay for these kids to come to school? How come they're not in class?" So you were in between those who felt you were not leading the protest and those who felt you should stop it. Then legislators would call you and ask, "What is going on and why don't you stop all this protesting?" Legislators were especially peeved that I did not fire the faculty members who were ringleaders in leading the student protests.

Lage: How active were faculty members in leading, do you think?

Peltason: Most faculty were not involved in promoting violent protest. We had two or three episodes in which the faculty members were egging on the protesters to go beyond peaceful tactics--they were, if I recall the names, Michael Parenti, Philip J. Meranto (1970), and Lou Gold. I can't remember with precision when these episodes took place. Parenti was a visiting assistant professor, a political scientist. I remember he was alleged to have blocked the front of the student union at one of the protests and seen to throw rocks at the state police. He was about to leave the university because he was a visiting professor. I remember writing him a letter saying, "Professor Parenti, here are these allegations. If you want a hearing to dispute these allegations, I would grant you one. If it appears that these allegations are true, I will put an official reprimand on your record." Which by the way doesn't amount to much. It is a letter in a file somewhere. He elected not to contest the allegations but rather to challenge me as a fascist. Meranto was a member of the political science faculty.

Lage: You've got two political scientists at it now.

Peltason: These were all political scientists, most of them. [laughter] They led much of this agitation both on the civil rights side and on the war side.

Lage: Were these young people?

Peltason: Youngish. Meranto then went off to the University of Washington. I knew the president out there, and I was glad to see Meranto go. But I didn't know it was up to me to call up the president of the University of Washington and tell him, "Do you realize what kind of trouble you're getting into?" He

called me one night and bawled me out because I hadn't called him up. I said, "Well, nobody called me about him."

Lage: Before he got hired at Illinois. Were any of these professors turned down for tenure? Somebody that I talked with about this said that there was a controversial tenure decision in political science.

Peltason: Not these two. There was a man named Byers, if I remember, who got turned down.

Lage: But was that over his protest activities?

Peltason: He was involved in the protest movement, but he didn't meet the scholarly standards. I don't think he got turned down for political reasons; he got turned down for not meeting the scholarly standards. Usually once a year there's always a person who doesn't get tenure who's popular with the students--with or without the war movement.

Concerns for the Chancellor's Personal Safety

Peltason: Another thing I'd like to mention a little bit because it's part of those times, without trying to go through every episode: the personal safety problems when you are in these positions. The police told me not to park my car in the same spot. They put something in the tailpipe of my car to prevent it from being blown up.

Some episodes were serious, some were funny. I remember when the police came into the office and told me they were going to put a panic button under my desk. They said, "Don't tell anybody." And then at the very moment they were installing it, the Daily Illini called and said, "We understand you are having a panic button installed under your desk." [laughter] We had to move Jill's bedroom from the front of the house to the back of the house because people would come up to the front and threaten to throw rocks.

Lage: This must have been really hard to live with.

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: So you felt personally at risk.

Peltason: Yes. It only takes one person. I remember sometime years later somebody called up and asked me about a particular person. I said, "I don't know. I've never heard of him." They said, "He threw an ashtray at you at one of your meetings." I said, "I don't remember that." I called up Joe Smith and he said, "Oh yeah, that guy we had at the meeting--he threw an ashtray at you." I must have ducked. [laughter]

The most serious episode did not involve a personal threat but emotional damage. It turned out to have a happy ending. At one of these meetings--I think it was in 1972--the students demanded that I be at some meeting. I said, "No, I have another commitment that night. I can't be at that meeting. I'll meet you the next day." They had taken over the office, and I had said I'm not going to show up on demand under threat.

In the middle of this I got a call from Suzanne saying, "Come home. Tim's been in a serious automobile accident." She had gotten a call from Harvard: "They want you to come home and stand by and cancel everything for this evening because they might need our permission for an operation." So I dashed home. As we made plans to go to Boston, another phone call came saying, "That call about your son's accident was a hoax." So we called Tim's room, and there he was at his desk--had been there all afternoon. It was all designed by some students to get me to cancel everything so I would be available to come meet with them that evening. We were so happy it was a hoax; it was one of those hoaxes that you're glad is a hoax.

Lage: But it's frightening, and it's frightening to think they know that much about your son.

Peltason: Then a letter of apology appeared in the mailbox that night saying, "We hadn't thought this through." That was the tail end of it.

Faculty Support for Chancellor during Unrest

Lage: How did you hold up with all this?

Peltason: You know, as I look back on it, there were times when I felt completely in despair. I remember one spring I wondered if we could keep the institution going. And when presidents and chancellors who served during those times get together, we trade "war stories," but the fact is that these episodes were not all that happened during those years. The fact is classes

were taught, students got educated, research was being done. I remember one time when the National Guard tanks were rolling down the street I went home in despair, in tears. I took the long way home to avoid the guard and protesters. As I drove around there were a bunch of students playing frisbee and going to classes, and I realized that although you think the whole world is tied up in these dramatic events, the fact is life goes on. It doesn't take many students to make university administrators focus their attention on them. Although the issues were serious, the fact is most of the students and most of the faculty were going to class and reading about these events in the newspapers. You had to have a sense of perspective.

I also have to say that with few exceptions, I had very positive feedback from faculty, who were supportive. I had the good fortune of having been part of that faculty and around that faculty. Also I think I was astute enough to keep them informed and involve them and tell them what I was going to do in advance, get their support in advance, and be generally understanding and sympathetic towards keeping the university open while protecting the right of people to protest but not allowing them to close down the university. That's what most faculty wanted. They were very good at letting me know. People like Charlie [Charles A.] Wert.

Charlie was chairman of the Academic Senate. I always made the chairman of the Academic Senate go with me. [laughter] I said, "Okay, I'm in charge, I'm not trying to delegate to you. I am trying to co-opt you. I want you to hear what the policeman told me, and I want you to hear what the disciplinary people tell me." Charlie Wert went around with me to the police station, and he was there when we called in the National Guard. I kept my channels open with the leaders of the faculty. There were two kinds of leaders. There were the people in the senate positions, and then what I call the "barons of the campus": the people of international reputation. I went out of my way to keep them involved, and I had vice chancellors who worked to keep them involved. We had good police officers. We had a good relationship with the city. Even though the student leaders, like Roger Simon, who is now a distinguished journalist, were always calling for my resignation. I had enough emotional support that I didn't feel like I was just by myself.

Lage: So you did get calls for your resignation? I mean, they did kind of focus on you as the problem.

Peltason: Yes, chiefly by the Daily Illini editors. [chuckles] But you have enough other ways of knowing whether or not you have the support of the faculty. If I had lost the support of the faculty, I would not have been able to do it. David Henry was supportive, the trustees--there was only one time they ever overruled me--the governor was supportive. Even when I appeared before the hostile legislature--I got called there twice, once by Senator Horseley, who attacked me. I had to appear before a joint meeting of the legislature to explain after the National Guard had to be called.

By and large, you have enough support to know that you're moving in the right direction and that people are appreciative of what you're doing rather than feeling isolated and lonely. I wasn't in a hostile atmosphere when I walked in and out of faculty groups. It takes a lot of adrenaline, however, to walk into a room full of 200 angry students shouting at you. That's not something I enjoy doing. But I also had a very good staff and very good support in the vice chancellors.

Lage: Who did you have in that position by that time?

Peltason: Jack Briscoe was vice chancellor for administration, and reporting to him was Paul Doebel--I do not recall his title, but the police reported to him. Lucius Barker and Paul Reigel each served as my special assistants. I had one assistant who could not stand the pressures, and he left for the University of Missouri; his name was Lloyd Berry.

The people on the two coasts always thought that the only problems on campus were at Madison. I kept teasing them, "We're also a great university, we had the National Guard in town twice and the state police three times." I am proud of the fact, however, that the university emerged from that period without any permanent damage, without any great divisiveness between administrators and faculty or between the university and the people of Illinois.

Lage: They must have been able to look around and see that it wasn't just happening on that campus.

Peltason: That's right. At the beginning, it was always thought that it was some mistake you made. I think I told you that at the beginning you'd get calls saying, "Why don't you make the kids cut their hair and behave?" But then when they couldn't get their own grandchildren to cut their hair--. And then the war protests started. And then the feminist revolution really took off towards the end of that period.

Lage: But did that create protests?

Peltason: No, it didn't create violent protests. It was part of the political scene, however; for instance, I appeared before the legislature to explain salary disparities. But it didn't involve anything other than the ordinary discussions and debates in the Academic Senate.

Student Unrest and Educational Reform

Lage: Looking at these statements from the chancellor--May 10 and May 16, 1970 [See Appendix B]--mainly about keeping the campus open, it's interesting to me how the student protests were so often linked, on many campuses, to educational reform. "Suggestions for improvement in educational programs will follow." You wanted faculty to consider and suggest reform of all aspects of undergraduate education. When we look back on it, we think about the war and race issues, but--

Peltason: The student power movement was really separable from those other two issues. It was a real attempt by students to change the character of the course of instruction, at least at Illinois.

Lage: Were they concerned about more than student power? Was there something wrong with the way education was delivered, do you think?

Peltason: They felt they didn't have enough say about it, and requirements were imposed on them. Their education wasn't relevant. It was connected to the revolution in the sense that they wanted to study poverty and peace and not have to take foreign languages. They wanted to rethink who ran the university and who set the requirements.

Lage: And that happened on all the campuses, too.

Peltason: Yes.

Role of Deans and Faculty in Quelling Student Unrest

Peltason: I've got to mention George Frampton. George was wonderful. George was a professor of law, and I made him vice chancellor

for student affairs. He wasn't a student professional. George loved to debate and talk. We used to always say, "George, go out there and talk to those students. [laughter] Bore them to death."

Lage: He didn't mind facing the hostile crowds?

Peltason: No. He was a very good teacher, and it was an unusual thing to ask. A distinguished professor of law--they don't want to stop in the middle of student protests to take on these administrative assignments. I talked George into doing that.

By the way, the deans were also very good in those days. There's a tendency when you're reading the newspaper about some student protests to think that the administrator goofed in some way, that if they had just been more understanding or more sympathetic--. Fortunately for me, early on the disciplinary committee was in session--and the deans were all on it--and a bunch of the students surrounded them and shouted at them and took them captive. It took me and the police to come free them from the students. Until that event the deans thought that the protesters were just a nice bunch of students and all you would have to do was to talk with and reason with them. When they were personally confronted, they began to realize that there were some real dangers of closing down the university. We're not accustomed to being so hostilely confronted at universities; it never happened in my lifetime, before or since, that you walked into a group of students and wondered if you're going to get home for dinner.

Again, part of my plan was to get to the regular faculty and get them involved. There are two meetings which stand out in my mind. One was I called every department chair and every dean into an emergency session and told them what I was going to do. Everybody except two members supported me and said I was doing the right thing. I once appeared before the Academic Senate and said, "Here's what I'm going to do." And I got them to actually vote on supporting my plan. It was debated.

Somebody else came up with a substitute plan, that in a time of crisis you shouldn't do this and that, and you should never call the police, and the campus is a sanctuary, and these are our students and these are bad times. I had the Academic Senate vote that one down. [laughter] I didn't want them the next day to get out and say, "You didn't tell us what you were going to do." Also it was helpful that I knew so many of the faculty.

A Consistent Policy Supporting Discussion, Prohibiting Coercion

Peltason: I was always consistent in my dealing with students: we will talk with you and have meeting after meeting and take you seriously providing we stick to a process of debate and discussion. But the moment you use force, take over an office, or block a door, or try to close down the campus, the debate stops and I will not hesitate to treat you the same way I would treat anybody who tried to close down the teaching or the work of the university.

There was this big strike--I think it was in '72 that they tried to organize a strike. I said, "I'll protect your right to have teach-ins and talk-ins, and anybody who doesn't want to go to class doesn't have to go to class, but any faculty member who doesn't teach his or her class is in trouble. And anybody who wants to go to class has a right to go to class." I also said that I believe that no social problem is better off by closing down a university. To stop the process of learning is not the solution to any problem. I was consistent on making this distinction between talking and coercion.

Lage: Of course, students were very unsympathetic to that argument at that time.

Peltason: From their perspective, children were being bombed, and you're either with us or against us. In fact, when Meranto left, he said the blood of Vietnamese children are on the chancellor's hands because his neutrality makes him part of the war machine.

Lage: Did people like Meranto want the university or you to take a stand against the war officially?

Peltason: Yes. They wanted me to close down all research connected with the war effort and cancel all classified research and tell faculty they couldn't do that. In fact, though some student editorials kept saying, "He didn't start the war, he can't stop the war," they really felt that stopping the war was so important that I should use my authority as chancellor to direct that all university resources should be used to oppose our foreign policy, and these were crisis times.

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Peltason: Having the university confront the community would have been exactly what they wanted. Now, I don't deny their sincerity, but I think I told you about one student arguing with me. She came to see me and was very upfront about it: I should forbid

General Motors recruiters from coming on campus because they were forces of evil. When I tried to explain to her that if I just said that these people can't come, that I would be opening the way for people who didn't like her position to say to them, "She is evil, keep her off the campus." She seemed surprised that restrictions on freedom to speak might cut two ways. Most of the students had never thought through why freedom of speech is so important to a university.

I've always been asked to generalize about the students: what do the students think? I always had to explain to the legislature and everybody else: they're your sons and daughters. You can't generalize about 35,000 people. They're reflective of you and your values. They are away from home, starting their lives, and somewhat more adventuresome than people who have jobs to keep. But they're not some monster thing called "The Students."

Lage: It must have been hard for you in the midst of all this to keep that kind of perspective, I would think.

Peltason: It was. And we had to watch that. There was a time there for a while when the phone would ring and somebody would say, "It's a student on the phone." Then you immediately tensed up. You think, Somebody's mad at me, somebody's being hostile. You have to get over that notion, because it was easy to put people into categories.

Lage: Did you have any student groups or student individuals who were supportive, or was that just not part of the times?

Peltason: Yes. Most of the time, even in the middle of a crisis, relationships are normal and natural, but from about '68 to '72, when that was the only discussion that people had about the universities, there was some real genuine concern about the ability to keep them going. As I say, even though most students want to go to class, it doesn't take too many students to mobilize activity. Most students who lived through the hard times in Illinois went to class, met their friends, drank their beer, and went about their normal life. They would go to a rally and protest, but their chief interest in life was still personal rather than what was happening on campus.

But if you read the newspapers you'd think that the whole city of Berkeley or the whole city of Champaign-Urbana was just focused on protest. That's why you needed to keep a perspective. During that strike in the '72 period--I can't even remember what precipitated it--there was one day in which more students than not sat in sit-ins and didn't go to class.

There was one or two faculty who would lead them. But most faculty at Illinois were careful to distinguish between their political views and their responsibilities as teachers.

There were episodes. Here's one I forgot to mention. A bunch of political scientists signed a manifesto. I can't remember what it was about, but it was outrageous. They published this manifesto, and the board of trustees was outraged and wanted me to fire them. I finally persuaded the trustees that they should not fire them but they could as a board exercise freedom of speech. You should not fire them or discipline them, but you can make it clear that the trustees don't agree with them. So the trustees passed a resolution saying how disappointed they were with these faculty members and how they thought they had been irresponsible. Well, some of the faculty got mad at the trustees and me because I shouldn't have let the trustees criticize members of the faculty. I said, "They have freedom of speech, too." [laughter] They didn't realize that trustee criticism of the faculty members was the compromise: the trustees felt they had to do something, and criticizing them was certainly better than firing them.

Lage: Why was it so outrageous in the political science department? It seems like that was sort of a center of activity.

Peltason: It tended to be. It's the talking professions. They weren't the only ones. There was a man in psychology--I can't remember his name. I used to call him Prince Valiant. He had a block haircut. He always used to attack me. He's the one who I think I told you about, who got up and wanted to know all the time whether we had any secret research at the university. I kept telling him, "If it's a secret, we couldn't tell you."

Each cause had a different group of people. Political science tended to take the lead in opposing the war. The people fighting for racial justice were a different group of faculty. They didn't engage in violent protests; they engaged in picketing and stuff, but they didn't try to close down the university. The people who really tried to close down the university tended to be the folks in the war protest movement. The black students would every now and then demand my presence and not go to class, but the only time that there was any disruption on their part of the university was the incident at the Illini Union.

Lage: And that was early on. Were there "Third World College" movements like we had out here?

Peltason: Yes, including some people who left the University of Illinois to come out to start the Third World College in San Diego. Illinois, even though we didn't get the attention of Madison or Berkeley, was reflective of those same kind of currents. The bombing of Madison, now that's another thing.

Response to Bomb Threats

Peltason: We had a policy at Illinois, by the way, of never evacuating a building for a bomb threat.

Lage: Was that worked out with the police?

Peltason: That was worked out with the police, and I told the trustees about it. When I was dean, that was the first time I ever heard of a bomb threat. Somebody threatened to blow up Lincoln Hall, and I called the police and asked what they were going to do about it. They said, "Nothing. We'll come over and sit with you, but you can't clear out the building. If you start evacuating the building on a bomb threat, the danger of taking those kids out of the building or out of the dormitories is greater. They'll just stop the whole university, because if they don't want to take an examination, they'll call up a bomb threat." So we did not evacuate buildings on bomb threats.

Lage: Did you get a lot of them during the protest era?

Peltason: A lot of them until the actual bomb in Madison, Wisconsin, in which somebody was killed in the math department. Then we rethought our policy.

Lage: Was that an antiwar activity?

Peltason: Yes. That also helped to cool down a lot of the campuses completely. Not too many people justified blowing up a math building and killing people. In Illinois we changed the policy to announce in a public building that we had a bomb threat but we were going to go on with the event. Did I tell you about the bomb at the football game?

Lage: Tell it again just in case.

Peltason: We had a game against Ohio State and David Henry and Governor Ogilvie were sitting in the box, and we got word that the Black Panthers had put a bomb in the stadium and it was going to blow up at two o'clock. We were playing Ohio State and there were

60,000 or 70,000 people in the stadium. As a result of that policy, we announced, "Ladies and Gentlemen, there's a bomb threat and we don't think it's real. The state police are going through the building, the game is going to go on." One woman got up and left, and left her husband there. [chuckles] Then about 2:20 the call came in again saying, "We're not kidding; there's going to be a bomb threat." The governor and the president were watching the football game go on, and they said that it's going to go off at 2:30. At 2:30 I'm looking at my watch, and at 2:29 I hear the president watching the football game say, "Throw the bomb! Throw the bomb!" [laughter] I said, "Please, throw the football."

It was the blowing up of the building in Madison, Wisconsin, and the end of the war, that I think brought the protests on campus to a halt.

Lage: Did they come close together, do you remember? Was the bomb very late in the game?

Peltason: Late in the game. I used to say irreverently and probably shouldn't say for publication that another reason the protests stopped was once the kids got visitation in the dormitories, they were too pooped to protest. [laughter]

Lage: Well, you have to keep a sense of humor.

IX CHANCELLOR AT ILLINOIS: ACCOMPLISHMENTS, ATHLETICS, AND
ACADEMIC PROGRAMS, 1967-1977

[Interview 6: March 18, 1998] ##

Progress in a University: Quiet, Incremental, Unheralded

Peltason: Okay, I'm going to open these sessions with some reflections about progress in the university.

Lage: That sounds good. You must have had some thoughts over the evening.

Peltason: No, it's just that yesterday we talked about student unrest, the crises, and I have always reflected that the real progress of a university is made quietly, incrementally, and not in a headline way. We tend to focus on the events, the crises, the clashes, when the Regents intervene rather than when they don't intervene. I've always been of the conviction that the progress of a university is made in small steps: when you hire better professors, when you get better labs for the students, when you bring on new programs, when you streamline, and these are things that are not dramatic.

I've also thought that even with the crisis times, the people who rely upon what happened by looking only at newspapers are going to get a misleading picture of what happened. Not because the reporters are mean or not competent, but because events are complex. Two inches of the next morning's newspaper try to explain everything that happened. Furthermore, the person with the most extreme views is the one that frequently gets the newspaper story. The regent who is least representative of the other regents, the faculty member who is least representative of the faculty is the one who gets quoted. Or the student who is least representative of the student body. So I am especially pleased that these oral histories give a chance to try to get balance. But even in

oral histories you tend, when you think back about ten years, to remember the dramatic and the exceptional.

Lage: Absolutely. We talked about the drama yesterday.

Peltason: So I would like to turn my attention now to some of the day-to-day things that happened at the University of Illinois during my tenure, which maybe some of them are not headlines. I think the major contribution that I made or any other administrator made is to see that the day-by-day works, that the classes are taught and the faculty are paid, and the grass is cut.

Lage: And the university's budget is approved. [laughs]

Peltason: And the university's budget is approved, and deans are selected, and the library is maintained, and the computers are purchased on time. Those kinds of things, I think, frequently go unattended to, but that's the real progress of a university.

Lage: Now are things that you're discussing done with a sense of vision? Is the best administrator the one that comes in and says, "In ten years I want to be here"?

Peltason: Depends on where you are. For most established universities, change is not made with a dramatic 180-degree turn. Just because you're chancellor, you don't have a mandate to all of a sudden change Harvard, or change Berkeley, or change UCLA. Their mandate is pretty well established--a tried and true formula. Get the best possible faculty, get the best possible students, and turn them loose. I think, as I've said on other occasions, that the day is long gone when any university should be the reflection of the shadow of any one person or any one person's vision. I think as a chancellor or as a president or dean, you put things on the agenda and you can make changes. Leadership is often not measured just in terms of the dramatic.

Now one of the great, wonderful opportunities that I've had in my life, when you come to a campus like Irvine, you do have a chance--its mission is being determined. But when you take over responsibility, I think some administrators take themselves too seriously when they think it's their job to write the mission statement of a complex, big, established university, as if it's not already been decided. Universities are constantly changing, but they change in small ways rather than dramatic ways. It's hard to think of any particular moment in history when change took place with great discontinuity. Again, I've often said--somewhat in jest, but somewhat in truth--that in higher education things go in

circles, so if you stand still you're going to be a leader sooner or later.

Lage: That's a good vision to have. [laughs]

Peltason: We change the way we advise, we provide more structure in the curriculum, we change the structure of the curriculum, we add new courses, we take away new courses. New disciplines develop, but they develop independently. The administrators didn't create the biological revolution.

Lage: That's right, but they either respond to it or they don't.

Peltason: They see to it that their institution is responsive to those changes. Again, a university administrator represents the constituencies who are not at the table. If you left it to the faculty of the old programs, there wouldn't be any new programs because they see those as competition for resources. The students are not there yet. That's why administrators are usually in favor of expansion, and faculty don't particularly care. Faculty want the university to stay smaller but more faculty for their department. So the administrator represents the constituencies who are not at the table--the future constituencies--and adds his or her voice to that.

Lage: I like that way of putting it.

Peltason: The reason these less dramatic events may be appropriate in an oral history reflection is that even during the tumultuous times of '69 to '72, there were other things going on: the strengthening of the biological program at Illinois, the creation of the new program in linguistics, bringing the college of veterinary medicine into flower, getting the clinical medical program started. Many of these things went unheralded or unnoticed. They weren't in newspaper stories. But for the long pull, they affected the lives of more people than the more dramatic.

Lage: And they have more lasting--

Peltason: More lasting impact.

Style as Chancellor: "Administration by Walking Around"

Lage: Should we talk about those things?

Peltason: Let me talk about some of the things that happened at Illinois. First, my style as chancellor: I made a great effort to do what I call "administration by walking around," to get out of my office. I held Chancellor's Chats with the students on Friday afternoons. I did that for about two or three years. I finally abandoned that because the more radical students decided to use those chats as a political platform, and the average students were scared out. So then I went to radio talk shows. The university had WILL, and I would do call-in shows.

Lage: Did the radical students tend to call in?

Peltason: They tended to do that, but after a while you got to know who they all were. [laughter] But it made it possible for some students who did not want to show up to bring issues to your attention. There were special days on the calendar for students where they could get drop-in appointments. I also made a point to be around, have the deans meet with me in various locations around the campus, so we could see the other parts of the campus, and also to go talk to colleges and deans in their location.

I think it's very important for an administrator to be seen and to walk around. I did not ever try to "hang out" with the students; that was not my style. My view is they've got their friends, I've got my friends. They're younger, and I'm older. We should be accessible but not necessarily go to their dances or be in their beer parlors. I think it worked successfully. Participating in the famous yo-yo contest that I was at--

Lage: Tell me about the yo-yo, because I've seen several pictures of you in the scrapbook here.

Peltason: Somebody at the University of Illinois discovered that I was the Border Star Duncan Yo-Yo champion when I was in grade school. [laughter]

Lage: Border Star?

Peltason: Border Star was a grade school in Kansas City, Missouri. In those days the Duncan Yo-Yo salesperson would come around and have contests. I think I won the sixth grade contest. Get the record straight: some of the newspapers said it was fourth, some said it was fifth grade. It was the sixth grade if I remember correctly. [chuckles] Then I challenged the students and the faculty to a yo-yo contest. I was quite successful until--

Lage: Did you practice?

Peltason: No. When you learn it once you never forget it. But my good friend, the dean of the College of Fine Arts, Jack McKenzie, challenged me, and he took my title away. He did it because he could yo-yo with two hands. I cried foul, he was a professional, because he's a very distinguished percussionist. I said he was accustomed to beating the drum with two hands. But that got to be an annual affair. A couple of years later Jack McKenzie's son challenged us both, and he won the title. The contest ran its course in about four or five years. It's amusing for the students to see the chancellor yo-yoing, but after a while it gets to be foolish, so we stopped. [laughter]

During the times of great tension, a wonderful professor in the school of music by the name of Dan Perrino created the Medicare Five, Six, Seven, and Eight. They just played here in Orange County last week, and they're still playing.

Lage: The same group?

Peltason: Many of the same people are in the group. They're in their eighties and seventies. They appeared in the Illini Union at the height of the tension, playing Dixieland jazz music and popular music as an attempt to bridge the generations. There was a time there where we had age segregation. The students were either made angels or devils. Older people talked about the younger generation--"you don't trust people over thirty." So Dan Perrino, with my strong encouragement and that of others, started music on the quad, and it became a great success. It became an opportunity for people to come and be together.

Lage: Did it work? Did the students come?

Peltason: It worked. And now they're famous. They've made records, and now they go to alumni groups. They were a very popular attraction on campus.

Intercollegiate Athletics

NCAA Disciplinary Actions

Peltason: Let me just say a little bit about intercollegiate athletics, because if you're chancellor of a Big Ten University, it's very much on your scoreboard. [laughter] By the time I arrived at Illinois they had just been through a scandal for which they

had been severely punished by the NCAA [National Collegiate Athletic Association]. A popular coach, Pete Eliot, had to leave, as well as the basketball coach, and one other, I think. I don't remember the details of that scandal.

Lage: Do you remember the sport?

Peltason: It was in football. There was a lot of alumni pressure, and some of it was hostile toward the NCAA because the university, under David Henry's leadership, had turned itself in but this did not prevent the university from being severely punished. Many people felt we had been unfairly treated by the NCAA. I've always been pro-athletic, but also apprehensive that, if you don't watch them, the pressures to win will lead to violation of the rules and setting bad examples and an overemphasis. There's lots of pressure to have a winning basketball team, a winning football team.

Lage: From the alumni or elsewhere?

Peltason: From the alums and also from the active business community of Champaign-Urbana.

Lage: The business community?

Peltason: What I would call the Champaign-Urbana Country Club. These were good friends of mine, good supporters, but to have a team that didn't win the Big Ten was disgraceful. A lot of them gave money to the athletic association. Twice during the time I was there I had to go before the NCAA. The problem tended to be not what the coaches did or what the university did but what the boosters did. I remember one time I had to go to Kansas City to defend the university. We were accused of forty different violations in the football program. They were such things as football players being given dinners on Sunday nights. When I would go to investigate that, a lot of the people in the community said, "We don't care what the NCAA says. We're private individuals. If we want to have a student over and give him a meal, it's none of the NCAA's business." I had to explain to them they were making the university responsible for their conduct.

Lage: That is a little bit hard to monitor.

Peltason: Another accusation was the bank was giving loans to student football players to buy cars with at a subsidized rate. I went to the bankers, and they said, "We don't have to tell you anything. We don't belong to the NCAA. To whom we loan is our

responsibility and the federal banking establishment." Again, I had to plead with them on behalf of the university.

Lage: And the coaches were not arranging any of this?

Peltason: No, I didn't find any evidence of that. During my time I recruited Cecil Coleman, AD [athletic director], who came up from Wichita, and who had unimpeachable integrity. I had absolute confidence that Cecil would keep it an honest program. He was very popular at first, and then he got attacked because he was so inflexible. Being an AD you also have to be a good entertainer. You have to promote the program.

Lage: With this country club set, probably.

Peltason: Yes.

Chancellor's Role in Promoting Intercollegiate Athletics and Recruiting Coaches

Peltason: During my ten years there we never made it to the Rose Bowl, and I used to tease my good friends, the president of Ohio State, Harold Enarson, and the president of the University of Michigan, Bob Fleming. Whenever we were together they were always moaning and groaning about how they had to go back to the Rose Bowl this year. [laughter] I said, "Well, give us our turn."

Lage: Would the chancellor be held accountable for that kind of a failure?

Peltason: Part of the chancellor's responsibility was to have a winning football team and basketball team and other sports programs. But especially football and basketball. I believe a good athletic program does help a university. It's not a one-to-one correlation. As I've often said before, the purpose of a church is to promote religion, but you have the women's auxiliary and the young people's groups. The purpose of the university is to promote education, but intercollegiate athletics is one of the most common subjects--rich and poor, young and old, black and white, can talk about the football game or the football team. Morale did go up when we had winning basketball and football teams and other sports. The chancellor's job is to keep the program honest and to get good people in and to keep it financially solvent. At Illinois the trustees were pretty good. But we always had one or two jock

trustees for whom the main purpose of their being on the trustees--again, they were good friends of mine. Nice people.

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Peltason: To continue with intercollegiate athletics. They're very much part of the life of a Big Ten university. Every football weekend was an occasion. We would start on Friday night with an alumni gathering--the class of this, the class of that--party after party. Start Saturday morning by hosting a brunch or lunch, go to the game. There would be parties after the game, and there would be activities on Sunday. It was very much part of the development program--alumni coming back to campus. It was an occasion for integrating all different parts of the university. So football weekends, Suzie and I were on the road starting Friday afternoon until Sunday noon.

Lage: Boy, a lot of energy.

Peltason: The basketball and the assembly hall I think held 18,000 people. I got a lot of business done just circulating at the basketball games. [laughter] The deans and the faculty and the students were all there, and the community people. It was a positive thing to have, and I was pleased to be part of it, but it was a constant effort to keep the program strong.

Lage: Did you do anything other than just have a good athletic director?

Peltason: A good athletic director, good coaches, and try to set the right example and make it clear that you expected from the coaches that winning wasn't everything, because the university had been on the NCAA blacklist once. There had been a lot of community people who wanted me to defy the NCAA, but that was not feasible.

Lage: Would you get into decisions on changing coaches?

Peltason: Yes. My main responsibility was to pick the athletic director and to back his choice and support him to the athletic board. But picking major coaches--they would always be brought to me for final approval. I participated in the selection of three basketball coaches. In the case of football we had to dismiss two coaches, very decent men. It hurt me to have to do that.

Lage: Because they didn't have winning teams?

Peltason: Because they didn't have winning teams, and I don't remember all the details. Athletics are very closely watched. I tell

the story that when we were recruiting Bob Blackman, who was then the world-famous coach from Dartmouth, he was the final candidate. It was arranged for me to go out and do the shaking of the hands to make the deal final. They wanted to keep it secret until it could be released appropriately, so they got a car other than my own car so the reporters wouldn't know where I was. I sneaked out of the back of our office, went into this unmarked car out to the Urbana Country Club, and made the deal with Bob Blackman.

I came home and my son, Tim--I can't remember how old he was; he was a high school student--I said to him, "Now don't tell your mother. This is a deep secret. We've got Bob Blackman as our new football coach." He of course knew who he was, and he was real excited about it. I said, "Now, go fix my martini and we'll sit down and enjoy the evening news." He brought it back, we turned on the television, and they say, "We interrupt this news to bring you the new football coach of the University of Illinois. It's going to be Bob Blackman." Tim said, "What a secret." They had followed us.

Lage: They had followed you in your unmarked car.

Peltason: Picking the football coach is a big deal. [tape interruption]

Women's Sports and Title IX Compliance

Peltason: The other battles that came up during my time there were Title IX. It was my responsibility to force upon an athletic establishment the necessity to comply with Title IX.

Lage: And this had to do with women's athletics.

Peltason: That's right. The great big revenue sports that take most of the funds, of course, are men's sports. So again Cecil Coleman and the athletic establishment found it hard going, and the question we had to decide was whether we should create a separate athletic establishment for women or have an integrated one. That was much debated in those times. We did have an associate director who was a woman and who presided over the intercollegiate athletic program for women.

We decided not to create two separate programs. But both through my going to the NCAA and through my work there, I'm pleased to say that we made considerable progress at Illinois

in getting more money into the women's intercollegiate athletic program.

Lage: That must have been a hard battle with alumni.

Peltason: It was a hard battle with alums, especially when it came to having to take funds from the two great big revenue sports--basketball and football.

We did considerably better at basketball during my time. I got to be very adept at speeches for losing football games. [laughter] I talked about the books in the library and the quality of the academic program. I also note that at some universities it's precisely the tensions over who's in charge of sports that breaks down in the multi-campus university. Both David Henry, who was president, and then his successor Jack Corbally and his wife, arranged football luncheons. In fact, we had two football luncheons. The Henrys more or less left it up to us, but when the Corballys came they had their own. They tended to have legislators and external people; we tended to have deans and students and others at the football luncheon before the games.

Integrating Women into the Marching Band

Peltason: One other of my triumphs of those days had to do with getting women into the Marching Illini Band. It first came to my attention by a reporter, Polly Anderson, who became a good friend of mine, and she said, "Why aren't there women in the Marching Illini Band?" I said, "Aren't there?" [laughter] From the distance where I was looking down it just looked like people. It was a very fine band. She said, "No."

So I called up the athletic director--because the bands reported to him--and also the director of the bands and I said, "By the next season there have to be women in the band." He gave me all kinds of arguments why it wouldn't work. They had to have special pants and uniforms where women would be different from men, and they couldn't travel together. I explained to him, "The time has come; you have to have women in the band. You can't march without them." He said okay reluctantly. I didn't pay any further attention.

About three weeks before the first football game, Polly Anderson came to me and said, "Mr. Peltason, you promised there would be women in the band." I said, "Yes, I did." She said,

"They're not." So I called him up, and he said, "Oh yes, they are." I said, "Well, Polly Anderson says they're not." And I investigated: he had young women marching in front of the band in drum majorette outfits. [laughter] I said, "No, that won't do. I mean in the band, playing in the band." So he caved in, and opened the season, and they had pictures of the band director and the first woman in the band. As far as I know, they proceeded after that to have women in the band. I had to really insist upon it. That was a change that took place without dramatic consequences after that.

Controversy over Mascot Chief Illiniwek

Peltason: Then the other thing that grew out of the athletic program, and it's a controversy to this day, is the mascot or the symbol of the University of Illinois: Chief Illiniwek.

Lage: It still is?

Peltason: It still is. Chief Illiniwek is a very dignified Indian who comes out at halftime, and he does his dance up and down the football field to traditional music. It's a sterling moment in the history of all the people who have gone to the University of Illinois.

Lage: And when you say "traditional music" is it--

Peltason: Traditional Indian. Or music composed to evoke the feeling of traditional Indian music, anyway.

Lage: Not fight songs.

Peltason: No. Traditional in the sense that it's the Chief Illiniwek music. Everybody knows when that music plays and the band marches down the field that he comes out from the center of the marching columns and does his dance and then comes to the fifty-yard line and throws up his arms. That's when all the Illinis stand up and cheer. I had no pressure upon me, but I could anticipate that there might be some problems. So I said I will defend Chief Illiniwek, who's a dignified Indian, but you have to get rid of all the other things around. They had pictures of grinning Indians with tomahawks and scalps. I said anything that's demeaning--you have to get rid of all the stationery, all the logos, all the stuff. I think that was 1969. During my time the pressures to abolish Chief Illiniwek

grew, but they didn't grow very powerful. Since that time it's become a constant issue for my successors.

Lage: Did you successfully get rid of the caricature type of things?

Peltason: Eventually. People didn't even realize they were caricatures; they just were Indians with tomahawks. Grinning Indians and tomahawks we had to get rid of. I don't know what they call the young women who march in front of the band and carry the banners--they had a bunch of those in skimpy Indian costumes. I made them get rid of that, and they turned them into cowboy outfits. [chuckles] But I anticipated that that would be an issue and could be offensive. I wanted to have the issues focused just upon the desirability or undesirability of Chief Illiniwek. As I say, the controversy continues today.

That was the focus on athletics. We also changed the governance structure to get more faculty involvement into the management. But there were always constant problems raising funds, keeping the stadium in good shape, having winning teams, honest teams, and then Title IX.

Lage: When did Title IX come around? In '75 or so?

Peltason: Earlier than that, I believe. There was debate over whether or not it should include revenue sports as well, and the Congress insisted upon it. But that was one of the issues.

Battles over Diversifying the Campus Work Force

Peltason: Related to that was the battle over bringing affirmative action in employment to the university. I talked about integrating the student body and recruiting minorities into the law school and the general campus, but there were also great battles and pressures in trying to diversify the work force. I think I told you earlier that when I was dean I had helped get rid of the nepotism rule which had a discriminatory impact upon women. In the case of minorities we were under great pressures again from the federal government--and our own local pressures--to get more minorities in the work force of the construction crews that built the buildings and then into our own employment. Federal regulations came into effect then.

Lage: Maybe that's what I read about. It sounds like there was some kind of investigation--a civil rights inquiry.

Peltason: That was in '72, I think.

Lage: Yes. That was on Joe Smith's chronology. Was that to do with employment?

Peltason: I think what he was referring to is that one June we got word from HEW that if we didn't sign an order that they sent out to us, as of July 1 the federal government could not sign any more contracts with the University of Illinois. That just came through the mail, and it said, "Sign here." It essentially said, "We aren't going to look at your plan anymore. We want you to sign the Berkeley Plan." It was a plan that had been worked out at Berkeley. It was sent to about twenty-six universities across the United States--including Notre Dame, which was headed by Father Ted [Hesburgh], who had been head of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and was one of the nation's most outspoken advocates for protecting the rights of minorities. When I got it I thought we had been singled out.

Lage: So it wasn't necessarily a reflection on what you had been doing?

Peltason: No. It was an action by HEW. So we all went to Washington and talked to Secretary Cap [Caspar W.] Weinberger and got them to modify that order. There were two weeks there in which we thought the contract with the university would be terminated. But we finally persuaded them that a blanket signing of the Berkeley Plan would not be appropriate for the other universities. It was very elaborate: there should be so many this and so many that in every field and every department and every program. Father Ted Hesburgh and sanity prevailed.

It was a constant battle to be responsive to federal government requirements, which were often distracting and not too helpful, while at the same time putting into place an effective program for the university. By the way, I am not sure we needed federal pressures: my own internal pressures were enough. However, having the federal government on your side did help.

Hiring in a university is decentralized. The people who really decide who's going to be the next chemistry professor or the next professor of biological sciences are the faculty members who are most knowledgeable about the disciplines and the people in them. What the chancellor can do is set the guidelines and police the process to ensure that affirmative action takes place. I remember once calling the entire faculty and the deans together to tell them that they had to engage in affirmative action in recruiting faculty. It was not enough

just to sit back and avoid discrimination. I said to them they had four reasons to engage in affirmative action: the Constitution of the United States requires it; the Constitution of Illinois requires it; the regulations of the university require it; and if you don't we'll take away your money.
[Laughter]

I had the feeling that sometimes the formal processes and procedures of affirmative action got in the way of real affirmative action. For example, I remember I wanted to bring to Illinois as a major business officer in one of the departments--I think it was chemistry--an African American who had graduated from Eastern Illinois, one of our neighboring colleges. But because of affirmative action requirements, we had to advertise the program, open it up to competition, and this good man with his degree from Eastern was always losing out; he never was first with people in the competition with MBAs from Northwestern and other prestigious institutions.

Lage: So you couldn't go around the processes and procedures.

Peltason: The "Old Boy Network" permitted you sometimes to engage in affirmative action, but by the seventies you had to go through a formal notification and let everybody apply for the job. But by and large those processes worked and were honed at the University of Illinois, and I think we did a pretty good job. Joe Smith gets a great deal of the credit for it.

Lage: So he was involved in that aspect of it too.

Peltason: He helped coordinate from my office. Other people whom I want to mention were the excellent vice chancellors that I had. First, Herb [Herbert E.] Carter, a very distinguished chemist, then Mort Weir. I mentioned Carolyn Higgs, and Paul Riegel, who was my Mr. Fixit. If there was any problem, Paul Riegel was the one who buffered me, and took on irate parents, and dealt with the complaints of the irate legislators, and dealt with the press.

Lage: That doesn't sound like the most fun job.

Peltason: No. If we had a problem, Paul had to deal with it.

Committee on Program Evaluation [COPE]

Peltason: Other things that I wanted to be sure not to forget were two programs for which I had some responsibility and I think were innovative and important. One was what we called the COPE program--I think it was the Committee on Program Evaluation. We went in for a systematic evaluation of everything that we did at the University of Illinois. We spent a lot of time and money on it. We evaluated, for example, how well the political science department was teaching undergraduates, how well it was doing its graduate work, what the morale of the faculty was like, how its staff was performing.

Lage: Did you have outside people?

Peltason: We used some outside people, but we had systematic evaluations chiefly with our own faculty from other departments. Then we also went to program evaluations outside the academic arena to determine how well we were hiring people and how well the various auxiliary enterprises were working.

Lage: What motivated you to do that?

Peltason: Two or three things. One, budgetary constraints of the late seventies. They were very much like the budgetary constraints of the early nineties. After the student unrest was over in '72, the country went into major cutbacks in higher education, especially in public higher education.

Lage: Were they related in your view?

Peltason: No, I don't think they were related. I think it was the economy. Remember, those were the times of oil embargoes and inflation. So there was an economic pressure upon us to perform better and to be more accountable. Also at this time universities were being asked by legislators and by students and by parents to be more accountable, to be sure that they were appropriately spending resources. Because so many had tenure and no bottom line to meet, we were accused of being lax in our processes and procedures. So we had this program evaluation committee going on, headed by major faculty members. The problem was to make the program evaluation effective and to try to keep it confidential so people would speak their mind. The student newspapers and others wanting to get at this stuff were emphasizing the negative always.

Lage: So they did get at this stuff, it sounds like.

Peltason: On occasion there would be a leak. Somewhere during these interviews I want to reflect upon the pressures in higher education to make everything public and how difficult that makes it for us to maintain quality. There are pressures from an affirmative action point of view that somehow or other what happens in the personnel process is some kind of conspiracy to deprive minorities and women of fair treatment. The newspapers are insistent that they want to find it out because it's public business, and the legislators are insistent. But it's a great disadvantage to the frank evaluation of candidates. Colleagues are much more reluctant to give you their judgment of somebody's teaching or research capacity if they know that they might read about what they have to say in the newspapers.

One of the most important things that happened in American higher education is that the great public universities--the Illinois, the Californias--have been allowed to try to compete with the very best private universities--the Stanfords, the Harvards, and the Yales. They have the advantage of being private and having the ability to manage their affairs as they think best. Because we're a public institution, we can't quite do that. I think it's a great disservice and the quality of education is going to suffer if public universities are forced to do business always in the open--if they can't evaluate candidates, if they can't evaluate programs, and use those recommendations for improving the program rather than having them make headlines.

Lage: Are these private universities not subject to the same constraints in hiring?

Peltason: They have to comply with affirmative action requirements. I didn't mean to suggest that I'm asking for immunity from that.

Lage: No, I know that. But then I wondered if they didn't have to have the same kind of open process of hiring.

Peltason: No. They can hire their presidents and their chancellors and their deans and their professors as long as they comply with the federal and state laws. There's no particular requirement that all candidates who come to campus have to be identified. There's not the same insistence on the part of the press that their business is public business, and the Public Information Act doesn't apply to them. It's an advantage that permits them to make evaluations and tough decisions.

The difference between a good university and a great university is when you make the tough decisions. If a candidate is outstanding, there's no particular difficulty in

saying, "Go after him or her and keep him." If they're totally incompetent, it's no problem. It's the marginal decisions. When you want to tone up a department, you want to be able to frankly say, "You're doing a pretty good job, but here's where you can do it better," without having that negative criticism then come back and be an excuse in the newspapers to beat him up. I think there was considerable suspicion of the Committee on Program Evaluations--it was an administrative tool--but I think it helped improve the quality of operation.

College of Veterinary Medicine

Peltason: We had a good College of Veterinary Medicine, one of the best in the country. I found that the greatest pressures upon us for admission was in the College of Veterinary Medicine because there were so few in the country, and states that had them tended to give preference to their own citizens. If a student can't get into your College of Veterinary Medicine, he or she may not be able to get into veterinary medicine. There are more medical schools. In my day it was harder to get in the College of Veterinary Medicine than to get into the College of Medicine. I think that may be still true. Most people don't realize it.

I got all kinds of pressures, and the only time that I ever believed I was offered a bribe had to do with a man who came to see me. At first I didn't realize what he was saying, but he wanted to get his son into the College of Veterinary Medicine and he said, "I understand it takes \$10,000." He first indicated a gift to the college, apparently. I said, "No, that has nothing to do with it."

Lage: Did you think he was talking about tuition?

Peltason: I thought he was talking about a gift to the College of Veterinary Medicine. If he gave a gift to the university, to the College of Veterinary Medicine, would we admit his son? Then as the conversation continued, it dawned upon me that he was saying, "You could keep the \$10,000." I realized he was trying to give me a bribe. So I called in the legal counselor, Jack Metzger, and said, "In the presence of legal counsel, I want to be quite clear about this. No gift on your part to me or to the university will affect the decision and admit your son."

There were great battles with the agricultural industry that supported the College of Veterinary Medicine and wanted the students to go into large animal practice. They were always pressuring me to stop students from becoming pussy-cat doctors, as they said. The students would get in the College of Veterinary Medicine and they could make more money and live better by going into pet care. So we tried to put in a requirement that we would give preference to people who grew up in the rural areas on the grounds that they're more likely to go back to the rural areas. But then we had to stop that because they said it had a discriminatory impact on minorities and Jews and those who live in the cities.

Lage: Which is probably true.

Peltason: Which is probably true.

Food for Century Three

Peltason: It was a fine College of Veterinary Medicine. Working with them, they needed more space. They needed a bigger facility for large animals. I walked across the street as the chancellor and there I talked to Ron [Ronald W.] Brady, who was then a vice president and subsequently worked with me at the University of California. Ron was the vice president for finance and business.

Lage: Was he in the statewide level?

Peltason: He was in the systemwide office. He worked for the president. I was with the campus.

Lage: So he wasn't under you at that time.

Peltason: Right. I said to Ron that this was a very important priority. It was chiefly Ron's idea, though we worked on it together, that if we just went to the legislature and said that we needed \$12 million or \$15 million for a college of veterinary medicine, they would say, "Get in line." We decided to package it into a \$100 million program for food, to get the governor and to get the legislature and the trustees excited about a program that would get the University of Illinois in line to lead us to produce food and fiber for the next century.

Lage: Food and fiber from veterinary medicine?

Peltason: Well, it came from that; it was one project. We then over the years subsequently packaged that into a big elaborate program called Food for Century Three.

Lage: For your agricultural program?

Peltason: Agriculture, biological sciences--the whole food and fiber industry from the basic sciences to applied industry. We put together a bond issue for \$100 million rather than just for one building, and it was my job to go around explaining to the other deans why this would help them.

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Peltason: Eventually we got the governor of the state and we got the legislature to support a bond issue, and the University of Illinois had a big spurt of expansion related to food and fiber.

Lage: And you were able to even get the biological sciences in. Now, was it really Ron Brady's idea and not yours?

Peltason: I give Ron the chief credit. I mean, I was not thinking in big, grand, bold terms. He had the initial idea, but we then rounded it out and sold it. I had new respect for his genius; asking for one building was harder than asking for twenty buildings.

Lage: [laughs] That's very dramatic.

Peltason: We packaged it in a way that people would understand that it wasn't just a building for veterinary medicine, but a building that would help us produce food and fiber for the next century, which is so important to the agricultural industry of the state of Illinois.

Lage: And that bond issue passed while you were there?

Peltason: I think right after I left there. The legislature approved some appropriations, and the governor pushed it forward.

Lage: That's a good story. In your initial comments today, you mentioned several programs like biology and a couple of others.

Peltason: As I say, I was at Illinois both as dean and as chancellor as the biological revolution was unfolding.

By the way, one of the great advantages of becoming an administrator is to overcome parochialism. When I was a

professor, I had my suspicions about my colleagues from other departments. Then I became dean of the college of liberal arts and sciences; I thought that college was the center of the universe and was not disposed to understand the needs of other colleges. Then when I became a vice chancellor and chancellor I learned to appreciate the very strong schools of engineering, and agriculture. By the time of the turbulent sixties, when we held faculty meetings, I would see the engineers or the people from agriculture come to the meetings, and I felt like saying to them, "Come on in and take a seat at the front."

Lage: They didn't tend to bring you too many problems.

Peltason: They tended to be more businesslike and less likely to have students who were involved in political activity and more, as we would say, conservative. But I got a renewed appreciation for agriculture and engineering.

Strategies for Winning University Funding from the State Legislature

Peltason: The other thing I learned as chancellor of Illinois--it sounds cynical, but I had to explain to it to my colleagues many times--is that when you go before the legislature you don't tell them, "Please appropriate the money for the University of Illinois so we can teach freshman English," or "so we can study the Renaissance or political science." You tell them about food and fiber and the dangers of bugs getting into the corn. You talk about the practical, and they then appropriate the money which benefits the whole university.

Most of the time people don't give money because they want to support education. Educating their children will appeal to them, getting more students next year will appeal to them. Throughout American history colleges have gotten their money because they're instruments in getting something done. Winning World War II would support research. The G.I. Bill was designed to aid the veterans; the universities were an instrument to aid the veterans. For many years the argument was that we need the funds in order to win the Cold War. So the arguments have always been that the universities have been useful instruments to accomplish something else. You learn that when you're up before a legislative body trying to explain why they should appropriate money to you rather than to welfare, or the highways, or the many other good claims upon limited dollars, and you package it in a way that's persuasive.

- Lage: And that wasn't popular in this era of student unrest, as I remember it. The idea that there was a service aspect to education was rejected.
- Peltason: It was rejected. But the Food for Century Three is a good example. Why you build those buildings and hire that faculty is not just to advance the frontiers of knowledge or not just to educate students, but because it would benefit the economy of the state of Illinois and it will generate wealth and put food on your table and clothes on your back.
- Lage: Was it part of your job to make this explanation to the legislature? Or did the president's office get involved?
- Peltason: Everybody helped, but as the chancellor of the campus where the money was going, it was also part of my responsibility. I would go with both Presidents Henry and Corbally to defend the budget of the university whenever they were asked to come to the legislature to do that. We would go to Springfield. I learned to sit around the halls of legislatures, and as a political scientist it was always fascinating to me. I have an appreciation and support for politicians that not many people do.
- Lage: Because you're a political scientist or because of the experience you've had?
- Peltason: Both. As a political scientist, I appreciate that they're the essential cement of making democracy work. I sympathize with them because they frequently get the bad press that we get.

Influence of Political Science Training on Administrative Style

- Lage: Did you find that you were using your academic training as a political scientist as you got into the politics of university administration?
- Peltason: It helped in two ways. One, the subject matter. Since much of the debate I had with students was over questions of freedom of speech and what the Constitution required, and the whole civil rights thing, I was able to cite cases with them. I knew as much about the Constitution as the people I had to deal with. So the subject matter was helpful. But I also think when you study the political process, you have an understanding for how decisions are made in a complex organization, and the need for consensus, the need for discussion.

David Henry once said to me, "The university is held together by talk." It takes a lot of talking to make anything happen in the university. I think my colleagues in engineering frequently get impatient: they want to get to the bottom line and solve the problem. Whereas a political scientist knows that you have to talk a lot, that progress is made slowly, and problems are frequently accommodated rather than solved, and not to get cynical because you perhaps have a better understanding of the complexity of the process.

Lage: That sounds like the way you described how you got your faculty on board during the student unrest--you got them involved.

Peltason: It seems to me that's the kind of leadership that was appropriate in my time and appropriate to my style. I don't make speeches that drive men and women to tears. [laughter] It's hard to communicate to a faculty, and at a big university like the University of Illinois or Berkeley, the chancellor's ability to communicate with large numbers of faculty and students is limited. Frequently the only time the students know about you is what they read in the student newspapers. They don't even know whether you're the good guy or the bad guy. Even the faculty don't see you very often in a big campus. You don't assemble them all in some great big assembly hall and make a speech to them. Today with e-mail it's somewhat easier to communicate. But again, during that time, walking around and being involved, talking to them and giving them a chance to talk to you, improved the communications so that they understood why you made decisions. I think it was very valuable.

Institute of Aviation

Peltason: Let me just then conclude with two other things at Illinois. One was my fight over the Institute of Aviation. The University of Illinois has an Institute of Aviation, a very distinguished institution. The university owns the airport for Champaign-Urbana, Willard Airport. It's a big commercial airport.

Lage: That's unusual.

Peltason: The Institute of Aviation, which did advanced Ph.D. training in psychology and flight simulation at the university level, also ran a program to train people to fly, which was not at the university level. The university also operated a fleet of

airplanes and ran what was in effect a little airline taking faculty all over Illinois, primarily to teach extension classes. When I was chancellor the university fleet would fly me to various meetings around the state as it did other administrators. I hated to fly those little airplanes--they bounced. I learned to be a silent co-pilot, as we would fly from Meigs Field in Chicago back to Champaign through a snowstorm. Every now and then we were accused of being extravagant--some people had this notion that we were being taken around in swift sets. In fact, using these planes often saved money: if you took four people to a meeting in Chicago and came back the same day, didn't stay overnight in a hotel, it didn't cost much more than driving in the car. But during the time of the budget crunch we needed to save money.

Mort Weir, the vice chancellor, came to me and said, "We shouldn't be involved in pilot training. It is more appropriate for a community college. It's costing us over a half million dollars a year. If we transfer this instruction to Parkland Community College where they are paid by units of instruction, they could get funding for it." I said that was a good idea. It would be more in keeping with our mission to transfer this instruction to Parkland. It would save \$500,000. People in a community college could better perform instruction. And the instructors who were involved would not lose their jobs; they'd just become employees of Parkland.

Lage: Parkland?

Peltason: It's the local community college. I went and talked to Bill Starkel. He was the president of the community college, and he and I were good friends. He thought it was a good idea. I went to the president of the university and he thought it was a good idea. I went out and told the instructors in aviation that we were going to transfer the pilot training to the community college. All hell broke loose. [laughter]

The owner of the local newspaper, a man by the name of Augie Myers, was a close friend of a trustee by the name of Park Livingston. After World War II they had been instrumental in getting the airport and the Institute of Aviation for the University of Illinois. And I was going to make that transfer over their dead bodies. Augie, the man who owned the local television station and the local radio station, started a barrage of propaganda. In fact, the reporters told me, somewhat in embarrassment, they had been told by Augie to use all their resources to stop the transfer.

Editorials started appearing about how we were turning out all these useless Ph.D.'s in history and political science, but the chancellor wants to take this vital program and transfer it to the community college. Letters from all the airlines in the United States gave the impression that the airplanes would fall out of the air if we did it. [laughter] Augie Myers and Park Livingston actually got the Democratic governor of the state of Illinois, Don Walker, to call me up at my office and say, "Stop it." They got the legislature to pass a bill forbidding us the transfer to the community college but appropriating the \$500,000 to operate it.

Lage: To you?

Peltason: To the university. But then the governor signed the bill but vetoed the \$500,000 appropriation. So we ended up defeated in our ability to transfer that program. Mort Weir, the vice chancellor, was despondent. I said, "Mort, we lost it, but you can't win them all from the legislature. We are a public body. We made our case but we were unsuccessful." So the program remained intact at the University of Illinois, although subsequently I think they made some modifications.

Unanticipated Costs of Canceling Education Programs

Peltason: That's again where I also learned the lesson which helped me when I became president of the University of California. You don't always save money by canceling programs. They came to me when I was chancellor and said, "It's costing us millions of dollars to run a program in compulsory physical education." It was a requirement that everybody had to take two units of P.E. If we canceled that program we could save \$700,000. Well, when you need money and you don't have enough money for the core programs--. I announced that P.E. would no longer be a compulsory program; it would be a voluntary program. We would offer programs in P.E. but it wouldn't be required. We reduced the program and saved that money. What I didn't know or everybody forgot to tell me is that it didn't save us any money to drop P.E. The students who were taking P.E. now took something else. It cost more money to provide instruction.

Lage: I see. They were going to just take some other courses.

Peltason: The notion that you always save money if you drop a program needs to be looked at carefully.

Role of Suzanne Peltason in the University Community

Peltason: The other thing I wanted to mention about my days at Illinois was Suzanne's role, because she was active in the community and with the faculty and with the students, entertaining them and representing me and the campus. Since she was so positively received, that helped give support to me and to what I was trying to do. As I said, my mother would come visit us from San Antonio. She would spend a month in the spring and a month in the fall, and she also got to be active in the community. Especially during the times of tension I think it helped to humanize me, which would not have been possible if they hadn't been so active in the luncheon and dinner and bridge circuit. I think people minimize that role of the spouse, and it's one that I confronted more directly at the American Council on Education.

Efforts to Maintain Competitive Faculty Salaries

Lage: You haven't told about getting pay hikes for the faculty.

Peltason: My number one priority--and it's a no-brainer in the sense that it doesn't seem to me that you have to think about it too long or too hard; I assume I'm no different from any other chancellor or president--is to get and keep the best possible faculty. If you want to compete with the best universities, you have to have competitive salaries over time. It's not that every year you have to have competitive salaries--faculty don't leave you because they don't get a salary raise one year. But over time, if you want the best faculty, you have to have attractive salaries. As young Ph.D.'s make their decisions whether to make their career at California or Illinois, high in their consideration is whether over their lifetimes the institution to which they are going will have the capacity to provide them with competitive salaries.

My number one priority as chancellor, especially as the seventies got tighter and tighter, was to keep Illinois' salaries competitive. Illinois doesn't have the advantages of California of sunshine or coastline; these things attract people. Champaign-Urbana is not immediately a magnet for people to run to. So I felt we had to have competitive salaries, and as we fell behind that became my priority. Also the trustees and I never let anybody forget buildings and laboratories are essential, but competitive salaries for your

faculty are the first requirement. When we measure a university we don't say Harvard is outstanding because of its parking places or because it has wonderful buildings; we talk about the quality of its faculty. The same is true of California and Berkeley, and the same is true of Illinois. It's the difference between a good and a great university.

The theme that I reverted to when I was president of the University of California, which I refer to on every occasion to this day, is my concern about maintaining excellence. It's not that the University of Illinois will disappear or Berkeley will not be there, but whether it will be allowed to compete for the very best minds is the question. When a campus is growing it's easy to persuade legislators and donors that you need more money because you're going to have more students, but when your enrollment is stable it is harder to make the case for more funds in order to get better. One of the reasons American universities are so good is that they compete to keep their talented faculty and staff. University presidents work hard to have the best physics department, the best English department, the best football team. This competitiveness helps to explain why American higher education is the best in the world. You cannot relax if you have the best history department at Berkeley, because Princeton will try to entice away your best faculty. Princeton competing with Berkeley for the best history departments means that each has a better history department than would be the case if they did not compete, if there was no threat of losing their outstanding faculty.

Lage: Are these arguments you would take to the legislature?

Peltason: On every occasion. [laughter] You also have to make your case to your alums because you're also asking them to give.

Fundraising Activities

Lage: Did you fundraise a lot as chancellor?

Peltason: I did less of it in Champaign than I did at California because that was chiefly the responsibility of the president's office. But I learned about fund raising. I learned that you have to spend lots of dollars on what we call "friend raising" before fundraising. The reason that the University of Illinois is getting money today is because of something that happened twenty and thirty years ago, because they educated someone who

has now gone on to be successful, because they kept that person's interest and loyalty.

Lage: Another role of athletics.

Peltason: Another role of athletics and another role of the need for constantly more talking, more personal contact, more involvement. David Henry and Jack Corbally were chiefly responsible, and I did help them. A major grant had been made just before I returned to Illinois by the Krannerts to build a performing arts center. Mrs. Krannert was a very wealthy woman, and she and her husband I think gave \$15 million to the University of Illinois for the Krannert Performing Arts Center back in the day when \$15 million was really a lot of money. Mrs. Krannert came to town and stayed at the Union, and she was a [Chicago] Cubs fan. I think maybe she had some involvement with the Cubs. In her room they didn't have a television set, so we put in a special television set so she could watch the Cub games. This was during the days when that was thought to be a privilege for the rich. I was waited upon by a bunch of students who had heard that we had spent some money to put in a television set for Mrs. Krannert to watch the Cubs. I explained that it wasn't favoritism; we did it for everybody who gives \$15 million. [laughter]

Creation of the Faculty Center

Peltason: I don't want to go on too long, but another thing that I did when I was at Illinois was a faculty center. When I first arrived on campus I called in some of my colleagues--senior members of the faculty--and said, "What's the most important thing that I can do to help build this university?" They said a faculty center--a place where the faculty can get together and talk and discuss and have meetings. Again, with David Henry's help, we persuaded a very nice lady, Mrs. Levis, to give us the money for a faculty center. I think we put up a faculty center in '68 or '69. By the time it got up we were in the middle of the student unrest. Poor Mrs. Levis, who was trying to do something nice for the university, got bombarded by students saying, "You're creating this building so the faculty can eat while people are being killed." [laughter] But she built the faculty center. I never was successful in figuring out how to manage it, showing again that timing is everything.

That may be enough about the University of Illinois.

Dealings with the Board of Trustees

Lage: Anything to say about dealing with the trustees?

Peltason: Well, there was an elected board of trustees. It worked better than I anticipated it would because for most of the time I was there the alumni association prescreened the trustees. A committee of Democrats of the alumni association would suggest a Democratic slate and a committee of Republicans would suggest a Republican slate, and then the two parties would follow these suggestions in their formal nominations. So you'd have your choice of voting for three trustees on the Democratic ticket or three on the Republican ticket. Ordinarily the way the top of the ticket for governor went, the trustees went. So if the state went Democratic in a gubernatorial election, then the three Democratic trustees would be elected. Every now and then one or both of the parties would reject the suggestions of the alumni association committees.

Lage: It sounds fairly political when they're chosen by party.

Peltason: They were chosen by party ballot, but if the political parties nominate the people the alumni association has suggested, you depoliticize it because the alumni association saw to it that the persons suggested to the two parties were picked because of their knowledge about and interest in the university.

That process broke down after I left when the political parties began to ignore the suggestions of the alumni committees. As a result the trustees became much more partisan. Illinois has now replaced its system of elective trustees with a system in which the governor nominates and the state senate confirms.

Lage: Even in times of student unrest you didn't have people running to "kick the bums out"?

Peltason: No, not during most of my time there. There were "kick the bums out" trustees, but they behaved, I think, very well during times of great tension and great counterpressures upon them. As I say, they generally supported me. Park Livingston, the man who opposed me on the aviation institute transfer, had been one who had voted to fire George Stoddard, and he was somewhat suspicious of me as a liberal academic. But generally the board was supportive, including some very conservative but decent people who were interested in the well-being of the university. The one time they didn't was when, as I explained, they forced me to cancel or postpone a speaker. But even

through Project 500, which I'm sure some of the more conservative trustees were apprehensive about, they were generally appreciative of the efforts of being on the front line and knew how difficult it was. I kept them informed, and I had a president who backed me up on that. It was a really small board of trustees, if I remember--like nine.

Lage: Very small. One of them told me that you had three former students as members of the board.

Peltason: Yes. I had on the board some former students. [chuckles] Because there were only three campuses of the University of Illinois, unlike the University of California, the trustees, including the president and the chairman of the board, sat at one end of the table, and the three chancellors sat at the other end of the table. So we were actually at the trustees' table. In the good old days, before we were required to open the meetings to the public, we would meet the night before with the trustees and have a dinner. Frequently the most explosive things would be worked out in those dinner meetings. So they had had their chance to vent their anger before the next day at the board meeting. But that didn't last long, and Illinois passed a law forbidding us to have those meetings beforehand.

One of the trustees was named H. Clement Stone. Mr. Stone had been a supporter of President Nixon, and I think President Nixon decided he didn't want to put Mr. Stone on anything, and he persuaded his colleague, the governor, to pick H. Clement Stone for an interim appointment as a trustee. He believed in the power of positive thinking. He was a very wealthy man. He made his money in insurance. I remember one night I had to explain to them--and this was when we had our dinner meeting, when we were still secret--the need to rebuild the stadium. Mr. Stone said to me something like, "Oh, I can fix that." I thought he was going to make a personal check to take care of the stadium. He said, "I'll talk to your football team and I'll so inspire them that they'll never lose." He was talking to me, and Lyle Lanier was whispering in my ear, "If he talks to the other team they'll kill each other." [laughter]

Mr. Stone was a character. One time at another meeting when I was--this was a public meeting--telling of the need to get minorities into the College of Law particularly, and how we needed funds to do that, he said, "I'll take care of it personally." So I sent the chief of the university police to get the dean of the law school to come have lunch. Mr. Stone, however, made it a loan program. A lot of conversation later he provided the money.

Lage: Money to have a loan program.

Peltason: Yes, to help students get through the law school. It was a generous impulse on his part, but he was a colorful trustee. There was a trustee named Ruck [Russell W.] Steger, who was a good friend of mine. Ruck had been a big-time football player. He was interested in the athletic program. He was always calling me with suggestions about the athletic program. He was a colorful one. Some of these people are to this day good friends of mine.

My experience with both the Trustees of the University of Illinois and the Regents of the University of California over a long period of time made me a very enthusiastic supporter of the lay board of control. I believe it's one of the more important things that explains the strength of higher education. I respect their two roles, both to buffer and protect us with the public, and at the same time to be the voices of the public.

Lage: It's sort of a contradictory mission, in a way.

Peltason: That's right. But the alternatives to the lay board of control are not very attractive. If you don't have a lay board of control then you presumably have somebody in the governor's office. That's not very attractive. Nor do I believe the professors should be in charge of the university or the students in charge of the university but rather this lay board of concerned citizens, who are not themselves employees of the institution, who reflect the public's general concern and support but at the same time protect you from outside pressures. The board is more likely to reflect what is in the best interest of the university than the legislature, the governor, unions, businesses, even the faculty, staff, or students.

It is my observation that some faculties do not appreciate the important role of the Board of Regents. Part of the problem is that there is confusion between a regent and the Board of Regents. A point I tried to make when I told the board at my first meeting that the Board of Regents was my boss, but a regent just my colleague. There could only be one president at a time. The board sets policy, one regent does not.

Part of the confusion about the fact that the board generally makes sound policy is the confusion created by newspaper headlines that often are about what a regent has said, not about the policy made by the board. And it is most

likely that the regent least representative of the board is the one quoted in the paper, the one who makes the most outrageous statements.

When I was president it used to aggravate me because the newspaper headlines would say something like, "Regents disturbed, faculty mad, and expert criticizes" when the regent they would quote was most likely to be Regent Glenn Campbell, in my judgment, the least representative regent, the faculty they cited most likely to be Charlie Schwartz, again in my judgment the least representative faculty member, and the expert, Pat Callan, who, again in my judgment, was not an expert on anything.

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Peltason: Some trustees were business people, architects. I came also to appreciate people who run complex organizations.

Lage: On the outside they ran complex organizations.

Peltason: Yes. Again, unfortunately, the laws of the State of Illinois deprived us of some very good trustees because there was a rule that you couldn't be on a board of trustees if your company did any business with the University of Illinois. We lost the man who was head of Beatrice Foods because somewhere in the University of Illinois, in one of the vending machines, they sold Milk Duds or something. I thought that was a little remote, but to avoid any appearance that he might try to sell us more Milk Duds he couldn't be on the board. (laughter) I think heads of complex organizations more likely understand the difference between policy and administration and look at the big picture and do not get involved in the small picture. Trustees at the University of Illinois used to get involved with purchasing orders sometimes.

Lage: Oh, they did? That doesn't sound like such a positive aspect.

Peltason: No, but it's something you can understand. If you see that we purchase x number of cakes of soap, people understand how much we paid for the soap, whereas lay people have difficulty understanding what you're doing in the chemistry lab. It's understandable.

Lage: Well, you're an understanding guy, it comes across. You give people you work with a lot of slack, in a way. I don't mean that in a bad way.

Peltason: It's mutual, I think, given the fact that they were generally supportive and understanding and sympathetic, and only occasionally losing their temper [chuckles]--even in very tense times. I was very pleased they were there because I had audiences I could explain issues to. I used to say to the trustees as I did to the regents, "You served the purpose for us as the canaries did for the miners. If you start keeling over we know we're in trouble with the public. If the people who we work with every day, who love the university, don't understand why we're doing something or are critical, then we have to explain it better. It's not necessarily saying we should stop doing it, because universities should not measure what they do in terms of popularity. But if you're a public institution--

Lage: You'd better be able to explain it.

Peltason: Yes. And one shouldn't be arrogant, because you're spending other people's money. We are spending other people's money and educating other people's kids.

Overseas Education Programs and Travel Experiences

Lage: I wrote down a couple things that you had mentioned when we very first got together. I don't know if you feel it's important to discuss overseas programs.

Peltason: Oh, yes. One of the fringe benefits of being chancellor of the University of Illinois or the University of California is that the sun never sets on these institutions. The University of Illinois and the University of California have programs and students all around the world. I had an opportunity to become involved--in Illinois, primarily--with the College of Agriculture in several programs that we were trying to establish in India and in Tehran, Iran, and in Africa. We had students in programs around the world too.

As chancellor I was called upon both to learn about these programs and to help work through the programs, because they were funded by the federal government, and we had to send people out there. We had to work with the governments of those countries. In addition, they would every now and then ask me to go on a mission and I would either have to or get to go, because sometimes I had to. Although I must say during the times of student unrest the opportunity to go around the world was an R and R. They needed me to go there to negotiate with

the government. So during the course of my ten years I once spent two weeks in Sierra Leone, where we were helping this government. There was a well-established university in Freetown, Sierra Leone, but it was pretty much in the English tradition. When I went to Freetown it was very English.

Lage: You mean like Oxford?

Peltason: They were sort of this and sort of that. They educated people to become philosophers. But what they really needed was somebody to educate them in the land-grant tradition. So they started a university with AID [Agency for International Development] help inland in Sierra Leone. I went there for two weeks, helping the Americans there. I remember going in and actually meeting the head of state. It's the only time I've ever been asked to go see the head of a government. I went in to see him and when I thanked him for taking the time to see me, he said rather frankly, "We need your money." I realized that the University of Illinois was bigger and spent more money than Sierra Leone did. That program was unfortunately not successful, as the government was never stable.

I went to Tehran three times. I think I told you about that.

Lage: I don't know what context you told me about it, because we hadn't talked about it in relation to the University of Illinois.

Peltason: When I first went on an around-the-world trip to Tehran and India and Thailand--

Lage: Was this with your family?

Peltason: No. This was in connection with the University of Illinois.

Lage: But they didn't get to come along.

Peltason: They didn't get to go. In fact, I didn't want to go. I went to a trustees' meeting, and the next morning I had to go around the world. They forced me to go; I'm not that intrepid a traveler. I was getting homesick before I got on the airplane. [laughter] I kept getting all these imaginary ills which would cause me to cancel the trip, but it had been arranged for me to go around the world. I went with George Brinegar, the director of international programs. He was my companion.

Exchange Program with Tehran University

Peltason: The University of Illinois had programs with Tehran University, where they had a group of faculty and staff in Urbana-Champaign, and we had a group of faculty and staff in Tehran. We were doing language instruction over there and helping them create a medical school in Iran. Our first stop was Tehran, and we flew from Chicago to New York to Tehran. We arrived at about two o'clock at night, having flown in the coach section a long time, needing to shave, kind of dirty. We came down in the plane in the middle of the night, and there was a car with flags flying. They said, "Chancellor Peltason?" I said, "Yes?" "Here is your car, sir." For two weeks George and I were treated as if we were royalty. I didn't realize it, but visiting the chancellor of the University of Tehran would be like visiting the president of Harvard, the Secretary of Education, and the brother of the president of the United States all rolled into one. His name was Chancellor Nahavandi and he was a very nice man.

For two weeks George and I were wined and dined, and we were permitted to travel around the country with escorts. We went to Shiraz. It was a really good program. I went back two more times, feeling that Iran was going to move into the Western democratic tradition. The Shah, autocratic though he was, and his wife liberalized the position of women, building the middle class and building the university structure.

On the human-interest side, as we had been entertained for about two weeks, we were due to catch a midnight flight to New Delhi. The chancellor was there--after two weeks of being entertained and speechmaking, I knew he was tired of it, and we found out that the plane was going to be another two hours late; it wasn't going to leave until two. I finally persuaded him that he had been a very generous host--if he would just take us back to the hotel we could get a taxi to the airport. We didn't want him to stay up until two, and so we persuaded him to take us to the hotel. We sat down in the lobby of the hotel--we had checked out of the hotel about four days before, before we had gone to Shiraz. He thanked us and we thanked him, and he said to be sure that if we ever needed anything to let him know, and we said goodbye.

Along about twelve o'clock George and I got up to take our luggage out to catch the taxi to get to the airport and they came swarming on us, accusing us of not having paid our bill because we had been sitting there with our luggage. We had to explain to them that we had paid our bill four days ago. We

finally got out to the airport, and the people out there said, "Your reservations have been canceled." George and I were trying to figure out how to get hold of our host; we had been treated like a king for two weeks and then--. All of a sudden the two guys behind the desk jumped over the desks and came over and apologized. What had happened was that our host, the chancellor, had his staff call out to the airport and say to be sure to give the VIP treatment to these two people. So we bumped ourselves. They hadn't realized that they knocked us off to make room for these two VIPs that were coming. [laughter] It was in Farsi, and they finally realized it, and we got on the airplane.

We went to India, where we spent another three weeks visiting two locations, one up north, Jabalpur, and one down south, Poutragar, where agricultural universities had been established. We were there at the time when the relationship between the United States and India was beginning to sour. Mrs. Nehru was the prime minister.

Lage: Were you treated okay there?

Peltason: In the university world we were treated well. We helped our colleagues in the university world to get more resources from the government. Then we went on to Thailand.

Fulbright Exchange Program with the Soviet Union

Peltason: Also while I was chancellor at Illinois I headed my first delegation to the Soviet Union. This was by the Fulbright Committee on the CIES [Council for International Exchange of Scholars]. It's the group that administers the Fulbright program for the U.S. government. The Fulbright program had never been established in the Soviet Union. It was just getting started. They asked me to head up a delegation, and we spent two weeks in the Soviet Union traveling around trying to work out relationships so that the Soviet professors that they picked would show up at our universities in time, and the professors that we would send to the Soviet Union would be given some meaningful assignments. The Soviets tended to take the American professor and just have him or her give some lectures. They didn't care who showed up, whereas when we had an exchange program and took a Soviet professor, we actually wanted him to teach the class and be there on time.

Lage: And they weren't expecting that.

Peltason: They weren't coming on time. I went there twice: once in April 1975 when the Cold War was breaking up and then in December 1977 when it was heating up again. The treatment we got was much reflected there. That was a fascinating trip. We went to Moscow. When we got briefed they sent us to Minsk; I said that's like going to Peoria. But to my surprise, when we got to Minsk we got the best treatment of all because we were bigshots in Minsk, and in Moscow we were just part of many of the delegations. We went to Leningrad and Minsk. I teased everybody that I was picked not because of my educational leadership, because I could keep up with drinking vodka with the Russians. [laughter]

Lage: But was that true?

Peltason: No. Grown men--because they were chiefly men--on their delegation side, when they would entertain us, would get drunk. Americans have a drink before dinner and that's it. They drink until they have to be carried out.

Lage: Even while they're on duty?

Peltason: These are vice chancellors or chancellors, and they get so carried away. I remember one of them, we used to call him Santa Claus: he kept trying to kiss me on the lips. [laughter] I decided Soviet-American relations might go down the tubes, but we're not going to do that. [laughter] We would say we would drink in the American fashion: a sip at a time. "No, you must do it in the Soviet fashion," and they would gulp it down. But we learned after we had been there in the country for a while that after they got drunk enough they didn't know what we were doing. [chuckles] We were well treated, and I think it advanced the cause of international exchange programs. I went back again. In '75 I went as chancellor of Illinois, and in '77 as president of ACE. I think we helped thaw out the Cold War through these international exchange programs. They were positive experiences for me.

Development of Area Studies

Lage: What are the benefits for the university? I'm thinking not so much of the Soviet Union but having exchanges and colleges and helping places in Iran and India.

Peltason: We were really doing a service for the U.S. government. But there was some benefit to us because our scientists would go

there. We would have permanent delegations there, but we would send out agronomists and others.

Lage: Would graduate students go there?

Peltason: Some graduate students were there. Then they would send people back to the campus who would have a chance to learn about agriculture. For example, we had a field station in Puerto Rico, where we did tropical agriculture. I went there once. They came to me and said, "We're having these major problems with the Puerto Rican government. We need to send somebody down there to straighten them out." This was January. I said, "No, I'm not going in January. Even my own wife won't believe I'm going out on business. But if you have problems in July I'll go." [laughter] So I went in July.

Lage: You didn't think that would be good public relations?

Peltason: I didn't think anybody would believe I was going for business reasons in January.

When I was in Illinois, the Ford Foundation and the federal government wanted to set up area studies. In fact, one thing I'm very proud of is getting the area studies program going, getting a Russian studies program going. On our campus we had Latin American studies. These helped to internationalize and make the community more cosmopolitan.

Lage: You say the federal government wanted to set up area studies?

Peltason: America had business and security interests around the world, and all of a sudden they turned around and there weren't American scholars who understood Russia or Latin America or Southeast Asia.

Lage: Or spoke the languages.

Peltason: Or spoke the language. So they promoted area studies, which was a big development after World War II. It was helped by the government, which got universities to do the additional training to educate graduate students and professors.

Lage: Are those programs falling into hard times as the federal government pulls out?

Peltason: They fell into hard times. The federal government spent money and got us to expand medical schools and then withdrew the support. They got us pregnant but they didn't commit to help take care of the kids. [laughter]

But area studies are now a permanent feature of American higher education. For a while every university was creating an area studies program, and now it's generally settled down. But we put together a very good Russian language and area studies program under the direction of Ralph Fisher. Ralph, by the way, was invited to attend a congress in the Soviet Union, and he and his wife were denied a visa. I got the University of Illinois to put the pressure upon them. Because we had had these contacts, because of working through the State Department, we actually forced them to accept Ralph into that conference. He had written some books critical of the Soviet Union.

The barriers of the Cold War were first breached by the international community of physicists but then by the social scientists. The Russians had to pay a price in order to get access to American science: they had to permit American social scientists to come into their country. That was before fax machines and e-mail. The communications among scholars both enriched America and gave us opportunities but also served a national interest purpose. As chancellor that gave me an appreciation of the importance of agriculture, because that was such a vital, central part of the University of Illinois.

New Job Offers

Peltason: I never thought when I was at Illinois about next steps. In fact, during my entire career, the only time I thought about next steps was when I got my Ph.D. I wanted to get my Ph.D., and then I wanted to go up the academic ladder and be a full professor. But I never wondered what I would do next. But for reasons I don't quite remember, in my tenth year I started getting job offers. I don't believe I indicated to anybody that I was interested in leaving Illinois, but all of a sudden --I guess because of the tenth year.

Lage: Is that sort of a standard in the academic world?

Peltason: Yes, I think it's kind of a standard. Seven to ten years. I was still young. By that time I was really enjoying being chancellor. Things were going pretty well, and as you said, the trustees were former students of mine. [chuckles] I felt comfortable and secure. The days of student unrest had been behind us, and it took a while for us to realize it. When they stopped, I don't know why they stopped. For a while you had a

reflex action: you were ready for the next protest. But all of a sudden--

Lage: The war ended.

Peltason: The war ended, and then the students started saying, "Hello, how are you?" and the country gentled down. So I was enjoying being chancellor. As I look back and I'm being reflective about it, during the time I was there the president was changed from David Henry, who had retired--he had been my mentor--to Jack [John E.] Corbally. I got along well with both of them. They were both supportive, and they both became friends. With Henry, an older man, it was more of a father/son relation, whereas Corbally and I were more the same age.

I am not aware of the fact that I was a candidate to be president of the system. It never dawned on me. Suzanne said she thought about it and was disappointed that I wasn't selected. I never expected to be and I didn't feel rejected, so that wasn't anything. All of a sudden I got offers, and they came bing, bing, bing. First David Saxon, a friend of mine, called me when we were on an Illinois Alumni Association trip in Hawaii and asked if I would be interested in being chancellor at Santa Barbara.

Lage: This would have been around '77?

Peltason: Yes, December of 1976. I said, "Yes, indeed." Suzie had been born there, and we had almost been there as an assistant professor. I had been chancellor at Illinois for ten years, and I was interested in a change. I had some concerns about going from chancellor of a big, major campus to a smaller campus, but I was interested.

We were to return from Hawaii in early January, and I was scheduled to visit Illinois programs in London, Iran, and Barcelona the last week in January and first week in February. While I was on that trip, Suzie received a call from Bob [Robben] Fleming, who was then chairman of the board of ACE [American Council on Education], asking whether I might be interested in becoming president of ACE. When I got back from Spain, Roger Heyns, the current president of ACE, and former chancellor at Berkeley, called me and said, "This is a great job. You should come and take this job." They were very persuasive, and the "interviewing" for that job was relatively simple. Roger and Bob Fleming said, "If you want the job, you have it." I said, "Well, I've got this interest in Santa Barbara, and we're going out there next week [February 9-14], but I'll be in D.C. for a meeting on February 20-21, so I'll

bring Suzie and Jill and we'll look at the ACE job then. We'll be staying with the Kirkpatricks."

So we went out to California and David did a fine job of recruiting, and the campus did a wonderful job. Duncan and Suzanne Mellichamp made us feel very welcome, and made many plans for Jill's benefit too, since they knew her feelings would influence our decision. We were warmly received and entertained by the campus. Then we went up to Blake House and stayed with the Saxons. We were lucky to be included in a dinner party that had already been planned for Alva and Gunnar Myrdal, both Nobelists, who were also house guests of the Saxons.

Lage: Was he at Santa Barbara?

Peltason: No, I don't remember why he was there. Again we were given the VIP treatment. I went home, and the Santa Barbara newspapers actually said a new chancellor is coming. The Champaign-Urbana papers were speculating about whether I was going to leave or not. Nobody knew about the ACE thing, but the Santa Barbara one got to be public. David Saxon was pressuring me to make a decision, and I couldn't quite decide. I had promised him a decision by March 1.

Then I got a call from the search committee of the University of Wisconsin; they wanted to know if I would be interested in becoming president of the University of Wisconsin. All of a sudden I got these three offers. I didn't have any particular feel--I mean, the University of Wisconsin is an internationally distinguished university, one of the best in the world. To be president of it is a promotion and an honor.

Lage: Would this have been a systemwide appointment?

Peltason: Head of the whole system. On the other hand, I didn't know much about the system. I had a lot of good friends there. It was too great a professional opportunity to say no to it. But this was now gumming up my decision on Santa Barbara and the ACE. So I called up Bob Fleming, and he said, "Take your time. This job is here for you anytime you want it. We won't do anything until you decide." I called up David Saxon, and he was understandably frustrated; they made their best shot and they wanted me to decide yes or no so they could get on with it. I said I really felt I wanted another week or two to play through this Wisconsin thing, because it seemed very serious. I can't remember what David said--something to the effect that he had to move on. He didn't quite close the door, but he

almost closed the door. Still, by this time I said, "I'll let you know in a short time."

Jill was quite apprehensive; she didn't want to have to leave her school. She had gone with us to Santa Barbara and she enjoyed it, but it was a foreign experience for her. Wisconsin was more up her alley because it's closer to Illinois. I went to be interviewed by the trustees of the University of Wisconsin in a hotel room at O'Hare [International Airport in Chicago]. It went very well and they said, "Okay, we want you to be the president of the University of Wisconsin." It was practically a done deal, but there were about six trustees who couldn't come, and they said they had to consult with them first and then give me a call.

Then it was in the newspapers, that I was going to be the next president of Wisconsin. The chancellor of the Madison campus was a friend of mine; in fact, he had been one of the people pushing me--Ed Young. The chancellor of Milwaukee called me up. They lined up when I was going to come speak to their faculty. I had told the trustees of the University of Wisconsin that I would come if they invited me, but I wouldn't come against the opposition of the trustees who weren't there. I didn't know anything about the politics of the board. I didn't have to be everybody's first choice, but I wouldn't want to come if there were any number of trustees who thought it was a mistake to invite me. They said, "Oh, no. Don't worry about it." So the phone rang, to get the word from the trustees, and they said, "Well, the board was deadlocked. Some wanted a guy named Michael Heyman at Berkeley." [chuckles]

Lage: He didn't go either.

Peltason: He didn't go either. So they made Ed Young the president. I thanked him. All this time I had been trying to decide, if I had my choice. I remember saying I am being invited by three great institutions to come head them up on the ground that I have some executive ability, and I can't make up my own mind. I paced up and down.

Lage: Besides, you haven't said why you would leave Illinois.

Peltason: Because I was asked. I had done it for ten years.

Lage: That had to be in there somewhere.

Peltason: By this time there had been so much publicity about my leaving [laughs], and the Santa Barbara thing was so complicated by the fact that I had had to delay them, and David Saxon had moved

on. Also, there was a little bit of reservation about how you explain going from a big campus to Santa Barbara.

Lage: Santa Barbara wasn't as distinguished academically?

Peltason: It was small. It was part of the University of California, but it's not quite comparable. It's like going from chancellor at Berkeley to the campus at Santa Barbara. That wasn't too significant, but going to be president of the University of Wisconsin, that's an obvious promotion. It would be less offensive to the people of Illinois if you were leaving them for a system presidency at Wisconsin.

Lage: Because otherwise you might just be leaving for the beach.
[chuckles]

Peltason: But then, with the confusion about the Wisconsin job being held out and then not coming through, we decided to go to ACE. I had apprehensions about a job not on a college campus; I had never had a job off a college campus. But being both a political scientist and a higher educator, to be the president of the biggest and most comprehensive higher education association in the United States--and the fact that it was totally different than having been chancellor for ten years--it was a whole different career. We went and stayed with our good friends the Kirkpatricks, and the Ranneys were there, so we had two good friends there in Washington, D.C.

Lage: They were living there?

Peltason: Yes. Jeane and Evron Kirkpatrick.

Lage: But the Ranneys also were there?

Peltason: The Ranneys were also working there for AEI [American Enterprise Institute]. The fact that it would be a complete change of scenery, we decided to go do that.

Lage: How did Jill feel about that?

Peltason: She's always a good trooper. These were bad social moves. In Washington at that time, we had a house in Georgetown, but in those days we were told middle-class kids, whatever their racial background, you don't send them to the public schools of D.C. She did not want to go to a private school. So we arranged to take her to Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School, which was most like what she was leaving in Urbana. We had to pay nearly as much as we would have for a private school, but it was her preference.

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Peltason: When she couldn't drive, I would get up in the morning and drive her from Georgetown to Maryland, where she got on the bus and went to the high school there, and it was very successful. We bribed her by saying that as soon she was able to drive she could have her own car to drive herself to school. So she got a car earlier than any other child. But she went along, and that's how we got to Washington, D.C., as president of the ACE.

Reflections on Decision to Leave the University of Illinois

Peltason: We said goodbye to Illinois, and they were very generous and very kind to us. We had a lot of farewell parties, and our final farewell party was held at the Illini Union, where they had a big banner out front: "Come say farewell to the Peltons." [laughter] I said, "It shows how quickly they forget you." The board was kind and made me chancellor emeritus. We had a lot of good parties where we all could joke that I was the best chancellor they had ever had at the University of Illinois-- since I was the only one. [laughter]

Lage: You must have been ready at some level to leave.

Peltason: I think I was ready to leave.

Lage: Or ready not to be chancellor for a while or something.

Peltason: Or ready not to be chancellor for a while. I guess I was the right age and had been chancellor for ten years. Maybe the thing that needs to be explained is why I hadn't any offers before, or rather why it took so long to get offers. Another reason why I was very strongly in favor the ACE was Bob Fleming, another close friend. He was then president of the University of Michigan, and he had been a colleague of mine at Illinois. Roger Heyns and I had been fellow deans; when I was dean at Illinois, he was dean at Michigan. Then he moved to be chancellor at UC Berkeley when I was chancellor at Illinois. During the times of unrest we would talk to each other. He said, "If I had your weather," and I said, "If we had Michigan's early calendar..." Bob Fleming, then president of Michigan, was making speeches those days about how to handle student unrest. I said to Bob, "How come you're so lucky?" He said, "We get our kids out of school early in May. That's before the silly season starts." He was a very fine president.

By this time I knew enough university presidents to know I would enjoy the opportunity to work with them as my constituents. I don't like big cities, but if you have to live in a big city, my favorites would be San Francisco or Washington, D.C.

X PRESIDENT, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, 1977-1984

[Interview 7: March 31, 1998] ##

The Role of the ACE and the ACE President

Peltason: I can't remember where we ended, but I discussed the various job offers and how I finally decided to go to Washington, D.C. So we moved to Washington, D.C., and that was my first experience off a campus in my entire professional career. I spent all my time as an adult either going to college or being on a college campus. I loved being on a college campus and was very apprehensive about moving to a big city. I always had a small-town fear of the big city. But we moved to Washington and it turned out to be a very good seven years. We were never lonely because the whole world comes to Washington, D.C.

Until I became president of the ACE, I had not been very much involved in the national higher education organizations. I had been on the executive committee of Land Grant Association and enjoyed going to Land Grant meetings, because that's where I met chancellors of other public universities. I'd been on the executive committee but hadn't been particularly active. What I didn't fully appreciate was the important role that American higher education associations play. (It's called the Dupont Circle crowd.) De Tocqueville is correct in saying that Americans love to form organizations. And there is, I discovered to my pleasure, an organization for every part of American higher education. There's one for small colleges, large colleges, New England colleges, Jesuit colleges, other Catholic colleges, community colleges, and ACE is the coordinating body for all of these.

Lage: In a formal sort of way?

Peltason: In a formal sense. The ACE's membership is made up of 3,000 colleges and universities plus other education associations. And its mandate, in a way, is to be the coordinating body.

- Lage: I see. So each of these various organizations also belongs to ACE, as well as individual campuses?
- Peltason: Yes. I'll get back to that in a minute, but because of the rich associational life and because people are coming and going to Washington, I could walk out to the conference room at 1 Dupont Circle and there'd be friends from American higher education. As the result of our seven years, I think I got to know more college and university presidents than anybody in the United States. One of the great things about being in higher education, I have to say, is it's somewhat like being in the regular army: everywhere you go, you have friends. I remember when we lived in Washington, D.C., Jill, our daughter, was wanting to travel across the United States. I said, "I don't mind you traveling, but I don't want you to stay by yourself." We got out a map, and in every town there was a college or university where we had friends. So we had a national network of friends. And that was one of the great advantages of being part of the ACE world.
- I must say, I didn't particularly mind being removed from all the turmoil on the campuses. I remember one time, in front of Dupont Circle, there was a big disturbance of students over the Iranian hostages. I looked out and watched from up on the eighth floor, and looked down with some kind of equanimity: "May God and Allah take care of you!" [laughter]
- Lage: You'd had quite a bit of it.
- Peltason: I'd had quite a bit of it. So we enjoyed that aspect of it.
- We entertained a lot. A house came with the job. It was a lovely house, 1505 Dumbarton Rock Court.
- Lage: Now this was part of the package?
- Peltason: Part of the package. We lived right there in Georgetown. I could walk to work. Living in Washington, D.C., in Georgetown, that was pretty pleasant.
- Lage: Almost village-like for a big city?
- Peltason: It was very village-like.
- Lage: How did Suzie like it?
- Peltason: Except for the fact that I had to be gone so much. The American Council on Education has members all over. I usually made an average of three graduation speeches a year. I'd be

out to meetings. At the beginning I enjoyed the opportunity to visit colleges and campuses, get to know people, go to meetings; but by the fifth or sixth year that got to be a chore. And Suzie, who went with me in the beginning but because flying creates really severe headaches for her and claustrophobia, didn't go with me very much. Jill was still at home then, of course, and was a teenager. One of the reasons why I did decide that seven years was enough was having to travel half the time. I didn't want to be away from home that much, after a while. And I did a lot of international travel, went to meetings in Italy, Germany, and Yugoslavia and enjoyed it. But after a while, it's as they say: a hotel room in Paris is like any other hotel room.

It's very pleasant, there's considerably less tension than being on a campus, although it wasn't devoid of tension.

As I say, one of the jobs of the president of ACE is to coordinate the various groups in Washington. Higher education is a very powerful voice in Washington, D.C., when it's coordinated and united. In a democracy, it is interesting that higher education has so much influence: we can't deliver votes, we don't contribute money. I was under pressure to create a PAC, a political action committee, for higher education by some members of the United States Senate, especially Senator Claiborne Pell. They would say, "We help you. Where's the help from the higher education community for us at election time?" Although I made many personal contributions, I did not think it appropriate for higher education to create a PAC.

Lage: Has it been done since you left?

Peltason: No. We used to meet at lunch time and declare that we were on vacation, because it was inappropriate as a nonprofit to do this on company time, and discuss the possibility of creating a PAC. The proprietary schools--the trade schools--have a PAC. They deliver lots of money to people who support their legislation. In the first place, I don't know how we would have gathered the money. Universities don't contribute money, professors don't contribute money, students don't contribute money, so I don't know from whom we would have gotten the money even if we decided to create a PAC. And we would have lost some of our prestige. One of the great advantages that higher education has, despite the fact that it has neither money nor votes to deliver, is its high prestige. We don't have to make a case of why it's a good thing. Everybody you talk to has either gone to college or wants to go to college, or has kids who are going to college, or their grandchildren are going to college.

The great affection that Americans have for their institutions for higher education and the dignity of higher education would have been lost if we had become just another interest group delivering votes or trying to deliver money. American higher education, despite lack of ability to deliver funds or votes, has considerable influence in Washington so long as we present a united front. We lose our influence when we are divided. If a member of Congress gets a call from the presidents of independent colleges asking him to vote for a particular bill and then gets calls from the presidents of public institutions asking him to vote against that bill, higher education ceases to be effective or listened to.

Lage: But did you all have the same interests?

Peltason: No. That was where the job of the president of ACE came into the picture.

The Politics of Student Financial Aid

Peltason: Before I'd been to ACE, I didn't have much to do with financial aid. Independent schools live or die by the intricacies and the nuances of how federal financial aid is delivered.

Lage: Now when you say independent, you mean private?

Peltason: Private. And another thing: I learned the appropriate labels. [laughter] Part of the battle between the public and private institutions is what they're called. The independents, as they preferred to be called, like to call the public universities--

Lage: Dependent?

Peltason: No, they like to call them state-operated universities, [laughter], governmental-operated universities. The public universities refer to the independent colleges as "private," whereas their preferred term is "independent."

Lage: So they're politically correct terms?

Peltason: Politically correct terms. But the whole battle was having enough financial aid. Actually the financial aid system in the United States is, I think, one of the most invaluable assets we have. What is so great about American higher education is the choices that people have: they can go to a religious school, an independent school, a small one, a prestige one. The fact that

the money flows to the student rather than the institution means the student can take the aid where he or she wishes. That means that we have avoided, to some extent, the two-tracked systems of Europe where the rich or the smart go to one kind of institution, and then everybody else has to go to a less good institution.

In the United States, as I said, poor kids can go to Stanford and rich kids go to Berkeley. They're not class structured. And your fate isn't decided at the time you're eighteen on the choice of your college: you can become president of the United States, as Ronald Reagan showed by going to Eureka College, or as Lyndon Johnson showed by going to a teacher's college in Texas. Well, that is part of the politics of student financial aid. There's also tension between the public and private research universities over indirect costs, and my responsibility was to try to get a unanimous voice for higher education.

Lage: So would you try to effect a compromise position?

Peltason: We would negotiate. I had no coercive power, but we had the prestige and the fact that the presidents of the institutions back home recognized that it was to everybody's advantage for us to go to the Congress with a coherent, positive voice. That's a point that I'd like to emphasize: the influence of the ACE is behind the scenes and hard to see. In fact, if graduate students went to Washington to try to discover our role, they'd have difficulty. As president of ACE I appeared before congressional committees once or twice a year, and I had considerable prestige because of that on the hill. But most congressmen never heard of ACE, or most senators never heard of ACE, but they may know who the president of their local college or university was back home. So our influence was by getting the college presidents back home to call the congressmen or to call the executive branch. Overnight, I could make some phone calls. I don't think there is a decision-maker in the United States to whom we couldn't get via the college president of where he or his child or his grandchild went to school.

Lage: Did you have this kind of personal permission?

Peltason: We found that out. It was easy to find out who had institutions in their district, and then call those people and have them place the call. Then we would mobilize the college presidents, and then the congressmen would get calls, or the senators would get calls from members of their own district. They paid attention because higher education, as I say, had this prestige.

Impact of the Federal Government on Institutions of Higher Learning

Peltason: There is hardly anything that happens on the Hill that doesn't affect the institutions of higher education--tax bills, patent bills, Social Security reform, and tort law. We did not have much influence over sweeping movements, for example, a tax reform bill or a big change in Social Security, but we did over items that were directly aimed at us. The two big ones were indirect costs and student financial aid.

Even such a thing as licensing of and payments for music affects colleges and universities. I discovered that we had to negotiate with the ASCAP and the other associations about fees for music played on campuses. I discovered, for example, that every time music is played on campus, by a student group or whomever, a fee is owed. We had to negotiate how an annual fee based on size and other factors would do this. We were involved with copyright, patent laws, and tax regulations.

Lage: Is there a special fee that governs the campuses?

Peltason: Yes. If music is played on a campus, that campus has negotiated a license.

Lage: You've done that as a group?

Peltason: We've done that as a group; we negotiated that. There was hardly a problem on campus that didn't have a Washington counterpart, or something that happened in Washington that didn't affect what happened on campuses.

Lage: Well, that's a sign of the times, also. That the government would have such an impact.

Peltason: A sign of the times.

Developing a United Voice among the Organizations Represented by the ACE

Peltason: As I said, although there was much less tension being president of ACE than being chancellor on a university campus, I still was involved in pressure politics and had to resolve, or work to resolve, differences. During my time, there were some powerful protagonists between and among people who were good

friends of mine. John Phillips represented the independent colleges, he was head of NAICU [National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities]. One thing I discovered when I got to Washington everybody was speaking in all those acronyms. I started making up some of my own, like Washington Based Organizations--WBO's.

John Phillips is a smart, tenacious, tough fighter on behalf of independent colleges. Then there was Allan Ostar, who represented AASCU, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, institutions like California State University--about 270 such institutions in the United States. Allan had been there for at least twenty years. He and John Phillips were constantly pressuring me to negotiate a recommendation from ACE in behalf of legislation that would work to the advantage of their particular institutions.

Then there are the land grant institutions organized into NASULGC [National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges], the big research university organizations into the AAU [Association of American Universities]. The community colleges have their organization AACJC. I became very close to that association. Then there are organizations for medical deans--AAMC [American Association of Medical Colleges], called Double AMC. I remember creating an alliance in Washington for university presidents and medical deans, who are very powerful in Washington. Also important was NACUBO [National Association of College and University Business Officers], which represented the business officers, and CASE [Council for Advancement and Support of Education], which spoke for development and alumni officers.

The vice presidents for health care had an organization, so did the financial aid officers, these are very knowledgeable people about the details and technicalities of financial aid.

Lage: That would be crossing all the public, private institutions.

Peltason: That's right. These associations, such as the AAMC, had long time directors committed to working in behalf of their members.

Lage: So these are professional organizations of administrative people in the United States?

Peltason: Yes, every officer on a campus has its counterpart organization in Washington. And ACE is the so-called umbrella association that is supposed to coordinate these organizations.

The big meeting was the Secretariat, where the heads of about twenty-five associations would meet. People would fight to get into the Secretariat, and I could never understand why [laughter], but it was supposed to be the highest level working group where policy was reviewed.

We had a wonderful director of government relations at ACE, Charlie Saunders, who held his own meeting with the government relations officers of the associations. The government relations directors from the colleges and universities that had their own Washington Offices also joined Charlie's group. Here, again, we were always struggling to develop a united voice so that we would have some influence, rather than a discordant voice, which would then generally be ignored.

Lage: Would associations like the financial aid officers, or the business officers have divided loyalties?

Peltason: Well, it made it possible. The deans of the college of medicine, for example, report to their own president on the campuses. But the big organizations would frequently go off and try to get things that their presidents didn't want them to get. My job at ACE was to coordinate it all. My influence was to call up the other presidents and say, "Your deans are off the reservation," which wasn't always easy to do because the deans themselves and their organizations were very powerful and well-financed.

Lage: What were their interests? Were their interests the students and their aid, or were their interests the job?

Peltason: The students and the aid--well, not only. Their interest was in promoting the well-being of the colleges of medicine.

Lage: Oh, I see. I was thinking of the Student Financial Aid Officers.

Peltason: Financial aid is a very technical subject: how you decide who's eligible for aid, how much they're eligible for, how much goes in loans, how much goes in grants, how you determine need. That can have big consequences on where the money flows: to the independent schools or the public schools, for whether you take care of the poorest of the poor or the middle income group. Those are all kind of technical political problems. The financial aid directors were there--and the iron triangles do work! The financial aid people, government relations people knew the financial aid technicians and people in the federal executive branches of the government, the HEW, and then, later, the Department of Education, and the staffers in the Congress,

and the congressmen. They were the higher education issue network.

Lage: So they were the ones that really had the entree?

Peltason: They did the staff work. The ACE did the coordination in behalf of presidents. But when we could decide, "Here's what we need; here are the issues. We'll do this and that will bring the community colleges in; and we'll do that and it will bring the research universities in. And we'll all--," then everybody would go up on the Hill. We tended to be a very influential voice on the hill. Our job was to coordinate and also to keep the people back home informed and mobilized.

Lage: Do you remember an issue where you can describe how you brought people together--something that might have been divisive, but you were able to coordinate or something that you weren't able to coordinate?

Peltason: Well, it's one of these things in which that was the routine. They tend to be non-dramatic things. During my time we generally did present a united front.

More on the Politics of Student Financial Aid

Lage: The interests seem so different, as you describe. Take the financial aid, how it's written and whether that will privilege the private or the public institutions. I would think that would be hard to get them to come together.

Peltason: It's especially hard to come together if the economy is not expanding. I was there during much of the time when Congress was restricting and cutting back, although financial aid tended to grow. And we had our champions in the Congress.

But let me just talk about financial aid a little bit. One of the things I discovered: when I first got there, the Carter administration was just coming to town and starting to cut financial aid. But we were able to persuade them that it was not in their best interests and in the best interests of higher education. One of the battles was, should the money go to the middle-income students? I won't get into the technical part, but the community colleges wanted the money to flow to very poor people, because their economic level of students tend to be the people for whom they couldn't even scrape together that two or three hundred dollars to pay fees, even if they were

living at home. The other sectors of higher education argued that the costs of going to community colleges was being provided via taxes and thus those who went there needed less aid, while the costs for going to an independent college are not provided via taxes, and thus students going to such schools should be given enough aid so that they could afford to attend them.

I remember once I went up the Hill, when I was first in Washington, to try to explain to the members of Congress that the middle-income people were not paying any greater percentage of their incomes for their children's education than they paid in earlier decades. We heard all those stories. "When I went to college, I went for practically nothing, but now it costs so much." I tried to explain that in terms of real dollars, middle-income people hadn't been hurt.

Lage: That is no more expensive than--

Peltason: No more expensive than it had been when the parents went to college. Then I looked around the room at all those middle-income people in Congress who knew how hard it was to send their kids to college, and I had a hard time explaining to them that the middle income hadn't been hurt. Then I learned an important lesson: you had to include aid for the middle-income people. One of the reasons that student financial aid has been so successful in the Congress is that it's aid to the middle class. If it had been aid only to the very poor I don't think it would have the political clout to get it there, or to keep it there. Middle-income people, they're the ones who vote. They're the ones who picket. They are the ones who write the letters, and so on. So that meant redistributing the aid, perhaps having to give less to the poorest of the poor. But I don't mean to say that these middle-income people didn't need it, and it wouldn't help them, but if it was on a strict need basis, they might not have gotten it.

Battles over Indirect Costs and Other Issues

Peltason: The public universities and the independent colleges battled over indirect costs: the independent research universities' indirect costs are higher than those of the public universities. And the reason for that is because the state subsidizes indirect costs of the public universities; and the public universities perceive that "We're getting a bad reputation in the Congress because of the high indirect costs

of the private universities." We had to negotiate that, so that everybody would defend the validity of the other sector's indirect cost computation. Indirect costs to this day have never been satisfactorily explained to Congress.

Lage: But doesn't some of the indirect costs that the public university receives return to the state?

Peltason: It does return to the state. There are genuine real indirect costs, but a lot of people think of it as profit. A lot of professors think, "It is the money I made for the university," rather than "money the university's spending on me." So every four or five years there's a flare up in Washington over indirect costs, which is a way of sharing the cost of doing research. The federal government wants to share the cost and says to the states, "Well, you ought to pay some of it." And the state and the university's position is, "We're doing this research for the federal government, and you ought to cover the costs as a partnership."

There were also battles over the importance of support for foreign language and battles over support for area studies.

Lage: Would this be fellowship support?

Peltason: Various kinds of support. There were battles over tax policy: the change in the tax laws would affect how you tax bonds and any change in the tax laws would likely affect gifts to universities. Independent colleges and big universities depend on all those gifts more than smaller public schools. There were all those battles. But that was the excitement of the job.

Lage: Did you enjoy this as a political scientist?

Peltason: As a political scientist, it's fascinating! I'm a great believer in democracy. I am a great believer in the political process, and unlike many people, I think it works very well. I think if you're living in a democracy, you have to get up there and defend your cause, so I enjoyed that aspect of the work. That was one of the reasons that it was interesting to work in an organization based in Washington--not only the governmental relations.

ACE Training Institutes for College Presidents

Peltason: But there are many other functions that ACE and these other associations played for our colleges and universities. One was we ran--I call them training programs--institutes for people who had just become college presidents.

Lage: Was that anything new, or is that an ongoing program?

Peltason: It's an ongoing activity and ACE was central to it. We would have one-week programs, and new college presidents and their spouses would come. I enjoyed that because, one, I felt we were able to accelerate the experience of new college and university presidents, especially those from less well-established schools. By the way, that's a lesson I learned: the richness in variety of American higher education. I would go to institutions, frankly, that I'd never heard of before, and go there with a slightly patronizing attitude that I'm kind of going to see what the other half's like; and I would come back and tell Suzanne, "There are no boondocks anymore." These people read the New York Times, and the plays that the students put on, the faculty I met--they're sophisticated. I saw part of the world I otherwise wouldn't have known or appreciated, including some of the very fundamentalist religious schools.

Lage: Do they have their own association?

Peltason: Oh, yes. The Methodists have one, the Baptists have one, small colleges and universities have one. There are many colleges out there that have less than a thousand students--500, 600, 700 students--and they have their own special problems. It's a training program for those people where it's especially valuable.

Lage: Did you have one program for all the levels of presidents?

Peltason: We had programs for deans and presidents. It was a whole training program.

Lage: Would the major universities send people to these?

Peltason: Occasionally, and they would come and benefit. They would be less inclined. They usually had more administrative experience before they became college and university presidents and were more acquainted with what was happening in Washington.

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Lage: So part of it was learning public speaking and presentation?

Peltason: There was actually little of that. That was a side feature of the substance of things, but I always thought that was one of the things people learned the most about.

Lage: Did you have any training programs for lay boards?

Peltason: We worked with the AGB, Association of Governing Boards, which was also a very powerful association. They had their own programs for the boards, but they would call upon the other associations for help. We'd become close to the director of that association, Bob Gale, a bon vivant, wonderful man.

I think I was successful at ACE because it called for the same kind of skills that it takes on a campus. On a campus you have to work to develop a consensus among the conflicting interests of various deans, for example, the dean of arts and sciences and the dean of the college of agriculture or between the more conservative people of the state and the more radical leaders of the student body. So I think those skills, which you need on a campus, are like those you need for a coordinating body of higher educational institutions, plus whatever skills and knowledge I had acquired as a political scientist.

ACE Programs for the Advancement of Women and Minorities

Peltason: There were a couple of programs of which I was especially fond. The ACE had programs focused on involving more minorities and women in higher education.

Lage: Was that ongoing?

Peltason: I did not create them, and in fact, I got educated by those people. I'd been much more active and directly involved in getting minorities into college, both at the undergraduate level and administration. I hadn't really been focusing upon the problem of women in higher education as much until I came to ACE and met the people there who were in charge of that program. Emily Taylor was in charge of that program, ably assisted by Donna Shavlik. Emily, I remember, had been dean of the University of Kansas, and Donna Shavlik had been very much involved in women's organizations. They developed a program of Women in Higher Education, which has been and continues to be very effective.

Lage: Was this women as faculty or women as students?

Peltason: No, as administrators, focusing on getting more women into positions, finding more opportunities for them. The program was simple but brilliant: it had grants to see to it that women administrators got invited to national meetings so they acquired visibility and then got promoted to become dean and then vice presidents and then presidents and chancellors. It's been rather successful. When I first went, women presidents tended to be concentrated in women's colleges or as second-in-commands or as assistants to somebody. But the number of women who have now become chancellors or presidents has gone up considerably. I think ACE has had a lot to do with this. In almost every state there was a program of conferences and programs. I worked with them, urging more opportunities and to be sure that women administrators were seen in other than in gender-focused conferences, not just conferences on women in higher education but on budgeting and all the routine problems administrators have to face.

Lage: So was it partly a mentoring program?

Peltason: It's a mentoring program. Then ACE had a fellowship program, too, in which campuses would nominate people they thought might have an interest in administration to be mentored somewhere. During my career, I had five or six ACE Fellows work for me. Just work with me. They became my assistants. Many of them went on to become successful university administrators. Then, although the fellowship program isn't exclusively for women and minorities, it is a special instrument that helps them get into administration.

Another important role that I had as president of ACE was being one of the chief sources of suggesting names to people on search committees.

Lage: They were selecting a president?

Peltason: A president. All sectors of higher education would call ACE and talk to me about suggesting names. By having Women in Higher Education, we could always supply names of women. We circumvented one of the excuses--although I don't mean to sound pejorative, when people would say, "Well, we would love to invite women administrators, but we can't find any qualified ones." We had a list of qualified ones, so we could supply them with candidates.

Assistance to Search Committees

Peltason: I also learned that I had another interesting function as president of ACE. An unfortunate development in my mind is that many states now have sunshine laws that mean that search committees cannot operate in confidence. That means that most incumbent presidents and chancellors don't want to become candidates for jobs; they jeopardize their standing at home. So there are large numbers of people who would take a job, if asked, who aren't going to become candidates for the job. I found that I was a marriage broker. I remember one case: the University of Florida wanted to know if the then president for the University of Connecticut might be a candidate. And I talked to him. Well, he'd take the job but he wasn't going to be a candidate for it. But the search committee said, "Well, we can't interview him without making it public." So I was the go-between.

Lage: You interviewed him?

Peltason: No. He could tell me that he would be interested in the job, but he wasn't going to become a candidate. I could tell the search committee chair. They actually got down to the last two or three, before he consented to become a candidate. Unfortunately he didn't get the job, and it hurt him, but he's gone on to be, now, a very successful president at another institution.

Lage: So it hurt him at his existing job?

Peltason: Yes. But I spent a lot of my time on the phone helping people. That's another thing that I discovered: whenever I would go in the federal government, negotiating on behalf of higher education, quite frequently at the end of my negotiation, the government official, the assistant secretary of this or that, would go close the door and say, "Do you have a moment?" And I'd say, "Yes." And he would say, "When I finish this job, I'd like to get a position in higher education; can you help me?" Kind of a conflict of interest.

One reason higher education has such influence despite the fact that we neither deliver votes nor do we contribute money to political campaigns is our prestige and because of our nonprofit status. As a result, when public officials work with higher education associations, there is much less of the sting of conflict. Frequently government staff members would work with our staff members writing legislation in a fashion that

would have been considered inappropriate if we were representing the steel manufacturers or airplane manufacturers.

Lage: Because you weren't seen negatively, as a special interest?

Peltason: Right.

Reforming Intercollegiate Athletics

Lage: Was there anything about the organization when you came on that you thought needed changing?

Peltason: Well, one of the first things that I did--and I suppose this happens in every organization when a new president or a new chancellor comes--you have a study group, or a constitution revision group to see if you can streamline, strengthen the organization. I felt--and I don't mean this out of disrespect for the people who've grown up in the Washington area who are technically specialists--we needed more people in the association working who'd had campus experience.

Lage: To staff it?

Peltason: Staff it. Let me tell you about a couple of other highlights that I had as president of ACE. One which stands out in my mind because I spent a lot of time on it and because it had national visibility was the struggle to try to reform intercollegiate athletics. When I got there, my predecessor, Roger Heyns, had had a Ford Foundation grant and created a commission on intercollegiate athletics. But Roger was less concerned about it than I was. I used to tease him, "You came from University of Michigan; I came from University of Illinois." And also the times weren't right. We issued a report, it was a pretty good report. But what was quite clear to me when I would talk to university presidents was this was not something they wanted to put on the top of the agenda.

I also restructured the organization so that university presidents had more influence in health care policies, so it wasn't just the deans representing us in Washington, but the university presidents. And on that I enlisted the help of the chancellor of Washington University, who is himself an M.D.

Lage: So when you say health care policy, you're talking about university hospital clinics?

Peltason: Hospital clinics, support for medical education. Chancellor Danforth of Washington University helped me spearhead a movement to increase the influence of university presidents over such issues. But I couldn't get that much interest from presidents about intercollegiate athletics until there had been several scandals. The general contention, I believe, of most university presidents, was, "Well, that scandal happened at that other university because they did not have the proper controls in place, but it could not have happened at my university." Then it did happen at several major institutions.

Bill Friday came to me and said, "Intercollegiate athletics is out of control. You as head of ACE should take charge of that problem."

Lage: Now, who was Bill Friday?

Peltason: Bill Friday was the president of the University of North Carolina. He is a wonderful man. He had more influence in North Carolina than almost anybody. He'd been there a long time. Everybody admired and respected him; he was warm and friendly, generous, concerned about this problem for a long time. So I put together an ad hoc committee on intercollegiate athletics. I invited to Washington--it was in July or August--ten university presidents who had big time intercollegiate athletic programs. These were the Alabamas and the Kentuckys and the Miamis.

Lage: And North Carolina!

Peltason: North Carolina, Michigan, and I asked three questions: "Is there a systemic problem?" Two, "Can we agree about what we should do about it?" And three, "Are you willing to work on it?" To my surprise they all came, and they said, "Yes," answering all those questions: "It's not just a question of that school being out of control, but there's something wrong with the governance and the structure of intercollegiate athletics in the United States." Two, "We can agree upon what to do." And three, "We will give our own personal attention to that." So it was called the Ad Hoc Committee on Intercollegiate Athletics.

I got a grant of money and we started working. Bob Atwell, who was then the vice president, joined me. Bob had done some work in intercollegiate athletics; he'd written the book on the financing of intercollegiate athletics, which showed that, except for a few places, intercollegiate athletics were in financial difficulties.

Declining Administrative Control over Intercollegiate Athletics

Peltason: By the way, all of these people were pro-intercollegiate athletics, but part of the problem was that the presidents had lost control over athletics. In many of the states, the athletic director and the football coach were more powerful politically than the president.

Lage: And they got paid more, too!

Peltason: They all got paid more! But you have Bobby Knight, a basketball coach, or Bear Bryant in Alabama, Woody Hayes in Ohio; these were folk heroes. The presidents would come and go; the president got blamed if anything went wrong, but the president would lose his job if he went afoul of one of these folk heroes. Harold Enarson was the president of Ohio State, and I knew we were in trouble when President Ford got off an airplane in Columbus and there was Harold Enarson and there was Woody Hayes: the President of the United States ignored the president of the university and walked over and said, "Hello, Woody!" [laughter]

As I said earlier, this was a problem even at the University of Illinois, where we didn't have folk hero power. Keeping control was difficult because of the pressure upon the students, the fact that the academic calendars were being manipulated and structured, the great growth of the basketball tournaments and the pressures to extend the seasons, and the fact that the NCAA, which is supposed to govern intercollegiate athletics, is actually run by the ADs, not by the presidents. So presidents have very little influence in the NCAA.

NCAA Rule 48

Peltason: So we started to go to work to put academics first. Intercollegiate athletics were fine but academics first. We had two reforms--we had groups to study this--that everybody was for. We had one university president who said, "Forget it, why don't we just go pro? Just own up to the fact that these are professionals, and just pay the students because after all they are the ones the people come to see!" But that was not the view of most of the presidents. So we got to work. Out of that came a proposal that we would ban freshmen participation and from that evolved a proposal to limit freshmen

participation for those students who came to college without adequate academic preparation.

But let me bring in here an aside: The politics of the work of this ad hoc committee became pretty heavy. I had invited to the ad hoc committee the presidents from universities with big time sports programs, the real powers in intercollegiate athletics. That meant that there were not on the ad hoc committee any small schools, or Division II schools, or Division III schools, and there were not any presidents from the historically black institutions. This turned out to be an issue since the recommendations of the ad hoc committee had a differential impact and what came to be Prop. 48 had a differential impact, in that it disqualified more African American students than white students. Also since we concentrated on the problems of Division I schools since that is where intercollegiate athletics was out of control, some accused us of not being concerned with Division II and III problems.

Lage: But the regulations would have affected everybody?

Peltason: Well, this effort really was to improve the Division I. But because out of that discussion came Prop. 48, which had a differential impact upon African American athletes, we were accused of not being sensitive to the concerns of African American athletes. But instead of banning freshman sports, we were advocating a proposal, which subsequently became Proposition 48, which said in essence that those people who come from high school well prepared to succeed academically can play their first year. But those who come less well prepared will have to spend their first year studying before they can participate in intercollegiate athletics. This was designed to help them get a degree. It was also designed to cut down the recruiting of people who would never graduate. A lot of places recruit students; they let them play for four years; they don't care whether they graduate or don't graduate. So it became Proposition 48, which essentially said you had to take a certain number of academic courses, what would be the comparable to the University of California A through F requirement.

Lage: Was it actually comparable?

Peltason: It was comparable. And then you had to have a combined SAT score of 700, or ACT equivalent of fifteen, I think.

Lage: How many do you get just for signing your name?

Peltason: You get three or four hundred, I think. [laughter] That reminds me--we worked this like a political convention.

Lage: Now what setting are you in?

Peltason: We're in the NCAA. We wanted to get a regulation in the NCAA. We had a suite of rooms down there, and I was on the phone calling presidents to tell them to organize. Somewhere is the great exchange of correspondence, for example, between Derek Bok--who was president of Harvard, who became chairman of the board of ACE and became my ally in this battle--with the much beloved Ted [Theodore M.] Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame, saying to Ted Hesburgh, "You have to get involved because of your great moral prestige." Ted Hesburgh was under great pressure from his best friend, Father Joyce, I think his name was, who was athletic director of Notre Dame and wanted him to vote against the ACE propositions.

Lage: In general were the athletic directors on the other side of this issue?

Peltason: We'd get presidents off by ourselves, and they would say, "Oh, yes. I'll support." And then they'd get home, and the ADs would explain to them why it wouldn't work, or they'd get a local trustee. So we had counter pressure.

I was calling up Howard Swearer, the president of Brown University, and said, "Howie, we want your support on this. Be sure your guys are lined up to vote on this." He asked me what it was and I'd say, "Well, these academic courses and a score of 700 on the SAT." And he said, "Well, I'll go along, but you see even that would disqualify some of our players at Brown; 1400 is a pretty high score!" And I said, "I meant combined, on both!" [laughter] He said, "Well, why do you want to do that? That won't keep out anybody." I said, "It'll keep out about one-fourth of the players."

Then I was under great pressure from the historically black college presidents, who are also members of ACE. I worked very closely with the historically black public and private universities, who opposed this on the grounds that it would adversely affect black athletes and that it was discriminatory to black athletes. Now, I wouldn't have supported it if I thought it wasn't also in their interests. On the contrary, I think they are frequently the most exploited students. By getting through Prop. 48, and putting pressures upon high schools to adopt these subject matters, and giving these students a better chance to get a degree, we were helping them. But the historically black colleges were opposed to it and

threatened withdrawal from ACE, and that was tough pressure for me. But we got it through.

Lage: You got it through the NCAA?

Peltason: We went to the NCAA meeting in San Diego--as I say, we ran it like a political convention--and got it through.

Lage: Now, who votes in the NCAA? Do the presidents vote? Or the ADs?

Peltason: Each college and university has a vote. The president can vote personally, or can send the AD there.

Lage: I see, so you wanted to get the presidents there.

Peltason: We wanted the presidents to go and, if they couldn't go, to give their ADs ironclad instructions. Frequently what would happen is they'd go and the AD would come back and tell the president, "Well, I'd have voted, but at the last minute it had this amendment or that amendment." We had more presidents there than usual.

There was an all-powerful, long-time president of NCAA, a character by the name of Beyers. I remember I would meet him in secret--again, to see if we could negotiate a deal. From his perspective, here were these college presidents--and what do they know about athletics--coming into the NCAA, which is a very powerful organization. He thought of this as like a foreign agent trying to influence NCAA. From my perspective, the NCAA was the university's instrument to control intercollegiate athletics, and presidents had every much right to be there as anybody.

Creating a Presidents' Council in the NCAA

Peltason: I think we had two conventions, and one was about Prop. 56. The ACE had a proposal that would change the governance of the NCAA to create a presidents' council which would have the power to make decisions, not just to make recommendations. One of the problems in the reform movement is the reformers move in, the president moves in and makes some changes, then they have other things to do and the NCAA goes back to its old way of doing business. It's not that we had disrespect for athletic directors and the coaches, but understandably, their goal was to have the best possible teams. But there's more to

intercollegiate athletics than just having the best possible teams, if you believe that these are students first and athletes second. So that's why we wanted to change the governing structure.

We almost got there. We didn't quite get there, but as a result of our intervention, they did create a presidents' council that brought in recommendations. That's now become a permanent part of the government structure. So the presidents' council brings in recommendations and the advantage of that is that other presidents around the country can say to their ADs, "I want you to support the presidents' council's recommendation," and blame them for it and withstand the pressure. But I want to give a great deal of credit to Derek Bok. Derek Bok, as a president of Harvard University, doesn't have these same problems.

Lage: Yes, you wouldn't think that it would hit home that much with him.

Peltason: He took on this reform because he's a decent man who believed in it. He got some personal abuse because a lot of people, especially from big football, thought, Well, this is Harvard eastern snobbery trying to impose on us regulations that are appropriate for Harvard. They're not appropriate for us. But also, his great prestige helped mobilize support. Father Ted, and Bill Friday, and Chuck Young did come in and join us. I can't remember everybody, I'm afraid I'll leave out somebody.

Lage: How about Mike Heyman [Berkeley chancellor, 1980-1990]?

Peltason: No, Mike was not part of that group. He did come to the NCAA and make a speech. But his speech called for drastic reforms. He wanted to go further; he called for changes which didn't have the support of even the ad hoc reforming presidents.

Lage: More radical?

Peltason: More radical. But he hadn't been part of this group. The president of the University of Kentucky, Otis Singletary; Ron Roskens of Nebraska; Tad Foote, the president of Miami, were part of the group. I can't remember them all.

Lage: Was any president a hold-out?

Peltason: Oh, yes. There were quite a few hold-out presidents. They tended to be outside the Pac Ten and the Big Ten. They tended to be the southeast-southwest colleges and the College Football Association. These struggles involved lots of college

presidents. I can't remember all of them nor all the proposals that we put forth, but the most important were Prop. 48 and the other that created the presidents' council. After the establishment of the presidents' council we withdrew on the grounds that further reforms come within the NCAA with no need any longer for ACE involvement.

Lage: You mean after you got Prop. 48 through?

Peltason: And the presidents' council as a structure.

Lage: Then you stopped focusing. I see.

Peltason: Then this was just an organized effort for us to do something about intercollegiate athletics.

Lage: Now did you ever make amends with the traditionally black colleges over this issue?

Peltason: Well, they still are opposed to Prop. 48, I think. They didn't withdraw from ACE. I went on the circuit; I appeared on several national programs. I was on the Donahue Show, but I can't remember if it was on the issue of financial aid. I was pleased to remember that Harry Edwards, a noted sociologist of sports at UC Berkeley, broke ranks with a lot of the national African American leaders to defend the ACE's recommendation for Prop. 48, on the grounds that it would help the African American students. He and I appeared on some programs together. I was always grateful for that because it was easier for him to defend, to argue that this program would not be detrimental to black students and that it would in fact go a long way towards helping to encourage greater academic preparation and less exploitation of athletes.

But I remember one time he appeared on a program, and I was apprehensive because he had not been there on time and had some discussions with the producers to determine conditions of his being there. I kept saying to him, "Whatever he wants, give it to him. I need him to help defend this program." [laughter]

Lage: So he did appear?

Peltason: He did appear and spoke very eloquently, and then left. It was in Chicago, if I remember.

"Rent Wars" at Dupont Circle Building

Peltason: Another couple of things that I can remember about my ACE days --ACE owns the building, 1 Dupont Circle. I can't remember precisely the terms of the argument, but it had to do with the rent that we charged the other associations that I call the "rent wars."

Lage: Were the renters other educational associations?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: So you were all gathered together, then?

Peltason: Yes, other institutions of higher education associations paid rent to ACE, which owned the building. ACE owned the building on behalf of all higher education.

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Peltason: I once said, "Coordination is 90 percent geography." Get all the associations in one building, then it's easier to coordinate their activities. ACE held title to the building and then rented it to the others, and ran the building, took care of the building. Sometimes the building made money and sometimes it didn't make money. As leases came due, we at ACE wanted to raise the rent, and this made the associations mad. So there were endless negotiations over the rent wars. Derek Bok was then chairman of the board, and Derek was such a patient guy. He would sit there with me, in the outer wings, as individuals from some of these associations on the executive committee would meet to discuss the terms of the rent. I kept saying to Derek, "You know as a president of Harvard, I need you for many things, but taking days and sitting here in the outer office of AASCU waiting to be called in to discuss the terms of their leasing space in the building with members of its executive committee is not something you have to do." And he would say, "It's part of the job." He'd just sit patiently and then patiently explain why it was necessary. I have to say, the decisions of some of the higher education associations to move out of 1 Dupont Circle has actually had bad consequences.

Lage: The rent wars had bad consequences?

Peltason: Well, during my time they stayed. I don't know any of the details, but I find it unfortunate that since that time some associations have left the 1 Dupont Circle building. As a

university president, I disapprove of that. These other associations, they keep talking about their rent, but it's the institutions that pay the rent for everybody. If you pay, if ACE makes more on rent, then it costs less to maintain it, then you have to pay another association a little bit more. But the associations tend to take on life of their own, as if the association rent were significant. The bills for all of that are paid from the institutions that are members. I regret the fact that there's been a dispersal of education associations from the 1 Dupont Circle building.

Lage: So, the communication, now, is probably by e-mail?

Peltason: It's by e-mail. I think it's going to work to the detriment of higher education. But that was after my time.

Lage: What was it? Did they think you were rent gouging?

Peltason: Rent gouging, and that they owned the building as much as we did, and they could find cheaper rent elsewhere. There was a certain amount of resentment of ACE being their landlord. And again, I don't know the details so I probably shouldn't be critical, but I do think as a long-time, seven-year veteran of the rent wars, and as a university administrator on two campuses, that those executive directors or presidents of those associations that left Dupont Circle have undone the whole purpose of getting them all together. During my time, the independent colleges did leave. I told John Phillips at the time I thought it was a mistake. I actually felt, as one of the representatives of one of the major sectors of higher education, they needed to be in the building. But since that time, I understand that Land Grant has left, the AAU has left, and the independent colleges have left, and they're now all dispersed around Washington.

Lage: Was the ACE ever seen--or you yourself, having come from a large research university--was ACE ever seen as more favorable towards large research universities?

Peltason: Every year we alternated chair of the ACE board. We'd have a president from a community college. During my seven years--I can't remember them all--we had the president of Princeton, of Harvard, Chicago, I remember. We had the president of North Carolina State, we had the president of a community college in Dallas, Texas.

Lage: To be chairman of the board?

Peltason: Chairman of the board. The board itself represented all the sectors. One of the reasons why I reached out to the community colleges and to the independent colleges was to make it clear that I was the president of all of them, not just for the land grant institutions.

Protecting Funding for International Exchange Programs

Peltason: The one time that I remember trying to influence a nominating process for chair was to get Derek Bok. During the Carter administration I had easy access to the White House and to the congressional leaders. I knew Paul Simon and Anne Wexler, who assisted Jimmy Carter and was married to a university president. I had known her through the venues of higher education. When the Reagan administration came into office, I didn't at first think that I would have the same access, so I asked the nominating committee, "Give me a president of such prestige that his title will get us access anywhere." So they talked to Derek Bok and they persuaded him to do it. I discovered the power of the president of the University of Harvard. If I would tell somebody, "I want to come see you along with the president of Harvard University," doors would open. I would tell Derek, "I need your help." For example, I remember early on in the Reagan administration, they proposed a cut to the international exchange program. That's another thing the ACE did, we administered the Fulbright program in those days.

Lage: But they don't anymore?

Peltason: No. There's a group called CIES, Council for International Exchange of Scholars, which does that. It was affiliated with ACE during my day, so part of my responsibility was to protect the Fulbright program. Word came out that the Fulbright program was going to be severely cut, and other international exchange programs. By the way, I found out how to work the Washington technique of the leak! Somebody from the USIA, the United States Information Agency, the agency that managed the Fulbright programs, sent me a confidential memo about the drastic consequences of the proposed recommendations for cuts in the Fulbright program. I then called a reporter of the Washington Post and gave him this information which resulted in a front-page story in the Post about how the Fulbright program was being threatened and how it would be devastated. Then Derek and I made an appointment to see the president of USIA.

The USIA directed both international exchange programs and overseas propaganda programs. I use propaganda in the social science sense, talk intended to influence, not in the pejorative sense. Derek and I persuaded him that international exchanges were a very important aspect of American foreign policy. As a result, and Derek's influence was very important, the Reagan administration recommended more money for international exchanges than ever before. This is a good example of Derek's helpfulness and of the influence of and respect for American higher education.

Lage: I would think at some levels that the president of Harvard would be seen as part of the elite eastern liberal establishment?

Peltason: That's why we'd also bring along a community college president or a president from an institution in the member of Congress' district. One of the greatest assets higher education has is that we have accessibility to decision-makers, an asset that we oughtn't to jeopardize and not use it except when we are speaking for the public interest and not for personal favors.

The Business-Higher Education Forum

Peltason: Another thing that I did when I was at ACE, and I am pleased with how it has worked out, was to create the Business-Higher Education Forum.

I long have believed that one of the problems of higher education is that we do not have other institutions speaking out in our behalf. We do not have advocacy groups or support groups, other than our own alumni, seeking to support our requests for appropriations. I also have always thought that there is a congruence of interests between the people who produce knowledge and the people who produce wealth. When the economy prospers, higher education tends to prosper. When the tax revenues are sufficient, then people are well off, they tend to be generous to higher education. When the economy is weak, then higher education has financial difficulty. Furthermore, knowledge has become so essential to our own economic well-being that the business community has a vested interest in seeing that knowledge is produced, that they can put it to work to make money and improve the quality of life.

College and university presidents meet all the time with other college and university presidents. Business people go to

all kinds of meetings with other business people. And although in recent years university presidents have served on corporation boards and for years business executives have served on governing boards of colleges and universities, there are few occasions when university presidents and corporation CEOs have any sustained opportunity to talk about common problems. So I proposed another association where leaders of higher education could sit down on a continuing basis with the leaders of the business community and work on problems common to each other.

I also had in mind the need to raise some money for ACE. So I came to work one morning and called in Tom Stauffer, who was a vice president of ACE. I told Tom about my idea and asked him if it had ever been tried before at ACE. He said that Roger had tried to do a little bit, but it had never gone anywhere. I said, "Well, let's try and do it." Then I called up some university presidents and asked them what they thought of the idea, and most encouraged me. Some were a little bit worried that ACE might get in between them and their business associates. The presidents introduced me to corporate CEOs--only top level CEOs of major Fortune 500 companies.

One of the problems, by the way, of creating an association consisting of Fortune 500 CEOs and university presidents is that most of the corporate CEOs wanted to meet and talk with the presidents from big universities, not small ones. But ACE represents all institutions, large and small, rich and poor, famous and not so famous. So I had to work hard to ensure that there was representation on the university and college side from all kinds of institutions, not just the internationally known ones.

AASCU had a group consisting of AASCU presidents and Bell Telephone Companies. That association was, I think, being phased out. I was concerned that it would be made to appear that the association I was creating was the cause of the phase-out of the AASCU-sponsored association.

I worked with Wes Posvar, the president of the University of Pittsburgh, whose contacts enabled us to involve Bob Anderson, president of Rockwell. Derek Bok, Bill Bowen of Princeton, and Father Ted Hesburgh also helped me. Getting the first four or five CEOs was hard, but when I got Rockwell, Ford, Westinghouse, and AT&T CEOs to participate they helped bring in other people. As an aside, I remember one CEO who asked me why he should spend any time trying to work with university presidents when university presidents had so little influence over what happened at their institutions.

The first meeting was held in Williamsburg. People met, were polite, weren't quite sure what the agenda was going to be, but the chemistry worked. We built it over time; in a relatively short time the Business-Higher Education Forum became a major organization.

I believe that this group was the one responsible for introducing the term "competitiveness": how to make America more competitive. In the seventies one of the great concerns was that we were losing the trade war to the Japanese, and that we weren't being competitive. The Reagan administration's science advisor encouraged us to prepare a report--and we got a grant--on what colleges and universities could do, what businesses should do to make the United States more competitive. We first started calling for more productivity, but we discovered that was a political no-no; the trade unions didn't like that word. So we put together a report on competitiveness and gave it to the president of the United States, Ronald Reagan, who then created a competitiveness task force in the government.

Out of that came that whole movement to make the United States competitive, including the permanently established competitiveness council. I think that gave the Business-Higher Education Forum a purpose for being. By that time, friendships had formed. It's an organization that's been going now for twenty years, and has met at the national level; it meets twice a year. I've not kept up with it in recent years, but for the first ten or eleven years of its history, it was a significant force on the American political scene.

I remember that when we brought the report on competitiveness to President Reagan, he was to meet us in the Oval Office. I think in that delegation there were about five or six or seven. Ted Hesburgh was there, Bob Anderson was there from Rockwell, and people had flown in from all over the world to present this to President Reagan. As we gave it to him, he stood up, he was very polite, very cordial, very genial. He told anecdotes about his father, who'd made him work hard, about how he learned to play golf, took the report, and thanked us for it. Pictures were taken, and we were in his office for about fifteen minutes. As we walked out, I said, "We came from around the world to present this to him. Shows the power of the president!" Well, he had no idea of who we were, or what we were about. [laughter]

Lage: Or what you were presenting!

Peltason: Or what we were presenting. But that's all right because he took it in his hands and handed it to his people. He'd shared his instrumental role.

Lage: And then they did follow up with it?

Peltason: They did follow up with it!

Lage: It sounds like a program that would appeal to the Reagan administration?

Peltason: It did. I think it's bipartisan. We had lots of good discussion at the Business-Higher Education Forum that I believe helped us all to do our jobs better. I remember one meeting at the University of North Carolina when there was an animated discussion between Hanna Gray, president of the University of Chicago, and the president of the Ford Motor Company, Phil Caldwell. Each of them was trying to teach the other; it was fascinating. The exchange had to do with the fact that the presidents from the corporate world could not understand why, if society has too many English professors and not enough physics professors, we can't just close down the production of English professors in the English department and expand the production of physicists in the physic departments. Hanna tried to explain to Phil why this could not happen, why you build universities for the decades, not just for the current market, and how difficult it would be to close down a whole department. Phil responded, it is not so easy in the business world, but we do it if we have to. He asked the presidents, "Have you ever tried to close down a plant?"

Out of these and other discussions friendships developed and contacts were made. Bob Anderson of Rockwell was especially supportive of the Forum, so was Wes Posvar, president of the University of Pittsburgh.

I also tried to start an association with the unions. I didn't want to be accused of being only interested in business or being anti-labor. We wanted to work with all sectors of the American economy. To my surprise it was harder to develop contacts with the trade unions than it had been with the corporate world. Higher education has many interests in common with unions, and we need their support for higher education. We did establish an association, but it developed more slowly, and, although I have lost contact, I don't think it has had the staying power of the BHEF, as the Business-Higher Education Forum has come to be called.

- Lage: How would something like your competitive thrust affect programs on campuses?
- Peltason: Well, the report essentially called for support of American higher education, as a major instrument in making America more competitive.
- Lage: I see. It wasn't that something new would be done on campuses?
- Peltason: No. Well, it called for American campuses to do for modern American industry what they had traditionally done for agriculture. The Green Revolution stemmed from the American Land Grant Colleges working to take their knowledge from the campus to put it to work to produce more food and fiber. This knowledge produces jobs and wealth. If we would do the same for modern commerce, business leaders would be more likely to go before the Congress and urge support for university research and help make it possible for more kids to go to college. When they urge Congress to support higher education, it is not as self-serving in appearance when universities go before public bodies and say, "Give us more." When business leaders speak in our behalf it helps highlight that such support is in the public interest.
- Lage: So that was your vein?
- Peltason: It was one of the consequences. The Business-Higher Education Forum has dealt with questions of executive training, manpower training. It's dealt with what American higher education can do to help institutions abroad. It was also an instrument of business leaders both to be critical of what we were doing in higher education and to learn from it.
- Lage: Did it help you with fundraising for ACE?
- Peltason: It did, less directly than I'd hoped. ACE charged indirect costs to run it. It helped sustain the rent, but it was more important as a forum for bringing these groups together than it was for fundraising.

Social Life in Washington, D.C.

- Peltason: I'm sure I could talk more about ACE; they were seven exciting, productive years. Socially, we were in Washington, but not of Washington. Or, we didn't have many friends there other than the Ranneys, the Kirkpatricks, notably.

Lage: Now, why do you say not of Washington? You weren't inside the Beltway, sort of?

Peltason: I'm not sure why. I don't know if it's any discredit to us, but when I go back to Champaign, I have hundreds of friends, or in Berkeley, I have lots of friends. The friends I have in Washington are people I either knew before, or the people that connect with the higher education network. We didn't become part of the Washington scene. Suzanne got to know the people in her church and in the neighborhood, and we have friends there. Then there was the fact that Jill had gone to school out in the suburbs, and I was gone all the time. It's a wonderful city and for a political scientist, an exciting city. We didn't become part of the city. We were in part of a national network focused in Washington. So when time came to leave--and our kids all were grown by this time--it wasn't the kind of breaking the social threads that our other moves had been.

ACE's Legal Defense of Mandatory Retirement Age Requirements

Lage: Did the ACE have any role with the courts?

Peltason: Yes, we filed many a brief on behalf of higher education. Shelly Steinbach, the ACE general counsel, was fully informed and kept the leaders of higher education fully informed of all the battles taking place before the courts from the Bakke case, through copyrights, to issues of taxation. In fact there is hardly any area of litigation that does not affect the well-being of higher education.

There is one area I should talk about because we spent such a long time on it. It was the unsuccessful battle to prevent the Congress of the United States from removing the opportunity of colleges and universities to have a mandatory retirement age. Prior to congressional intervention, each college or university had its own retirement age--sixty-five, seventy, et cetera. But Congress stepped in to remove the mandatory retirement age. I felt that was injurious to American higher education, would threaten the tenure system. It's one thing to give tenure to somebody when you know they're going to retire, it's another thing to give them tenure when you know that they can have it until senility.

Lage: And beyond!

Peltason: And beyond! Yes, I used to say that if Congress had its way, it would turn tenure into a property right which you could bequeath to your oldest child. I also felt that it would interfere with the autonomy of American universities. I also don't believe that age is to be equated with race or gender. There's no connection between ability to teach because of your gender or your race or ethnic background, but age is connected with ability to teach.

Lage: You still feel that way even as you get older?

Peltason: Especially as I get older! That said, we have age requirements for driving and buying drinks. Chronological age is connected with ability. It's not unreasonable to say that at sixty-five or seventy, you have to make way for somebody else.

I remember negotiating with Representative Claude Pepper. Claude Pepper was then a member of the House of Representatives, age eighty-five or eighty-six. He liked to be called Senator Pepper, because of being a former Senator. He was the champion of this bill. For a while we persuaded him to remove American colleges and universities because we had the support of the AAUP [American Association of University Professors]. I said, "It's not just university presidents who believe this is injurious, but the university professors believe it's injurious," so he was prepared to exempt us. But then the AAUP, I think under pressure from its own members, said it was against exempting college professors from the laws, removing the right to a mandatory retirement. So the best we could negotiate was a seven-year delay before it went into effect for the colleges and universities, during which time we were supposed to do studies to demonstrate the consequences of the bill. But I knew that we would lose at the end of seven years because we were getting more older voters, not fewer older voters over the next seven years.

I remember talking to Secretary [Terrel] Bell, who was the secretary of education--a very nice man, had been superintendent of education in Utah, who, by the way, was very friendly to higher education in the Reagan administration. He and I would frequently chat about how I could help him within the Reagan Administration, so I said to him, "Why don't you go tell the President that this is inconsistent with his own philosophy that there ought to be less government regulation, not more government regulation." And Terrel said, "You want me to go in to talk to Ronald Reagan to explain to him why people could be too old to be college teachers?" [laughter] I said, "Yes, that might be a little bit awkward." He was a very fine secretary of education.

Debates over the Creation of the Department of Education

Peltason: One more reminiscence--they keep coming back as I talk: when I first got there, one of the big debates was whether there should be a separate Department of Education.

Lage: Whether it should be continued?

Peltason: No, whether it should be created.

Lage: Oh, I thought there already was one!

Peltason: No. When I first got there, that was the hot issue. The Carter administration was for it. The AAU presidents were against it, the community colleges were for it, and so ACE was neutralized. The community colleges felt that it would be a voice for higher education, the AAU presidents held that it would be just one more voice to be regulated by the government and we don't need a secretary of education. I believe that if American higher education had been coherent, consistent, we might have been able to block it. But since we were divided, and since it was going to pass anyhow, we stayed out of that battle.

Lage: Which side did you line up on?

Peltason: On balance, I would have been against it. But I think that it's subsequently turned out to be fifty-fifty. I think it's actually been more of an asset than liability. Then when the Reagan administration came in and tried to abolish it, we were for it by that time. [laughter]

Education Policies of the Carter and Reagan Administrations

Peltason: During the Carter administration we had a very strong secretary of education, who was supportive, Shirley Hufstedler. She had been a judge of the court of appeals. I was not there during the time of Bill Bennett. He was hostile to higher education. And under Ronald Reagan, Terry Bell was also supportive of higher education.

She, that is Hufstedler, was the first secretary, and we worked closely together and became personal as well as professional friends. The same was true of Secretary Bell.

Lage: And then Bennett, after you left?

Peltason: After I left, Bennett used his office as a platform to attack the institutions of higher education.

Lage: When we were first talking about ACE, you had some comparisons between the Carter and the Reagan administrations.

Peltason: Actually, one of the strengths of higher education is that it is bipartisan, it is also bi-ideological: it's not really a liberal or a conservative issue. We were apprehensive that the Reagan administration would be hostile to higher education, but this turned out not to be the case. He supported most of the programs sustaining higher education. And since he was anti-government regulation, his administration was actually helpful in getting rid of some of the regulations that we felt were injuring the colleges' and universities' ability to carry our responsibilities.

Lage: So some regulations were removed?

Peltason: Yes, or modified. The Reagan administration was not hostile to us. Again, I left before Secretary Bennett took over and he was hostile, and he did use the office to attack higher education.

Reforming the Accreditation Process

Peltason: There are so many issues that I've forgotten about: there were also the accreditation wars.

Lage: Now what was that? You had two wars there, rent wars and accreditation wars!

Peltason: Well, we used to call them wars; they weren't really wars, just battles or issues. There are many issues with accreditation, but one was to prevent the federal government from taking over accreditation. One of the strengths of American higher education is voluntary accreditation. But in order to be eligible for more and more federal programs, including student financial aid, the federal government, the secretary of education, supervises the accrediting process. There's always the danger that they will intrude into the accreditation process. I don't remember all the nuances, but we were protecting the independence of the accreditation process.

I had a special interest, both as a chancellor at a university and ACE president, to prevent what I call specialized accrediting agencies from taking over. The law schools, the medical schools have very powerful accrediting groups, but then every other group wants to create another accrediting group: for anthropology, for this, for that.

Lage: To look at particular departments?

Peltason: Come onto the campus and pressure the central administration in behalf of their particular specialization: "Give them more space and more FTEs." So I tried to use my influence to cut down on the proliferation of specialized accreditation groups and to reform the accrediting process to reduce the influence of them, especially the powerful ones like the ABA [American Bar Association] and the Association of American Law Schools. I rather enjoyed those battles.

Lage: You like fighting with the lawyers? [laughter]

Peltason: The ABA couldn't really intimidate the best universities. But it would come on to the campuses of the less distinguished law schools and act like a trade union, essentially saying to those universities you should pay the professors more.

Lage: Pay the faculty more?

Peltason: Pay the faculty more, give them more space, and give them control over the library. Have I talked about this before?

Lage: No.

Peltason: I remember they were threatening the president of a university in Texas. They said his law school was fine, the students were getting a good education, but the accreditation association, acting as a trade union, threatened to withhold his accreditation unless he allocated more funds to the law school.

The great professions of law and medicine have great power through accreditation. They establish the standards, and institutions have a hard time modifying them. The association of business schools [AACSB--American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business] is another powerful specializing accrediting body we fought. "Fought" is too strong a word. We tried to work with them to make accreditation a means to improve the quality of education. In fact, most of our interactions were cooperative.

Lage: So they could understand your point of view?

Peltason: Yes. These accreditation wars were among friends and were non-tension-producing.

Lage: So this was around the table?

Peltason: It was around the table. I used to say to my colleagues from the bar accreditation associations: "You ought to talk about whether the faculty are good, not how much they get paid, whether they are rich. You ought to focus on the quality of instruction, not whether the buildings were big enough. You should talk about the quality of the outputs, not the amount of the inputs."

Lage: And let the campuses worry about the inputs.

Peltason: That's right. Hold onto standards. But they had to produce a program that was comprehensive and high quality, see that the students were given their money's worth, but not worry about what the faculty salaries were or who controlled the law library.

Affirmative Action

Lage: Now we haven't discussed anything about federal regulations on affirmative action during this period.

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: You mentioned the Bakke case.

Peltason: We had commissions, we had meetings, and we fought to preserve the constitutionality of affirmative action. We had briefs before the Supreme Court. We created study groups and commissions and tried to work with the colleges and universities back home to improve public understanding of what affirmative action was about.

Lage: What about federal regulations on hiring in the campuses: wasn't that the era when the Office of Civil Rights started looking into the various campuses?

Peltason: We wanted to be sure that the federal government wasn't letting the machinery and reporting requirements get in the way of progress or having the federal government attack universities because of technicalities rather than helping us make progress. We were in between those that felt that universities were not

being aggressive enough in affirmative action and those on the other hand who did not think it was appropriate or constitutional for us to take race and gender into account in admissions and hiring programs.

Lage: Was it a thrust also to encourage the universities to practice affirmative action, or was that not your role?

Peltason: Well, I have never found much reluctance from both colleges and universities to put programs into place. I'm sure other people would give you a different perspective. University presidents don't have all power, but since I was representing primarily university presidents, I didn't find them reluctant crusaders. They would oppose reporting requirements that they felt undermined quality, or programs which didn't make affirmative action work effectively. But I didn't feel that I needed to persuade people.

Defending the Free Speech Rights of Campus Speakers

Peltason: The one place where I did take on some universities--and they were members of associations--was mobilizing groups to defend the right of unpopular speakers to speak on campus. Again, the sequence of events is hazy. I do remember that there were several occasions during that time, one of which involved Jeane Kirkpatrick, who had gone onto college campuses and had not been able to speak or talk. For a while I was reluctant to do or say anything, although I am a First Amendment fanatic. Especially, the American colleges and universities ought to be places where all points of view can be heard. But I remember having some reluctance because Jeane is a personal friend, and I didn't want people to think that I was using my position to defend just her rights. She wasn't the only one; there were two or three other episodes, speakers of both the left and the right.

So I did talk with members of my executive committee about my concerns, and they encouraged me to speak out in behalf of ACE. We then issued a statement that while recognizing the right of people to express their opposition to speakers, made it clear that there is no right of a hostile audience to keep people from being heard.

I wanted to make it clear that political correctness had not taken over among our colleges and universities and that campuses were places where all points of view could and should

be heard. I remember working with student associations and others to write the statement we issued in behalf of freedom of speech on the campus.

Lage: So are there also national student organizations that you could work with?

Peltason: Yes. There were international student organizations, too, and we worked with them. We worked with them less closely than we did administrative organizations. We worked with the AAUP, representing the professors. We tried to represent all of higher education in its complexity. There are student groups, and they sat in all the governance meetings. They weren't part of the secretariat.

Lage: But they were involved in your--

Peltason: In the governing, yes.

Lage: Okay, any other thoughts about Washington?

Peltason: No, I think that does Washington pretty well.

[tape interruption]

XI CHANCELLOR AT UC IRVINE, 1984-1992: MEDICAL SCHOOL,
COMMUNITY RELATIONS, AND BUILDING PROGRAM

Appointment as Chancellor

Lage: Okay, we're back on after lunch and we're going to turn to Irvine. We haven't talked about how you happened to come to Irvine.

Peltason: Well, I got a call one day from David Gardner asking me if I would ever like to come back to California. And I said yes.

Lage: Had you about had it with Washington?

Peltason: I'd had a five-year appointment and gotten reappointed for another five years and expected to serve out those times at ACE. Suzanne and I had our life all planned. We'd bought a condominium in Champaign-Urbana through a friend who was a realtor, Pat Metzger, and she took care of it for us and had a tenant. It was at the edge of Champaign. We had a condo in the Virgin Islands, which we purchased when we were in Washington, D.C., from our friend Max Kampelman. We bought it with the Follmers, our good friends from Champaign-Urbana. We owned that condo from 1980 to 1988, and we loved it. I would go and visit my children, and they're polite but they're busy. And they come visit me, and I'm polite but I'm busy. But when we meet at the Virgin Islands, then we'd have nothing to do except to be with each other. It was right on Sapphire Bay; it was wonderful. The whole family would meet down there, and it was just a great vacation spot.

So our plan was to stay at the ACE for another five years, maybe another ten years, and then retire and live in Champaign-Urbana up to about Thanksgiving or Christmas time, and then stay there in the Virgin Islands for two or three months, and then come back. We had friends in both places. At that time Nancy and Bill lived in Illinois, so that was our plan. We

didn't think we'd be called back to California because by that time I was sixty. We loved being in Orange County, but we really thought that we probably couldn't afford to live there, buy a house.

Lage: That was the period when the prices of houses were going up so much.

Peltason: One of the economically great disadvantages that we've suffered--and I don't mean to complain, because we've been very fortunate--was that we lived in public housing, as I call it, from 1967 on. There was a house furnished eventually at Illinois; there was a house furnished at ACE. From '67 to '85 we lived in provided homes. That was the time of the great inflation of housing. So we really didn't think that we'd come back to California. But when David called me up, I said, "First of all, do you realize how old I am?" And he said, "Yes." He said, "You could still serve for another six years." I think retirement in that era was sixty-seven.

Lage: So there was that mandatory retirement in place then?

Peltason: There was the expectation and a Regents' rule that as chancellor you could go to sixty-seven. But David said that he didn't think that was an obstacle. I came home and said to Suzie, "How would you like to go back to Orange County?" That was our favorite place to live.

Lage: So he mentioned specifically Irvine?

Peltason: Yes. It was Irvine. He said Dan [Aldrich] was retiring and, "Would you be interested in being considered as Dan's replacement?"

Lage: Had you known David Gardner very well?

Peltason: Ah, yes. I got to know David when I was president of ACE and he was the president of the University of Utah. I came to know and admire him and had worked closely with him when Secretary [of Education] Bell invited him to become chair of the committee to take a look at K-12 education. By the way, when he did create that K-12 education committee, I at ACE had created one to have a look at higher education. So Bell and David decided just to concentrate on K-12, because I had a commission on excellence in higher education at ACE, which did turn in a very good report.

We were a little bit ahead of the parade. I could anticipate that higher education couldn't escape the scrutiny

that K-12 was getting. In preparation for it, I believed that we should take charge of that ourselves, and bring in our own recommendations to tighten our management and the running of institutions of higher education. So I had a commission. The MacArthur Foundation gave me a substantial sum of money, and we brought together some people to make some recommendations. Which we did.

Lage: What were they?

Peltason: On how to improve the quality of higher education, yes, how to maintain excellence in higher education. I was right in anticipating that national attention was about to focus on higher education. I was right in getting a commission going to make recommendations, but I was wrong in not having the funds available to promote its recommendations.

It was in the preparations and discussions about David's report, which became "The Nation at Risk," probably the single most important report that's ever been issued on K-12 education, that I got to know him well. David Gardner and Secretary Bell get the credit for this important report. We helped them launch it and promote it, and suffered through with them when Ronald Reagan edited the last page of his speech announcing the report in which he said the solution was to bring back prayers in the schools and provide for a voucher system. Fortunately, his comments didn't get too much attention, but the report did, although I am not at all sure that some kind of voucher system is not part of the solution.

It is interesting to note how events change things. When Reagan came to Washington, one of his announced goals was to abolish the Department of Education. But he picked, with ACE's strong endorsement, Ted Bell, a very capable secretary of education. Ted in turn, with David's help, made the reform of education one of the most important features of the Reagan administration. Actually the department which Reagan was going to abolish became one of the strongest ones during his tenure of office.

It was during these days that I came to know David better. I told him, "I won't be a candidate for the position of chancellor. I'm too old to go through that again. If the Regents should ask me to be chancellor, I would give it serious consideration, but I don't want to be a supplicant or an applicant for a job. It is important for candidates to come meet with the Regents and be interviewed by them, but I don't want to do that." He said, "Well, would you come out to talk with them and just be a consultant to the search committee?"

Lage: This is the way of doing it!

Peltason: That's the way to do it. I said, "Of course, I'll do that!" I must say, my good friend tricked me, and I don't mean that in any evil sense. When I got out here, I found out I was an applicant for the job. I mean, I was put up in a hotel room, and then when I met the search committee it was a job interview, and I enjoyed it.

Lage: Maybe everyone knows what you mean by this, but how do you get offered a job without being a candidate for the job if there is a search committee?

Peltason: By the time you're sixty, have been chancellor of another university for ten years and president of ACE, you have enough of a record. Enough people know about you that they already know what kind of person you are, what people think of you. There are plenty of ways of doing it other than becoming a formal applicant for a job, or coming out to be interviewed for a job. It's a difference in tone and temper in how you're dealt with by the board.

I was perfectly happy to be the president of ACE. I was perfectly content to continue for another three years, and that was my contract. The job had gotten under my belt, it wasn't producing a lot of tension, I enjoyed life. And we had our plans to retire, so I didn't want to take on another responsibility and become a job applicant. But I did, honestly, tell David that the special affection I'd had for Irvine--having been one of the first vice chancellors, and our fondness for Orange County--that if the president of University of California, the Board of Regents said, "We want you to become the chancellor," I would probably accept. But I didn't want to come out and be one of three and stand around wondering whether I was going to be picked or not. He said, "Well, just come out and be a consultant."

Also I made another condition. I said, "I'm not going to go through the student problems again. I've done that once, and I tell you if I take the job, and I come out there, and somebody tells me, 'There are fifty students asking for the resignation of the fascist pig chancellor,' they've got it." He laughed. I said I didn't want to go through that again.

Supplementary Retirement Benefits

Peltason: But I came for an interview, and the Regents via David offered me the position. We were in the Virgin Islands at the time, and Ron Brady called, and we had about an hour's conversation. He still teases me about that being the longest overseas telephone conversation he has ever had, in which we discussed the terms and conditions of my employment. I had some worries because it would have cost me retirement benefits--it did cost me--coming to the university at the age of sixty-one. Getting into the University of California retirement system at that age was not as good as staying for another six or seven years in the ACE retirement system, where I was working under both a generous deferred compensation program and a well supported TIAA retirement pension. To leave that program for the university defined benefit system would mean that after six years my retirement pay would be considerably less than if I continued at ACE for another six years. So David and Ron worked out a modest deferred compensation program to supplement my regular retirement. That was considered noncontroversial at the time, but when I became president the whole subject of retirement pay for administrators was the subject of controversy.¹

It was especially crucial for older people who couldn't afford to come from one retirement system to the UC system and then had a few years to go. It was a modest thing, but it supplemented retirement. For every year I worked for the University of California, they would pay 10 percent of my final year's salary. So if I worked for the six years, that would make it financially possible to move without a reduction in income. The University of California program is a wonderful one if you've been here for your entire career. It's not such a good one to come to at the tail end of your career. We

¹In his interview recorded as part of the Gardner-Peltason presidencies project, Ron Brady says that this agreement with Jack Peltason was the beginning of the deferred compensation arrangements that became so controversial. Interviews in process, Regional Oral History Office. --AL.

My deferred compensation program was not the precise subject of the controversy over retirement packages. That controversy had to do with so-called NDIPS, which were retirement supplements which put some additional compensation at risk; one had to work for a stipulated number of years in order to collect on NDIPS and would forfeit them if one left before their termination date. It was these NDIPS that became controversial when the Regents granted David his NDIP compensation when he left, because of the death of his wife, some months before they vested. --JWP.

discussed that, and David and Ron were flexible, and the board was flexible. But [laughing] as we get into my presidency, I'll tell you, the retirement program became all of a sudden front-page news.

I went back to tell the people at ACE I was leaving. That was in the spring, I think, that it was announced that I was coming back to Irvine. I don't remember the exact sequence. Suzie came back in August. I came back in September because I had to finish the manuscript for Understanding the Constitution, and I hoped not to leave there until a successor was picked. I spent the last months at my time at ACE helping the chairman, Father Tim [Timothy S.] Healy of Georgetown, who was chairman of the board. He and I worked to get my successor and eventually put in Bob Atwell, who'd been the vice president, to be the president of ACE. I finished up Understanding the Constitution. Suzie got here in August to get the house going, which was the chancellor's house on Galaxy Drive in Newport Beach.

Plan for a Chancellor's House on the Campus

Lage: So the chancellor's house was not on the campus?

Peltason: It was not on the campus. When the campus was started in the 1960s there was a place for the chancellor's house on campus, and a location for it, but there was not enough infrastructure. In order to put the chancellor's house on the campus, it would require a lot of money spent on infrastructure to get roads and utilities up to the hill on the campus. So instead, the Regents purchased a home for the chancellor where Dan and Jean lived in Galaxy Drive in Newport Beach about six miles away.

David Gardner and I talked about that. I was going to be chancellor for a relatively short time, because I was sixty-one when I got here, and I thought I'd retire at sixty-seven. It turned out I didn't have to do so.

Lage: It changed.

Peltason: David asked me to stay on longer. I actually stayed on for eight years, rather than the six. So during the first year, David and I talked about the desirability of using my relatively short time to relocate the official chancellor's house from Galaxy Drive to the place on the campus designated for it from the beginning. To that end we would move out of

the house on Galaxy Drive in Newport Beach. We would move out of that house, we would buy our own house in University Hills. Then I would sell the house in Newport Beach, raise funds, put a house on the campus so the next chancellor would have a house. Nobody could accuse me of trying to build a house for my use, because I would never live there. One of my contributions would be to have left the campus with a university house on the university campus.

I am a great believer that the home of the chancellor should be on campus. When people would come visit us on Galaxy Drive they were entertained, but they didn't bond to the campus; it was just another house in a very nice neighborhood in Newport Beach. They didn't get a chance to come to see the campus; students couldn't have easy access. A chancellor's residence, in which he or she can entertain on campus, is, I think, a very valuable fundraising tool. Development offices will tell you that it's entirely different to invite people to a University Club event; they like to be invited to the home of the chancellor. The house on Galaxy Drive served that function and we used it that first year a lot, but one of my plans and one of my hopes was that at the end of my time there'd be an official house on campus. The new chancellor would move in, nobody would accuse him or her of building a house, and the campus would then be equipped with a viable fundraising, friend-raising tool. So that was the plan.

Battles over the Location of the Medical School Hospital

Peltason: When David Gardner recruited me, he said, "The campus is in good shape, Dan's done a wonderful job, it's about ready to take off. During the seventies it hadn't been able to grow very much, but the state of California's economy is good, and Deukmejian, the governor, is friendly toward the university. If you'd come out, you'd help build the university. You'd only have one problem: the hospital." And I said, "Of course," because at every university that has a medical school, the hospital is a problem. I used to say to David afterwards, "I didn't know that you really meant a major problem!" I used to tease him after I became chancellor, "If you'll take over the hospital, I'll pay UC to be chancellor, then I'll have an easy job." Because I came back to discover the hospital wars were raging in Orange County.

Lage: Another set of wars!

Peltason: Another set of wars. This is real war. I didn't know anything about these issues. I knew the medical school had had problems with the hospital.

Lage: Now just give some background because it's an unusual situation.

Peltason: When the medical school came down here in the sixties from Los Angeles, the California College of Medicine had some funds when they sold their campus. These funds were set aside so that a hospital could be built on campus for the medical school. During that time, there had been struggles over getting a hospital on campus, and the bond issue had actually been passed, I believe. I only know this from hearsay. I never really focused on the details of that. But towards the end, Speaker Brown said, "No, don't spend the money building a hospital in Orange County. We'll transfer the county hospital to the university. Instead of taking care of those rich people in Newport Beach, they can take care of those poor people in Santa Ana. It's only twelve miles away, and we'll guarantee the university that we'll maintain the funding for it." The faculty fought this; the chancellor didn't want it. It's very difficult to have a medical school twelve miles away from a hospital. But the old county hospital was forced upon the university.

Lage: By the politicians?

Peltason: By the politicians. In the first place, the county hospital has a whole different culture about it than an academic medical center. It was a hospital with indigent patients. To turn it into an academic medical center, it had to be modernized. It had to have capital to bring it up to date: it was an obsolete physical plant, it was run down. Then the state and the United States stopped the way it was funding indigents. All of a sudden we had a county hospital that nobody else wanted to go to, which was running into the red. The faculty was bitter because it had been forced to take this hospital twelve miles away, and the dean, Dean Stanley van den Noort, had carried on a battle to get an on-campus hospital.

Lage: Now, was this during your time?

Peltason: No, this was before I got here.

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Peltason: Stanley van den Noort had insisted that the medical school must have its own hospital on campus. The people of Irvine wanted a

hospital in Irvine, but they didn't want it on campus. So there was this battle.

Lage: There were three alternatives?

Peltason: There was a county hospital, which the dean wanted to get rid of, or he didn't want to run it; he wanted an on-campus university hospital. The people of Irvine wanted a hospital, but they didn't want the medical school to run it; they wanted it for their own community. Then Dr. Arnold Beckman and a bunch of other people proposed putting the hospital right next door to the campus. There were these intense battles over the location of this hospital. The people of the community were mad, and Dan [Aldrich] had been right in the middle of this. Towards the end, when it became clear that a certificate of need was going to be granted for the Irvine Hospital, Dan withdrew his support for the dean to get an on-campus hospital. There couldn't be both because the community was so mad at the university.

By the time I got here, people were not speaking to each other, more precisely they were shouting at each other. I was in the middle. People waited upon me, some telling me, "You had better fire the dean." Others insisting, "You don't dare fire the dean!" I soon discovered that the dean was a great doctor, a great dean who had done much to build the school, but he was a man who would not compromise.

Lage: Now what did the community or the City of Irvine want?

Peltason: They wanted their own hospital.

Lage: Run by the city?

Peltason: A community hospital in the city of Irvine.

Lage: That would be associated with the medical school?

Peltason: They were quite prepared for the university to be associated with it. In fact, the plans for this Irvine Medical Center were that the university would have some of its clinical specialists in that hospital, but it would be run by the community, whereas Dean van den Noort said, "No, that's not a real academic health center."

Lage: He wanted a UCLA model?

Peltason: He wanted a UCLA model or a traditional model. The people who wanted our own on-campus hospital--they're right! They're

going to build a medical school: you can't just supply residents to a community hospital; you have to be in charge of the hospital so its number one priority is research and teaching, not taking care of patients. You take care of patients as an indirect consequence of having a hospital for research and teaching purposes. University hospitals aren't in the hospital business to serve the community. They do serve the community, but that's not why we run a hospital.

Lage: I see, so the hospital has to serve the school?

Peltason: That's right. The great medical hospitals are UCLA, UC San Francisco, and the three campuses that have been given former county hospitals were Davis, San Diego, and Irvine. All those medical schools were told, "You get the county hospital. Run it."

In our case, we had a county hospital which was losing millions of dollars, and which we were trying to turn into an academic medical center. A lot of the people of Orange County were mad at us because we wouldn't support the Irvine Community Hospital. A lot of them were mad at us because we wouldn't go through with the Arnold Beckman way of having a hospital across the street which would be run by both the university and the community. The dean was mad because he insisted that we had to have our own hospital on campus.

Lage: So that's really four?

Peltason: There were big battles over the location of that hospital.

Lage: Then did Dan Aldrich choose one or just veto the on-campus?

Peltason: He withdrew the support for the on-campus one. Therefore, the medical school faculty censured him and felt that he had failed to support them. I think Dan did the only thing he could do under the circumstances, because the whole community was turning against the university! The hospital in Irvine was inevitable anyhow, and Dan just felt that the university couldn't be the one to deprive the people of Orange County of their own hospital. You can't just say, "Well, you won't have a hospital, because the university is going to oppose you." There were legislative pressures, too. By the time I got here, the feelings were still hurt.

Decision to Replace the Dean of the College of Medicine

Peltason: One of the first things I had to do was the five-year review of the dean of the College of Medicine. Basically, it seemed to me that although Stanley van den Noort was a good dean and had really strengthened the College of Medicine, he would be better off, and the university would be better off, to get a new dean --a less controversial figure, somebody who could work with the community and the faculty.

Lage: Is that a decision you came to on your own?

Peltason: On my own. It was a judgment that the chancellor has to make based upon the advice of the review committee, which had talked to faculty. I talked to people who evaluated deans before me. Dr. van den Noort is a man of uncompromising integrity. When I told him that I didn't intend to reappoint him, the usual convention is that the dean announces he's going to go back to teaching, and he retires. But Stanley said, "No. If you want to fire me, you can fire me. But I'm not going to pretend that I resigned." I didn't fire him, I just didn't reappoint him. But then I was waited upon by many of the people of the community who felt that I had made the wrong decision. He had the support of some very prominent wealthy and influential people. He had the support of the Hispanic community. He had the support of some of the community's leading liberals. He was popular as well as unpopular. He was a figure of controversy.

Lage: Why was he popular?

Peltason: Well, in the first place, he was right in the sense that we need an on-campus hospital. He was standing for all the right things. He had built a medical school, he had carefully cultivated the support of the community. He had his own representatives in Sacramento, I discovered. [laughter] He was very close to the Democratic leadership in Sacramento, but he also had the support of the most prominent, wealthy people in the community. He had taken care of them. So he was a man to be admired. But when I didn't reappoint him, there were accusations that I was sent here by David Gardner and the Irvine company to get rid of Stanley because he opposed the Irvine Medical Center--it's called IMC--which was the hospital started at the edge of Irvine. In the first place, I didn't know about the battles until I got here. David Gardner had never said anything to me about it.

Lage: He gave you the silence test.

Peltason: He said, "Well, see, you have a problem there--a controversial dean." Because Stanley took on Dan Aldrich, he took on the leadership and the Office of the President. But David had not given me any instructions, nor had anybody in the Irvine Company ever talked to me about it. It was a decision that I made on my own, based on the report of the evaluation committee. That was a controversial decision, and that was just the beginning of the controversy about the medical school.

Efforts to Improve the Management and Financing of the Medical School Hospital

Peltason: My eight years at Irvine were some of the most productive and exciting years that I ever participated in, because the university was in an explosive growth. We were coming into our own, we were building. I must have spent half of my time on the problem of the College of Medicine.

Lage: Really! Now, is that an exaggeration?

Peltason: I don't think it's an exaggeration. Dan before me would appear before the Regents, and they would bawl him out about the hospital's deficits. I would go before the Regents and meeting after meeting, I would try to explain to them why the hospital was continuing to lose money.

Lage: Because you weren't the only one with deficits, were you? Did Davis have them?

Peltason: Well, at the time we were the only hospital losing money. I can remember Con Hopper, the vice president for health sciences, would make presentations to the Regents about the five hospitals. He'd call out the report: "Patient load, up except for Irvine; revenues up, except for Irvine," and so on. Then I would have to come to the table to explain what our strategy was to overcome these financial difficulties. The Regents were very concerned with the Irvine Hospital, appropriately so. The faculty was concerned, appropriately so.

Lage: The faculty that was not at the medical hospital?

Peltason: All faculties were concerned. The medical school faculty was concerned because the financial drain from the hospital was making it difficult to recruit people. See, in the early days of the college's coming to Irvine we didn't have a hospital, and in order to recruit clinicians they were allowed to

practice in private hospitals, and many of the clinical faculty of the college were taking their paying patients to other hospitals and bringing their indigent patients to our hospital.

Soon after I came it became clear to me that we had to change the leadership of both the medical school and the hospital: the dean and the director of the hospital were barely speaking to each other. The director of the hospital, William Gonzalez, was a very nice and competent man, but I found it necessary to call and tell him that we had to change the hospital's leadership. These are the most difficult decisions that I had to make as an administrator, having to tell somebody that he or she had to go. Leon Schwartz, who was the vice chancellor of administration, had urged this decision as being necessary, and I sent Leon over to take charge of the hospital on an interim basis. He struggled with its management very successfully for some time even though we were unable to stop the red ink.

Lage: Did he have any special expertise in hospital management?

Peltason: No, it was just a crisis, until we got some change in there.

Lage: Were there structural problems?

Peltason: Poor operation. Again, to move the culture from that of a county hospital to an academic medical center requires all kinds of changes, in the physical structure, the business structure, the way medicine is practiced. I went to the clinical departments to urge the faculty to work for and in the hospital. There were some faculty wanting just to abandon UCIMC, saying, "We can't use this hospital for a medical school. Give the hospital back."

I spoke to the county supervisors urging them to provide more financial support and to recognize their obligations to cover the cost of indigent health care and not dump that cost on to the university.

Jerry [Gerald] Weinstein, head of the Department of Dermatology, served as acting dean. He did a fine job, but the faculty wanted to pick a dean from the outside. After a search we selected Ted [Edward] Quilligan, a wonderful gentleman who became a close friend of mine. Ted, I used to say, was too nice to be a good dean, and the job was akin to the proverbial job of herding cats. We finally also recruited a new hospital director, Mary Piccione. She did a fine job in turning the hospital around, but again, she was controversial and did not get along well with the new dean of the medical school, Ted Quilligan.

I had to ask him to step down. At the same time Mary became ill. So there we were with no dean, the director of the hospital ill, and the hospital losing millions of dollars.

By that time [Chang-Lin] Tien was here as the executive vice chancellor. He and I went to UCLA--we talked to leaders of medical education there, considering whether to recruit somebody from there to step in as interim dean.

I then talked to David Gardner and said, "This is an emergency, I am going to skip the normal search process and do it myself." With Tien's help, I spent the next two weeks talking with the heads of the departments and faculty leaders and with their concurrence, picked as dean Walter Henry, head of Cardiology. This is the only time in my whole life that I set aside the normal search proceedings.

By this time, I'd been chancellor relatively few years but had gone from Dean van den Noort, through Jerry Weinstein, through Ted Quilligan, to Walter Henry, and from hospital director Bill Gonzales, to Schwartz, to Piccione.

I made Walter Henry vice chancellor of the health sciences, as well as dean. This was an attempt on my part to prevent the tension between the director of the hospital and the dean of the medical school by putting one person in charge of the bottom line of both. I don't think it worked because the tensions between Mary and Walter were never resolved. But it's a problem in any medical center.

Lage: Not just in the university?

Peltason: That's right, but it was especially acute at Irvine because we were losing so much money and the medical school was struggling.

We finally did work out a strategy of getting the hospital modernized. I had to go up to Sacramento to get a better rate on Medicare. We actually threatened that we would withdraw from Medicare, which would have been politically risky.

Lage: Could you have done it? I mean, would you have had fee-for-service patients?

Peltason: We theoretically could have done it and go to fee-for-service patients. But not politically: the headlines would have read, "The University Hospital Turns Away Poor."

Lage: Yes, not good. Did you get a special deal from Medicare or Medi-Cal?

Peltason: Yes. Every now and then I would get a two-dollar-a-day rate increase. What finally did save the hospital came almost by accident. I went to Sacramento often to plead the case, meet with Steve Thompson, I believe was his name, a health policy expert, close to Willie Brown, and then talked with Cliff Allenby working for the Department of Health Services, I believe. He told me about a provision in the law--that, if the state of California would put up matching funds for indigent patients at hospitals such as ours, which did a 'disproportionate share' of covering the indigent health care, the federal government could match those funds. So I then had to persuade the Regents to let me lend university money to the California Medical Commission, which in turn would use these as matching funds for federal dollars, and they then in turn would give back to us these dollars to cover the unreimbursed costs we had incurred for indigent patients. The Regents were skeptical that we would get the money back.

The Medical Commission did try to hold off on us, but eventually we got some of the millions of dollars we were owed for the care we had provided. Medi-Cal was otherwise reimbursing us as little as twenty-five cents on every dollar of charges.

Through Cliff's help, Con Hopper and David Gardner working with me and Mary and others, we got millions of dollars worth of "disproportionate funds" back into our hospital.

Lage: And "disproportionate funds" were from this program.

Peltason: The funds were not disproportionate, they were funds for hospitals that provided a disproportionately large amount of the care for the indigent. Up to that time most hospitals that did only a small share of their total care for the indigent could share the costs of that care with those who paid fully for their care. For hospitals like UCIMC it was like trying to cover the costs of flying an airplane when everybody who had a seat on the airplane paid less than the out-of-pocket costs to fly it.

Among public patients, the only ones for which we got fully reimbursed were the county prisoners, and the faculty urged me to cancel that contract. "We can't persuade people who have choices to come to our hospital if they have to sit next to people in stripes."

Then Mary Piccione modernized the hospital, and we got more doctors to practice there. I had to take on some very powerful doctors. We had to battle them over their compensation, get them regularized, get back into a compensation plan. I had to take on doctors who were taking their private patients in private hospitals and then sending their indigent patients to our hospital. So it was a long-time struggle to get the hospital and the medical school squared away.

I had one plan in which we worked with a private, for-profit firm called AMI.

Lage: What was this group?

Peltason: This was a private, for-profit hospital chain, one of the big hospital chains. My plan was to let them take over the management of the hospital, and they would assume all the risks. They would make the money if we were making money, but they would have to put up the money if the hospital lost any money. My goal was not to have the hospital make money but to put up a fire wall so that the hospital losses wouldn't weaken the College of Medicine and the rest of the campus. I persuaded the faculty, which was a big leap on their part, to let a for-profit company run their hospital. I persuaded the rest of the Academic Senate, but the union, which represented the nurses and cooks and others in the hospital, didn't want us to do that because they knew that under private management their wages would probably go down. I discovered that they had enough clout in Sacramento that the word came back to me from the Speaker's office, "Don't bring it up here because we won't let you do it." So I was unable to do that. But gradually the hospital has been able to get people to come out here. Many people would still refer to it as the county hospital. It is now a hospital which is increasingly becoming recognized as a major medical center, but we're always in a battle between the dean of the college and the director of the hospital.

Lage: So you never got AMI put in charge.

Peltason: No, that didn't come to fruition. That was probably right, since AMI has been reorganized. At the time I felt that external forces were wrong, I was right. As long as you're having to spend so much time worrying about the financial needs of the hospital, it's a disproportionate amount of time that you have to spend and your vice chancellor has to spend. It causes people to lose confidence in the medical school. They confused the medical school and the hospital. I had to persuade our faculty here that they had to come behind that hospital. They were quite right, if there had been an on-

campus hospital, this medical school would have risen to prominence much faster and sooner, and the financial losses of the hospital would not have been as great. But you can't run history backward. And that was our hospital.

Since then, we've had to put research facilities up there twelve miles away, and we had to figure out how to get clinical facilities back on campus. That led to a plan which is now coming to fruition, for which again I give Walter Henry credit --and I take some of the credit. We said, "Okay, we can't have a hospital on campus, but we can have some research facilities." One of the first things I did was build some clinical facilities on campus, so that people could go to our clinicians. We've got to take care of them sitting up, just not lying down.

Lage: So it was an in-house clinic?

Peltason: A clinic. More and more medicine is being practiced outside of hospitals, anyhow. So we got a clinical facility on the campus and got it all up and running with all that financial difficulty there. We put in place plans for what is now the Irvine Biomedical Research Center--we used to call it the Center for Health Sciences--where we would bring in some medical research institutes right on the campus.

Lage: So that's all on campus.

Peltason: So now we have the first research facility, one for neurosciences. It came after my time, but we started the plans for what I call the NIH type of facilities. We're not going to build a general hospital on campus, but we're going to build some research facilities for specialties where, as part of clinical research, there will be some tertiary care. This project was one Walter Henry championed. I helped him shape it and to get the university to accept it as a high priority. It's now coming into fruition.

Lage: Now, did those things have to be privately funded, or did the state provide support?

Peltason: Well, they had to be privately funded by generating revenues out of the inclusionary lands and fundraising.

There was one other thought that I had in my mind about strengthening the College of Medicine. One of the things I found when I got here was that the College of Medicine had a board of trustees who considered it its role to protect the College of Medicine from absorption into the University of

California, because they'd come from the old college of osteopathic medicine.

Lage: And they retained the same board of trustees?

Peltason: These were trustees. They met with the dean and they had control over some funds, what I call the dowry--the money that came from when the College of Medicine was transferred down here, fifteen or twenty million dollars. When I first went over to meet with them they were polite, but it was quite clear I was coming from another country. Dean van den Noort and the board of trustees of the California College of Medicine had their own foundation. There was the UCI Foundation and the California College of Medicine Foundation.

Lage: So you still have this structure of the California College of Medicine?

Peltason: No.

Lage: Did it have any legal standing?

Peltason: The Board of Regents had said that there had to be only one foundation on every campus, but they made an exception for the UCI. So there was the California College of Medicine Board and a foundation, and a dean, and they had representation in Sacramento. They considered the chancellor and the vice chancellor of development people to be kept at a distance. They had some very strong personalities on their board of trustees, some of whom still don't speak to me, or at least are not very cordial. After van den Noort was dismissed, they came to his defense.

Over time, however, most of the members of the board came to be strong supporters of the college, the campus, and me. I had a series of tactical and strategic moves so that we created one foundation and so that the CCCM--the California College of Medicine Trustees--became incorporated into the campus and the university and so relations became very harmonious. What I did was gradually move most of the functions into the regular university machinery. I took the fundraising activities and put them where they belonged into the UCI Foundation. I am not sure if the official title of the College of Medicine might not remain as the California College of Medicine but everybody knows it as and calls it the UCI College of Medicine.

Lage: Did you have to do this through the Regents?

Peltason: I had to do it through the Regents, yes.

Lage: Was it difficult persuading the Regents on that?

Peltason: Well, no, the Regents accepted my recommendation. They generally agreed with me, that it was in the best interests of the university and this campus. We needed one single foundation. It wasn't healthy to have a dean have his own governing board, which took on the role of protecting the College of Medicine from the campus. It was creating a division within the campus, and the younger medical faculty didn't want that. The younger medical faculty had been recruited here because it was part of the university, and they wanted the college to be absorbed into it. They were proud of the connection. Although we wanted to keep from the osteopathic tradition the emphasis on primary care, our goal was to make the college an integral part of the university. The traditional old-time members of the CCM Board of Trustees were right to be fearful that it would become part of the university and that its traditions would become diluted. But I think that it's much healthier now, because the College of Medicine has been fully integrated into UCI.

We also had to move to bring the compensation plan into line. When there was no hospital, a lot of clinicians were permitted to practice elsewhere and to collect their own clinical income and then turn over a percentage of their income to the university, a so-called dean's tax. This system was fraught with problems. It took me all the time as chancellor--only finally completed and consolidated when I was president--to get the College of Medicine clinical people into the university system. Under this system the university exercised the auditing and supervision that is needed to insure compliance with university and federal regulations.

And those were some of the issues relating to incorporating the College of Medicine into the campus, modernizing the hospital, reducing financial losses, developing a strategic plan both for the college and the hospital, in short getting the College of Medicine up and running. It took a lot of time, but I think we were successful in launching it up to the next level.

Lage: Did Con Hopper have a very active role in this? Here you are without experience in hospital management.

Peltason: Yes. Again, it's something you learn in a hurry. I learned all about health care. Con Hopper was a strong ally and the Board of Regents was a strong ally. Regent Frank Clark in those days was my friend, and he was a strong ally on the board.

Orange County's Financial Contributions to the Medical School Hospital

Peltason: I would say I was successful in getting the Board of Supervisors of Orange County to recognize that care for the indigent is all of our responsibility. They couldn't just dump it on the university.

Lage: Now, that was a key thing that you haven't really discussed.

Peltason: I worked with each of the supervisors. I had a great deal of help from the supervisors and a great deal of help from Marian Bergeson, who was the representative in the assembly and the senate from this district--a smart, politically powerful leader on the Republican side. She was frequently in the minority, but she was always there to help. She actually sponsored a commission on health care in Orange County where we got the county to focus on the fact that they did have a problem and they couldn't just leave it to the University of California.

Lage: So they were just abdicating their financial responsibility and letting the university pick up the tab?

Peltason: They were pleased I was running the hospital.

Lage: What did you get them to do? To pay more per patient?

Peltason: To pay more per patient and eventually to put in a program. Orange County had a problem in Sacramento: there are a lot of people who think, It's a rich county, there aren't any poor people. Why don't those rich people take care of their own problems? We don't have as much influence as Los Angeles and other counties. But Orange County has now become one of the leaders in how to take care of indigents. We've come out with a kind of a managed care program for the indigent in Orange County.

I got the county to recognize that it had a stake in keeping the hospital going, that the university couldn't do it. David Gardner was helpful, and Deukmejian was helpful. Pete Wilson was helpful.

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Lage: Did some other blow-up happen when you were president with the hospital?

Peltason: Well, yes. I'll get to that when we get to my presidency.

But as chancellor I had major problems with the hospital. It continued to be the number one problem for my successor. I'd solved a lot of the problems but not all of the problems. It was especially intense at Irvine, but I think that every chancellor who has a medical school and a hospital on his campus would tell you that an extraordinary amount of time is spent on hospitals.

Lage: I remember Berkeley has fought to keep from having a medical school on campus.

Peltason: That's right. [laughter]

Lage: I think they're smart!

Peltason: That's right!

Lage: That sounds like a lot of time for you and your staff.

Peltason: It was.

Executive Vice Chancellors and Former Chancellor Dan Aldrich

Lage: Did your executive vice chancellor have to put a lot time on the medical school and hospital?

Peltason: I have always been fortunate, and if I've been successful, I would attribute it to the good luck in getting wonderful staff and executive vice chancellors to help me. When I came here, Dan had been chancellor for years and had the campus in good shape. Bill [William J.] Lillyman was the executive vice chancellor, a scholar of Germanic language and literature. I'm told that many people felt that he and I wouldn't get along, but we turned out to be fast friends. Bill, I think, had to get used to the fact that I would be more active in internal affairs than I think Dan had been at the end of his career.

Lage: Did Dan have more luck with the external affairs?

Peltason: Well, you know, he'd been here for twenty-two years. I think he had a major grip on what the external problems were. He had selected Bill Lillyman who was an outstanding vice chancellor. Dan had also selected John Miltner to serve as vice chancellor for advancement; Dan and John moved the campus into a new phase of fundraising. I want to talk a little bit about advancement and fundraising.

Lage: Is advancement like development?

Peltason: Yes. I used to call John the secretary of foreign affairs. I could never get the titles right. But the campus was being well administered.

Let me just say a word about Dan. When I came to town, a lot of people worried about, "How are you going to be chancellor after the founding chancellor leaves--in the shadow of the founding chancellor?"

Lage: Did that concern you?

Peltason: Not really, knowing Dan. I was honored to serve under him. He'd do it his way and I'd do it my way. But Dan, when he was chancellor of UCI, I couldn't get him to talk about anything else! I'd tell him about the problems I had in Illinois, he was polite. I'd talk about my children, he was polite. But he'd talk about UCI, and his eyes would light up when he'd talk about it. When he ceased to be chancellor, he just walked away. He was supportive and helpful, but a man who had been running the place and built the place, it was his genius that in leaving, he left it with the same greatness as when he was there, by trying not to second guess. He never called me up and said, "You shouldn't do it this way. You shouldn't do it that way." I would call him up and get his advice and he'd kind of drift away. He had his mind on other problems by then.

Lage: That's quite amazing.

Peltason: One of things that Dan had done, for which he deserves credit, was he had made a decision along with Bill Pereira that, on the second phase of expansion, they would bring in these great signature architects to build these buildings at the very frontier of architecture for each quad. They wouldn't try to have the same continuous design.

Lage: They wouldn't keep Pereira designing everything.

Peltason: He had commissioned world-famous architects to build their buildings, including one by California's most distinguished architect, a world-famous architect. He built an engineering building, and it was featured in Time Magazine. But it's a concrete, deconstructionist architecture. I used to tease Dan, I'd say, "Dan, I never would have criticized anything you ever did; I just want to be sure you got full credit. I want to put a sign in front of this building that this was approved by Chancellor Dan Aldrich." [laughter]

Lage: This isn't Charles Moore?

Peltason: No, Charles Moore did build a building on our campus, the Alumni Association building, but this one was designed by Frank O. Gehry.

Let me say a little bit about the architecture because we are famous for it and are proud of it. Under David Neuman, the campus architect, UCI invited some of the most famous architects in the world to come and do signature buildings. In addition to Moore and Gehry, some others were Stirling, who designed the science library; Venturi, who had much to do with the design of the Graduate School of Management; Eric Moss, who designed the Housing Office; and Erickson, architect of the biology building. These celebrated architects produced rather unconventional designs. I once wrote a letter to David and I said, "Please, don't build any more buildings on campus in which people have to ask me, 'Is it finished yet?' [laughter] And secondly, don't tell me that it's natural. People don't look good with their clothes off, nor do buildings!"

But back to Dan. I tried to get him involved in fundraising, but Dan was too gentle to ask people for money. And he had no obligation to do so. I told him, "After what you have done for UCI, you are entitled to your own time. You and Jean are invited to go everywhere but expected to go no place." They moved to Laguna. He was always supportive, always friendly, but he made it very easy to step into his responsibilities.

Lage: Do you think he made an effort to do that because he felt that was the right thing to do, or just got involved in other things?

Peltason: Both. I think he recognized that he'd had his twenty-two years. It was now time to turn it over to somebody else. But also, he got involved in other things. Dan was a very positive person. He said he could never understand people saying there was nothing to do. There were always plenty of things in the world to be involved with.

Lage: But then he got appointed to the emergency chancellor's post.

Peltason: Oh, yes. Come to think of it, that helped. He got to be the emergency chancellor. Was it first at Riverside, right?

Lage: Yes, Riverside.

Peltason: Riverside, and then a year yere, then at Santa Barbara. He and I would travel together off to the Council of Chancellors meeting. He'd show me the way to get from the Oakland Airport out to Blake House. I never could figure out how to get out to Blake House, and Dan would drive me out there.

Dan had a wry sense of humor. He threw himself into those jobs. When Irvine would play Santa Barbara and he was chancellor for Santa Barbara, he was cheering for Santa Barbara! I said, "You know, once an anteater, you're always an anteater!" He said, "No, this year I'm a gaucho."

I once went to Santa Barbara for a Regents' meeting, he was chancellor at Santa Barbara, and he said, "We're going to the protest." I said, "What are they protesting?" And he said, "Everything." I went out there, and there was Dan standing on a stump, answering back the students who were protesting everything: environment, war, peace. He had a great zest for life.

When he was at Santa Barbara, he was diagnosed with cancer the spring of that year, and was equally courageous in that. He took his chemotherapy and traveled around the world.

Lage: Didn't he run a race, or something?

Peltason: He put the shot and threw javelin. Never complained. Jean has been as strong as he has, both during his lifetime, facing his death and subsequently as head of the Legacy Society.

Lage: Does she live here, now?

Peltason: She lives here. She's a traveler and we see her quite often. But he made it very easy.

Overseeing UC Irvine's Growth and Building Program

Lage: And you had a very different managing style. Is that true?

Peltason: Yes. I thought he looked like a chancellor should: tall, strong voice, handsome man. But I was helped by the fact that the campus had grown quickly in the sixties, stood still in the seventies, and by the time I came back it was starting to run. And I got credit. I used to say it was like a snowball going downhill, I was just running in front of it, or I just pushed it and went running down, because times were good.

We built more buildings. The students said UCI stands for "under construction indefinitely." We really actually did have one school year where I think we had more buildings going up than we had in existence. We doubled the physical plant; it was a construction site. But that helped boost morale. We were growing. Under David Gardner's leadership the university had recovered. He and Deukmejian had put together an alliance so that the budget was restored. When the budget is growing, you're recruiting faculty; when you're building buildings, it was easy to be popular. It was easy to do things that pleased the faculty and the community.

Lage: Yes. It's easier than in an era of constraints.

Peltason: Oh, yes. And you'd get credit you don't deserve when things are expanding and you'd get blame that you don't deserve when things are contracted. But those were heady days.

When I came to the campus I made several changes in emphasis in direction, one, I think, which Dan would have approved. I said, "We're going to grow too fast. The ideal thing would be to grow a little bit each year. But we're going to grow too fast." But when the window of opportunity is open, you'd better build the building then because if you don't build them when the funds are available, you aren't going to be able to build them later. We were going to build the buildings as fast as we could get them, and we'll take any students as fast as we can.

Lage: So you made a decision to grow at a faster pace than you would have thought?

Peltason: I believe we were given a mandate to build a campus so that people would have an opportunity to come to the University of California. When I am told that we should not grow or that we are getting too big, I respond, "The only way to do that is to deny somebody who wants an opportunity to come to school a chance to do so."

I believe expansion is the best affirmative action that we can take. Which students are selected for admission is one thing, but more important in providing opportunities for minorities is to expand. When students come to me to complain that the campus is too crowded, I ask, "Which one of you do you think we should send home?"

Lage: Did Gardner support that?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: I remember we discussed Riverside, and he tried to keep constraints on Riverside.

Peltason: When we did the master plan for each of the campuses, there was some adjustment from the Office of the President about our rate of growth. Riverside fought the Office of the President, and I told them, "Don't worry about it. As long as the line is upward, who's going to worry about what's going to happen here in the year 2005? I don't want to have a battle in 1985 or 1986 about what our growth rate should be ten years from now. Because what we decide now won't be as decisive as what's going to happen ten years from now." As long as our line was going up, that was all I needed to get the resources to build the campus.

Lage: I see.

Peltason: I also believe that public universities grow best and improve their quality when they're fairly big. I don't think there's any accident that the best public universities are among the largest ones. I didn't want to get too large, but I think Irvine needed critical mass. The School of Engineering was too small, the Graduate School of Management was too small to be a first quality institution. Dan had very wisely claimed at the very beginning a mandate to build a College of Engineering and a Graduate School of Management before we had the resources to do so.

Lage: So he went for breadth?

Peltason: He went for breadth. But by the time I came, it was time to build those schools because they were too small to cover the specialties and to compete with the UCLAs and the Berkeleys. So growth was part of the quality strategy. But we were able to grow. As I say, I did make a decision that the Graduate School of Management and the School of Engineering would grow at a faster rate than other schools, both to improve their quality and also because they're the outreach connections to the community. So we designed and built buildings. And I learned something in the process. Unfortunately, you can always do things over better than you did the first time.

Lage: But they're done!

Peltason: But we didn't build any new buildings in the seventies, and then all of a sudden built lots of them in the eighties. We had to put the structure in place to supervise, and we were a little slow in getting it there.

- Lage: The structure for?
- Peltason: Of supervision for letting contracts and for making sure the buildings come in on time and under budget.
- Lage: And that was slow?
- Peltason: We were a little bit behind the curve. I don't think there was anything to be ashamed of or embarrassed about, and I think in the long pull, we were better off to build the buildings in a hurry and get them up.
- Lage: They wouldn't have been built if you'd have waited a few years?
- Peltason: Well, that's right. And you know, over a hundred years the mistakes we've made get corrected. It's an educational opportunity; this made it possible for people to come to college. The number-one problem that I had when I got here was the medical school and the hospital. The number-two problem was space. Most faculty and administrators will tell you they don't have enough space, but we really didn't have enough space.
- Lage: You mean in buildings?
- Peltason: Buildings, and classrooms, or offices. We couldn't grow. We were running classes in the theater building across the way.
- Lage: Was that from lack of funds?
- Peltason: Yes, because the University of California didn't build many buildings in the seventies. In the seventies, Dan got a building for social ecology, but that was about the only building. We grew in the sixties and then slowed down. We didn't grow in the seventies but grew in the eighties.
- Lage: So space was your number-two problem.
- Peltason: Number-two problem was to get enough space so that we could recruit the faculty and take in the students to grow. But because of David Gardner's success, and because of the economy, and because of Governor Deukmejian's support for the university, we were allowed to grow. And we did. When we started in 1965 we had one science building, one humanities building, one building for everything other than science! One library building.
- Lage: One building for everything other than science?

Peltason: Well, when we first started, we started with the administration building and library, which was one building. The humanities building had everything in it except science. There was the science building, and the library, and the gym.

Lage: How many students did you have when you came?

Peltason: When I came in the sixties?

Lage: Oh, we're talking in the sixties?

Peltason: Oh, yes. You see, having been here in the sixties and then coming back in the eighties, the time in between has got kind of one sequence. The time away was like a dream--that I'd been somewhere else. But again, the fact that I'd been here in the sixties was a great advantage to me when I came back in the eighties, because the senior faculty were people with whom I'd grown up, and recruited, and kept in contact with, so I already had friends among the faculty. I think that's a great asset for an administrator to have been part of the faculty and to come from a faculty background, especially this faculty. People like Sherry Rowland, Fred Reines, Jim McGaugh, Sam McCulloch, and Spence Olin--as I walk across the campus, all over I would run across people who have been here since the sixties.

Lage: They must have been the faculty leaders?

Peltason: By this time, they were the senior faculty. I used to call Spence Olin. I said, "I remember when you were the young Turk!" Julian Feldman--a lot of those people who were here in the sixties were here in the eighties.

Lage: I looked at some of Sam McCulloch's interviews that he had done for his book. He interviewed a professor who complained that some of the faculty were stuck in the sixties, that they didn't dress properly, and they were aged hippies.

Peltason: I do remember telling the deans that, "You've got to cut your hair, put on a necktie and a coat, and help me go downtown and raise money."

Lage: You did?

Peltason: And some of them said, "We weren't picked under those terms and conditions," and I said, "Well, times have changed!" [laughter] But it was said with a smile.

Community Relations

Peltason: One of the problems the Irvine campus has always had--and still has--is that it tends to be isolated from the community of which it is a part--despite the fact that the campus was built with the community simultaneously. Both grew up together.

Lage: And both chancellors had that as a goal.

Peltason: That's right. We had that as a goal.

Lage: Now, why would you say that they're isolated?

Peltason: A combination of reasons. In the first place, when the campus was started it was out here and there wasn't anyone around. The community of Irvine is brand new here, too, so this is not a case where people send their kids to the community high school, where they spent their lives growing up in the community. Campus was only small for a while. As I say, this is the best kept secret in Orange County. Most people didn't know a major university was out here. The roads went by it, not through it.

Lage: People only travel on the freeways anyway.

Peltason: Next time we talk I want to talk about University Hills. Although it's a great asset, it tends to keep the faculty on the campus rather than in the community. Dan was a great believer in the land grant tradition, as I said. But by the time I got here, the campus was big enough that one of the things that I did do, for which I am proud and pleased, was to reach out into the community and to try and make it easier for the campus and the community to interact.

Lage: Did you do that in part by pushing the faculty to do so?

Peltason: You can't really push faculty, but I could push and encourage administrators and the advancement structure. Remind me to start next time with the controversy over the Irvine Company and John Miltner and the country club.

Lage: Okay. Do you think we should stop now?

Controversy over a Big Canyon Country Club Membership

[Interview 8: April 21, 1998] ##

- Peltason: Good morning. Beautiful morning out there. Better to do this outside.
- Lage: Yes, but the interviews I've done outside have had disastrous sound quality.
- Peltason: My students always wanted to have class outside, and I said, "I have a hard enough time keeping your attention with four walls." [laughter]
- Lage: Well, we won't have any trouble here keeping attention. You told me to remind you about the controversy over a country club.
- Peltason: Some time soon after I became chancellor the Los Angeles Times launched stories about how John Miltner, the vice chancellor for advancement, had been entertaining at the Big Canyon Country Club under a membership given by the Irvine Company. I remember a Times editorial directly addressed to me thundering that I should put a stop to this connection between a UCI officer and the Irvine Company. I was also questioned by the faculty senate.

When I looked into it I found out that the Irvine Company, one of the founders of the club, had offered UCI a free membership which Dan accepted, believing it would provide a fine forum for our advancement activities. He then turned over the membership to the vice chancellor for advancement. It seemed innocuous to me and the arrangement gave us a strong instrument for fundraising. The only other option was not to entertain at this club where many potential friends of the university belonged or to spend tens of thousands for a membership.

I remember telling the Academic Senate that in my judgment, John Miltner should eat lunches at the Big Canyon Country Club for the same reason that Willie Horton said he robbed banks, "because that is where the money is." I also said that to my mind John Miltner would be in trouble if he started eating at McDonald's.

I remember Gary Hunt, a friend and vice president of the Irvine Company, calling me and saying that the Irvine Company had only sought to help the university and if its granting of a

membership was causing trouble or embarrassment to UCI, then we should feel free to return it. We did so after John and I decided it was not worth the trouble. As to membership in other clubs, I accepted them on behalf of the university only so long as it was provided by the club rather than by any single company or person and that seemed to end the matter, although we never were able to do any official entertaining at the Big Canyon Club.

More on the College of Medicine

Peltason: Now, we stopped last time with the problems with the College of Medicine and the hospital?

Lage: That's primarily what we talked about. We covered why you came back to Irvine, and your appointment, the problems with the medical school, and the building program.

Peltason: Okay, I wanted to stop and find a place to put in some reminiscences about ACE, then we'll go back to the medical school and move on.

Lage: I thought we covered the medical school.

Peltason: Okay, let me just summarize that. The only thing I want to make clear is that as a result of all of those crises and ins and outs, I did get a sense of satisfaction that we'd really integrated the College of Medicine into the University of California, gotten rid of the tension and the whole foundation structure, and cleaned up certain kinds of practices in the compensation plan for clinicians.

Lage: We may not have covered that: the compensation plan.

Peltason: That was a major accomplishment. Because of the problems with the hospital, there had developed a hostility among the College of Medicine's administration and its own foundation and its own public relations and the main campus. It had certain kinds of practices that didn't conform with the University of California. When it was all finished I thought we'd cleaned that up. There was one foundation rather than two. The board of advisors of the College of Medicine had now become a chancellor's instrument not just a dean's instrument, and we moved a long way towards integrating the compensation plan and other practices surrounding the faculty at the College of Medicine with that of the University of California. What was a

second-tier college of medicine is now in a place to become part of the first tier of colleges of medicine. So I consider that one of my major accomplishments--despite the fact that I'd had three deans and three directors of the hospital, gone through financial trouble. No longer when you go to Regents' meetings do all the reports say everything's fine, except at Irvine.

Lage: Irvine's College of Medicine. You said it took about 50 percent of your time, is that right?

Peltason: It took a lot of my time, a lot of my worries, and I kept the vice chancellor and others out of those problems. I took those on as a personal responsibility of the chancellor to prime the campus to grow. So I don't think the campus suffered because of the time I had to spend on the College of Medicine. When all was said and done, the College of Medicine had made progress; it is now in a position to move forward.

I did leave my successor with a problem which blighted her career. Subsequent to my leaving, some irregularities in the fertility clinic came to the public attention and Laurel Wilkening dealt with those. It took a lot of her time and energy. I always felt it was unfair because these doctors were picked on my watch. The problems were there during my watch, but they didn't come to the public attention until her turn.

Lage: Would that be the kind of the thing that the chancellor would be expected to be aware of?

Peltason: Well, he can't escape responsibility for it, but in a realistic sense, the answer is no. I mean, these were very distinguished doctors; they were brought in with fanfare. They were world famous. Many of these doctors had a loyal following. It was a breakdown in their supervision and their accountability, and it ended up with the director of the hospital losing her job, certain people getting fired, and the university being sued because they engaged in practices that were unacceptable. Plus, the financial transactions were such that there were irregularities.

I found the scary thing about being the chancellor or university president: all kinds of things are happening everyday at the university, and you come to work some day and discover that something bad has gone on, and you have to explain it. You have to depend upon the chain of command and the processes, but you have to accept responsibility for it.

- Lage: But if you actually tried to monitor every one of those programs, you wouldn't be much of a chancellor?
- Peltason: The price we would pay to put in place the kind of controls to ensure nothing goes wrong would turn us into a bureaucratic nightmare and we wouldn't be a great university. That's one of the most difficult things to explain to people: a university has people coming in and out of its buildings all hours of the day. If you want to guarantee that nothing ever would be stolen and put in place a security guard, you would lose the university atmosphere. If you can't trust distinguished clinicians to engage in ethical practices of medicine, and you wanted to ensure that they never made a mistake, they'd never be able to be creative. That is not an excuse for allowing mistakes to take place, but that's the very nature of the university: that the president or chancellor is not "in charge" of it. The professors don't come to work every morning asking, "What does the chancellor want me to do today?"
- Lage: What a place that would be!

Debates at ACE over the Role of Administrators' Spouses

- Lage: We were going to pick up from our last session something about ACE that you wanted to talk about?
- Peltason: Yes. One of the things that I'm proud of at ACE, as I said before, was that we had in place an Office for Women in Higher Education to improve the opportunities for women in university administration. That's where I was made aware of a tension between the views of some women administrators and the role of spouses in higher education.

I had always had the good luck of having a full-time wife and therefore have been free to engage in my professional life and free of lots of chores that lots of modern men don't get freed from. But in addition to that, my wife in my administrative role has always been part of the team. From the day I became a dean, she brought a lot of things to my attention through entertaining and through representing me. I couldn't be every place, but she could frequently go. Because she's a warm and engaging person--she is well liked because she's smart--people could talk with her. It was a team effort. It's usually an unacknowledged effort, there's no salary or support staff. The support staff in my office would frequently help her with the entertainment. In the beginning there wasn't

even an allowance, although later on official entertaining became an institutionally supported activity.

I always believed that somehow or other that position ought to be acknowledged in some way. When I put forward, rather recently, that idea to the people in the Office of Women in Higher Education it was pointed out to me that this was an old-fashioned notion, that a lot of women administrators' husbands, if they had husbands, don't play the traditional spouse's role, and a lot of them don't have husbands. Therefore it's part of the institutional structure that disadvantages women in higher education or advantages men in higher education because frequently they do have spouses who become part of the team. So I was first alerted to the fact that, whereas I thought I was trying to do something to recognize the role of the spouse, chiefly women--give it status and acknowledgement--that was swimming against some opposition from women administrators. I think there is an unresolved tension in higher education about the role of the spouse.

Lage: Did you just bring this idea up for a discussion, or did you have a proposal to make?

Peltason: Well, when we had institutes for incoming presidents and so on, I would frequently think there would be some more formal recognition of the role of the spouse--how her life might change. If the functions she performed--if she's not willing to perform them, then the institution ought to provide them some other way. And actually it does. Once the problem's on the table, it can be structured in a way to help women administrators because it means that the institution, then, needs to provide the social services for the entertaining and help her. Usually, the problem is today dealt with in an unacknowledged way. I mean, people know about the problem.

Lage: But don't admit it?

Peltason: Don't admit it. When candidates are interviewed, they don't interview the spouse, and they probably should interview the spouse.

Lage: Did they at one time at least look the spouse over?

Peltason: I think that was probably part of the consideration and was probably an acknowledged part of the consideration. Today it's illegal, it's improper to acknowledge it. But I'm not sure that it isn't a subtle factor. All that I can attest to personally is that it's been a great help that Suzanne has

tended to things that I should do--because she's also representing me.

Lage: Did she ever suggest to you that there was more need for acknowledgement?

Peltason: No, she didn't. It was first brought to my consciousness by Betty Corbally, the wife of the president of the University of Illinois, who wrote on the subject. There was actually a formal spot for spouses in the Land Grant Association. Now in most educational associations there is a spouse's program, chiefly promoted by men who have spouses who are active in their administration. But at ACE I was made aware of the fact that it isn't as universally popular as I had assumed. And it became a public issue when I became president of University of California.

Lage: Then we'll talk about it specifically then.

Chief Responsibilities as Chancellor: Private Fundraising

Lage: Shall we get back to Irvine?

Peltason: Back to Irvine. Let me just make some general comments. Probably the most positive eight years of my administrative life was being chancellor at UC Irvine. I was chancellor during a time of economic growth--most of it. The campus was growing. It's easy to make people happy when things are growing. The campus was being recognized, so it was just a very positive experience. Crises were few and far between. For example, during one of the years the vice chancellor for campus affairs came to me saying that the students were all worked up because they wanted to change the name of the University Center to the Student Center. I said, "What a wonderful time and place where that is the major issue being debated in the student newspaper. See what you can do to keep that argument going for as long as possible."

One of the chief jobs of the campus administrator is to help get resources. David Gardner was getting the resources from the state very well. During the eight years that I was there, my job there was essentially supportive rather than being responsible (for state funding). Since the faculty get their own research grants by their own quality, I focused a lot of my attention upon trying to get private resources, because I have noticed that there is a close correlation between the

outstanding public universities and their ability to raise private dollars. There was the old cliché that the state will make us a good university, private dollars will make us a great university. A lot of my time and energy, then, was devoted towards reconnecting the university and interacting with Orange County.

Lage: And when you say reconnecting, was there a problem?

Peltason: Well, Dan had done a great job. He was an outgoing person, but because of the hospital wars, as I said last time, there had been this tension.

Lage: So it was the problems with the hospital that created that tension?

Peltason: There's a special problem with Irvine, and actually with the rest of Orange County, because it's so new. People arrive there, they didn't grow up there. Kids didn't go to high school or grade school there. Since Irvine was being built and since it was so far away from the cultural community--they say it's the best kept secret in Orange County--you needed to work harder to connect it than [UC] Berkeley, which grows right there in the middle of Berkeley, and UCLA, which was so much a part of Los Angeles. So I felt reaching out to the governmental bodies, reaching out to the private associates, was a very important part of my responsibility.

Renegotiating the Agreement on the Inclusionary Lands with the Irvine Company

Lage: Now, somewhere in one of the books I've looked at, it mentioned that you met with Donald Bren when you were still in Washington and had a discussion. Is that a good place to start this discussion?

Peltason: That's right, yes. The Irvine Company had given the land to create the University of California at Irvine and is the biggest landowner in the neighborhood. The university (UCI) and the Irvine Company have had a geographical relationship from the beginning. Their relations to each other had been chiefly positive, but again, by the time I got there, there had been a certain amount of tension between the campus and the Irvine Company over what were the determinate conditions of the so-called inclusionary lands. I didn't know much about these things. I concluded, however, that we had a partnership. The

only question was whether it was a good partnership or a bad partnership?

Lage: You couldn't avoid having a partnership.

Peltason: You couldn't avoid having a partnership.

Lage: Maybe you should explain what the inclusionary lands are.

Peltason: At the time of the creation of the University of California at Irvine, the Irvine Company gave to the Regents a thousand acres and then sold to the Regents another 500 acres for a total package of 1,500 acres. The 500 acres were sold to the Regents at below market price with the understanding that they would be for academically related purposes, the kinds of things that are frequently found around a campus: research institutes, religious foundations that support the spiritual life of the students, housing for faculty, housing for graduate students. But there was by the 1980s a dispute between the university and the Irvine Company about what the inclusionary land could be used for.

Lage: I see. The Regents owned it?

Peltason: The Regents owned it, but they bought it from the Irvine Company under covenants that restricted its use. You have to know that it's not a particular 500 acres. Of the 1,500 acres, 500 could be used for purposes that were not directly academic purposes. So the 1,000 acres that the Irvine Company gave the university, the university could only use for classes, and laboratories, and residential buildings--things that you'd find in a university. Of the 1,500 acres, 500 could be used for these related purposes.

Lage: But no particular 500?

Peltason: No particular 500. When I became chancellor at Irvine, I was told that Mr. Bren--I didn't know too much about who he was--was now the owner of the Irvine Company.² That had taken place during the time that I was away.

Lage: It was sort of recently before you came back, I think?

²Bren bought an interest in Irvine Company in 1977; in 1983 he bought out other investors to obtain more than 90 percent of the stock, according to the New York Times, September 17, 1995, section 3, page 12.

Peltason: I think he took over in the early seventies, but you know I had other responsibilities. I had seen his name in the newspaper, but I didn't know anything particularly about him. I was told that he was in Washington, and he invited me to have lunch. I went to meet him and liked him and talked with him and discovered that his visions for the university, UCI, were the same as mine, and that he was anxious to be helpful. And from that grew a friendship. Then when I became chancellor I spent a lot of time negotiating with the Irvine Company about freeing up the constraints on the inclusionary land.

Lage: And was he helpful on that?

Peltason: He was always helpful. Very positive. Some of the faculty believed the relationship between the chancellor and Mr. Bren and the Irvine Company was too close, but he never asked me to do anything that was incompatible with my responsibilities. He's a very sophisticated person; he knows that donors cannot dictate terms and conditions. You can't buy a university. He always respected the integrity of it.

By the time I came back, it was quite clear that we wanted to use some of that acreage to invite for-profit firms to come in. The Silicon Valley--what had happened in and around Stanford--the research triangle in and around North Carolina and Duke, the growth of high-tech industry close to MIT and Harvard indicated that it was a great opportunity for a university to do two or three things. One, that land can be turned into an income stream and would do a lot to support the research or the teaching in the University of California. And secondly, you could attract the high-tech, high-growth companies, provide opportunities for graduate students. Here's this wonderful opportunity: here's this growing university, near the freeways, on the Pacific Rim, not too far from Mexico, with 500 acres of land to be developed. If it could be properly developed with an income stream, it would do a lot towards moving UCI into the top rank. So that was one of my priorities: to try and figure out a responsible way to develop the land. It's unique land, and it should be used for those kinds of activities that profit from being next to a university--which are compatible with a university and which would provide an income to the university.

Lage: Now had Dan Aldrich started down this road?

Peltason: Yes. I didn't come to Irvine and say, "This is what I'm going to do with the land." In fact, I must give to Dan a great deal of the credit. During the seventies nothing was being built at the University of California and the finances were under

constraint. Dan Aldrich was very creative with figuring out ways to use the inclusionary lands to get the income flow. By the time I'd gotten there, there was the Nelson building (then called Whitby Research Center), which was a private enterprise building which housed a for-profit company. That raised the issue with the Irvine Company as to, "Wait a minute here!" We were not following the predetermined conditions. Dan was pushing the envelope.

Lage: He was testing it out.

Peltason: He was testing it out. The American Heart Association had come on campus land. Dan had been negotiating good terms for the university. Like the Nelson building, at the end of fifty years it reverted back to the university.

Lage: So they build the building--

Peltason: So they build the building and had their private laboratory, and they did their pharmaceutical research in that building on the inclusionary land. Under Dan's terms, the laser institutes came, and there was no contention with the Beckman Laser Institute. That was a nonprofit, but it was a separate corporation. Mr. Arnold Beckman had given them the money, but he had created a separate not-for-profit group to run the Beckman Laser Institute. The Nelson Pharmaceutical was a private enterprise. It was engaging in research, but it raised the question of what can you do with the inclusionary land? So there were threatened lawsuits and negotiations.

Don [Bren] and I both had the same interest. His interest was to be sure that we used this land to promote the university, so we negotiated a major amendment to the agreement between the university and the Irvine Company, which I believe will be one of the most important things in the growth of UCI. It was this agreement, worked out after many months of discussion, which was brought to the Regents late in the 1980s --I think 1988--which removed from the university's right to develop this land the constraint against leasing it or using it for-profit enterprises. There are some constraints--we cannot build factories or put in big shopping centers. (We had no interest in doing that anyhow.) But we are allowed to develop up to two million square feet of land, subject to certain constraints: on how the buildings could be, et cetera. We also are required that the money earned from these developments be used to create Bren professorships and for the support of faculty research. I went before the Regents and with a big smile on my face, reported, "Mr Bren insists as a condition of his agreeing to this amendment to the agreement that the money

earned be spent back on the UCI campus!" He had some understandable fears that the money that belonged to the Regents might be spent elsewhere.

Lage: And even go to the state?

Peltason: That's right. Or that it might be going to build buildings on somebody else's campus.

Creation of the Bren Fellows Program

Lage: So you definitely had interests in common there.

Peltason: That's right. He said, "I will negotiate this agreement with the understanding that the income must be plowed back to the faculty on the UCI campus." And he did that with my recommendation. He said, "Well, what's the money go for?" And I said, "The difference between the good and the great universities are the faculty. If you say, 'That's an outstanding university,' well, what do you mean? You have an outstanding faculty. And therefore the money ought to go into recruiting and developing faculty." I presented it to him and he enthusiastically adopted what we call the Bren Fellows Program.

Lage: So were they Bren Fellows or Bren Professors?

Peltason: Bren Fellows. I call them that. I'm not sure whether we're going to stick with that name throughout history, but I was modeling it after the Harvard Fellows.

Lage: Are the Bren Fellows appointed for the duration?

Peltason: Yes. Those that are created with the flow of money--I don't have the details before me--are endowed chairs. The first of them are to be in the health sciences. The holders of these chairs do their own research, but collectively they are in charge of the Bren Fellows Program, sponsoring the conferences, setting the tone for the campus, and encouraging young scholars. They're to come together periodically for meetings and symposiums. The plan is just now coming to fruition. It will be, I think, one of the great assets of the Irvine campus, like the Sterling Chairs are at Yale or like the Harvard Fellow program at Harvard. This is a combination of that kind of program. The notion was that the university would develop the land, the income stream would flow back into endowed chairs.

The program has been slow in getting started. In order to start it, Donald gave two Bren chairs and money for a program.

Lage: Before the income streams?

Peltason: Before the income streams start coming in. The first two chair holders--one was Francisco Ayala, a very distinguished biologist who was also a chairman of the Bren Fellows Program and then Sherry Rowland, who subsequently won the Nobel Prize, a distinguished professor of chemistry. They became the first two chairs. We had anticipated that the money would roll in from the development of the inclusionary lands. However, the recession came. After we had developed the plan for how to use the inclusionary lands and gotten it through the Irvine City Council, then there wasn't anybody to lease the inclusionary lands. So it was on hold.

But after I negotiated the agreement of the Irvine Company, then I had to go get a memorandum of understanding with the city of Irvine. Now, the Regents had never conceded that they have to develop their land in accordance with the wishes of the city in which they're in.

Lage: Berkeley is always contesting that, you know.

Peltason: That's right. But it just seemed to me politic to have the City of Irvine on our side. Because a lot of things the university wants to do do need the concurrence of the city of Irvine.

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Peltason: In getting the approval of the city of Irvine for the first stage of the development of our inclusionary land, one could argue whether it was legally required. But I felt it was politically required, because if we developed it and if the flow of traffic went contrary to our wishes or had an antagonistic relationship with it, then we'd pay for it in many ways. Again, if it's a partnership, it's inevitable. So if you can get along with the city in which you are located or adjacent to, it certainly enhanced the possibility of building the campus. But that took a while. I was yet to negotiate the agreement with the Irvine Company, I had to get the Regents approval of it, get a memorandum of understanding with the city, deciding what we wanted to do with the land. And after that there weren't any customers. [laughter]

Donald Bren's Role in UC Irvine's Development

Lage: I want to do a couple things. One is to talk a little bit more about Donald Bren and why he was so interested in the campus. Was it good for his company? Or, was he a wonderful supporter of education? How do you see it?

Peltason: Well, he's a builder and a developer. It is good for his company, but I don't think he's motivated by a desire to make money. A man of his wealth--the income or the value of the money he could make is not what motivates him. He's a visionary, a dreamer, and he wants to leave a legacy. And the legacy he wants to leave is the development of the Irvine Ranch. Furthermore, it's good for the economy of the state and of Orange County because the universities today are major attractors of business, especially high-tech business. He wants to see the university grow because it's part of his vision for his legacy that the Irvine Ranch will develop into a place that will be good to live in, where there will be universities, good schools, and there will be employment opportunities, and the quality of life will be enhanced. So the university is part of that process. And Don is, I think, a visionary.

Lage: Because those businesses could have been attracted to the Irvine Ranch's land, possibly?

Peltason: Yes, that's right. He's built Spectrum down there which has over 2,000 companies in it. He doesn't need the university land to fulfill his vision, but if the university grows and if it gets distinguished professors and becomes an outstanding university, it will help attract people to the neighborhood.

I think it's a great blessing that the land is owned by one landowner. If you were trying to develop our surrounding neighborhood with a hundred landowners it would be very difficult to have a coordinated plan. For each of those one hundred it might be economically difficult, whereas the Irvine Company plans to be around for a long time. One of the great advantages of a university is that it lives forever. That's why I tell people when they are considering whether to make a gift in their estate planning, the one thing you can be sure of is that the University of California at Irvine will be in business a hundred years from now. You can't be sure about many other institutions. There is a high probability that the people who will be in charge of the University of California one hundred years from now will be interested in education and research. The Irvine Company also has a long life span, and it

has one single landlord. It does create suspicion because it's the biggest company, and you know there's a lot of faculty who think, "That billionaire's trying to have too much influence," and you have to overcome that suspicion.

Lage: It's so counter to, say, the thinking of the sixties. I would think that professors who were still part of that way of thinking about the world would just be terribly suspicious.

Peltason: I think that's correct: they are terribly suspicious. But universities--we've been around for such a long time, and we know how to spend other people's money and still preserve our integrity: terms and conditions. The Bren Fellows are selected by the established procedures of the university; they must go through the personnel processes. The funds are made available to the university, they are allocated by the chancellor in the usual fashion, so there's no way in which it can be influenced beyond our wishes. Then Donald makes a proposal: "Would you like another chair in this field?" Well, you decide, yes or no.

Lage: Have you ever turned one down?

Peltason: No, because usually you find, especially in a growing university, not just in the case of Donald's interests, but all donors, that what donors are interested in supporting is a program that is among our priorities. Now when we get to talking about my retirement career, where as president of the Bren Foundation, if I came across some issues having to do with a difference between the donor's priorities and the faculty, that is a different question. (Remind me to talk about this if I have forgotten to do so.)

Some faculty members are always worried. One asked me once, "What if fifty years from now we have too many Bren Professors?" I responded, "That's a worry I don't have."

Lage: How could there be too many?

Peltason: I don't know. Seems to me impossible to have too many endowed chairs for your professors. Give them all chairs! There are also safeguards in the agreement that would permit the future chancellors to make some adjustments.

Lage: To adjust the fields?

Peltason: Yes, adjust the fields, because if you have enough in health sciences then you can put some in engineering; if in

engineering, management. You've got management, you've got English. That's just not a worry I share!

Lage: I see. Was there somebody on your staff that helped work out this agreement?

Peltason: Yes, well there were several parts. There's working out the agreement and then, yes, I did work with lawyers, and I did work with the vice chancellor for advancement, I did work with the executive vice chancellor, and with the leaders of the Academic Senate. That's the agreement.

Partnerships with Private Enterprise to Develop the UC Irvine Campus

Peltason: Then the most difficult part, which I didn't solve during my eight years as chancellor, was the mechanism by which the university would engage in essentially being a developer. In my eight years there we had a plan for the north campus, we had a plan for the west campus. The west campus was to support the medical school primarily but not exclusively, and the north campus was to be primarily an instrument to generate funds but find compatible uses. We had the plan for office buildings, laboratories, and a modest amount of housing for people who worked in that area. But the instrument by which we would do this--universities are not very good at development.

Lage: That's not your area of expertise.

Peltason: Can you imagine the problem of trying to develop the land in which the Regents want to know what the buildings look like, building by building? And the faculty want to know what's going in that building, building by building? And the people outside don't want to negotiate with you under those terms and conditions? Being close to a university is desirable, but not that desirable. Should we create a separate corporation to do the development? We considered that alternative. Should we do it through regular university processes, just as we build every other building? We concluded that wouldn't work. Even things like the salaries that you would pay to people on your staff who knew about development were incompatible with university salary scale. These people get bigger salaries, they get bonuses. At the end I concluded that we just had to have a straight lease. We needed to find somebody to lease the land, to let them do it and not develop it ourselves.

Lease Agreement with the Hitachi Corporation

Lage: You did bring on some companies, though? I mean, I have a list of Hitachi and others.

Peltason: Yes, we brought in Hitachi and--

Lage: Berkeley Place?

Peltason: Let me just tell you about Hitachi because [laughter] I mean that was famous. I'm not sure we had this agreement in place, but think we did. Now Hitachi Corporation was a great Japanese chemical company who met our conditions. They were anxious to be close to a medical university, and so they put up a research building right in the medical complex. The medical school was anxious to have them there because as part of the deal here, the medical school got three floors--I don't remember the number of floors--of prime laboratory space. When I came back and I called in the faculty as chancellor, I said, "What is your first problem?" And they said, "space." I think I mentioned that last time. We were really short of space, teaching courses in the theater.

Lage: The building hadn't kept up with the growth?

Peltason: There had been no building in the seventies. All of sudden in the eighties we started growing. We needed space. One of the reasons we couldn't recruit professors was that we had no laboratories to put them in! So the medical school was really anxious to get this Hitachi deal done because it would give them prime, expensive laboratory space right close in. Hitachi came, we did the ceremonies, but there was some concerned criticism--perhaps less than I anticipated--about what is an American university doing leasing space to a Japanese firm. This was right at the time that America was very much apprehensive about competition with Japan.

Lage: Worried about takeovers?

Peltason: A kind of a takeover. What was the popular novelist who actually mentioned Hitachi in his novel? Michael Crichton. In his novel *Rising Sun*, he had written as if no American would be able to get in the building or something like that. Somebody said he called it to his attention and he said, "Well, it's just fiction." But he had placed it at Irvine. And journalists starting writing articles about a Japanese laboratory on the Irvine campus, but you had to be a Japanese citizen to get into it. Which is not true because in the

building there were university laboratories and there were Hitachi laboratories.

Lage: On different floors?

Peltason: Different floors.

Lage: And Hitachi built the laboratories for the university?

Peltason: Right. Part of the lease agreement was that they paid us by building the building and furthermore that we would get the entire building back, I think, in forty-five years. So we had income flow, we had a building, and we had a major chemical company doing work and hiring our graduate students. It was a good deal. But the politics of having a Japanese firm--

Lage: Did the Regents raise questions about that?

Peltason: No, no.

Lage: The local community?

Peltason: No, it was just more a low murmur. I think we were asked questions by congressional committees. But I said to our people, "Be sure the next firms we do business with are Americans." We were anticipating deals with five or six more firms; but again, the recession came to bring these developments to halt.

Berkeley Place

Lage: Now, what was the Berkeley Place?

Peltason: The Berkeley Place was an office building. When we were desperately short of office space, we started leasing space. We then decided to take this flow of dollars and go out for bids: proposals from private developers who would borrow the money, put up the building, and lease back to us with an option to buy. The developer who won the bid, by the way, borrowed the funds from Japanese banks.

Lage: Was it named after the street?

Peltason: Correct. Right on Berkeley Place, now Peltason Drive. We haven't changed the name of the building, though. The developer put up the money, built the building, and we leased

from him 70 percent of it. We were already spending that much money on the leases, so by consolidating the lease money in that building, we weren't spending any more money. We had our activities for the dean of students, development office, extension, and so on spread around the community. They were now focused on the campus. Then it was understood that after a certain number of years--I think it was four or five--we would have the option of purchasing it at a fixed price. The amount of money that we spent on the lease then went into paying for the building. So we got a building, which we owned five years later.

Lage: So this is really a campus building, not an office building off campus?

Peltason: No. It was built on campus for campus functions. There was 30 percent of it in the first five years that were not university functions. Now that lease has expired, and we own the building. We're buying the building for the same amount of money that we were spending on rent. But we got the building built in a hurry by capital by private enterprise, which provided space for the university in a building which we now purchased back. It was a very good deal, not in a slick sense. People on the campus and on the university would come around and look at it.

Lage: That is what I am wondering. Did this become a model for other UC campuses?

Peltason: I don't think many have done it. Most of them have not had land. Then the state funding came back up again, and the state started funding most of these structures. But when there was no state funding, these were ways to get us space over and above what we got from state funding.

Lage: The university's general counsel must have taken some active role in this?

Peltason: All of this was done with the approval of the general counsel. We could do a little. You can't do too much of it, otherwise the unions get mad. Because these private enterprises come in and can build a building, they're not under the constraints of the university. They don't have to have the lowest bidder, they don't have to pay prevailing wages, and they can build buildings faster and less expensively because they don't have to comply with the state regulations.

Irvine College Housing Authority

- Peltason: I do want to say a little bit about that problem. I don't know if I mentioned last time another thing which was started during Dan's time? I told you about the Irvine Campus Housing Authority, ICHA, as we call it, or I-C-H-A, which built the first university houses. Did I talk about that last time?
- Lage: No. Not in that context.
- Peltason: Well, because we recruit many professors who come from places where housing costs much less than in Irvine, Dan Aldrich and his advisors concluded that we needed to provide close-in housing for professors we were recruiting. So he got the Regents' permission to create ICHA, which is a separate corporation which has built for-sale housing for faculty. I didn't talk about that?
- Lage: Very briefly.
- Peltason: Well, it's a wonderful idea. Today there are about 500 faculty homes there. Yes, faculty can buy the homes. They lease their land while they live in them.
- Lage: But they don't own the land?
- Peltason: They don't own the land, they lease the land from ICHA. The Regents gave the land to ICHA, ICHA then in turn built the houses, and sells them to the professors and leases the land to them. The professors must sell them back to professors and they must sell them back at a controlled price. There are three indices--I can't remember what they are: one of them is the cost of construction, one of them is how faculty salaries have gone up. So that means that when professors die or leave, the house becomes available to be sold to another professor.
- Lage: Without a huge increase in price?
- Peltason: That's right. The professor who buys the house forgoes the opportunity to make money on real estate. He or his children will get back the amount of money they put in, plus an inflation index. But they don't get a housing inflation on top of it. So as I say, it's a wonderful place to live--not a very good investment, but it means that faculty could live there. The faculty live close to the work. That cuts down on the traffic coming in and out of the campus, they can walk up. It's in the University Hills, and there are faculty homes of all kinds and sizes.

- Lage: I think you didn't go into any detail about this, but you mentioned the fact that it had its downside in being isolating.
- Peltason: I think it does have its downside. The advantages so outweigh the negatives that it's a wonderful plus for the campus, but it does create problems that have to be mitigated. One of those things is that it tends to isolate the faculty from the community because they go to work, come to their offices-- within walking distance--and never have to be involved in the community. The kids do go to schools in Irvine, so that kind of ties them back.
- Lage: Do they go to different schools, or do all the faculty kids go to one elementary school?
- Peltason: No, not all the faculty live in University Hills, just about half the faculty. The other half live in the community. They choose to live in the community rather than the University Hills. I also think it accelerates a tendency which I see taking places in all campuses, which I deplore: people working at home. If you live so close to where you teach, then you can work at home. Especially today, with fax machines and computers, I think more and more faculty are working at home, everywhere. But I suspect the percentage is higher where you live close by.
- Lage: Which seems contradictory? Because you don't have a commute.
- Peltason: You don't have a commute, but it makes it easy to go back home to work in your office.
- Lage: Why do you see that as a downside?
- Peltason: I think education is a social activity: faculty in their offices, where students can talk to them, where they see their colleagues, I think creates a better atmosphere for undergraduates. I also think it helps the faculty know each other. But my greater worry is that it turns the university into not only the employer of the faculty but the landlord for the faculty, and gets the university into battles which it is best to stay out of. Because everybody gets mad at their landlord, everybody gets mad at their housing association. Also it gets the faculty involved in making decisions not just as faculty--what's best for the university--but as householders: whether this street should go here or there. What's the best thing for the university ought not be decided by whether it makes more noise for professors at their house-- at least that's a battle the university ought not get into.

Lage: Does making it a separate authority take care of some of that?

Peltason: It does. That's the whole purpose of that: to isolate the university in its employment capacity. But also I use this as an example of the university learning to create instruments to get the job done that are more appropriate to building houses than they are to running a university. So rather than having the university regularly build the houses, we created the ICHA corporation to do it, and it's worked well. The chancellor picks the ICHA board, the ICHA board then borrows the money, then builds the houses, then collects the ground leases.

Lage: And makes all the decisions?

Peltason: The answer is it makes all the decisions. The houses are available, however, at the chancellor's assignment, so ICHA doesn't decide which professor gets it.

Lage: The chancellor gets to decide that?

Peltason: Well, the chancellor, in fact delegates it back--as we do everything in the university [laughter]--to the executive vice chancellor, who in turn gives it to the advisory committee, who allocates the houses in order to support the recruiting mission of the university.

Lage: Would the faculty get in on this type of decision of who gets housing?

Peltason: Well, no.

Lage: The faculty senate doesn't?

Peltason: No. Once the house is out there, and it's owned by Professor Jones, Professor Jones leaves, then Professor Jones decides to whom to sell it.

Lage: It doesn't just revert back?

Peltason: ICHA had a right to buy it back, and it is a very elaborate process. When Jones puts it on the market, he first has to make it available to eligible faculty members. After so many months, if another faculty member hasn't bought it, then you can actually go outside and bring in somebody who's not on the faculty. But at that stage, ICHA has a right to buy the house back and put it into the pool. After that, the chancellor doesn't have anything to say about it. It's just the initial offering, when housing becomes available. Let's say there are five houses with a waiting list of twenty: the chancellor

decides to allocate it to this new professor in physics we're getting. I know this recollection of how it's done has probably modified since I did it.

Lage: But this was the way it was done when you did it?

Peltason: Yes, right.

Lage: It gives you an interesting little bit of power.

Peltason: But it's another example of how I think UCI has been inventive in finding ways to get buildings and get jobs done, which preserves the integrity of the university but creates new instruments in getting it done.

Lage: Now what money does ICHA operate from? The Irvine campus budget?

Peltason: No, they have their own fund. They borrowed the money, built the buildings.

Lage: Oh, borrowed all of it?

Peltason: Yes, they operate on their own funds.

Lage: So they're not coming out of your budget?

Peltason: They're not coming out of the budget. Their budget has to be audited by the university. And once you do that, you have to make a report. The university vice chancellor for the administration of businesses is also ex-officio on their board because the university has the deepest pockets; if they got into financial trouble, the university probably couldn't escape some liability.

Lage: Now, is that at the campus level?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: Was David Gardner supportive of these efforts?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: Was this something you discussed with him, or is it pretty much decentralized?

Peltason: It's pretty much decentralized. But you know the vice president for business and administration and the office of the president and the vice chancellor for business of the campus

are in close contact, and on behalf of the chancellor and the president, ensure that the university is behaving in a way that is both legal and financially prudent.

Lage: Okay, that's a very interesting tale.

The City of Irvine and the Irvine Barclay Theater

Lage: We're going to go back to get some brief remarks about working out a relationship with the city over these issues of use of the land.

Peltason: Here, again, I gave a good deal of attention to working with the city of Irvine, and fortunately got along with both mayors who were mayors there during my time: Larry Agran and Sally Ann Miller.

Lage: Were they of a particular political persuasion?

Peltason: Well, Larry Agran was the slow-growth and Sally Ann was more business oriented. They were non-partisan politics, but if there were partisan politics, Larry Agran would have been a liberal Democrat and Sally Ann is a liberal Republican.

I got along well with the city council and was very pleased to work, with David Gardner's help, on another one of these creative inventions: the city of Irvine built an 800-seat theater on Regents' land, right on the front door of the campus. They created another corporation, now called Irvine Barclay Theater Corporation, because the donor, Mr. Barclay, gave a million dollars. The city of Irvine built it, we provided the land. The city of Irvine covered 70 percent of the budget and the university covered 30 percent of the budget. There's a governing board in which the university has 30 percent representation, and the city has 70 percent representation. It is a wonderful little community theater of 800 seats, a beautiful building.

Again, we would have never been able to get that theater for another twenty or thirty years. It's available to our theater department, dance department, drama department. We get 30 percent of the time, the community gets the other 70 percent of the time. It brings in chamber music and dance and there's parking right by it. When we were short several million dollars, just towards the end, I went to David Gardner, and he provided the money so that we could get that theater actually

built. I think that's another example of using new instruments and cooperation and new partnerships to get something built for the campus. I give most of the credit for that to Sally Ann Miller and the fact that she and I worked on it cooperatively in a very partnership way, neither one of us trying to negotiate a deal that would be injurious to the other, because we recognized the mutual benefit of that. So the Irvine Barclay Theater is another great success. It's now becoming a financial success. It was recently looked at again by the city of Irvine; it was a question of, Do they need to have community theater in Irvine? After looking at how well it performed, they reaffirmed their commitment to it.

Irvine Town Shopping Center

Peltason: By the way, another sign of cooperation, this time with the Irvine Company and the City of Irvine, is the kind of town center across the street on Irvine land.

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Peltason: We built a concrete bridge--again, one-third the Irvine Company, one-third the city of Irvine, one-third the university--and it connects the shopping center to the campus.

Lage: Now, the shopping center is on city land, right?

Peltason: It's Irvine Company land in the city of Irvine right across the street from the campus. It has had a checkered history. I've tried to turn it into a college campus town, but it's never quite made it like a campus town. The Irvine Company has made it more--I call it kind of like Georgetown--an entertainment center, a place to eat, an improv theater. It's coming along, but in all these years, it still hasn't served the university. The university has had to build on the university facilities more of the things that I'd hoped that they would build across the street.

Lage: Such as bookstores?

Peltason: When I was vice chancellor, I negotiated the bookstore across the street. I said I'd let the private enterprise build a bookstore, but during the time I was gone, the faculty and the students insisted upon their own bookstore on the university campus.

But around every college or every university that I know of and am familiar with, there's a college town where the students go, where they listen to the horrible music that they like, [laughter] with beer parlors, and where they congregate. It kind of keeps them in close to the campus. I'd hoped that that had happened. But it's more--I don't know what the current word for it is--yuppie?

Lage: Kind of a suburban shopping mall, it looks like.

Peltason: Yes, more of a suburban shopping mall and less--what's the name of the street over here?

Lage: Telegraph Avenue?

Peltason: I don't want to talk about that. [laughter]

Lage: You wouldn't want to talk about Telegraph!

Peltason: [laughter] I'm not talking about Telegraph, but the one that goes up and down: Bancroft.

Lage: Oh, Bancroft. That's right here next to campus, yes.

Peltason: Or, you know, where when the library closes at ten-thirty at night, that's where the students are.

Lage: Yes. So where are the students at Irvine?

Peltason: One of our problems today is that students have cars. They live in Orange County, they're all over Orange County.

Efforts to Improve the Campus Atmosphere and the Quality of Student Life

Peltason: That gets me to another thing. I came back and said, "I want to make this a twenty-four-hour campus." I think so much of learning takes place outside class. I think it's such a social environment. When I got there it tended to be that at five o'clock on Friday, you could walk through campus and not see anybody. And there wasn't anyplace to eat. So, working with Horace Mitchell, I put together a twenty-four-hour campus committee, and we now have places to eat all over.

Lage: On the campus?

Peltason: On the campus, itself.

Lage: With a little more atmosphere.

Peltason: With more atmosphere. All the way around the ring mall, there are places to eat. There are places to eat and meet and congregate, and the usual activities you'll find in a student center: bookstores, computer stores, convenience stores, flower stores, student government offices, all of the hustle and bustle activity. So the campus is now coming alive.

Then with Horace's help, we put up kiosks so that people can find out how to get from here to there. See, in the old days, you used to be able to just call the university operator, and you could say, "I'm Billy Jones' mother. Could you find him?" And they'd say, "Okay, I'll take care of it." Today there's no place to call.

Lage: No, you get voice mail.

Peltason: You get voice mail. But the whole thing was designed to create a campus ambience that would be more alive, exciting, and friendly. And I think we've accomplished that in good part. Now with the extension service there and activities, the campus is coming alive. I notice that at nine or ten o'clock at night the parking lots are full. There are places that have Coke or beer available. Conversation goes on twenty-four hours.

The other thing that I did to try to improve the quality of undergraduate life was I put a committee together called the Lines' Disease Committee--to get rid of lines.

Lage: Oh, Lines' Disease! [laughter]

Peltason: These days there's no reason to stand there in line. Are they standing in line to register? Well, there are better ways to register. Are they standing in line to pay fees? Well, there's a better way to do that.

Lage: But think of how many friends you make standing in line.

Peltason: In my inauguration address, I had the chancellor's reminiscence about the good old days when we had lines and people got to know each other. [laughter] The faculty take care of themselves, but I think the chancellor has to be the champion for the undergraduates, especially in a research university. Dan was always out on the campus and chatting with the students. He was a big, gregarious guy. My way of trying to help the students is more to look at things which I thought

would frustrate them and get in the way. One problem that I came across, which again I'm proud to have solved, was I found too many parents were calling me and complaining that their kids couldn't get classes they needed in order to graduate. I just don't think you can do that. Here you invite students to your campus and you require them to take the course, you ought to have it available for them.

Lage: Now, was that throughout or towards the end when the budget got stringent?

Peltason: That was throughout. We couldn't blame it on the budget. We blamed it on the fact that we allowed too many departments and faculty to teach what they wanted to teach, not what students needed.

Lage: So how did you handle that?

Peltason: Well, over a three-year period, before we allocated new money to departments, we first set out where the choke points were, and then we negotiated with the department. In the Department of English, if you want more professors, then you've got to provide more sections in freshman rhetoric. Biochemistry, if you want more professors, you've got to provide more sections in the biochemistry that students need later on to get into medical school. Now you have to be a little bit cautious. Some students say the class is not available; that means it's not available at nine o'clock on Monday morning. Sometimes it's a legitimate excuse because they have to work. But one thing I'd say is not defensible is not having the courses.

I think the whole University of California has made improvement on that. In the mid-eighties we did a course correction and not just at Irvine but elsewhere. But I think that Irvine was one of the first to acknowledge that that was a problem and to deal with the problem, so that even when we got into the nineties when I was president, we actually had classes for students. David Gardner once said, "It's like, you can't let somebody into the hospital and then say there's no room for you, sit in the hall."

Lage: Right.

Peltason: In the eighties, I think that became a problem. I think you only find out about those problems if you make yourself available and you walk around.

Lage: Is that how you'd communicate with students--the walking around--or did you have hours?

Peltason: Well, I had hours and all the Chats with the Chancellor. I did meet with the student body presidents and read the student newspaper. At Irvine it was pretty good. The student body presidents were more accurately reflective of the rest of the students than I think was the case at a big campus like Illinois, or in the sixties. Maybe it was the time and it was the place. But I would walk around during the first day of class just to see how many students were standing around in the halls, not finding their way, not finding someone who could answer their questions.

I just think that it's one of the chancellor's responsibilities on a big campus. The chancellor has to be leaning in the wind against the tendency of the campus. You don't need to urge the faculty to study what they want to study or do what they want to do; they'll do that. But I think undergraduates are the ones who are most likely to be short-changed. I also find walking around the campus, you find things like there's a hole in the ground. One of the glorious things about the university is that nobody's in charge. One of the problems of the university is that nobody's in charge. And that's true of the physical plant. Unless a building is flooded--there's water running because one of the lawn drains has broken off--nobody will tell anybody about it.

Lage: Until it's too late!

Peltason: They'll walk by it and say, "Well, gee. It's not my problem." So I remember walking the campus and I tried once, unsuccessfully, to get somebody in charge of every building. You can do that more readily when there's one department in a building, but not if you have a building that serves many functions. But again, one of the wonders of being at Irvine is that it was growing, but it was encompassable. You could walk around it and see what was happening and pick up information, and I think that was very valuable.

Lage: How much feedback did you get from parents? You mentioned getting calls from parents.

Peltason: Not much. Parents are relatively reluctant to complain or be involved. I guess that's not unusual. Students by this time have gone away from home. But Irvine, along with every other campus, creates programs during the summer where incoming students and their parents come to campus. I can't remember the name of what we call it--NEKF or something like that. I had enough involvement with that to be able to interact with some of the parents, and to discover that the parents were now the age of my children.

Lage: Now, that's probably a slight exaggeration, isn't it, or not?

Peltason: No. I have children that age.

Relations with the Orange County Board of Supervisors

Lage: Okay, we're back on after a break and we're going to finish up with relations with the outside world.

Peltason: The other group of people to deal with in the outside world were the Orange County supervisors. Orange County has no central city. Well, Santa Ana is a central city, but it doesn't dominate the way Los Angeles does, or San Francisco, or even Berkeley, or Oakland. I think there are twenty-six cities in Orange County--I can't even remember the precise number. The supervisors are very important to us because after the university acquired the old county hospital, the supervisors still had responsibility for indigent care. I went to them when the hospital was in such financial turmoil and told them they had to come help me to do this--and they did!

Lage: Was it that easy?

Peltason: Well, no. It was years of work, discussions, getting to know the supervisors. You had to get to know them almost one by one, and you can't talk to them collectively except for at council meetings because of the Brown Act. So I had to go around and spend a lot of the time talking to the supervisors.

Lage: But it's okay, one on one?

Peltason: One on one. I probably could have had a better relationship with them in terms of the hospital medical school, but again, I think they are now much more supportive of UCI. It's no longer an issue. As the financial strength of the hospital improved and the relationship improved, they did do some programming, including the Optima program and other programs. It's also that I'm no longer chancellor, I don't see them day by day, but we had to deal with them on roads and other things, and I found them supportive. The other governmental community was the city of Irvine. The supervisors' relationships with the other cities were also positive.

Fundraising and Relations with the Orange County Business Community

Peltason: I also dealt with the growing business community of Orange County because most private dollars have now become essential to the public university. A place like Berkeley or Los Angeles has alumni that have grown up and are now in their fifties and sixties who have been successful in the world and who feel kindly towards their campus. A lot of the fundraising comes out of alumni who want to pay back to their institution. But at Irvine in the eighties, we didn't have these alumni. They were still making their money, so we couldn't depend upon them for our fundraising purposes.

In order to successfully launch a fundraising program, we had to appeal to the neighbors of UCI and people who graduated from other institutions. So I took the pattern that I'd tried out at ACE and created a chief executives' round table and invited five or six of the leading people in the community to put together a support group for UCI. It's now turned into being one of the major fundraising/friend raising groups of UCI. At our original meetings, we had many activities. We got away once a year--somewhere close by but not so close that people could break away and go back to their businesses. It's a social occasion where they bring spouses, and they come and then we bring members of the faculty. So they get to meet members of the faculty who give them lectures, and they become a chief advisory group to the chancellor of the campus. That's been one of the more successful institutions created during my time.

Lage: When you create this kind of institution, is it understood that it's a fundraising mechanism?

Peltason: I'm quite frank and up-front. "We want your ideas, we also want your money." [laughter] It's put slightly more tactfully than that. They're pretty sophisticated, knowledgeable people. They're part of the developed community and in Orange County a lot of the social life is around the Performing Arts Center.

By the way, when Suzie and I came to town, Henry and Renee Segerstrom were very kind to us.

Lage: And who were they?

Peltason: He's the developer of South Coast Plaza, which is maybe the biggest retail shopping center in the world. I don't know-- it's a very big one.

Lage: It is in Newport?

Peltason: It's in Costa Mesa. He's also the man who's been instrumental in creating the Performing Arts Center, which is a 2,000-theater-seat performing arts center, a major feature of Orange County life.

Lage: And where is that located?

Peltason: Also in Costa Mesa, right across from South Coast Plaza. Henry Segerstrom and Renee sponsored us in many social events--this South Coast Repertory Theatre Benefit, all these various benefits in Orange County. I spent a lot of my life as chancellor in a tuxedo, being at the head table of social affairs and benefits for these other instruments in Orange County.

Lage: And these people sort of fostered your--

Peltason: By sponsoring us, I think they made it clear to the influential and wealthy people of Orange County to take the university seriously. We were at their head table and their guest in our first years, along with Donald Bren, along with Joan Irvine Smith, although she was less involved in the social life, but her mother, Athalie Clarke, was. The fact that we had personal friendships with these people helped to focus the Orange County life on the notion that UCI is worthy of your time and attention and your contribution. I think that helped, along with the vice chancellor for advancement, John Miltner, who was there to link the campus and start the flow of money into the campus project.

Lage: Now had Dan Aldrich been in that circle?

Peltason: Dan had done that, but Dan had never been particularly interested in raising private dollars.

Lage: Was it the times? I mean were universities as involved in private fundraising during his tenure?

Peltason: It was the times, yes. During the sixties and the seventies, public universities, presidents, chancellors, and deans weren't very much involved in fundraising. The gentleman's agreement used to be that the private universities would not get public dollars and the public universities would not get private dollars. There was a rule of agreement that we would only raise money from our alumni and our friends. I think I said last time that anybody that gives us money is by definition our friend. That agreement has broken down: now private

universities get public dollars and public universities get private dollars.

In the first place, as the campus was getting started, it took all of Dan's time and energy--just building the buildings on campus and creating an initial faculty. Secondly, as it got started, there wasn't too much to bond people to, there wasn't too much to show them. By the time I got there, the campus had matured, and there was a growing recognition among the chancellors of public universities that private dollars are crucial to our development. Dan had already recognized that. He recruited John Miltner with a charge to get a fundraising program going. There'd been some fundraising in Dan's time, but today UCI's graduates are raising twenty-five, thirty, forty million dollars a year of private dollars, which is rather unusual for a young university. We have some graduates successful enough and old enough that they're starting to think to give money back. But the traditional pattern is that the people make their money in their twenties, thirties, forties, and fifties and give it away in their sixties and seventies. They're too busy and they don't have the resources, and then as they gradually get to be fifty and sixty, they begin to reinvest back into the social structure. But I spent a lot of time on fundraising or friend raising. The payoff is usually twenty or thirty years later.

Lage: Wow, that's a long time to wait!

Peltason: I say it's like growing trees. I always thought that people who plant a tree are making a contribution to the next generation. During my time at University of Illinois, we were getting gifts that had been started by people a long time ago. So all of this social activity--one, it gets the university better known; two, it ties the community to the university, and especially a university that doesn't have a big-time sports program. I mean, UCLA burst upon the Los Angeles scene because it was helped a lot by its intercollegiate athletic program.

UC Irvine's Sports Program

Peltason: We have a basketball team but not a football team. We have good competitive sports, because Dan did care about that. We have Division I sports, except for football. I always remember everywhere I would go, I would talk about, "A great university." And someone in the back of the room would say,

"When are you going to have a football team?" And my response was, "In the fullness of time."

Lage: Do you think it will ever happen?

Peltason: "In the fullness of time." I can remember one of the first times that I got a lot of people in Orange County to take UCI seriously was when our team beat UCLA in basketball. You didn't think that our basketball team could beat UCLA?

Lage: No, I'm shocked!

Peltason: "It must be a major university!"

Lage: Now, when did this happen?

Peltason: Somewhere in the eighties, I can't remember.

Lage: I'm surprised that you played at UCLA, or does that happen regularly?

Peltason: Not really. And I want to give Chuck Young credit for this. Chuck, as zealous as he is on behalf of UCLA, has a great sense of responsibility for the overall university. I think it was his influence that got his basketball team to play us, because it wasn't to UCLA's advantage. We played in a really small auditorium, and we didn't have a big crowd. When UCLA beats us, there's no particular advantage to that. Everybody says, "Of course." But when we beat them, everybody says, "What an upset!" But I think Chuck recognized that by allowing UCLA to play us, he was contributing to the maturation and growth of a developing campus.

Lage: So was it a regular meeting?

Peltason: No, we used just to play them occasionally. I could never get Berkeley to do that. I remember the morning after we beat UCLA, I called Chuck and said, "Thanks a lot; it's like the older woman and the younger boy--it doesn't hurt her but it sure helps him." [laughter]

Lage: Did he like that?

Peltason: Yes. One of the reasons our basketball program began to develop--and again this was undertaken by Dan and is to his credit--Dan had, as one of his last acts as chancellor, put forward an assembly hall--not just a basketball court, but a meeting place for all kinds of activities. He head-started a successful fundraising campaign in his time and he had raised

the money for an assembly hall. Donald Bren gave the lead gift, so it became the Bren Center.

It was a contribution that both Dan gets credit for and Donald Bren, who made a major gift. It was his original first gift to the campus.

Lage: Was that a multi-purpose center?

Peltason: It's a multi-purpose center. It could be turned into a playing field, it could have meetings and assemblies, and outside guests could come. It's available to be rented to the community, so they have community activities in there as well. It's an on-campus gathering place.

Lage: Why did I write down that you dribbled a basketball at the opening of the Bren Center? [laughter]

Peltason: Yes, I did. Well, there are two things: the first basketball game in 1960, we played Riverside. Dan Aldrich and Ivan Hinderaker were the centers and I was the referee throwing up the ball. But at the assembly hall, the opening ceremony they had me come up dribbling a basketball and shooting a basket, which I don't think I made. [laughter]

Lage: Did you embarrass yourself, or are you pretty good at basketball?

Peltason: No. Yes, I play. I can shoot a basketball.

Lage: Well, if they don't call on you for yo-yo-ing, it's for basketball. That shows the breadth of the chancellorship: wining and dining and dribbling.

Peltason: Well, let's see, that covers the outside groups, right?

The Chancellor's Club: Raising Friends

Lage: Okay, the Chancellor's Club?

Peltason: The Chancellors' Club was in place when I came; it was another one of these outreach groups. This was at a relatively modest sum of I think \$1,000 when I started, probably more than that now. People would come, and I'd pay a lot of personal attention to them at events and lectures and meetings in

people's homes. Again, it was part of the friend-raising activity, of bringing people into the university.

Lage: Sort of the counterpart of the Executive Round Table?

Peltason: Executive Round Table was for executives and the contribution then, I think, was starting at \$10,000 a year. In the Chancellor's Club, you meet somebody, they moved to town, they graduated from Penn, but they've never been on our campus and for a thousand dollars they got invited to things. Then we'd have programs, so it was a way of introducing people to the campus, and they got to meet the chancellor and the chancellor got to meet them.

Lage: Is there anything you could say about Ray Watson?

Peltason: Oh, yes. Glad to say. I got to know Ray in the 1960s when I came as vice chancellor. When I came back in the eighties, Ray was the chief planning officer of the Irvine Company. I've teased him and said, "He's really a professor." He's actually a very successful business man. He was chairman of the Disney Company. But he's reflective and thoughtful and cares about the city of Irvine and the campus. So he was another one of the friends from the Irvine Company who helped bridge the gap. He had that historical memory, and he helped negotiate that agreement with Donald.

Learning How to Build Buildings in a Public Institution

Peltason: I mentioned Bill Pereira was back when I came back to Irvine in the eighties.

Lage: I don't think you mention him in the second go-round.

Peltason: He remained consulting architect to the campus. By the time I was here in the eighties, he and David Neuman--the campus architect--were the two who are responsible for these wonderful world-wide architects coming to build buildings on the Irvine campus, which I said is controversial.

But Bill Pereira didn't try to control the campus in a way that the next buildings all had to be the kind he would like. He encouraged David Neuman to go out and get the architects of this generation to come build on our campus.

- Lage: What about the companies that built like Hitachi and the Berkeley Place?
- Peltason: They had to conform to our general plan if they built their own building. I don't know if I said anything last time, but I do need to mention one of the problems of building on a campus. Because we were a public university, we had to build things by the lowest bidder. Did I talk about that problem?
- Lage: I don't think so.
- Peltason: We had built practically no buildings in the seventies. And then in the eighties we had all of a sudden a major construction program, and we had to gear up to supervise them. I think we did a good job, and I'm proud of what we have done. But the problem was complicated by the fact that under state law, it's all open competitive bidding. People had to put in their bid, and if somebody came in ten dollars less on a \$50 million project, under the state law you had to go with him or be subject to suit. In the beginning, we didn't learn enough to pre-qualify. By the time I ended, we had pre-qualified contractors so we got rid of some of them.
- Lage: You mean, even before they bid, they'd have certain requirements?
- Peltason: Unlike a business firm, who just says, "We want to go to company A because they build better buildings. They built for us in the past, we like them. They may not be the cheapest but in the long pull it will be the best." We couldn't say that. We had to go with the company that came in with the lowest bid.
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- Lage: With all this unknown, that seems like something the statewide office would help you with?
- Peltason: Well, we were all learning. And that's a good point. We couldn't even tell another campus under this law, although we've learned how to do this. These are not excuses or explanations of things, which I think the university has corrected, but we learned in that process. It's one of the problems of building a public building: the law was passed to avoid favoritism, so that you wouldn't give the bid to somebody because they were your friend or your uncle or they voted the right way. It was also so that everybody has the chance to bid on them. We've learned how to handle those biddings, but in the beginning we had to give contracts to people whom I knew

would not build the building properly and it would cost us more in the long run.

Lage: You sound as if you had some problems.

Peltason: We did. We spent a lot of the time trying to get buildings in on time and under cost. You got into things where the architect would say it was the builder's fault. The builder would say it was the architect's fault. And they would both say it was the university's fault. We learned that to build a building there are various ways, all in compliance with the law.

Lage: By pre-qualifying, you mean?

Peltason: Right. Pre-qualifying certain bids and then for other buildings, like a parking structure, going to the "design-build" process where you deal with the builder who designs the building and assumes responsibility for the entire project. The builder can't blame the architect and the architect can't blame the builder.

In my eight years as chancellor, I learned a lot not only about hospital and health care, but how to build buildings in a public institution. I've always said it's too bad that there's not enough cumulative learning. I do not think it is limited to universities. You build a chemistry building working with the chemistry faculty. In the process you learn, and so do the faculty, how to do it better, but you don't get to build it a second time. [Laughter] But then another campus, say, Riverside starts to build a chemistry building and they start all over, not particularly benefiting from the experience at other campuses. However, we have made progress: the university has learned to share the learning experience of one campus with the rest of the campuses in the system.

Lage: Sure. I would think so. It's one of the advantages of having the multi-campus system.

Relations with the Press and with Neighboring Colleges

Lage: We didn't talk about the press. I don't know if that's something important, a mention of the press.

Peltason: We had a pretty good relationship with the press. We had better relationship in my time with the Los Angeles Times than we had with the Orange County Register.

Lage: Now why was that?

Peltason: The Register, I remember from the sixties and still a little bit in the eighties, has such a strong libertarian philosophy that they are really suspicious of any public body, including the university. They actually covered more news in Orange County, but they were more likely to write critical articles.

Lage: What kind of things would they focus on?

Peltason: Fortunately, I can't remember. [laughter]

Lage: Did they object to the partnerships with business?

Peltason: No. The fact is our relationship was pretty good. It wasn't until I came up north that I realized how mean the press could be. Because as we used to say, south of the Tehachapis the press were generally positive about University of California. So my relations with the press were good.

Lage: But did you go out and meet with the editorial staff?

Peltason: I met with the editorial staff, always made myself available to reporters, would start the school year always with a press conference with them. So it was very positive.

Another thing that was positive was that, I think primarily due to my ACE experience, I reached out to the community colleges, the CSU system in Orange County, and the private universities: Chapman, and Cal State at Fullerton, Cal State at Long Beach, and the community colleges, and there's a small religious school. It's changed its name; it's now called Concordia. I think it was Christ College, but I'm not sure. But we had a common agenda, we met with those presidents two or three times a year. I wanted to be sure that we had good relationships with them. It paid off during times of bond issues: they would frequently come out and endorse the bond issue for the university.



Jack with sister Jill and mother Emma, Topeka, Kansas, ca. 1930.



Jack and Corky in Kansas City, ca. 1937.



With family at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, June, 1951.
Left to right: Nancy, Emma Hartman Peltason (mother), Tim, Suzanne, Jack,
Walter Bernard Peltason (father).



Jack and Suzanne chaperoning a
sorority skating party at Urbana,
March 1956.



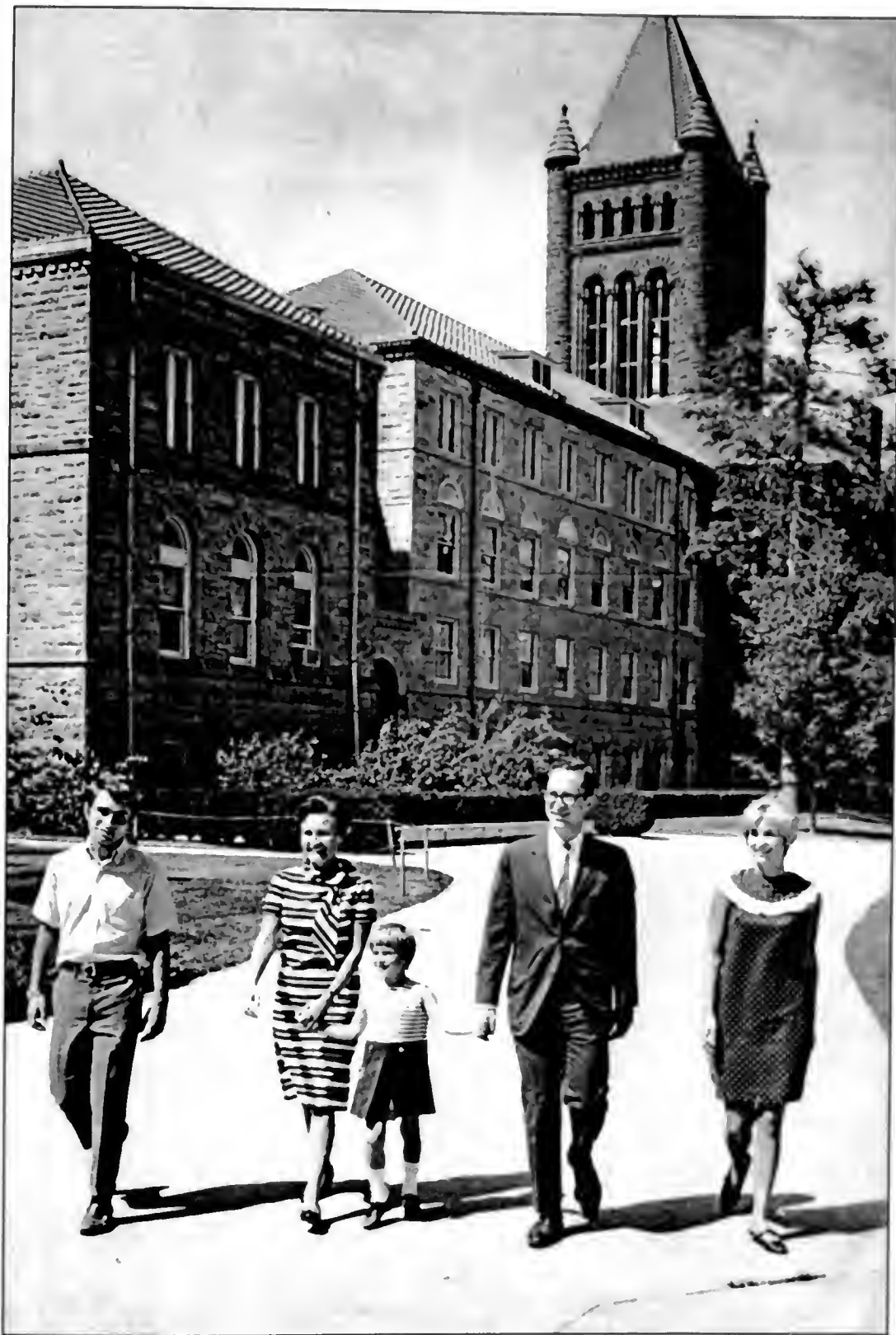
Jack Peltason, boy dean, and family at
the University of Illinois, June 1962.



With daughter Jill at Newport Beach, enjoying life in California, August 1965.



Farewell party for Vice Chancellor Peltason, leaving UCI for Illinois, June 16, 1967. Chancellor Dan Aldrich presenting a certificate of appreciation, "Wise, warm-hearted, and witty, he has left his indelible impress on the Irvine scene."



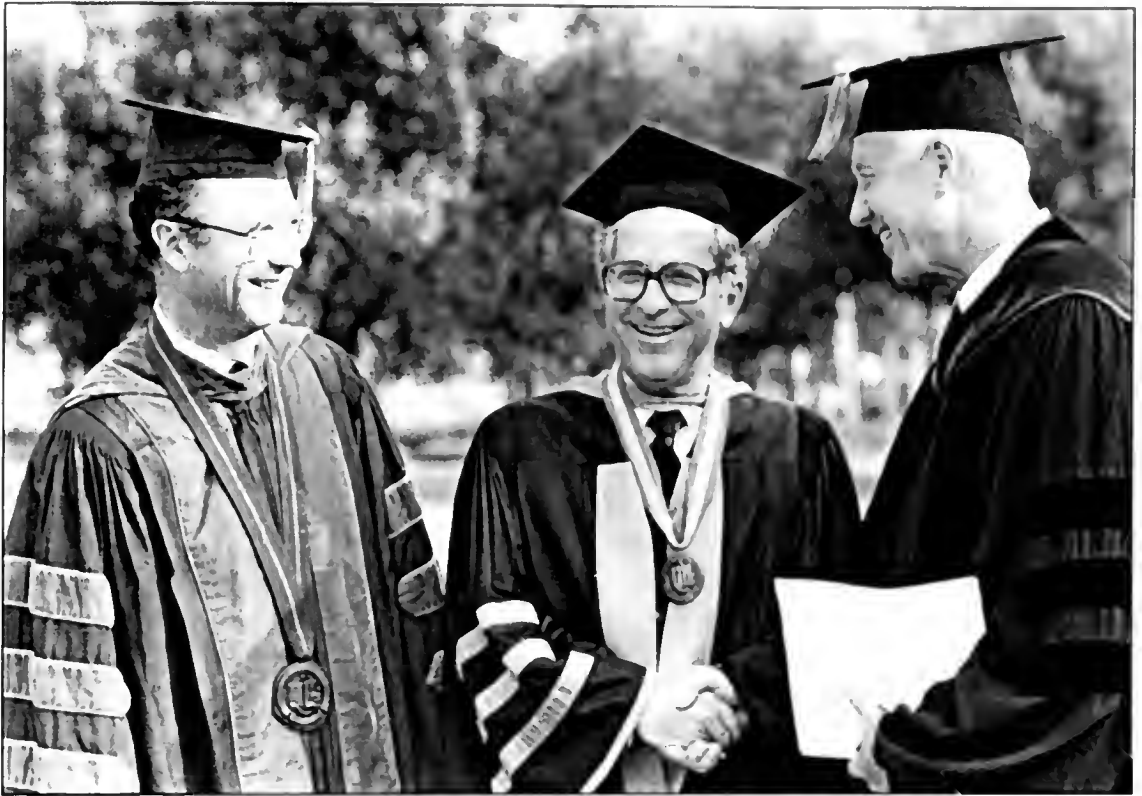
New chancellor at the University of Illinois and family, September 1967.



At the Supreme Court, November 1979. Left to right: Chief Justice Warren Burger, Jack Peltason, historian Samuel Eliot Morison, political scientist James MacGregor Burns.



In the kitchen, cooking lobster for Suzie Peltason's birthday, July 29, 1979.



Inauguration as Chancellor of UC Irvine, with President David Gardner, left, and former Chancellor Dan Aldrich, March 15, 1985.



At the November 15, 1984, meeting of the Board of Regents with former president Charles Hitch, left, and President David Gardner.



Chancellor Peltason with Peter Anteater at the opening of the UC Irvine Student Center.



Chancellor and Yo-Yo Champ, in medieval garb at the UCI Wayzgoose festival, April 20, 1985.



A chorus line of chancellors, gathered for a Regents meeting, July 1989. Left to right: Jack Peltason, Irvine; Barbara Uehling, Santa Barbara; Ted Hullar, Davis; Chuck Young, Los Angeles; President Gardner; Mike Heyman, Berkeley; Julie Krevans, San Francisco; Dick Atkinson, San Diego; Robert Stevens, Santa Cruz; Rosemary Schraer, Riverside.



Chancellor in the classroom, lecturing on the federal courts, April 1992.
courtesy Los Angeles Times.



Suzanne and Jack Peltason at Blake House, June 4, 1994.



The Peltason family at Jack's inauguration, UCLA, October 16, 1992. Left to right: Jill, Nancy, Tim, Bill, Jack, Suzanne.



Jack and Suzie Peltason with their seven grandchildren, on their fiftieth anniversary cruise, 1996.

XII CHANCELLOR AT IRVINE, 1984-1992: FACULTY, ACADEMIC PROGRAMS, AND WORKINGS OF UC SYSTEM

Recruiting an Outstanding and Diverse Faculty

Peltason: I should be talking about the faculty, which is the core, the central issue in building a university.

Lage: That's what's next on our list.

Peltason: When I returned to UCI in 1984, we had a tremendous expansion of the faculty. Our reputation was such that we could compete with the very best universities. It's been my particular emphasis to make a special effort to be sure that we recruited women and minorities. I think we have made considerable progress, especially with respect to women, because by this time women were getting in, through, and out of the graduate schools in large numbers.

Lage: How did you encourage a special effort?

Peltason: We had the Target of Opportunity program. I said to departmental chairs, "We need faculty in many disciplines, but we need women and minorities in all disciplines." I had three categories of people including especially outstanding faculty. If you found this once-in-a-lifetime, outstanding faculty member, or you found an outstanding woman or minority, even if you don't have an FTE, come to me and we will give you an FTE if you really found stars. So, you had to watch that program carefully to see that it didn't become the women and minorities program. Some deans would come and say, "We want two. We want to save the one we have for our 'man,' but we want you to give us this one for our 'woman or minority.'" So at the end of the program we had to fine-tune it. Again, Dan had started this. But the chancellor's office has to champion it.

There are two things you have to do to diversify. One is to be sure that people aren't discriminated against. That's what I call the negative aspect. The need to ensure that recruitment and evaluation take place without injuring somebody because of bias or stereotypes. Then there is the positive aspect, making resources available so that there are job openings for women and minorities.

Lage: And you have to have the resources to make them available.

Peltason: I gave a high priority to making those available.

Lage: Would you use the Bren Fellows for any of that?

Peltason: Well, the Bren Fellows program didn't start to flow, because we only had the two chairs. There were other distinguished chairs and endowed chairs, but it was chiefly just regular FTE's. Because in a growing campus, when enrollment is growing and faculty is growing in size, it is much easier to allocate off the top for the especially outstanding faculty. I mean, they're all supposed to be outstanding, but every now and then somebody discovers that somebody at the University at Michigan or Berkeley had some special reason for wanting to leave and maybe they could come to Irvine. Maybe other people are after them and they were just best in their field. We wanted to be in there to compete for those kinds of faculty. Or somebody would say there's an outstanding woman in this field, or an outstanding African American or Latino. That's especially true in those areas where, like engineering, there were not that many Ph.D.'s, and the competition for these people was very intense. Plus the university had other programs in place to identify women and minorities as they came out of graduate schools and then to support them in the process.

Lage: So you had that kind of program, also.

Think Tank on Diversity, and East Asian Studies

Peltason: Another thing that I did, which I forgot about until I reviewed my notes, was we created a Think Tank on Diversity, which is just a fancy name for saying we looked at all the things we've been doing and made some recommendations. I think I told you before, I believe, the Hawthorne Effect. What are we doing? Change it. If you have one kind of advising system, change it. If you have in place one set of processes or procedures of affirmative action and it had been in place for ten years,

change them. It brings renewed vigor and energy and attention to the problem. So if you have a committee on gays and lesbians, a committee on women, a committee on African Americans, maybe you want to put together one committee. If you have one committee, maybe you ought to create many committees.

Lage: Shake it up a little.

Peltason: So the Think Tank was there to think through all those things.

Lage: Now, who was appointed to the Think Tank, or who became part of it?

Peltason: We put together the various officers and some faculty who were especially involved in affirmative action programming both in terms of the appointment side and in terms of instructional side. And student affairs types.

I don't know whether you'd call it affirmative action, but another step that I encouraged while I was there was that by the eighties, Irvine had started getting a large number of Asian American students. But we didn't teach any Asian languages or have any special programming in Asian studies.

Lage: Why would you seem to attract the Asian American students?

Peltason: One, there's a considerable Asian American population in Orange County. And two, as they came and liked the place, they would tell their friends. These are what I call the self-fulfilling prophecies, so each of the campuses gets to be more like what it is: Santa Cruz gets more Santa Cruzian, Berkeley more Berkeleyan, and Irvine more Asian--it's kind of the self-fulfilling prophecy.

Lage: So you didn't have the kind of academic programs aimed at Asian students?

Peltason: We didn't have any particular academic programs aimed at Asian students, no. They came to study biology, they came to study engineering, they came because of the academic program; they didn't come because there was an East Asian language program. In fact, the East Asian language program is probably more necessary for non-Asians than it is for Asians. But I just felt that it was inappropriate for the university, or any university, not to have some language and instruction about that significant part of the world. So we started a language and literature program of East Asia, and recruited an outstanding woman, Pauline Yu, who is now dean at UCLA. She

and her husband, who is also in the field, came and started an academic program. It wasn't designed especially for Asian American students, but to round off the curriculum of Irvine.

Lage: Did soon-to-be-Chancellor Tien have anything to do with helping to get this program underway when he was your vice chancellor?

Peltason: It was when he was vice chancellor, yes. I can't remember whether it started before he came, but he was an enthusiastic supporter of it, yes.

Lage: What about things like Asian-American studies? Do you have a program like that?

Peltason: By the time I left, we had student protests asking for an Asian American Studies program and in the typical university fashion, we put together a committee to look at it, so there's some considerable work done in it. But we didn't have an organized program, didn't have the center for it. The view was, and it was generally supported, that you build these programs from the ground up.

Small-Group Residence Halls

Peltason: Which reminds me: one of the things we did do was create some residence halls for small-group housing. This was at the insistence of the fraternities and sororities. We had no places for them to have a house, so we built some very fine residence halls called small-group housing of which fraternities and sororities availed themselves. We made them available to other small groups, but I rather insisted that they not become African houses and Asian houses and Latino houses because I don't believe in segregation by housing.

Lage: Was there some pressure to do that?

Peltason: There was pressure to turn it over to ethnic student associations, but I insisted that these housing units must be sponsored by an academic unit, which has to be responsible for the program, which has to be open to everybody interested in that program. So we have "theme houses." The political science department, for example, has one where students interested in public policy can live together. Under these arrangements there can be a theme house for studies in Latino Studies, for example, not a place for Latinos to live but a place where students studying Latino studies can live, a place

where people can come to study Latino Studies. I think it has been a very successful program, and, somewhat to the skepticism of some, it hasn't been taken over by the fraternities and sororities; they are part of the mix. There are also other theme houses--academically sponsored programs--little residence hall clusters for people interested in particular subject matter.

Lage: Are these small-group housing units individual houses?

Peltason: Yes. I think they accommodate clusters of fifty. It's like a fraternity or sorority house where a bunch of students can live together to study a particular subject. And they cook their meals.

Lage: And they're on the campus grounds?

Peltason: They're on campus land.

Lage: That must contribute to your twenty-four-hour campus.

Peltason: It helps. It also helps keep fraternities and sororities under control, helps to avoid "animal houses." We leased the residential halls to fraternities and sororities, I believe, for five years. That means if they don't comply with university regulations, you can terminate and not extend the lease.

Lage: Have you had any problems?

Peltason: Not to my knowledge. But as I started to say, they came into being after I left.

Lage: Plans were set but you weren't there when it happened.

Global Peace and Conflict Studies Program

Peltason: Another program which developed during my time was the global peace and conflict studies.

Lage: How did that come about?

Peltason: Well, like most new programs, there's usually one persistent faculty member who makes it his or her career to bring it into being. There is a man named John Whiteley who in his quiet way went into Orange County, this very conservative county, and

persuaded people to put up money for the first endowed chairs. It's an academically strong program; it's not just people coming together to say "peace is wonderful." As they say, it's not peaceniks, it's academics in a university studying global peace and conflict. John Whiteley got some very prominent people like Elizabeth and Tom Tierney to support his program. They endowed chairs and persuaded other people to do so.

Lage: But he must have gotten some campus approval for the new program before he got the chairs? How does it work? Which comes first?

Peltason: The answer is both. You have to get campus approval, and I think he got it first. Then he got the resources to make it grow faster than it would have otherwise. One of the great things about the University of California is that it has been in the business long enough that we had controls in place, that you don't just study something because somebody wants to give you some money. You have to first go through the academic test. If it's academically sound, then you can raise money for the program, you can accelerate it. But it moves in the direction that the university already wanted to go.

Lage: And that was all vetted through the Academic Senate process?

Peltason: Right. The senate process.

Humanities Research Institute

Lage: What about the Humanities Research Institute: how did that come about?

Peltason: David Gardner is the major creator of it. Ten years ago, David--fortunately, he was president during that time--put together at the request of some considerable members of the faculty a task force. What can the University of California do to protect, preserve, and enhance the humanities? All the pressures of our time are moving us toward high-tech, support for engineering and technology and science. David and others were quite concerned about the fact that the university ought to be a place where the humanities are sponsored and protected, too. So we put together a humanities task force and reported back to David. One of the things they called for was a humanities center which would be located on one of the campuses but be operated by the office of the president. It would be the office of the president's responsibility, to serve the

humanists of all the campuses by bringing them into a place where they could engage in thematic, humanistic research. David made the resources available for the Humanities Research Institute and all the campuses made a proposal to put it on their campus.

Lage: So there was competition.

Peltason: Competition. Bill Lillyman, who was executive vice chancellor and also a very distinguished scholar of German literature, put together the proposal from the Irvine campus. The competition at the end was between UCLA and Irvine. David called me up and said, "Why couldn't you work it out with Chuck? You're good friends." And I said, "Yes, we're good friends. But Chuck wants it for UCLA and I want it for Irvine. There's not much to work out. I mean, David, you're the president, you're going to have to decide. There are advantages and disadvantages: they're bigger and stronger; on the other hand we're newer. It'll be a bigger deal on our campus, ours is an academic program, and we're very strongly managed at Irvine. Although a lot of people think of us as a science campus, the fact is that our English department and History department are among the best in the country, especially for literary criticism." David made the decision to put it on the Irvine campus.

Lage: How did Chuck feel about that?

Peltason: Well, Chuck doesn't like to lose.

Lage: Were other campuses resentful of that, too? I've always heard just a little undercurrent that that was a source of irritation.

Peltason: Oh, I am sure every campus thinks it could have done a better job, but I think its location at Irvine has worked well. Murray Krieger, the first director, was an all-university professor. He went to great lengths to insure that HRI served the humanists at all the campuses. His successor, Mark Rose, a professor at Santa Barbara, also worked to make it clear that HRI belongs to all the campuses. As did Pat O'Brien, the third director, who was a professor of history at the time of her appointment and has since gone on to be a dean at Riverside.

Lage: So the professors come from different campuses to head it up?

Peltason: Yes. They have gone out of their way to make it not just for Irvine. It's for all nine campuses, and professors do come from all nine campuses and spend some time there. It has its own places to put them up and run seminars. It's now beginning

to get outside funding, and I think it will become increasingly a prominent part of the whole University of California presentation.

Lage: It makes some grants that put people on other campuses?

Peltason: Yes. It runs a variety of programs, and it's unique in the sense that it doesn't give professors grants to do their own thing. They have two or three themes and then they bring humanistic scholars in for seminars and programs.

Lage: I think it sounds fascinating.

Peltason: Oh, it is.

Lage: I have a book that came out of one of those semester-long seminar programs.

Peltason: Well, David thought to put together the task force and then implemented the task force's recommendations. Then I think that people at Irvine have done a good job for the whole university. It always had the support of the chancellor's office. I mean I did all I could to support it, and I'm sure that Laurel, my successor, does.

Lage: What about finding space for it?

Peltason: We found space for it in the administration building. I also hope that one of these days it's part of the fundraising palette of the UCI campus. Pat O'Brien spends a lot of her time fundraising.

Lage: That's getting to be the name of the game, isn't it?

Peltason: I think I told you when I had to tell the deans down at Irvine, "You've got to help raise funds--money."

Lage: That's a new thing.

Reorganization of the School of Social Sciences

Lage: Should we see if we can finish up with new academic programs and then maybe break, or are you getting tired?

Peltason: Let's finish one more program and then we'll go out and have lunch. The School of Social Sciences reorganization.

Lage: Yes, that's a good start.

Peltason: I think I'd told you at the beginning that Jim March, the founding dean of the School of Social Sciences, created an interdisciplinary school without departments and an emphasis on quantitative social science. Jim did so because he felt that this was the way social science should be studied and taught. I did so as a tactical way to get started. I always thought that sooner or later we would revert back to the more traditional, departmental way of organizing the school, that there would be a regression to the mean. But at the beginning we did not have the resources to compete with the more established programs in older institutions.

But as the faculty is established, I anticipated and was right, that faculty would congregate along disciplinary lines. In the early years we had euphemisms, we didn't call them departments but something like special interest groups. But departments are where people "live," faculty get their degrees in a discipline, they go to disciplinary professional societies, they publish their research in discipline-based professional journals, they get their recognition for their scholarship by their professional colleagues. So by the time I came back, the school was ready to divide.

Lage: Was Jim March still there?

Peltason: Jim March was long gone. I always said that Jim's trouble was that there aren't very many real, genuine social scientists like Jim March. If he could have found one hundred "Jim Marches," it would have worked. But he's a giant of social science--he's at home with all the literature--but there are only a handful of people like him. So William Schonfeld, the dean, put together a task force, which made a recommendation that we create departments. That was a recommendation I applauded and approved. I'm sure if I had recommended it, the faculty would have resisted it.

Lage: But it came from the dean?

Peltason: It came from the dean. Well, it came from a task force. And there were some people who did resist it because actually they were really traditional. Whatever they're doing now, they don't want to change.

Lage: But did you have people who'd been there at the beginning and it was sort of an ideology with them?

Peltason: Yes, there were. It became, that's right, a religion. This was the Irvine way of doing it--the interdisciplinary nature was the organizing principle. And this support for interdisciplinary work has persisted. For example, people aren't clustered in the social science buildings along departmental lines. Their offices are arranged by some mysterious principle known only to the dean. So the interdisciplinary origins of the school persist, despite the fact that it now has the traditional departments.

The Quarter vs. the Semester System

Peltason: One other thing--and then we'll go to lunch--because I find it amusing. One thing I was unsuccessful in doing: the University of California, except for Berkeley, is one of the few major universities in the world that hasn't moved to the early semester system. I believe it should do so.

Lage: Is it the timing, or is it the quarter versus the semester that you object to?

Peltason: Both. I can give some selfish administrative reasons, too. I envision the early semester system being more sensible academically. It really reduces the problem for the chancellor. Most--90 percent of your student problems and 70 percent of your faculty problems--take place in the month of May.

Lage: What is that from? [laughter]

Peltason: Something to do with the sap is rising. I don't know. [laughter] I used to point out when I was at Illinois when you have 30,000 in a small town and it's been snowing, and snowing, and snowing, and then all of a sudden it's spring, it is not unlike having an occupying army in a foreign country. Something's going to happen on the playing field. Also, the school year's about up, and they haven't saved the world yet, so the students all get cooked up to have it reformed. The faculty are getting tired, and they're getting kind of cranky. If I can get the students to love me in May the way they love me in September, I'd have it made. But I always say, get them out of town, send them home to mama before the silly season starts. [laughter]

Lage: So when you say early semester, you mean starting in August?

Peltason: Starting in August and ending in May. That's what Berkeley has. Robben Fleming, president of the University of Michigan, which also had the early calendar back in the 1960s, used to go around the country giving speeches in May. I used to tease him: "Bob, you can make speeches, your students have gone home."

Lage: Well, Berkeley faculty hated the quarter system and that's why we went back to semesters.

Peltason: Right, I was here when the Regents forced the move from semesters to quarters. It was supposed to make it possible to have year-round operation. I know that Clark Kerr still thinks we ought to go year-round. But our agricultural roots are deep. Except during time of war or other emergency, we have been unable to get most students to go to college year-round.

Lage: What about the extra administrative costs of registering and signing up for classes?

Peltason: With the quarter system, you have that. Learning takes place in smaller units, it costs more; but whatever faculty are doing now, they don't want to ever change. Twice I tried to get the Irvine faculty to vote. I had a vote on it once, and we almost got the semester system in. They wouldn't even vote on it the second time. I did try to get Chuck to take the lead because, you see, if UCLA goes to the semester system the rest of us will join, but I never could get that accomplished. The law schools have all gone to the early semester system.

Lage: Oh, they have? So the law schools are on a different schedule.

Peltason: And the rest of the world is. I think a few of the Ivy Leagues and the University of California are the only ones still on the quarter system. That was a reform I was unable to get accomplished.

The Administrative Team

[Interview 9: May 12, 1998] ##

Bill Lillyman, John Miltner, and Other Vice Chancellors

Lage: Today is May 12, 1998, and this is our ninth session with Jack Peltason.

Peltason: I just want to start with some comments about the administrative team. I was fortunate that I inherited a very strong administrative team when I came here. There wasn't any need for me to make any major adjustments in the way they had been operating. Bill Lillyman was the executive vice chancellor, a very distinguished professor of German language and literature. I'm told, I don't understand why, that some people were apprehensive that the two of us might have difficulty meshing, but I certainly saw none. I think I played a somewhat stronger role in the internal governance than Dan [Aldrich] had done towards the end, but there wasn't any tension, and I had and have a great deal of respect for Bill. He had a great deal of respect from the faculty; he had a good administrative team; and once he understood that I had confidence in him but that I was the chancellor it was a very smooth working relationship.

Lage: Now, when you say you played a stronger administrative role, what do you mean?

Peltason: I think towards the end Dan, as the appropriate thing--I'm not being critical--had been spending more of his time on external relations and less on internal relations.

Lage: He left that to Bill Lillyman?

Peltason: He left that to Bill. I played a somewhat greater role than that, I mean just a matter of degree. But once I had confidence in Bill I did turn much of that responsibility over to him. He had faculty confidence and he had a good administrative team. Then, as I say, Bill left the vice chancellorship.

Let me talk about others besides Bill Lillyman.

Lage: Okay.

Peltason: There was a very strong vice chancellor for advancement, John Miltner, who had been picked, again, by Dan, but he and I got on very well.

Lage: Is that development and fundraising?

Peltason: He was developing a strong relationship with the community.

As I say, I worked hard on the community relations, both city and fundraising. I know that I made the point last time, but you know, when you're chancellor, that's where you can make the most difference: in private fundraising. The Office of the

President and the Regents more or less do 99 percent of getting the state dollars, and the faculty get their own research dollars through the federal government, and what the chancellor can do is get the private dollar.

Lage: But wasn't that kind of a new role for the chancellor? I don't remember hearing about chancellors doing much about fundraising in the seventies, say.

Peltason: It's a new role for all public universities.

Lage: When did it evolve?

Peltason: Well, it gradually evolved. If you look at the great public universities in the United States, they are the ones that have been able to supplement public dollars with private dollars. As I mentioned before, we used to be governed by what was called "the gentleman's agreement," that private universities would not seek public dollars and public universities wouldn't seek private dollars except from our own alums and our friends. Well, today that has all changed. Caltech and Stanford receive lots of public dollars and we at the University California agree that they should. We, in turn, receive private dollars. Besides, the gentleman's agreement was not that limiting: anybody who gave us money was by definition a friend.

Lage: When did the gentleman's agreement end?

Peltason: Oh, maybe after World War II it began to break down.

Lage: Oh, well that's a long time ago.

Peltason: Well, but you see, Irvine had no alums, and fundraising is a long-term process. Present chancellors at Berkeley and UCLA are harvesting the work that was done twenty, thirty, and forty years ago. So you have to start those relationships.

I also worked hard on good relationships with the city of Irvine and the Irvine Company--we talked about that.

Lage: Yes, we talked about that.

Peltason: John Miltner was a great asset there. I then found the need for a vice chancellor for research.

Lage: Now, that was a new position?

Peltason: I think so. I had some difficulty in getting the appropriate person for that vice chancellorship.

Lage: You mean you appointed a few?

Peltason: Yes, the first ones were not successful.

Lage: What does that vice chancellor do?

Peltason: Well, there's coordinating of the research efforts. The schools tend to be narrowly focused. The vice chancellor of research maintains research standards for interdisciplinary research programs, those main research programs which are beyond that of any one particular faculty member. Then there is the whole thing of regulating research and all human subjects.

Lage: Oh, yes.

Peltason: Leon Schwartz was in place as a fine vice chancellor for administration, and I had confidence in the business financial side. I won't go beyond the problems I had with bringing the medical school into coordination, but--

Lage: He helped with that?

Peltason: He helped with that and, in fact, when the hospital was in crisis at one time and the director had to leave, Leon moved over there as director of the hospital. [laughs] I had a good administrative team, and coming with me was a woman from ACE by the name of Ruthann Baker. That's her present name.

Lage: A woman from ACE, you say?

Peltason: She had been my assistant at ACE, and she was part of the administrative team.

Lage: What was her role here?

Peltason: Assistant to the chancellor. I never can remember people's appropriate titles--chief of staff or something. All the chancellors have somebody working in their office who sees that their work gets done, because if you're not available, they know they can get a message to you. There's also a person who can deliver messages back and help coordinate the Office of the President.

Lage: Is Ruthann Baker now over in advancement?

Peltason: I don't know what her title is, but she works now for government relations for UCI. Just to stay focused on administrative personnel before I get into the faculty: Bill

Lillyman left the vice chancellorship. Bill wanted to go back to teaching. He'd come from Santa Cruz. He would have liked to have become chancellor of Santa Cruz, and I was a very strong proponent of his becoming that; he'd have been a great chancellor of Santa Cruz. He didn't, and he chose to go back to continue his teaching.

Recollections of Chang-Lin Tien as Vice Chancellor at Irvine

Peltason: When Bill Lillyman left, I got Chang-Lin Tien.

Lage: Now, how did it happen that he came down from Berkeley?

Peltason: Well, I consider that one of my triumphs. I'm very proud of the fact that many of the people whom I have selected have gone on to distinguished administrative careers subsequently. All throughout the United States are chancellors and vice chancellors who served as part of my team.

Lage: Is that because you trained them well or you selected people well?

Peltason: It's because I selected people. [laughter] I also think because I do encourage them to take credit for the work they do and push them forward and promote them so that their accomplishments are recognized.

Lage: But how does that happen, though, that someone from Berkeley applies to go--

Peltason: Well, we had the usual search committee and we had three candidates, one of whom was probably the first choice of the campus. He had been a vice chancellor at UCLA in academic affairs. If I remember correctly, he had a very fine reputation, but his terms and conditions became more than we were prepared to pay, and he had an opportunity to go to North Carolina, which he chose. I believe he was looking for an older, more established campus, and I think in his own career he made a mistake, but he'd have to answer that.

But also on the list and very close to him was Tien. I went up, and I was very much impressed by Tien and by his good record. He had been a vice chancellor for research at Berkeley, and then head of a major department, and then gone back to teaching. I went up to meet him at Berkeley and we had

long dinners, and the more I talked to him, the more impressed I became by him. I talked to a lot of people at Berkeley and talked to David Gardner. There were some people who were apprehensive because of his language ability and wondered if because of his Asian-American background he would be able to fit into Orange County. I told him I never had any doubt about that. [laughs]

I used to tease him, I said, "My concern is that you're an engineer." [laughter] I said, "The trouble with engineers as administrators is they think that every problem has a solution. And we political scientists know that most problems have to be accommodated, not solved." I said, "I hope you can become an engineer who thinks like a political scientist," but I was teasing him because I never had a doubt about his ability. He was a great success. He came down here, and he and I worked very closely. I had a great deal of confidence in him. I think I did teach him things, at least he's done me the honor of saying that I did.

Lage: Did you teach him to think like a political scientist?

Peltason: [laughter] Well, I didn't have to teach him very hard or very much. I mean this as the highest compliment: his political sensitivities are very good. He understands whose opinions are important and the need to consult and get involved. He has boundless energy.

Lage: Oh, yes.

Peltason: Then I think he'd been down here two years, and I told David Gardner right away, "Your next chancellor should be Chang-Lin Tien." And I pushed him. David and I were very close, and I think I had considerable influence in getting him to be chancellor at Berkeley. I remember one time somebody called me up from Berkeley and said, "Well, will he be able to raise money from the Old Blues?" I said, "He'll open the riches from the Orient." [laughter]

Lage: You were thinking more broadly than they were.

Peltason: That's right. I said, "He'll become instantly an international figure. He has the energy and the capacity, and he loves Berkeley. And if you're smart, you'll go for him." And they were smart and they went for him. So then I had to get another vice chancellor. [laugh] And that's when I got Dennis Smith, who was outstanding. He had been dean of biological sciences.

Lage: Here at Irvine?

Peltason: Here at Irvine.

Vice Chancellor Dennis Smith

Peltason: Again, Dennis and I got along splendidly. So I had the good fortune in my time to work with Bill Lillyman, Chang-Lin Tien, and Dennis Smith, two of whom I picked and one of whom I lucked into. But they're all men of great talent and ability. I always thought Dennis should have been my successor, but as frequently happens, an executive vice chancellor makes tough decisions and offends. Dennis had made some tough, right decisions, having to do with relationships with the community--ones I would have made, too, and should have been held responsible for. Faculty have sometimes, in my judgement, mixed up what's in their best interest with what's in the university's best interest. Sometimes you have to make a decision--especially in areas that don't relate to academic well-being. That's especially true on a campus like Irvine, where the faculty you're dealing with are not just faculty but they're home owners.

Lage: Oh, was this having to do with their--

Peltason: The way roads go, and what happens that affects their own backyards. Dennis offended some of the environmentalists. We had a decision we had to make in terms of the road structure around the campus, which I made, but Dennis was a good sport in implementing them, and for reasons I don't understand he got criticized. I can't see why it's easier to criticize the vice chancellor than the chancellor. Anyhow, I think that's one of the reasons that kept Dennis from becoming my successor. He served as acting chancellor, did a brilliant job, and has gone on to be a very successful president of the University of Nebraska, so that story has a happy ending.

I had a good administrative team. I had good deans, except for the School of Medicine where I had dean trouble. I had--let's see--one, two, three, four deans during my time there, so that was my problem. But the rest of the deans got along fine. They were doing a good job. I had to make some changes. One of the things I am concerned about in the University of California is the failure to create positions for deanships. I don't know if there's time to get into my contention that it's one of the weaknesses of the administration of the University of California to have very powerful chancellors and vice chancellors and very strong faculty senates, but not strong,

powerful deans as intermediate structures. But that was not a major problem here.

The academic staff is in good shape and I think the tone and the quality of the Irvine campus is good.

Lage: You mean the faculty itself?

Peltason: I'm talking about the staff. I'm about to move to the faculty, but again, just during my time there were no acute staff problems. We had good people in place, the physical plant, police and security, and the human resources.

Lage: It's almost like being a mayor of a city!

Peltason: Being a chancellor is like a mayor. It is--plus.

Relationship with the Faculty

Peltason: In terms of the faculty, I had a wonderful relationship with the faculty. I was much helped by the fact that I'd been part of the original faculty. Therefore, by the time I came back, the senior faculty were all personal friends of mine.

Lage: So the ones you'd originally chosen had stayed?

Peltason: And there's nothing like old friendships to build a bonding. I think it was a great asset for me that there wasn't much a part of the campus where I didn't have close personal friends. You lose some of the good will of the faculty when you make decisions. There are two parts of dealing with the faculty. There's the formal structure, the Academic Senate. At the University of California, that formal structure is shared governance. The chairs of the Academic Senate during my time-- Seymour Menton, Sue Duckles, Spencer Olin, Arnie Binder, Howard Lenhof--if I remember correctly.

Lage: Now this is the Academic Senate on campus?

Peltason: Academic Senate on campus. I always made a point of meeting with the Academic Senate.

Lage: And that relationship between the Academic Senate and the chancellor is built right into the system?

Peltason: Well, it's built into the system, but there are certain governance responsibilities given to the Academic Senate that you as a chancellor are obliged as part of your responsibility to deal with in a formal way.

Lage: Such as?

Peltason: The chancellor makes the appointments but only after a full consultation with the Academic Senate.

Lage: Is there a back and forth in that process?

Peltason: It's very formally established.

Committee on Academic Personnel

Peltason: The recommendations for all appointments are elaborately documented, submitted to a Committee on Academic Personnel, CAP. It's one of the most powerful committees on the campus. It reviews all files and turns over to the chancellor, who usually deals with this through the executive vice chancellor, all recommendations for appointments and promotions.

Lage: Now, did you ever have occasion to disagree?

Peltason: Yes. If the file was non-controversial, then Bill Lillyman would take care of it. If there was some controversy in the file, or if Bill Lillyman thought it established a change in policy, he would come talk to me about it. And if we were going to act contrary to the wishes of CAP, I would go tell CAP I was going to.

Lage: Would this be on an appointment or promotion, you might act contrary to their wishes?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: Did that happen very often?

Peltason: Not very often, but often enough to establish the fact that they advised the chancellor, they didn't decide for the chancellor.

Lage: [laughs] Oh, I see!

Peltason: I remember one man suing me because he'd been informed that the CAP and the department had recommended a merit increase for him and I turned it down. He sued me, or threatened to sue me, before obtaining his merit raise on the grounds that he'd bought a car in anticipation of that recommendation. [laughter] And I said, "They propose, the chancellor disposes."

Lage: But what kind of thing would alert you or make you say, "No, I'm not going along with this carefully reviewed recommendation?"

Peltason: Well, usually you get to be experienced enough reading academic personnel files to know that there's some question about it.

Lage: I see.

Peltason: If there's noise in the system somewhere, if there is strong difference in the judgments expressed, if outside letters of recommendation aren't very enthusiastic, it alerts you to look closely at the record. These days, letters of recommendation tend all to be enthusiastic: you have to read between the lines. Because of the lack of confidentiality people are reluctant to express anything but positive judgments. I deplore the fact that what should be a personnel decision--does the person deserve tenure or a merit raise--has become more like a trial: has he/she done something that would justify withholding raise or tenure?

Lage: Did you ever make an appointment or promotion, say, to further an affirmative action goal or something like that in opposition to the committee on tenure?

Peltason: The answer is yes, occasionally. Every now and then you would feel that somebody who'd been denied a merit raise or promotion probably did deserve it, or the other way around, that the recommendation coming to you to grant a raise or a promotion was not merited, but 96 percent of the time the recommendation deserved to be supported. You have to remember that the recommendation comes to you after serious consideration by serious people so if you were going to reject the recommendation you had to have a good reason to do it. You see, you shouldn't be arbitrary about it.

Lage: But then you would go and consult?

Peltason: I'd go and consult and explain it to them. Once a year CAP would report to the Academic Senate the number of personnel

actions and how often the chancellor agreed or differed with them.

Lage: I see. But did they report specific ones or just the statistics?

Peltason: No, it just takes the form, "In 97 percent of the recommendations... but in 3 percent, having to do with merit purposes..." Your record sort of speaks. [laughs] But this was not an issue and I wasn't different from any other chancellor in the system.

Lage: No, I'm just trying to get a picture.

Peltason: Yes. Then I met formally with the CAP a lot.

Informal Meetings with Faculty Members

Peltason: I gave a great deal of time to what I call dealing with the informal power structure of a campus. We have what we call locals and cosmopolitans--sometimes they overlap. Sometimes people who are internationally distinguished scholars never go to a senate meeting, never participate in the governance at all; and on the contrary, some who participate in the senate meetings are not necessarily the most distinguished professors. There is some overlap, but I always said I wanted to meet with what I called the barons. [laughs] They all happened to be men, although by the time I finished, there were the occasional women. But these were the people who held the named chairs, the Bren Fellows, the members of the American Academy or the National Academy. I used to meet with them three times a year.

Lage: What kinds of things would you meet with them about?

Peltason: Well, just to talk to them about the university, and get their views. Then I made a point of going to talk to every college on campus with the vice chancellor. I would say to the dean, "It's up to you to decide, but depending on the size of the college, I'll meet with all the faculty, I'll meet your executive committee, I'll meet with any group you want, staff, whatever." Every year I made a point of going around the campus to talk to and be talked to by all the faculty of each college. So I met them in the senate, I met them informally, and I met them in their colleges.

Lage: How did these informal meetings go? Did you get gripe sessions?

Peltason: Yes, lots of times you get gripes, depending on the state of the budget. I was fortunate during the eighties. We were expanding the budget, building the buildings, so by and large the meetings were pleasant. Each faculty wants to explain to you why it's working harder than anybody else and getting least rewarded, and why it doesn't have more buildings, or its special problems.

Living in University Hills also kept me involved with the faculty. Then I made it a point of eating as often as I could at a particular table in the University Club with the faculty so I could see and be seen by the faculty. I think that it's very important that the chancellor, although his responsibilities are chiefly off campus, not be seen as a person removed from the faculty. I also like to do, as I say, a lot of my administration by walking around. I found a lot of things that needed attention that I probably wouldn't have known if I hadn't, myself, walked the campus.

Lage: And just be part of things?

Peltason: Be part of things and try to check books out of the library, and try to do it anonymously or go get information from an office. Not spying, but just to see how things are running when you, yourself, are personally involved. Now, you never get an honest answer because pretty soon you get to be well enough known.

Lage: That's right. Chancellor-at-large!

Peltason: Right. But I always felt that the administration by walking around--just walking up and down the halls, walking on the campus, having the chancellor's meetings other than in the administration building--were all part of my administrative style.

Review of Performance as Chancellor

Peltason: Chancellors are reviewed every five years. I wasn't aware of that when I first came here, [laughs] and David Gardner, at the end of my fifth or sixth year, called me in and said, "I have to go through the review with you." It was all done secretly.

- Lage: Now who does the review? The president's office?
- Peltason: The president. By the time I became president, it was one of my major problems.
- Lage: Oh, we'll talk about that.
- Peltason: But it's called to mind by the fact that when David said, "Among the things the faculty would like you to do is pay more attention to the senate." I said, "I thought I'd been paying a lot of attention to them," but I accepted that. My guess is I thought the machinery was running so well, and I probably by that time relied more on my vice chancellors to do that.
- Lage: Now, when they say more attention, do you think they meant come to the meetings?
- Peltason: Come to more meetings. I thought I'd come to all of the senate meetings, but I accepted that as a valid criticism. The chancellor's always having to decide what is the best usage of time.
- Lage: There must be tremendous demands on your time!
- Peltason: Tremendous amounts and claims on your time.

[The following two paragraphs were added by Dr. Peltason during the editing process] The claims on time reminds me, and this is being written on reading my oral responses, that what I would do over again is try to find some way to protect time to take care of the important items which are always being submerged by the urgent items. As chancellor and president I had little capacity to control my own agenda, to attend to matters that could matter in the long run because at any given moment something could happen, and in an institution of the size and complexity of the Universities of Illinois and California, something always will happen that could take over my time for days, even weeks, even months. Some emergency, something that created headlines, something out of the ordinary, or controversial or threatening the safety, security, or financial soundness of the university, and the chief executive has to drop everything and give the matter his immediate and constant attention.

So much is putting out fires rather than building things. It goes with the job and explains why so many things I wanted to do, I never had time to get to--improving the recruiting and tenure processes, initiating new academic programs, planning for the future--and why I would pass on to my successors to

learn from this experience and see if there could not be some way to protect time. I don't have any ideas how to do it; if the state goes into a recession and the legislature cuts back your budget, I doubt if the president can find time to do anything except deal with those issues; or if the newspapers report on a scandal in a school, I doubt if the chancellor or president can delegate responsibilities to explain, defend, and correct to anybody else--just some random thoughts.

Assessment of University of California's System of Shared Governance

Lage: So what do you think of this system of shared governance? It seems to me that in one of the interviews that I think Sam McCulloch did when you were vice chancellor you complained about the system being so bureaucratic. How did you feel after being chancellor?

Peltason: Well, after being chancellor and vice chancellor and having been chancellor elsewhere, I think the shared governance system of California is splendid. I think, however, we need a thorough revision of the process by which we implement shared government. I think it's become much too formal. I think the senate sometimes, by reviewing everything, has given up the control over anything that's really important.

Lage: What else do they get into as strongly as promotion and tenure?

Peltason: Well, they get involved with budgeting, which is very difficult to do on a part-time basis. We have student governments, then we have the Academic Council. It all works--I just would like to see it streamlined, less formal, less rigid. As I said, I'm more for the parliamentary system than the presidential system for the operation of the campus. We have what I call the presidential system. There are the administrators, and there's the senate, and they deal with each other formally. I much prefer what we had when I was in Illinois: the chancellor was the chairman of the senate.

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Peltason: Instead of the Academic Senate focusing upon every merit increase, every personnel decision--in my mind, it would be better to delegate routine merits back to the deans and the chancellors. It would be a faster and more efficient system. I think the process by which we consult is too elaborate. I'm

not against the consultation, but I think that I would take the shared governance system and modify it. And it will happen over time.

Lage: Especially if faculty lose interest in actively participating.

Peltason: Well, on the other hand, there are many unintended but very valuable benefits from the senate system. The fact that the senate spends so much time on university business means those faculties get to know each other and university officers from all the campuses. The fact that the senate is on each of the nine campuses and we send so much paper up and down the system, and there are so many meetings around the state, means the University of California has real meaning and provides shared experiences for faculties, not just for the Berkeley faculty or the Santa Barbara faculty, but meaning to all faculties on all nine campuses.

Lage: It ties them together.

Peltason: So all of this elaborate bureaucracy, which is time consuming, has unintended and such good consequences so that I think the shared governance is a major asset. I would only change it at the edges, not fundamentally.

Lage: Does it increase institutional loyalties, do you think?

Peltason: I think so.

Lage: I've heard that faculty, overall, not just our faculty, have weakened ties with the institutions they are part of.

Peltason: I think that's happened over a long period of time. I don't think it's any different at California from at any other place. People's ties have moved towards their disciplines and less towards their institution.

Lage: Do you think this shared governance might counter that a little bit?

Peltason: It might help to counter that because when you become a member of this faculty, you have responsibilities not just to your discipline, but to governing the campus and to governing the whole university. So I think that on the whole it works very well.

But as I was saying, I had no major flare-ups or tensions or issues with the faculty. There were always debates and disputes, and faculty members complaining, but it was a

relatively harmonious eight years, with good administrators with a lack of internal acute crises. There weren't personnel decisions that were riveting the whole campus, there weren't curriculum decisions. There were little flare-ups here and there. I got along well with the students. Students quite rightly sensed that I spent less time with them than I did with the faculty and the community people, because I had a great deal of confidence in people working with the students and there are so many of them.

Vice Chancellor Horace Mitchell and Athletics Controversies

Peltason: I didn't mention Horace Mitchell, who was an outstanding vice chancellor.

Lage: Oh, tell us a little about Horace Mitchell. Now he's at Berkeley, isn't he?

Peltason: Horace was another one of the strong men of UCI.

Lage: What was his role?

Peltason: He was vice chancellor for student affairs, a very wonderful vice chancellor. I had his title changed to vice chancellor for campus affairs. That's the most difficult job of all, to deal with the students. [laughs]

Lage: Why did you change it to campus affairs?

Peltason: Because Horace had more than just students, he dealt with the campus, you know. Career planning reported to him, and the assembly hall reported to him, the housing reported to him.

I did have a crisis in athletics and Horace helped me on that. That was one of the areas where I think I told you that every time I made a speech around here about the great things the university had done, they always wanted to know about the football team.

Lage: When you were going to have one!

Peltason: When we were going to have one. Our basketball team did not do as well as we had anticipated; we had to change the coach.

Lage: Was this the crisis that you were going to talk about?

Peltason: It was one of the crises. And then the budget: we were losing money in intercollegiate athletics and Title IX required us to redirect some of the money.

Lage: To women?

Peltason: To women. I had to reduce the number of sports. By the way, one of the fascinating things when I was reviewing the intercollegiate athletic program was the supporters of each of the sports programs would come to me and say this, rather specifically: "We don't care about anything but our team." The members of the water polo team had strong connections with Marian Bergeson, a good friend of mine who was in the state senate. She was very much interested in water polo, and they said they were going to get me if I did anything to the water polo team. They said that, and it was a political threat. They also said, "Cut anything, cut English, cut other sports, but don't you touch water polo."

Lage: Because it was strong here, wasn't it?

Peltason: It was strong here. But then each sport came to me and said, "Cut everybody else, but don't cut our sport." During the course of my career here I had to preside over stopping baseball. We needed to cut a men's sport that would save substantial sums of money, and baseball was the one we had to cut.

Lage: How did it come down to the choice of baseball?

Peltason: Well, the ADs [athletic directors] and the people who worked on this did much analysis. That was the only way that you could find the money to balance the budget. They were losing over a million dollars a year, I think, and we told them, "You've got to stop that." The only revenue sport we had was basketball. Baseball was an expensive sport but didn't generate any revenue. It is a good sport and I like baseball, and I wish that we could have kept it up.

Lage: Was there a big reaction to that?

Peltason: Yes, mothers crying and fathers threatening. You were wrecking people's lives. I don't minimize it. But nobody can ever understand that cutting a program is the most difficult thing you ever do. We don't have any programs that don't have a constituency, that don't serve somebody, that don't affect somebody's life.

Lage: So you did this in order to provide balanced money to men and women? Is that correct?

Peltason: We did that in order to balance the budget and we couldn't have done it legally by just reducing the money going to intercollegiate sports for women. We had to do it in such a way that an equal amount was spent on women's sports programs as on men's.

I am reminded of another problem where Horace played a central role. One of the most difficult things a university, or any other, executive has to do is to make personnel changes. We had an AD, a long time professional, but he could not seem to get the intercollegiate budget in balance. I had to make a change and try to do so in a way that would not injure him. I asked him to come into my office to develop a strategic plan for our intercollegiate athletic program, to devote full time to this effort, and to give up responsibilities for the day by day management of intercollegiate athletics. But sports writers, who focus on these matters, took this reassignment as a demotion, and he was hurt and his wife was hurt because of the attacks on him. I tried to make the switch in a way to avoid hurt.

Lage: So you gave him a new position?

Peltason: I gave him a new position, but the newspapers and the critics just don't let it go without some major comment. Horace stepped in and helped. He assigned a dynamic financial aid officer to help him with intercollegiate athletics, but that was a time of crisis.

Lage: This wasn't about discontinuing baseball, this was another issue?

Peltason: It all came together. But as you say, the program was losing money, we didn't have a long-range plan, budget cutting wasn't taking place, and we had to move in.

Lage: And make changes.

Peltason: And make cuts.

Successful Faculty Recruitment and Retention, with Sunshine and Dollars

Peltason: I also made a decision to build at a faster pace two professional programs: the Graduate School of Management and the School of Engineering. Dan really wisely and as a wonderful decision had accepted responsibility for a bigger program than he originally had resources for and built up the whole campus slowly. But by the time I got there it was clear, and Dan had already been moving in that direction, that we had to push forward these two professional programs that had critical mass. We did some magnificent recruiting during that time and some very key people are on board.

Lage: In these two?

Peltason: In those fields but also across all of campus.

Lage: Yes. Somewhere I read that you had asked or told David Gardner you had to have some funds for recruitment. Is this right?

Peltason: Well, during the good times David had money to allocate.

Lage: But did he give Irvine some special funding to build up faculty?

Peltason: He did. My guess is he gave every campus some special funding. [laughter] Good president that he was, he would give you special money because of your good or great job, and he told that to all chancellors, my guess is. But I think he felt that we were doing a good job. In the first place, we were taking more students, so we were taking the workload, and we were doing a good recruiting job. It made strategic sense for the University of California to grow here, because this is where the workload was.

The most important thing the chancellor can do is help recruit and retain faculty. It was the faculty who designed the program, it was the faculty teaching, the faculty doing research; the faculty do what a university's supposed to do. The rest, everybody else, is just support. During that time I had a great deal of confidence that we were recruiting good faculty. Every recruited faculty that we got, that was in my mind one new blue chip, like an investment portfolio. We're just investing in a new stock. We also did a very good job in keeping most of the people. We didn't lose many people in the eighties.

- Lage: Now, why do you think you did such a good job? Did you take a role in it? Or did you have a core faculty that drew people here?
- Peltason: Well, quality begets quality. People around the country were beginning to recognize that Irvine was the place to go. We were beginning to have the ability to put them in laboratories and have the buildings for them. In a sense, the campus was on the move. California was a great place to be, and the University of California was a good place to be. David Gardner had good relations with Governor Deukmejian. The state had money in the eighties.
- Lage: That was a good decade!
- Peltason: The eighties was the decade; it was the decade the budget got restored in two or three years. We got back competitive power. As I used to tell my friends, "We've got sunshine and dollars." It was a great growth period for the University of California in general and Irvine in particular, because we were a growing campus.
- Lage: That's a nice time to be chancellor.
- Peltason: It was a good time to be chancellor.

Chancellor's Role in Allocating the Budget

- Lage: Is there anything to talk about on what the chancellor does in terms of allocating the budget?
- Peltason: Well, yes. Again, 90 percent of the budget is allocated by formula, and the other 10 percent is discretionary. The vice chancellor does most of the allocating of the budget. The vice chancellor allocates the budget among the various functions, such as putting the money in the Graduate School of Management.
- Lage: I see.
- Peltason: Also, I always held back some money for Targets of Opportunity and said that anytime anybody can find an outstanding person, especially if that outstanding person is a woman or a minority, I never want it to be said that we couldn't get them because we didn't have enough FTE for them. Our number one priority would go to get the best faculty. So we had the money to do that. That's the internal campus. Then the relationship with the

rest of the University of California was, I think, very profitable in those years. There weren't any major crises with the Regents, except for the hospital.

Lage: Right. [laughs] The hospital is the exception, it seems like.

Peltason: The hospital is the one thing I had to keep explaining to the Regents what we were doing and why we were doing it. But there weren't any major crises for the Regents. I didn't have meeting after meeting worrying about what the Regents would say.

Relationship with David Gardner

Peltason: The Office of the President was supportive, my relations with David Gardner were always very positive. David and I had been friends before I became chancellor. The fact that I was older and somewhat more experienced meant that I think we had a relationship among equals.

Lage: You didn't feel like you were second in command? How does the chancellor see himself in this system?

Peltason: I never doubted that he was the president of the university and that he had the ultimate say, but the relationship was one, as it's always been, between equals. We had different responsibilities: he was president of the system, I was chancellor of the campus. He didn't try to run the campus and I didn't try to be president.

David was always concerned about the dignity of the Office of the President, and there were some little tensions about who presided at inaugurations. David was always worried about Charter Day and always worried about the stationery. He was quite concerned that the system might be too decentralized. He grew up in the system and is an historian of the system, and he remembers the days when the president of the University of California was all there was. It was nothing other than a wry smile every now and then when my office would tell me that the Office of the President is in charge of this rather than us.

Lage: Is Charter Day celebrated on other campuses than Berkeley?

Peltason: No. For a while when I first came here we were all expected to show up at Charter Day, all nine campuses. David said, quite appropriately, that there are very few ceremonies in which all

nine campuses participate, and we need some symbolic identification. But we all persuaded him that Charter Day is a Berkeley day, it doesn't mean anything to anybody on the other campuses. So we agreed that Charter Day would become a Berkeley holiday, and we'd have our own holiday. The president would come not just to Charter Day but to the other holidays on the other campuses.

- Lage: Were those holidays on the anniversary of the founding of the campus?
- Peltason: Each campus had its own. There was Picnic Day at Davis, and we had a ceremony here in the spring--a UCI celebration day--and UCLA would have its day. Then we would always try to have something that would be an all-university holiday other than Charter Day that would belong to everybody, but it didn't work.
- Lage: Charter Day seems like a natural since it was the founding of everything.
- Peltason: That's right, that's right. And we all went, but it just didn't last. But during the eighties there weren't great tensions. David had some of his problems. I would frequently consult with David as a friend rather than a chancellor. I think we had a special relationship going, which I treasure to this day because he's a friend and a man I admire. As far as the Regents are concerned, he was the most magnificent leader of the Regents. He was a virtuoso presiding over the Regents. Things were going so well and David was such a powerful person --he was so much in charge--that there weren't any great tensions there.

Dealings with California State Government

- Peltason: David would call upon me--not David, personally, but the Office of the President would call upon me--and I became involved quite often in Sacramento, both as a political scientist and because I had good relationships with the Orange County delegation.
- Lage: Would he call you to come to Sacramento and talk to legislators?
- Peltason: To testify and march up and down the halls, calling on people.
- Lage: For the budget?

Peltason: For the budget, and for projects, and for bills. I played a role there at his request, not on behalf of Irvine, but on behalf of the system.

Lage: Any experiences there that you recall that you want to mention?

Peltason: Just walking halls--I'd go see Vasconcellos, Marion Bergeson. Governor Deukmejian, I'd go see, and Wilson. I spent a lot of time up there on behalf of the hospital. I told you that it was in Sacramento that I first found the way to find that extraordinary money (the disproportionate provider reimbursement) that built up our hospital and all the hospitals.

Lage: Yes, you did [pp. 329-330]. So that's something very concrete that came out of your walking the halls in Sacramento.

Peltason: Yes. I won't say that I was the only one to walk the halls. Ruthann [Baker], and Steve Arditti, and Larry Hershman, and many others were there.

Office of the President in Southern California

Lage: Let me ask you a little bit more about the statewide administration of the university. What did people think of the southern office of the president at Irvine?

Peltason: Let me talk about the Office of the President from when I was down here. Two things had happened to the Office of the President, each of which we supported. First was having the Office of the President leave the Berkeley campus and disassociate itself from the mother campus. I strongly supported that and so did, I think, the other chancellors in the system. It's always difficult to have the admiral of the navy and the captain of the flagship on board the same ship. The tensions between the Berkeley administration and the Office of the President were quite obvious. Mike [Heyman] is a good friend, and David is a good friend, but I think those tensions are systemic, not just personal.

Secondly, the other campuses want the president not to be president only of Berkeley, so we applauded the notion that there should be a separation. Then David came to me and said he felt that a lot of people lived in southern California and the Office of the President needed to be seen and be visible down here, what would we think of that? And we said that would

be fine. I said, "I don't think it should be on the Irvine campus. I don't want to have the confusion between Irvine campus and the Office of the President, but we welcome you in Orange County." First of all, there's an airport and it's kind of the center of things, and so David sent Ron Brady down to do that. I had a preference that he'd be at Newport Beach or Costa Mesa instead of Irvine. I must say, I had some skepticism that it would ever really work.

Lage: When you say work, what do you mean?

Peltason: That it could ever really be used a lot. I think David made a tactical mistake by building an office that was more appropriate to a corporate headquarters than to a university headquarters. When I became president, the first thing I did was close down that office. It was a fine office that was appropriate for fundraising, but it was so elegant that it wasn't as useful as it might be because people felt uncomfortable having a campus meeting; it was not designed to encourage use by vice presidents and the rest of the university.

Lage: Kind of the workaday world of the university?

Peltason: The workaday world of the university.

Lage: Does the president do much fundraising?

Peltason: No, but I used it for fundraising.

Lage: Oh, you did? [laughter] Well.

Peltason: As chancellor I had some meetings over there. But it was built during the posh days, and the rugs and the furniture were a source of contention. Also, it's difficult for a president to meet without vice presidents. When I became president, I continued it, although I did put it on the campus.

Lage: You kept an office on campus? Was it the Office of the President?

Peltason: I created an Office of the President with the Academic Senate. The Academic Council was statewide, the Office of the President was statewide, and we had one--and I was pleased to say it was in a garage.

Lage: [laughs] In a garage!

Peltason: It's a very pleasant office, but it's in a parking garage. It became less of a target for people who want to attack the Office of the President as being in the lap of luxury.

Lage: I see, but how did it work out with the sensitivity about impinging on the Irvine campus, particularly with you being the ex-chancellor?

Peltason: Well, at the time, since the Academic Council was here, it became the headquarters of the council and the president. It got to be used a lot by other groups; extension people would meet here, the senate committees can meet here.

Lage: So it really did become a southern California access point?

Peltason: Yes, an access point for the whole University of California, not just for the Office of the President.

Lage: That's a good distinction.

Council of Chancellors

Lage: Ted Hullar, in his interview for our series on the university presidency, gave a really wonderful description of meetings of the Council of Chancellors--where people sat, and how they interacted. Would you have a description of it?

Peltason: I always have said of the Council of Chancellors' meetings--and I have said this when I became president more often--that you've got to remember that everybody in that room was picked because they'd rather talk than listen. [laughter] There were nine chancellors, and the president, and vice presidents, and the meetings became at times tense, more so in stringent times than in good times. It's hard for me now, when I think about the Council of Chancellors group, to distinguish between how I felt as a chancellor and how I felt as president.

Let me say this about the vice presidents and the chancellors: I got along well with the vice presidents. I was a close friend of Ron Brady, I knew him from the Illinois days. I've always been a strong defender of him as a man of integrity and brilliance. In the eighties, he was not a figure of controversy, he was generally appreciated. I got along well with Bill Frazer, Bill Baker, and Con Hopper.

My chief complaint as a chancellor, and I expressed it to the vice president and David, was we needed one-stop shopping. Chancellors had to go to too many different vice presidents. Because there was tension between Ron and Bill Baker. I think it was a problem that David was aware of and was dealing with but never was able to solve.

As far as the chancellors were concerned, I got along well with my fellow chancellors. Chuck Young was the dominant personality, but Chuck and I were old friends. I had known him as a fellow political scientist, I knew him from my ACE days and my Illinois days. Sue [Young] and my wife were friends. I found myself frequently being the moderator at the chancellors' meetings. I helped recruit Barbara to the campus.

Lage: Barbara Uehling?

Peltason: Barbara Uehling. I had known her from those early days. I urged David to pick her. I'd known Ted Hullar. I found a circle of friends. The major problem was when David had to deal with the chancellor of Santa Barbara.

Lage: Huttenback?

Peltason: Huttenback.

Lage: Now, would that get discussed in the chancellors' council?

Peltason: Yes, we knew about it. We all tried to talk Huttenback into resigning and going off graciously. I liked Bob Huttenback; he had nine ideas, of which two were good and seven were crazy. [laughter]

Lage: But he was an idea man?

Peltason: He had lots of ideas and was a pleasant enough person. I remember this not being a place of a great deal of tension. Things were going well, you know; there wasn't much to be decided.

Lage: Until the budget?

Peltason: Until the budget crunch came.

Lage: How did the large campuses, Berkeley and UCLA, and the newer campuses deal with each other?

Peltason: By the time I was there we were well-established, you know. I've said before, and I want to say when I get to talking about

being president, the Office of the President is the protector of the new. If you left it up to each campus, there'd never be another. If you say to the Berkeley faculty and administration, "You want to see UCLA grow?" the answer is no. If UCLA had been allowed to have its way, there wouldn't have been an Irvine.

Lage: It sounds something like your athletic programs?

Peltason: Well, yes. The president represents the constituencies that aren't at the table. The Berkeley faculty and the chancellor will defend their interests, but who's going to defend the tenth campus or the ninth campus or the eighth campus?

Strategic Planning for the Nine Campuses and for New Campuses

Peltason: I was a defender, by the way, of David Gardner's strategic plan. The strategic plan that David Gardner had us undertake was brilliant.

Lage: The planning on each campus?

Peltason: The planning on each campus.

Lage: Tell me just a little bit about that from your point of view.

Peltason: He said, "Let's think ahead." I think he gave us about a twenty-year time frame. "How many students can you take? Where are you going to put them? What resources do you need? Here are the number of students coming." We went around from Berkeley to every one of the nine campuses having to come forward with a comprehensive strategic plan for the next twenty years.

Lage: Was that a big effort on this campus?

Peltason: A major effort. It called for physical planning and educational planning: you're going to have "x" number of students in that year, how many buildings do you have, how many are you going to need, how many faculty are you going to have, how many are you going to need, where's the money going to come from? So the whole University of California, instead of just reacting from moment-to-moment, crisis-to-crisis, was on top of the situation of what, how many, where. Are they going to go to Riverside? How many can Riverside take? Each campus had to negotiate. I used to tell our people, "Don't fight with the

Office of the President about what it's going to be like in the year 2002. Worry about what it's going to be like next year." [laughter] Riverside had big plans; Riverside wanted to grow at a faster rate than the Office of the President thought they should, but the campuses and the university were essentially getting ready for the tidal wave of students coming. And the Office of the President was leading us into doing that.

Lage: So this is one of David Gardner's accomplishments?

Peltason: It's one of David Gardner's contributions.

Lage: Then what about the idea for three new campuses? How did the chancellors on the existing campuses react to that?

Peltason: I was supportive because I thought the greatest danger that the campuses of the University of California faced is that we'd be forced to grow too fast, too big; not that we'd not grow fast enough. We were all, I think, skeptical that you could plan for the year 2010 or '20, but I was persuaded that just as there needed to be Irvine and Santa Cruz and San Diego in the sixties, we'd better start thinking about what happens in the next century, as the State of California goes from thirty million people to fifty million people. I never worried that Irvine wouldn't grow because we were in Orange County, and we were bound to grow. The problem is a governmental and economic one, not, "Are the students going to be available?"

Constitutional Constraints on the Budget, and Relationships among the Chancellors and between Chancellors and the Office of the President

Peltason: The other thing that David Gardner led the way towards thinking about are the constitutional problems of the university budget. He made several statements, often before the Regents, pointing out that because of amendments to the California Constitution, Prop. 98, for example, and federal mandates, the governor and state legislature had discretion over only a small portion of the California budget; the rest was allocated by these amendments and mandates. The University of California and California State University, along with the Department of Corrections, were among the few items in the budget for which there is no constitutional protection. As a result the universities and prisons were in competition for an increasingly smaller share of the state general fund. There were some predictions in the early 1990s that by the early

decades of the twenty-first century, the mandates and constitutional requirements would take all the state's general revenue funds, and there would be none left for the university.

The prosperous times at the moment have "covered up" and postponed the issue, but it is still there since the constitutional issues are left unresolved.

I come back to your question about how we got along. By the time I became chancellor in the 1980s, the new campuses had established themselves so that they appropriately belonged at the table. Nobody was pretending that Irvine as a campus was in the same league with Berkeley. In terms of numbers, depth, and comprehensiveness, Berkeley and UCLA were in the big leagues. But the Irvine faculty was in the same league as their colleagues at the more established campus. There weren't as many of them, but at a meeting of faculty from all the campuses they were entirely the same general caliber.

Another thought: UCLA was especially helpful toward Irvine.

Lage: Was there some kind of a partnering there?

Peltason: I think Chuck was always a man who believed in the University of California. He's an intense partisan of UCLA, but he really was a loyal California citizen. We built on their library. As I told you, he had his athletic teams play our athletic teams. He fought me bitterly over where the Humanities Research Institute should belong and felt that David had made a mistake. He's a tough fighter, but he was supportive of the whole system. As a senior chancellor, he played a leadership role.

Lage: How did he exercise leadership? Was this within the council or was it informal?

Peltason: Well, he'd do a lot informally. When we had trouble in Santa Barbara, he went and personally talked to Chancellor Huttenback. David will tell you about tensions between the Office of the President and Chuck, and I can certainly tell you about that when I became president, but as a fellow chancellor he was supportive.

There was tension every now and then between Mike Heyman and the chancellor from Riverside, Rosemary Schraer. Rosemary was always talking about how Riverside needs special protection. She would recruit people to Riverside, and then the other campuses would recruit them away. [laughs] She was always talking about Riverside, and I remember Mike Heyman getting peeved with her about how, "You're always telling about

the problems at Riverside! Let me tell you about the problems at Berkeley." [laughter]

Mike had a temper. Two or three times, Mike would throw down his matches and strut out of the room, [laughter] scaring everybody to death. But he was also a sweet, decent man, too, and so he got over his temper. There was more to the fact that there was slight tension between Mike and David.

Lage: Is that, again, because of the kind of power tensions?

Peltason: I think the relationship between the big campuses and the Office of the President is always more difficult because the president, as I say, is more or less the champion of the smaller campuses. They need him more. UCLA and Berkeley have the feeling of, We don't need the rest of the system, we can go our own way.

Lage: Is the talk about being one university--you mentioned it at the talk you gave at Berkeley, and I've heard other people talk about it--is that emphasized more by the smaller campuses, do you think?

Peltason: Yes, I think so.

Lage: I mean, Chuck Young had some talk for a while about whether UCLA should secede.

Peltason: Yes, I think he was misunderstood, or was peeved at the moment. I don't think that's his long-range feeling. But I think, again, when I got to be president, I was much more aware about the fact that Berkeley and UCLA are big enough, comprehensive enough, and have enough alums that they could go it on their own, whereas that would be very difficult for a Riverside, or Santa Cruz, or Irvine. I don't think Berkeley or UCLA faculty and staff, when they really think about the long-run interests of their campus, want to go it alone. But when times are tough financially, they tend to see the Office of the President as a constraint, as an office whose approval they need, as an office that's keeping them from doing something, as a cause of their problems more than do the faculty from the smaller campuses. But the fact is that everybody can blame the Office of the President; it's the scapegoat of the system. If there were no Office of the President, the blame would go to their own administrators or their own board of trustees. But when I was chancellor, my own feelings were of confidence in the leadership not only on the campus, but also on those in the Office of the President. I think that more or less covers Irvine, does it not?

Lage: I think pretty well.

Controversy over Student Contributions to CALPIRG

Lage: Let me ask you, did you have anything to do with the CALPIRG [California Public Interest Research Group] negative check-off?

Peltason: Yes. I strongly supported David Gardner's view that it was totally inappropriate to charge students, as a condition of coming to the University of California, a fee which we would then turn over to CALPIRG.

Lage: Now, was that happening on the Irvine campus?

Peltason: It didn't happen on the Irvine campus because our students had never asked for it. If they'd asked for it, I'd have told them no. So I supported David.

Lage: So it was Berkeley.

Peltason: For some of the other campuses it was an issue. I faced this issue as chancellor of the University of Illinois and said no.

Lage: Oh, they had made a request there, too?

Peltason: They had made the same request. But it goes against my civil libertarian view, and I also find it especially ironic that it would come from a Ralph Nader group, great advocates of protecting consumers and who would be very peeved if a business firm took money away from its customers without opening up to what it was doing.

Lage: Were you aware of the repercussions from it that David Gardner talks about having faced?

Peltason: I became aware of them at the very end of his administration when public criticism of him broke. He then had told us of his conversation with Ralph Nader and that he attributed a considerable part of that hostility towards him to their attack on him.

Lage: But you, yourself, didn't have a direct discussion?

Peltason: I had no direct knowledge of it. He told us about it, and I had no discussion of it. It was not an issue on the Irvine campus, and I was supportive of his stand. I wasn't aware that

it was even a major issue until I became president when I was immediately subject to the same pressures by the legislators.

Lage: Tell me about that since we're on the topic.

Peltason: Well, many of the best friends of the University of California in the legislature made it clear to me that they wanted me to do something about giving the money to CALPIRG. The students went to them and they in turn put pressure upon me to negotiate the compromise. It turned out it was during my administration that we worked out the compromise.

Lage: What was the compromise?

Peltason: I don't remember all the details, but we finally agreed that if the students on any particular campus voted to allow this, then CALPIRG could collect the money from those students who positively said they could, but they didn't have to positively say they could every year.

Lage: I see.

Peltason: So we took a vote of the students. The students could vote for "Yes, I want some of my money to go to CALPIRG, and I hereby give you permission to do that for the next two or three or four years." The approval didn't have to be given registration by registration.

Lage: When the entering student comes in and says yes, then it will appear on their bill?

Peltason: If the student body at a particular campus and the chancellor vote to put such a position into place, it's okay, but the only position they can put in place is one that the student gives consent for. The student has to positively give their consent.

Lage: A positive check-off instead of a negative check-off.

Peltason: Yes. But the positive check-off can be for two years rather than quarter by quarter.

Lage: Okay, so you had the same pressures from the legislature?

Peltason: The same pressures upon me by some of our best friends: the Democrats in the legislature, some of the best friends of the university!

Lage: Did you argue the validity of their position with them?

Peltason: Yes, and I also said that we wouldn't ever agree to make any check-off requirement to be imposed upon the students, whether they wanted it or not, without their consent. We didn't give in on that, but they made it quite clear that a lot of our appropriations would be in jeopardy if we didn't work out something.

Lage: It's amazing the kind of pressure.

Peltason: What was amazing to me was that we had this pressure, which I consider immoral, and that the political opponents never put any counter pressure on it.

Lage: Yes, the people that wouldn't be friends of CALPIRG?

Peltason: Yes, that's right. It was just not an issue among the Republicans.

UC Administration Compared to University of Illinois

Lage: I think we've covered pretty well the statewide university, from your perspective as chancellor. Just one more question: how does this relationship between statewide and the campus and between the chancellor and the president compare to Illinois?

Peltason: They were totally different situations. In Illinois, that's where I was the captain of the flagship with the admiral on board, lived in the same town where the presidency was much more dominant. There were only three campuses. And the chancellorship is much less developed at Illinois. It probably only worked at Illinois because I'd grown up there and been there; it's harder for chancellors who haven't been part of that system. People like Bill Gerberding, who came from California to become chancellor at Illinois, I think were somewhat disillusioned when they find out that the chancellor there didn't play the same role.

Lage: That the president is much stronger on the campus?

Peltason: Much stronger on the campus, not only on the flagship campus, but on all the campuses. The fundraising and the alumni association are just now beginning to decentralize. It's more a system of a president where the vice president happens to be called the chancellor.

Lage: I see. Okay, let's take a little bit of a break here. [tape interruption]

Extension of Tenure as Chancellor

Peltason: I'd like to go back to when I was chancellor. One thing I'd like to mention about being chancellor: when I came, it was my understanding that you had to retire at sixty-seven.

Lage: Was that the law at that time, or the rule?

Peltason: It was the practice of the Regents. I had assumed that I would do that.

Lage: Were you looking forward to it?

Peltason: No. I wasn't ready to retire, but I figured I would become a professor. David had fixed the salaries so that I could afford to retire and with my supplementary retirement I'd take a year's leave of absence with pay.

Lage: Which was standard?

Peltason: Which was standard. And leave with honor and then come back. We already had a house here, so I'd be a professor, and write my books, and that was just fine. Everything was in good shape. I can't remember how it came up. I remember walking with David Gardner after a meeting in Santa Barbara at that fancy hotel there, walking down to the ocean, and he said to me--it was the year before I was due to retire, or two years, I think--would I consider staying on? I said, "Sure," but I said, "Neither one of us should make a firm commitment this far in advance. You want to first find out whether that's in the best interest of the university. I may have some personal decisions to make, but why don't we tentatively plan on it." And he said, "Fine." So I got extended for a year. David said he'd asked the Regents, the Regents were enthusiastic about it, and he'd check with the Academic Senate leaders down here and they were enthusiastic about it, and then it went to two years.

Lage: Kind of on a year-by-year basis.

Peltason: Year-by-year basis. So I assumed for a while there I could be chancellor forever. [laughter] At least I assumed there wasn't any longer a deadline to retire.

David Gardner's Resignation as President of the University

- Peltason: But then Libby Gardner died, and somewhat to my surprise and somewhat later than that, David called us in, and he said that he just couldn't go on.
- Lage: How did you perceive his reaction to her death?
- Peltason: Well, he was devastated. They were very close. We knew that they were very close and we were all devastated because we were all close to her. I tried to talk him out of resigning on the grounds that work is his best therapy and that as far as I can see, it had not diminished his capacity to be a good president.
- Lage: He seemed to feel it did.
- Peltason: He did, and he wrote a beautiful resignation letter. So then we needed to have his successor picked, and I remember walking out of that room saying to Chuck Young, "You're my guy, I'm going to be your campaign manager."
- Lage: After hearing the resignation?
- Peltason: Since we heard about David's resignation. But let me come back because Libby's death reminds me that one of the things that David had done when he was president is put together a program for presidents' and chancellors' associates, which I fully supported because my wife had played at Irvine such an active role as the associate of the chancellor. That wasn't the title, but she had actively been part of my administrative career both at Illinois and in California. My staff helped her in social arrangements in Illinois, and she had a social secretary in California.
- Lage: Which makes it almost an official role.
- Peltason: It wasn't an official title, and there was no official recognition for it. David had put together a program of the associates of the chancellors, or associates of the president, which was an official title with certain pay. The chancellor's retirement system was augmented by, I think, 5 percent in recognition of his wife's contribution. He didn't figure out any way to pay her directly, but she was given a retirement system contribution, which was added to his retirement salary.
- Lage: Now did the wives or husbands, as the case may be, have to sign on to this?

Peltason: Yes. This was a position where the chancellor could pick his or her spouse to be the "associate of the chancellor."

Lage: You had to be the wife or husband?

Peltason: Yes, you had to be. The spouse had to decide to become the associate, and then the chancellor or the president had to decide to recommend them. They got official stationery, and they got calling cards, they got a retirement benefit, and they got a car allowance. So that had been the program that David put in place, with the enthusiastic support of the chancellors. Except I think Barbara Uehling merely went along. She didn't have a spouse, felt it one more example where the old boys' network with spouses got a privilege. It was available to her, but she didn't have a spouse, or her spouse was not geographically there at the beginning.

You know, that was the program in place, so we all knew how important Libby was to David. When he announced that he was going to leave, it was a great loss. The Regents were devastated, the chancellors were devastated. He had been an outstanding president. I remember telling him once when we met before a retreat of the Academic Council--he got a standing ovation--I said, "You're the only president I know who ended his term with the same adulation as the beginning of his term. You've had a constant honeymoon." So he left with a great deal of support. The criticism of him didn't break until after I had agreed to become president.

Backing of Charles Young for President of the University

Peltason: I then told Chuck--and I had no notion of becoming president--I was too old to be president. Several Regents and others said to me, "You ought to become the president." And I said, "Well, my mother and father just got married too late, [laughter] I am just too old." But my candidate was Chuck.

Lage: Now, why was your candidate Chuck?

Peltason: I greatly admired him. He knows and loves the University of California. He'd served it well for all these years. I thought he deserved it. I thought he'd be a good president. I thought the same intensity that he'd brought to the chancellorship, he'd bring to the presidency. I knew he had detractors; people thought of him as hot-tempered, intolerant, and I told everybody that Chuck's a smart enough man to know if

that's the price to be president, he won't be intolerant.
[laughter]

Lage: Intolerant of what?

Peltason: Chuck doesn't like people to differ with him. He tends to think he knows the answers, but I've known him long enough to know that after he blew off his top, he then went right back to work. I said to people who told me about that, "Well, I'll resign as chancellor and I'll go up there and be his cooler-downer." [laughs] Now again, I wasn't directly privy to the selection process. But I said, of all the chancellors, I thought he deserved to be the president.

Lage: Was it pretty much an internal selection?

Peltason: No, they put together a search committee.

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OVER EXECUTIVE COMPENSATION AND THE BUDGET

Selection as President ##

Lage: We've returned from lunch, and we're going to go back to the story.

Peltason: I was reflecting on how I had no thought of becoming president of the University of California. I anticipated retiring. It wasn't part of my ambition, I was too old, and I thought they had good candidates. I pushed Chuck and worked with the chairman of the search committee, who was Meredith Khachigian, a friend of mine. She's a regent, and I've always made a special point of working with regents from southern California, and Meredith was from Orange County. I knew most of the regents because I'd been chancellor. On occasion, when appropriate, I'd tell her why I thought Chuck would be a good president.

I don't remember when it was called to my attention that they might be giving me consideration. I think David Gardner said something to the effect that, "If it hadn't been for your age, there would have been no question about it. You would have been the next president." And I said, "Well, I'm flattered," but I didn't take that seriously. I had a friend on the search committee who was also for Chuck. He was an alumni regent from UCLA, and I told him of my admiration for Chuck. He told me more than he should have told me. Ralph Ochoa was his name. Somehow or other towards the end there, Meredith or somebody asked me if I'd be considered. I said no, and I knew that Chuck wanted it. Chuck was working hard to become the president, and I certainly wouldn't be president. But when Roy Brophy said to me, "Well, he's not going to become the next president; he doesn't have the support of the board to be the president."

Lage: Did Meredith tell you that?

Peltason: I think it was Roy Brophy who said it wouldn't happen; it "wasn't in the cards." But then they said, "Would you consider being president?" And I said, "Well, if Chuck can't be president, even then I wouldn't be president unless Chuck wanted me to be president, because it would be an impossible job to be president if the most powerful chancellor didn't want you to be president or thought somehow or other you'd kept him from being president." And then I said, "Because of my age I wouldn't be president for much longer than three to five years," and let it go at that.

Towards the end I was told that, "There are three candidates but we won't tell you who the other two are." However, I guessed who the other two were. I guessed that one was Richard Atkinson at San Diego, as well as Chuck. I like Richard, but I didn't think Richard really wanted to be president. Richard had been a very successful chancellor of San Diego and never really fully participated in the life of the Office of the President or had been much around with the Regents.

Lage: He hadn't spent as much time with the Regents?

Peltason: He used to come to the Regents' meetings and leave before the end of the Regents' meetings. He's a very successful chancellor and loves San Diego, I just didn't think he had any interest in being president. I thought he could be president if he wanted to be president. He had the capacity to be president, but that was obviously not something that he wanted to work on.

Then I knew that Chuck had some intense people who were for him, but towards the end it was clear that it was only a handful of people who were for him, and there were some people who were strongly opposed to him.

Lage: Was he too strong a personality for some people, do you think?

Peltason: They felt that he lacked the capacity to negotiate and to be open and that he was too rigid, too strong. Chuck never concealed when he thought the Regents were doing something stupid. {laughter}

Lage: He would tell them?

Peltason: He would tell them. He'd offended regents and he had offended faculty on other campuses. He didn't have general support. I

think he had the support of his own faculty very strongly, but not the faculty on other campuses. The representatives of the faculty on the search committee were against him. Since he didn't have the support of the search committee or the Regents, I said that I decided that I was willing to be interviewed, but my terms were, (one) as long as it's clear to me that I wasn't keeping Chuck from being president, and (two) that he would get over his disappointment if he couldn't be president and he would support me. Meredith was to communicate that to Chuck.

I do remember--it's funny how things stand out in your mind--they asked me to come up there to be interviewed at a hotel on Century Boulevard, and we had to pretend that we didn't know who the other two were. We were kind of kept apart by an hour or so.

Lage: So this is the three of you, the three chancellors?

Peltason: Yes, although we weren't officially notified. I distinctly remember parking, getting there ahead of time, and not wanting to be there before I was supposed to. So I parked the car. I was sitting there for about twenty minutes and I looked up. I don't know if you've ever been on Century Boulevard, but there's a strip club right next to the Hilton, [laughter] and I'd parked in the parking lot of the strip club, waiting to go to the hotel next door. I thought that was a novelty [laughs].

When I talked with the search committee, I continued to tell them why I thought Chuck should be their choice. I said to them, "Have you picked Chuck?" If he wanted me to, I'd become his vice president in order to help him, but he should be the new president. We had a pleasant conversation about the issues before the university, and I left.

Then on April 1 I was delivering Suzie to some church function in Los Angeles. David was out of town--he was in Hong Kong--and Meredith called me on the car phone and wanted to know if the board wanted to make me the president, would I accept. I said, "Have you cleared this with Chuck?" She said, "No." And I said, "Well, those were my terms. I don't want to be president against Chuck's wishes. In fact, I don't want to be president unless he wants me to be president because it'd just make life very difficult to be president with the senior chancellor not wanting you to be the president."

Lage: But would Chuck have been happy with anyone else being president? [laughs]

Peltason: I don't know. Meredith said, "I'll call you back." She hadn't talked to Chuck. She called up Chuck, and she called me back. This was all on the car phone. And she said, "I've talked to Chuck; it wasn't too pleasant," but she conveyed to me that he'd communicated that if he couldn't be president, I had his concurrence to accept. I didn't think he would say no, but I wanted a positive, "If it can't be me, then Jack." I wasn't privy to that conversation; it was a short one. So then I said I would accept the presidency.

But I have to say that I think that changed the relationship between Chuck Young and me to my personal regret and made being president of the university more difficult than it otherwise would have been. Chuck is a gentleman, and he got over it. I don't think his wife ever did. She and Suzie had been friends, and when Suzie tried to call and express her disappointment that it had not been the Youngs and it should have been the Youngs, Sue Young was very bitter. That was an unpleasant way to begin being president of the University of California, because it was a long-term friendship.

I don't want to give you a misimpression, because during all the time that Chuck and I continued to work together it was professional. Chuck was always a good soldier, but I have no doubt he always thought he could have done the job better and that he should have been the president. His bitterness towards the Regents became a major problem. The tension between Chuck Young and the Regents was one of the problems I had to deal with all during my presidency.

Terms and Conditions of Employment as President

Peltason: So that's how it got started and why it got started. Again, it gets also into the terms and conditions of the employment. When Meredith or somebody asked me about the terms, I said, "Well, whatever you've been giving the president of the University of California. I don't want to be less of a president. I may be president for only three to five years, but during those three to five years I intend to be president and I want whatever package has been given." So Ron Brady and I got on the phone and I said, "Whatever David Gardner's been getting." I said that was essentially what I wanted and so I got a package similar to what David had. I was offered a housing allowance (later declined) because I intended to live in Blake House but to keep this house in Irvine up; it was to be used when I was down in the south. I got the salary that

David did, I think. I didn't get everything that he got, but I got a generous package, including some deferred compensation which was then part of the executive package. It was not a controversial item.

Lage: At that time?

Peltason: At the time.

Lage: Now, you already had some of that from the chancellorship?

Peltason: We all had deferred compensation.

Lage: But the president had some more?

Peltason: The president had some more, and I didn't get any more than I would have as chancellor. They kept my administrative leave that I would otherwise have gotten and that was made into a legal contract: a housing allowance (which I later declined), some deferred compensation, and the regular salary.

Controversies over David Gardner's Compensation Package

Peltason: The problem, however, was that this was April, but David wasn't going to give up the presidency until October. I've always thought transitions in the academy are much too long. People, after they've announced they're going to leave, ought to go faster. And people who've accepted responsibilities ought to take them over more quickly. This would have been difficult under any circumstances, but the first time I went into the Office of the President as president-elect---. They picked me on April 3, and then later in April I went to the Office of the President to meet with the new staff. David was in Hong Kong.

Lage: He was still in Hong Kong?

Peltason: Still in Hong Kong, and I walked in and Ron Brady was distraught. All hell had broken loose over one of the regent's charges that David Gardner's compensation package had been worked out in secret and that it was exorbitant.

Lage: And this had been done before you were appointed?

Peltason: Yes. The terms and conditions of his retirement had been worked out by the Regents while I was still chancellor, before I'd been selected president. It was made public right after

I'd been selected as president so that the Office of the President was in turmoil within two weeks of the time that I was president-elect, although I wasn't president until the next October.

Lage: Yes, right. You had six months as president-designate.

Peltason: Six months as president-designate in which I had to be involved in dealing with the Regents and the public on the terms and conditions of executive compensation. Two or three things had happened simultaneously: David had announced he was leaving, his retirement package had become an object of controversy, and the university's budget had taken one of the biggest hits of its history. So the man who had been and was about to retire as one of the great presidents of the University of California with the universal applause of the entire state was immediately, himself, in the middle of a controversy. And the Office of the President was in the middle of a controversy. And the university was in the middle of a major crisis. I wasn't president, but I was involved. But there was also another president named David Gardner, who was very much involved. It was a very difficult time because we had a president under pressure who was leaving, an incoming president who wasn't there yet, and a major budget cut.

Lage: Wow. And the problem with Chuck Young.

Peltason: And Chuck still being mad at the Regents. David, in anticipation of his leaving, had left the academic vice presidency open. Bill Frazer had resigned and Murray Schwartz, a long-time faculty member from UCLA, was the acting vice president, but Murray by this stage was not fully knowledgeable about events.

Lage: Because he was very new?

Peltason: He was new and he'd been in charge of the search committee that picked Bill Frazer. Then, when David announced he was leaving, he thought that the next president ought to pick the vice president, so he asked Murray to stay on. I was working with the Office of the President. Ron Brady, who's the powerful one, and Bill Baker were fussing and feuding. Murray Schwartz really didn't have enough knowledge to participate. So it was a president leaving, the Office of the President in chaos, the Regents up in arms.

Lage: And the press on your backs!

Peltason: The press on my back. So I was in a crisis before I even got there.

Lage: And you hadn't anticipated all of this, I'm sure. You knew about the budget crisis.

Peltason: I had anticipated that we were in the middle of a budget crisis and had participated in the downsizing and in the VERIP I and II. First of all, we thought this was a temporary thing. We thought it couldn't get any worse than VERIP I in '91. So that was the way I started to be president.

The first job I felt I had to do was to restore confidence in the Office of the President. David came to me when I was chancellor; he and Ron Brady flew down to me and he talked about putting together a transition team. I think I read in David's oral history that he said that I didn't want to come up there until October, and the fact was, my preference would have been for David to have left earlier than October and for me to come in and take over sooner rather than later. But that didn't fit in with some of his personal financial plans.

Lage: Well, maybe this is the financial part: those vesting dates that were adjusted, were adjusted for October.

Peltason: That's right. That would have made it even worse. I was quite prepared to wait till October. It wasn't that I was pushing him, but my interpretation of those times was that it was not that he stayed on because I wanted him to, he stayed on because he needed to. In some ways I thought maybe I could just turn over the chancellorship to Dennis Smith, and I should go up there right away and work it on a day-by-day basis. But we chose not to do that.

Lage: With conversations with David?

Peltason: Well, yes. Again, I can't remember the day, but we put together this transition team, which I asked Chuck Young to head up, to start preparing materials so that when I became the president I could hit the ground running. But it was very awkward, and I remember consulting with David about what he should do, about how he should deal with these various charges upon his integrity. I felt then and feel today they were unjust. My interpretation of the events are that although it was not publicized, this [the determination of his compensation and retirement package] didn't happen in secret, and that David had negotiated a good package and the only thing that had happened that was special was that the board had given him some

of his deferred compensation actually in October rather than January.

Lage: Well, they changed his vesting date.

Peltason: They changed the vesting date. I think they did it in recognition of his nine years of major contribution and the fact that his wife had died and he wanted to leave a little early. But I also think that he had the misfortune of having his compensation publicized at the time when we were going through this tremendous budget crunch. If it had happened earlier or considerably later, it would not have received much attention. In fact, when Julie Krevans got his, which was at least as much, it didn't get any attention; when Chuck Young got his subsequently, it wasn't much of a news story. David just happened to be the focus of attention at the time, and he had made himself perhaps more vulnerable than he might have because of some of his lifestyle choices and his offices and so on.

Lage: He also attributes it to controversies between regents. Does that seem to fit for you?

Peltason: I think that's true. There was one particular regent who insisted upon making it all public--Regent Jerry Hallisey, who made it a personal issue and attacked David and the other regents. He had not been supported by the other regents on some of his other issues. Regent Glenn Campbell, I think, was another one and Regent Frank Clark. I think those were the three who led the attack upon David and who alleged that they had been misled about the compensation package. It must be said, and it needs to be put into context because it was a problem I had to deal with when I became president: David was not the only executive with deferred compensation. The history of that is very simple. After the budgets of the University of California had been sufficiently adjusted upward that we were able to provide salaries for the faculty--

Lage: This is in the eighties?

Peltason: In the eighties. We had these eight comparison institutions, and David had gotten enough funds from the legislature and the governor to restore the competitive nature of faculty salaries. But the administrative salaries had not been adjusted competitively. So he did a study of the same institutions which we used to compare the faculty, plus some others. In the case of administrators, you need a larger sample because there are only a few of them. There are ten or fifteen or twenty or thirty of them, unlike setting the salaries of 10,000 faculty.

But going through a compensation methodology, it was clear that the chancellors' salaries were not competitive. So David, working together with Ron Brady, put together a compensation package made up of two components: salary, which was adjusted upward, and deferred compensation, which made for the total compensation package.

Lage: And deferred compensation comes when you retire?

Peltason: You get that when you retire. Each year you stay you get a deferred compensation; after five years or whenever it is vested, then you get paid that deferred compensation. It is a practice widely known in the corporate world, and if it hadn't been for our trouble I think it would have soon slipped into the university world, because people are interested in their total compensation, not necessarily their salary.

Lage: Was it not widely used in other universities?

Peltason: It was just beginning to be widely used in private universities, and it was just being introduced in public universities; we were the leaders of that. It was also not done secretly. As I said, it was done with the concurrence of the compensation committee and Regents. It wasn't publicized.

Lage: This was in '86 or '87?

Peltason: '86 or '87. There was no attempt to go out and issue press releases, but it was in the minutes of the board meeting, and anybody could have found them, and there was no attempt to not tell anybody about them. But when David's compensation package came, then all the executive compensation came under question and the Regents were then accused of having manipulated the news in order to give a handful of executives these big salaries without letting anybody know. So the attack was not just upon David. But the first problem I had to deal with when I became president was compensation for executives.

Lage: And perks?

Peltason: Compensation and perks. Then, it was complicated by the fact that before I was president, David had invited a distinguished legislative analyst, A. Alan Post, to come in and review our compensation program. I don't know why David did that. We had talked to him about a blue ribbon commission, but it's a mistake ever to turn over the fate of the university to any single person.

Lage: Give it to a committee. [laughter]

- Peltason: A. Alan Post is a big name. A. Alan Post is a nice man, a sweet man, a decent man, but he really didn't understand the distinction between university employment and public employment.
- Lage: He considered it one and the same?
- Peltason: Well, he was like Jerry Brown--the only kind of reward they endorse is psychic income. [laughs]
- Lage: Yes, psychic income!
- Peltason: It was quite clear when he issued his report, it was a blast! So we had the public, the press, and the Regents feeling that they had been misled.
- Lage: Or some of the Regents.
- Peltason: Some of the Regents, yes. A handful of Regents said we didn't do anything wrong, there's nothing to be embarrassed about. But the faculty were up in arms. In Sacramento I got bawled out by legislators. That was the only thing they wanted to talk to me about: executive compensation and perks and, "What are you going to do about it?"

Trimming Executive Compensation Packages and Perks

- Peltason: So that was the first problem I had to deal with, and Ron Brady and I then sat down and took them up one by one. I went to the Regents and I said, "We've got to get beyond this, got to talk about the plans and future of the University of California, and we've got to restore public confidence. Let's review executive compensation one by one. Let's decide what we're going to do; let's do it and get on with it." So we reviewed them. I gave the Board of Regents a report saying, "Let's try to clarify this once and for all." We said there won't be any more deferred compensation.
- Lage: No more deferred at all?
- Peltason: No more deferred. We went through them, took away some little perks. Part of that time, executives were getting accounting aid to help do their taxes. We got rid of that.
- Lage: Did you change housing allowances?

Peltason: I gave up the housing allowance granted in April to maintain a presence in the south even before I took up my duties in October.

Lage: Oh, you did?

Peltason: Yes, I wanted to remove myself and my compensation from one of the issues creating criticism for the university. I wanted to get the issue about executive compensation for all administrators behind us; we went through all the benefits one by one. Among other things, although we left in place the "associates of the chancellors" program that recognizes the important roles played by spouses, we eliminated all the allowances provided for them.

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Lage: Let's finish up with perks here and what you did to deal with perks. One of our interviewees said that the university had a private airplane.

Peltason: Oh, [laughs] we never had a private airplane. What happened was that UCLA had a hospital airplane which would be occasionally chartered for Regents meetings. I used to tease and call it the Chuck Young airline. It would pick up the chancellor at Riverside, Rosemary, then it would pick me up, then it would go pick up Chuck, then we would land in Santa Barbara and pick up the chancellor at Santa Barbara, then we'd go to Oakland. I used to say, "Is there some airport in California that we've forgotten to stop at?"

Lage: I would think it would have been easier just to hop--

Peltason: It was easier, it was easier. And then it would fly us back and the total cost of taking all those people was probably not that much more than all of us going commercially. It did have the convenience that the airplane was there when we were ready to come home. I remember once we went for a meeting in Santa Cruz, and we flew up there and took the Regents.

Lage: So on this flight did you take some Regents, also?

Peltason: On some of the flights we did. But in the first place, it's a bumpy airplane, a noisy airplane. It wasn't much faster than anybody else and didn't cost that much more. But it became a target, and so we abandoned using it. I think that some television station in Los Angeles questioned Chancellor Young about it, but it was an airplane that was chartered by the university to take four or five or six of us to a meeting, back

and forth. UCLA chartered it and the rest of us paid our share of it.

Lage: Okay, so that was one thing you dispensed with. But what about flying first class? That has come up. It doesn't seem too outrageous if you're flying to Washington to fly first class.

Peltason: Our rule was, you couldn't fly first class unless there were no other flights available. I paid the difference, myself. I fly first class or business class, and I always used to pay for it myself. I wanted to put a sign around my neck saying, "I paid for it myself." [laughter] I remember one episode when we were at Santa Barbara. Suzie and I were about ready to fly from Santa Barbara back to San Francisco. There was a bunch of students and I said to Suzie, "Hang back, I want to get in after they all get in because we will be sitting in the first class compartment." I noticed there was a student hanging back, so finally when we all got in, he sat in first class too. [laughter] As we got off, he came over and he said, "I'm embarrassed. I don't want you to think that the university paid for first class for me. My father works for United, that's how I got first class." And so I said, "I'm embarrassed. I don't want you to think the university paid for first class for me, either. I paid for the difference myself."

Lage: [laughs] It was quite a time! But those were the little things?

Peltason: These were the little things. Whenever a university is in financial crisis every little thing gets scrutinized. In regular times people don't stop and ask how much you spent for dinner, or how you flew, or how much your furniture cost. In hard times everything gets scrutinized, and since I became president during the time of the biggest cuts in the entire history of the University of California--I used to say the biggest cuts since the Depression, but Clark Kerr corrected me. He knows, and he said, "No, it was nothing like this in the Depression." So in the middle of these hard times, as the money goes down, the criticism goes up. And the money went way down and the criticism went way up.

I tried to maintain the integrity of executive compensation, but we were compelled--there were some laws passed in Sacramento--to announce salaries and so on. I tried to put that issue behind us so that every time you went out to deal with any issue people wouldn't ask, "Well, what about your salary?" That's the most difficult and embarrassing thing to have to deal with. You can deal with the university, but when

it gets to be a personal attack--. So that's why we went through that.

We brought everything we got to outside consultants. I rejected a considerable amount of what A. Alan Post recommended. He came to the board. Some of the things that he recommended we adopted, but some which I thought should be injurious to the university we did not adopt. For example, he wanted all administrators' salaries to somehow or other be built on professorial salaries.

Lage: Oh, yes, I remember that.

Peltason: And that, I thought, would be injurious to the best interest of the university. So we didn't cave into these pressures, we accommodated to them. We came through that period, but it meant that during that entire crisis, the whole question of executive compensation was very much an issue.

Controversies over Administrative Leaves for Ron Brady and Barbara Uehling

Peltason: It flared up again at the end of my first year, when Ron Brady had an administrative leave. When we get into that whole administrative leave thing, that became, again, another issue.

Lage: Should we save that for that time, or tell it here?

Peltason: Well, let's go ahead and do it.

Lage: Yes, it's all a part and parcel it seems, so tell about the background of Ron Brady's leave.

Peltason: Ron Brady--not at my urging, but I was grateful that he did so --decided not to retire at the same time that David did but to stay on for another year. I appreciated that because without Ron Brady, the Office of the President was really weak in terms of executive power. Before he left, David Gardner had signed and given Ron Brady an administrative leave. Under David's presidency the University of California started doing what many universities do, saying that at the end of your honorable service as an administrator you get one year's paid leave as part of saying good-bye. It happened to Bill Frazer, nobody said anything. It later happened to Julie Krevans, nobody said anything. David had told me just, I think, maybe the day

before he left, "I've done that for Ron." And I said, "Thank you," or something like that.

Lage: You didn't see it as a problem?

Peltason: I didn't see it as a problem; it had been part of the routine. The whole battle over executive compensation was just beginning to play out. That was put away and forgotten. David said, "Just before he goes, under the policy, you have to announce to the board that I did that." I put it away, forgot all about it. Long about March or April--I guess Ron is due to leave in July or May--somebody called to my attention, "You need to tell the board that Ron's going to have a leave of absence with pay." By this time I realized that that would be another major controversy.

Lage: With the board, not just in the press?

Peltason: In the state and with the board. I also told Ron it's going to be a matter of a major controversy. By the way, Ron had some deferred compensation also coming up that hadn't quite expired and I said to Ron, "Just as we had this big blow-up over David's leaving, we're likely to have it over your leaving." Because by this time Ron, himself, was now a point of controversy. A lot of the Regents had blamed him for what they didn't like about the Gardner episode. They said, "Ron Brady is the one who schemed all these compensation packages. Ron Brady is the one who kept it from the Regents."

There'd been some other controversies during the course of the year, in which Ron had been accused of being close to Willie Brown and Mr. [Ron] Cowan over Harbor Bay Isle. So Ron, as an act of statesmanship, said, "I won't take the deferred compensation, I'll just give that up, but I want my administrative leave." And I said, "Well, you're certainly entitled to it." I went to the board and told them that David Gardner had granted this and I wanted to announce it. And all hell broke loose again. I was accused of having known it all that time and not told the board, and that it was part of a plot. It was alleged that David Gardner and Ron Brady cooked this up, that Ron Brady had done these evil things for David Gardner, who in turn had given him this deferred compensation.

Lage: Now, when you're talking about these accusations, are these in the press or are these coming from the faculty?

Peltason: In the press, in the legislature. I got called to Sacramento. I remember sitting with some of our friendly senators and them saying, "You guys just make it so hard for us to be your

supporters. Every time we think you're no longer doing something, now we find this deferred compensation."

The faculty were up in arms even though academics are entitled to leave. That's because they're going to take the year off and get ready for coming back to teach, but this is just paying a guy a twelve-month salary for which he's not going to do any work. But I rode that one through and said that he was legally entitled to it; he hadn't done anything wrong. David Gardner had made the agreement with him, and I had not withheld that under the terms of the policy. I announced that he was leaving, and that's the way it's going to be. The board supported me on that, although there was a lot of contention on it.

I got called to Sacramento. Who's the senator from San Francisco?

Lage: Kopp.

Peltason: Quentin Kopp was shouting at me and wanting me to fire Ron Brady.

Lage: A little late to do that, wasn't it?

Peltason: "We want this done summarily," and not give Ron Brady his administrative leave. He and Jerry Hallisey were very close. I remember one time I was in the car on Highway 80 on my way over, and Quentin Kopp called me and was bawling me out and telling me to fire Ron Brady. There's a zone of silence over there, and it went clickety-clunk and the phone went dead. I said, "Senator, I'm losing the connection," and I never did call him back. He never did forgive me for that. But this is relevant to the fact that then when Ted Hullar had his administrative leave, we gave him his. He left the chancellorship and he got his administrative leave.

Lage: That was more standard for chancellors, though?

Peltason: More standard for chancellors. By this time, administrative leave was a dirty word.

Lage: So what happened with Ted Hullar? He was going to go to Washington?

Peltason: That's right. There was criticism about it, and the Regents said, "Don't keep doing this. Stop this." And I said, "All right, I will stop it prospectively, but the people who've already been here have been working under these terms and

conditions. I don't think we should stop it for them; we can do it in the future."

Then came the famous case of Barbara Uehling. I'll fill in all the details about Barbara Uehling, since it has to do with administrative leave. At a meeting, which I'll talk a lot about--and this was the most difficult decision maybe in my administrative career, or one of the most difficult in the sense of having to do with people I support--I told the chancellors that, "I'm not sure that I'm going to be able to get this administrative leave for Barbara, but I do know that the only way I can get it for Barbara is to change it for the future. We're going to have to modify the administrative leave policy of this university for chancellors and vice presidents in the future." And that got into the newspapers: "Chancellors and President Plot over Perks."

Lage: [laughs] It's amazing.

Peltason: And it was very nasty. So I went to the Academic Council; I talked to the people at Santa Barbara; and I talked to the chancellors. The chancellors said, "Stand by Barbara. It's unfair to not give it to Barbara." I went to the Academic Council, and they said, "Do not give it to Chancellor Uehling." The legislators said, "Do not give it to Chancellor Uehling," and I was threatened that the university's budget might be in jeopardy. Bill Baker and all the people working in Sacramento said, "You cannot give her that administrative leave because you'll jeopardize the future of the entire university."

Administrative leaves were an act of discretion. Barbara, who's a close friend of mine, nonetheless was leaving Santa Barbara and had resigned under pressure. There was not a lot of support for her in Santa Barbara in this. Santa Barbara faculty consensus was, "She's not been a very good chancellor. How come you're going to reward her? She's only been here five years."

Lage: Yes, she hadn't been there long.

Peltason: Or six years. The chancellors were telling me to grant it, and Chuck Young saying, "If you're an honorable man, you'll do it." The Regents were saying, "Don't do it. Don't bring it to us, don't ask us to do it." I had to call her up and tell her that in the best interests of the university I decided not to recommend her for that. I made a public statement to the fact that I regretted it, that in a way she was entitled to it. If I could have gotten the Academic Council to support me--and I almost did; I spent about three hours with them--or if I could

have had any part of the university other than the chancellors, things could have been different. The chancellors' support for it didn't help me much.

Lage: No, that's self interest.

Peltason: That's self interest. I could have taken it to the Regents and have had them turn it down, or I'd certainly divide the Regents. As I say, I had to call Barbara and tell her.

Lage: Was she upset with you, personally?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: She didn't understand then?

Peltason: She wasn't personally abusive, but it was quite clear she felt disappointed. She subsequently sued us and went through mediation, and she got compensation for the leave. But legal counsel told me I didn't have any legal obligation to do it; it was an act of discretion. I had to make a decision about what's best for the university, and it meant denying a personal friend something. Some people said, "She's the first woman to be denied. You'll be accused of discrimination based on gender." When I went to the Academic Council, the women faculty members were the ones who resented granting her a leave the most: "No, that's got nothing to do with sex discrimination."

Declining Executive Compensation Benefits: Effect on Future Recruitment

Peltason: So just to finish this part on controversy: when I came to leave, having had controversy over how David Gardner left, controversy over how Ron Brady left, controversy over how Barbara Uehling left, I said, "The one major contribution I can make to this university is when I leave, not have my leaving be another debate." So I went and talked to Suzie, and we gave up all our deferred compensation.

Lage: All of it?

Peltason: All the deferred compensation I had earned as president and the administrative leave and the housing allowance, which we had already declined and had not received during my presidency. It was over \$300,000 worth of benefits that we gave up.

Lage: You just didn't take it; it wasn't that you donated it?

Peltason: I wrote letters, telling the Regents that I wouldn't take it and asked them to give it to student financial aid. It wasn't as if we didn't want the money. But I felt that I didn't want to have this university's three-year history nothing but a series of debates about administrative leave. By the time Chuck retired, I was always apprehensive that when he retired, there'd be the same controversy. But either because he'd been chancellor for nearly thirty years, or because times were good, he got all of his deferred compensation.

Lage: Really?

Peltason: And I'm pleased to say that. But that just shows that timing is everything.

Lage: Yes, timing is everything.

Peltason: But that's why we gave up our deferred compensation. In the long history of the university, with the amount of money spent, it's a relatively small amount of dollars, but the symbolism of the presidents and the chancellors--it has taken five years to get over that.

Lage: It really seemed to offend the faculty.

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: And you're so close to so many faculty members. Did you hear from them?

Peltason: You get the usual irate letters from people who don't know you from anybody!

Lage: But I mean from your friends?

Peltason: The people who knew me were appreciative of what I had done. They felt that I had made a contribution by making it no longer an issue and that our own personal financial contribution also was something they appreciated.

Lage: I mean not just your own personal choice not to take those benefits, but was the faculty wanting major changes in the executive compensation?

Peltason: Yes. It doesn't take much encouragement for faculty to be persuaded that administrators are overpaid. Even if they didn't think administrators were overpaid, they resented the

fact that the university was being attacked and damaged because of the issue of executive compensation.

Lage: The argument for all these compensatory packages is to get good administrators. How did this affect your recruiting to fill those positions you had to fill in the president's office?

Peltason: It made it more difficult. It was a real problem of the day, and it hasn't been solved yet. The real issue that's before the University of California is, will it be allowed to be as good as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Stanford? And it won't be unless it can get faculty and staff comparable to Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. Faculty salaries at the University of California are not as good as Harvard, Yale, or Princeton but have been kept closer than administrative salaries. So unless something is done to correct that in the future, it will hurt. These things just don't shift over one year. That's not something you can solve in the middle of a budget crisis. It needs to be solved gradually, over a long period of time.

Lage: And when the budget situation improves?

Peltason: Yes. I think it should be already beginning to turn around. And as faculty salaries become more competitive once again, then administrator salaries will be adjusted.

Lage: A long cycle.

Peltason: Yes. [laughs] When the deferred compensation was designed, it was designed in order to get competitive salaries in a way that might be more plausible than just by putting it in the basic salary. By historical accident, I think, that turned out to not have been a very wise thing to have done.

Lage: Not very good media relations, or relations in general?

Peltason: Right.

The Transition Team

Lage: Let's talk about the transition team that Chuck Young headed up.

Peltason: When David and Ron came down to talk to me about the need for a transition team, we all agreed that Chuck should be asked to head it. I wanted Chuck to have a sense of a special role in

my administration as a senior chancellor, and we put together a transition team under his leadership and had representatives from all up and down the system. By the way, I remember signs of tension within the system: one time Chuck came down to talk to me, and I got a call from Tien, who really was quite disturbed and distraught, and he alleged that Berkeley had been offended and that I seemed to be relying only on Chuck Young. There was some committee I'd picked, and Tien had not been asked to serve on it. I became aware that there was some sensitivity between these two chancellors. I wanted to reassure Tien that yes, I was a friend of Chuck's, but no, Berkeley had not been demoted and that he as chancellor at Berkeley was also an esteemed member of the University of California. In the transition team finding the proper role for Chuck without giving the other chancellors the impression that somehow or other he was really the real president became an issue.

But Chuck did a great job. You ask Chuck to do something, he does it enthusiastically. He had put together--I can't remember now--five or six reports, exhaustively going over the processes and procedures of the University of California. By the way, we quietly implemented most of those, so the University of California is a better administered institution today than it was before--not that it was bad.

Lage: Are we talking about statewide here, or does this reach down to the campuses?

Peltason: We talked about what the Office of the President should do, what the campuses should do. We totally agreed on how we hire and promote people, simplified the structure of the whole business processes, the whole academic processes. The whole internal administration of the university was tightened as a result of that transition team. It identified problems that needed solving, including some academic problems.

Chuck delivered that report, and it took about two or three years to implement those things. It was rather exhaustive and when a lot of business firms were talking about "quality management," we were quietly putting it into effect. UCLA is a well-administered campus as a result of Chuck's leadership. The transition team was made up of lots of people. I wanted to avoid any suggestion that somehow I was just going to be a caretaker president and show that the university was still going to go forward.

Impact of the Budget Crisis on the University

Peltason: In general during the three years I was president, there were a lot of things I would have liked to have done to improve the university that I never had time to do.

Lage: Because of the budget?

Peltason: Because of the budget crisis. When you have a budget crisis of this dimension, it's overwhelming. You can't stop to do much else except to deal with the budget cut. Not too many people understand the magnitude of this budget cut. Nine hundred million dollars of state dollars were not available that otherwise would have been available if we'd been funded by the same formula that had been in place the year before I became president.

Lage: Just the year before?

Peltason: Yes. So over that time, that much money had been taken out of the budget. You just don't have business as usual. And that's a crisis. That overwhelmed everything else we did. Restoring public confidence and figuring out how we were going to get that money--we had to raise fees, we had RIFs [reduction in force], we had lay-offs, we had to review all of our programs, we had to slow down things, and we had to stop things.

For example, I think I mentioned earlier that David and I had agreed before I became president to stop a program in Washington, D.C., which has now been restarted, a wonderful program. We couldn't politically be spending money on a program that's on the other side of the country when you're laying off people back home.

Four-Point Program for the University ##

Peltason: I announced that I had a four-point program for the University of California. One was that we would have to think strategically about how to fund the University of California. The number one issue was to think of the long run, not crisis to crisis. We can't go on like this, with Prop. 98 in place, with Prop. 13 in place, with the funds for the University of California being part of the general revenue and continuously declining funds being available. So I asked Bill Baker to head up a group of people to talk about the long-range funding and

financing for the University of California. That was one initiative.

- Lage: I think you presented this to the Regents meeting in December, 1992.
- Peltason: My recollection is that there were four initiatives, but let me do some homework for next time and get it straight.
- Lage: Okay, that's fine.
- Peltason: I remember one of them was strategic planning. That ultimately led, by the time I left, to the four-year pact being signed by the governor of California, which I believe is one of the most important things that ever happened in our history. It actually saved the University of California from really going into a major decline over the long pull.
- Lage: Where Governor Wilson made a commitment to a four-year funding? We'll discuss that more next time.
- Peltason: The first initiative was to figure out some way that would permit us to plan in a coherent way so that we didn't go from crisis to crisis, to alert the state to the fact that the University of California was in jeopardy. I think my opening comment in my inaugural remarks was that, "The University of California has never been in better shape or in greater peril." That was when I became president, before the real budget cuts, and I meant to say that so far we're okay, but we're in great peril, so the number one problem that I could deal with as president was to get the people of California, not just the people of the University of California, thinking about how to fund higher education in the next century. A lot of time and energy was spent on that.
- The other one was how to manage the University of California. People need to have confidence that the money they gave to us was being well spent, so I thought that we should reexamine the processes by which we were running the University of California.
- Lage: The business management of the university?
- Peltason: Everything: the way we teach the classes, the way we cut the grass, the way we build the buildings, the way we hire the people. Are we managing in a way that's the most efficient and effective? Chuck was in charge of that.

The third one was how do we insure the academic quality. One of the dangers was you might get the best-managed second-rate university in the world, if you're not careful. You might run everything just fine--no scandals, nobody getting paid too much, no controversy, and no quality.

Lage: Right.

Peltason: So I had a group of people thinking about what to do to maintain quality. The quality question had to do with academics. Are we doing what we need to do for our undergraduates, for our graduate students, for our faculty?

The fourth initiative had to do with how we relate to the people of California in terms of our research enterprise: how to put the knowledge the university creates to work to make jobs and to improve the well-being of the people of California. We referred to this initiative by the shorthand title of "technology transfer," but it had more to do than just this. To my mind it was the question of how to do for modern high-technology industry what we had long done for agricultural enterprises.

So I focused around these four different things: the long-run financing, managing, quality of education, and then taking the university and being sure that it was serving the people of California in terms of the knowledge it was producing. Those were kind of the four themes of my three years.

Lage: Great.

Peltason: That's a good place to stop today.

XIV UC PRESIDENT: PERSONNEL PROBLEMS AND ADMINISTRATIVE
RESTRUCTURING

[Interview 10: June 29, 1998] ##

More Recollections of the Transition and the Executive
Compensation Crisis

Peltason: In working with David Gardner on his oral history, helping him turn it into a book, I once again have been struck by how powerful a mind that man has.

Lage: It is pretty amazing.

Peltason: Yes. But it also caused me to want to reflect a little bit on my own presidency.

Lage: What thoughts did reading David Gardner's oral history lead to?

Peltason: Well, it caused me to reflect a little bit upon the difficulties of the transition period. I think I mentioned last time that it was announced that I was going to be the new president on April 4. David didn't leave till October. But because I was also part of the system, it meant that I got involved in activities when I wasn't president, in preparation for being president, while David was still president. And that was a very awkward transition. It would have been easier for David to be completely there and me to be totally out of it. He was trying to be thoughtful and helpful by involving me in the transition team, but it's difficult.

Lage: And then all the brouhaha was going on about the retirement package.

Peltason: It wasn't just a routine transition because it was in a sense a presidency in crisis, with the personal attacks upon David. So while he was still in charge, the people were still looking to me to try and do something about this problem. And I needed to

do something about the problem, but it was difficult because I have a great admiration for David. He's a very smart man, a very honorable man, and I felt very badly that he was getting unfairly treated. I didn't want to do anything as president or president-elect that could in any way be possibly construed as supporting his critics or believing that he'd done anything wrong. There's an old joke that the two best things you can do for the university is to accept the presidency and then to leave the presidency. [laughter]

One of the advantages of changing is that you start with a new slate. So the board and the university and the community were looking to me, "Well, what are you going to do to clean up 'the mess'?" I had to act in such a way for the best interests of the university, but I still didn't want to do it in a way that would be misconstrued as disloyalty to David. So that was a very tough time.

Furthermore, there were really two crises. I think one caused the other. I'm quite convinced that if there hadn't been an economic downturn, David's leaving would not have been nearly so controversial.

Whenever the budget goes down, the criticism comes up. It meant that I started with this crisis about cleaning up the mess and then as the crises multiplied, the urgent took over the important. I couldn't deal with important issues. And that's why I thought it was important in my inaugural statement to indicate some long-range problems. I was going to be not just an interim president in the sense of not fully exercising the powers of president or so reverting to crisis management that we couldn't deal with long-term problems of the university.

One of the great problems of being president or chancellor of an institution is that you frequently have to balance what is best for the institution with what is best for your friends. You have to make decisions that are sometimes adverse to the interests of your colleagues because the university would suffer if you don't. I mean, I would have preferred to have come out with a full vigorous defense of David and what he had done and told the critics, "Get off our back," but that would have just continued the issue.

Lage: Did you feel that you had to be seen as a new regime, kind of?

Peltason: Yes, a new president. And in the best interests of the institution to say, "Well, whatever problems you had with David Gardner, he's gone. There's a new president; let's start over

again." Turn a new page for the best interests of the institution.

I think I said last time the most difficult decision I ever made was to stand firm and recommend against Barbara's administrative leave, so as not to jeopardize the budget, which affected hundreds and thousands of people, in order to do the right thing by one particular individual.

When the choice is between maintaining the independence of the university or its integrity, or defending issues of academic freedom, on the one hand, and jeopardizing the university's budget, on the other, you stand on principle and risk budgetary or other retaliation against the university. But it gets more complicated when the issue is what might be best for an individual administrator against jeopardizing the well-being of the entire university. Those were the kinds of moral dilemmas that I faced when I had to "clean up" the executive compensation problems, but I tried to do so in a fashion that didn't adversely affect David or Barbara or other of my administrative colleagues.

I can defend the university much better than I can defend the executive compensation, because that might seem like I was defending my pay and the pay of my best friends, the chancellors and the vice presidents.

Lage: At the same time that student fees were being raised.

Peltason: At the same time that student fees were being raised. That's why I thought it was very important to get that issue, if I could, off the front page.

Lage: But did you worry that reducing executive compensation would make it difficult to get good people running the university?

Peltason: Well, yes. I don't think we compromised beyond that, which we needed in order to safeguard the best interests of the university.

These were questions more of style than they were of substance. I think it was not so much what David did but the style in which he did it. I think the executive compensation package was hard to explain because of the style and not the substance of it. People didn't quite understand things like associate's pay or the allowance for financial planning. I supported those at the time they were inaugurated, as we thought they would be a fine way to provide compensation and avoid the impression of a large salary.

In fact, there was one thing interesting to me: when we concluded that all those additional forms of compensation were complicated and that we wanted to go back to just giving the salaries to be competitive, I met with the Los Angeles Times editorial staff. And one of them said--I don't know where he'd been all that time--"The mistake you made was in not getting the salaries up and then not following with supplementary compensations."

Lage: So he wasn't following the news.

Peltason: That's right. I think that's just an example of the fact that executive compensation became a handy issue to beat up on the university when the budget troubles began.

Lage: But how did the faculty feel about it? My impression, at least from the Berkeley campus, is that the faculty were very negative about the executive compensation.

Peltason: We were being bashed by the newspapers, but the bashing was very sympathetically received by most of our constituents. That is, the faculty did, I think, unfairly jump on the administrators because it's just good sport. And the Office of the President is particularly vulnerable, as I've said before. The faculty were rather peeved that the president and the chancellors had so managed it that adverse publicity was being inflicted upon the university to their detriment.

Lage: And are they also a little peeved that the administrators are getting paid significantly more than the teachers?

Peltason: Yes, I think there's some of that. Although, as I said last time, we didn't attempt to get competitive pay for administrators until we'd already gotten competitive pay for faculty. But it was a piling on and David was the fall guy. There were about three or four regents who said, "Well, we haven't done anything wrong. We should just stand firm and don't apologize." The rest of the regents and the faculty's strong advice to me was, "Clean up this 'mess'."

Lage: Did it make you feel disloyal to David Gardner?

Peltason: No, because I think I didn't do anything that would in any way reflect adversely upon him. But the fact that from April to October I wasn't in charge--David was in charge--made it harder to deal with the problem than if I'd been there by myself.

Lage: Yes. I can understand that.

Overview of Personnel Problems

Lage: Okay, now how do you want to proceed from here?

Peltason: Let's talk about the senior staff. When I became president, the Office of the President was in disarray. Morale was very low. Because he was leaving, David had deliberately not taken some action that was necessary. The tension between Ron Brady and Bill Baker was such that they were not communicating. The treasurer's office reported directly to the Regents; the general counsel also reported directly to the Regents.

Lage: And had forever?

Peltason: And had forever. But the best thing was I inherited a close, wonderful, strong personal staff. Nancy Nakayama, Pat Pelfrey --these were top flight, loyal people who'd just gone through hell because they were close to David, but they were very loyal, very competent. So that was a great strength.

There was an acting vice president for academic affairs.

Lage: Because Bill Frazer had left.

Peltason: Bill Frazer had gone. Murray Schwartz, a good friend, long-time colleague, former dean of the law school at UCLA, came back.

Lage: But you hadn't appointed him?

Peltason: I hadn't appointed him. Murray, by this time, had been long retired, so he wasn't as knowledgeable about university affairs. That's a key post. He didn't have the energy. There was Ron Brady, and there was Con Hopper. There were a lot of good people there, but there was a dramatic need for restructuring the organization. So it took me that first year to make those changes. We were really struggling--undermanned, underpersoned--working through the organization.

I concentrated first on getting replacements. There were openings in chancellorships. My replacement was needed at Irvine; there was a vacant seat because Julie Krevans had announced his retirement at UC San Francisco; and David had also left on my desk two adverse and critical evaluations of chancellors. Just that spring, he had said, "You deal with these when you become president." [laughs]

Lage: He gave you his evaluation, or he just left them?

- Peltason: Well, these evaluations are done every five years. And there was a critical evaluation of one director of the laboratory. So I had three major problems: one at Santa Barbara, where Barbara Uehling was in trouble with her academic colleagues; one at Davis, where Ted Hullar was getting adverse comments from his academic colleagues; and one indication of administrative difficulties at Livermore, where John Nuckolls was evaluated with some evidence of alleged weakness. These were major personnel problems still on the desk when I came.
- Lage: But they were pointed out to you by David Gardner? Or you were just aware of them?
- Peltason: The evaluation process had been underway.
- Lage: I see.
- Peltason: The negative reports in Santa Barbara and Davis were on his desk, but he had said, "Here, you do something about that," [laughter] which was not inappropriate because a new president was coming in.

Restructuring the Office of the General Counsel

- Peltason: I was resolved early in my presidency to try to do something about the unsatisfactory relationship between the Office of the General Counsel and the treasurer and the Office of the President.

Let me take up the one of general counsel and the treasurer. The first thing I want to make clear is that the case of the general counsel, in my judgment, was a system problem not a personnel problem, because Jim Holst, the general counsel, is a wonderful person. He and I are close friends. He's a highly competent lawyer; he's a man of absolute integrity. But under the administrative structure, Jim did not report to the president. He cooperated with the president, and I'd already discovered as chancellor that that had its problems. When I'd been chancellor, I had gotten Diane Geocarlis appointed to be an on-campus general counsel. I think the chief executive office of a complex institution like a university needs a general counsel reporting to the chief executive officer.

- Lage: There must have been some historical reason that the Regents kept that control.

Peltason: If they did, then they made the general counsel, to use contemporary terms, an independent counsel who reported to the Regents to be sure the president didn't do anything wrong. And that just does not work. I didn't have any objection to the general counsel reporting to the Regents, but he also needed to be quite clear that one of his clients was the president of the university and that the president needed a client-lawyer relationship with the general counsel's office, which is what the chancellors needed with their offices.

There had been a lot of complaints from the chancellors and others that the general counsel's office was not responsive to their priorities. So I worked with Jim on that, and we worked on an arrangement to make the general counsel the vice president and general counsel. That arrangement worked very well.

Lage: Did this have to be approved by the Regents?

Peltason: Oh, yes. This changed the law. Some regents were reluctant to do this, because they really saw the general counsel as their attorneys, advising them as kind of a watchdog over the president. But you just can't get the business done that way.

Lage: But the general counsel is the general counsel for all the campuses, is that right?

Peltason: Well, yes, because he reports now as a vice president to the president, then by delegation back to the chancellors. He also serves them, as well. Legal advice was also beginning to pop up all the way around the system. There were the legal advisors to the vice president for administration and for the benefits system. I didn't object to standardizing legal advice, but I thought that it ought to be under the Office of the President. The person in the presidency has difficulty carrying out the responsibilities of the presidency if he doesn't have immediate access to and a close relationship with the general counsel.

Lage: So that was a major change that took place.

Peltason: That was a major change. It took a lot of discussion and a lot of persuasion to put in order.

Lage: How did Jim Holst feel about it?

Peltason: Reluctant, but he's such a decent man that I persuaded him, let's try it out. Let's see how it works. I believe it worked very successfully. Like most people I think he was a little

apprehensive that he might lose some of his autonomy. But legal services are so critical to the operation of the university, and every decision you make has consequences, so you need your general counsel at your elbow, and you need to be able to command his attention as his chief client.

So that was one change. And I think we made that for the long-range benefit.

Restructuring the Treasurer's Office

Peltason: The treasurer was more difficult. It's a problem that's still unresolved, although I made some modifications in getting some of the business functions of the management of the real estate from the treasurer's office to the vice president for administration.

Lage: An actual shift of responsibility?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: I guess I'm not clear about what the treasurer's responsibility had been.

Peltason: The treasurer does many things, most important of which is to invest the funds. And I agree that is not a presidential responsibility. I was very pleased to say that would belong to the treasurer and the Regents, and the treasurer ought to report directly to the Regents on matters of investment. A president doesn't bring expertise in that area. In fact, it's more efficient to have the investment people report directly to the board and not make the president responsible for it. The president has enough to do without having to manage the investments.

But over the years the treasurer has also been managing the property of the university and otherwise involved in business matters that are management responsibilities. I was able to persuade the board to shift some of these functions to the Office of the President, but not most of them. Herb Gordon--a nice man--actively opposed me and there was even stronger opposition from his associate Patty Small, also a nice person but one who had little interest in working with the Office of the President. They liked directly reporting to the Regents. They didn't want to have anything to do with the Office of the President.

Lage: It made them more independent, I would think.

Peltason: They ran their own store, but I made some progress in getting the management responsibilities moved over. I believe that had I been president under ordinary circumstances--when we weren't in a budget crisis or the Office of the President hadn't gone through this chaos over executive compensation--as the new president, I would have made faster and easier progress in restructuring those relationships.

Lage: Now, did the relationship between the president's office and the treasurer change, or did some of the functions of the treasurer move?

Peltason: Some of the functions moved, but the relationship has not changed. I believe to this day they haven't changed. The treasurer will sometimes write to the Regents on university matters and not even notify the president. The first time the president knows is when one of the regents stops him in the hall or something and says, "What do you think about this?"

I don't think you can run a \$10 billion--or should run a \$10 billion--operation without greater integration of those functions. When functions aren't integrated at the Office of the President, it makes it difficult for the chancellors. The chancellors are entitled to one-stop shopping at the Office of the President. They ought not have to send something to one vice president, or three vice presidents; they should send it to one place, the Office of the President. And that operation ought to coordinate all this activity.

Restructuring the Office of the President

Peltason: When I got there, the Office of the President was in near shambles. There was tension between Ron Brady and Bill Baker; the vice president for academic affairs was an interim appointment; the general counsel and treasurer reported directly to the Regents. The vice president for agriculture worked well but was coming to the end of his time in office. Con Hopper, the vice president for health matters, was a stalwart, and so was Larry Hershman, a genius on the budget and legislative side. Ron Brady had a year to go.

Lage: Now, had you seen these as problems from your post as chancellor?

Peltason: Yes. They were widely known within the university as problems.
[laughs]

Lage: I see.

Peltason: I also restructured the budgetary responsibility. David had organized it in a way that it was under the responsibility of the vice president for external affairs, Bill Baker. I transferred the budgetary responsibility from Bill Baker to the senior vice president for academic affairs.

Lage: So that was a huge shift of area of responsibility.

Peltason: I think Bill Baker really was disturbed by that. I tried to do it in a way that would free him, because I wanted him to work on long-range planning, on one of my initiatives. I put him in charge of one of the most important single initiatives: how to think through the long-range financing of the university. But he resented, I think, the loss of the budgetary responsibility. But I always had felt that the budget is the chief academic instrument and ought to belong to the academic side of the Office of the President and not to the administrative side or to the external affairs side.

Lage: Okay, you shifted the budgetary responsibility from Bill Baker to your academic vice president, not to Ron Brady?

Peltason: Right.

Lage: That would have been even more of a blow.

Peltason: During that first year, because the vice president of academic affairs was filled with interim and Ron Brady was there, Bill Baker probably saw that as a move towards strengthening Ron Brady.

Lage: But you did keep Bill Baker thinking about long-term financing? Well, I suppose that's related to external relations.

Peltason: Right. Because Bill Baker had a great deal of knowledge about this, was highly respected in Sacramento, and knew the university intimately from his long-term service, I thought that was the best use of his time. I didn't need or want him to be involved with the day-by-day management of the budget; I wanted him to think through the number-one problem.

There were two problems facing the University of California. We had the crisis to get over, but that was a short-term problem brought about by the economic downturn of

the 1990s. Even in the best of times, the questions come up: How is the University of California going to move into the next century, and where is it going to get the money?

Lage: Competing with prisons and whatnot.

Peltason: It had to compete with all the general revenues. As the amount of dollars available to the general revenues were shrinking percentage-wise, how can the university avoid going from crisis to crisis? I'll get back to that in a minute, because I think perhaps one of the most important things that I was able to accomplish was to get that vision accelerated. That's what I wanted Bill Baker to do.

Lage: Did Bill Baker take that on the way that you had hoped?

Peltason: He took it on, but I think Bill was increasingly disillusioned both with David Gardner and then with me. I don't mean to speculate, but I think that soured the relationship between Bill and the rest of us. But it was important for me.

That first year I was heavily relying upon Ron Brady. As I've said in earlier conversations, he's brilliant. I don't know how we could have operated the university without him because David, because of his problems, had not been able to turn over to me a smoothly functioning Office of the President. But it was also quite clear that Ron wanted to leave.

Lage: He tried to leave earlier.

Peltason: He tried to leave earlier. It was also quite clear that as long as he was around, he was a lightning rod. For people who were mad at the university, Ron was the scapegoat. So again, for his best interests and the university's best interests, we needed another person.

During that first year I spent a lot of time trying to recruit a vice president for academic affairs and a vice president for administrative affairs. I got through that first year's crisis with Ron's help, but restructuring the Office of the President was one of my number one priorities. I'm pleased to say that by the end of that time, I'd been able to select two powerful administrators. One was Wayne Kennedy to take Ron Brady's place.

Lage: Were you aware from the beginning that Ron Brady was going to be leaving soon?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: Did you have an agreement?

Peltason: No. I didn't have an agreement. He indicated he wanted to leave at the end of the year; he'd stay on for another year. I was apprehensive over what would happen when he left because he was so powerful, but I recognized that he wanted to leave, and too, it was probably the best thing for the university to let him leave. So I worked to get and we got Wayne Kennedy. It's a wonderful appointment.

Lage: Where did Wayne come from?

Peltason: He'd been the vice chancellor at San Diego--highly regarded and respected by the chancellors, by the Regents, very knowledgeable, and I think the university's very fortunate to get a man of his competence to come in.

He came in at the end of that first year to replace Ron Brady, and he immediately faced the same problems that I did within his structure because Ron was so powerful a person that he hadn't created a system under him of officers to help carry out his responsibilities. So Wayne had a year of---

Lage: Of replacing people?

Peltason: And strengthening his structure. It was really two years before that office was really running.

Lage: So sometimes there's a downside to being so powerful?

Peltason: That's right, exactly. I think Ron found it so much easier to do everything himself that he had not put some systems in place. Then in the vice president for academic affairs--

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Peltason: --I considered one of my great contributions to the university was to persuade Walter Massey to take those responsibilities.

Lage: Tell me about Walter Massey.

Peltason: I first met Walter Massey when I was chancellor at the University of Illinois, and he was an assistant professor of physics. Walter is African American and was very much involved in the crisis of the 1960s when I was chancellor, and he and I became good friends.

Lage: Now, how was he involved?

Peltason: He was advisor to the African American students. There were so few African Americans on the faculty that he was called upon often as we went through the time of expanding the number of African Americans on the faculty. He then left, went off to Brown. I think he left in part because, committed as he is to the cause of civil rights, I think he found he could pursue his field better at Brown than he could in a big state university.

He became a very distinguished physicist, became director of the National Science Foundation. It was from there that I recruited him to become our vice president. I didn't advertise it, but I had in mind that Walter Massey would be in the line of succession and become my successor. I knew that was not my responsibility to pick, but I had such confidence in his ability to perform and knew so well his strength as an academic, his national service, and that he would not stay as just a provost somewhere. So at the end of the year I strengthened that process.

Lage: And the provost title was a new one?

Peltason: That was one that Walter thought of. I actually didn't. I think it's a great idea, but officially I was asking for a vice president for academic affairs. He was also being interviewed as the chancellor at Irvine.

Lage: Oh, he was?

Peltason: During that year I really could have persuaded either search committee to take him, but I elected to offer him the vice presidency. I always thought vice president was a more important title, but he liked the title provost, and I said, "Sure." I think it was a good idea; it indicated academic responsibility.

Lage: So you strengthened the job by putting budget under it and also the title.

Peltason: Yes. Then I had Larry Hershman--who was, I think, the closest thing to a genius we've had in this system, who had reported to Bill Baker--report then to Massey's office.

Lage: And he was the budget man?

Peltason: So Massey and Hershman were the budgetary power in the university, Walter with his academic background and Larry with his talent, to be both admired in Sacramento, to talk with students, to negotiate with the world. I think one of my major

contributions to the university was to bring those responsibilities together.

Lage: Interesting.

Peltason: I still kept Bill Baker in all those discussions. I didn't cut him out of anything. Larry and Bill are long-time friends and continue to work together. And Steve Arditti reported to Bill. All worked together. I might mention I also tried to work with Bill Baker by having Celeste Rose, who was a special assistant to me, also become the second in command to Bill Baker.

Lage: At the same time?

Peltason: At the same time. That worked very well as far as Celeste and I were concerned. Bill quickly withdrew so that I found it just easier to communicate with Celeste. Again, there was no hostility.

Lage: Was Celeste the person you'd communicate with Bill through, sort of?

Peltason: Yes, because she was there. She was there all the time and Bill was in Sacramento or in Washington. Again, I'm not being critical, but he increasingly became isolated from the rest of the Office of the President.

So it took me a year, then, to get that structure in place. Let's see: Wayne came in, Walter came. Then during that next year, Wayne started strengthening his office by bringing in a comptroller and other financial officers and strengthening the administration of the benefits office.

Lage: Did this involve new positions, or just replacing old ones?

Peltason: Well, this was going on simultaneously while I was downsizing the Office of the President. I had made a commitment to reduce the Office of the President by 10 percent.

Lage: That's quite a bit.

Peltason: So through VERIP [Voluntary Early Retirement Incentive Plan] savings and other savings, we were spending less money, and we were restructuring it to strengthen the administration. If it hadn't been for the budget crisis, I would have had a freer hand. I think I would have brought in both a vice president of finance and administration. But we strengthened the accounting process, the administrative process, the budget process, and the long-range planning process.

The other thing that I tried to do with some success was: The regents and faculty all believed--and I think they were right--that one of the reasons the university was being so damaged in the public was that our response mechanism was not effective. We were not able to get out our side of the story. So I called in some consultants. Many of the regents were especially pushing that point: Why isn't the university side being heard and articulated more effectively?

- Lage: Is this not just crisis response, but also sort of a PR program?
- Peltason: Long term, but also especially in a crisis. That is to say, there might be a newspaper alleging some misbehavior on the part of the university, and there was never an effective response. There wasn't the next day a response. We weren't set up to have a kind of twenty-four-hour immediate response mechanism.
- Lage: There hadn't been a need before.
- Peltason: There hadn't been a need before; the university does not ordinarily engage in that kind of business. So I worked with Celeste and others especially on trying to be more effective on explanation of the university's problems.
- Lage: Now, was that a Bill Baker responsibility pretty much?
- Peltason: Yes. Then the other change that I made in the Office of the President: Agriculture is very important to the University of California and to the State of California. About 10 percent or 11 percent of the economy of California is agriculture. The agriculture interests have been very supportive of the university. When I got there, there was some tension especially with the wine industry. With Ken Farrell's help, I spent a lot of time on that.
- Lage: You mean the wine industry wasn't happy with the university?
- Peltason: It was unhappy with the university, feeling that they're a major industry, and we hadn't given them the attention that they need.
- Lage: In the extension division?
- Peltason: And at Davis. So we had several parties at Blake House, which I always thought was kind of fascinating because everybody in the room was a wine label.

Lage: You must have had some good wine.

Peltason: And the question is what kind of wine do you serve? I must say, they're very good connoisseurs of wine. And they're very nice people. I think I did help to repair that relationship, with Ken Farrell's help. But Ken, himself, asked to be replaced, and so that was another vice president that I picked.

Lage: Yes, and who did you pick to replace him?

Peltason: From the University of Illinois, [W. R.] Reg Gomes. So in relatively short time, I think the Office of the President, in the middle of that crisis, reduced the size and strengthened the structure of the Office of the President.

Strengthening the Administrative Structure of the Hospitals

Peltason: Another major change that took place during my time, which I think is a contribution, was in strengthening the Regents and the administrative structure to deal with the problems with the hospitals. The hospitals are \$2 billion enterprises. As we go through a major economic change in how health care is delivered, the university had to adjust.

Con Hopper is excellent on the academic side, but wasn't particularly an expert on the financing of hospitals and health care, so with his help we brought in a vice president for health care administration.

Lage: Was that the one where there was some controversy over pay rates?

Peltason: Yes. Again, the person probably gets paid more than anybody in the university, certainly more than the president of the university.

Lage: Just because of the marketplace?

Peltason: Because of the marketplace. But we needed to restructure the university's ability to manage a \$2 billion operation. The Regents needed to be kept informed and we had to learn to make business decisions in a responsible and timely fashion. Chancellors were frustrated because of the inability of the university to compete in a fast-paced, ever-changing world of hospital management and health care providing. The Regents did not want to make quick business decisions because they were

fearful of the risks that we would make the wrong decisions. But it was becoming even riskier not to be able to make decisions.

Lage: It almost seems like an extraneous business that the university's in.

Peltason: It is. It's extraneous in the sense that you don't run hospitals just because you like hospitals; you run hospitals because you have medical schools. And you need hospitals because they produce patients and because you need clinical research.

I want to get back to that problem later, but while I'm just thinking about it from the administrative side, we made two streamlines. One, we got this high-powered vice president in to help the vice president of administration and the president on the management of these hospitals. Then I persuaded the Regents to delegate to a subcommittee of the Regents the ability to make decisions so that you didn't have to wait. When only the Board of Regents could make those decisions, sometimes it would be sixty days before it would get to the Board of Regents. In the world of business, you sometimes can't wait sixty days.

Lage: That must have meant that the Regents were really engaged in micromanagement, if you want to call it that.

Peltason: They were micromanaging, especially Regent Frank Clark. [laughs] I think that he felt that nobody could make the decisions as well as he could.

Lage: Was he in the health care business?

Peltason: He became the regent most knowledgeable about and interested in health care. He's a very smart man, but he also wanted to micromanage. He sometimes operated as if he were the president of the university and the administrator of all five hospitals.

Lage: That's amazing.

Peltason: Very knowledgeable. But he created endless hours of responding to his questions. And then before the Regents, he would ask questions. The Regents were frustrated, the directors of the hospitals were frustrated. Now, although it sounds simple to state, after months of negotiation, outside consultants, all kinds of internal bickering, and talking to the administrators of the hospitals, the chancellors, the deans of the medical

schools, and the Regents, we streamlined the process for managing the hospitals.

Lage: Was Frank Clark the head of the subcommittee?

Peltason: He was chairman of the subcommittee for one year. I want to state this tactfully: one of the regents who provided the crucial vote to get it done said, "The price you're going to have to pay is to make Frank the chairman of that subcommittee for one year."

Lage: I would think so, [laughs] given the dynamics there.

Peltason: That's right. But again, David's great strengths were in dealing with problems, and he dealt with a small group of people. I don't think he paid too much attention to the structure. By the time the structure became a major problem, he was about to leave, so I inherited an inefficient structure, personnel problems, and a budget crisis. By the end of that time I think we'd strengthened the Office of the President. Now there are still problems left because I didn't solve all the problems, but those are the problems I had to deal with.

Review and Replacement of Chancellors at Santa Barbara and Davis

Peltason: Then, at the campus level, the problems I had to deal with were dissatisfaction vocally expressed by the faculty at the Santa Barbara and the Davis campuses. Both these chancellors were personal friends of mine. I admired each, and from my perspective as a colleague, I thought they were doing outstanding jobs. I was somewhat surprised to discover that there was this much difficulty on their home campuses.

The University of California has a system, which I think needs attention, that every five years chancellors get a systematic review where advice is sought from members of the faculty. The Academic Council of the whole university picks a faculty committee, including some from on-campus and some from off-campus. Then they write a report and they give it to the president. Only the president and the chairman of the Academic Council or the chairman of the campus senate see the entire report.

During my time, I had a report having to evaluate Barbara Uehling at Santa Barbara, Ted Hullar at Davis, and Chuck Young

at UCLA the last year. Working with the chancellors and with the Academic Council, I found that an unsatisfactory evaluation, because it seemed to me that it's like a plebiscite. It invited the negatives to speak out.

Lage: Like they went around looking for negatives.

Peltason: Anybody who has anything critical to say about the chancellor, let us know. So I worked with the Academic Council to modify the process to make it more an evaluation of what's happening on the campus and the role of the leadership, less a vote up or down on the chancellor.

Lage: Was the Academic Council receptive to that?

Peltason: They were receptive, yes. And working with them and Arnie [Arnold] Binder, who was in charge of the Academic Council, we modified it. Nonetheless, I had on my desk two completed evaluations.

Lage: Done in this previous manner.

Peltason: Done in the previous manner. In the case of Chancellor Uehling at Santa Barbara, it required me to talk to her about it. I discovered that she wasn't particularly happy being chancellor.

Lage: What were they unhappy about with her?

Peltason: Well, I can't recall all the details. I always take a grain of salt on negative comments about episodes, but I talked with the Academic Council leaders and the people in the community and found that she had, rightly or wrongly, lost her support. It was stronger in the community, but the situation was intense, and the faculty and the Academic Council members threatened to go public if I didn't take some action.

Lage: This is the statewide Academic Council?

Peltason: No. This is the Academic Senate on her own campus. The Academic Senate leaders of her own campus waited upon me, demanding that I do something and do it right away.

Lage: Was this difficult? You'd been her co-chancellor and friend.

Peltason: Yes, yes. These are the most difficult things you deal with. And in fact, the first year I made visits to each campus. Meredith Khachigian, the chairman of the board, went with me to many of them. When we went to the Santa Barbara campus, the Academic Senate leaders there--that's all they wanted to talk

about: what was I going to do to solve their crisis, because they lacked confidence in their chancellor. I refused to talk to them about it. That wasn't the appropriate forum to do it at that spot.

Lage: But you talked to Barbara Uehling--I interrupted you when you said that she, also, was not that satisfied.

Peltason: She was not enjoying the job and was feeling put-upon, lonely. I think she'd done a good job. She'd brought some recommendations to the Board of Regents against the wishes of the Academic Senate. I thought she was right and supported her. I also told her that, "Barbara, I'm not asking you to resign or retire, and if you want to stay and fight it out, I'm prepared to support you. But it's going to be a fight, because once the Academic Senate leaders learn that nothing's going to happen, you will be publicly attacked." She concluded that she didn't want that because she wanted another academic post.

So she and I discussed at some considerable length, and Chuck Young was very helpful, when she announced her retirement. The Academic Senate leaders were suspicious that this was just a ruse, that she never would retire, and they kept pressing for an earlier and earlier date. She and I discussed that a long time.

She was then finally persuaded. Under the threat of the Academic Senate leaders going public, she did announce her retirement. I can't remember the sequence of events, but it became earlier and earlier as the tension built up. It was in that time where I did say, and never have denied saying, that I would recommend her for administrative leave. That became the subject of controversy later on. I don't remember precisely what I said. It was my intention to do so.

Lage: It was at that time?

Peltason: It was my intention to do so at that time. But she did leave, and I think left with dignity. I persuaded the Academic Senate leaders and the others to give her a positive farewell in terms of her accomplishments, which were important, and replaced her with Henry Yang, a dynamic, outstanding, great success as a chancellor.

Lage: Where did he come from?

Peltason: I recruited him through the search committee process. He had been dean of engineering at Purdue.

Lage: Now, does the president make the choice of the chancellors?

Peltason: He works with the search committee. There's a prescribed process by which you have what I call a Noah's Ark principle-- the search committee of two of everything. [laughter] I worked very closely with that faculty. It's a very positive arrangement. The faculty was appreciative of my intervention, and the search process worked very well.

Lage: So it's sort of a time to build bridges with the faculty?

Peltason: And the community. It was one of the smoothest search processes ever.

Lage: Do the Regents pretty well take who you recommend?

Peltason: Yes. It'd be a crisis if they turned down that recommendation. And the way you avoid that crisis is that there are a number of regents on the search committee. You work closely with the chair of the Regents and the search committee, so by the time you bring a recommendation you've already built a kind of consensus.

Barbara was a top-flight administrator, but weak at interpersonal skills. She didn't go out around the campus very much. She wasn't very comfortable, I think, with the faculty, and they weren't comfortable with her. Henry and his wife Dilling go full time on the campus. He works with her help sunup to sunset. He teaches a class, he works with the community.

Lage: Full of energy.

Peltason: He's full of energy.

Lage: What's his field?

Peltason: Engineering. I think mechanical engineering. He hit the ground running. I think the Santa Barbara situation had been in crisis because Barbara inherited the crisis of the Huttenback problem. Huttenback had still been there, and he had led the attack upon her.

Lage: You mean he stayed around on the campus?

Peltason: He stayed on the campus. I shouldn't say that he led it. She felt he was behind the attack on her. I don't know whether that was accurate or not. But there had been the Huttenback problem when Barbara came in, and she became alienated from the

faculty. With Henry Yang I think that Santa Barbara situation is much improved. Santa Barbara is on its way to become a major campus.

Lage: Is it harder to be a chancellor as a woman, do you think? Did that have any bearing?

Peltason: Yes, I think so. Yes, I believe that the fact that she had no spouse to work the crowd, to help her be out there with people, to be around, made it more difficult. She had been very warmly received by the community, she had her supporters in the community. She lived in the house on campus, which was a good thing, but she wasn't seen in and around the community. I think a single person finds it harder to do so.

It's more difficult to go out and more difficult to entertain. When she did entertain, she was gracious. I found it was a relatively small group of people who were very hostile; the rest of them were not supporters. They weren't hostile, but it was an impossible situation.

Lage: So it's a difficult thing for a president, too.

Peltason: One of the most difficult.

Lage: And maybe more so because you'd been a chancellor.

Peltason: I'd been a chancellor, been a friend. And I liked her and admired her--still do.

Lage: Then she sued over the question of the leave, did she not?

Peltason: Over the administrative leave, yes.

Lage: And did she win?

Peltason: She won.

Lage: So she ended up getting it after all.

Peltason: She got it after all. She sued and we brought it to mediation, where an outside rent-a-judge decided in her favor.

Lage: Rent-a-judge! [laughs]

Peltason: We could have appealed, but the decision was made not to do so. The other personnel situation was as difficult, if not more difficult. The Davis faculty were after me and had turned in a very negative report about Ted Hullar. Ted is a very dynamic,

brilliant man. He and his wife were close friends of ours. There the support was more bipolar. There were a few strong supporters, there was lots of opposition, and there was opposition spread to the community. And that, too, was threatening to blow up in a public attack.

Lage: What was the objection?

Peltason: Again, I think it was more style than substance. I always remember the words of an old friend of mine. Once, I said about a particular person and his mannerisms that, "They aggravate me, that's why I don't like him." He said, "No, it's the other way around. You don't like him, therefore his mannerisms aggravate you."

When the faculty get mad at a chancellor, they start piling on all kinds of complaints--he ordered this, he did that. I have a feeling that those are symptoms, not explanations. I think Ted, full of energy, came in and said, "I'm going to shake up this campus." I think he was very supportive of the Aggie image of it, but he wanted to broaden it, and I think that needed to be done. But he antagonized the old-time Aggies, the long-term supporters of--they call it the Davis Way.

Lage: The Davis Way is a little bit more conservative?

Peltason: A little bit more conservative. Ted was one of these guys that has ten good ideas, but maybe he spins them out too fast. And there was personal antagonism between him and some of the vice chancellors.

Again, I talked to Ted, as I did with Barbara, about the situation and sought their advice. Each of them tended to feel that most people supported them but there was just this small group of agitators. I think they both felt that the president should have had more courage and supported them. But in the case of Barbara, she didn't want the public fight. In the case of Ted, I tried something which was so clever that it didn't work.

Lage: [laughs]

Peltason: I actually needed Ted's help in the Office of the President. I felt maybe if I could get him out of the turmoil of the campus for six months--

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Lage: So you requested him to have a six months' leave to the president's office?

Peltason: Yes, six months' leave to the president's office to help in tech transfer and all the things that he was smart in: economic development, connections with the rest of the State of California. I had a legitimate job for him to do. It's quite true, I wouldn't have done it if there hadn't been a crisis on his campus.

Lage: Was he agreeable to that change?

Peltason: He came. But the headlines all broke with adverse comments.

Lage: Oh, so it got into the media.

Peltason: Hullar being moved up. Local newspapers all took it as kind of an attack upon him. He felt then that he had lost face and lost his standing, that it wasn't positively received on his campus; it was a sign of being isolated to the Office of the President as a face-saving device. After that he felt he couldn't go back to his campus, and Larry Vanderhoef, who became the acting chancellor, eventually became the chancellor. Larry was very popular and that, again, made it even worse because the faculty were giving hosannas to what Larry was doing, criticizing what Ted was doing. He'd been Ted's vice chancellor.

Lage: Had he been an opponent of Ted?

Peltason: He'd not been an opponent. He is an honorable person, and he never said anything to me or publicly, but I think Ted felt that he'd been disloyal. That, again, was personally unpleasant. We kept Ted on in the Office of the President for, I think, a year. Then he actually did get an administrative leave and went off. But it was hurtful to him and especially to his wife, who felt that he'd been betrayed.

Selection of New Chancellors at San Francisco and Irvine

Peltason: Those were the tough personnel issues during my relatively brief time there. The others were all positive because the chancellors that I've picked have been great successes. The vice presidents have been great successes. I didn't mention Laurel Wilkening.

Lage: Yes, there were several that you picked.

Peltason: Yes, Laurel Wilkening and Joe Martin.

Lage: What about Raymond Orbach at UC Riverside, did you pick him?

Peltason: He'd been picked before. I persuaded him to become a chancellor. He'd been at UCLA, so he and I were good friends. But the other two chancellors I picked were Laurel Wilkening at Irvine and Joe Martin at UC San Francisco. Let's take up the UC San Francisco one first.

Lage: Okay.

Peltason: Julie Krevans, my colleague, had retired as chancellor the same year I was supposed to retire as chancellor. Julie had been a very popular chancellor at San Francisco and widely admired in the community, notably by Quentin Kopp. He was very helpful and very successful in fundraising. He had considerable distinction.

His weakness was in the administrative structure he had left in place in San Francisco. They had all kinds of financial problems. UC San Francisco was and is one of the finest universities in medical science in the world, and Julie gets a lot of the credit for that. I used to tease him and said, "You made the right choice. I'd rather have an outstanding, not very well-managed school than a well-managed, second-rate school."

Lage: [laughs] Right.

Peltason: But there were some administrative problems that were beginning to get in the way of its quality--great battles over expansion of space. They couldn't expand where they were. I always teased the people of San Francisco: I think there are about 750,000 in San Francisco, half of whom spend all of their time not letting you put up anything, and the other half spending all of their time not letting you take down anything.

Lage: It is a very difficult environment.

Peltason: That's right. So how and where to expand caused a great deal of tension. And there were some urgent problems, plus strengthening the financial administration of the campus. There'd been battles over whether or not they would leave San Francisco and go over to Harbor Bay.

Lage: Well, they weren't going to move the whole campus, I don't think.

Peltason: No, but they were going to expand.

Lage: They were going to expand, perhaps to Harbor Bay or down to Mission Bay in San Francisco.

Peltason: They had two or three sites. So it was important we get in a person, and I was very pleased that Joe Martin, who had been dean of the School of Medicine, agreed to become the chancellor at San Francisco. We got him after an elaborate search. Then we also strengthened the administrative team over there.

Lage: You did, as president?

Peltason: I helped Julie and Martin through Wayne and Ron. Working with Joe Martin, we'd already moved to help strengthen that.

Lage: So the president looks into the administrative team on the campuses?

Peltason: When there's a change. That's the time that the president can look into and review what the strengths and weaknesses are, what needs to be done, and work with the incoming administration to do that. In this case, I don't think we had an acting chancellor at San Francisco. I can't remember the sequence of events that brought him in, but I do remember being proud of my responsibility in getting Joe to take that job.

Unfortunately for the University of California, he didn't stay very long. He got an offer to go back to Harvard as dean of the College of Medicine. After my time, I think he had kind of become tired of the battering that you take in the public arena being the chancellor of UC San Francisco, especially in having to negotiate with the Regents over what he felt needed to be done to combine with Stanford.

Lage: Oh, yes, that was very controversial. Did all that go on during your presidency?

Peltason: After my time.

Lage: Oh, it's after your time.

Peltason: It got started under my time. Joe came to me and wanted me to know that he'd been approached by Gerhard Casper at Stanford and wanted my permission to begin a discussion to see whether or not it might be possible to strengthen UC San Francisco's

medical program in cooperation with Stanford's. So I encouraged him to explore those alternatives. We all knew that in the future, each campus had to look for new ways.

But the other major administrative appointment was on my own home campus. When I became president, Dennis Smith, my vice chancellor, became the acting chancellor. I think Dennis did an outstanding job as vice chancellor, and I would have been pleased to see him become my successor. But as frequently happens, vice chancellors find it hard sometimes to move up because they have to make tough decisions.

Lage: Oh, they're the ones that do the--

Peltason: They allocate the budget. And although the chancellor's responsible for it, they do it for the chancellor. Nonetheless, Dennis had gotten some people mad at him--again, I think for the right reasons. At any rate, there wasn't the support to make him the chancellor, so we had a search.

I was pleased to bring in Laurel Wilkening, the provost at Washington. I remember talking to Bill Gerberding, my good friend who had been her supervisor at Washington. She became my successor and just has completed her first five years--a very successful chancellorship--down here.

So in summary, I picked, what, three vice presidents and four chancellors. All of them, I think, helped to strengthen the administration of the university complex, the institution known as the University of California.

Lage: That's a lot of appointments for your three years as president.

Peltason: Right.

Lage: Now, Karl Pister was already at Santa Cruz when you came?

Peltason: Yes.

Improvements to the University's Management

Peltason: Let me just say another thing. We also implemented most of the recommendations that had come through the Chuck Young task force on how better to manage the university. I'd asked Chuck to be chair of a task force looking at questions such as the division of responsibility between the chancellor and the

Office of the President. What about the responsibilities between the chancellor, president, and the Regents, and what might the University of California do to more effectively manage the enterprise? Chuck, with his usual zeal, really took on that responsibility, devoting lots of time to it.

Lage: He must have given a lot of thought to it over the years.

Peltason: He'd given a lot of thought to it over the years, and he submitted four comprehensive series of recommendations. None of them were dramatic; they were all tightening and improving. And through Ron and Wayne, most of them were implemented during the three years.

Lage: What kinds of things were they? You say they weren't earthshaking.

Peltason: Well, they were cumulatively earthshaking. I mean, they weren't earthshaking in the sense that they didn't call for major change in structure of responsibilities. They were about relationships of auditing problems to management problems, processing recommendations, a whole bunch of other details.

I was concentrating first on what I call the administrative president, the things that don't quite get in the headlines, but maybe over time accumulate. I can't remember whether this was started in my presidency or finished in my presidency. I worked on it as chancellor and I remember working with John Davies, the head of a committee to review the number of items that went to the Regents.

My view is the Regents could be overwhelmed if they don't delegate more responsibility and focus their time and attention on the important questions. We made a considerable number of changes. Just little things, but again, they all added up. Before we made those changes, you couldn't name a building without the Regents' permission; you couldn't make somebody an emeritus administrator or professor without the Regents' permission. There were a whole bunch of pieces of paper, all of which required time and energy, that went to the Regents. You had to have permission of the Regents to start a capital campaign. These were things left over from an earlier period, so we streamlined all that processing.

Lage: Was that controversial to the Regents? Was there any objection?

Peltason: No, there was some objection, some apprehension. The Regents were still smarting under the charge that they had been rubber

stamps for David and that they had not been sufficiently attentive to the public spending, so there was some apprehension that, Why are we going to delegate more projects to the president?

Lage: Yes, I would think so.

Peltason: But they all made sense, and there were enough regents to say that they needed to concentrate on policy, not the minutiae.

Lage: Did they do it by a consent calendar or actually just give up those responsibilities?

Peltason: Some were moved by consent calendar. Some we actually said that the president would report once a year, and some we said, "The president will implement the policies of the board and the board should set the policies." You can have a policy on who's entitled to be called an emeritus chancellor or president without having to bring each one of those before the board. You can have a policy about how much money you need before you have an endowed chair without having to bring every one before the board. The capital campaigns are no longer the big deal that they used to be twenty or thirty years ago. As I say, capital campaigns are for the university as sales are for department stores.

Lage: Yes, right.

Peltason: So we were, I think, able to streamline the operation. I think we strengthened the management, got better people, and streamlined the structure, especially my change in the operation of the management of the hospitals.

Lage: That gives us the administrative changes.

Peltason: Right.

Management Style as President

Lage: We didn't talk about your management style with your senior staff positions. Is there something to say there?

Peltason: I don't know. I think other people are better able to evaluate your management style than is the incumbent. I think it's consensual. I believe in delegating. I believe in getting smart people and letting them do the work.

- Lage: How did your desk look at the end of the day?
- Peltason: Oh, I had a cluttered desk, unlike David.
- Lage: David had a very neat desk.
- Peltason: Yes, I used to tease him and say, "If I see a person with a neat desk, I think one of two things: you either have a cluttered mind or another desk somewhere." My desk is not clean. But I don't shout.
- Lage: Oh, yes. I wouldn't think so. [laughs]
- Peltason: When Chuck Young didn't get to be president, John--a good friend of mine, Chuck's assistant--said, "Well, Chuck, the Regents wanted a Bradley and you're a Patton."
- Lage: [laughs]
- Peltason: I think it's very accurate. Chuck is out there shouting and running the tanks and taking command, and I tend to be more quiet and more Bradley-like. It's the Eisenhower kind of generalship that works consensually, rather than standing in front of the troops, that is more congenial to me. Also I'm an out and around administrator. I'm a great believer in an administration by being out there.
- Lage: And as president, what does that mean? As a chancellor, you're out walking the campus, but what are you doing as president?
- Peltason: Well, I was on the campuses a lot. I went to each of the campuses as often as I could and met with the faculty and staff and chancellors.
- Lage: When you'd visit the campuses, is there sort of a protocol? Does the chancellor set up the visit?
- Peltason: Yes, I always let the chancellor know I was coming. I left each chancellor to his or her own devices, as to how they wanted to organize this visit. It varied. But you're quite right, the campuses had personality. I noted that David in his oral history mentioned how he felt more comfortable at UCLA than at Berkeley. I had the opposite experience. Berkeley, which was the closest campus, became my new home campus. I had a lot of friends on the faculty; I ate at the faculty club as much as I could. There was a presidential box. I went to activities there.
- Lage: Now, what's the presidential box?

Peltason: At the football games.

Lage: Oh, in the football stadium, yes.

Peltason: At UCLA I was always warmly received. Chuck was always gracious and the people there couldn't have been kinder, but there was no known role for the president.

Lage: Was it because of the tension with Chuck Young, or did you feel more at home at Berkeley because you had those good friends on the faculty?

Peltason: I just think because geographically it was there, and I had the good friends on the faculty, and I was on the campus more often. UCLA was always fine, but partly it was the alienation with Sue, I think. I was in the chancellor's house at Berkeley a lot. He would invite me when he would have visitors--Suzie and I would be invited. We were there a lot, whereas at UCLA we weren't ever invited to any official functions. If you came to the campus, you were graciously received, but there was no official function. On the seventy-fifth anniversary I was invited and accepted, but it was kind of clear that it was UCLA's show, whereas at Berkeley it was more cooperative. Those are the two reasons.

Of course, Irvine was my home campus. And all the other campuses had their own personalities. I had no favorites. I loved to go to each of them, and each has its own personality. They call it the "Davis Way." I'd go to Davis a lot because it was on the way to Sacramento. I got to know Highway 80, I'd go back and forth on Highway 80 and go by Davis. I would stop in there and I knew people there. I was always graciously received on my official visits there, and I was frequently invited to speak to the crowd and be there for Picnic Day. I was invited to all their functions.

Lage: What is the Davis Way?

Peltason: Civil, concerned with students. As I have always said, my favorite place to live is in a middle western college town located in southern California. Davis is a middle western college town located in northern California. It's a positive, pleasant atmosphere.

Ray and Eve Orbach at Riverside always were inviting us to speak to alumni groups or come to their student activities, or come experience the close connections between the town of Riverside and the campus of Riverside. Let's see, San Diego-- Dick always saw to it that I was invited to the opening of the

schools and those activities. I spent lots of time down there. It was very much in the Irvine vein, starting the same time.

Santa Barbara--I always had a special relationship. Suzie was born there. And when Barbara was there she invited us a lot. Suzie had friends and relatives in the town, as did I. Henry and Dilling Yang always very much involved us and called upon us to help in the fundraising and other activities. And of course, San Francisco was right across the bay. We got invited to all their fundraising activities and a lot of their social activities in the city of San Francisco. I was on the campus quite often. And Santa Cruz--

Lage: Oh, Santa Cruz! That's who we've left out. I knew we were skipping one.

Peltason: Yes, Santa Cruz. Karl and Rita Pister were very welcoming. We spent the night at their home a couple of times and were on the campus a lot. So I think I felt it important for the Office of the President to be out and be on the campuses. One, because I think you're a better president if you understand what's going on and the people you're dealing with are three dimensional and not just names. And also, well, I like the people. I like to see the activities, then I think they appreciated my taking the time and effort to be there.

Lage: Did you have any time to get together with students?

Peltason: On every campus visit I usually met with the student leaders and usually with the chancellor but not always. I remember one visit at Riverside--Ray always made it a point not to be there. He wanted me to feel that the people could talk to me directly.

Lage: Did the students take the opportunity to bring up things on their mind?

Peltason: Oh yes, they're not at all bashful. Students are outspoken. And of course I dealt directly with the elected student leaders. We had them at Blake House each year. But, again, on a campus you discover the richness of the University of California.

Lage: There seem to be a lot of students very involved in the university that aren't in the formal ASUC structure.

Peltason: That's right. Most students are going to school and not at all interested in the governmental structure. But when you go on a visit you tend to see the official structure.

- Lage: Now, how was it that you had your inauguration at UCLA?
- Peltason: Well, Chuck invited us, and again because of the strain, I thought it was a gracious act on his part--an attempt to indicate to the world that although he was disappointed, he was supportive. I, again, during my time tried to stress the fact that there weren't any flagship campuses, they were all flagships. It was a way of indicating the decentralized nature of the university. I was unaware of the fact that David had been inaugurated there, too. UCLA knows how to put on these events. They're very good at this. So it was an olive branch from Chuck that I appreciated.
- Lage: And you had lemonade and cookies.
- Peltason: Yes, that's right.
- Lage: I noticed the newspapers made a point of that.
- Peltason: There was some thought not to have an inauguration at all, but I wanted to do anything I could to resist the notion that somehow or other I was just to be an interim president, not to carry out the full-time responsibilities. And I made a point of making a major statement on my plans. There were protesters outside--to be honest, I can't remember what they were protesting.
- Lage: It wasn't anything new for you.
- Peltason: No, and the UCLA campus handled that, so that I heard the shouting but I don't know what they were shouting about. I can't remember what they were protesting, whether they were protesting someone in the university or something about the university.
- Lage: Maybe fee increases.
- Peltason: Fee increases would be my guess. I think it went very well. It was a modest ceremony, but nonetheless, a significant one.

National Laboratories

- Peltason: Another administrative problem during my time was having to deal again with the leadership of the national laboratories. When I became president, there weren't too many problems that came across my desk that I hadn't dealt with before, except for

the national laboratories. All the time I'd been chancellor, I used to tease my colleagues from the national laboratories and say, "One of the nice things about the multiple campus system is that when you guys are up I can just rest." So I knew them and I knew a little bit about the problem, but it wasn't on my plate and so I didn't pay too much attention.

Lage: They didn't come into meetings with the Council of Chancellors and things like that?

Peltason: Oh, no. We had some meetings with them. I got to know them and I liked them and admired them and supported the university's role. I knew in general about the problem, but I didn't have to focus on it because it was not part of my responsibility.

Lage: Right.

Peltason: But it's one of the things a president has to do--a \$2 billion major problem--and I was very pleased to have that responsibility. One of the great things about being an administrator is that you're always learning something new. So I enjoyed assuming that responsibility, but I had to learn about it.

Personnel Changes at Lawrence Livermore

Peltason: When I first got there, Sig [Siegfried] Hecker was being evaluated, and I think one of the very first things that David asked me to do when I was president-designate was to sit with him as we heard the evaluation of Sig's report. And that was good, so I got to know a little bit about Sig. He ran the Los Alamos National Laboratory. But the problems were at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. John Nuckolls was the director.

Lage: Did David apprise you of them?

Peltason: He apprised me of them but in a passing way, saying there may be some administrative problems out there. It wasn't a crisis, it wasn't anything acute. By this time Walter Massey was the provost and vice president and he had the responsibility of putting together the team to evaluate John Nuckolls, the director. We got that report, and again it indicated no crisis. It said that John Nuckolls was a brilliant man and a fine man, but there were major administrative problems in the

operation of Lawrence Livermore Labs and suggested that it would be time for him to move on.

Lage: Was this evaluation done in a way that you thought was fair?

Peltason: Yes, I think it was fair. There was some criticism subsequently. The chairman of that committee, Vice Admiral Richard H. Truly, was on the review committee and had played some role in the Carter administration. Someone, I think it was a talk show host by the name of Bill Wattenberg, claimed that Truly was against Nuckolls because of Nuckolls' position on testing. But I didn't see any evidence of the evaluation being influenced by John's policy views. It was a high-powered committee that came to the conclusion that the laboratory was suffering because of John's lack of appropriate administrative skills and recommended that he be asked to step down.

Walter and I talked with others who confirmed this judgment so we came to the conclusion that John should be asked to resign. So we talked with him about it, but he was reluctant to do so. We had many discussions with him. Again, I cannot remember all the details, but I remember having many conversations with him.

I talked with the Secretary of Energy, Hazel O'Leary, and she supported the decision that John should be replaced but made it clear that it was a decision that appropriately belonged to the university.

I don't remember the precise conditions of our contract with the Department of Energy, but I think it called for the president to notify the secretary of any change and to get the secretary's views. Although the university selected the director, if I remember correctly, it did need the concurrence of the secretary of energy.

Secretary O'Leary concurred with the judgment that, although John was a top-flight scientist, he was not a very good administrator, or at least that some of the lab's problems could be attributed to his administration.

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Lage: Did it have anything to do with policy?

Peltason: It had nothing to do with policy. Walter and I got bitterly attacked. There's a radio guy up in the Bay Area, Mr. Wattenberg. He's on every weekend--Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. He's a knowledgeable man. I remember he had a very

fine voice, and he'd been a professor of physics, I think, at Berkeley.

Lage: Was it a talk show?

Peltason: It was a talk show. He made Walter and me a target of his attacks, accusing us of removing Nuckolls because we differed with his policies. John had reservations about stopping nuclear testing, and the fact is it had absolutely nothing to do with his policies. Our job was to decide whether the labs were being well administered, not to make federal policy on whether nuclear testing should stop or not stop.

Lage: But did it have to do with how much of the energy of the lab should go into non-nuclear activities?

Peltason: No, because there was no debate on that. Everybody agreed that the laboratory had to stay in the weapons business and weapons testing, but there should be a transition to other activities. I had no argument with John about that, nor did he with the general drift. It had strictly to do with his administrative capacity. But Wattenberg insisted it had to do with the admiral at the head of the committee, and that Walter and I had been sent there in order to change the nation's policy.

Lage: The two of you in the conspiracy. [laughs]

Peltason: In the conspiracy. I didn't listen to the radio program, but Janet Young would listen to it and come in and tell me. She said it was pretty bad what he was saying. He called two or three times, Mr. Wattenberg did. Janet had a conversation with him. Howard Leach had a conversation with him, trying to assure him that we were doing our jobs and were not out to change policy. And [Edward] Teller came to see me.

Lage: Oh, interesting.

Peltason: Teller was the man who started the Livermore Lab and is a great figure. John was his protege.

Lage: Ah, so that complicated it.

Peltason: It complicated it.

Lage: So it was political?

Peltason: They politicized it. John insisted that he had not raised any objections or had not fed this to Wattenberg or had not aroused Mr. Teller. When Teller came in it was like a moment of

history--this man out of World War II history came in to see me.

Lage: This big, bushy-eyebrowed man.

Peltason: He came in with his cane and sat down--a tall man. We had a very pleasant conversation. I believe I persuaded him that the decision was not inappropriate and that we would make an honorable transition for John. John kept insisting that he couldn't leave until the weapons testing policy had been played through. And we said, "No, we can't wait for that." He did resign, and Bruce Tarter did come in and did a fine job.

Lage: And you had to do a search for Bruce?

Peltason: Bruce Tarter was one of the members of the administration. I think he had acted for John. But again, that was two or three months of more attacks upon the Office of the President. As an attack, Wattenberg would bring back every other charge about the bloated Office of the President bureaucracy.

Lage: Did this disturb you or were you able to kind of brush it off?

Peltason: It was probably disturbing more at the time than it seems with hindsight. I have said about that job, I never had a job before when I went to work worried about one thing and came home worried about something else. For a while there, it seemed like crisis after crisis. You get one thing solved and then there'd be another crisis. It was an accumulation of abuse, and it was the abuse that got to be personal--charging things about making speeches and serving on boards.

One reason why I think Walter left was he felt the situation was intolerable--the personal abuse--and this contributed to it. On the other hand, there was so much going on that you didn't have time to really focus on it.

Lage: That's right.

Peltason: Another thing I have always said about the job of president: I never before had a job where everybody I dealt with was mad at me because they weren't told first. The nine chancellors who wanted to know, "Why didn't you tell me? Why did I have to read about it in the newspapers?" Twenty-some regents who wanted to know, "Why didn't you tell us first?" Legislators and the governor often wanted a "heads-up" about some item of controversy.

When you are a chancellor many people report to you, and you in turn report to the president. But when you're president, you report to everybody. When you are president or in the Office of the President, you are subject to everybody's criticism. I thought it was unfair, but I didn't take it personally. Walter did.

Although I didn't listen to Wattenberg, I think it added to the feeling there was something wrong at the University of California, that we weren't in charge of things, we were always goofing.

But again, I think Bruce Tarter has made an outstanding director, and I think the problems with the Livermore Laboratory have been considerably improved.

Renegotiation of the University's Contract to Manage the Labs

Peltason: That, by the way, leads into the relationship with the Secretary of Energy and the whole laboratory.

Lage: Good.

Peltason: Because that's another part of the administration of the University of California. As I say, I was helped here because when I came into the office, Ron Brady and Janet Young were very much in charge in the sense that they were really on top of this.

Lage: So Janet Young had something to do with the labs also?

Peltason: She was the assistant to the president, but she worked closely with Ron Brady on lab problems. She has a legal background, she's a lawyer. They were the ones who did the chief negotiating of the contract.

In addition to our day-by-day management of the laboratories--and the University of California's management was also under attack--every five years the Regents have to decide whether or not we're going to continue to manage the laboratories.

Lage: And the faculty feeds in.

Peltason: All the consulting processes feed in. Then you have to negotiate with the national government. By the time I got there, the faculty hostility towards the university's management of the laboratories was abating. It still wasn't friendly, but as the cold war stopped, the laboratory's mandate altered to be more development of technology that would deal with economic growth. Also, the laboratories were playing a role in Europe and in the United States of disarming nuclear weapons. They are really outstanding laboratories.

National government laboratories are not usually outstanding, but there was top-flight science and engineering going on here, so my own personal attitude changed. At first I thought, Well, it's an act of good citizenship. The University of California is managing those laboratories to do the nation a favor because we can manage them better. I always thought that was a legitimate thing to do as a child of the World War II generation, recognizing the role that they play. But I never thought it was of particular value to the University of California to do it. And in some ways it might be too much trouble, because why antagonize the faculty? We weren't doing it for money. Why have to spend all of our time on their problems? We had lots of problems.

But as their mission changed, as technology transfer became more important, I began to think, Not only is this good for the country, it may be good for the University of California, especially if we can change the terms of the contract to promote more exchange among and between the scientists and the engineers of the University of California and the laboratories, especially if they can play into our program of technology transfer, bringing technologies into the marketplace. So I went from "it's okay" to "probably it's a good thing."

We had to negotiate the contract and we had two or three things that we were interested in. This is pioneering and I think some day somebody's going to write the history of this and say that the University of California showed the way. We-- and Ron Brady gets most of this credit--negotiated a performance-based contract in which the better we manage the institution, the more the fee would be.

There was a fee set aside out of which was provided the pool of money in case of disallowances. The fewer things that got disallowed, the more money the University of California could keep.

Age: What would be disallowed?

Peltason: Whenever you manage a federal government contract, auditors go through all the expenditures and say, "That's under the contract; that's disallowed under the contract."

Lage: I see.

Peltason: But in addition to a performance based on the management, it was also performance based on the quality of the science.

Lage: Oh, and that was new?

Peltason: That's new. There was to be an evaluation of the laboratories --not just did they keep the money all right? Did they save and not pollute the environment? Did they not cause any trouble? But did they produce high quality science and engineering? Again, many people think an institution is fine if there's no problem, but you can manage it so carefully that nothing happens.

Lage: Now, who came up with that idea?

Peltason: Ron gets most of the credit for developing a performance-based contract, one which focused on the quality of the work done, on outputs rather than just inputs. Although the federal government was talking about moving to quality-based management, our contract with the Department of Energy was among the first to be performance based, one in which university fees would be dependent on quality performance.

We were trying to change the tone of our relations with the Department of Energy and the federal government. Congressman John Dingell was always threatening to investigate our management, charging among other things that the University of California's fees were too high and that we were overcharging the federal government for covering the retirement costs for lab employees.

Lage: Was it hard to negotiate with the Department of Energy?

Peltason: It was hard to negotiate, but Secretary O'Leary was responsive to the desire to modernize the contract and to develop performance standards.

There were other problems, most especially the issue of liability for some major nuclear accident or other catastrophe.

Lage: Yes, nuclear theft, for instance.

Peltason: All kinds of things. How much would the Congress of the United States, the president of the United States, be on the hook? Or how much would the University of California be on the hook, or ultimately the taxpayers of California be on the hook? So we negotiated some liability arrangements. I was also worried about the fact that scientists from our laboratories were over in the former Soviet Union helping disarm their nuclear weapons. What if something went wrong over there? Who would pay? So we negotiated on the liability. By the time I got there, we were already having to pay some to the citizens of New Mexico. I can't remember the details, but they won some judgment. But again, as long as Congress and the president put up the money, there weren't any problems. Who could tell five years from now? The Congress might get mad, and so we had to negotiate to reduce the liability.

Then thirdly, we wanted to be sure that there were funds in the contract to encourage research and support across the university, so that we weren't just managing, there would be some benefit for the university. Ron and Janet were the lead team that renegotiated a very good contract, which I then went around and explained to the Academic Council. The Regents supported it. If I remember correctly, the council opposed it, but mildly.

Lage: Were they afraid of the interaction or cautious about it?

Peltason: Yes, just on the general grounds that the university shouldn't be in the business of managing weapons laboratories. I'm not even sure that they opposed it, but if they did, it was not a major issue between me and the Academic Council. It was a major issue between me and a few members of the faculty. I think the Berkeley faculty passed a resolution opposing it. And of course, Professor Charles Schwartz, who was always at all Regents' meetings, made his career of attacking it. But again, I was pleased that the laboratories had performance-based quality management and had more funds in there for supporting faculty teaching and research.

And the other thing is the federal government is always threatening to have a competition for this contract.

Lage: Yes.

Peltason: In my view, that's fine, but we weren't going to be a competitor. The laboratory employees were all in deadly fear that the federal government would take the contract and give it to a commercial firm. I think that would be very foolish public policy. I think the quality of these laboratories is

largely due to the fact that these employees are employees of the University of California. They would have a harder time keeping all those good people.

We wanted to make it quite clear to the federal authorities that we weren't just clamoring to have this contract, or that we needed the contract or that we wanted the money for the contract. It was, "We're prepared to do it under these terms. We want to be generous and good citizens, but don't do us any favors." There were several national commissions that suggested competitive bidding, but the Department of Energy did not adopt those recommendations, and its contracts with the university were renewed.

I also worked hard to get the chancellors and the directors of the laboratories in a more cooperative mode. We had three or four or five Council of Chancellors meetings in connection with the director of the laboratory. And I spent some time at the laboratories.

I got a Q clearance, which meant that I was cleared to learn about the classified work being done at the labs. I said it was a waste of the federal government's time and money to provide me with a Q clearance, because even if they told me what they were doing, it was so technical that I would not understand it. The Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory doesn't do any weapons research. They may do some classified, but it's not weapons. And a lot of the faculty would like to keep that laboratory but not the other two.

Lage: But they're all a package.

Peltason: They're all a package. I went to Los Alamos once or twice and Livermore, which was not too far away.

Lage: How much of your time would laboratory business take, do you think?

Peltason: Well, it's hard to quantify it. There was the negotiating time, and when there was the problem with the management it came to the Office of the President, but most of the time it could be run by Ron and then Wayne Kennedy, and Walter Massey. Walter Massey and Jud King were both physicists and engineers. The routine, day-by-day, management did not fall under me. It fell under me when we were down to the final negotiations.

I remember when I was under attack for the John Nuckolls situation and I talked with the Department of Energy. I had a good relationship with Hazel O'Leary, but Wayne and Walter

would do the flying to Washington. Then there was in the Office of the President somebody who spent full time on managing those problems. So I would say it took more time of auditors and the legal counsel, than it did of the president.

Lage: But the money the university gets for it--I keep hearing it's not a major component of the budget?

Peltason: No, we never wanted it to be so that if we lost that contract, we'd have another fiscal crisis.

Lage: Where does the money go that the university gets from managing?

Peltason: Into the discretionary funds to be reallocated or in reserve in case of any calamity. We try to do it in a no-win-no-loss way. Most of it went into support of the research or the engineers and the scientists, graduate research.

Lage: So you had the power to allocate that?

Peltason: Yes, although during the time that I was president, the budget was so tight that all the discretionary money was put back into just keeping the place going.

Lage: You said you had more to say about Charles Schwartz. Does that come up in another context?

Peltason: Well, yes. I don't want to get into too much detail. [laughs]

Lage: Okay.

XV UC PRESIDENT: RELATIONS WITH CONSTITUENCIES

Relationship with the Chancellors

Lage: We haven't talked about how the Council of Chancellors operated and if you handled the council differently from David Gardner. Would that fit before we go on to other subjects?

Peltason: Yes, I think so. Having been a chancellor, I was quite sensitive to the fact that the chancellors are on the firing line. I've always been an admirer of the University of California and the fact that it really does make the multi-campus system work. And, as I've said, there's a devil's pact, meaning that there's a clear role for the president and the chancellors. I was available to the chancellors when they had individual problems on a one-to-one basis. That wasn't very often, but I was always available. And when I went out there, I would talk to them about their problems and would help them with their problems. Also there would be issues coming up on particular campuses.

I remember one. I could take any of the campuses, but take this as an illustration of the relationship between the Office of the President and the chancellor. When I first got to be president [laughs], Ray Orbach wanted a Ph.D. program in dance [at Riverside], and it got into troubles with the reviewing authorities. Remember, we're in the middle of a major crisis: the budget is being cut, everybody is talking about we have to reduce the number of Ph.D. programs. But Ray insisted we had to push through his Ph.D. program in dance.

Lage: He must have been getting some pressures from his campus.

Peltason: Must have been. CPEC [California Postsecondary Education Commission] said that we don't need a Ph.D. program in dance. By the way, we got letters accusing us of being phallogentric. I didn't understand that there was any gender connection.

Lage: For not approving it.

Peltason: For not approving it, yes. Anyhow I did work with Ray to get that through CPEC.

Lage: Did you get it through?

Peltason: We did get it through.

Lage: Oh, so you supported him in that even though it sounds from your tone, here, that you didn't think too much of it.

Peltason: Well, I tried to say, "Ray, is this really the program you want at this particular time?" But the cost was minimal. It was more one of these things that are symbolic that people attack you on. Here the university is in a crisis and having to lay off people and so on and wants to have a Ph.D. program in dance for maybe three people. The cost was trivial, but it was one that Ray felt strongly about.

That's generally how the Office of the President gets to help a campus. I didn't feel strongly enough about it to say I won't help you, but I tried to counsel him out of it. He couldn't be counseled out of it, but he also wanted a law school [laughs], and I was successful in counseling him out of that. He sent a delegation of lawyers and judges from Riverside to see me. And I said, "Sure, Ray. Sure, I'll talk to them. I'll talk to any group of people. But they should know that I'm not the enemy. I actually think that law schools for the University of California are not a bad idea, but in this climate there's no chance that the Regents would approve it. If the Regents approve it, there's no chance that the legislature would approve it. If the legislature approves it, there's probably no chance that the governor would approve it."

Lage: But the governor, I remember, was talking about privatizing.

Peltason: Privatizing the law schools. But I said, "I'll talk to them." Ray called me up and said he'd thought that my letter was a little bit curt. These were important people, would I please meet with them. And I did. I tried to explain to them that it was a perfectly honorable profession. I agreed the University of California had a responsibility, I agreed to the fact that there's no public Association of American Law Schools accredited school south of UCLA. It was a problem. There were millions of people. It was not a question of having more lawyers, but better lawyers. I was on their side, but in this particular climate, this was not the time to push it.

I only mean this as an example of how the Office of the President could coordinate. Again, I don't mean to pick on the Riverside campus. I also had to deal with them on some of their admissions policies. Each campus like that would have a set of problems that you would help deal with. Chancellor Wilkening [at Irvine] got into the problem with the fertility clinic.

Lage: Oh, yes.

Peltason: Which she inherited because the doctors were picked during my time as chancellor. I was on the phone with her a lot, not because I'd been the ex-chancellor and was her president; in fact, I had to be careful not to try and be chancellor, because there can only be one chancellor at a time. But anything that gets to the legislature or to the Regents is a president's problem. I used to say to the chancellors, "You don't have to tell me anything. Except if you think it's going to get in the newspapers or before the Regents, I need to be involved."

Lage: Did you have trouble with any of your chancellors, like say, Ray Orbach, putting pressure directly to the Regents on issues like dance and law?

Peltason: No, that was pretty good, because that is part of that devil's pact. The Regents were my role. If they talked to the Regents, they should let me know. I don't mean just in a social case such as a regent came for dinner, but if there was a policy issue that they were giving the Regents, they should let me know. And they were all pretty good about that. Only every now and then would I have to say to somebody, "You forgot to tell me," or, "Let me know."

I think of the chancellors as assets. I didn't think I was the only one to instruct the Regents or the legislators. In fact, they had a role and a responsibility to cultivate their local legislators but to keep us coordinated. And that was not a problem. Many of the problems that most other multi-campus systems have, we didn't have. We had other problems.

We didn't have the problems of chancellors going off the reservation or trying to go around the Office of the President. The only time that that happened was towards the end when Chuck Young two or three times made public statements about the Office of the President and the Regents, and there was an uproar among some of the regents. I wrote a letter to Chuck saying essentially, "As a chancellor, you have the right to deal with the Regents and the president privately, but the role of the chancellor is not compatible with public criticism of

the president and/or the Regents. I want you to sign this letter to me by return mail that you understand this, or else you can't be a chancellor."

Lage: That's pretty stern stuff!

Peltason: That's the only time I had to come down hard. Again, that was Chuck's frustration. During most of the time he was chancellor he played by the rules of the game. Every now and then he would say something to the board that he hadn't cleared with me and I'd have to find out. Only one time did I have to tell him, "Cease and desist, or else."

Lage: And did he sign it and return it?

Peltason: Yes. A letter came back that said he understood. It was a carefully worded letter. I think I saved him from the Regents taking up the issue of his dismissal if I hadn't.

Council of Chancellors' Meetings

Peltason: The chancellors were friends and supportive. They're all gracious. But now, when the chancellors got together for the monthly meeting! We met once a month for a full day. We started at nine-thirty in the morning, going until four o'clock in the afternoon.

Lage: Was that at the Office of the President?

Peltason: Yes, although every now and then I would move the meeting around. I would meet first with the chancellors privately, and then the vice presidents would join us. I found this less than a satisfactory arrangement. Chancellors are strong personalities. I tried to make these discussions more constructive, but there was too much shouting for my taste. These were tense times; chancellors felt strongly about the issues. They, like everybody else, had a tendency to blame the Office of the President for everything.

Lage: So this was the time when they would air their frustrations?

Peltason: Yes. Individually, they were fairly supportive. I don't want to make too much of this, but the Council of Chancellors maybe sometimes got to be more argumentative than I thought was appropriate for a collective responsibility.

Lage: Was it similar in tone to when David Gardner had been in charge and you were chancellor?

Peltason: Well, yes.

Lage: Or did it get worse?

Peltason: It got worse, but it didn't change in quality. I mean, in David's day, there was more shouting. And that might be the price for public support--that they have a chance to express their views. I would occasionally have to remind them, as did David, that the Council of Chancellors was not the body that made the decisions. They were advisory to the president. You need to remind them of that occasionally because every now and then they would say, "Well, what the Council of Chancellors has decided--" I noticed even in my own conversation I would say, "Well, at the Council of Chancellors it was decided--," giving the impression that it was a decision-making body. I think that needed to be resisted. It's advisory to the president and the president often has to take the responsibility.

Now, in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases it was sensible not to make a decision until a consensus developed among the chancellors and the president. After all, chancellors are the ones on the firing line, they are knowledgeable. But during this time of crisis, as the issues got to be more life and death issues, differences between the campuses and their chancellors became more personality conflicts. Chang-Lin and Chuck as chancellors of the two biggest campuses frequently engaged in tussles.

Lage: Oh, the two of them! You'd think they would have similar interests.

Peltason: They did on a lot of things. Again, I think this can be exaggerated.

Then we got together for dinner the night before the Regents' meeting and went over the agenda.

Lage: Just the chancellors?

Peltason: The vice presidents would join us, too. It was social, but towards the end of the evening it got so that every now and then the issues got more tense. Part of it was that Chuck is such a dominant personality and knows so much that some of the chancellors felt that he dominated the conversation and that he was more interested in persuading than in collective decision-making. But again, I don't want to exaggerate. There was no

subject that we didn't talk about. It's a very valuable instrument for keeping the campuses together.

Its counterparts are that the vice chancellors meet. The vice chancellors of the administration meet with the vice president for administration. The vice chancellors for academic affairs meet with the vice president provost.

Lage: At the same venue?

Peltason: No, on their own. The amazing thing about the University of California is that people are intensely loyal to their campus, but they also are loyal to the University of California as a system because they get to know each other and they share information. Before each Regents' meeting, I would meet with the Academic Council, I'd meet with the chancellors, occasionally I'd meet with the student leaders, and the vice presidents were also meeting. So as part of the governing structure, the Council of Chancellors is, I think, a very valuable thing.

We went out of those meetings usually united, although as the issues got stronger, there were differences. And I'll talk about some of them in a moment. It got to a point that the rest of the campuses would say, "Wait, what happened at the Council of Chancellors?" But we didn't keep minutes. Janet Young kept notes.

Lage: But it wasn't official in that it needed to be recorded.

Peltason: It wasn't recorded. These decisions were advisory.

Lage: Can you think of times when you went into that meeting and came out with a different policy?

Peltason: Oh, yes, or an alternative, or we didn't really genuinely know what would be the right and wise thing to do. But the agendas covered everything. There were some topics that were always on the agenda: diversity. The university spent lots of time and energy genuinely trying to get more women and minorities. They came to a head with a debate over affirmative action, but it was always on the agenda.

Lage: Before that.

Peltason: The budget was always on the agenda.

Lage: Yes, I can imagine.

Peltason: Hospitals were always on the agenda. [laughs] Items before the Regents were always on the agenda: what was coming up at the next Regents' meeting, what were the highlights? The chancellors would report on the issues on their campus. Domestic partnership was always on the agenda.

Lage: Did fundraising come up on the agenda?

Peltason: Fundraising policies would come up. How are we going to fund fundraising activities? But that wasn't an issue of great debate among the campuses. And then, of course, a lot of time on the budget during my time, and student fees, VERIP, retirement policies, patent policies.

Lage: Did the whole issue of technology transfer get thrashed out there?

Peltason: Technology transfer--all that was there.

Lage: Did the chancellors tend to divide along the same lines or different lines on all of these issues? It wasn't a big campus-small campus, north-south division?

Peltason: No. Sometimes it was big campus versus small campus: indirect costs, how they'd get to be allocated, allocation of graduate students. And then because we worked with people a long time, you kind of knew where they stood on this or that. Dick, for example, was always concerned about the policy with respect to outside employment. He felt that we ought to formulate that more precisely. So we got to know each other's virtues, but minds were changed.

Again, I want to say as much positive as I can about it. These were important issues and smart people dealing with things about which they felt strongly and spoke their mind. And the vice presidents participated. I tried to break down the notion that the president and the chancellors had secrets from the vice presidents. And I did that during my time. I think as chancellors gained confidence in people like Walter Massey and Wayne Kennedy, they wanted them in the room.

Lage: Had that been the feeling before, that something should be kept from the vice presidents?

Peltason: David's practice had been to meet with the chancellors first. And that got to be kind of a complaint session about vice presidents. I tended to break down that division. And by the way, I got to know the vice chancellors. I'd meet with them occasionally. I'd meet occasionally with the vice chancellor

for advancement. I encouraged the greater efforts on the part of the newer campuses to begin their fundraising. The foundations have become increasingly important and so we had two or three meetings in which we had the heads of all the foundations. I felt that the president needed to be not only dealing with these officers via the chancellors, but he ought to have a personal relationship with them, too. It created some tension with the chancellors, but I think otherwise the president gets isolated. I mean, the president needs to be seen in and about the administrative team. Administrators can feel somehow isolated and lonely because we get attacked a lot. [laughs] So I'm pleased with the way it operated.

Academic Council

Peltason: Let me say something about the Academic Council. The council consists of the chairs from the academic senates from the nine campuses plus a chair of each of the standing committees of the council, which is the collective leadership from the various senates. During my time in the presidency, the university was almost always in the midst of some crisis, either on the budget or about some kind of "scandal" about executive compensation or allegation of improper administration. I met with the Academic Council a lot. I felt, especially during times of crisis, that it was important that we keep the faculty leadership working with us as a team. I think some of the chancellors felt that I was too deferential to the Academic Council, but I really think there would have been a major breakdown in the University of California if during these times of budget crises and cutback the Academic Council had not come to the Regents' table supportive of our recommendations. During the entire time that I was president, the Academic Council was supportive of my recommendations.

Lage: Even when you had to recommend some salary cuts?

Peltason: The salary cuts the faculty supported. The one issue that they were really up in arms about was that in the last year that David had been president, merit raises had been denied. I'll come back to that in other issues. But they were very supportive. I was blessed with three chairs of the Academic Council during my time. There was Arnie Binder, whom I knew from my Irvine days, Dan Simmons, and Arnie [Arnold L.] Leiman. I knew the chairs--the representatives from the Academic Senates of all the campuses--or got to know them.

Lage: And the Academic Council represents the Academic Senates on the various campuses?

Peltason: The Academic Council is made up of the Academic Senates, yes. And the chancellors, again, resented it, because they saw this as the president dealing with the faculty: "It's our faculty you're dealing with!"

Lage: Yes, it is another line of command.

Peltason: It's another line of command.

Lage: But it's always been that way, hasn't it?

Peltason: I didn't create it. I found it and thought it very valuable. When I would go to the Regents, the faculty representatives who spoke for the council--there were always two of them at the table. They would sit there and support what we recommended and were always a channel of communications back to the Academic Senate. That was essential, it seems to me, during that time of crisis that we worked together. Otherwise, the word would have gotten out around the country that the faculty and the administration were at loggerheads. That would have been bad for faculty morale, for recruiting. It would have signaled the wrong thing to the students and to the legislature.

Lage: How did the chancellors let you know that they weren't happy with that? Was it indirectly?

Peltason: Every now and then I would come into the chancellors and say, "Oh, I'm not going to recommend that because I haven't persuaded the council yet," or, "The council doesn't want me to do that yet, and I think we still have a chance to bring them around." And there'd be kind of a sense of, "Well, who's running this place? [laughs] They're supposed to advise you. You're being too deferential to them." But not only did I work with them, I spent a lot of time on the campuses dealing with the Academic Senates. I actually spoke to the Academic Senate of each of the nine campuses.

Lage: On a regular basis?

Peltason: Each year, on a rotating basis. I can't say for sure I did all nine of them every year, but I think I did all nine of them. I remember meeting the Berkeley faculty three times in the spring and UCLA two or three times. I think I made them all two or three times. And I found them to be eminently reasonable. They, too, got mad at me if I did things without consulting

them, and two or three times it was a narrow vote that they supported my recommendations. But I found that once you informed them and told them what you were doing and why you were doing it, and indicated you took their advice seriously, and treated them as colleagues, they were very responsible.

Again, I think this is part of the glue that holds the University of California together. This fact that the council members spend two or three days with each other. It's a faculty of equals: Berkeley might have a greater number of distinguished faculty than a smaller campus, but when they walk into the room, they're equals. They all know each other professionally and have the same standards for promotion, the same pay rate, and they've worked through their problems.

Then I would bring to those council meetings with me the provost, Larry usually came, Bill Baker usually came, the vice chancellor for administration would come, and we would go over the items on the Regents agenda. I even sent the leaders of the Academic Senate copies of the agenda, along with sending it out to the chancellors.

Lage: You understood the system.

Peltason: Yes, and I think the system has a logic. A lot of people make a lot of fun about the bureaucracy of the University of California. Lots of time it's, "You can't do it at the University of California." The answer is you can do almost anything you want to at the University of California. A lot of people will blame the "university" for something. They'll say, "Well, I wanted to do it, but the system won't let me." But the system would let you do almost anything reasonable.

This is a system that calls for constant talk, lots of talk, lots of consensus, lots of collaboration. It moves somewhat slowly, but generally it's for tough decisions, like, as you say, the decision to actually reduce faculty salaries. That was supported by the Academic Council, or at least they didn't oppose it. We needed to raise student fees. When the evidence was brought to them to deal with the problems with executive compensation, I didn't always agree with them. In fact, I didn't agree with all of their recommendations on executive compensation, but I explained to them what we were doing. So I think that worked very well. By the way, they too, get criticized by the rank and file faculty for cooperating with the administrators, for not being sufficiently pugnacious.

Lage: Oh, yes, I'm sure. [laughs]

Peltason: The one issue that I did deliver for them, which was their one issue, was to do something about the merit raises that had been deferred or declined. And by the end of the three years, we'd got sufficient funds to make whole--not completely whole, but partially whole--the people who'd been denied their merit raises.

Lage: It seems to me from looking at the minutes that even before the end of the three years, you reinstated it for the faculty because it was part of their evaluation procedures.

Peltason: Yes, that's right. Well, again, the University of California has a system I'm not sure I approve of but I'm not going to change. It's part of the religion [laughs] of the University of California--these step increases. Most universities you get promoted in rank: assistant professor, associate professor, full professor. Then you get raises in between. In the University of California you get to be assistant professor step one, step two, step three.

Lage: And the steps are merit?

Peltason: The steps are based on merit and with an increase in step comes a raise. The raise has come to be a matter of right that goes with a step increase. In most other universities if there is not enough money for raises in a particular year and a faculty member does not get a promotion in rank, the fact that you did not get a raise would not have been a major issue. But at the University of California a step increase, not a promotion in rank, but just a step increase, creates high expectations of a raise. During the early years of the budget crisis when David was still president, it was decided not to fund that year's step increases. That stuck in the faculty's craw as a grave injustice.

Relationship with the Regents

Peltason: Then the president has another constituency which can't be neglected, the Regents.

Lage: Yes, I wondered when we were going to get to the Regents!

Peltason: The Regents are very important. I have traditionally, as a political scientist and as an educator, always been one of the few people to defend the Board of Regents for the vital role that they play making American higher education what it is

today. As I've said, I think it is one of America's great social inventions.

Lage: You mean in general, as an institution at many colleges or universities?

Peltason: Yes. I learned this as president of ACE. When you go abroad and you see how they try to govern universities, you see how lucky we are to have these lay boards. But like legislative bodies, they make a lot of noise in the process.

Lage: Yes.

Peltason: There is a general tendency on the part of many administrators and faculty to complain about "the Regents." Again, I want to make clear the distinction between "a regent" and "the Board of Regents." When I became president, I said at a board meeting that I worked for the Board of Regents, that the Board of Regents set the policy, not individual regents. That individual regents as colleagues deserved a response to their questions, and that they were my colleagues and did not have the right to tell me to do anything. A regent should not confuse himself or herself with the Board of Regents, and the university could have only one president at a time.

Lage: Does Ward Connerly understand that?

Peltason: Well, I think he does, although he has a concept of the Regents that differs from mine. He thinks of the Regents as kind of a civic council, of whom the president is just one of the constituents. There are the students, there are the faculty, there are the public, and then the Regents make up their mind.

I think of the Regents as a governing board for a complex educational institution who hired the president. The president deals with the constituents and brings the recommendations to the board. The board doesn't always have to adopt them, but if it consistently finds the president's recommendations not supportable, then they ought to get a new president. It doesn't mean that they can't differ with him at times, and it doesn't mean that individual regents aren't entitled to ask questions and get information, but you can only have one president. [See Appendix D for exchange of letters with Ward Connerly on the role of the Regents.]

I had more difficulty with Regent Clark on the view that he really thought that he was managing the hospitals. One of the problems that a board has is it doesn't have any way to discipline the erring, the outriding regent. It used to

aggravate me when I would pick up the newspaper and it would say, "Regents disturbed," and I would find it was one or two regents, usually the ones least representing the policy of the board. The ones most likely to make an extreme statement made themselves available to the press. By the way, Regent Clark did not go to the press, but other regents did.

I used to find it aggravating that the newspapers would headline, "Regents think, faculty says, and expert reports," and they would quote Regent Glenn Campbell, who was always willing to give the press a comment and who was probably the regent least representative of the board. For the faculty, they would quote Charlie Schwartz, and whatever you may say about him, he was in no way reflective of what most faculty thought, and for the expert they would quote Pat Callan, whose claim as an expert on higher education always eluded me, since he was neither a scholar of higher education nor an experienced university administrator. What is true of the Regents is true of a legislative body, the legislator or regent who makes the most noise and extreme statement is the one whom the newspapers headline.

Individually almost all the regents were supportive of me. The board adopted every one of my recommendations except one-- it was an important one. [laughs] I never denied their right to deal with that issue--affirmative action admission and employment policies. I think they made a mistake, but I never argued that they were acting in an area where they lacked the right to act.

I spent a lot of time talking with regents, one on one. I took very seriously my responsibility to report to the Regents and to try to persuade them of the wisdom of my recommendations. But at the meetings, unlike David--David was a taskmaster at the meetings. He was like the lion tamer. [laughs] That was not my style. My style was more to listen at board meetings and not to try to take charge of them. I played a more passive role at the public meetings than did David, but I think I was more effective in dealing with them one-on-one, and through informal channels.

age: So by one-on-one you mean between meetings?

eltason: Especially the chair. Again, I was blessed with two magnificent regents as chair of the Regents during my time there: Meredith Khachigian and Howard Leach. I mean, regents spend hours of time! They really care. These are people who don't get paid anything.

age: Yes, they don't get paid a penny, do they?

Peltason: Everybody would beat them up. Meredith and Howard were always available to talk with me, always constructive, not afraid to ask tough questions, and except for the affirmative action decision, to support my recommendations.

I also encouraged the vice presidents to speak directly to the Regents so I didn't have to have all the conversations with them. I tended to discourage chancellors, except when they had to respond to Regents' questions.

Lage: But you didn't think the chancellors should--

Peltason: --be involved in discussions with the Regents. Occasionally, I would ask one of them to call somebody to explain an issue that was on their campus.

Maintaining Quality in Bad Budget Years

Peltason: The very first year that I was responsible for the budget--the first year David had taken the burden of the budget--was really the worst year. By that time, the fat had been cut, and I put together a budget which called for a dramatic increase in student fees, a VERIP, a reduction in faculty salaries, and reduction in administrative costs. We had a big debate over it at Riverside. It was the first meeting with Ward Connerly. When regents come to their first meeting, they usually listen. [laughs]

Lage: Yes, this was his first meeting?

Peltason: His first meeting.

Lage: So you had put together this budget after the consultative process that you've described?

Peltason: This was a long consultative process, which I believe was absolutely a key decision.

Lage: You'd talked to the Regents before. And it barely passed?

Peltason: It passed but it wasn't dramatically--twelve to seven or something like that.

Lage: What was the objection?

Peltason: Well, some people didn't want to raise student fees. The ultimate struggle that I had being president, which was a fundamental question for the University of California, was how to maintain quality. Some people preferred that it not cost very much and didn't mind jeopardizing quality. They were more worried about keeping the students' fees low than maintaining quality. I always took my stand on the fact that the one thing the University of California can't do is it can't compromise on its quality.

It's very hard to demonstrate how dollars buy you your quality or to demonstrate the damage being done to a university. As I have said on other occasions, the trouble with a university is it doesn't bleed. You cut a library fund and then the next day you go look at it, and it looks just like the same library. The consequences of cutting the library may be felt two or three or five years down the way. The issue is not, "Is the University of California going to survive?" It's, "Is it going to maintain its quality?" And that's a whole bunch of little things: the quality of the faculty, having adequate libraries, having the center for this and the institutes for that. There's no doubt that the University of California can run itself cheaper. I mean, we don't have to have so many books. We don't have to have so many journals, don't have to have such great faculty. And right away it wouldn't tell; it's five and six years down the path.

So my first priority during my entire time in the presidency was to maintain quality. There was one other matter on which I insisted there could be no compromising: namely, that all nine campuses should have the same comprehensive mission as research campuses of the highest quality, that we would not designate three or four campuses to be comprehensive, high-quality research universities and give to the others a more limited mandate.

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Lage: Is this view shared by some of the regents: compromised quality or lower quality on certain campuses?

Peltason: Yes, that is, the Board of Regents has always shared my view that to be a campus of the University of California means that it is a campus responsible for teaching and advanced research, that all campuses have the same standards for faculty and for students. I suspect, however, that there are some regents who would contend that you could restrict the scope of coverage of some campuses without jeopardizing their quality.

I am persuaded that the great strength of the University of California--the reason it works so well--is that, unlike many multicampus public universities, all of its campuses have the same mission. They don't have the same programs, but they have the same mission. They are all charged with being research-oriented, comprehensive campuses.

I got myself in trouble once when I said, "If the people of California have concluded they can't afford eight general campuses of the University of California and they want to have only four, then the other four should not be the responsibility of the University of California; they ought to be the responsibility of CSU." Which may be unpopular with CSU and the four campuses that thought they might have gone there [laughter], but I really believe that we don't want to become the University of North Carolina-type system or University of Wisconsin-type system, with two or three research campuses and the rest different kinds. CSU does a wonderful job of managing the kind of campuses it runs; they can do that better than we can.

My budgetary battle was to keep all the campuses going. I want to focus on student financial aid later on, because I don't think you do low-income students any favor either by just keeping the fees low, because that's not the total cost of going to a university. But going back to my relation with the Regents: I think the crucial recommendation that I made to the university was everybody had to cut a little bit.

Lage: So that first budget that you were responsible for kind of was a crisis budget?

Peltason: It was a crisis budget. I think it was necessary to get us through. I really felt the board came through, but it was the closest one. The affirmative action one was more dramatic, and I'll get to that. But changing the admissions policy--educators' expertise is not any greater than that of the board members and the general public.

Lage: It really is a policy issue.

Peltason: It's a policy issue, whereas putting together a budget, if you don't support your president on that, you're in major trouble.

The other time I had problems, it was with individual regents I thought were trying to interfere, demanding too much time. Again, let me come back to Regent Clark. He was very careful, he didn't violate any privacy, but he really felt that he was right on the hospital issues. He lost confidence in

Ron, then he lost confidence in Wayne, and he required an inordinate amount of responding to his questions.

But the other regents were generally positive. Regent Campbell was totally out of sympathy with the whole University of California, and towards the end of his regime, he really felt isolated from the administration and isolated from his fellow regents. And you knew that you couldn't share comments with him without it getting to the newspapers. But generally speaking, the Regents supported my recommendations and supported me and I felt very positive towards them.

Regent Ward Connerly

Lage: Regents weren't the same throughout. New ones kept getting appointed and people would leave. Did you feel there was a change in the type of regents, not just during your presidency, but over the time that you were chancellor and president?

Peltason: Well, no. Clark Kerr, one of the great presidents of all times, the great giant at the University of California--when I had a conversation with him once, I remember he was complaining right after the affirmative action debate about how the Regents had been politicized and the board was not the great board that it used to be in the past. And I jokingly said, "You mean like the loyalty oath, or when they fired you?"

Lage: [laughs] How did he respond?

Peltason: He laughed. I said, "I think that every twenty years or so the Regents do something foolish. Our board has already had its one time, though."

Let me say a little bit about Ward Connerly. I have great admiration for him. He's a brilliant man, he's articulate. I don't agree with him on many issues, but he's an honorable foe. He doesn't do anything that he doesn't tell you he's going to do. He tells you why he's going to do it. He isn't personal, and I think when the history on the debate on affirmative action is written, his role was crucial.

Lage: Maybe he's been misquoted, but there were two comments that were recorded that seemed to indicate a view of the role of a regent that just doesn't quite strike home. One being after the affirmative action vote, he said he would entertain ideas

from faculty and students and others about how the admissions policy should be changed. That seemed a little out of step.

Peltason: Well, he is. Ward has not been socialized as a regent in the sense that he has maintained his view as he came on the board that the Board of Regents runs the University of California, that shared governance doesn't mean that the board doesn't ultimately make the decision.

Lage: Or that even individual regents have some relationship with individual faculty.

Peltason: I think that's where I would differ with him in my correspondence with him. I'll talk about that when I get to affirmative action and discuss it at great length. You'll see why he and I argued over this role of the Regents all the time. But he is so smart, so articulate, and so persuaded sometimes that he's right, although he's also prepared to compromise. When he first came on the board, he and I had conversations where he told me about his objection to affirmative action. But he said that it was a personal objection, and he said he wasn't about to make an issue of it. And I think he was quite sincere. But there were some things that triggered his concern about it. But I don't think he should be made, as some faculty do, into a devil who is out to disrupt the university. I think he is very proud of the university, but he's not going to be put down by a faculty member telling him that he shouldn't get into it.

Lage: I see, yes.

Peltason: And when he takes a stand, like his stand on domestic partnership indicates, he's a man of internal conviction.

I think each part of the university tends to be a little bit too patronizing towards the other. That is to say that because I worked up close with the administrators, the faculty, and the Regents, I appreciated and admired the role that each of them played. I tended to be the mediator among them and tried to moderate the criticism of each of them to the other.

I had less involvement with the students because there were just so many of them and they're so remote, but the Regents were a key constituent and I spent a lot of time with them. As I said earlier, one problem with the Regents is that they do like to be told first what's happening and there are just so many of them. [laughter] But the system worked.

I did not play a role in the appointment process of regents.

Lage: Yes. And presidents never have, have they?

Peltason: They never have. I think it's not appropriate. I strongly oppose those who want an elected Board of Regents. That would be destructive.

Lage: Is that another Charlie Schwartz idea?

Peltason: Another Charlie Schwartz idea and CALPIRG idea. I do think some kind of merit screening process might be helpful.

Lage: It's just the governor who appoints now?

Peltason: He appoints subject to senate confirmation.

Relationship with the State Legislature and Governor

Peltason: Then the legislature: I spent a lot of time in Sacramento with Steve Arditti and Larry Hershman and Debbie Obley. We had a wonderful group of people at Sacramento. As I say, I got to know that Highway 80. As a political scientist, I rather enjoyed that. Again, I'm a defender of politicians and legislators.

Lage: That's right.

Peltason: They have a right--after all they've appropriated \$2 billion--to the questions they have to ask. I got called there quite a bit, especially on executive compensation. Even among our friends, they'd call me over and say, "Why did you guys embarrass us?"

Lage: Now, when you say called you over, they'd want you to come up and see them or just talk to them on the phone?

Peltason: "You better get up here" would be the kind of conversation. "There's hell to pay," or "Steven's here, where've you been? There are just complaints, come on up here!" So I would get in the car and go up there. I used to tease them that as you go into Sacramento, just outside of Sacramento there's a sign that says, "Reno this way, Sacramento that way." I said, "Maybe if I'd gone to Reno, I'd have gotten more money for the

university." [laughter] But there were the formal hearings. Steve wanted me up there all the time.

Lage: For the formal hearings.

Peltason: To be in on the formal hearings. Oh, yes, I want to mention one thing: I want to give a great deal of credit to Willie Brown and to Pete Wilson.

Lage: Okay, why is that?

Peltason: I think those two men are another two of my heroes. When I first was president, one of the first people to come to call on me was Willie Brown. He came over to the office. He came in, he sat down in my office, and he said, "This university is too important to get involved in partisan politics. My office is always available to you. You don't have to go through any intermediaries; you let me know when you need me. You've got my full support." And during all our times of troubles, when it would have been easy for him to jump on us, he did not. It would have been easy for him to make it a partisan issue to his advantage, to get people's attention--

Lage: Yes.

Peltason: And he did not. And the other one was Pete Wilson, the governor of the State of California. The governor is probably the single most important person in the life of the University of California. You almost never get more than the governor wants. When all this noise is over with, the university usually gets what the governor recommends for you.

Lage: So that working with the governor on the budget is very important?

Peltason: Right. And during our times of troubles, Governor Wilson did not jump on the university. He never publicly attacked us. Again, it would have been easy for him to do so. He and Willie were both regents. They took very seriously their role as regents. Despite the fact that towards the end the governor on affirmative action made a lot of people at the university mad, the four-year contract that I worked out with him on the budget saved the University of California. I think that really was crucial.

They were part of my constituents, see, in Sacramento. I'd always call on Willie, and the senate leader, and the governor and the chair of the committees. Steve Arditti would take me here and there.

Lage: Were there particular ones other than Willie Brown and Pete Wilson who either gave you lots of support or lots of trouble?

Peltason: Well, among the great supporters were Senator Alquist and Senator Petris. I'm afraid I'll leave out somebody, but these were the older gentlemen in the Senate.

Lage: They were kind of traditional supporters.

Peltason: Traditional supporters. Kind, sweet people, knowledgeable people. Loved the University of California. And they were strong defenders. John Vasconcellos on his good days--

Lage: [laughs] Isn't John Vasconcellos retiring?

Peltason: No, he moved from the Assembly to the Senate. John's been around for a hundred years. [laughs] I knew him way back there. John is either up or down. I remember one time I was supposed to go over and have lunch with him, and I got there and he wouldn't have lunch with me. He was mad.

Lage: What kinds of things does he get mad about?

Peltason: He was mad because I had not spoken out against the "three strikes" rule on crime. A lot of the legislators were against it, but there was nobody who was going to speak out against it because the whole public wanted to do it. In fact, they were vying with each other to be more and more tough on crime.

Lage: So why did he want you to speak out against it?

Peltason: Well, the president of the University of California should have told the people that that meant there'd be no money for the university. It was a black day for the university, and why wasn't I over there carrying that docket? He got over that, but he's a real intellectual in the sense that he believes that argument will carry the day. He was a very powerful member of the assembly.

Lage: Ways and Means. That's pretty important.

Peltason: Yes, most of the time he was on our side. He got to be more on our side toward the end than toward the beginning.

Lage: Was he concerned about raising student fees?

Peltason: He went along the first time but did not the second time. Another thing that I did when I was president--again, I'm proud

of it--was work the halls of Sacramento with Barry Munitz. Barry Munitz and I have a long personal friendship.

Lage: The head of the state universities.

Peltason: Chancellor of CSU. When I first got there, there was a battle going on between CSU and the University of California. The university got criticized, and a lot of legislators think our budgets got cut because people got mad at David. Out of the \$900 million we lost, the only money that I can see got attributed to their being mad at the University of California was \$50 million, which at the end went from us to CSU. I said to Barry, "You do that once, but don't do that again." [laughs] He claimed it wasn't their fault.

Lage: He said he hadn't lobbied for it?

Peltason: I don't think he had, but I think his people had.

Lage: What was it for? I mean was it for a specific program?

Peltason: Towards the end, we had to negotiate at midnight on the budget. Actually it was \$25 million, I think, that was due to go to us for some program that then went to him for some program. John, I think, or somebody had gotten mad at us, and that particular moment they took \$25 million from us and gave it to CSU.

So Barry and I said, "No, we're not going to do that anymore." And we told our staffs. Because I genuinely and honestly believe that if there's not a strong CSU, there can't be a strong University of California. Just think where the University of California would be if it weren't for CSU out there. We wouldn't be allowed to do what we do; we'd be overwhelmed with students.)

Lage: You couldn't have the high admissions standards.

Peltason: You couldn't have the high admissions standards. The greatness of the State of California is that it lines up support for all of higher education, not just for some part of it. So Barry and I said, "We will work and we will tell our people to work Sacramento together. We'll share intelligence." I said to him, "If you hear anybody in the Office of the President say negative things about CSU, you let me know. If I hear anybody in your staff saying anything negative about us, I'll let you know." I think we cleaned up the act, and I think the legislature and the governor appreciate it.

I also want to give credit to Gerhard Casper, the president of Stanford University. He went to Sacramento on our behalf.

Lage: Did you ask him to do that?

Peltason: No. I told him about our problems, and I can't remember whether he volunteered or I suggested, but he went with a great deal of enthusiasm. He called me up and I said, "How'd you do?" And he said, "I used my thickest German accent, and it worked very well." [laughter] He went around to the Stanford graduates in the legislature and said, "The University of California is a great institution. You should support it. It deserves your support."

Presenting a united front helped. We also tried to work cooperatively with the community colleges. We were less able to do it because they aren't that well integrated at the statewide level. But we still did it.

We got along well with the superintendent of instruction. That was another thing that I think we accomplished in Sacramento: we got a bond issue that combined the bond issues for the higher education and K-12. Remember, we had one bond issue that got defeated. So I said, "There's no point in going back and asking the people to vote money for the University of California. Let's vote for money for our children. Let's get K-12 and the higher education." K-12 people didn't want to do that at first, but both the governor and the superintendent of instruction--

Lage: Was this still Delaine Eastin then?

Peltason: It was before Eastin. Senator Greene and a few other key leaders of the Senate insisted upon this, Senator Gary Hart. Senator Gary Hart was another friend of the university's. He was a tough-minded guy, he wanted to be sure we were doing the right thing.

Lage: So that bond issue passed?

Peltason: That bond issue passed. I think it's much more likely to do so when people think about educating our children.

Lage: It sounds like you got to put into practice a lot of your political science know-how.

Peltason: Well, I think it was helpful.

Lage: And maybe your experience in Washington?

Peltason: In Washington, and the fact that I genuinely like the legislators and don't think of them as a lot of people are used to thinking of them. I mean, academics have to be careful to bend over backwards and try to work with them and recognize that they do represent the people. They are elected and have a right to ask you questions. I got along well with them.

There was a representative named Bob Campbell. He and I frequently didn't agree, but he was always civil about it. He was again a man who cared about the university.

Lage: Was he knowledgeable?

Peltason: Very knowledgeable. These people who focus on higher education are informed.

Now, the one battle I had that I lost: When Bill Lockyer became leader of the senate, I went down to see him. He and I had tangled before. He called me into his office and said quietly, "I'm going to work to get you your budget, but I want you to know my number one issue is not to raise student fees. I don't care what else I have to do, I want to see to it that fees are not raised. And if we don't raise the fees and you don't get the money replaced, you're just going to have to eat it." And he got the Democratic caucus to take the stand that that would be their number one issue that year.

Lage: Now, did he give you his reason?

Peltason: No. I think he genuinely felt he was helping the poor kids. He thought raising fees would deny access. And I want to get back to that because I think he was wrong. But I'm just talking about the legislative battles. Executive compensation, fees, budget--there were always a whole bunch of issues. And then the politics over regental confirmation--I tried to stay out of that, but I got brought into that.

Lage: Are we going to talk about that later?

Peltason: Right.

Lage: Let me just ask you: Tom Hayden--had you much to do with him?

Peltason: Oh, yes, a lot to do with him. In fact, when Lockyer got mad at me once--I think it was over the Brady thing--his threat was he was going to create an oversight committee of the university and put Tom Hayden in charge. He was quite serious about that. That would have been dreadful. I mean, here we had to go up and spend hours to defend what we were doing. Tom Hayden is a

personally nice man--he never was personal in his attacks, he was always polite--but his idea of what it would have taken to make the University of California great and mine were just different.

Lage: But legitimate, you think? You don't think it was playing politics?

Peltason: No. See, I kind of like politicians to play politics. That means that they will compromise, that they'll negotiate. I think Tom's a man of principle. That's what's so dangerous: he knew he was right and I was wrong.

Lage: [laughs] I see.

Peltason: There's one other person I want to mention: a man I haven't forgiven is Quentin Kopp.

Lage: Oh, yes.

Peltason: Senator Kopp--I had dinner with him at Steve Arditti's, and he and I seemed to get along fine. He's a Dartmouth graduate, he's a smart man, but he never lost an opportunity to be personally antagonistic towards Ron Brady, Dave Gardner, and me--more Ron Brady and Dave Gardner than me. He loved Julie Krevans, and was glad for him to receive a large retirement package. He was ruled by his "prejudices"--in the sense of pre-judging.

Lage: You mean personally antagonistic to your face or in the press?

Peltason: In the press. He jumped on us in the press. But I have to say that most of these people I dealt with I really felt, when they differed with me, did care about the university. I just have to say that I never got the impression that Quentin Kopp did. He was a close friend of Jerry Hallisey's.

Lage: So do you think he was fighting that battle that Hallisey had kind of started?

Peltason: Yes. He thought we were all corrupt and avaricious--I don't know whether I'd think more of him if I thought that he so believed and therefore was justified in attacking us, or that he just found us to be a convenient target.

Lage: Of course, he's presented that persona on a lot of different issues, not just the university.

Peltason: Yes, right. It's a great disadvantage when you have someone like Quentin Kopp as a powerful senator from San Francisco, right in the backyard of the university.

Relationship with the Press

Peltason: Let me just say something about the press: there's a great difference between the press north of Tehachapis and south of Tehachapis. Those of us who grew up in the south were accustomed to the newspapers either being indifferent or occasionally being critical, but not full time. The Bay Area newspapers--I called on all of them. One of the first things I did as president was go around and talk to the editors of each of the newspapers, try to explain what we're up to, try to take the executive compensation issue away, say that I'd gone over each of those things, because my first priority when I became president was to get rid of that issue as a controversy.

I went back to the San Francisco papers two or three times. Howard Leach arranged for me to meet with the editorial boards. But I've never seen newspapers more vituperative about attacking a university. I've been covered by student newspapers, I've been covered by the rivals of the sixties, and I've been covered by the right wing, but I've never been as unfairly covered as I was by the San Francisco Examiner!

Lage: A Hearst newspaper, with all of the Hearst family connections to the university.

Peltason: Yes, who went after us on all kinds of issues, most of which were relatively trivial. They were played up as front-page banner headlines.

Lage: That Ron Cowan connection was very played up.

Peltason: The Ron Cowan connection with Ron Brady. And I think they drove Walter Massey out of the state.

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Peltason: I made a speech at the University of Missouri for which I got paid \$2,000. I gave \$1,000 to the University of Missouri, and I gave the other \$1,000 to the University of California. Walter made a speech--I can't remember where. There's a rule that the state administrators can't take honoraria except in the field of their expertise. Walter had gone to the trouble

of asking the legal counsel if it were all right for him to take an honorarium and had gotten a real yes, it was all right for him to do so. But somebody "turned us in," and we were being investigated by the Fair Political Practices Commission. Ultimately there was a letter saying, "You did nothing wrong," but in the meantime there were these front-page stories about Walter Massey taking all this money.

Lage: And this was the Examiner, primarily?

Peltason: Yes. I mean, banner headlines, you know. Like World War II had been declared. A picture of Walter, a picture of me, and every time they did a repeat of the Cowan thing and the Ron Brady thing.

Lage: The lavish parties.

Peltason: Lavish parties. Then Walter was on a couple of boards, and I was on a couple of boards and there were these big headlines about being on these boards and so on. I remember one of their stories broke when we were meeting with the Academic Council. Walter came to work the next day; he was really just beaten up because he hadn't done anything wrong. He never said that's why he left, but I think after that he decided he didn't want to hang around. It wasn't too long ago I got a call from Walter [after he left for Morehouse University]. I said, "Where are you?" He said, "I'm in Germany." I said, "What are you doing there?" He said, "I'm at a Motorola board meeting, and I didn't have to take a leave of absence. And furthermore, Morehouse is proud of me."

But I just use that as an illustration of the San Francisco newspapers. People say it's because there was a newspaper war with the Chronicle. They want headlines which would be read on the BART on the way home. And I got criticized by the Regents: "Why don't you answer them, explain?" But it's very hard to do that. When people ask me, What is it that you dislike the most about the job? It's the personal attacks.

Lage: You don't mind conflicting on issues, that's obvious.

Peltason: Not on issues or debate over policy, but the accusation that somebody became president in order to make money.

Lage: You mentioned the Examiner. Was the Chronicle any better?

Peltason: The Chronicle was slightly better and sometimes a lot better. Their reporter, Ben Wildavsky, consistently wrote more balanced stories.

- Lage: What about the Mercury News and the Sacramento Bee? We don't want to paint all of northern California with one brush.
- Peltason: No, we don't. The Bee--Peter Schrag is a smart man, and 99 percent of what he says I agree with, but I think he tended to believe whatever Pat Callan recommended.
- Lage: Pat Callan was his name?
- Peltason: Yes, he got the grant money from the Irvine Foundation to create a study for the Center of Higher Education. He tended to take the line that the University of California was an obsolete elephant that didn't understand the times, that there was a paradigm shift, and the University of California doesn't know it.
- Lage: Was his a private institution, then, that he was heading up?
- Peltason: It was a private so-called "think tank," but it didn't do any research. It just generated and issued reports. He and his colleagues were generally critical.
- Lage: But they weren't an official California agency?
- Peltason: No, but they had a \$6 million grant from the Irvine Foundation.
- Lage: And did you serve on the board of the Irvine Foundation?
- Peltason: No, no. But they added to that climate of opinion that this is a clubby University of California--the general refrain is, "There are too many administrators who are paid too much, the faculty do too much research, undergraduates are short-changed, and they're a big bureaucracy. And if they really were smart they'd understand that the teachers have to teach more, technology will save the day, and the administration is too clumsy."

Let me just end with one other anecdote and then we'll go on tomorrow. I remember one time going to the Oakland Tribune and trying to explain to the editors that the University of California was getting unfairly attacked because of what I called the tyranny of numbers--we're so big. I'd said, "You know, 160,000 students go to school every day and one takes off his clothes--that would be the headline. So thousands of teachers teach and one doesn't teach--that would be the headline. The university honestly administers \$9,999,000, but somebody steals \$10,000--that will be the headline." And I said, "We do our best to manage it. I wish you'd talk about what we do right and not always take every little anecdote."

It's called the tyranny of numbers. You do enough things, some things go wrong." So, the next day the editorial was: "President of the University of California complains that stuff will happen. This is no excuse. The university has to be better managed."

Lage: Oh, no, your point didn't get across.

Peltason: It is very frustrating when you're a president of a big system, to have to deal with the anecdote, the few times when something goes out of whack!

XVI PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVES, KEY ISSUES, AND CONTROVERSIES

[Interview 11: June 30, 1998] ##

Tenth Campus

Lage: We're talking about issues today, and we're going to start with the tenth campus.

Peltason: One of the things I most admired David Gardner for was the leadership he had provided in strategic long-range planning for the University of California. It was really a brilliant exercise in which under his leadership each campus did a plan. I think we did a plan for the next twenty years. He went around to the nine campuses to talk about how many students we would take, and what general areas they would go in, what kind of capital improvements we would need, what kind of staff we would put in. It was really getting the University of California ready for the next century.

Lage: Was it integrated so that one campus worked with another campus?

Peltason: Yes, well, each campus developed its own plans but then it had to go back up to the Office of the President and be coordinated in all the university plans and then was submitted to the Regents for their approval. Each campus went over its plans, campus by campus, with the Regents so that the University, instead of just reacting to crisis after crisis, would be ahead of the game, anticipating the needs of California and higher education. How many more students can Berkeley take? How many graduate students? How many undergraduate students? How much more capital would it need? How many more faculty would it need?

It became quite clear that even with the expansion of the new campuses--Irvine, San Diego, and Santa Cruz, and even the expansion of Riverside--the University of California with its

existing eight undergraduate campuses would not have the capacity to meet the projected demographic needs of the state of California. You know, there are a lot of people who would like to turn California into a gate-guarded community and tell everybody else to stay out. But that's not going to happen. In the next twenty to thirty years almost as many people are going to be moving to California as in the whole state of New York. And we're going to live up to the promise that we've made in the past that we will provide the space for people who are eligible.

We were faced with some choices: you either crowd more students into existing campuses, which would threaten their quality; you turn away students; or you plan for it. And so again, with careful planning and outside consultants, the decision was made that sometime we're going to have three more campuses. Now, one can argue whether we need three more, two more, or one more, but it was clear we're going to need more.

So the question was where should the next one be? And again, the study was made, showing it should be in the center part of the state, because the San Joaquin Valley is the most underserved part of the State of California. And then plans were underway to find a spot that would have the acreage and the water and the other resources necessary to build the tenth campus. And that was underway when I became president.

Lage: At first we heard about plans for three new campuses. When had it been cut back to one? Was that before you came?

Peltason: Well, it hadn't been cut back to one, it was just that someday we'd need three, but that'd be the first. This wasn't to be the tenth and the last campus, but the next campus.

When I became president there was another initiative that was underway--again, stemming from David's leadership and for which I was an enthusiastic supporter--and that was to build a more comprehensive program in the District of Columbia. It was an extension of the Education Abroad Program; it would give students from the nine campuses the opportunity to study in Washington. It's an opportunity provided by many universities. And some of our campuses--UCLA, Santa Barbara--have already had programs there, and plans were underway for that.

That was actually stopped before I became president as the budget was constrained. I remember David called me--and I think I must have been at that time "designate"--and he and I agreed that it would not be politically sensible in the middle of these horrendous budget cuts, even though in the long run we

knew it was in the best interests of the university to get a program started in the District of Columbia. So that had already been cut.

The budget crisis crept up on us and got worse each year. It came as something of a surprise. Most Californians thought that the recession would hit California later than the rest of the nation, be less deep than the rest of the nation, and that we would recover from it sooner than the rest of the country. Given the diversity of our economy, with all the things going in our favor, we said, "Well, there'll be a slow down, we'll have to do some belt-tightening," but nobody in the state government, nobody in the university really anticipated that this recession would be as deep and go on as long as gradually became evident.

The first year we made plans to cut, thinking that we had a one-year problem. Then the next year we had another cut but thought, Well, this is the bottom, it can't get any worse. Then a third year we were asked to make even bigger cuts.

Faced with these dramatic and drastic reductions in the state budget and as a consequence in the university budget, not only had we postponed the Washington program, but we had told the Regents that since we were having great difficulty in funding the existing nine campuses, it didn't make much sense to plan the tenth campus. Further, since we would not be able to open a new campus for another ten or more years, it would make more sense to develop plans for it more closely to the time we might be able to open it. The board supported this postponement, and so did the Academic Council and, of course, the chancellors.

Lage: Don't the existing campuses always see the new campus as a source of competition?

Peltason: Exactly. Which reminds me. One of the main functions of the Office of the President is that it should be the protector of the academic programs that are not now at the table. That's true not only of new campuses but of new programs, because left to their own decision-making the Berkeley faculty would never have wanted to see UCLA, UCLA wouldn't want to see Irvine, and Irvine didn't want to see a tenth campus. It didn't make sense to the chancellors that we would plan a tenth campus, diverting time and attention and ultimately resources that otherwise might come to them.

So I announced my decision to stop planning for the tenth campus. It was a popular decision inside the university, with

the Regents, with many people in the state, the editorial writers, and others--except in the San Joaquin Valley. There it wasn't very popular.

Lage: Yes, I noticed that one of the assemblymen--was it Areias?--kept coming to every Regents' meeting.

Peltason: Each meeting. We had a regent, a wonderful man, Leo Kolligian --it was his number-one issue. That was his only issue. Of course, he understood why I made that decision, but would not approve it.

Then I got called to Sacramento. And then two or three times, including one time in a room full of state senators and assembly members from the valley, I explained to them why I'd made that decision--that to plan a campus then when we couldn't open it for another ten or fifteen years didn't make much sense. And that we had not abandoned the plans for a tenth campus; we had just put them on hold. But they weren't persuaded by my arguments. They then said to me, "Why?" And I explained to them that even to take the next step, to have an environmental impact report, would cost a million and a half dollars. And they said, "All right, we'll get you the million and a half dollars over and above your regular budget." But I said, "But that's just the beginning. That's not the money for the planning or for opening it." And they said to me very politely but very firmly, "Presently before the legislature is a \$50 million item which is slated to make it possible for you not to have to cut the faculty salaries so much. Do you want our support for this \$50 million? You'll plan the tenth campus."

Lage: Oh, wow. Talk about legislative interference.

Peltason: Well, I said, "You've found my price, fifty-one and a half million dollars." And we then went to the governor and got his support because he--good governor that he was--supported my decision and had vetoed the planning money. But the legislators said, "We'll get it back. We'll get the two-thirds vote we need to get it back."

Lage: Was that \$50 million a threat to cut what would have been passed anyway, or was it going to be an additional \$50 million?

Peltason: It was a supplement. It was a \$50 million supplement. This was at that time that we were having to decide how much to cut faculty and staff salaries, and this supplement made it possible for us not to have to cut them that much, or very much.

Now, it wasn't that I merely compromised for money, but we're going to have to have a tenth campus sooner or later. It's not the tenth campus, it's not that the president needs to build an empire or anything. Nine campuses, thank you, is plenty. It's not that we need that to build the University of California. It's not something that the University of California wants for its own ego satisfaction. It's really the question of what are you going to do with the twenty or thirty thousand students who otherwise won't have a place at the University of California? You have to think of it in terms of providing opportunity for students. And, too, when you think that the tenth campus will be there for a couple hundred years, the additional cost of educating those thirty thousand students on the tenth campus as against distributing them among the other nine campuses is pennies. If you didn't have the tenth campus but you took the students they'd have to live someplace, eat someplace, be taught someplace.

Lage: Have faculty--

Peltason: --have faculty someplace. So I wasn't being asked to have the University of California do something that I didn't want it to do. As I said in my earlier comments, the people's representatives are giving us \$2 billion a year. If the people of San Joaquin Valley need a campus, deserve a campus, it should be there. So I was prepared and went back and told the Regents. The chancellors weren't too happy, but we proceeded then to the EIR [Environmental Impact Report] for the tenth campus. I pointed out to them that I'd made no commitment that we'd open the campus. I made no commitment other than we would site it, see, because we'd already spent a lot of money and we were down to three final campuses.

Lage: It had been quite a process that had gone on!

Peltason: Quite a process. So I said that we're just going to go ahead and complete the process. The legislature will provide the one and a half million extra. It will support the fifty million dollar supplement. The chancellors and others said, "Well, that's just the beginning! They won't stop." And I said, "Of course not. They wouldn't have stopped anyhow and we need the support of the people of the San Joaquin Valley."

Lage: So then did the chancellors come on board?

Peltason: They came on board. Again, as I say, the University of California has its internal debates and then rallies around to support the decision. They helped site the campus and helped plan the campus. It wasn't one of their priorities, but it

wasn't an issue over which anybody was prepared to fall on their swords.

Debate over Site of Tenth Campus

Lage: [laughs] Now what about the siting? Was that a controversial thing?

Peltason: That was a controversial thing. Well, not controversial--it was that we were finally down to three sites. I think I made two or three visits to the valley, and flew over the three remaining sites. And we did a report. We had outside experts. We had an advisory committee. The advisory committee had regents on it, chancellors on it, vice presidents on it, and representatives of the Academic Council. As president, it would have been much easier for the university if the advisory committee had been able to get support behind one of the three campus sites, but each of the three sites had its champions.

Lage: On this committee, you mean?

Peltason: Yes, on the advisory committee and the outside experts. The university had done its job--gone from one hundred sites to ten sites to three sites, and found three sites, on any one of which you could build a campus of the University of California. Each one of which had its own pluses and minuses. One was closer to the city of Fresno than another, but it was on land that would be more difficult to acquire. Some had better water resources than others. And a lot depended upon your idea of what kind of campus the tenth campus should be.

When the final vote came before the Board of Regents, Bill Baker, who was a strong advocate of one particular campus site, the one closest to Fresno, urged me to make that an issue with the Regents and to bring forward a strong recommendation, saying it ought to be this site. I decided not to do that because some of the Regents felt very strongly about another of the sites.

Lage: Were there others on the committee who favored the other site?

Peltason: Yes. There wasn't a division between chancellors and Regents; it was people exercising their best judgment. Whereas I think that if there's an educational issue about which there's strong feeling, I can claim to be an educational expert. I have no hesitation about bringing a recommendation to the board and

fighting in its behalf. But an issue such as this is really one in which we had said that we as expert educational administrators will tell you that any one of these three is a good site. Now the choices are between where it should be located and what kind of amenities it would have--whether it should be closer to the San Francisco metropolitan area, whether it should be in a smaller town, whether it should be another Davis, a UCLA, or whether it should be an Irvine. These are questions about which there is no single right answer, especially since some of the regents felt so strongly and came to me resenting very much the fact that Bill was trying to force the issue about the one campus he favored.

Lage: So he wanted you to recommend one site to the Regents to vote up or down?

Peltason: One site--up or down. And I concluded that no, this was not an issue on which I could come here as an expert, so to speak. Any one of the three would do.

Another point which argued against my taking only one site to the Board of Regents is the fact that not only was the Advisory Committee split on its preferences, so were the chancellors on that committee split. So it was not a case of administrators on one side and regents on the other.

And so the Regents voted.

Lage: You put just two sites forth, I think.

Peltason: That's right. You're correct. I think we did narrow it down to two.

Lage: Yes, so you had the Merced site at Lake Yosemite and the one that would have been closer to Fresno.

Peltason: One was called the Lake Yosemite site. [laughs] It's very much like real estate development, whether it's got a beautiful island or mountain view or something.

In each of the communities there was a committee that spent hours and money urging the university to come here. And they each made their case. And by the way, they were getting kind of peeved with us. They, too, wanted to come to a decision. They said, "You've spent all this time and all this money! We want you to come here, but what we really want you to do is make up your mind one way or another so we can get on with our lives and use this land for something else." So that was

another reason why even in the middle of the budget crisis we went ahead and decided the tenth campus.

The Merced site, which finally won, is on trust land, which meant that it was all one single parcel. The trust was prepared to hold it out and wait as long as it took for the university to come. The Regents discussed the two sites and voted for it. And Merced won.

Lage: Now, it looked like you voted for the other site?

Peltason: I think I did, yes.

Lage: Did you think it should be closer to a city, was that it?

Peltason: Yes. I mean, I agreed with Bill, and we explained our preference, but I didn't agree with him that this was an issue that I could go to the board and say, "There's no merit to your view." I mean, I couldn't persuasively say that. This was why you have lay boards. These final decisions among professional choices--this was a question really of taste and perception of the future. And there was considerable merit to each side of that debate. The university couldn't make a mistake.

Lage: Yes, either one would have worked.

Peltason: Either one would have been good. I would have preferred to pay more for the land and fight some land battles to have it slightly closer to the city of Fresno, but I could see the argument for a campus away from the cities--having had the experience of watching the population build up around Irvine. And the fact that Merced was also closer to the Bay Area. I think the Regents were finally persuaded by the fact that there was a 2,000-acre parcel of land there. And in a way it was a chance to do on the tenth campus what had happened at Irvine: plan a city and a campus together.

Lage: And it had water, as I understand.

Peltason: It had water. Again, I don't remember all the pros and cons, but it wasn't a do-or-die issue to me. So we had the tenth campus. It was sited. And, again, Bill showed considerable leadership in trying to organize a bigger presence in the San Joaquin Valley in the meantime.

Since I feel strongly about there being only one president at a time, I don't want to make any statements about the future of the tenth campus under Dick's watch, but I was invited to meet with the planning committee. And the advice I gave to

them stems from my own experience at Irvine. There's great pressure when you start a new campus to start fresh, to think fresh, to talk experimentally, to try to avoid duplicating what you've done on the other nine campuses. And lots of people have ideas about how they're going to plan that tenth campus. From my own perspective and history at Irvine, my advice was, Don't depart too much from the norms. Don't make the tenth campus that much different from the other nine, or don't make it a stepchild. Of course use modern technology. But don't try to overly plan it. Get good people and let it grow. Point it in a direction and let it grow.

I think in the fullness of time people will look back and be pleased that even in the middle of our budget crisis, we planned for the future. It sounds overdramatic, but we always recall in the university world how in the middle of the Civil War Abraham Lincoln and the Congress nonetheless planned the land-grant institutions.

Lage: Yes. Well, it looks pretty good now that the economy is upturned.

Peltason: There's always the temptation when the budget is going up to think it's never going to stop going up and when it's going down that it will never turn back up again and to extrapolate the moment. But universities are built for the centuries and so I'm pleased that even in that middle of those tempestuous times we were able to implement the first step in the long-range plans for the university.

Lage: Very good.

Long-Range Financial Planning and Four-Year Pact with Governor Wilson

Lage: Okay, now, what's our next topic? Do you want to talk about this huge topic of the budget which we keep mentioning?

Peltason: Well, before we get to the budget, let's talk about the long-range plan and the Bill Baker plan. And then we could take a break.

Lage: Okay, good.

Peltason: Probably the chief responsibility of the president of the University of California [laughs]--to oversimplify--is to go

downtown and get the money, and leave the campuses alone: marshal the strength of the university, make the case to the Regents, present it to the legislature and to the governor, get the resources that the university needs to carry out its responsibilities. I've always said that Karl Marx is probably right, it's like 95 percent economics and 5 percent politics. When the budget is good, things are fine. When the budget is down, the criticism goes up.

When I was president, where to get the resources was the number one issue before me. I think that was the overriding issue. One of my four initiatives was this long-range planning for the financing of the University of California. When I took the responsibility of the day-by-day budgeting from Bill's office and gave it to the provost's office, I did it because I had a great deal of confidence in Bill's ability with the legislature and with the general public. I said, "Bill, your number-one job is to go out and talk so that we don't go from crisis to crisis, because even when the crisis is over the structural problems in the State of California will persist. And there won't be enough money under the existing relationships to fund the University of California into the next century. So go out and talk about this and then come back and we'll talk."

Bill went out and I think he said that he had interviews with journalists, public policy people, business leaders, labor leaders, members of the community. He talked to about a hundred people. And all during that time he and I, Larry Hershman, the provost, and the chancellors talked--although I didn't involve them very much in this because this was not so much about how to get through next year, but what kind of policy, what constitutional changes might be necessary for the long-range financing of the university.

Because Proposition 98 reserves 40 percent of the budget to K-12 and community colleges, we considered things like, Should we try to become part of Prop. 98? Should we seek a constitutional amendment which would bring higher education into an earmarked funding source? Should we try to take on K-12 and break down the earmarking so the University of California would have an equal chance over the years? Should we try to seek a special tax for higher education? Should we try to get earmarking for an increase in the sales tax, which would be a higher education fund? We considered every possible alternative. We also talked with Barry Munitz and other people. Should we try to get the whole system reformed so that the legislature and the governor would have greater freedom and

discretion? That is to say, try to seek a new state constitution?

We never did come up with a comprehensive answer that would assure at least a fighting chance for the university to get the resources it needs. Part of the problem was that the state was focused on an immediate financial crisis, so you couldn't get people to think beyond it. They were thinking about how we can get to the next fiscal year? Because the financial projections we discussed got worse and worse: a billion short, two billion short--they'd budget them, you know--seven billion short. One time I think they even said the state budget was fifteen billion short.

Lage: Yes, it was amazing.

Peltason: If I remember correctly, it was like a magnitude of a \$40 billion budget being out of balance by about \$15 billion. You see, it's hard to get people to think about anything else. But out of that discussion came what I think is probably the single most important thing that happened during my three years, which did more to keep the University of California from falling off the cliff than anything else: the compact with the governor.

Lage: Now, how did that come about?

Peltason: Well, I give a great deal of the credit to Larry Hershman, to Bill Baker, and to Russ Gould. Russ Gould was a finance director reporting to Governor Wilson. Again, I can't remember the exact timing, but it was after VERIP III--and by this time I think it was like the third or the fourth year.

Oh, by the way, let me go back and put this budget crisis into a context. Even before the acute budget crisis, the university's financing was worsening. In the late eighties the reason that the budget didn't get cut more, or at all, was because of the surplus in the retirement system, which permitted the legislature not to have to put money into the retirement system but to give it to operations. So even in the not-so-bad times, we were still living off the retirement system.

Lage: That's right. Before the VERIP.

Peltason: Before VERIPs. When we get to VERIPs, I'll elaborate on that.

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Peltason: I don't remember whether we had the conversation first with the governor or first with Russ Gould and the legislative leaders, but we had conversations including the governor in which I made the point that the university was in serious jeopardy. I used to say that we're like a house on a cliff, with the ground sinking below us. We haven't fallen off the cliff yet, but unless something happens, we're going to fall off the cliff and then it will take twenty or thirty or forty years for the University of California to recover.

Lage: Did they take this seriously?

Peltason: They took it seriously. I had a hard time because in a way we were in trouble because we had managed the crisis so well. We had still maintained every class; we still improved the quality of undergraduate instruction. Some people actually said to me, "You're never going to get the state's attention unless you turn away students or--"

Lage: Do something dramatic!

Peltason: "Or lay off faculty, or do something drastic."

Lage: Close a campus.

Peltason: "Close a campus, do something. As long as you say these things are hurting but they just go to the campus and those students are still getting taught, and the faculty are still there, and the libraries are still open, the grass is still getting cut, you're not being very persuasive. They'll just say, 'They scream, but they can still deliver.'"

In a way, CSU--not that I think it was a deliberate policy --had a more persuasive case because they had students who couldn't graduate, who couldn't get their classes.

Lage: Yes, that was in the news.

Peltason: And so people would say, "Gee, CSU is hurting but the university's got money." And partly because of the fact that we hadn't been able to raise fees, and we used our retirement system to cushion the downward cut, we felt the impact of the cuts in the general budget but we were still able to deliver quality education. So I had to say, "We've been hurt. We're going to get hurt even more, and it's going to be fatal once the word gets around the country to the bright young faculty who will be going to the University of California: 'Don't assume that your career will prosper there.'"

Our competitors began to say that the University of California is in serious trouble. And faculty were beginning to get other offers. Bright students were beginning to say, "Well, why should we go to the University of California?" Then we got smeared--smear's not quite the word--but when they read the headlines about classes being not available, I had to answer legislators' questions, "But how come you don't have your classes available?"

Lage: And it was actually CSU where classes weren't available?

Peltason: The CSU system; it wasn't our system. But I made the case that we needed special attention, that the legislators and governors don't want it to be said that during their tenure this was the time the University of California--this world-class institution serving so many people at such high quality from birth to death with all these programs; the thing which is probably the single most important factor in the future of the economy of California and the quality of life in California--was in great jeopardy. It's like the roads and the bridges--if the bridges were falling down, you'd do something about it.

Lage: Yes. Did you meet the governor in his office and discuss this?

Peltason: Yes. But my communications were also through regents who met with the governor often. And I want to here give what I told you earlier that Willie Brown was one of our great friends and so was Pete Wilson. Because of his attack on affirmative action and some other issues, which were contrary to the wishes of the university administration, a lot of people had the impression that somehow or other he was hostile to the university. And the fact that we got our budget cut. But the legislature and the governor actually saved us. I never did think that they cut us because they were mad at us. They cut us because they didn't have the capacity.

Lage: Right, they were cutting everything.

Peltason: And remember, we don't have that much political clout. We don't have PACs, we can't turn out votes--it has to be because they're persuaded that we're in the public interest.

The four-year pact got negotiated with the governor's office with Russ Gould in the the chief role. In a way it took us off the table. See, to get the budget negotiated, what happens in California is that in the last days of the budget at midnight the leadership sits down and makes the deals. We could have gotten hurt in that deal making, not because they would want to hurt us, but because they want to give so much to

welfare, or cut welfare so much, or get so much for prisons, take care of the local governments--all the million things so that there might just not be enough left to go around. And they might say, "Well, we'll have to cut them for another \$50 million." But the four-year pact with the governor minimized the danger of that.

Lage: Was this just kind of a gentleman's agreement? Was there a real four-year budget?

Peltason: Well, it was more formalized than a gentleman's agreement; it was actually written out on a piece of paper. Now, it didn't have the force of law; it didn't have the force of a constitutional amendment, because each year the legislature is free and the governor is free. But what the governor said was, "I'll give you at least 2 percent, maybe 4 percent of the general revenue of funds."

Now, I never thought I'd say that was a good deal. We need 7 percent to stand still. But after being cut 10, 15, and 20 percent, to be given a guarantee that you'd get at least 2 and maybe 4--and in fact, we've actually gotten more. We can count on a certain amount. Furthermore, the governor said, "I will support you in increasing student fees by up to 10 percent." And that was an addition to the revenues of the University of California.

We, in turn, made the following commitment: We will take all the students who are eligible and provide them with classes so they can graduate in time. We will continue our increase in productivity. And we stipulated that we would reduce the base budget by I think \$10 million a year. Those were the general terms. I remember one of our priorities was to return faculty salaries to a competitive position. And the governor would give us those funds in order to get faculty salaries back up to the competitive position over the four-year period.

Lage: So you were able to convince him that that's an absolute key thing in the life of the university?

Peltason: Yes. The case was persuasive, I think. The legislature had not signed onto the agreement, and the Democrats in control of the legislature did not want us to raise student fees at all. They said, "We'll try to get you the state money to compensate for the money you'd get for the student fees, but if we can't do that, you're still not going to get any more money."

Lage: So to them the fees were more important than the quality and the faculty salaries?

Peltason: That's right. But that compact, I believe, stopped the downward spiral of the University of California, stabilized us, and made it possible for us within two or three years to get back to the growth mode, to a competitive mode to recover from some of the damages of those five years of budget cutting. If I remember correctly, in the good old days, when you didn't get what you needed to grow or take care of inflation, even though you got more money, it was, in real purchasing power, a cut. But we had three years in which it was a cut in the current dollars. It was a real cut! We were operating the university with 900 million fewer state dollars than we would have had under the existing formulas before the three years of budget cutting.

But Russ Gould and the governor and Larry Hershman worked that contract out. And it was with that that I then felt a sigh of relief that at least during my watch we had been able to stabilize and turn the university back on a growth mode and a maintain-quality mode.

Battle over Student Fees and the Politics of Financial Aid

Peltason: The other battle that arose came over student fees. There's a kind of ideology about student fees, one which has been a long-standing tradition in public education and which I have supported all of my life and is still my preferred mode: that by keeping the cost of education down for everybody, you make it accessible for everybody. Now, the cost of education has many components. The fees you pay to the university is only one of them. There's also the fact that for four years you defer earning income. Part of the cost of going to school, I used to tell people, is the cost of living. They used to tell me, Well, they'll have to pay for room and board. I say, "Well, even if your son or daughter doesn't come to college, you have to pay for room and board somewhere." [laughs] But nonetheless, it's a burden on a family.

Because there's a public benefit to higher education, you keep the fees down. And you know in California we have this long tradition of no tuition for in-state students.

Lage: The fees don't go towards instructional purposes.

Peltason: The taxpayer should provide that. The fees go to cover auxiliary enterprise.

Lage: Now, is that true in other state universities?

Peltason: Well, no. I can't say, dogmatically, all of them. But most of them don't make such a rigid distinction that we have in California between tuition and fees. The historical tradition in California--which is a great one--is something like the state taxpayer provides your undergraduate education, the federal taxpayer provides the research funds, the students pay the fees that provide the counseling, recreation, and so on. And then the people who live in the residence halls and use the auxiliary enterprise pay for those. It all comes from the American economy. It's not free education, it's how you distribute the cost.

People remember, "When I went to college I didn't have to pay anything." So keeping fees down at all costs became an ideology for some people. Well, the fact is you don't do the students a favor. I used to make speeches in which I remembered the debates over the five-cent subway fare. In New York, that became sacred. For many years they didn't raise the subway fare. The subways ran downhill, became horrible. The rich people abandoned the subways and started taking taxis. And the poor people were left with the horrible subways. My argument was that if the quality of the University of the California declines, the middle class won't suffer. They'll find a way to get their kids educated, they'll send their kids some other place. You get the notion that as long as it's cheap, it's okay; it doesn't have to be that good. But then you'll get a two-class system of public schools for the poor and first-class schools for the rich.

Secondly, there has developed in the last twenty or thirty years a school of thought that you don't even do social justice by keeping the fees low. What you want is high fees and high student financial aid because low fees means that the taxpayer is subsidizing the middle class. And if you raise the fees for those who can afford it and redistribute some of that money back to kids who cannot afford it but who have student financial aid, you might be able to cover much more of the cost for the people without means. So there has developed in the United States a school of thought supported essentially by the people from the private independent schools, and now by many people, that you can provide a quality education for more people, including people of small means, by high fees and high aid. What you want is not to look at the sticker price, look at the net price.

Lage: Of course, politically, to hit the middle class is not very popular.

Peltason: It hits the middle class more and it's not very popular--and they vote more. Another thing that we learned was that any year in which you don't raise student fees, you don't get any credit. It's probably better to raise student fees a little each year than to keep them down for four or five years and then to raise them.

During the time I was president, this debate over fees broke into the politics of higher education and into the internal debates within the university. When we raised the fees, we raised the amount of money for student financial aid. We actually offset student fee increases with student financial aid. And there was no evidence that the increase in the fees kept the lower income people from coming to the University of California. In fact, if I remember correctly, at the end of the fee increases, the proportion of people from the lower income groups had gone up.

Lage: Yes, because if they qualified for financial aid, they got more financial aid.

Peltason: And they didn't pay the fees.

Lage: Yes.

Peltason: For a while we were the most progressive taxation agency in California. Since the legislature wouldn't raise the taxes, we were raising the fees. And I think we rebated one-third of every dollar raised, so that meant that people could afford to pay the fees. In a way we were taxing them and then redistributing that money. And lots of time and attention was given to trying to ensure that the people of the lowest income got the financial aid to compensate them for the increase in fees.

Lage: Is the financial aid system the same on every campus, or was that something that was left for each campus to decide?

Peltason: Well, in the first place there are three sources of financial aid. The federal government is by far the largest source of financial aid through both loans and grants. Unfortunately, at the time of our budget crisis, the federal package was moving to fewer grants and more loans so the students got the money but it was subsidized loans rather than grants. Another source is the state program of financial aid distributed through a financial aid commission. The University of California has, too, its own resources as a source of financial aid, which is some state dollars but it's also some private dollars. Because these resources are based on private contributions, some of the

older campuses tend to have more money for financial aid than some of the newer ones.

Lage: Oh, I see.

Peltason: But in general there was about the same. The financial aid issue has also divided the independent colleges of California, the community colleges, CSU, and the University of California.

Lage: From each other?

Peltason: From each other. There are politics in getting all of the California round table lined up behind one financial aid package. CSU has more part-time, older students. It doesn't have as many students who can afford to pay the high fee to redistribute back. There were debates over what proportion of the student financial aid should go on strictly need base and how much of it should be merit-based. The independent colleges wanted the first claim upon state dollars to be full funding of financial aid so students could choose to go to independent colleges. They argued that since there are more students than can be admitted to public universities, the state should make it possible for more of them to go to independent colleges. I am sympathetic to that view, although there are still going to be thousands more students than can be handled in independent colleges or who will choose to go to them.

The politics of financial aid and what is the fair way to cover costs of higher education divided people: Democrats and Republicans, spokespeople for independent colleges, community colleges, CSU and UC. We spent a lot of time on these issues.

Lage: Gosh, it sounds like a tremendous political issue!

Peltason: It is. And again, in a democracy people have their different arguments. Now, within the university, Chuck championed the high fee/high student aid argument. I think the merit's on that side of the debate, but I had to face the reality that it was not getting anywhere with the leadership of the California legislature.

Lage: The Democratic leadership?

Peltason: The Democratic leadership. It got somewhere with the Republicans. The governor once pointed out it takes the taxes of three working people to support one student at the University of California. And some of those students at the University of California came from families with considerably more means than the taxpayer. He held out for a while

defending our raising the fees. And we did raise our fees dramatically. And that was the biggest battle I had with both the legislature and the Regents.

The Regents didn't like to be beaten up as they went around the state. Raising fees is an emotional issue. The Democrats made it their number-one issue. The Regents said, "Don't keep putting us on the spot and asking us to balance the budget and get the professors raises." It got attacked on the grounds that, "You're taking money from the students and raising the faculty salaries. You're taking it from the students and giving it to faculty. You're taking from the students, but you rich administrators are getting big salaries." It's a very emotional issue.

Lage: How did Chancellor Tien come down on it? Was that an issue where he and Chuck Young had different views?

Peltason: Chuck took it upon himself to become the champion of the high fee/high aid argument, which as I say, had an intellectual merit and social justice merit.

Lage: When you say champion, do you mean a public spokesman for the argument?

Peltason: He articulated it in public, and he made speeches, and he went to Sacramento with my blessing to try to persuade the legislators. I'd already learned when I was president of ACE that financial aid had become an ideological issue, almost a religious one, an article of faith, and it is difficult to get people to stop and think about them rationally. I tried; I brought back to speak to the Board of Regents a young man, although he's now a middle-aged man, whom I met at the University of Illinois. David Eisenman is a card-carrying liberal, former student leader, who long ago became persuaded that high fees/high aid makes it possible for more poor kids to get an education than does the low fees policy. He became a crusader for such a public policy. He is brilliant and persuasive. He came out to make a public presentation with the Regents.

But whatever the merits, we raised fees not because it was a good thing to do, but because we had no other option if we wished to preserve the quality of the university. We didn't raise them that much, and every time we did so, the legislature would frequently buy it out.

Lage: You mean they gave you additional money so you didn't have to raise them so much?

Peltason: They would appropriate state dollars on the understanding that we wouldn't raise fees. Now, we had the option to raise fees; CSU couldn't raise fees without the permission of the legislature. They never got the permission. One of the reasons that CSU was unable to ride through that period without all that damage was it didn't have the capacity to raise the fees. We have the constitutional right to raise the fees, but the legislature has the constitutional right to reduce the budget by the same amount.

Lage: Yes. [laughs]

Peltason: But we had to raise them. I would have preferred that the legislature would take that money, not to buy out the student fee increase, but improve the quality of instruction. But it became an emotional issue and an ideological issue. All it takes is one poor working mother to appear before a legislative body or the Regents and explain that she has worked hard and that the next \$200 fees will be beyond her capacity, and when you said we could get offsetting student financial aid--that just doesn't win in the political arena.

Decision to Raise Student Fees in the Professional Schools

Peltason: The other area in which fees became an issue, where we did prevail, was in our professional schools. First I had to win that battle inside the university. We had to talk to the deans of the medical schools, the deans of the law schools, the deans of the business schools to get their support for our proposal to gradually increase fees for students going to law school and to medical school. We made the agreement that they'd be increased over time and that for an entering class they wouldn't be increased during that student's time in the professional school, until finally they would get to be comparable to the fees charged at a private institution.

Lage: Oh, now that's quite a big increase!

Peltason: That's right. With the funds reallocated back to the school from which they came.

Lage: For purposes of?

Peltason: Of increasing the quality of the program.

Lage: I see.

Peltason: That's why the law school faculty and deans would support it, and that's why the medical schools would support it. This was a break in the tradition of the university, but it's hard to justify the taxpayer subsidizing this kind of institution to such a great extent--people not just being subsidized during their undergraduate years but three or four more years.

Lage: When they're going to be wealthy in some point in their life.

Peltason: That's right. And because we needed desperately the resources that these fees would provide to maintain the quality. We want our law schools to be as good as the Harvard, Yale, Stanford law schools. We want our medical schools to be as good as the Harvard and Stanford medical schools. And we needed the resources.

Lage: What about the business schools? Did they get the same treatment?

Peltason: The same treatment. Again, outsiders don't understand the nuances of that debate: should the medical schools, law schools, business schools fees be the same? Should they all go up at once? What kind of commitment should be made about the return of the fees? Chancellors and the deans in the various schools asked, "Should we do it one at a time? What kind of resistance will we get in the legislature?" It took a lot of discussion to get a consensus and then to stick by it.

Lage: Was that all done internally, or did that require legislative action?

Peltason: It required approval of the Regents. And as I say, you're concerned with the legislature because, as I keep pointing out, every year you go ask them for \$2 billion plus. But they appropriate the \$2 billion; they have other claims upon the dollars. They are the people's elected representatives. They don't have a constitutional right to tell you what to do with the money, but you'd better be able to explain what you're going to do with the money next year when you come and ask them for \$2 billion plus more.

So it needed the permission of the Regents to raise the fees. We needed the concurrence of the legislature, and the governor to understand it, even if they didn't approve of it--at least to be willing not to attack you about it the next budgetary cycle.

Lage: Now, would that give the law schools and the medical schools more independence in terms of setting their own salaries?

Peltason: Of course, this is the danger. And the Academic Council was concerned about that, appropriately so, because in reality you don't want English professors' salaries to fall way behind business school professors. But the fact is, in those professions for which there is a marketplace use beyond teaching, there always is this disparity. And I tried to explain to the Academic Council that even though the money stayed within the law school or the medical school, it's also relieving the general funds of the university because the university then doesn't have to allocate funds. Therefore there would be more money for the English department. And of course the law deans didn't want to hear that because they say, "What do you mean, just substituting one source of funding for another?"

Lage: Yes.

Peltason: So it's always a balancing between competing claims upon scarce dollars.

Lage: And you're also talking about the future, which you don't really control.

Peltason: That's right. You can't make commitments. No president binds the next president and no Board of Regents binds the next board. But once these kind of conventions formally get established they do have a presumption that they will remain in place.

Lage: This must be a long-term thing if there can be no increase in the four years of an entering class.

Peltason: Well, yes, you're raising it each year. That is to say, each class has its fees.

Lage: Oh, I see.

Peltason: And little did I know at the time I recommended increasing law school fees that I would be the grandfather paying the fees of the law school! [laughter] But it is a mark of the importance of the University of California that our fee policy has consequences for tens and thousands of people.

Now, that was kind of the long-range restructuring of the university that I helped to do--getting the long-range fee policy more stabilized, getting the compact with the governor stabilized. I didn't solve the constitutional problems and didn't solve the structural problems, but it's more than a bandaid and less than a total solution.

Voluntary Early Retirement Incentive Plan [VERIP]

Peltason: The other problem that I faced--an overriding problem--was to get the money from fiscal year to fiscal year.

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Lage: You made up a third of the budget cut by raising student fees?

Peltason: There's a big debate how much we got, but I'd say about a third of it we got by doing the same thing with fewer dollars. That is to say, we had fewer people and we spent fewer dollars. Now 85 percent of the cost of the University of California is people, so the only way we're really going to reduce the cost of the University of California is to have fewer people. And there we got into the VERIPs.

Because of the fact that the retirement system had done so well in its investments, in the late 1980s the state ceased to make its contribution to the retirement system and therefore had the money to reallocate to keep the university's operations going. Furthermore, the employees had ceased to contribute to the retirement system, except a small amount. So we were living on a retirement system, but it still had more money in it than actuarially was needed to meet its obligations, so under David Gardner's presidency and Ron Brady's leadership VERIP I was introduced.

Lage: Do you know what VERIP stands for?

Peltason: Voluntary Early Retirement--

Lage: Incentive--

Peltason: Incentive Plan. Because it's strictly voluntary. Rather than to lay off people who have least seniority, we said to the people with the most seniority, "If you wish--you don't have to." It's a golden handshake. It's quite normal in the business world, but this is the first time I know of that it's ever been done in a big public university system. "If you wish to retire early, here's an incentive: we'll give you more credit." And it was worked out to try to induce enough people to retire that it would reduce the amount of money from the operating budget. If those faculty or staff were invited to come back to teach or to work, they could come back and teach and work up to, I think it was at 49 percent. So with the retirement, they might actually end up with a bigger income because they had both the retirement and 49 percent. The

university would get the benefit of their services, but it would be a reduction of the operating budget.

Now, you can't do this, except as a business necessity, not just because you wanted to be generous to your employees. Our problems were different from those of most businesses. When businesses lay off people, it's usually because their workload goes down: they can't sell so many cars or gadgets, they don't need the work force. Our problems were different: our workload was going up. We didn't have fewer students, we had more. We weren't doing less research. We just had fewer dollars.

So VERIP I came along. And we made a statement in very good faith--David, as president, did--that this was an emergency. We had no plans to have a VERIP II or III. We weren't sure we could afford it and whether the retirement system could afford it. We didn't think we would need it. We thought the economic crisis would be over. We'd get through that year. So everybody was comfortable with VERIP I. And enough people took it, and they were pleased to take it. Most of the staff who took it were not recalled but a good many of the faculty came back and taught. All was well.

The next year there was another budget cut. I mean, the state got deeper into the recession. So we had VERIP II. It was implemented during my time as president, but it was started during David's time as president because he also faced a budget crisis. So there was VERIP II, plus the fact that he'd postponed merit raises and gave no raises. We pushed back and slowed down faculty salary increases to practically zero and had VERIP II. That created a little bit of trouble because VERIP II was more attractive than VERIP I. Although VERIP I gave the people more than they were legally entitled to, they felt hurt because VERIP II got more. And they said, "You promised us that there wouldn't be any more VERIPs." We said, "We didn't promise you that, we just said this was an emergency matter, not a continuing program of the University of California."

Well, when I became president, the budget got even worse! So the question came up, can we do it again? [laughs] We had three VERIPs.

Lage: And what does it do to your personnel base?

Peltason: Yes, can we turn it off here for a minute?

Lage: Sure. [tape interruption] Put it on record.

Peltason: Okay, good. VERIP III. The point that I tried to emphasize is we didn't have a choice as to whether we were going to have to lay off people. It was how we were going to lay them off. And people argued that VERIP III was bad. I always used to say, "Well, what's the alternative?" Much worse would have been to lay off assistant professors and associate professors--that's the future! And if the word ever got around the country, it would have been fifty years recovering from the notion that we'd laid off tenured people.

So the question was, should we have another VERIP? And faced with the alternative of laying off people, and not being able to give any raises, not being able to cover the merit raises to people, and having to go through that again, after much consultation with the Academic Council and much with the chancellors, we decided to have VERIP III.

The first thing I needed was assurances from the benefits people. By the way, there was beginning to be criticism of the university. Because CSU couldn't do it and nobody else in the state could do it, why is the University of California playing with the retirement system? Some of the people in the retirement system--especially some of the retired people--were worried that we were going to bankrupt the retirement system.

Lage: Was that ever a real concern of people who knew the funding situation?

Peltason: It was a concern, but the people said, "No, the retirement system up to a point can fund another VERIP." There are two questions: how much could you afford, and politically how high should it go, because if you started giving people great windfalls, that doesn't play well with the general public. It comes back to the retirement bonus argument: you're getting paid off to retire.

So I had to be persuaded, and I was persuaded, that the retirement system would float it. But then how much to sweeten the retirement benefits--the VERIP III--in order to induce how many people? Well, this was a question that would create a fierce debate inside the Council of Chancellors, with Chuck wanting it to be as rich as possible to get rid of as many retireable, older people as he possibly could. He felt not only would that money be better used, but secondly that it made good public policy to have an opportunity to retire some older people sooner.

Lage: But by now they're not really all that old that you're retiring?

- Peltason: We were aiming for the early sixties, late fifties. Tien, on the other hand, felt very strongly that we should not go as high, as rich, because he was fearful that he'd devastate some of his departments. So this debate went on all during the winter.
- Lage: Did this have to do with the difference in Berkeley's and UCLA's age structure?
- Peltason: I think it had to do with the different age structure; I think it had to do with the fact that UCLA's rise to first class had been slower, therefore a larger percentage of its retirees were not the most distinguished professors, whereas at Berkeley they were among its most distinguished professors. And as I say, the debates got hot and heated. That's one where I finally elected to be somewhere in the middle and actually gave each campus the option of slightly modifying it.
- By the way, there were also debates about whether this should apply to the PERS [Public Employee Retirement System] employees and the National Laboratory employees.
- Lage: Was that a choice you had?
- Peltason: Well, initially we couldn't do it without the concurrence of the Department of Energy. And in the case of PERS we couldn't have done it on the retirement system. The cost of that would had to have come out of our operating funds, so you wouldn't really save anything, it would actually cost you. But all these things were on the debate for discussion at one chancellors' meeting where, somewhat to my surprise, and I may not remember this too precisely, Tien announced something to the effect that if he didn't get his way, he would have to consider resigning.
- Lage: And he announced that at the meeting, not to you privately?
- Peltason: I can't remember whether he came to me afterwards and told me that, or said that at the meeting. It was a great, dramatic move. We had lots of discussions during my time as president in which people differed and especially Chuck and Tien would differ, but somehow or other this became an issue with Tien. He was going to resign.
- Lage: Were you taken by surprise?
- Peltason: I was. First of all, the debate hadn't finished yet. You don't ordinarily try to win a debate by saying, "I get my way, or quit." And secondly, he always had the option, and it was

always on the table that Berkeley, or any other campus, could, if it wanted to, have a different plan; it wouldn't have to be the same for all the nine campuses.

Lage: I see. That was always a known?

Peltason: Well, I thought it was known. But at least it was a point of discussion. I was quite concerned. Among all the other crises, what I didn't need was a resignation of the chancellor of the biggest campus, [laughs] a man whom I had worked with and picked to be the vice chancellor at UCI. I was somewhat startled he felt so strongly about it, but then I started discussing it with him, trying to persuade him he shouldn't resign. I remember having discussions with him in the AAU [Association of American Universities] meetings in April in Washington. I didn't want to create the notion that if you threatened to resign, you got your way. You can't run a university if the chancellors say, "I get my way or I quit." That's not an appropriate way to operate in a university.

But I did talk to him and persuaded him that we could modify the plan. I wasn't sure that that was in the best interest for Berkeley, but he, as chancellor, had the right to make that call. And we worked it out that any campus who wished could modify the plan. Berkeley was the only campus of the eight that chose that. And Tien did not announce his resignation. The word got around Berkeley, however, that Tien had courageously jeopardized his job in order to force the Office of the President to make the concession. That wasn't my interpretation. My interpretation was that that was always on the table, whether he threatened to resign or not. It wasn't an offer, because I certainly didn't want to win; he's a very popular and very effective and very desirable chancellor. And it became a kind of explosion or crisis over VERIP, and it did hurt Berkeley.

Lage: You mean that VERIP hurt Berkeley more than it hurt the others?

Peltason: More than the others.

Lage: Even the way that Tien revised it?

Peltason: The difference between the Berkeley modification and the plan exercised at the rest of the campuses was only about four or five people.

Lage: Was it in the age or the length of service?

Peltason: I can't quite remember the combination at the moment, but the Berkeley plan was not as rich. That is, it didn't induce as many people to retire. But even so, Berkeley did, through VERIP III, lose more senior people than the other campuses did. And it had a more immediate, I believe, short-term adverse impact upon Berkeley.

This was not a reason to have adopted VERIP III, but I think the long-range consequences probably helped the University of California, outside of providing the immediate cash to a reserve to avoid having budget cuts in the long pull. Most universities are just now facing up to the fact that because Congress has forbidden universities to put a mandatory retirement, they're going to get a lot of people in their sixties and seventies getting higher pay, still holding down their jobs. And they have no way to induce them to retire. But we got a jump on it. We now are out replacing these sixty- and seventy-year-old people with youngsters for the future. I think we're moving into the next century with a leaner, quality faculty and staff. And furthermore, we got most of them to stay around and teach. We lost some, but most of them actually stayed around and continued their work and research. So VERIP III was another thing that got us through that crisis.

It was after VERIP III that I went to governor and said, "We can't have a VERIP IV. There aren't that many more people to retire. [laughs] We'll end up having just twenty-year-olds." I made it clear to the authorities that VERIP I, VERIP II, VERIP III worked, but that's not a way to keep running the university. Furthermore, the retirement system couldn't afford it.

One post-VERIP story: in the last year I was president, we had a regent, a very fine regent, one of our best--Dean Watkins, a man with great financial knowledge--who was head of the finance committee. We had to periodically bring in outside actuaries, and they make certain assumptions and tell you whether your retirement system is sound. They made a report back to us and said, "Your retirement system is sound." But Dean, chairman of the finance committee, felt that the assumption of the earnings was too optimistic and that we ought to be more conservative in our earnings estimate. You make like a half a percent change and it can say a retirement system is not sound but in deficit!

Lage: And this is all based on an assumption, basically, of what the stock market's going to do?

Peltason: Well, future economic growth, inflation, all kinds of indicators. He didn't believe our outside experts, who, by the way, used assumptions that everybody else was using. And this created great concern on my part because I could just see the headlines! They would have blamed the VERIPs for the retirement system's no longer being actuarially sound. It would give the impression that it's bankrupt when all it means is that twenty and thirty years out, the state might have to contribute to the retirement system again and start collecting money from university employees again. It was another one of these image problems. I could see, "University can't manage its affairs, has three VERIPs! Now it's bankrupted its retirement system!"

But the outside experts persuaded me that they were right, that Dean was being unnecessarily conservative, which would then have forced us to return to employee contributions, because we never had meant that the employees' non-contribution could be a permanent feature of the retirement system.

Lage: Although the employees had probably forgotten that they at one time contributed to it.

Peltason: We were taking in a small amount of money from the employees, but what we weren't putting in the retirement system, we were making into a supplementary retirement plan. But, fortunately, two things happened. One, the stock market went back up again, so by any assumption the retirement system was once more in surplus. And two, there was a year's delay before the need to actuarially reassess the retirement system.

But the hours it took to refine the plan to get it straight, to build a consensus, to get the Academic Council to implement it were well spent. It did strengthen the university, and it did save us.

So we had student fees, increased efficiencies, and the VERIP. Which meant that the University of California went through the worst crisis of its entire history--worst for the president--with damage, but minimal damage and, I believe, not long-range damage.

Pressures to Streamline Academic Programs

Peltason: All during this time of this budget crisis there were critics in the legislature but more likely in what I call the world of

professors of higher education--Pat Callan and others around the country. I call them--and I mean it descriptively, not pejoratively--the paradigm shifters. They were arguing, "All the things you're doing are just bandaids. You're not going to get more resources in the future. It's time for the university people to do what has happened in business." And by the way, many business leaders were making speeches: "In industry we've had to lay off people and streamline, but because of tenure in the university, because of your clumsy bureaucracy, because you're conservative, because all you do is go around complaining about your budget cuts--you've got to get it through your heads that the world has changed fundamentally. There's been a paradigm shift. You can't just keep on having light workloads for faculty. You're doing too much research. Faculty are too dominant in your decision-making process. You presidents have got to get hold of this thing and change it!"

Lage: Sounds like you've heard a lot of this. [laughs]

Peltason: I've heard a lot of it: "You've got to just get rid of all the courses that you can't afford anymore. You've got to get rid of a lot of the programs that you can't afford anymore. We can't afford to just let any professor teach whatever he or she wants to teach. Take charge! Turn the place around. Reduce the number of people. Streamline the programs. Take students with fewer dollars." They were the paradigm shifters.

On the other hand, there were some in the universities--I don't know what to call them, they were kind of the ostriches: "Duck low. Things are going to get better soon. California is strong. The United States is rich. Don't do anything. This is a temporary setback. Don't change anything."

Lage: Don't do any planning for the future.

Peltason: Or if you do plan for the future, cut somebody else. [laughter] Berkeley argued to cut the new campuses, and the new campuses said, "Cut Berkeley." Everybody wanted to cut somewhere else. Sciences cut the humanities, humanities--they said, "No across-the-board cutting--we don't like that. Preserve quality." But there was never any consensus on what the quality was. That usually led to an exercise in which people all agreed you ought to get rid of sociology or some program that didn't have a strong external constituency--Greek is one.

Again, as always, I found myself somewhere in the middle. I think that American higher education's quality is not accidental. It can be fine-tuned, but essentially the formulas

are sound. It doesn't need so much fixing as it needs funding. On the other hand, we would have to streamline, and we would have to review all the programs, and that's one of the things that I did do. It had to come primarily from the chancellors because you can't do that from the twenty-second floor of an office building in downtown Oakland. Each of them on their campuses did a very careful review of their programs. And here, again, Chuck Young was the leader. He brought through his own leadership a restructuring of the professional schools at UCLA so they are better, more effective today than they were before the crisis. Each campus went through and looked at its programming and evaluated programming.

Lage: And eliminated?

Peltason: Eliminated and consolidated. Again, I want to point out, you don't necessarily save money by eliminating programs. You have the same number of students. You stop taking students in program A, but you have twice as many in program B, so you don't necessarily save money.

But I think the University of California at the end of my time was teaching more students more effectively and more sensitively than ever in its history. The external critics were saying, "You haven't done enough." The internal critics were saying, "You've done too much." Big public universities were put on the defensive during this time.

Lage: A lot of people criticized the faculty for only working, you know, nine hours a week.

Peltason: That's right. "The faculty workload is too low. There are too many administrators, too many programs that are 'useless,' too much of a tendency for each campus to empire-build instead of be cooperative."

The Technology Transfer Initiative

Peltason: This may be a point to talk about the initiative I started. I had four of them. One I've talked about. We were going to get to work looking for the long-term financing for strategic planning. Two was to improve the management with Chuck's committee, who gave us a bunch of recommendations: be sure that we're adopting modern management techniques, that we examine everything from how we cut the grass to how we turn off the lights at night--find a saner and better and cheaper way. And

we did a lot of that. On the Irvine campus, for example, we led the way in telephone enrollments and the so-called paperless campus, which probably generated more paper [laughs], but made use of technology for communication.

The third initiative, of improving the quality of what we do, had to be primarily at the campus level.

Lage: But you did do some all-university conferences?

Peltason: All-university conferences on how to apply technology. Also, working with the Education Round Table, how we had to have more cooperative programs among the CSU and UC. All of these were a bunch of small things.

You couldn't do anything dramatic. I used to say to the paradigm shifters, "Okay, now you're in charge. The criticism is well-taken. Now, what do you want me to do?" Well, they never had any kind of recommendations, "Well, do this, do that," except, as I say, one time they came in and said, "Close down the graduate programs at four or five of your campuses."

Lage: You mean totally close down the graduate programs?

Peltason: Yes, just essentially turn five of the campuses into CSU campuses, was what its recommendation was.

Lage: That would be a paradigm shift! [laughs]

Peltason: That's not saving the University of California, that's cutting it in half. The fourth initiative that I adopted got to be called, in shorthand, "tech transfer," although that was just one part of it. What I had in mind here, and we did make considerable progress in, was adapting the land-grant idea to modern times. From the basic science on the campus to the applied science in the extension service and research farms, to the actual producer of the crops, there was a continuous flow of knowledge which made American agriculture so productive and such an important part of economy. I said, "Now we have to think about how the University of California, which has done this, can better serve high-tech business and be better connected so that what we do on the campus gets into the marketplace, producing better products to improve the health of the people and more jobs." That was fourth initiative, the so-called tech transfer initiative.

Because there was controversy in the campuses and because there was suspicion of the university offices, the president's office, the tech transfer office, which was in Harbor Bay--Ron

[Brady] had been the champion of tech transfer--when I announced that we were going to accelerate that effort, the people who were apprehensive about our ability to deliver on that, including some of our most distinguished professors, simply said, "Don't go so fast, we haven't been appropriately consulted."

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Peltason: In a university you never do enough consulting. I mean, whenever you make a decision, it's always alleged you haven't consulted. There had been all kinds of consulting about this, but I put this down as part of the exposed nerves that everybody was feeling at this particular time: a new president, budget cutting, controversy. They read the newspapers about the tech transfer office. The head of it was being beaten up in the newspapers all the time with allegations of improper conduct, most of which were never sustained.

Lage: Was this Carl Wootten?

Peltason: Yes. Carl Wootten.

Lage: And that was another Examiner study?

Peltason: Another Examiner crusade. Wootten, Willie Brown, Ron Brady--if you read the headlines, it looked like there was something horrible going on. When you actually went down and read what they had, it was either speculation or trivial stuff. But if I had been president not during a time of crisis, I would have given this my number-one priority. I would have gone out and talked to the professors, I would have learned from them what they were concerned about. I'm quite sure that what we wanted to do and what they wanted us to do would have been the same. Tech transfer at the University of California has been making real progress. But, again, there were too many other priorities. So we publicly slowed it down, but we actually accelerated the program.

Lage: You had come up with plans for two corporations?

Peltason: Two corporations. And we put one of them on the shelf.

Lage: Was the university actually going to go into the business of biotech?

Peltason: These were all to be placed on the agenda for discussion, because you couldn't have done it without the concurrence of these professors. And you couldn't have done it without the

concurrence of the Board of Regents. This was a proposal for something to be talked about.

Lage: I see. And that caused an uproar?

Peltason: Yes. "Uproar" sounds a little bit too dramatic. These very distinguished professors expressed some concerns and apprehensions about the wisdom of it. As did some regents.

Lage: And they were the scientists.

Peltason: They were the scientists. We never intended to do it without further discussion with them. But because we had so many other things to get straight first, we just kind of put that one on the shelf--the development corporation--and concentrated on improving the tech transfer office under Ron's office. Then when Wayne [Kennedy] came, especially under his leadership, we really moved that tech transfer program along so that the University of California today is the leading university in tech transfer. We strengthened the processes on the campus level.

Lage: Does this actually mean putting patents to use?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: It's become such a catch-all word, this tech transfer.

Peltason: Yes, that's right. It's a whole process. It's applying the knowledge that's generated by university people to generate funds and jobs. Applying for patents is only one part of it and probably the easiest part of it. A lot of faculty and lay people think you invent something, you get a patent and that's it. But selling the patent, getting people to invest millions of dollars in the patent, developing the product, the whole business plan, working out the percentage of the royalty the professor gets, avoiding the conflicts of interest, and not diverting the professors from their job--all universities have had to deal with this problem. They're all coming into line, and the University of California is one of the leaders. We announced the end product before we'd gone through the full consulting process.

But the tech transfer is only part of this connecting to the rest of California. Another thing which I did, which didn't survive but I still think it was viable, was to create a California higher education-business round table. I can't remember the precise title.

Lage: Is it the California Business-Higher Education Forum?

Peltason: There you go, yes. California Business-Higher Education Forum. I might have commented that I did this when I was at ACE and I did this when I was chancellor at Irvine. I've always said that those who produce knowledge--universities--and those who produce wealth have a congruent interest. So I called my colleagues around the state: Gerhard Casper at Stanford, Barry at CSU, Steve Sample at USC, and the chancellors, and we put together this group. During my three years it worked very successfully.

Lage: What business leaders came on it?

Peltason: Well, let's see, the CEO of Pac-Tel--I don't have the list in front of me. The governor came to speak to us. Willie Brown came to speak to us. Russ Gould came to speak to us, and we had the state legislators come. It served as a forum to better link the universities with each other and with the business community. It didn't survive my presidency. I think Dick didn't find it a congenial group. But it has been picked up, and it's now been made part of the California Business Council.

Lage: So the initiative is coming from the business side?

Peltason: They now have built a permanent unit as a subcommittee of the business council, so it continues under their auspices. I first started it out of the University of California office, but in order to avoid the impression that it was a University of California organization, we created a separate corporation. That was probably a mistake because when it's everybody's business, it's nobody's business.

But Steve Sample of USC picked it up, Barry picked it up, and I think it's another forum to help link higher education in California with the business community. That was an initiative that I'd also asked the chancellor at Davis about.

Lage: Hullar.

Peltason: I'd asked Chancellor Hullar to come back and take some of his time to shepherd this outreach connection, this technology transfer connection, this rethinking how the University of California connects with the external constituencies.

So those were the four initiatives, each one of which was successful, no one of which was comprehensively successful. But I think it served as a vehicle to keep us thinking about problems other than just how to survive from day to day.

Lage: It must have made your job more interesting, also, to be thinking long-range instead of only responding to crises?

Peltason: That's right. As I said, the trouble with crises, is the urgent overcomes the important. In ordinary times when you get a budget, and you don't have to worry about laying off people, or reducing classes, or raising fees, doubling fees, or putting out fires, the president's office can provide leadership and guidance on these things.

Improvement of the University's Communications Technology

Peltason: One other thing that I want to mention before I forget it: I worked to start the initiative to accelerate the university's use of technology as a vehicle to communicate our knowledge with each other and around the state.

Lage: Now what does that involve?

Peltason: I've always said that I don't believe in the technology-fix. Some people believe that you don't have to spend so much money. You can teach students better, do research better. You don't have to buy books for the library anymore--everybody will have computers and that will take care of the problem. I don't believe that. On the other hand, I believe this communication revolution means the universities have new opportunities to communicate in how you hardwire the campuses, how you connect the libraries, how you deliver education into the work place and into the home. Each of the campuses has a lot of programs, but I got the Office of the President to try to bring these together to facilitate the best practices and see to it that we were in the forefront in whatever was happening.

Lage: Was there a particular person in charge, or was it a new office?

Peltason: It became part of the responsibility of the provost, although Celeste Rose and others in the advancement office and our external affairs office also worked on it.

Lage: Did this affect the library? I'm thinking of the digital library: did that start under you or under Dick Atkinson?

Peltason: We all worked on it. It was a natural outgrowth of the Melvyl project and then the digital library project. The Office of

the President always played a role in it; it's become an increasingly important role.

Academic Freedom Controversies: Michael Milken, Angela Davis,
and Anti-Tobacco Research

Lage: Okay, we're going to take up a couple fun ones.

Peltason: Yes, okay. These are relatively discrete episodes. I don't know that they fit in in any systematic way, but they were issues that preoccupied some of my time.

Lage: Right--and preoccupied the press.

Peltason: And the press.

Lage: One was the appointment of Angela Davis to a presidential chair. I didn't even know that there was a presidential chair!

Peltason: Neither did I until it was brought to my attention. Let me again put that in context because in that year there were two what I think were academic freedom cases. One was the Michael Milken issue that came out of UCLA. A professor in the business school at UCLA invited Michael Milken to come in and give some lectures to his class. There was some discussion that these lectures would be videotaped or audiotaped. And then they would be sold by Milken, and the University of California would get some of the proceeds from the sales of them. This is not a presidential responsibility to negotiate these issues. [laughs]

Lage: No.

Peltason: It's not on the campus level; I don't even suppose that Chuck knew about it.

Lage: But Milken was well known as a convicted felon.

Peltason: He'd been convicted of selling bonds fraudulently. But he'd served his sentence and was out, and he probably knows more about the bond business than anybody else. [laughs]

Lage: And he was a Berkeley alumnus.

Peltason: He was a graduate. Also his foundation has been generous to the University of California. None of this I knew about. I

believe it was Ward Connerly who took it on to attack Chuck and UCLA for this allegation of bringing a convicted felon to teach and selling the university's name for commercial reasons. Chuck and I defended the right of the campus to do this. I thought it was perfectly appropriate. I thought it fell well within the rules of the university. Professors have their freedom to choose people to come speak to their classes. I might not have chosen him to come, but you can't say that he wasn't an expert on what he was talking about. I'm sure the students found it exciting. And the business contract seemed to me to be, on the face of it, nothing particularly sinful. But Ward wouldn't let it go.

Lage: Was it a big issue in the newspapers?

Peltason: It was a big issue in the newspapers.

Lage: Did Ward pick it up first or did the newspapers?

Peltason: I don't know whether he read it in the newspapers, then took it to the Regents or he took it to the Regents and it got into the newspapers. I don't remember the sequence of events. I must say I was a little disappointed that the faculty at UCLA and the Academic Council did not see that this was an issue of academic freedom.

Lage: Usually they're quite sensitive to this.

Peltason: They are. And I was disappointed. They talked about whether the professor had followed the right processes and procedures or not. In these cases, you always say, "I'm for it, but maybe we shouldn't have had the commercial contract." I kept saying, "Think through what you're talking about. In order to avoid this or have rules, you have to say nobody gets invited to a class without first getting the permission of the chancellor and/or the president. And by what criteria are you going to say he can't come? Are you going to have a rule that no convicted felon can be invited to speak to a class, or we can't have a contract with a convicted felon?" But finally it ended by Milken himself agreeing to cancel the contract.

Lage: So he didn't come?

Peltason: He did, but by this time it was all over. But he didn't sell the tapes.

Lage: I see. So that was another issue that complicated it.

Peltason: We didn't back down. But I must say, I went to the Academic Council and tried to explain to them this is, to me, a fundamental issue of the right of a professor to bring visiting lecturers into his or her classes. And we did review the processes by which contracts were made. In fact, one of the things that I did do when I was there, I had Wayne set up a committee to look into the whole question of intellectual property. It's not just videos, but who owns the tapes when people make lectures, and what is the copyright policy? Put that into context rather than to try to ad hoc and say you can't sign a contract when you're a visiting lecturer. In a complex organization you need some general principles.

Then the next thing I knew was about Angela Davis. I'd only read about Angela Davis--it seemed to me it was a name out of the past--when Chancellor Karl Pister came to me and said, "Angela Davis's name has been brought to me to be a presidential chair." And I said, "What's that?" I can't remember who started it [David Saxon, in 1981], but there's a process in place, and each campus goes through a process of picking somebody to serve as the presidential chair for three to five years, to work on a project, invent a new class--something to do with improving the quality of undergraduate instruction. It was a good initiative to have the Office of the President provide resources so that each campus could identify a particular professor. I knew that Angela Davis had been at the Santa Cruz campus, I guess, and when she got appointed no one made any comment about it.

Lage: It was way in the past.

Peltason: It was way in the past, and nobody raised the issue with me. By the time it got to me, all I could say to him, "Well, did you go through the proper process?" The president of the university can't say, "Well, we don't want her because she's controversial." But I had Karl go back and review the process to be sure that she was the best candidate and had gone through the review. He said, yes, that had been the case. And so I signed my name to the paper because it came at his recommendation.

Then it became controversial. And again I got called to Sacramento. "Go to Sacramento." [laughter]

Lage: Lots of newspaper attention, I think.

Peltason: I had lots of newspaper attention. I said to some of my academic friends, "Just think, you're going to go before a legislative body. First you have to tell them about the

Department of the History of Consciousness. Try to explain that to a legislator from San Joaquin Valley and then why Angela Davis got picked." I went over and made the usual arguments. Somebody thought that this is the highest honor that we could give, that I had personally picked her. So I explained the process.

One legislator--he's actually a very decent man, he and I became good friends--he was up in arms. I saw him in Sacramento once in the hall and I said, "I'm coming to see you," and he said, "Come in and see me." So he said, "Have you ever read her books?" and tossed her books toward me. And I said, "No." He said, "Well, read them." And I said, "If I read them, will you get off my back?" [laughter] He smiled and he did get off my back. I must say that the legislators, after making their protest, dropped the issue. They publicly attacked, and they made their protest, and I think they wrote letters back to their constituents, but they never threatened any further action.

I said, "Here I am in the course of one year, defending the right to teach of a capitalist convicted of fraud and an alleged former communist." And I got all kinds of letters. People misunderstood. I remember one letter came from somebody, "Why did you make her the president of the university?" And I said, "Write this lady back and say we didn't make her president, we just named a campus after her."

Lage: [laughs] How about the Regents? Did they complain also on that?

Peltason: No, they were very good. I had some of them mumble to me, "Why, with all the problems we have and all the professors we have, do you have to pick Davis?" We were criticized, but some of the legislators were pretty courageous. Some took on their constituents and explained the process, said there are no grounds to deny her.

Lage: She's a very popular teacher.

Peltason: Very popular teacher and her project had gone through the process. It was a good project. She might not have been the choice that they would have made. I had to assure several of them that the process had been followed, that she wasn't just picked at random, that the Academic Senate had established the criteria and had picked her, and that she's a popular teacher and there were no grounds to deny her other than the fact that you don't agree with her views or you don't think she's a good professor.

I don't think we in the academy have the right to say that we can't be criticized. I found that of those two cases-- Milken and Davis--the academy was more prone to support the second than the first. I was a little disappointed that they didn't see that the issue is the same, whether you're--

Lage: Whether you're the convicted capitalist or the ex-communist.

Peltason: But those are routine incidents in the life of the university. And we know how to handle those. We're pretty sophisticated in protecting academic freedom. The University of California has a pretty good track record, and the state of California has a pretty good track record of not trying to micromanage the teaching or research of the campuses.

Lage: Now what about the History of Consciousness: did you get Regents who would come and say, "Why are we teaching that screwball thing?"

Peltason: [laughs] Yes, that's right. Kind of shaking their heads, "Well, it's Santa Cruz, you know."

Lage: [laughs] But did they want to actually review it?

Peltason: No, not seriously. Another example of where these things came up was a professor at the University of California at San Francisco, who is one of the best-known experts on how tobacco and tobacco companies are dangerous to the public health. Stanton Glantz, I believe, is his name. He's a person of strong views and his name is frequently on the front page of the newspapers. He's a bipartisan critic of Willie Brown and Pete Wilson. [laughs]

Lage: Oh that's right, for taking tobacco money!

Peltason: For taking tobacco money. Again, I got a little heat from both sides of the aisle on what they call that "crazy, irresponsible professor."

Lage: Now, would they call you up and say, "Hey Jack! Call in this guy's reins!"

Peltason: They would shake their heads and say, "Look what this guy says. He's abusing his authority and his research isn't any good. He's accusing me of all kinds of things! And I'm mad."

Lage: And you would say?

Peltason: Well, you understand, he's a professor. [laughs] There was no allegation that he's not operating within the scope of his field of authority. After the peak of the attack would pass, I never found any persistent pressure. I would sometimes report the complaint to the chancellor, who would say, "I'll just pass it on." But this goes with being in the university. Somebody's going to be mad at some professor at some time for something. And we don't automatically assume that everything the professors do is defensible or appropriate, but that really goes to the core of the integrity of the university. It's a place where people engage in their teaching and their research to the best of their ability and where the administrator's number one responsibility is to defend their right to do so. That's one area where you may have to suffer some damage to the university's reputation or budget. That's not one which can be negotiated about.

Lage: But did this tobacco thing ever go that far? Did you get that kind of persistent pressure?

Peltason: Not in my time, no. It was persistent complaints but never insistent. There's a difference between persistent and insistent.

Lage: Or actual threats.

Peltason: Or actual threats, yes. It was just, "I'm mad." And especially in the case of the accusation of the tobacco money, which the governor was alleged to have diverted from anti-tobacco advertisements to university resources.

Lage: That makes it even more tricky! [laughter]

Peltason: That's right.

Resignation as President, 1995

Lage: We were going to talk about the timing of your resignation.

Peltason: With the four-year compact with the governor and the passage of the budget by the legislature, it seemed to me that the acute budgetary crisis had abated and that there was firmer financial support for the university. We were no longer in the news, VERIPs were in place, and I felt that I had essentially accomplished what I tried to do when I came in.

I had promised the Regents I would stay at least three, maybe five, years to get over the crisis and to get us back on even keel so that somebody could then be brought in and start without having to explain executive compensation or fight budgetary fights. Actually, the time was coming in which being president would be more of a pleasure. One part of me said, "Well, you've done the hard part. Why don't you stay on for a year or two and enjoy the job?" And the other part of me said, "Well, no matter what you say, when you're in your seventies, if you stay on another year or so people will begin to wonder when is he going to leave." And with me getting kind of old, rather than have people increasingly wonder about when I was going to go, I thought it was in the best interest of the university. It wasn't a personal decision as to what I thought was best for me, but my best judgment as to what was best for the university.

Lage: Were you feeling old?

Peltason: No, I didn't feel old, and I didn't feel hassled. I enjoyed being president--not every day and not all the time, but I thought things were moving along.

Lage: Did you feel a sense of accomplishment?

Peltason: A sense of accomplishment. But you just can't help it, when you're in your seventies, people expect you to retire. I just felt that the situation was now sufficiently clean and clear, that the Regents could go out and get a president who'd have a five- to ten-year horizon rather than a three- to four-year horizon, and that it was really in the best interest of the university not to just keep lingering on.

Lage: Did you consult with other people when you were thinking about this?

Peltason: I talked to Howard [Leach] and Meredith [Khachigian], I think. And they left that decision to me. They were polite enough to tell me that they wanted me to stay on as long as I wanted to stay on, even urged me to do so, but they also recognized, I think, the wisdom of that decision, of coming in, helping to stabilize the institution, and retiring.

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Peltason: I do want to say a little bit about the process of picking my successor, but before we do that we need to go back and talk about some other events that took place during that time.

- Lage: Let's just give a date to that. You gave notice of your resignation January '95.
- Peltason: So they would have time to pick somebody by the following October.
- Lage: Then you were a lame duck?
- Peltason: Then I was a lame duck.
- Lage: I don't know if that mattered.
- Peltason: Well, I delayed it until the time needed to have an orderly progression. But I think that can be exaggerated. I still felt capable of making decisions and moving the university forward, but it seemed to me that was the best time to move on.

Charles Young, the Regents, and Young's Retirement

- Lage: Now we want to pick up some of the other things that were on your agenda.
- Peltason: Let me just mention a couple items that were still on the agenda at that time. One, the pressures I was under during much of the time I was up there by some of the regents. The tension between the Regents and Chuck had become so great that some of the regents wanted me to try to take some action to try to persuade him to retire.
- Lage: Were there other issues that he was being confrontational about?
- Peltason: He was so out of sorts with the Regents over a variety of issues. Chuck is a man who shouldn't play poker because his views are expressed on his face. [laughs] He became increasingly critical of them and didn't conceal it. He was professional about it, but he'd started with some opponents--almost all of whom, even if grudgingly, respected his tremendous contributions to the University of California: his great administrative talents, his total dedication, and the fact that UCLA under his leadership had really gone to first tier. The attitude that they expressed towards him was, "Well, he's become bitter." They wanted him treated with dignity because of his important contributions, but there was considerable pressure upon me to do something about "the Chuck Young question."

He was coming up for his five-year administrative review. Some of the leaders of the Academic Senate also came to me expressing concern that Chuck had become more distant, withdrawn, that he was no longer as vigorously in charge, that he'd moved away from the campus. Also, out of respect and affection for him, again, they were counseling that we ought to talk to him about retiring.

There were two or three times in which a couple of episodes came up that caused the Regents to be really displeased with him. I made it quite clear that I thought it was Chuck's call, that he was still very much in command, and had to concede that he had in a sense lost confidence in the Regents. And when you work for the Regents that's a disabling thing.

Lage: How old was he at this point?

Peltason: He was in his early sixties. I talked to him. He knew his administrative review was coming, and what I was worried about was that he would stay on so long, and leave with such bitterness, and maybe lose his temper once or twice, and then there would then be an open confrontation between Chuck and the Regents and the Office of the President. I didn't want such a distinguished career to be hurt at the end. They should remember what he contributed.

So my advice to him as a friend and as president was, You better think about leaving and perhaps leave on your own terms, or decide that you have to control what you have to say in public. I mentioned that one time it became so bad because he did say such critical things about the Regents and the Office of the President that he had to be called to task for that. He accepted that, and then he did, subsequently, alter his behavior to be a good, loyal soldier.

Lage: It must have been hard for you to carry out this role.

Peltason: Well, it's always difficult. It goes with the job. But it's especially difficult with somebody who's a long-time friend and who'd been such a great figure. But he made no secret to people that I'd recommended that he leave early. There was some complication about his retirement package, that if he left early he would lose some of his supplementary retirement.

Lage: Even though he'd been there so long?

Peltason: Even though he'd been there so long. And it'd be a reproduction of the David Gardner case because he'd either have to lose it or the Regents would have to publicly accelerate

[his vesting date]--the thing that they'd gotten in trouble for doing for David.

Lage: And they were already mad at him.

Peltason: They were already mad at him, so I was apprehensive about how his retirement package would be received by the Regents. At various times I had to talk to two or three regents to persuade them not to bring their displeasure with him to the board in a formal way. There were also some concerns about his use of non-state funds, for drivers and other matters, and some pressures on me by regents to put more controls on him. The governor was critical of him, as were several key regents. I think I persuaded them that to take any kind of disciplinary action against him would not be in the best interest of the university and that he didn't deserve it.

Then when the affirmative action became the forefronted issue and Chuck, as did all the other chancellors, spoke out in favor of affirmative action--Chuck especially vigorously and forcefully--some of the regents who would have otherwise tried to seek his early retirement backed off of it because they didn't want to make a martyr out of him and have people think they were after him because of their hostility towards his stand on affirmative action.

Lage: Oh, that's kind of ironic.

Peltason: I think it saved a confrontation between some of the regents and the president because I was not going to be party to an action that would have caused him to be forced out. The only question then towards the end was--Chuck had already indicated that he was going to retire--now, or a year later. When I communicated to him, he actually saw the report of the senate committee.

Lage: So the people that you spoke with on the campus were the official review committee?

Peltason: Yes, right. They were members of the Academic Senate and leaders of the Academic Senate.

Lage: Was this part of his official five-year review?

Peltason: It was his five-year review. As a result of the unhappiness of the chancellors with the way the reviews had been handled previously, the rules were changed. They actually weren't changed but reinterpreted so that the chancellor would actually see the copy of the report. So Chuck did see that. I think it

was generally a very positive report, but the parts of it [that were critical] were [about] his distance. He actually changed his behavior, I think, and became very much the reengaged leader of the campus and especially so on the affirmative action issue. Whatever alienation he felt from the Regents, he'd felt the importance of this particular debate issue, and he became the vigorous Chuck Young of old.

Lage: I think it was Ron Brady who told me that he exercised more power on the campus than other chancellors. The example was when the VERIP retirements occurred he kept control of how those would be reallocated. Would that create resentment?

Peltason: No. He was admired on the campus because of the quality of his leadership. There's no doubt that he dominated his campus the way seldom any other chancellor has, because he probably knew more about any subject, when an issue was raised on the campus, than anybody else. He generally let the faculty's academic things alone. He provided the leadership in restructuring the professional schools on campus. He was never reluctant to be there. And he survived a lot of things, including a major problem on housing for the faculty. Chuck took the blame for that.

There were all these issues, and he never ducked his responsibility to speak out on them. But because of his long-term service I think he dominated his campus more than any other chancellor did. He was consultive, but less consultive than most. Also the mores of the campuses are different. UCLA is less consultive than the Berkeley campus. Those are kind of the two extremes. On the Berkeley campus the Academic Senate is widely consulted. UCLA campus is still consultive but much less so.

Lage: But UCLA's had those two long-term chancellors. That must have really shaped them more.

Peltason: I think that's made a big difference. And then they started fresh. But I'm pleased to say that Chuck did retire on his own terms, did it honorably, was widely regarded. His retirement package, I think, was mentioned once in the newspaper.

Lage: Did he retire after the date had passed so that nobody needed to adjust the compensation package?

Peltason: No, the board made the changes for him that they made for David, but there was no criticism. I think it was partly his more than twenty-five-year service. But a lot had to do with the fact that when he retired the budgets were up and the

timing was such that the issue wasn't reopened again. I think it was hardly mentioned in the newspaper. He deserved it, but I was pleasantly surprised that it took place, that the board was willing to do it, and that the same action that led to the criticism of David and the university did not obstruct the case.

Bugging of the Council of Chancellors, March 1994

Peltason: Okay, now, let's get to the one other thing and then I'll get to affirmative action: the bugging of the COC.

Lage: The Council of Chancellors meeting. Was that a telephone meeting?

Peltason: No, it was a video conference. I was a great champion of video conferencing. I said this university with nine campuses ought to be a leader in modern technologies for consultive purposes. I created this when I was chancellor because you know the chancellor has to take two days out of his life, or her life, to go to Oakland. Not only was it expensive but it was time consuming. So we urged that on every campus they create a video conference center so you could come there and you could talk and see each other and pass documents. It started in David's regime, and I accelerated it in mine. We had a video conference at Harbor Bay because we didn't have the facilities at the Kaiser building. It was a Council of Chancellors meeting and it went all day.

Lage: Was that usual?

Peltason: That was usual. It wasn't a secret. I mean, the newspapers made it seem like it was some clandestine conspiracy of the chancellors getting together to talk or plot. It was just the routine meeting that we had every month.

As I told you, in those meetings there's frank and free exchange. But as I came into that meeting that morning of March 2, 1994, several things had happened, and there were these conversations. One was word that for the first time in modern history the Senate had rejected the confirmation of one of the regents that the governor had appointed, a man by the name of Lester Lee. They had confirmed Ward Connerly, but had turned down Lester Lee.

Lage: They'd both been appointed the same time and been on the board for about a year, had they not?

Peltason: Both appointed at the same time and then been on the board for about a year. But Ward Connerly had opposed my recommendation to raise student fees, and Lester Lee had supported it!

I said when they told me that, "Well, gee! That's bad news. That's especially bad news that the regent who supported our recommendation was turned down, and the regent who was against our recommendation was approved! That's a bad message." We were just sitting around chatting and somebody said, "Well, what can we do about it?" or "We should do something about it."

Lage: This is all part of the conference?

Peltason: We're just sitting there talking. This was in a chancellors-only session. I said, "We can't do anything about it because the university can't get involved in a battle between the Democrats and the Republicans, the governor and the legislature." I said, "Unfortunately we don't have enough Democratic regents, so they can't talk to the Democratic leadership. I wish we had more Democratic regents." Then I said, "I hope there's some kind of public outcry about this," but I used the unfortunate expression, "And I don't want to see them get away with it without some kind of pain or penalty." There wasn't anything wrong about that; it's precisely what one would expect the president of the university and the chancellors to say.

Lage: And a political scientist, at that!

Peltason: There were some other comments made by some of the chancellors about Lockyer and his hostility towards the university and whether he would be a supporter of the university or not. It was a private conversation. Then we got to the agenda, and I reported to the chancellors that I had decided that the policy of administrative leave had to be altered. There was no support for the practice of the university in providing administrative leave. I said, "We're going to have to modify it or we're going to lose it. The Regents are going to insist upon taking away the president's discretion. It's not supported by anybody except the chancellors."

Lage: This was March or April of '94.

Peltason: Yes, right. And I said, "I'm going to do my best to try to get this changed prospectively, not retroactively, in order to

salvage a leave of absence for Barbara. If I don't make this modification, the Regents will take the power away, and Barbara has no chance of getting one, so I want to make this modification." But then we talked about domestic partnerships and I said, "This is a question of timing. This is one which if we introduce it at the wrong time, it will get us in trouble whatever we do." So we talked about the strategy of the timing. And then we went on and had a whole day's worth of meeting, and nobody thought anything of it.

On March 18, we were about to finish the Regents' meeting, and I remember thinking, "Things are going well. We've finally got our budget looking better, we haven't had a critical story for a long time, we're getting the university back to business and out of the headlines, and it's Friday afternoon, and the Regents' meeting is about to go home, and I can go home and rest." And Bill Baker tapped me on the shoulder and gave me a letter from the reporter Lance Williams saying he was going to release a story in the Sunday paper, also included in the early Saturday edition of the Examiner, based on the verbatim transcript of the last COC meeting.

Lage: And this was several weeks later!

Peltason: Yes. I immediately called the people around. And there wasn't much we could do about it. I do remember calling Lockyer and giving him advance notice that I'd been told that there was a verbatim transcript, and that the critical things that we'd said about him would be in the newspaper.

Lage: Did you remember what you'd said or did you have a verbatim transcript?

Peltason: No, we didn't have a transcript. We don't keep transcripts. He assured me that he had known that that reporter was always trying to stir up trouble--he said it in somewhat more earthy language than that--and said, "Don't worry about it." But it was on the front page of the Sunday newspaper, which was a combined Examiner and Chronicle, and I think it was carried onto Monday. If you read the verbatim text, there was nothing to be embarrassed about, but it had things like "plotting to protect," "administrators meet in secret to protect administrative leave, say there ought to be more Democratic regents," "pain or penalty."¹

¹See Appendix E for portions of verbatim text of the video conference and Peltason response. A file of additional newspaper clippings and correspondence about this incident is in the The Bancroft Library as

Lage: Something to offend everybody!

Peltason: Something to offend everybody. And I must say, all hell did break loose. And it took maybe two months to get the university on even keel. I went to see Lockyer. He told me privately, you know, "It's not such a big deal," but publicly--

Lage: Even after he saw what it was, he affirmed that it wasn't a big deal?

Peltason: Yes, and that the university once again can't be trusted; administrators plotting--it's not up to them to be critical. Ward Connerly was generous in his comments. If they'd rejected the regent who voted against my recommendation and supported the one in favor of my recommendation, it would have been less harmful to the university.

Then I called in Wayne Kennedy. We were in my office, and I said to Wayne, "I think this is against the law." People kept calling up and asking me for a copy of the verbatim transcript. Quentin Kopp went and investigated, and that's when Lockyer threatened to create a special oversight committee. Tom Hayden was going to look at the university, and there would be all kinds of investigations of the university. Quentin Kopp was up in arms.

And then the faculty--their view was, "What's wrong with these stumbling bums? You're always doing things to get us into trouble." But if you get them to read the transcript, there wasn't anything improper. But there was no outrage about the bugging.

Lage: Did you ever figure out how that happened?

Peltason: I think we figured out that somebody had a tape recorder in one of the sites--somebody thought at Riverside. One of the reasons it took so long was that it took them two weeks to transcribe it. [laughs]

Lage: So you thought there was somebody within the university?

Peltason: Somebody within the university. And they must have given the transcript to Lance Williams. But what I said to Wayne Kennedy was, "This is a crime. We ought not to be just passive about this. Find out who did this!" The next thing I knew the

newspapers said, "President furious. Orders investigation," and so on.

Lage: How would that get out?

Peltason: I don't know. Who in the Office of the President would know that I had that conversation? I think Wayne was the only one-- maybe somebody else, maybe Jim Holst--in the room.

Lage: Did it make you think the office could be bugged?

Peltason: Yes. And we did have somebody check to see if my office had been bugged. This whole episode is an example of how a nothing was turned into some kind of scandal. The reporter, Lance Williams, selectively quoted from the transcript the people he wanted to get. For example, he emphasized a quote from Karl Pister, I don't remember precisely what Karl said but something like "those bozos." As a result there was tension between some of the senate leaders and Karl that took a long time to get over. On the other hand, Williams liked Chang-Lin Tien, whose critical comments were not quoted in the newspaper account. Chang-Lin was as distressed and distraught by the episode as anybody else, but Williams wrote the story to get at the people he wanted to get.

Lage: I wonder why he took such a personal vendetta-like interest?

Peltason: I don't know, but he did get some award for his story.

Lage: Did you ever have a conversation with Lance Williams?

Peltason: Always professional. But the series of stories were a most unprofessional bit of journalism--to play the story with exclamation points and screaming headlines. I must say they did publish more excerpts from the transcript a day or so later, which, if people bothered to read it, gave a more favorable impression than the headlines.

Lage: Oh, they did? Most of it probably wasn't too interesting.

Peltason: People like to listen into a private conversation. But I was somewhat surprised that nobody criticized the newspaper for using a purloined recording. Jim Holst or somebody said that since there wasn't any wire tapping, it wasn't a federal crime to tape these conversations, but it probably was a violation of California law to tape somebody's conversation unknown to them and perhaps even to publish such a conversation. But there wasn't any particular benefit in seeking to prosecute anybody.

- Lage: But you traced it to Riverside?
- Peltason: I heard that, but we had no definite knowledge about it. And as time went on, we got on to other things.
- Lage: It seems a long way round from Riverside back to the Examiner. There was not electronic breaking into the circuit?
- Peltason: No, I don't think there was a break-in to the circuit, but it did put a chilling effect upon video conferencing.
- Lage: Oh, I can imagine. Now, did it shake your position? I mean, in the newspaper accounts or Regents' meeting, I got the impression that some people even suggested maybe you should resign.
- Peltason: Oh, there were all kinds of charges, yes, yes.
- Lage: And you did make an apology, it seems.
- Peltason: I don't remember. I tried to do an explanation, but I don't know whether it was an apology.
- Lage: Maybe it was an explanation. But you didn't feel like your tenure was called into question?
- Peltason: Well, no. I always had said to Howard Leach, who was then chairman of the board, any time my being here is more of a hurt than help, let me know, and I made it clear to him that if he felt that I was ineffective, let me know. He was quite persuasive that I wasn't. I mean, I was being effective, and this was not an episode to be taken too seriously. But I do think it had a serious dampening effect, because we were moving back to deal with educational problems, and I think it was probably the culminating episode that made it impossible to get administrative leave for Barbara.

Even prior to that episode I was working on a modification of the administrative leave policy. I don't remember the precise terms, but it was in general that the president would no longer grant administrative leaves to chancellors and vice presidents without the consent of the board. However, the policy preserved for chancellors and vice presidents who were otherwise entitled to a sabbatical leave the right to take such a leave on the same terms and conditions as any other faculty member. Moreover, it left to chancellors the discretion to grant administrative leaves to vice chancellors, deans, and other campus administrators, thus keeping this valuable tool for smooth transitions from administrative to faculty service.

Lage: Did somebody have to have a faculty position to get one?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: So somebody like Ron Brady would not?

Peltason: That's right. The Ron Brady episode, then the breaking of these news stories, meant that the climate had changed so that the board in that spring was not going to allow the president to give anybody an administrative leave. To give somebody administrative leave after you've been accused of having done it for Ron Brady--there was a kind of "don't do that again."

Lage: Gosh, those were hard times.

Harbor Bay Isle Controversy

Lage: While we're talking about publicity, when we were talking about technology transfers and whatnot, we didn't really discuss the accusations of impropriety around Harbor Bay Isle.

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Peltason: This same reporter, Lance Williams, had a series of articles purporting to expose skullduggery in the tech transfer program, alleging that Ron Brady, Speaker Willie Brown, Ron Cowan and Carl Wootten--I wasn't quite clear what they were supposed to have done improper, but there was article after article alleging that Ron had received presents.

Lage: Lavish parties.

Peltason: Lavish parties--all this--and that the tech transfer had been placed down there and that this was the beginning of a movement of a large number of university facilities into Harbor Bay. If I remember correctly, there were two or three different audits. We called outside auditors in, and when the outside auditors would come in and say there wasn't anything wrong, then there would be another article saying how the outside audit wasn't any good! So we audited the audits, and I think Regent Frank Clark kept insisting upon this. By this time he'd become so hostile towards Ron.

When Wayne came in, he changed the management of tech transfer, and that was the end of our problems. There were two or three things that Carl Wootten did that he probably

shouldn't have done, and he was told not to do them anymore. Wayne, I think, felt quite properly that we needed to have a fresh start. But again, this was a headlines story. But most of it was the same story told over and over again.

Lage: Some of it had to do with locating a sub-campus of UCSF at Harbor Bay.

Peltason: UCSF, in trying to find places to expand, considered a site in Brisbane, a site at Laurel Heights, and a site at Harbor Bay. Some people thought it was a good idea and some people didn't. But there was no suggestion that Willie Brown or Ron Cowan or Ron Brady were trying to get us there improperly.

Lage: Right. Willie Brown did have a business connection with Ron Cowan.

Peltason: Well, I guess so. The answer is yes. I had never met Mr. Cowan, I had no feeling for him one way or the other. The lavish gifts were flowers sent to the offices, I think, and some dinner parties. And Ron had some position in the harbor commission of Oakland.

Lage: Yes, Ron Brady was on the Port of Oakland commission.

Peltason: But it was another one of these drum beats of criticism--again, hard to respond to. All you can say is we'll look into it. We did look into it, and then, if I remember correctly, I think there were actually three separate audits at considerable cost and there was nothing found of any substance to these charges. But there was newspaper story after newspaper story. And then the same story would be regurgitated as if we'd found something new, slightly different. And you can always find some disgruntled employee to say something.

Lage: Yes, but do you have any thoughts about why the Examiner or Lance Williams or somebody was so persistent?

Peltason: No. And I don't want to be guessing. As everybody knows, journalists give each other prizes for having investigated something, and you don't get prizes for saying I've investigated it and haven't found anything improper, or let me put it into context. You get more prizes if you can expose skullduggery in high places. And it's caused me to read some of these stories with a bit of caution. I know that even with the best of intentions it's hard to accurately reflect a complex issue in a newspaper column.

- Lage: Now, was this a case where the university's media response or PR system was inadequate?
- Peltason: Yes, I think it was inadequate. You know, it's another story spending money on PR.
- Lage: Right.
- Peltason: But I felt we needed to be quicker in our response, more thorough in our response, put in more resources to say, "Let us tell you what really happened, or why this happened, or what we've done." But we're just not equipped, nor do we have the resources to put on a big PR campaign.
- Lage: And it's hard to answer charges like this, regardless.
- Peltason: It's hard to answer charges like that. But we did, we responded. And as I say, we called in outside auditors and had them investigate. Again, my recollection is I think there were two or three separate audits and then the charge always was, "Well, the audit was not as thorough as it should have been or we didn't happen to ask the right questions." But when they would come back and say, "We found nothing of substance," that didn't stop it. It didn't stop until Ron left and Carl Wootten left and Willie Brown moved on to other things.

University Support Group Policy

- Lage: Now, let's see. We haven't talked about the review of the agriculture programs or the university support group policy. Should we look at those?
- Peltason: Okay, let's talk about the university support group policy. Let me put this into a context of auditing and how to prevent fraud and misbehavior in university activities. The University of California has a very good record of spending lots of money honestly. But when you spend \$10 billion on a university-type structure, there are bound to be people who behave improperly. We usually catch them, and we usually get restitution. We have a very good risk management program. But it's hard to explain that to the public because they read the story about this person doing something improperly. And we had during my time two or three stories of people in support groups--these are groups that have been created to support the university.

lage: What would be an example? Friends of the Bancroft Library would be one.

Peltason: Yes, around every campus there must be a hundred friends--of the library, of the art department, support groups for the museums, support groups for the alumni association. There's the foundation, there's the alumni association, some of whom raise money on behalf of the university. Some of them raise money on behalf of lots of people and the university's one. During my time, with Wayne and Ron's help, we put into place a total review of our rules and regulations of support groups, foundations, alumni associations, and others. It had been started under David. I assume it had been started under everybody, but we tightened them.

This was precipitated, and I want to be sure I get the facts right, by a support group around the department of medicine at UC San Francisco, where there were some allegations that a woman who ran a program supported by the foundation there, teaching paramedics and firemen, had spent some of the money improperly and that that foundation had not properly supervised her. And that the foundation had made gifts and grants to members of the faculty for first-class travel. That, plus some allegations of some misbehavior in other foundations. The problem is these are volunteers usually, these people who are raising money for the university, whose work is necessary and appreciated. But still, if they're going to take in money on behalf of the university and spend it on the university, if it's spent improperly or unwisely, the university's going to ultimately have to be accountable for it.

So we reviewed them all, the rules and regulations for foundations, the rules and regulations for the alumni association and for all these other support groups. Again, the university is so complicated: a little support group that, let's say, raises five dollars for lunches to bring lectures--you don't want to have them have a Big Six accountant and count the books all the time. They'll say, "To heck with you."

lage: "I'll go raise my money for someone else."

Peltason: As against a big foundation, which raises tens of millions of dollars, where you do need that. So how to put in place regulations which are not discouraging the volunteers but at the same time, because it's all public money, it has to be spent according to university rules and regulations. So we did that and I think have much tighter regulations.

lage: Without being oppressive in those rules?

Peltason: Without being oppressive. That's separate from, but related to, the battles we had over auditing. Because not only do you have to audit these support groups, but there's also the question of how you audit the university. The Regents always wanted centralized auditing, and the chancellors wanted decentralized auditing because it's a tool for them, and they know which of the many activities need to have the auditing resources. But because of the downsizing, we were under conflicting pressures: reduce the Office of the President, but audit more. There are too many people in the Office of the President, but we need more people out there supervising to be sure that nobody misspends money. There was a point of transition when the downsizing, I think, exposed us to not enough auditing surveillance. So Wayne gave that a number one priority and built up the strength of the auditing function.

Lage: And kept it centralized in the Office of the President?

Peltason: No, it's a combination. We strengthened the supervision and centralization in the Office of the President, but still left the chancellors with the tools I think they need to manage their campuses. That was always a point of tension among some of the regents. Even if you're the best auditor in the world, there's no way you can guarantee that somebody won't cheat. You can only guarantee you have the system in place to minimize it and to catch them if they do.

Each one of those was a very damaging episode. There was a case of a woman in the Office of the President who I think committed suicide. She was in the insurance office, and she had worked out a scam where she'd make settlements and then pay off her own family. She was caught, but still it's very embarrassing, you know, in your own Office of the President. You can make a crime wave out of it, and it was made to appear like this was yet another one. So a lot of time and attention was spent to try to minimize that and to regularize those support groups.

Lage: But you're right about the amount of staff time that this kind of thing takes at every level!

Peltason: That's right. And again, let me emphasize. In order to guarantee, if it is at all possible in an organization as big and complex as the university, that nobody will ever misspend money or spend it foolishly, you would have to put so many checks into place that it would become impossible for anybody to spend money wisely. Of course, you have to have the controls in place that will minimize the wasting of public dollars or you would lose public confidence.

Lage: Okay, good point.

Restructuring UC's Agricultural Programs

Lage: The agriculture programs--you talked about putting a new person in?

Peltason: There are three major programs having to do with agriculture. One at Davis, one at Riverside, and one at Berkeley. The agriculture industry--the commodity people--were always critical that the Berkeley people were not really interested in the problems of agriculture, that the Berkeley faculty were more interested in basic research. And they wanted the redeployment of those resources from Berkeley to Davis and/or Riverside. Davis and Riverside wanted them deployed there. [laughter] And Berkeley didn't.

Lage: And that's a long-time thing. I've heard that talked about for a long time now.

Peltason: A long time. Chang-Lin Tien showed considerable leadership on this, and both the chancellors at Riverside and Davis worked this out with the vice president to gradually redeploy those resources. We renamed the school at Berkeley the School of Natural Resources and the Environment, I believe.

Lage: Yes, it's gone through so many changes that I can't quite remember what it is [College of Natural Resources].

Peltason: But that was one in which there was great tension between the commodity people and the three campuses as we gradually redeployed those resources and allowed Berkeley to do what it wanted to do by, as various people retired, reassigning them. That's much easier to do when there are more FTE's being passed out than when you're in a constraining period. Then the people at Davis and Riverside said, "Yes, we want those resources, plus more." So we had to negotiate that. [Vice President] Ken Farrell did a very fine job of doing that.

Lage: So that was on Ken Farrell's watch?

Peltason: On his watch. I think it would be boring to anybody to read every battle we had. We had a battle over the Natural Reserve System. The Natural Reserve System wanted to claim some land in northern California--Santa Rosa. A long battle ensued over

that, and the Regents finally got involved. Those were what I call routine days at the office.

Lage: Yes. [laughs]

Peltason: Those were problems you were going to have whether you have good times or bad times. They weren't any worse on my watch than anybody else's watch. We had all those problems, plus the crisis problems.

Lage: You had something about logging at Santa Cruz Redwoods.

Peltason: As I say, I think one survives in that office by not remembering them all. I think if you took each one of them as an Armageddon show-down issue, you can't survive. You have to survive by trying to do the best you can and then move on.

Ceremonial Activities of the President and Chancellors

Lage: What about ceremonial activities as president? Did you entertain heads of state?

Peltason: No. We entertained, but there was much less of that during my time. Most of the ceremony was done on the campuses.

Lage: Was that by choice or just by happenstance?

Peltason: I think it is the nature of the evolution of the campuses, of the University of California system. The president used to be the ceremonial head and went everywhere every time there was a head of state or visiting dignitary. I think that function is gradually evolving to the chancellors. The focuses of the president's activity are more on the external side. We used Blake House for meetings of the Academic Council. I told you about the meetings with the heads of agriculture, chancellors' meetings, vice chancellors' meetings, an occasional outside visitor.

But most of the time, visitors are entertained in the official chancellors' residences. And there are now chancellors' residences on all the campuses. That was one thing that happened at Davis. One of the changes I made when I became president was that there would be no more housing allowances, that as a condition of employment, you would reside in the official home and the entertaining would take place there. Therefore it obliged us to be sure that there was an

appropriate residence. We did that at Riverside and initiated a process that provides that campus with an appropriate official residence for the chancellor. We started that process at Irvine and Dick has pushed it further so that campus too will one of these days in the near future have a University House for official functions.

XVII THE VOTE ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, AND RETIREMENT

[Interview 12: July 13, 1998] ##

Early Involvement in Affirmative Action Efforts

Lage: We're in our last session with Jack Peltason and the topic is a big one today: affirmative action. I'm sure you have a sense of how you want to deal with this.

Peltason: Well, I haven't. I'll just ramble on as always and reflect on how it came up and how it became an issue. Let me preface it by saying I've been involved in affirmative action before it was called affirmative action. Having been chancellor at the University of Illinois in the 1960s and taken the lead in Project 500, which I think we talked about earlier, and being a great believer in affirmative action, for it has become clear that it is not sufficient in order to remedy the past decades of racial discrimination merely to stop the discriminatory action.

Lage: You mean the efforts that have been made have not been sufficient?

Peltason: No, I'm just saying that I have long been an advocate of, and supporter of, and involved in developing affirmative action programs in the generic sense before it became a specific program. Meaning that because of the long patterns of discrimination against African Americans, to merely just stop discriminating, to say, "Well, the doors are open," wouldn't get the social revolution over with.

Lage: I see.

Peltason: And the same thing is true in the case of women, although for women there is less need for affirmative action. Although women most immediately benefited from affirmative action, they have less need for it. Once you put an end to overt

discrimination and stopped the stereotyping, once you got rid of the notion that women don't do well in math or by temperament are not capable of being executives, then there are plenty of well qualified women to walk through the opening doors. For example, around every university there were highly qualified women engaged in non-tenure track teaching assignments but being kept from greater opportunity by nothing more than overt discrimination and obsolete "nepotism rules." There were law schools and medical schools that discriminated against women because of the belief that they would get married, have children, and that it would be a waste to admit them into a professional schools. When these discriminatory practices were made illegal, there were a substantial number of women ready to go to law and other professional schools.

I'd been at Illinois, where I remember writing to the departmental chairs back in the sixties and urging them to broaden their recruiting efforts, to go into the historically black schools and look for people. At ACE I worked to get federal programs and dollars to support outreach programming. So it's just been part of my being a higher education administrator.

Lage: And at Irvine, also.

Peltason: At Irvine, where I think as a result of some leadership from the Office of the Chancellor both during Dan's time and mine we were able to increase the number of minorities both in the student body and among faculty and staff.

One needs to be careful when using the term "minorities." In the case of undergraduates, we needed affirmative action at Irvine for underrepresented minorities, namely African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans, not for Asian Americans, who at Irvine came to be a majority of the undergraduate student body. However, for faculty and staff recruitment we needed affirmative action also for Asian Americans, who are an underrepresented minority among faculty and staff.

When affirmative action programs were first put into place, we really had African Americans in mind, but then we expanded the programs to cover women, then Hispanics and Native Americans, although the focus of attention in the sixties was still on African Americans.

At UCI during my time we used affirmative action tools to increase the number of women administrators and faculty members and were having some success in increasing the number of

African Americans and Hispanic undergraduates. We also had programs to encourage minorities and women to become graduate and professional students because unless you increase their numbers in graduate school you will not be able to make substantial progress at the faculty level.

In other words, I had a long history of supporting and using affirmative action programs both at the University of Illinois, ACE, and the University of California.

Pressures to Pursue Affirmative Action Aggressively

Peltason: During most of that time, the external pressures upon us were pressures that we weren't going fast enough. That is to say, at Regents' meetings we would be called to task because we had all the programs in place, but they hadn't resulted in enough minority admissions or enough women in top positions.

Lage: Were these pressures from the appointed regents or the elected regents?

Peltason: The pressures came from Regents generally speaking. And remember, the University of California had been the leader in the Bakke case [Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, Supreme Court ruling in 1978]. We'd taken the Bakke case to the Supreme Court of the United States to defend the right of universities, and the legislative pressures were all on the side of affirmative action. That is to say, we were being called to task because there were not enough minorities being admitted or employed, or not enough women on the faculty, or not enough university business being done with women or minorities. So the pressures of the seventies, the eighties, and the early nineties were all to have more and better affirmative action programs. Also the federal government's Office of Civil Rights was threatening to take away federal contracts or otherwise punish us for not enough affirmative action.

I'd fought most of my career trying to explain that, although I believe in affirmative action, I didn't believe that you should put aside all your standards or admit minorities or hire women without respect to maintaining quality. We should not be judged just by results when so many of the factors restraining the number of women and minorities were beyond the control of the university. So that was the environment in which this attack upon affirmative action from the other

direction, so to speak, really came rather unexpectedly. There had always been critics of affirmative action, in and out of the academy, but most of the pressures were for more such action, not to abandon these programs.

Lage: Had there been hesitancies among faculty?

Peltason: Oh, yes. A good many of the senior faculty had felt that ceding to the pressure of minorities and feminists and legislators and the central administrators had undermined the standards, that there was the danger that we would go from getting the best person regardless, and that the politically correct pressures on the campus would be such that one would be reluctant not to promote an African American or reluctant not to promote a woman. It is quite true that when a case involved a woman or an African American coming up for tenure, any vice chancellor or chancellor felt pressures from the group: "We're going to watch what you do very carefully. If you don't promote this person, you better have pretty good reasons."

Lage: Now what kind of groups? Would these be off-campus?

Peltason: Well, no, they'd be the women's faculty groups, the black faculty and staff groups, and the friends of the candidate. Whenever a decision was made negatively, it wasn't a quiet decision. There was an appeal, then student newspapers and colleagues would chime in, so I always thought those pressures were withstandable and understandable and did not compromise the standards. There was some disquiet inside the academy that maybe we'd admitted some students who shouldn't have been admitted, but this was generally a quiet view, it was not an articulated view.

Lage: So the external pressures--

Peltason: The external pressures and even the internal pressures, too, were all on the side of supporting affirmative action and trying to push you into taking action which sometimes was inappropriate. You had to resist, but I just felt these were necessary means to get through the social revolution. I never thought affirmative action was anything but a remedial program to be adopted during a transition. But I think the transition is not over.

Regenta' Review of UC's Affirmative Action Policies

Lage: Now, let's talk about how it came up and how you dealt with it.

Peltason: Okay. During most of the time that I was president--for a relatively brief time the budgetary crisis was the overwhelming subject of the discussion, but with the coming to the board of Regent Ward Connerly--that's one of the factors that brought it to a head. Ward, as I've said before, is a very decent man, a very intense man, a very smart man, a very principled man.

I don't believe the debate over affirmative action lines up good guys versus bad guys. I think there are good guys on both sides of that debate. In the battles of the sixties, it seemed to me there was just one side to be on; every person of good will takes the view that you don't discriminate against people because of their race or their gender. There are no two sides of that debate. But whether or not affirmative action is justified is one about which there can be differences. Again, I felt very strongly in favor of it.

Later on I'll tell you at greater length what we lost when we were denied the opportunity to engage in taking race and gender into account as one factor in academic decisions. But I remember talking to Regent Connerly, who when he first came on the board, expressed his concern about racial and gender preferences.

Lage: Did he express them privately initially?

Peltason: He told me that he has always been opposed to it. At the beginning he told me he would not hide his opposition and he would, when it was an appropriate occasion, make it known what he felt, but that he wouldn't seek to have the university change that policy.

Lage: Oh, he did?

Peltason: That's my recollection of his conversation. Before Mr. Clinton had said we need to "not end it but mend it," I felt we had better mend it, too, because I didn't want to make us vulnerable. If there were some practices that we had gotten into the habit of doing that couldn't be defended, that would have made the whole program vulnerable, so I was quite prepared to review our processes and practices. And we started to do that quietly.

- Lage: Was that at the request of Connerly or was that just your own initiative?
- Peltason: Well, it was not so much at his request, but there were questions being raised by the actual administration of affirmative action programs. For example, the admissions and employment standards were that race was but one of the factors taken into account in making decisions, but that no one was to be admitted or employed just because of race, gender, or ethnicity. I asked for a review of these programs to be sure that our practices conformed to our proclamations.
- I also asked for a review of programs such as the one I pushed forward when I became chancellor at Irvine. I had made it known to all deans and department heads that we were so short of African Americans and Hispanics on the faculty, and in some fields of women, that if they found qualified women in sciences and engineering or qualified African Americans or Hispanics in any field that we would find an FTE for such a potential recruit.
- Lage: Was that the formal TOPs program?
- Peltason: Yes, it was called the Target of Opportunity Program. I can't remember precisely but maybe there were five TOPs FTEs, and I announced there will be twenty; there will be all you want! You come in to me and say we found this outstanding African American engineer or physicist or this woman chemist who had great qualifications, we'd go for it.
- Lage: But a woman English professor?
- Peltason: I'd be less inclined to go for it. [laughs] I mean, we would have regular FTEs that would be regularly considered, but they wouldn't go through to the top of the priority list.
- Lage: But this was an era when you had some money to play with, also?
- Peltason: We had money to play with. And as a result of that pressure or encouragement or inducement we actually increased the number of minorities. So it worked. But it's easy to slip from that policy into any woman, any African American gets appointed, so you have to review it to be sure that it doesn't get abused. That was just routine reviewing it, but I accelerated it but didn't really give it publicity.
- Lage: You accelerated the review of it?

Peltason: A review of those programs. Then the issue came to the fore. I can't remember the precise time, but I'd heard about the Cooks. This was a couple, a mother and a father of a student in San Diego. These were very knowledgeable people--I can't remember if they were statisticians or professors. Their son had been denied admission to the medical school at UC San Diego but admitted to the medical school at UC Davis. So he hadn't been denied admission to medical school, but they believed that he had been unfairly treated because African American students whose academic records were not as good as their son's had been admitted to the medical school at UC San Diego. So they started asking questions.

As I say, these are sophisticated people and they could do data analysis. And they pretty well established that if you just looked at the formal academic qualifications there were African American students who hadn't done as well as their son. By the way, that's not the only parameter by which you select people for the medical school, and they had no evidence that the people admitted were not qualified, wouldn't make good doctors, but their son had test scores that were better. They started visiting the regents on their own and writing to regents on their own. They talked to four or five regents.

Lage: Did they go to regents on both side of the fence or did they decide to pick their regents?

Peltason: They went to Regent Burgener, who was on their side, a regent in San Diego. I think they probably went to Ward; I'm not sure. I think they talked to Meredith Khachigian, who was then chairman of the board. And Clair Burgener, a very decent man, wrote to other regents on the educational policy committee. I believe it was selectively read, saying he was quite concerned about what the Cooks had brought to his attention, and he asked them what they thought about it. He sent me a copy and I said, "Any regent has a right to raise this question and I will put it on the agenda and we will bring the review of the admissions and the employment policies of the University of California."

Then Ward--and again, I can't remember the precise timing--made it clear that now he was going to put it up for a vote and ask the Regents to abolish affirmative action.

lage: Did he talk to you and tell you this? I mean, I'm just trying to get a sense of how he operated on the board.

Peltason: I don't know whether he told me first or told them first, but he made no secret about it. And he and I talked. I had no problems about talking to Ward. He didn't do anything behind

my back. He was very open about what he was going to do and why he was going to do it. And I said to him and to the fellow regents, "This is a very important matter, and what I ask you to do is not act quickly. And don't make up your mind about affirmative action in an abstract fashion. Let's talk about what it is that we do. Let me show you what we do. Here's what we do in recruiting, here's what we do in admissions, here's what we do in business, here's what we do in employment. Here are the federal laws that require us to do it, here are the state laws that require us to do it. Here's the policy that the Board of Regents has consistently adopted. Look at what we're doing before you act on it." Ward agreed to delay his motion until we'd had a chance to review it. I can't remember precisely how many months it was on the agenda.

Lage: There are the minutes from all those special committee meetings.

Peltason: At the meetings we spent hours.

Lage: You had a special committee on affirmative action policy.

Peltason: There was one on the board.

Lage: There already was one?

Peltason: Yes. Every month there for about six months we brought in the deans of the medical school, we brought in the admissions officers of the medical school, we brought in law school deans, we brought in people from undergraduate admissions who had reports on the business programs and practices. I always had felt that people, in general, should not be asked to be in "favor of affirmative action" or "against it" as a big category since the term lacks precision and means so many different things. In fact, how people respond often depends on how the question is put to them, generally favoring programs designed to bring in more minorities and women and opposed to racial or gender preferences. I thought the better way to proceed was to focus attention on what we were doing: for example, here's how we operate the admissions programs, here's why we do it, and here are the consequences of what we do.

I found most of the regents, when they looked at the programs as discrete items, generally concluded, "This makes sense. This is just." They began to understand the complications when, for example, you have many more qualified students who want to get into Berkeley than you can take there. You have to have some criteria to choose among students, all of

whom are qualified, and that just to use test scores doesn't make good sense.

Lage: That's what people forget.

Peltason. They are all qualified. The distinction among precise test scores are not that significant on the right-hand side of the normal distribution curve. All these scores show is they are all bright and will probably do well in college. There's not that much difference between a student on the high end who makes ten points more on an SAT score than somebody else. And there are other relevant qualifications for doing well in college, or as a doctor, or lawyer, or engineer besides test scores.

We've had a long history of refining admission criteria and procedures. The faculty has been consulted at great length. The procedures are designed to strike balances: take so many percentages of students by formal grade point and test scores. Take another percentage taking into account other factors, leadership, musical talent, athletic ability, extracurricular activities. We showed the Regents how and where race and gender became one of the factors to be considered. It's very complicated. But we went through the process with the Regents, point by point. As a result of those reports, I think we demonstrated to them and to the public that the processes of admission, employment, and contracting were fair and how taking race and gender into account made a significant difference in our ability to provide a student body more reflective of California.

Now, I personally felt that in the case of employment, whatever the Regents would do wouldn't make much difference to start with, because federal law preempted employment practices. Nor would a change in affirmative action admission policies make much difference for undergraduates on many campuses, because they take all qualified students who apply, anyhow. Where the abolition of the ability to take race or gender into account really was going to hurt was in admissions to law schools, to medical schools, to places like the engineering school at Berkeley, where there are ten times more qualified applicants than there are places. You know, in a medical school, if you can take in 100 students and you have 500 qualified applicants, and they all would make good doctors, it makes sense not to have them all white, male doctors.

Lage: It's looking at society's needs.

- Peltason: And also the educational needs of the class. You could have a class of all women or all black, but it doesn't make sense. And it doesn't make sense to say that the only people who are good doctors are those who are above a certain academic competence, that the only skills that make a good doctor are how well you do on a test score. And that's where I tried to focus everybody's attention.
- Lage: It sounds as if you thought the response to these informational meetings was a positive one?
- Peltason: I thought it was positive, but you've got to remember this is a subject about which people feel strongly. One of the arguments that I used to the Regents was that this is a matter about which there is such strong feeling, and it affects the lives of so many people, and we've been doing this for the last twenty years, that a social contract had been worked out. It's not maybe the best admissions system or the best way of contracting, but it does rough justice. And with all the other problems we have, to have a debate that's going to internally divide the campus and the state of California, it seems to me not to be very sensible. And furthermore, this review has indicated that there are some things that need to be modified and as president, I will take care of those. And I did, as a result of that review, issue from the Office of the President some directives instructing the campuses to modify some of their practices.
- Lage: It seems to me they focused on the fact that Irvine and one other campus took all the minority applicants.
- Peltason: It was Riverside and--I can't remember--maybe it was Irvine. There are two or three campuses that used a special admission process to automatically admit minorities, without individual evaluation.
- Lage: Even if they didn't meet the qualifications?
- Peltason: No, they had to meet certain qualifications, but if they were minorities and met the minimum qualifications, they were automatically in without a review process.
- Lage: But does that partly have to do with the number of students those campuses could admit?
- Peltason: They had room, and they had so few African Americans and other underrepresented minorities that they just took them. I also had to modify the programs I had adopted as chancellor that automatically provided FTE for members of minorities in certain

fields. They said, "You can't do that." There were other practices which had crept in which I said, "This is not good."

Lage: Did you see these as compromises or did you feel, "Well, we really should stop these?"

Peltason: No, they weren't compromises. We're always reviewing our administrative practices, always modifying them, but in view of the concerted attack upon affirmative action, I thought we should announce this, and package it, and say that we were being responsive. The Regents had had some concerns; we now had a review; this is what the review indicated. It didn't indicate anything fundamentally or constitutionally illegal or immoral but had some practices that could be abused. This was the mend-it-not-end-it approach.

While all this was going on, by the way, the Academic Council was being consulted and each of the campus academic senates was being consulted about what they thought. I mention that because there was some contention that there wasn't faculty input. There was faculty input.

Lage: What kind of response did you get from the faculty?

Peltason: They all were supportive of the maintenance of the programs.

Lage: Did you get some of the ones who were quietly in opposition coming out of the woodwork with this?

Peltason: No. There have been since then some professors, [laughs] including some very distinguished ones, who say that the Academic Council, the official government of the faculty, didn't accurately reflect their views. And I'm knowledgeable enough and have lived enough in the academy to know that it wasn't that every faculty member was on one side and all the Regents were on the other side; there was internal division among the faculty as to the wisdom of some of these practices.

But when you're the president, you work through the established process. The established process was that I refer this as a matter for peer comment to the Academic Council. They, in turn, refer it to the senates of each of the campuses, who in turn made reports. And they all came back saying that they strongly supported the existing admissions, appointments, and business practices.

Lage: Now how about the chancellors?

Peltason: They were also consulted and they also were part of the presentation to the Regents.

Proposition 209: California Civil Rights Initiative, 1996

Peltason: While all this was going on there was also out in the state a pending constitutional amendment, which, when it first became known, was called CRI, the California Civil Rights Initiative, being proposed by two professors from CSU, if I remember correctly.

Lage: I thought they were on the Berkeley campus.

Peltason: I think they were not Berkeley faculty, but they were academics. I didn't think they'd have too much chance to get that initiative processed. At the beginning, Regent Connerly wanted to make clear that his concern for what the University of California should do was not to be confused with what the state of California might do with the constitutional amendment.

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Lage: So Ward Connerly wasn't part of the Civil Rights Initiative?

Peltason: He was not at that time. He subsequently became part of it [in November 1995]. As it became clearer to me that there was going to be a constitutional amendment put to the people of California--

Lage: This was '95 we're talking about, just for the record.

Peltason: It was '95, yes. But even then there was to be a proposed constitutional amendment that was gathering strength. I then made the argument to the Regents and to the governor and to Ward Connerly that if there's to be a decision altering public policy with respect to admissions and employment and business, let it take place in the political process; don't get the University of California in the middle of this battle.

Lage: What was your thinking there?

Peltason: Well, my thinking was if the people of California amended the constitution to prevent the University of California from doing something, we'd have to comply with it. If they didn't amend it, it would be foolish for the Board of Regents to have told us we can't do something which the people of California said

they wanted us to do. And secondly, why make the university the forum for the debate over this very divisive public policy issue, because we couldn't implement what the Board of Regents wanted us to do any faster than the constitutional amendment because the proposal before the Board of Regents would not have called for a change for admissions policies until '96, anyhow. And if Proposition 209 got adopted, we'd have to do it anyway, so why should we take on a battle that we didn't need to take on and just divide the university? Under these circumstances it did not make sense to me for the Regents to act contrary to the recommendation of the expressed wishes of the faculty via the Academic Council, of all the chancellors and vice presidents (Jim Holst felt that his responsibilities as general counsel required that he remain neutral) and the president.

Now, let me come back. Also, it was my informal assessment of how the Regents felt. Not that I took a poll, but when you're the president you talk to Regents all the time and they're not at all bashful about letting you know what they think. My guess was that one-third of the Regents were ardently in favor of affirmative action. It was a high priority for them; they were strongly urging us to go faster and more vigorously than we were. One-third of the Regents felt strongly that affirmative action was unfair and we shouldn't do it. And one-third probably felt it was unfair, but not so unfair that they were prepared to take on the president and the chancellors and other regents, so that they didn't want the issue raised. I think what Regent Connerly did was mobilize the situation so that that one-third felt they had to vote against affirmative action.

Lage: Now, how did he maneuver that?

Peltason: He just very strongly kept the issue up through speeches and making it the number-one issue. Every time the university would put out something, he came back with another statement. And then when the governor made it known that he supported Regent Connerly's proposals, that put pressure upon the other regents to be supportive of the governor and Connerly. I don't think any regent would have voted against their conscience. None of them voted against affirmative action although they were secretly for it. But I think Regent Connerly and the governor were able to mobilize on their side the people who were against affirmative action but who would have preferred not to have had to vote on it.

Lage: That one-third that you talked about.

Peltason: Yes, that one-third. I kept trying to get Regent Connerly to postpone this vote. I think it was in April or May and he, at my request, postponed it to June, July.

Lage: July, I think, was the actual vote.

Peltason: He first put it for June, and I said to him, "Ward, our budget is before the legislature. You know this is going to make the Democratic leadership mad. We need their support for the budget. Can't you put this off?" And he did. He had to raise enough support to force the issue. But by July he had his heels dug in, and he said no, he wasn't going to postpone it anymore. So I knew that July was going to be bad--bad in the sense that it would be a long, divisive, emotional Regents' meeting.

I thought that I was about to pull off something which I thought would have been in the best interests of the university. I wrote a letter, which I sent over to Ward, suggesting he have the governor sign. I wanted them to declare a victory and wait for the outcome of Proposition 209. I suggested that the governor and Regent Connerly take the view that they had raised the issue because of their genuine concern about its unfairness, that as a result of that review they were gratified that the president had made some changes to get rid of the worst features of it, and that the president and the university assured them that he would see to it that if Prop. 209 was adopted the University of California would be prepared to comply. And since no change could take place, anyhow, any faster than that, they would withdraw their request for the Regents to vote upon it, looking forward to the decision of the people of California.

Lage: You were using all your political skills. [laughter]

Peltason: All my political skills.

Lage: Did you discuss this with Ward before you wrote the letter?

Peltason: I talked about it with Ward and Ward said to me--I always want to be very careful because when I said, "he said," it's what I remember he said. And I know about controversial, high-tension issues--one person's recollection may not be precisely what the other remembers.

Lage: Yes.

Peltason: But I got the impression from him, I inferred that Ward said, "Okay, that's not a bad idea. Let's work on that. I will

discuss it with the governor's people and see." That was about two weeks before the July meeting. But the amendments that they wanted to make to the letter were such that it wasn't--

Lage: Oh, so they came back to you with a counteroffer, sort of?

Peltason: With suggestions. "Well, okay, but the letter would say we abolish it already." When I would discuss with Ward letting this wait until 209, from his perspective, he wanted the university to take the lead. His view was--and this is my interpretation, not his words--it's as if I had been the president of the University of Mississippi and we had segregation and it was about ready to go. The university ought to be on the right side of history, in the lead, rather than doing it just reluctantly. That's my interpretation of where he was on this.

Lage: He seemed to see it as a crusade of that order?

Peltason: Oh, yes, I give him credit for being sincere in his opposition to affirmative action. A lot of people allege that he and the governor opposed it for political reasons. First place, as a political scientist, I don't think political reasons are bad reasons. I mean, to accuse somebody of doing something in order to please the voters, to my mind, is not damning that somebody. It's not inappropriate for the governor of California to act for political reasons. [laughs] But I think both the governor and Ward believed that affirmative action was wrong, and they also believed that opposing it would be to take a popular stand.

Lage: There was so much criticism of Wilson that he was hitching this to a potential run for the presidency.

Peltason: I know that is the public criticism of him, but I have never joined in it. As I say, I stipulate he might have been--probably was--taking the lead in the campaign against affirmative action for political reasons, but I don't see that this is particularly wrong. When Governor Deukmejian came over and used his influence with the Regents to ask us to change the investment policy--not to invest in South African firms--some people alleged he did that for political reasons. I don't think there's any evidence that he did it for political reasons, but why-ever he did it, he felt strongly that we ought to divest. My argument with Governor Wilson has never been that he didn't have a right as governor, or even as a potential presidential candidate, to do what he did, just that I thought that the policy he was proposing was wrong.

- Lage: Well, what do you think about the very idea that the governor is a member of the Board of Regents? I hadn't realized that that was very unusual for the governor to actually be the president of the board.
- Peltason: I think that that's not a bad connection with the people--he's an elected representative. The governor, after all, is well-liked and a major supporter of the university. I talked to the governor about this and explained to him where I was coming from. He explained to me where he was coming from. Neither one of us was able to persuade the other one, but neither one of us felt that the other one was acting improperly. I mean, I've never felt that the governor didn't have the right to do what he did. My argument was whether it was a wise thing to do.
- Lage: I do get the sense from reading these minutes that you used that term "social revolution." There might have been some regents for whom it would be anathema to think that the university was engaging in a social revolution. They might see it as kind of a left cause.
- Peltason: Yes. I meant the country. Until 1954--that's not that many years ago--not in California but in the nation, African Americans were so discriminated against and denied so much opportunity to get their kids educated. And until World War II women were openly discriminated against for employment, and in fellowships, and stereotyped. The United States, I think, is very proud of the fact that we've gone through and made such progress in a relatively short time. As I say, I can remember in my lifetime faculty members openly saying, "Don't give that student a fellowship because she's a girl and she's going to get married and have babies and that's just a waste of money."
- Lage: That was very common.
- Peltason: That was part of the mores of the university. So affirmative action is the way we remedy past misbehavior, and it has made a big difference. And without it, there would be fewer African American and women doctors and lawyers, but it also creates some difficult problems in administration. It is, to my mind, a necessary instrument. I always quote Justice Brennan: "In order to get to a colorblind society we have to be sensitive to race and gender."

Regents' Debate and Vote on Affirmative Action, July 1995

Peltason: But back to that July. I'd hoped that Ward and the governor at the very end would say, "Now it looks like Proposition 209 is clearly going to be on the ballot; let's take the issue away from the Regents." I think the Regents would have been pleased not to have had to go through that very divisive debate. And Governor Wilson's record of support for the University of California is a very strong one. I was just sorry to see that that one issue became the one in which he took on the faculty, at least the official faculty, and the student body and made it appear like he was coming over here to undermine the general processes.

But when the day of the battle, the debate--[laughs] it was a battle.

Lage: It was a long meeting!

Peltason: It was a long meeting. It went on all day. By this time there was a media circus. Jesse Jackson came, we had the whole Board of Regents, then the debate went on. [See Appendix F for minutes of the July 20, 1995 Board of Regents meeting.]

Lage: How were those things organized? I know you drew lots for the unofficial speakers. But then there were certain official speakers, Jesse Jackson among them. How was it determined who would get to speak?

Peltason: With the help of the chairman of the board, I made that judgment. You have to just use good sense. Jesse Jackson is a nationally prominent leader of the African American community and has earned acclaim as a speaker. There were some people who thought we should just treat him like a regular citizen, but I thought that inappropriate.

We had a good debate. There was some tension about it. I had proposed that Ward would introduce his amendments, and I would then introduce my recommendation as a substitute for his, and the debate would take place about my recommendation. This was misunderstood. I thought that was the fair way to do it. The president of the university should make a recommendation. Ward and the governor took offense at that, and I said I didn't care in which order they were debated, as long as the board had a chance to vote and knew what my recommendation was going to be. So if I remember correctly, I made my recommendation--

Lage: I couldn't quite follow it, to tell you the truth, from the minutes. So you made yours, but the vote went on his?

- Peltason: It went on his, with the understanding that I would speak against his recommendation. The vote would also be on my recommendation. As long as there was a chance to vote, I wanted the Board of Regents to know the choices. As for Ward Connerly's recommendations and the president's recommendations, which one to be debated first didn't seem to me material.
- Lage: Did the fact that you were an outgoing president have any affect on how strong you might have been in this situation?
- Peltason: I don't think so. In some ways it gave me greater strength.
- Lage: More freedom?
- Peltason: More freedom, because I was anxious that when the vote was over and this issue was over, the university could go about its business and that the vote over affirmative action not be so divisive as to lead to such permanent wounds among the regents and between the regents and university administration, faculty, and student body as to undermine our ability to carry out our educational functions. Affirmative action, important as it was, was not an issue that I was prepared to resign on, even if I had not announced my retirement. As far as I was concerned, reasonable people could be on both sides of the issues. But I just didn't want it to be so divisive that the university would pay a big price for it in the next ten, fifteen, twenty years. I wanted it to be a sensible, reasonable debate and as civil as possible.
- Lage: How do you feel it went?
- Peltason: I think for an issue of this size with dramatic intensity it was a pretty good debate. I think everybody had a chance to speak his or her mind. I think the board knew what they were doing. There was one disruption, if I remember.
- Lage: It sounds like two: a bomb threat--
- Peltason: Yes, that's right, there was a bomb threat. We all went outside. And then there was one disruption where we had to repair upstairs.
- Lage: Then there was a debate over whether you could repair upstairs! [laughs]
- Peltason: And Jesse Jackson showed up upstairs. [laughs] I gently urged him to leave, which was not easy to do. But people were crying.

Lage: In the audience or on the board?

Peltason: In the board and in the audience and staff members.

Lage: Now, crying about the issue or the tension?

Peltason: Both. You know, a great university being brought to a standstill. There were people who were for affirmative action who felt that this was a major setback in our ability to diversify the student body, and people on the other side who felt they were striking a blow for justice. Each side feeling that the other side was misunderstanding. This was not an easy day. I think we finished about ten o'clock at night. During the course of that day there were still attempts to get compromises. The governor came, by the way, and sat there all day, as did Willie. I mean this was a major debate. It was a national debate.

Lage: Willie Brown, you say?

Peltason: Willie Brown was there.

Lage: Was he there the whole day?

Peltason: Yes, speaking very eloquently for affirmative action and the university's policies. He made a speech that the issues were matters for politicians to debate over in Sacramento, that the Regents should not make the university the forum for deciding an issue that so divided the state, that the university had been following the laws and doing what other universities in the country were doing. He accused the governor of raising the issue for political purposes and said that's not wrong, but this is the wrong place, "Let's go back to Sacramento and carry on the debate."

I had talked with Willie Brown about these issues a lot when they were coming before the Regents, and he was, of course, fully informed about the issues.

Another point: out of the day's discussions we did get from the Board of Regents a reaffirmation of its commitment to diversity and its reaffirmation of support for university outreach programs.

Lage: So that was part of a compromise, not something that Ward Connerly thought up himself?

Peltason: No, we negotiated that during the day.

Lage: Okay. That's interesting.

Peltason: Ward and the governor wanted to be sure that the board did nothing that we could use as an out, that would justify our continuing to use racial preferences, but they were willing to reaffirm that it was the tools to accomplish diversity they objected to, not the goal of it.

Lage: I don't want to divert us, but Ward Connerly seems to have gone back on that later.

Peltason: I think subsequently he even became suspicious of the outreach programs.

Lage: Yes, it seems that way.

Peltason: But at the time he was generally supportive of the outreach programs. At the time, my recollection is that his concern was racial preferences, taking race or gender into account in making a decision, but that he did not object to programs that were designed to encourage women and minorities into the university or to reach out to them. There was much discussion at the time as to whether or not we could not substitute economics as a surrogate for race, and the board and my successor have been struggling with the issue of how to do this.

The other thing that I tried to make clear to the board was that they had to give plenty of lead time, because it's one thing to say you shouldn't do something, but then how do you implement it and practice it. The university is complex, so there was much discussion about the effective date of this implementation, and we got the date of the admissions implementation put off by a year longer than the one on the business practices.

Lage: And that was part of the negotiation?

Peltason: That was part of the negotiation before the Regents' meeting. There were two resolutions before the Regents. One dealing with business contracting and employment, the other relating to admissions. I felt that the one dealing with business and employment was less damaging to the university than the one relating to admissions.

Lage: Partly because of the caveat that they couldn't violate any federal policies?

Peltason: Because the federal law would still preempt what we do with respect to business and employment practices. The immediately damaging thing would be our inability to take race or gender into account as one factor in making admission decisions.

Lage: No, it was never the only factor, although that was suggested during the course of the debate. I think Governor Wilson suggested that it was sometimes the only factor.

Peltason: That's right. There was a suggestion that we weren't being honest about that, that we were administering the policy so that women and under-represented minorities always got the job or always got admitted, whether they were qualified or not. There was a suggestion that the policy may be stipulated one way, but that the real practice was the other way.

Lage: A lot of suspicion expressed, at least through these minutes.

Peltason: Well, that's true, because as I said earlier in my discussions with you, the University of California is so big that we are always destroyed by the anecdote. So of all the admissions decisions and all the employment decisions, if once or twice that happened, that's the one that got reported and got thrown back to us.

Lage: Would you want to say something about the Asian American response to this?

Peltason: Yes. The Asian American community on the admissions side were not the beneficiaries of any affirmative action. On the contrary, they were an unprotected part of admissions pool, along with Caucasians. If you get rid of affirmative action, we said the consequence will be an increase in Asian Americans. In the case of employment, where they're underrepresented, they do benefit from affirmative action programs. But in the debate, most of the Asian American leaders supported affirmative action. I always have to be very careful--you're talking about thousands of people.

Lage: Thousands of people and very many different ethnic groups. They're lumped together.

Peltason: Very different. That's right, Asian Americans is a category of all kinds of people. It's like talking about European Americans as Italians and Germans who all speak alike, think alike. But in the debate over affirmative action, the people who were against affirmative action inside the university were very quiet. The only exception if I remember is the Berkeley student newspaper.

Lage: Which came out against it, to everyone's surprise.

Peltason: The fact is, anyone connected with the university--and I've never tried to deny that or obfuscate the fact that this was a close call inside the university. This wasn't all 165,000 students and all the faculty versus the Board of Regents. It was a close call. It was the official spokespersons for the university--the student body leaders, the Academic Council, the academic senates, the chancellors and the president--who all felt that on the balance--felt strongly, not just mildly--that affirmative action programs were essential tools in diversifying the student body and the faculty and staff, and they were just and well-administered. And that it would be a serious mistake to have the University of California, of all the universities, handicapped and crippled by being denied the ability to use this tool. And that the Board of Regents would be well advised to continue the historic policy, not force the university to make such a revolutionary change in its programs, and that it was a big mistake for them to do so. That was the issue.

Lage: I want to ask about Section IV, where consideration could be given to individuals who have suffered disadvantages economically, or an abusive or dysfunctional home, or a neighborhood of unwholesome or antisocial influences. Was that part of a compromise language or was that Ward Connerly's?

Peltason: That was Ward's language. The opponents of affirmative action frequently argued that they are not against taking factors other than academics into account, but that you shouldn't automatically assume that all African Americans or all women suffer from these disabilities. There are the well-to-do African Americans from a middle-class family who ought not to be given a preference over a poor, white kid.

Lage: So it's okay to give preference to the economically disadvantaged or physically abused, almost, it sounds like?

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Peltason: Opponents of affirmative action argue that in America you look at people as individuals and that fairness says you don't treat them better or worse because of their race, their religion, or their gender. And so I think that people, when they were saying they want to get rid of affirmative action, were trying to say that doesn't mean to say that you can't take into account individual problems.

Lage: I see.

Peltason: And they were saying that one oughtn't to assume that all minorities have problems and that people who aren't minorities don't have problems. That's the argument against it. The argument against affirmative action is you shouldn't think about people as groups.

Lage: What do you think about Ward Connerly's view that it was actually a very damaging thing to African Americans? He made it sound as if he'd thought this was the reason they didn't achieve as well--because of the insidious effects.

Peltason: Again, there are books that have been written on this and there are books still being written on this. I just think that in balance, this country has profited from this ability to encourage more African Americans into the university and into the professions by having programs specifically targeted to help them and, when they get here, to support them, and that it's not inappropriate to take race into account as one factor in admissions.

Yes, it's not an unalloyed good. It has prices to pay. It causes some people to feel discriminated against, and it probably has the consequences of undermining some, but I don't think in order to have public policy that all the reasons have to be on one side. That's why I feel strongly that it's desirable, but I can see that it's a close call. And it also has to be administered very carefully, cautiously, and I believe temporarily. We want to get to the stage where we don't have to do that anymore.

Lage: So your position is based in part on your judgment that we are not there yet?

Peltason: That's what it is. That's what I told the board. I said, "You may be right, but you're premature. Right now, we still need it. We haven't gotten there." But again, as I say, I also confess that I tried to lead the university through this debate in a fashion so that when it was over with people wouldn't be so divided that it would be disruptive to our forward progress. I didn't want to win it or lose it in a fashion that the board would be divided, that political parties would be alienated from the university, that large segments of the population would be mad at us one way or another. I generally think we came through a very tough time. We're not through it yet, but I think we debated the issue the way a university should debate it.

Lage: Even though you were on the losing side?

- Peltason: And I don't think the Board of Regents should do this very often. I teased some of them, and said, "All right, that should take care of you for twenty years."
- Lage: Right, [laughter] we've had these divisive issues come up about--
- Peltason: "Every twenty years you can take on the president and take on the faculty, but you've done it, you've used up your Armageddon-type issue."
- Lage: Do you sense that it marked a turning point in the balance of power between the president and the Regents?
- Peltason: No. Of all the issues that the lay board might get involved in, this is one that's a mixture of educational policy and public policy. This is not one in which the professors can claim, "We're the experts and the lay people don't have any views about this matter."
- Lage: It's a legitimate area, is what you're saying.
- Peltason: It's a legitimate area of public debate. It's a legitimate area for a lay board to say, "Well, we have something to say about this, too. We want to hear from the faculty and the president, but the question of who gets into a university, admissions policy, and whether race or gender should be taken into account are appropriate questions for boards to decide.
- Lage: Did you have to spend some time defending that point of view to your university people?
- Peltason: Yes.
- Lage: How did you go about that?
- Peltason: Well, just as best I could, trying to say I have never denied the jurisdiction or the right of the board to raise the issue. I think it was not sensible to do so, and I think on the merits they made a big mistake. I think that we would have been much better off if they had just punted on this one. I said to Ward Connerly, "Thank you for raising the issue, but why don't you just say, 'We've decided we're not going to press it for debate,' or, 'We will leave it to the judgment of the president and the chancellors.'"
- Lage: Was there a strong leader of that point of view on the board that you worked with?

Peltason: By the time of July that one-third that I told you about, that I thought probably didn't believe in affirmative action but were prepared to defer to the president and the chancellors, those people had to take sides.

Lage: Kind of a forced choice?

Peltason: Forced choice. I think my recommendation got about a third of the votes.

Lage: I think it was fifteen to ten on all of the votes.

Peltason: Fifteen to ten. Actually, come to think of it, that's better than I remember. But I don't think there's any doubt--nor do I think there was anything nefarious or any skullduggery about it--that the governor had made a difference.

Lage: You think behind the scenes he was calling his appointees?

Peltason: Well, whether he did it behind the scenes or was quite open about it--he wasn't secretive about it; he came over to the board, he spent the full time there. The fact that he made it an issue and used the prestige of his office had an influence upon the Regents.

Lage: Reagan did that when Clark Kerr was fired, and Deukmejian did it at the South African divestment. Are there other times it's been done that you know?

Peltason: Well, those are the ones that come to my mind most.

Lage: There might have been something in more ancient history.

Peltason: Yes, but governors do that, you know, every twenty years. [laughter] So I think if he had stayed out of it, it would have been a closer vote. But he is the president of the board; he is the governor of the state; and he was not at all sneaky about it. There was nothing that he tried to hide; he was trying to influence the board to go his way.

Lage: How did Regent Brophy respond to it?

Peltason: He was on my side. And he and I worked all during that day to try to work out a compromise. We tried to get the governor and Ward to go along with a proposed amendment which would have delayed this until November.

Lage: But to no avail.

- Peltason: I knew that I couldn't persuade Ward or the governor to say they changed their mind. My best hope was to persuade them to say they would postpone it until the vote on Proposition 209. Roy was trying to work with me on that.
- Lage: Was he concerned about how this would interface with the search for the new president? He was the head of the search committee.
- Peltason: I think so. Well, yes, I just think he agreed with me: why are we having the university in such a turmoil over an issue that's going to be resolved elsewhere anyhow?
- Lage: And of course it was resolved kind of overwhelmingly in Connerly and Wilson's favor.
- Peltason: That's right. And the argument was, If you guys are so sure you're going to win, well, wait. And if you don't win, doesn't the university look foolish? And besides, we can't implement these SP-1 and SP-2 [the two regential resolutions on affirmative action] until the vote on 209 anyhow, so you aren't getting anything done any faster. And you can see all the turmoil--so postpone it." But they wanted to vote then.
- Lage: Did they say why they thought it was so important to vote then?
- Peltason: Well, Ward said that this is the right thing to do. The university should be the leader.

Aftermath of Regents' Vote on Affirmative Action

- Lage: Anything else about that day, or should we talk about the aftermath?
- Peltason: The aftermath only up to my time, because I don't think presidents should talk about things after their time. After that I then tried to tell chancellors and members of the senate--the leadership--that we still had some work to do. I went around talking to groups who were talking about how they were going to defy the Regents.
- Lage: Groups of faculty?
- Peltason: No, students and staff members who felt that this was an issue about which they should defy the Regents. I tried to persuade them that that was not the path of wisdom. I tried to say that

we needed to get to work on outreach programs to diversify; we needed to redouble our efforts to do that. I encouraged things like the Berkeley Pledge program and other ways to stay within the context of the board policy, to push the envelope with that board policy, and not to give them any false hope that the Board of Regents was about to change its mind about this. I didn't see any chance that the board was going to change its mind on this and thought that we should then do what we could within the contours of this policy.

Lage: How did these groups accept your position? How were you treated?

Peltason: With dignity. Generally they were appreciative of the fact that I'd fought a vigorous battle to try to keep the policies in place, in the sense that the university had not given up the battle to diversify.

Then I also started to put into place two or three task forces. I felt we could now take advantage of the fact that the board and the legislature would give us the funds to really step up the magnitude of our outreach programs. Now was the time to go ask for several million dollars, but I wanted to have programs in place that would really be effective and also --back to the admissions committee and boards and others--start thinking through how we'll go about implementing these programs.

Lage: So did the president's office have a role in thinking through admissions policy, or was that left to each campus?

Peltason: No, the president always sets it. We had a responsibility to see that the deadline was met and we had programs in place. And I also wanted to take seriously the board's injunction that we should continue to work to diversify the undergraduate student body and the graduate student body.

There was kind of a lull after the debate because the vote was coming up on Prop. 209, and it was summertime, and the emotional time had been felt. There was a little bit of backlash in the university community, too, and probably some people who felt that we had misrepresented the unanimity of the internal support for affirmative action.

Lage: Any more to say about that backlash in a more specific way?

Peltason: No. I don't think we had misrepresented it. I do think a president or a chancellor has to be very cautious about giving his or her own interpretation what of the faculty thinks. You

don't really say what the faculty think, you say, "Here's what the Academic Council and Senate say."

Lage: What they voted.

Peltason: That's right.

Lage: How did the chancellors on the Berkeley and UCLA campuses react? They seem to be the ones most affected.

Peltason: They were the ones most affected and they were not quiet about their disappointment.

Lage: And they both spoke up at the meeting?

Peltason: They both spoke up at the meeting. In fact, we did something unusual to show the depth and unanimity of our feelings. The chancellors and the president issued a formal statement expressing their convictions that it would be a major mistake for the Regents to eliminate affirmative action programs.

Lage: After?

Peltason: Before. Ordinarily the chancellors and the president don't do that, they speak to the Regents through channels. But because of the intensity of the feelings here, and the belief that we didn't want any ambiguity about our own view, the chancellors and the president signed a public statement of support for affirmative action and why we thought it would be a mistake for the Regents to vote against it. We did that before the meeting. It was released in June or July.

Lage: Whose idea was that?

Peltason: I don't know. I can't remember where the idea came from. It came out of a discussion with the Council of Chancellors, I believe, as to whether or not the situation justified such an extreme measure.

Lage: That really drew the battle lines, in a way.

Peltason: We wanted to make the point to the Regents and to the public. I mean, the Academic Council, all the chancellors and the president, I think all the vice presidents signed it--except Jim Holst, and Jim didn't because of his special relationship to the board.

It may be the only time--again, I'm not enough of a historian to know--but it's unusual, if not the only time, that

the president, the chancellors, and the vice presidents made a public statement of concern about what the Regents were about to do.

Lage: How did Walter Massey feel about this? Did it have anything to do with his not sticking around to be considered as president?

Peltason: The board's action wasn't a positive thing. I don't think it was the only thing, but he felt disappointed. I don't want to minimize the hurt that lots of people felt inside the university, because they'd been working under these programs for years and seeing them bear fruit and seeing progress being made. Then to have the board do this was embarrassing and disappointing.

Lage: All the things that you'd been showcasing now became objects of criticism.

Peltason: That's right. I mean, here was the Board of Regents that had fought the battle of the Bakke case. This is the board of the University of California that had been the leader. Again, I speculate and perhaps inappropriately, but it's been interesting to me that this battle hasn't snowballed. Lots of people thought that once the University of California raised this issue then other universities will do so, but most have not so far. And the business world engages in affirmative action in its employment policies.

Lage: Yes, the business world seems supportive of affirmative action.

Peltason: Even some of the newspapers which editorialized against it have an affirmative action employment policy of their own.

Lage: Did you get response from other university leaders? You must have.

Peltason: Lots of concern, yes, and moral support. You know, "You guys are fighting the good battle for us." And they worried that if we did it, it would happen elsewhere. But it hasn't.

Lage: Why do you think that is?

Peltason: I think the policy of affirmative action makes good sense. I think that for the long pull, people recognize it as a necessary transitional tool.

Lage: But not in California, of course, because that vote [on Proposition 209, in November 1996] was so overwhelming, or fairly overwhelming, I think.

Peltason: That's right. Again, I think it was the way the question was put. If you ask people the question, "Are you in favor of racial preference?" the answer is no. If you ask the question, "Are you in favor of taking affirmative action to help minorities and women to get jobs?" the answer is yes.

Lage: It was put in such a way that it was hard to say no to it.

Peltason: That's right. You say nobody should be discriminated against or given a preference because of race or gender. I suspect Americans are always going to vote for that. But if you ask the question, "Should the universities put in place special programs designed to increase the number of minorities and women in science and engineering, and do you think that it's appropriate to take race and gender into account as one factor in admission to the professional schools?" then I think the public would be much closer.

Lage: Maybe there will be a new different wording some day?

Peltason: Right. Okay.

Lage: So you think we've mined this issue enough?

Peltason: I think we've mined that enough.

Selection of Successor as President

Lage: Shall we think about the choice of your successor? Is that a good next topic?

Peltason: Sure.

Lage: That search was going on during all of this, I would think?

Peltason: Yes, it was. I think I've said, when the budgetary situation of the university seemed to me stable and the financial crisis was abating, I made the decision, that rather than hanging on for another year or two, I would give the board the chance to provide a successor who could have a five- or ten-year horizon. They put together a search committee for my successor. Ordinarily, incumbent presidents don't have much to say about their successor, but I'm pleased to say my relationship with the board was such that they sought my advice, and I worked closely with Roy [Brophy], the chairman of the search committee, in picking my successor.

The board made a decision early on. It wasn't a formal decision and I wasn't privy to it--I don't want to give the impression that I was day-by-day involved in the process. But they felt that they wanted to go outside for my successor if they possibly could. Having picked me, and then I was a close friend of David Gardner, and all of turmoil around the Gardner-Peltason time, they felt if they could get somebody who had no connection with the university, they'd probably start fresh. So they weren't against insiders, but they were going to look outside. I had said that made good sense. On the other hand, I said, "Don't ignore the insiders," and I had hoped that Walter Massey would be my successor.

Lage: Did you express that to them?

Peltason: Not openly, but they're smart people. [laughs] And the fact that he was the vice president, the provost--

Lage: . And in a sense he'd only been there--

Peltason: --a couple of years. That's right.

Lage: He wasn't really an insider.

Peltason: He wasn't an insider. He had outside connections, having been head of the National Science Foundation, had been a distinguished physicist, and had been, I think, a great success as provost. I used every occasion I could to promote him and to spotlight him and to put him forward. He knew the Regents, he'd worked with the chancellors, he just seemed to be the natural successor. But I know I said last time that Walter really got personally disturbed by the attacks upon him and me by the San Francisco newspapers.

Lage: You did mention that. So he was drawn into that, too, even as a newcomer?

Peltason: As a newcomer. He was on some boards, he made some speeches, and then he got attacked in the Nuckolls thing.

Lage: Oh, yes. The Lawrence Livermore Lab.

Peltason: And then the affirmative action debate. Just the general turmoil. Poor Walter, the time that he was vice president we had crisis after crisis.

Lage: [laughs] You brought him in at the wrong time.

Peltason: He was beginning to settle down and like the job when things were getting better, but then when the search committee--now this is my interpretation. Walter is a very private and dignified man, he never said this to me. The fact that the search committee didn't immediately interview him or didn't rush to select him, I think, was upsetting. I kept telling Walter, "Be a survivor!" I said, "They'll go through a whole process. Search committees always think they're going to find God, that they're going to go out and find the world's greatest administrator. They're going to go out and find that there are not any out there as good as you are! So just take it easy. Don't get your feeling hurt." But then, when he was offered a chance to go back to his alma mater--

Lage: Morehouse.

Peltason: Morehouse, where he had graduated. He just decided that he didn't want to hang around while the search goes on, looking like he's looking for the job, when he could go back and take this job where he'll be treated with dignity and be a leader of the Atlanta community. So he just told the board, "Goodbye, I'm going to become president of Morehouse." And he's been a great success there, where his service on boards is honored.

So he withdrew, and the board searched. I don't remember all the details, but I kept pushing them to go faster. Some of them asked would I stay on longer, and I said, "Well, I would stay on longer."

Lage: Had you given them the October date?

Peltason: Oh, I said the October date was the anniversary of the third year. When I had been selected I'd told them I'd stay for not less than three, no more than five.

Lage: And you didn't believe in having these long, lame-duck presidents, you had said.

Peltason: Yes, that's right. I hadn't any notion when I'd agreed to take the job that we'd go immediately into this crisis over executive compensation.

So then Gordon Gee became the candidate.

Lage: He's from Ohio State.

Peltason: He was from Ohio, and it was announced that he was to become the candidate, in fact.

Lage: Was that sort of leaked?

Peltason: I knew that he was to become the candidate, and I think they told the chancellors. And the chancellors' response was not very positive. They were polite but not positive, because they knew Gordon and liked Gordon, but he didn't seem to have any greater qualifications for being president than some of them.

Lage: How did you feel about him?

Peltason: I knew him, but not well. I knew that he'd be a different kind of president. He would lean more in the public relations side and be more out in the state. And maybe that's what the University of California needed, a president who would be out there more dramatically, more charismatically, carrying the torch. Again, I don't remember all the sequence of events, but I do remember he was all lined up to come, and then the newspapers started attacking him.

Lage: The local newspapers, again?

Peltason: Yes.

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Peltason: The local newspapers were attacking for some things that he'd alleged to have done with a football coach and when he was president of the University of Colorado.

Lage: Well, I remember stories that he had some of the same problems that maybe Gardner had had.

Peltason: That's right. They were starting to dig out things in his background. Then I got a call once--I was coming back from Sacramento. I can remember that somebody called me because Gordon Gee had started doing things, ordering things.

Lage: As if he'd already--

Peltason: --been president. I called up Roy and I intended to say, as politely and gently as I could, "Roy, would you please tell Gordon to go through me if he has to do these things, because people back here don't quite know what to do, because he hasn't been made the president yet." [laughs]

Lage: I didn't realize it was almost official.

Peltason: Gordon was out here, I think, to be announced that next day or so. And poor Roy, I couldn't bawl out Roy for not guiding Gordon to be quiet until he became president.

Lage: You were going to?

Peltason: Yes, I was all set to say, "Roy, tell Gordon to--" But he was crestfallen: "It's all over, it's all over. He's withdrawn." And I said, "Do you want me to do anything to help?" No, he was very bitter at Gordon. He thought that Gordon had let him down. He had accepted it, and they had negotiated and had terms.

Lage: They had already negotiated the terms?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: Why did he turn it down?

Peltason: I don't know.

Lage: You don't think it was the newspaper?

Peltason: I don't know. I could speculate. He went from here to Korea, or was it Hong Kong, someplace in Asia. He was out there in a hotel room hearing from Ohio State, which matched the California offer, and being told by them how much they wanted him while at the same time he was being told of headlines in the California papers attacking him. I would guess the Ohio State people are saying, "Don't leave us. We think you're wonderful," while the San Francisco papers are saying, "You're a villain." [laughter]

Lage: "We're going to give you a bad time." But you didn't talk to him directly?

Peltason: I never talked to him about it. When I asked Roy if he wanted me to, he said no. I think another effort was made to talk to Gordon, but then they went back to the drawing board.

There were two other things that happened. One was that newspaper stories came out that Chang-Lin Tien was going to become the new president. And when he didn't, he came to me quite hurt. We had a long conversation. I tried to explain to him that there was nothing wrong about being considered for president and not being made president. It happened to a lot of us, it happened to me in my career, it wasn't a personal affront. But he really was quite disturbed. I don't know this, and this is speculation, but I believe some of the

regents had inappropriately gone to him and said, "We're going to make you the president," without the support of the rest of the regents. Well, I think it was an injury from which he never recovered because he felt that he'd been promised something that hadn't been delivered. We didn't really get that from him, but I knew he was hurt.

Lage: And the public nature of it.

Peltason: The public nature of it. But again, I tried to assure him that the board had nothing but the highest esteem for him. It also came out--and I'm not even sure I should say this--but there were some negative comments conveyed to the Regents from some of the Berkeley faculty not wanting him to be president. I think he must have heard that, and that hurt him a bit. I even think the negative comments from the faculty who didn't want him to be president were in some ways to be interpreted as flattering. They wanted him as chancellor, but they--

Lage: Right, they didn't want him to move on.

Peltason: They felt that he was a great chancellor, but he wouldn't be a good president. I suppose he felt, as the chancellor of the Berkeley campus, that he ought to have been given that opportunity, but he wasn't, so he was hurt. I worked with the chairman of the board and others and, as a result, they considerably upped his salary to try to make it clear that he was supported.

Now, Dick Atkinson is a long-time friend of mine. And I didn't think Dick wanted to be president.

Lage: You said that when you were chosen.

Peltason: Yes, Dick had been outstandingly successful at UC San Diego. UC San Diego is a campus that, of all the new campuses, got to the big time fastest.

Lage: How long was he chancellor there?

Peltason: For a long time [1980-1995]. And he was getting into his late sixties. I knew that Rita loved San Diego and Dick loved San Diego. Dick had always been a good chancellor, but he had not been particularly active with the Regents. I don't want to make too much of this--he did his job with the Regents--but he didn't hang around Regents' dinners, and he'd go home early. I just assumed that he was signalling, "I've had a nice career." And he's a man of independent means. He's been very successful in his work as a textbook writer and he sold one of his

companies, so I saw this very successful man. I also felt that he would not want to go through the intrusion into his private life that would come with becoming president. So I figured, when asked would Dick make a good president, "Sure, but you know, he's got it made in San Diego. I don't think he'll want to go anywhere else." I was totally surprised when he said he wanted to be a candidate.

Lage: So he put forth his candidacy?

Peltason: I was not privy to any of the conversations, but apparently the search committee went and chatted with him and he said, "Yes, I would be glad to be president."

Lage: How had he been on the Council of Chancellors? Had he been an active participant there?

Peltason: Yes, active, but Dick didn't like confrontation, so whenever the noise level got too high he'd just walk out.

So I was very pleasantly surprised we'd get a veteran chancellor of the system, who knows his way around, was willing to do so, was prepared to have his record examined again. And I'm very pleased that he became my successor. It was a rough transition because of the Gordon Gee thing and Tien's hurt. But he's sane, sensible, he's brilliant, and he works hard at being president.

Lage: And being older, his tenure wouldn't be expected to be lengthy.

Peltason: Yes, that's right, although whereas I said three to five years, I think Dick said at least five. [laughter]

Lage: Did you do an elaborate transition process?

Peltason: No. Dick's been around a long time. In retrospect, I don't think the transition that David and I did--it was with the best of intentions, but I think the new president needs to come in and just take over. The time that I was president-designate but not president was much harder than just being president. And Dick didn't need any transition from me.

Lage: He'd been around.

Peltason: He'd been around, and he'd been part of the University of California, and he and I have had, and continue to have, serious, long conversations. He's been very generous and sought my advice and still seeks my advice. I was pleased to turn over to him an Office of the President that was well

functioning, that was financially solid, that had come through the crises so that he didn't face any of those problems that I faced.

And I was pleased that when I left, I left without turmoil about the financial terms with which I left, I think in large part because we had given up so many items of our compensation. David [Gardner] and most of the chancellors and I differ on the wisdom of our giving up so much. I can't speak for them, but the general tone of some of their thoughts was that to give up what you are legally and appropriately and fairly entitled to would be construed by opponents of the university as being a confession that there was something inappropriate about administrators' compensation and would put pressure on other administrators to give up what they had earned. I understood that argument but didn't agree with it.

When the Regents appointed me in April, 1992, the terms of my compensation were not unlike those of David and were not thought to be controversial or inappropriate. They had been agreed to by the Regents, all voting for them except one, and all terms made public. There was no criticism I was aware of about my compensation package in the newspapers or by any university group.

By the time of my leaving, after the major budget crisis and all the debates over administrative compensation, the environment had changed. By that time I had voluntarily given up the benefits from non-qualified deferred income provisions, a supplementary retirement provision, a housing allowance, and an administrative leave. So when the newspapers asked about the terms and conditions of my leaving, none of these items were an issue. So I left without the university being attacked once again for overcompensating administrators. As I have said: the two best things a president can do for a university is to come, and to go.

Lage: [laughs]

Peltason: I was glad that I came, and I was glad to go without that issue.

Lage: But Dick had the affirmative action and the admissions policy to work out.

Peltason: He had the affirmative action thing to work out. And he had to do some further restructuring in the Office of the President. Some of the issues which you and I have talked, about which I

had started to make the transition from Gardner's time to my time, Dick was able to complete.

Lage: Well, good. Is there anything we've missed, in terms of presidency, do you think?

Peltason: Well, I think when you've finished, and when I've finished reading the oral history, I'll probably have some more things to say. [laughter]

Balancing Administrative and Academic Duties

Lage: I wanted to ask you how you ever found time to keep revising your textbook and keep up in your profession during all of this?

Peltason: I've said this before: I learned to use fifteen minutes. Did I talk about that?

Lage: You may have when we were talking about the textbook.

Peltason: If I had a 10:00 appointment and somebody was not due to come in and see me until 10:30 or 10:25, I would take out the manuscript and revise my textbook in the ten or fifteen minutes. I made as a condition of taking that job always that I could do that. And so I would work on it a little bit all the time. And because I didn't take long vacations, I would go to political science meetings and be on panels. I always kept up my political science affiliations. I never was as an administrator able to do original scholarship; I couldn't go out and interview people. But by revising textbooks and also having co-authors, I had a commitment: it made money and that gave me an incentive, and because I had a co-author, if I didn't meet my deadline, a whole bunch of people would suffer. By keeping up with the textbooks, you have to keep up with the field; you have to read the newspapers. Then the coming of the computer saved me because it was a refreshingly new thing to use. And now there's the web. But it's a question of priorities. I don't play golf and so I'd work on weekends. And I didn't have any other hobbies--being a political scientist was my hobby.

Lage: It had to become a hobby as you went in so heavily to administration. I just wanted to mention what I saw on your coffee table last time, the translation of your textbook into Mandarin. I think that's pretty impressive.

Peltason: That's a big kick.

Lage: Now was that in mainland China or in Taiwan?

Peltason: That's mainland China. It's been translated in a few other countries.

Lage: It just seems very significant to me that the Chinese are going to be studying American government through your textbook.

Peltason: I don't know to what extent it's being circulated there. I felt sorry for the poor scholar who did it because he was working on that for years. Every time he'd get a translation ready to go, we'd come out with a new edition and he was told he couldn't publish it--they had to publish a new one. Tom Cronin and I had to write to somebody in USIA and say, "Let this poor guy publish it." So I think the 1990 edition came out in 1998.

Lage: Well, that's probably not too many changes. But who would check on the translation to be sure that he'd gotten the sense right? Did anybody?

Peltason: No.

Lage: [laughter] So who knows what it says?

Peltason: I don't know what it says, that's right.

Service on Corporate and Foundation Boards

Lage: We need to talk about service on boards while you were president. That's something we didn't talk about and I guess that became something of an issue. But aside from being an issue, I'm interested.

Peltason: Unlike most university presidents, I did not serve on any corporate boards until the very end. I didn't because I wasn't asked. It wasn't that I wouldn't have liked to have. But when I thought I was retiring as chancellor, I said to some of my friends in the Orange County area, "I'm about to retire as chancellor." And they said, "How would you like to be on our boards?" And I said, "Sure, I'm about to retire." These were all in Orange County, so I didn't have to travel much. I think there were three corporate boards.

Then when I became president, unexpectedly, I didn't immediately get off those three corporate boards. And then I was on the board of some nonprofit corporations, like TIA-CREF. That's the big pension firm. It's not a publicly held corporation. I had a policy when I was president that being president came first, and if I missed two corporate board meetings I would retire. As a result I retired from most of the boards while I was president, at a big financial cost in one case because I didn't get a chance to cash in any options. But I served on those boards, and I found that it was a very helpful thing to do as a university chancellor and president and have continued to encourage other officials to do a modest amount of that.

Lage: What is the value?

Peltason: Just to see how another complex organization operates. And you learn some things. You learn things which are immediately useful to you and your own administration. Also, you make contacts for the university. I got to know some people in the business world. It broadens your horizons. The biggest board I was on was Western Digital [Corporation], but I had to give that up when I became president because I missed two board meetings. But most of the boards that I was on were corporations located in Orange County, and I never was invited to serve on the General Motors or the Fords or the Bank of America.

Lage: Do those organizations usually have a university president on their boards?

Peltason: Yes.

Lage: As sort of a matter of course?

Peltason: They like to have somebody from the world of higher education, and now I'm on nonprofit boards--foundation boards--which are also useful experiences and a little variety of life.

Retirement Activities: The Bren Foundation, Service to UCI, and Family

Lage: You're president of the Bren Foundation?

Peltason: Oh, yes.

Lage: Is that current?

Peltason: Yes. Unfortunately, I retired at an age when I'm too old to get on boards. [laughter] Most boards don't pick people in their seventies. But there are some that do, and I'm now moving from boards that pay me to boards that I pay, like the United Way board or the Irvine Barclay Theater board.

Lage: Part of the commitment is that you'll be a leadership donor?

Peltason: That's right. But the board which I'm on which is the biggest one and that I am president of, is the Bren Foundation. That's worthy of some comment. I've commented during my career on how I got to know Donald Bren and admired him. In anticipation of my coming back from the UC presidency, he asked me if I would head up his foundation. Mr. Bren's foundation is the instrument he uses to make gifts to the university and other groups, and it will someday become one of the major foundations in California. We've picked a board now, and in my retirement service I spend about half my time, sometimes three-quarters of my time, helping him. So far the chief beneficiaries of his generosity have been the University of California, so as I've said before, it's the perfect job for a retiring president. He pays me to give his money to the University of California.

Lage: That's wonderful. Now as president, are you an executive officer?

Peltason: Yes, the board is made up of Mr. Bren and five others. So there are six members of the board. He's the chairman of the board and I'm president of the board.

Lage: Then do you oversee a staff?

Peltason: No, I'm it. I was thrilled in December to sign, as president of the Bren foundation, two pledges to the University of California. We pledged \$5 million to the Irvine campus and \$15 million to the Office of the President for a school of environmental science and management.

Lage: Wow.

Peltason: That's kind of an exciting thing to sign my name to. I said to my friends, I'm not at all worried promising to pay \$20 million--I would be worried if I promised to pay \$20,000--because behind that pledge is a pledge from Mr. Bren to the foundation to provide the money.

Lage: I see. So the foundation is just kind of an intermediary.

- Peltason: That's right. In the future it will hold large shares of his wealth. But at the moment he transfers the money to the foundation.
- Lage: And most of it does go to the university, or are there other beneficiaries?
- Peltason: He's also given to the public schools of Tustin, Newport Beach, and Irvine. And I anticipate that in the course of the next several years they will give to more different groups in southern California. He's gone with me to meet with executives of foundations, and I've brought other executives of foundations to come meet with him. He's a very serious person; he wanted to be sure his foundation is set up to accomplish what he wants it to do.
- Lage: So you're kind of helping him begin a foundation, it sounds like?
- Peltason: I'm helping him start a foundation which one of these days will be one of the big foundations in California.
- Lage: That's very exciting.
- Peltason: It's exciting.
- Lage: Will it rival the Hewlett Foundation in size?
- Peltason: It'll be in that category. The Irvine Foundation is another foundation that was created out of the wealth of the Irvine Company by Donald's predecessors, and so just as there's an Irvine Foundation, there'll be a Bren Foundation. There is a Bren Foundation.
- Lage: It will start to have more of a staff.
- Peltason: That's right.
- Lage: And the Irvine Foundation has no connection?
- Peltason: None whatsoever.
- Lage: Do you have any connection with the Irvine Foundation?
- Peltason: No. I mean I know the people, but no connection.
- Lage: Do you think that Donald Bren and the foundation will continue to have this very close connection to the university?

Peltason: I would be confident. He sees the university as a major instrument for the quality of life for the people of California, both in generating economic wealth and culture. He wants to reinvest his wealth back in the neighborhood where he acquired it, and so his interests are in environment and management, medicine, conservation, visual arts--he's an art collector. It's an interesting experience and one in which I feel that my experience can be valuable to him and help him do what he wants to do. And what he wants to do is something that I like to see get done.

Lage: It's a good match. What other things are you doing? I know when you retired you mentioned political science activities at Irvine. [See Appendix G]

Peltason: Yes, the department has been very kind to me, and I'm playing a role as a senior statesman around the campus. I help in the fundraising development. Because I know many people in the Orange County area, I'm helping in a major campaign for the Irvine Biomedical Center. I'm helping the dean of the school of arts in her program to expand the quality of the theater program. I'm helping the Barclay Theater program, and I am helping start a fundraising program in social science. I think every day I meet with or consult with somebody on the campus, or place a call on behalf of somebody on the campus in helping the campus. I'm an unpaid member of the development staff.

Lage: [laughs] You're not really retired.

Peltason: In my retirement I've stayed very busy. As I explained, there's a big difference between being busy and being responsible. I mean, I am not one to retire. I don't know what to do except to work, but it's not nearly the tension--you don't go to bed at night with the feeling that the whole university's on your shoulders. And I carefully stay out of all personnel conflicts. I don't believe that a senior faculty member should be asked to participate in the department politics. But I spend maybe a fourth of my time in helping the university, as I say as an unpaid consultant in development. Half to three-quarters with Donald's work and then political science activities make up the other fourth.

Lage: You'll never really retire, I'm sure. [laughs]

Peltason: If my retiring means just sitting around--no. I don't have hobbies, which I wish I did. And my wife doesn't like to travel. People say, "Well, you can spend more time with your grandchildren." The answer is, "Well, they haven't retired."

Lage: That's right.

Peltason: I spend as much time as they're free to be with me, but they have full lives.

Lage: I always like to end on a family note. You keep in very close touch with your children and grandchildren, I've noticed.

Peltason: Yes, I have my kid-of-the-month plan. I try to organize my life so I will see a child or a grandchild at least once a month, and I've been more or less successful. I still don't travel enough to the East Coast to see those there, as I dropped off the boards on the East Coast. I'll have to work harder to go see them. But we use family occasions to try to get everybody together.

Then the other thing I explain to people: you can always buy a kid.

Lage: [laughs] Tell me about that.

Peltason: You just call them up and say, "Will you come?"--you know, get your granddaughter to come out here and spend two weeks with you if you send her a ticket. [laughs] Tell your daughter to come and bring one of her kids if you pay her way.

Lage: It's worth it.

Peltason: Just buy a kid.

Lage: [laughs] That's great. Anything you want to add here as we're finishing up?

Peltason: No, I enjoyed very much this chatting with you, and, of course, as I read it over, I'm sure that I'll remember other things, but you've been very helpful.

Lage: Okay, we're going to stop.

Peltason: Very good.

Addendum

Peltason: Two items; one minor, one not so minor: [added by Dr. Peltason during the editing process]

Sometimes it is a bunch of small things that count: let me mention first a trivial one. It used to bother me that living in California I had to work in sealed buildings, which have to be constantly air conditioned or heated. Here we are living in Orange County where the outside temperature varies from 40 to 80, but no buildings have windows you could open. I failed to persuade architects, or engineers, or planners, or vice chancellors for administrations to be adventurous and design and build some buildings with that modern invention known as the window that opens. Finally, when we came to the social science building, which was to house no animals or complex equipment, just people, I insisted on opening windows. I received study after study showing why opening windows would be a bad idea: it would cost too much, upset air conditioning and heating, and bring the world to an end. But I persisted, and the building was designed and built with windows that open, just a little bit. I am pleased to report that there are now studies being distributed which point to this building as an example of the virtues of opening windows as the wave of the future.

P.S. I forgot to ask about elevators: the building has the slowest elevators ever built. Which also reminds me, I wish there were a better way to pass along experience, not merely from one generation to the next, but from one campus to another.

Another accomplishment, for which I am proud, beyond getting the Illini Union to add a soup and sandwich to the menu, was helping Dennis Smith bring to UCI and the entire University of California a program called CAMP, which I think stands for California Alliance for Minority Progress. CAMP is a major NSF-funded program to increase the number of minority engineers and scientists. The program is headquartered at UCI, involves all the campuses of UC as well as most of those of CSU. It identifies minority students in high schools who show some interest in science and engineering and then monitors them through their early years in college, providing special help in mathematics. There are special seminars, there are ways to involve parents, there are programs to get the students involved in laboratories of senior professors. The aim of the program is by 2000 to double the number of minority graduates in science and engineering from the 1990s. It involves business leaders, educational leaders, and has been successful in meeting most of its stated goals.

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CENTENNIAL
YEAR 1967-68

FACULTY LETTER

FROM THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT · UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

No. 146A, October 4, 1967

New Year Convocation Address by Chancellor Jack W. Peltason

The following is the text of the New Year Convocation address given by Chancellor Jack W. Peltason, of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, at the Assembly Hall on September 24. This was his first official address as Chancellor.

I am aware that our honored guests — the students — are probably in no mood to listen to a long speech about education. I share your impatience. These days one can hardly turn around without being forced to listen to a long, and often cliché-ridden, address about higher education, at the conclusion of which the speaker, with great courage and conviction, comes out in favor of excellence. Perhaps we should spend less time talking about education and more time becoming educated.

Nonetheless, today I am going to talk with you — but briefly — about my notions of a university. I am not so misguided as to believe that my notions will make much difference to you. I know that what a chancellor thinks, says, and does has little impact on what happens at a university. But since I am new, and since you might have some curiosity about my views and values, perhaps it is appropriate for me to state what standards will guide me as I assume the new, demanding, challenging, and most exciting responsibilities of this office.

It is important to be clear about what we think a university is, and what it is not, what we conceive to be its primary missions, and what we think to be inappropriate functions. For I believe that much of the current criticism of universities by persons outside of the university world, and much of the current dissatisfaction expressed by some within the university, stem from differing notions about what a university should be.

Some seem to think that a university is, or should be, a kind of intellectual factory or a filling station for knowledge. The ideal university for those with such expectations consists of a collection of ivy-covered buildings, clean-cut looking students, with all the coeds looking and acting like Doris Day, and all the men of the kind we would be proud to introduce as our son-in-law. At this hallowed institution, students take courses from kindly Mr. Chips, who patiently teaches them what they need to know in order to be useful citizens.

Into this environment go eighteen-year-old children. Four years later, out they come, unchanged in behavior and values, different only in that they have been stuffed

full of useful knowledge and have acquired some social poise. The income level of each student has been insured, the manpower needs of society have been met, and everybody is happy.

A slight modification of this concept of a university gives more emphasis to the social aspects of collegiate life. Here the view resembles that of a 1930 Jack Oakie film where down at the Malt Shop Betty Grable is inspiring the halfback, coached by kindly Pat O'Brien. The next day our hero makes the final touchdown that causes the crusty old graduate to change his mind, and to make the financial contribution that will save the college, so that the dean's daughter can wed with bliss the old graduate's son.

These finishing-school, musical-comedy, adult baby-sitting conceptions of a university rest on the assumption that the purposes of a university are to civilize the young and to insure that, on graduation, each student will agree with his parents. Some who hold to this view are willing to concede that it is all right to let students *think* that they are challenging important values, provided care is taken to insure that the challenging takes place under controlled circumstances and under the guidance of reliable men. Students may be allowed to raise questions, provided they do not come up with the "wrong answers."

Those who hold this concept of a university are willing to accept some occasional student exuberance in the form of football rallies and panty-raid riots — for boys will be boys — but such exuberance in behalf of any serious social concern is beyond the pale. If students seriously challenge widely held social values, then it is time for administrators to be tough.

This model is, of course, a corruption of some aspects of a university. I support fully, and recognize completely, the legitimacy of the desires of individual students to go to a university to find a husband or wife, and to acquire knowledge that will be useful to them in earning a living. I believe that a university should provide society with educated leaders for business, industry, agriculture, and the professions. I do not object to students, while at a university, learning how to get along with people. In fact, learning to respect the views of others and skepticism about one's own infallibility are the hallmarks of a learning man. Nonetheless, I reject

the parody that would turn the university into a glorified finishing school. A university's mission is not the cultivation of manners. If this were its goal, we would not have to build laboratories or libraries or to search the nation for that most scarce of all national resources — a college professor. We could build some nice living quarters and provide some extracurricular activities that would keep students occupied until they attained marriageable age.

It is not possible today, if it ever was, to prepare men and women for business and the professions, for productive and responsible citizenship, merely by stuffing them full of facts. Education is not a subject matter or a series of subject materials; it is a process. To use the language of Marshall MacLuhan, students must be programmed, not for data but for discovery. The purpose of a formal education is to make it unnecessary for people to depend upon formal education in order to become educated, a life-long process.

Even if we could teach students all they need to know within four years, or forty years, much of what we would teach them would be obsolete by the time they left the campus. As a teacher of mine once said: "Half of what I am teaching you is wrong; the only trouble is, I don't know which half."

Learning is not a passive activity; students are not empty-headed robots waiting for teachers to pour knowledge into their heads. Learning is something that *happens* to an individual; it *changes* him. So parents should not be surprised or disappointed when they find that Johnny returns home a changed person. If he is *not* different, then something is wrong.

Debate, discussion, controversy, questioning, exposure to views and values with which we strongly differ are not frills; rather they are the very heart of the instructional process. A controlled or limited or prescribed education is a contradiction in terms.

If your aim is to have students go to college with assurances as to how "they will turn out," with guarantees as to what they will think, then college is risky. But I have a strong belief in the soundness of the essential principles of our free system, and I have profound faith in the abilities of our sons and daughters, so I have no qualms about the results that flow from educating them. But I can give no guarantees as to what our students will believe or how they will behave, for educated men and women are the slaves of no one.

I also find unacceptable and incomplete another view of the university, a view that might be considered at the other extreme from the finishing school model. This is the view of a university as an autonomous instrument for promoting social, economic, and political reform. Many of those who hold to this notion believe that a campus should be an arena on which to stage and to implement political movements. And in dealing with both community and campus issues, they tend to favor the tools and tactics that are more frequently, and I believe more appropriately, found in the world of political action. They encourage demonstrations, picketing, and strikes — all legal and legitimate devices of a

democratic political order, but all containing elements of coercion in order to impose their demands and views. They tend to disparage talk, debate, and discussion, and to be impatient with careful investigation and cautious generalization. But I think they overlook the fact that an academic community is the one place in a society where we should place primary reliance on solving problems and resolving differences through debate, discussion, reason, and investigation. Furthermore, I would also emphasize that it is the use of language — talk — that gives to mankind the essential means for discovery, storing, and transmitting knowledge, and it is the substitution of persuasion for force as a means of deciding policy that is the essential distinction between free and totalitarian societies.

I agree that a university must be part of the world. I know that on an alive and vital campus there will be encouraged, and must be encouraged, as an essential part of the educational experience, involvement in all the swirling currents of the society. Furthermore, not only do students and professors have the same rights to participate in the affairs of the community as do other members of society, but intellectuals have an important responsibility to the nation they serve, to function as independent, vigorous, and outspoken critics.

What I reject is the notion that a university, in its corporate capacity, should be an agent for directing particular political movements. Such a concept, in my judgment, is incompatible with, and undermines the primary responsibility of, the university to promote learning. Even more important, a claim by members of the university community to use the university as an institution to promote their own particular political and social views jeopardizes the university's claim to be immune from political accountability.

Faculty members must have academic freedom if they are to discover and transmit knowledge. This freedom of faculty and students from accountability to any outside agency of society for what they say, and for what they write, is not given to them as a personal privilege, but as an essential means for the pursuit of truth. As the history of investigation and instruction has convincingly demonstrated, a state and a nation lose the benefits that a university provides if any restraints are imposed on the freedom of faculty and students to hear, see, and say — if any disabilities are imposed on faculty or students because of what is taught, or because of objections to the political activities of individual faculty and students.

Academic freedom, then, is not only appropriate for a university, it is essential. Autonomy of the university from political controls, then, is not only appropriate for a university, it is essential. Furthermore, as a center for learning, the only standards appropriate for the university community itself to apply to its faculty and to its students are academic standards. A university, if true to its mission, never allows its judgments about its faculty or its students to be influenced by their religion, race, political attitudes, or any factors other than those relevant to the promotion of learning. And it is to imple-

ment these standards that we adopt rules of tenure in order to make it possible for a professor to investigate and to teach, to insure his freedom to pursue the truth without fear of being punished by those who hold power and disapprove of him or his views.

But those who govern us are judged by different standards and guided by different rules. Whereas a professor or a student should never be subject to any disability because his views are unpopular, those who govern us face, and should face, constant fear of job security if the views they espouse are unpopular. Congressmen and presidents, governors, and mayors and city councilmen do not have tenure; they are not entitled to academic freedom. On the contrary, we deliberately create institutions such as a two-party system, frequent and free elections, to insure that they live in constant fear of losing their jobs.

Thus, institutional autonomy and academic freedom, the indispensable conditions for a university, are inappropriate for those who seek to govern. As Sir Eric Ashby, Master of Clare College, Cambridge University, has paraphrased Dean Don K. Price of Harvard, "Universities are given a great measure of freedom to pursue truth, provided they do not turn aside to seek power. If they do seek power, they must pay the price, which is curtailment of freedom to pursue the truth . . . The University, as a corporate society, abjures all power."

A university cannot have it both ways — autonomy and independence that are essential for learning — and dependence and political accountability that are essential for governance.

Finally, we come to the more traditional notion of the university and the one that more closely approximates my own. This is the view of a university as a community of scholars. I would modify it and describe it as a *community for scholarship*. The trouble with the concept of the community of scholars is that it connotes a more total commitment, a more encompassing kind of relationship than is the fact. The rather medieval notion of the university as a community where men have taken a vow of scholarship, abandoned the world of power and the marketplace, in order to devote their full time and all their energies to the pursuit of truth in a kind of monastic community withdrawn from the world, does not describe a university of today, certainly not the University of Illinois.

Rather the university is a community for the important but limited purpose of scholarship. Neither the forty-year-old professors nor the eighteen-year-old students abandon all other roles when they join the university community. They have obligations to their families, to their churches, to their political parties, to their civic and political communities. They do not sell their souls to the university. They do join together for the purposes of learning, and their responsibilities are limited to this purpose.

This is why we build libraries, classrooms, and laboratories, why we recruit a faculty, appoint committees, develop curriculum, plant trees, operate dormitories, and have ceremonies such as the one this afternoon —

to assist some one individual to learn something, or create something of the mind.

The cutting edge of a university is what happens at the point of vital interchange between student and professors. And I shall measure every decision by the standard: Does it help a student learn? A teacher teach? Will it enhance the probabilities that a picture will be painted? A poem conceived? An idea born?

Our responsibility to you as students is to help you learn; not to learn for you, but to assist you to do your own learning. To the parents, I want to make it clear that this is the responsibility that my colleagues on the faculty and I assume. We are not indifferent to your son and daughter as total individuals; we know that they are not abstract learning machines and that all that affects them affects their ability to learn. But our especial competence, or especial responsibility, does not extend to their total life, total values, and total behavior. We do accept the responsibility of doing what we can to assist them to learn, and to create an environment in which they will acquire a respect for the pursuit of knowledge.

To the members of the community, I say, "Do not ask us to guarantee that our students will be attired in a manner that you approve, do not ask us as a university to certify to the soundness of their political beliefs and behaviors. If you have a quarrel with their morals, take it up with their parents, or take it up with them."

The standard for the evaluation of the university's interest in every issue should be its effect upon our educational mission. Our rules — our actions — our programs — all should reflect this interest and this relationship.

Of course, as a community for scholarship, we mean more than what takes place in a classroom. As a center for learning, we do have a responsibility for creating the conditions of learning, for free and open discussion, for maintaining the order that is the precondition for inquiry, and for drawing cleanly the line between a free debate and a free-for-all.

To paraphrase and to quote from my former colleague at the University of California, Irvine, Dean James March: "A university belongs to no one. It belongs to everyone. It is an association of free men . . . dedicated to ancient traditions of scholarship . . . A university faculty . . . offers commitment to the ideals and traditions of learning, not fealty to employer, office holder, or political subdivision . . . A university student is not an indentured adolescent. He is an intelligent and productive adult. His dedication is to a better future; if possible, with the support of his elders, teachers, parents, and rulers — but if necessary, without them . . . A university is not subject to negotiation. The cash price of a university is a decision of the market; whether the state is willing to pay that price is a decision of political leadership. The nature of the university, however, is not a decision to be made by anyone. It is a tradition we inherit and a trust we assume."

I wish to serve in that tradition. I ask your help in assuming that trust.

May 10, 1970

STATEMENT FROM CHANCELLOR

I have been asked by student spokesmen to cancel all classes next week. Others have urged that I suspend all campus operations. I have repeatedly said that I do not wish to take either course of action, as I believe the University must continue in its basic educational function.

There are issues which are dividing this campus and this country. These issues are far-reaching and of great importance. I believe that it is imperative for the University community to provide the opportunity for the free and rational discussion of these problems, and, hopefully, to show the way toward their solutions. Indeed, this is a part of the usual function of the University. But under present circumstances, many find they cannot conduct business as usual.

I therefore authorize each faculty member who wishes to do so to consider alternatives to regular classroom instruction during the week of May 11 in order to carry on discussions of the many problems which face our society, the ways in which the University can meet these challenges, and the ways in which individuals may play a constructive role in these perilous times. I personally believe that such discussions may be most effectively carried on in the classrooms, by classes meeting at their regularly scheduled times. This procedure will involve all of the students and teaching faculty and will guarantee a wide range of opinions and ideas. The instructor should make every effort to relate these matters to the subject for which he is responsible. But other means may also be used effectively: symposia, lecture series, conferences, and the like.

I call upon all departments, colleges, and other academic units to work with students in planning and implementing these activities.

I look forward to the many suggestions for improvements in our educational programs which these discussions will generate.

J. W. Peltason
Chancellor

STATEMENT TO THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY

In the few remaining days of this semester, I now ask faculty, students, and all others to join in creating here an atmosphere in which students may complete their study, teaching, and educational programs. In order to do that we must end disruptive and destructive acts and the constant threat of them. We must also begin to plan concertedly for improvement and change in our university. And we must create at once a mechanism for a long-term exchange of ideas among students, faculty, and administrators which will be necessary to improve our procedures for making change.

Let us begin these tasks by lowering our own voices and avoiding the inflammatory parading, milling and haranguing that encourages, incites, or is followed by destructive and disruptive acts. Individuals actually apprehended committing such acts, if students or faculty, will be expected to accept the full consequence, after immediate hearing consistent with University Statutes, of a prompt determination whether their remaining here is consistent with their own interests and the interests of others. Such acts have already resulted in immeasurable loss of time and energy and have required the diversion of funds otherwise available for our constructive programs and services. Everyone in this university has some responsibility for helping to stop these senseless acts before we suffer more tragic consequences for them.

Looking beyond the next few days, I am asking Vice Chancellor Frampton to arrange for the convocation of a commission of students, faculty and administrators to consider and suggest reform of all aspects of undergraduate educational experience and life.

I have been consulting with individuals and committees for some time about the aims and composition of such a commission but have been prevented by recent turmoil from making final plans for its creation. The events of recent weeks give it renewed urgency and will affect its direction and its perception of the problems it must attack. It will offer a prospect for translating peaceful protest and dissent into peaceful and effective action.

We have in mind that some forty or so students could be elected or otherwise selected through their respective colleges. These should be augmented with students chosen by student organizations. Faculty members and administrators in appropriate numbers will also be asked to serve.

Whether or not the Academic Faculty Senate reconstitutes itself, and whatever the nature of the student participation in such a reconstituted Senate, planning for this commission should begin today and should continue into and through the summer. An initial convocation of the commission to begin its discussions and work should be held in the fall at Allerton House or some similar site. The ability of responsible, representative and concerned faculty and students to talk and work together on their common problems in an atmosphere of decent respect for the views and persons of others should be reflected in the work of this group.

You and I may rightfully take pride that the efforts of many students, faculty and loyal nonacademic staff in many capacities have joined to achieve the distinction of keeping this campus open and its educational program functioning. Let us recognize these efforts by keeping it open so that we may have the opportunity to improve it.

J. W. Peltason
Chancellor

May 16, 1970

The promise, the vision, the course

The following is the inaugural address of UC's 16th president, Jack W. Peltason.

I have delivered inaugural addresses on two previous occasions, the first as chancellor of the Urbana-Champaign campus of the University of Illinois and the second as chancellor of UC Irvine. I did not expect to be giving a third, for a two-term limit is popular in America.

Let me set one thing straight right away. There has been some concern expressed about my age and the possibility that it could create a generation gap. I think that concern is exaggerated. I don't have any trouble getting along with older people.

In preparing for this address, I have looked at what some of my predecessors have done and said on the occasion of their inauguration. I looked first at the experience of Henry Durant, who served as president from 1870 to 1872. He gave no inaugural remarks, and in fact left the presidency of the university to run for mayor of Oakland in 1873. He was nominated by acclamation, his name appeared on three tickets, and not a single vote was cast against him. That must be some sort of record in the annals of elections, and his popularity, both as president of the university and as mayor of Oakland, has not been topped since then.

I think also of Daniel Coit Gilman, the university's second president, and Robert Gordon Sproul, its 11th. Each delivered an inaugural speech that ran to 29

pages. While I am impressed with their stamina — not to mention the stamina of their audiences — I am also mindful of what my father told me. He explained the theory of relativity by pointing out how much longer 30 minutes is when you are listening than when you are talking. So I will do my best to be as brief as my topic will allow, not only because I've always tried to take my father's advice, but also because I find that the more inaugural addresses I give, the shorter they get. I like to think I am capable of learning from experience.

I am committed to the fundamental ways in which the university has done its business for 125 years. The university does not have to be reinvented. The basic formula for building and maintaining a great university has been established by the experience of centuries. It is not difficult to comprehend. What is needed is to find and keep the finest teachers and scholars, bring them together with the sons and daughters of the people of California, provide them with the resources they need, and then get out of their way.

Nor do we have to redefine our mission. It is to transmit humanity's accumulated wisdom and knowledge to the next generation, add to that

knowledge, and distribute it as widely as possible to all the people of the world — in other words, the familiar academic triad of teaching, research, and public service.

Nor does the University of California need major fixing. While no one claims we are perfect or immune from criticism or accountability, the fact is that one of the things Americans in general and Californians in particular have done better than any other nation in the world is to provide the largest possible number of people with the best possible university education. That has been our goal for 125 years, and remains our goal for the next 125 years.

I would also emphasize the importance of what the noted scholar Jaroslav Pelikan calls the two fundamental intellectual virtues — free inquiry and intellectual honesty — as the very bases for the operation of our great university. These virtues continue to be under attack from both outside and inside the university, but I am committed to protecting them.

It is a fact, a regrettable fact, that we are often more alert and prepared to defend freedom of inquiry when attacked by those outside the university than we are to protect it from attack by those inside the academy. It is an equally regrettable fact that it is easier to maintain intellectual honesty when challenged by outsiders than when challenged by our own students and colleagues. We must, however, protect freedom to teach and to publish and insist upon intellectual honesty whatever the source of the challenge, and whether the challenge is on behalf of causes we hold dear or on behalf of causes we oppose.

I am committed to the principle and practice of shared governance, for which this university is justly famous. Working with the Academic Senate, I pledge to protect the principle and improve the practice. The day is long gone when an institution of this size and complexity could or should be the lengthened shadow of any one person. Ours is a deliberately and wonderfully decentralized organization.

I am committed to the federal structure of our university. We are not a single campus of 166,000 students, 7,400 faculty, and 123,000 staff. Rather, as

California grew our predecessors were wise enough not to meet the growing demand for access to the university by diluting the quality of Berkeley and forcing it to become a megacampus, swollen beyond the capacity of the resources available to it.

Instead they gradually developed a nine-campus system, and as each new campus was added it was allowed the independence to develop in its own way.

Most important, each was given the resources and responsibilities to seek to achieve the same high standards as those established at Berkeley. The university has consistently worked toward the creation of nine diverse but truly world-class centers of learning. I am looking forward to working with my colleagues on the campuses, and most especially the chancellors, with whom I have been proud to be associated in recent years.

Finally, I am committed to the belief that the single most important reason for the university's 125 years of success in both teaching and research is our faculty. Since I have been invited to serve as your president I am often interviewed and asked about my priorities. It is a difficult question to answer, because in singling out one priority there is the danger of being misunderstood.

There are many things that deserve the attention of the university's president. But I have never hesitated. My number-one priority is to do what I can to insure that we recruit and retain a world-class faculty. The university is more than its faculty, but the quality and distinction of its faculty are the University of California's most critical resource. I believe that never in history have so many men and women of such brilliance, such dedication, and such accomplishment been gathered together to serve under the auspices of a single university. One splendid indication of that is the presence on our faculty of 18 Nobel laureates.

As I told the Regents at the time I was appointed, never in the 125-year history of the university has it been stronger. At the same time, perhaps never has it been in greater peril.

In recent years the university, along with the rest of California, has endured tough economic times. As state revenues have declined, so has the university's budget, or at least that portion funded by the state of California. By 1989 we were already struggling with the early stages of a fiscal problem that has now become a crisis. Our budget would be \$700 million greater if over the past three years we had been given the funds to accommodate inflation and growth in our workload. Seven hundred million dollars is equivalent to the entire state-funded budget for the Los Angeles, Irvine, and Santa Cruz campuses combined.

These painful cuts have required equally painful measures. We have reduced the size of our faculty and staff through such means as attrition, layoffs, and early retirement — 4,400 faculty and staff retired last year through a special early retirement program called VERIP, for example, and our financial problems have made it necessary for us to offer it a second time.

We have been unable to give staff and faculty salary increases for the past two years in a row. We have cut our enrollments by 5,500 students, and may have to cut even more deeply. We have had to raise student fees. We have not bought urgently needed books for our libraries, instruments for our laboratories, or equipment for our classrooms. I wish I could say that these budgetary stringencies are likely to be one-time or short-term. Unfortunately, they are neither.

We do not ask or expect to be immune from constraints when our state and our nation are struggling with the same painful difficulties. We can tighten our belts along with the rest of the state and nation during a recession without permanently damaging the university or undermining its ability to deliver a high-quality education. It's worse when times are bad, of course. But even when our economy improves, the nature of our present state constitutional arrangements and federal mandates has the effect of threatening to deprive the University of California and our sister institution, the California State University, of the resources we will need to carry out our assigned and essential functions.

As a result of these arrangements, roughly 85 percent of the state's budget is allocated before our legislators or governor can make any decision about how California's revenues should be spent. The University of California, along with the California State University, has the unfortunate distinction of being part of the unprotected 15 percent of the state's budget. And each year the percentage of the budget available to support higher education becomes smaller and smaller.

This dramatic downturn in support is occurring at the very time when we are being asked to educate even more young men and women. We are being asked to do more with less, and we will do whatever we can to keep the doors open and quality high during these troubled times. But as a state we need to face the reality that, absent some clear plan of action, California is in danger of undermining our celebrated Master Plan and losing one of the world's greatest systems of higher education.

Whatever happens, in the years to come higher education in this state will face a dramatically changed environment. We need to organize ourselves to deal with new challenges. I am therefore taking the following actions, intended to accomplish two things. One is to address how best to preserve and enhance the quality of the university. The other is to make the best possible use of the immense reservoir of talent and ability in this university.

First, I am joining with the director of the California Postsecondary Education Commission and other higher education leaders in California in calling for an examination of ways and means of funding higher education in the 1990s. This examination would include a careful look at the state's budget process as it now stands and balance that process against the state's needs and priorities.

The ultimate goal is to work with our elected leaders to find ways to break up the budgetary gridlock that has made state spending so inflexible, leading, we hope, to a spending blueprint that reflects the growing needs and essential priorities of our state.

Second, I have launched a new alliance between California higher education and California business and industry, the California Business-Higher Education Forum. The most powerful engine of California's economy has been the unmatched education and skills of its people. Those assets are its greatest wealth, and they have been the direct product of the teaching and research conducted by this state's peerless system of higher education, with our university as its apex. And just as higher education has fired California's historic economic success, so it now stands as the state's best hope to resume our economic leadership. Cooperation between higher education and California's business community is a critical step in that direction.

The California Business-Higher Education Forum will bring together the presidents and chancellors of California's public and private universities and the leaders of some of the state's most important businesses. It will seek to focus on issues California business and higher education must confront, now and in the future, and explore ways to encourage excellence in higher education and enhance economic development in the state.

It will seek to take advantage of the natural congruence of interests between the state's wealth producers and the state's knowledge producers. Our universities and colleges cannot flourish unless the state prospers, and the state is not likely to prosper without strong universities and colleges. Those who

produce the wealth and those who produce the knowledge need to work together.

Third, I am asking the UC community — Regents, administrators, faculty, students, staff, and alumni — to join in a vigorous effort to improve every dimension of what we do, building on the excellent work of the transition team David Gardner and I appointed last spring. The purpose of the transition team is not just to help in the transition from one administration to another but from one era to another. The members, and particularly the chair of the transition team, Chancellor Young, have done an impressive job. They will provide us with a series of recommendations for improvement that will command our serious attention.

It is time now to bring in the larger University of California community to help us answer the many questions the transition team has been considering. Can we strengthen academic planning? Are we running our libraries and laboratories so that students and faculty get the best possible use of them? Are we managing our buildings and facilities at maximum efficiency? Do our present organizational arrangements — such as the relationships among the campuses and between the campuses and the Office of the President — make sense in the new environment we confront? Are we communicating as effectively as we can what the University of California is, what it means, and how it affects every aspect of life in California? These are among the issues and questions we will need to address, assess, and answer.

There is one issue in particular that will continue to have a central place in our plans for the future. That issue goes under the shorthand name of diversity, but it is really the central domestic issue of this nation, for it is the issue of how this university, this state, and this nation will work and live together into the next century. What happens on our university campuses will have much to do with our ability to forge an emerging new culture, a culture that is inclusive, varied, and respectful of difference, but which also unites us into a community that can live, work, prosper, and flourish in our constitutional democracy.

American universities and colleges, our nation's secular churches, are perhaps our most important institutions in creating this new culture. A college campus is one of the few places where men and women from different cultural, ethnic, and racial backgrounds meet, work, and live together. California's dynamic diversity is a living reality in our classrooms and laboratories and offices, and we are dedicated to expanding that diversity.

The University of California is one of the critical places where the common and combining pursuit of knowledge counterbalances the fragmenting forces in our society. People of different ages, different racial and ethnic heritage, different perspectives, and different occupations arrive on our campuses every day to take up the task of advancing, preserving, and transmitting knowledge. They are forging the future of California.

But it is not only in building the new culture that this university, along with other institutions of higher education, is so vital to our future. There is hardly a problem we face in which the university is not part of the solution. Whether it be how to protect our environment, improve our health, or advance our wealth, the university will play a central role.

That is why the University of California will survive and prosper. It is crucial to California's social vitality, its productivity, and the climate of opportunity which has created and sustained what has come to be known throughout the world as the California dream. Universities are hardy institutions and are built to last for centuries. Our task is not to build for the moment but for the ages, and from that longer-term perspective the University of California, in the words of the poet John Masefield, "stands and shines" as one of our state's and our nation's truly great accomplishments.

We are here today, celebrating that accomplishment, thanks to the contributions of many creative individuals: the visionary impetus of Daniel Coit Gilman; the long and steadfast service of Robert Gordon Sproul; the determined university-building of Clark Kerr; the faithful stewardship of Harry Wellman; the quiet and steady guidance of Charles Hitch; the tireless energy of David Saxon. And I must acknowledge a very personal debt to David Gardner, under whose leadership the university has grown in size, distinction, and intellectual reach. I am proud to join these immensely talented and dedicated individuals in serving the university and, like each of them, I am here because I believe profoundly in the University of California.

We have been given a great university. Today we launch a year-long commemoration of 125 years of achievement. It is an occasion to remember, with profound gratitude, those who have worked so devotedly to give this treasure to us. It is an occasion to rededicate ourselves to the noble task of preserving and enhancing this vast, creative, contentious, and complicated intellectual enterprise, an enterprise that has never been more important to California than it is today.

I am proud of the confidence you have shown in me, and I pledge to do everything in my power to deserve it.



THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

WARD CONNERLY
Regent

Connerly & Associates, Inc.
2215 21st Street
Sacramento, California 95814
(916) 456-4784
FAX: (916) 456-7672

December 21, -1993

Dear Chairman Leach
and My Fellow Regents:

Our November meeting was a very troubling one for many of us. Personally, I returned to the office and drafted a letter expressing some of my concerns; however, I thought it best to sleep on that letter and to see if the passage of time would alter my observations. Nearly a month later, the intensity of my concerns has not abated; therefore, I am proceeding to distribute my original letter to you.

There are many valuable lessons to be learned from our meeting and, specifically, the manner in which we handled the issue of compensation for our medical center executives. Rather than suffer in silence, and at the risk of offending some of my colleagues, I want to share some of my concerns and observations. Please understand that my comments are intended to be constructive and to bring into the open some of the concerns which I know are on the minds of many of us and which must be addressed if we are to effectively govern the UC system.

The Changing Character of the Regents: Just as the economy, the UC system, and virtually every other sector of our society is experiencing a transition in their structure, the UC Board of Regents is undergoing subtle changes. It is clear that our Board is at a rather fragile stage in this transition process. We can either recognize this fact and guide the outcome of what we are to become, or we can ignore what is occurring and run the risk of coming unravelled, fighting in public, and exchanging memos and letters which vent our frustrations with each other (sometimes in less than endearing terms).

Although one would expect an academic institution to foster and promote diversity of thought, it sometimes appears to me that our Board is not as tolerant as it should be of divergent views, whether those views are espoused by Professor Schwartz or whether they emanate from fellow Regents. Perhaps, I am alone in this having this sense of things, but I sometimes sense a certain Regental timidity about expressing a view that is not expected to be a majority viewpoint. I think this stems in large part from the atmosphere which we create. For example, we can inhibit debate by unwittingly demeaning something being said by one of our

colleagues. We can achieve this result in ways that are too numerous to mention.

If we do not observe certain rules of decorum, it is a virtual certainty that the UC Board of Regents will become a contentious body driven by personality disagreements rather than a deliberate body of individuals who respect and protect each other's right to disagree. I believe that when we discuss issues we should remember that our discussions are not contests with winners and losers. Spiking the table after a vote is taken by a member who was on the prevailing side of an issue probably does not fall within my own concept of decorum.

Misuse of "Closed Sessions": The fact that this issue was handled as a "closed session" item when, in fact, it dealt with classifications rather than exclusively with specific individuals is deeply troubling. This approach seems to me to violate the spirit, if not the letter, of legislation which our fellow Regent Bill Bagley has authored during his illustrious legislative career. I could sense his discomfort with what we were doing, and although I voted against the motion to debate this issue in open session, my sentiments were to the contrary. It seemed to me that to open the issue to public debate after the outcome was no longer in doubt would be a public charade, and I wanted no part of that.

Leaks to the Press: I could not agree more with Regent Brophy that it is a great disservice to UC and to one's fellow Regents to release communications and other documents to the media before they are discussed by the Board. Many of us have a great aversion to saying "no comment" when contacted by the media. Doing so tends to make it appear that we have something to hide or that we are less than forthcoming in our interaction with the public. Thus, we are forced to reveal our preliminary views on a given subject before we have had an opportunity to hear all perspectives on the issue. This is undesirable and is not in the best interests of UC or the Board as the governing body.

Lobbying Fellow Regents: Although the practice of lobbying fellow Regents is one which can be divisive and is frowned on by many of us, it is naive not to recognize that there will always be an individual in any organization who considers it his or her self-appointed duty to round up votes on any given issue. I am not referring to the chair, who is elected by our Board to exercise leadership, which includes trying to "guide" the Board on specific issues. I am referring to others who may lobby the Board before meetings, during breaks, at the traditional Thursday night dinners, and on other occasions. We cannot, nor should we even seek to, stop this practice. We should recognize, however, that when we are being lobbied we are receiving a biased or less than complete perspective of the issue.

Form of Governance: One of the most disturbing aspects of our last meeting, for me, was the clear enunciation by Regent Watkins, for whom I have the utmost respect and tend to be in accord on most

issues, of his view that a vote against the proposed salary increase was a vote of "no confidence" in President Peltason. While I have sensed this attitude among several of my fellow Regents prior to this meeting, never has that perspective been so clearly and so boldly enunciated.

Unless I am misreading their sentiments, the acceptance of the above view seems to have considerable currency, particularly among some of the more tenured members of the Board. I respectfully submit to my fellow Regents that this view of our role is at the heart of the movement to reform the UC Board of Regents. It is this view, in my opinion, which allows the public to believe that the Regents fell asleep at the wheel during the Gardner era.

The issue of effective governance is crucial to restoring public confidence in the University of California. "Effective governance" is more than voting to hire a President and voting "aye" on every issue placed before us by the President during his or her tenure. If we subscribe to this view, there is no reason for us to meet. This view might be appropriate for a corporate association. I confess to practicing this view as a Board member of the California Chamber of Commerce, the United Way and other associations which are not public in nature. For the UC, however, the public expects a more assertive form of management than this. They expect us to exercise a greater degree of diligence than simply ascertaining the preference of the President and the administration on a given issue.

If we embrace this view of our role, I am convinced that in the interest of efficiency of meetings, we will end up delegating more to the administration and our meetings will become little more than spirited debates about irrelevancies, with an occasional issue of substance presented to us.

So, I would urge all of us to reject this view of our role. It is not one which we can defend.

The Role of the Administration: In any organization or association, the administrative structure and personnel of that entity occupies a crucial role in the success of the operation. An effective governing body must, necessarily, entrust the administration with a high degree of confidence in carrying out the policies adopted by the Board. It would be foolish for the Board of Regents not to place a great deal of confidence in the UC administration. In the particular case of Jack Peltason, I am convinced that our confidence is well-placed. He has earned my confidence.

It is important for us to remember, however, that in an academic setting, the role of the administration is a rather unique one, in many respects. While the administration is the authorized agent of the Regents, the administration is also one of several constituencies which seeks to influence our decision-making. It would be naive for us not to recognize that the administration of

any deliberative body will have its own agenda, from time-to-time, and will be manipulating (I don't mean this in a negative sense) the Board to achieve the outcome desired by the administration. Certainly, we should all recognize that the decision of what issues to place on the agenda, when to schedule them for discussion, what briefing materials to provide to the Regents, who should conduct the briefings, the format of the hearing, and the amount of time to be devoted to specific issues, are matters largely within the purview of the administration. Any competent administrator will fully exploit these controls and will manipulate events as much as is possible to achieve the desired result. I have no problem with that. In fact, I expect and want it to happen.

It is important, however, that the governing body set standards of accountability for the administration. Since our administrators have the highest level of access to us -- they dine with us, they confer with us during the intervals between meetings, and they have virtually unlimited opportunities to make their case at Regents' meetings -- it is imperative that our administrators be required to meet a consistently high standard accountability with regard to the facts and recommendations which they present to us. If we do not do this, there will be a tendency for us to embrace their recommendations not because they are best for the University but because we simply want to demonstrate our "confidence" in them.

If we accept the view that the administration is a "constituent" member of the University family, like the faculty, the students, the alumni, and others, then it becomes easier for us to accept the notion of accountability.

With regard to this issue, I am often uncomfortable with the fact that we place severe time constraints on other parts of our constituency, but we allow chancellors to make their input during discussions which, frankly, should be confined to the Regents and to have the last word on presentations given by others. For example, I considered it unfair for us to allow Chancellor Young to give the appearance that he was making impartial observations with respect to several items which were discussed at the last meeting when, in fact, his views were not impartial. This is particularly troubling to me when it occurs at the end of testimony given by others and they have no opportunity to respond to what the administration has to say with respect to their testimony.

Given the fact that our Board is a rather large one, and there is not unlimited time for Regents to discuss the issues, it might be of value for us to consider confining discussion to the Regents (this of course includes the President) after a certain point in all matters appearing before the Board.

Chairing Meetings: At the outset, I want to commend Regents Khachigian and Howard Leach for the even-handed manner in which they have chaired Board meetings during my tenure on the Board. The following comments are not directed at them. Having said that, I believe it is extremely important for those who chair Regents'

meetings (committees or otherwise) to be impartial, and not to let their personal positions intrude into their conduct of the meetings. Although I know that Regent Bagley was well-intentioned in his effort to forge a compromise on the medical hospital executive compensation issue, it did not please many of us to have a compromise offered before the debate had even begun. To suggest that we approve half of the proposed salary increase when some Regents had not even made up their minds about whether a raise should be approved at all seemed inappropriate. Chairs should not try to predetermine or to orchestrate the outcome of issues before the Board. Doing so is what generates the criticism that "filibustering" is taking place.

For those of you who took the time to read this, I appreciate your attention. And, to any of you who felt that my comments were directed at you, please do not take offense. My objective is genuinely to be constructive and to bring out into the open some of the concerns which, I know, more than one of us has about our Board.

Have a joyous holiday season!!

Sincerely,


Ward Connerly



JW PELTASON
President

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
300 Lakeside Drive
Oakland, California 94612-3550
Phone: (510) 987-9074
Fax: (510) 987-9086

January 4, 1994

Regent Ward Connerly
Connerly & Associates, Inc.
2215 21st Street
Sacramento, California 95814

Dear Ward:

I am reluctant to extend the correspondence stimulated by your December 21st letter because of the danger that our differences will become exaggerated, and misconstrued. There is much in your letter with which I agree; I certainly and enthusiastically endorse your concerns that the University be open to all perspectives and all points of view, for example, and that the Regents play a critical role in linking us with the public we serve. And I appreciate your recognition that the administration is to be entrusted "with a high degree of confidence in carrying out the policies adopted by the Board." But I am afraid that your letter could be interpreted to suggest that the administration's recommendations to The Regents are to be given much the same weight as those from any other constituency, and that is a point to which I feel obligated to respond.

The Board of Regents is not an impartial judicial hearing body, a legislative committee, or a court of law. A meeting of the Board of Regents should not be conducted like a legislative hearing, a meeting of a city council, or a presentation before an impartial court in which various persons come before it to argue their cases. Although there are circumstances and issues in which the Board solicits a wide variety of comments and hears from a number of different constituencies, the Board is not there to balance among competing claims and pick and choose which it will support.

The Board of Regents is the governing body of a great university, an incredibly complex multicampus university. The administration--and this is also true of the Academic Senate--is not just one of many constituencies, but is the Board of Regents' *chosen and publicly designated agent* in whom it has vested confidence and to whom it has delegated responsibility to manage the University. The Bylaws and Standing Orders of The Regents recognize this role in designating the President, Chancellors, Laboratory Directors, and several other senior administrators as Officers of the University.

Regent Ward Connerly
January 4, 1994
Page 2

The Board, by its policies, has instructed the President and the Chancellors to consult with constituencies--faculty, staff, students, alumni, and external publics--prior to bringing a recommendation to the Board. By the time a recommendation is presented to the Board it has been through an elaborate consultative process, appropriate for the particular recommendation at issue. Such a recommendation, appropriately, should come to the Board with a *very strong presumption that it will be supported*. Of course the Board should not be a rubber stamp. Of course it should ask tough questions. Of course it can turn down recommendations. I also agree with you that every time a Regent or the Board votes against a recommendation of the President, such action should not be construed as a vote of no confidence in the President. However, if there is a pattern in which a Board member consistently votes against key recommendations which the President and Chancellors believe to be in the best interest of the University, almost by definition this becomes a vote of no confidence by that particular Regent. For a vote of no confidence is not a personal judgment about a particular person's motives or good will or character, but a vote that one in general believes that the President and the Chancellors are not carrying out policies and bringing to the Board recommendations that will preserve and enhance the University of California.

Although I think you did not intend it, your comments could be interpreted as saying that the Board considers recommendations from the President and the Chancellors as merely one among several competing recommendations from various constituencies. For the Board to send such a signal would radically undermine the authority of its officers and make it extraordinarily difficult for them to bring tough or controversial recommendations. Such a method of governing would not work in the best of times. In times of budgetary stress, when painful decisions have to be made, it would be impossible.

A word about the Chancellors. Each Chancellor is the head of a major university, carrying out the policies of the Board of Regents and the President. They are on the firing line. They spend much of their time trying to build consensus among the various constituencies on the campus. They are key persons with whom I consult in presenting recommendations to the Board, and they participate with me in responding to questions and explaining our recommendations. The Chancellors deserve the Board's deepest respect and are entitled to be heard and to present to the Board their best judgments about what is in the welfare of their campus.

Regent Ward Connerly
January 4, 1994
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Let me also add that the Board has delegated to the Academic Senate the responsibility for bringing to the Chancellors and to the President the views of the faculty, as well as direct responsibility for certain key matters. One should not confuse the recommendations of an individual faculty member, no matter how strongly held or fervently expressed, with the view of the faculty. To do so would equally undermine the delegation the Board has made to the Senate.

The University of California is not an internal democracy in which we decide what is in its long-run best interest by a polling of votes. On the other hand it is also not a command structure, which is why we do our best to secure a consensus among the various groups that make up the University community. Yet especially in these tough times, the administration simply must take responsibility, after consulting with the faculty and other members of the University community, for recommending to The Regents what is in our judgment in the long-run best interest of the University and the students and public it serves, even if those recommendations are not always popular.

I will be glad to discuss this further if you wish, as well as the other issues raised in your letter. In the meantime, I'm looking forward to working with you and the other members of the Board in 1994. I also want to say how much I appreciate the many kindnesses and courtesies you have shown me during the past months.

Cordially,

/s/ J. W. Peltason

J. W. Peltason

cc: Members of the Board of Regents

Inside the halls of power at the University of California

UNIVERSITY of California President Jack Peltason convened on March 2 a video teleconference of the top executives of the financially troubled system. Chancellors are chief executives at each of the nine university campuses, with 165,000 students, 7,400 faculty members and a budget of \$9 billion for 1993-1994.

Peltason, a political scientist, says the Council of Chancellors meets monthly "to provide a candid forum for the broadest discussion of ideas in order to make well-crafted administrative decisions."

After *The Examiner* was provided with a verbatim account of the meeting and began publishing reports about it, a statewide controversy erupted over both the content and the tone of the educators' remarks. Two regents and state Sen. Quentin Kopp, I-San Francisco/San Mateo, called on Peltason to resign.

Peltason refused. Instead, he asked the UC police and the FBI to investigate what he has called the "apparent illegal bugging" of the "video conference," which was conducted with television hookups at three sites.

In letters distributed to the Legislature and to thousands of UC employees, Peltason complained that *The Examiner* stories "created a distorted image."

Here, from a confidential news source, are verbatim excerpts from the meeting. Breaks in the dialogue are shown by ellipses (...) Explanatory additions are in italics, enclosed by parentheses.

— Lance Williams

The toughest position

(Before Peltason arrived, other UC officials clashed over a plan to offer a UC-Berkeley administrator a raise of \$34,000 — from \$116,000 to \$150,000 — to take a new job at UC-San Francisco. Vice Presidents Wayne Kennedy and Walter Massey



UC President Jack Peltason

and UCLA Chancellor Charles Young argued the raise was justified because an outside candidate had wanted even more money. When UC-Berkeley Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien vowed to "go public" with his opposition, the other officials backed off. The official's pay was later set at \$144,500, a UC spokesman says.)

Kennedy: My personal opinion is, next to UCLA this is probably the toughest vice chancellor position in the system because of the problems in San Francisco — the campus is in extraordinarily bad shape from a managerial, administrative point of view...

The only issue that could possibly be on the table is whether it makes sense to give a current university employee this size increase that's being proposed, but I think the job certainly merits 150...

Tien: He has had a 7 or 8 (percent) increase just January. Now they're proposing another 21 percent. That means nearly 28, 29 (percent raise)...

I talked to Steve (*Stephen J. Barclay, the candidate*). He would have accepted 135... There's no reason to make it higher at this time in order to get him, because he will not even have to sell a house and so on.

I like Steve... but we have to put the university — (*sentence trails off, he apparently means putting the university "first."*)

This is definitely going to leak out...

Dan Boggan's (*Barclay's boss at Berkeley*) salary is 135, 136. I raised that, and I got tremendous heat, and now suddenly a person much lower suddenly gets 150.

I think there is something wrong in the system. It creates so much problem at the Berkeley campus right now — chaos.

Kennedy: What's creating chaos?

Tien: Because people say, "What's going on?"

... It's not necessary to go that high, to have such a big jump.

Young: Is there some kind of tom-tom network at Berkeley? I mean... no more than five people at UCLA would know anything about this.

Does everybody on the Berkeley campus know the salary of everybody?...

Tien: I don't know — maybe you don't know what's going on at your place.

Massey: My assumption was Joe (*UCSF Chancellor Joseph Martin*) bargained and got the best deal they could...

Young: I'm torn between support of the 150 and something less... to come in at a

-- more --

...side the halls of power..." cont'd...

...ary less than his predecessor was getting in that situation, I think, would be unreasonable, so, 145,000; I'd be prepared to go with that as a kind of a compromise —

Tien: Would you go for 143?

Massey: I don't think we have to set the salary here . . .

Tien: If we go for 150, I want to make it very public, my negative vote.

Massey: We're not going to do that . . . we'll try to work it out so that it doesn't get out of line — that's what this committee is for.

'Some kind of pain or penalty'

(In this portion of the meeting, Peltason complains about the Democrats who have stalled the nomination of Dr. Lester Lee to the UC Board of Regents and sizes up Lee's prospects when the matter comes to a vote of the full Senate. He also speaks dismissively about Ward Connerly, a new regent who had breezed to confirmation because he had criticized UC's administration. UC-Santa Cruz Chancellor Karl Pister and Vice President Walter Massey, meanwhile, suggest that Tien — like Lee, a Chinese American — should help rescue Lee's nomination.)

(At another point, UCLA Chancellor Young, from his office in Southern California, realizes that the Northern California executives are transmitting from a teleconference studio rented from East Bay developer Ron Cowan, who had wined and dined UC officials in hopes of luring UC projects to his Harbor Bay Isle development. The Cowan affair had caused UC embarrassing publicity, and Young jokes about it.)

(On the previous day, a state Senate committee refused to confirm a 12-year term on the UC Board of Regents for Lee, an appointee who had voted for student fee hikes. The opposition was led by the Senate president pro-tem, Bill Lockyer, D-San Leandro, who called UC "a bureaucracy out of control.")

Pister: I couldn't believe that — that was the most disgusting thing. God, Chang-Lin, I hope (San Francisco activist) Henry Der gets his truth squad going.

Tien: I don't think there'll be any chance, Bill Lockyer is the new Senate pro-tem . . .

Pister: That was disgraceful . . .

Young: Because he (Lee) voted for the — (sentence trails off, he apparently means "fee hikes"). That's kind of what it came down to, so it was, "Go relax somewhere else."

(Pause.)

What does that sign say?

Tien: "Harbor Bay."

(Laughter.)

Young: I would once again make the suggestion that the Harbor Bay sign be removed from that table.

Tien: Why don't we do that?

Young: Thank you very much. There'll be an article in the paper, "Chancellors' meeting held at Harbor Bay facility indicating there was fire where there was smoke." Which may be true, I don't know.

Pister: That whole thing, the way (Ward) Connerly was portrayed as the big agent of change, the self-appointed agent of change, God, that was just disgusting. . .

Young: He (Connerly) was willing to take that posture from the get-go . . .

I had a chance to chat for a while with Lee . . . He was really doing his homework, reading that stuff — he didn't say much at the meetings, but he knew the issues . . .

Pister: It's a real slap — I hope the Chinese American community jumps all over Lockyer. Henry Der is a pretty good activist, maybe he'll jump into it . . .

It lost 3-2 in the Rules Committee, disgraceful. God, there was an article in the Cal Monthly from Berkeley on pro and con on electing regents. Laura Nader (a UC professor of cultural anthropology) wrote a column, pro, "Why we should elect?" — just a terrible piece . . .

(Peltason arrives at the teleconference.)

Pister: Jack, what in the hell can be done with Lee's appointment, is it beyond . . . ?

Peltason: There's not a thing — what day is it, Thursday? I have not yet had a chance to find out the latest. (Sen. Ken) Maddy (R-Fresno) is willing to call for a discharge of the Rules Committee and bring it to the floor.

Then there'll be a big battle on it, including the attack upon the university. And it's just a question of whether Lester wants to go through that or not, because the probability of his being confirmed are not good, because Bill Lockyer is making this a party vote.

On the other hand, Maddy, who wants to force the Democrats to have to vote against it and not give them a free ride. So I —

Bill (UC Vice President William Baker), when he comes in, myn tell me whether

Lester decides he wants to go or not. Chuck, did you hear that?

Young: Yes, I can. What about our other regent?

Peltason: He (Connerly) got past with flying colors. He's the hero. He's the one who came in and is prepared and stand up and reform the place. And Lee is more the status quo, going along with the administration, raising fees, tuition, raising student fees and going along with the recommendations regarding hospital administrators' salaries.

I have not heard — have you heard? — whether Lester agreed to let Ken Maddy move for a discharge to the (state Senate)



UC-Santa Barbara Chancellor Barbara Uehling

Rules Committee?

Tien: No, I haven't heard . . .

(More officials sign on for the video teleconference.)

Peltason: For those of you who did not hear, I did report what is a very serious blow to the university, the first time since Leland Stanford — maybe Lester will go off and start his own university — that the nominee of the governor for regent has failed confirmation, and it was a very nasty process and proceeding.

They kept saying to Dr. Lee, "It's not you. You're a nice man, but we want to send a message to the university and the message is, 'Don't raise student fees and don't raise administrators' salaries,'" and so they refused his confirmation by a 3 to 2 vote.

They did get (approval for) our other regent, Ward Connerly, and he was made a hero. Ward, I must say, has turned around and fought for Lester Lee and he made an impassioned plea at the hearing. I talked to some of the people over there (and) it's quite clear Bill Lockyer has made this a leadership issue . . .

I'm of two minds about that.

One is: Dr. Lee is a fine gentleman who did nothing except support our recommendations. I told one of the senators, "If you're mad, you're mad at me, not him."



UC-Berkeley Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien

And I don't want to see them get away with it without some kind of pain or penalty.

On the other hand, I don't want to make it some kind of issue between the university and the Democrats and get Bill Lockyer so mad at us that he is hostile toward the appropriations.

So I've been staying at a kind of low profile, but the regents have been active.

We're also being crippled by the fact that we don't have any Democratic regents. We can't send Democratic regents down there to deal with the Democrats. It's become a matter of our regents and the governor vs. the Democratic Senate.

And we've lost one of our best friends in this confirmation. I don't know if I lost him permanently. (State Sen.) Nick Petris (D-Oakland) voted with Bill Lockyer.

Unidentified person: He did?

Peltason: He was anguished by it. He's very conflicted. He's very apologetic, but he said he was going to go along with the leader.

Tien: I did talk to Nick. I understand in the hearing he didn't say anything . . . but he felt he had to go along with the new Senate leadership.

Peltason: So that will, of course, intimidate all the other regents . . .

Tien: I just talked to the governor's office. They called me yesterday, last night. They are going to put it (*the issue*) on the floor tomorrow, they need eight votes, eight Democrats so they are still working, but they said it doesn't look good at all. They said whether Chinese Americans (*would*) come into town and bring some influence. I said this is so sensitive.

Peltason: What the Republicans are hoping, (*what they*) want to say to the Democrats is say, "We want you to go on record as voting against a Chinese American."

Massey: Is the Chinese American community activated by this, Chang-Lin?

Tien: The time is so short. There is a lot of discussion last night, but I don't think they can mobilize that much . . .

The most worrisome thing, because the governor's office has called me quite a few times: They are concerned . . . because this fight can really start snowballing into changing the democratization of regents and all those issues they pick up, student fees and salary cuts, all the issues . . .

'The most explosive issues'

(At another point in the meeting, Peltason previewed a proposed policy on paid leaves of absence for retiring administrators, smaller versions of the "golden parachute" that allowed outgoing President David Gardner to obtain a \$1 million retirement package in 1992. UC had been criticized for the Gardner deal and for granting lucrative leaves to retiring Vice President Ron Brady [\$204,000] and outgoing UC-Davis Chancellor Theodore Hullar [\$155,000].)

(Peltason said the new policy would limit leaves for future chancellors, but he carefully noted that all present chancellors would be "grandfathered" — entitled to a full year off with pay. The average is \$189,000.)

(Without a new policy, Peltason feared he would be unable to "do something for Barbara" — a reference to UC-Santa Barbara Chancellor Barbara Uehling, leaving after six years' service.)

Peltason: OK, the proposed administrative leave policy . . . where we are on this? And I need your help on it.

The two most explosive issues since I've been here, I think, may have been accelerated by David Gardner. It (*his retirement*) was most explosive but prior. Upon David's retirement was the Ron Brady leave, which just pulled the sore open again.

We barely made it with the Ted Hullar leave.

Each of these leaves as it comes up is getting to be a more and more point of contention between us and the Board (*of Regents*).

I want to do something for Barbara (*Uehling*), and that's coming up this spring.

And at the last session, when the Ted Hullar one was in jeopardy, I promised the board I would come back with a revised administrative leave policy.

I'd just as soon not have to bring this up again this spring, because no matter what we do there'll be another headline — "University of California gives more perks," and so on. But I would like to get it done before I have to go take Barbara's up, and we're trying to rush it . . .

What I've tried to do with this policy is to try and grandfather in everybody already in the system. By the way, it's not clear what our practices and policies are. If you go back and ask what are our policies, there aren't any policies.

The board has varied back and forth between it granting the leaves and granting the president the power to grant the leaves, but then David (*Gardner*) did grant some leaves. One of the reasons the board took away the power was they thought he was granting too many leaves . . .

And it was more or less under his administration that it became more or less routine — got established that you could expect a leave. It's not a long historic practice, although Chuck (*Charles Young*) may be able to say it was done prior to his time.

. . . There's less contention about sabbatical leave for administrators who are on their way back to teaching. That's the least controversial, and the only thing to be discussed there is at what rate they go back. The problem comes with terminal leaves and for leaves for administrators . . .

It seems to me I can't come in with a

side the halls of power..." cont'd...

recommendation that we continue to do in the future what we've done in the past...

We have to make some modification. Remember, this is grandfathering in everyone else, so we don't change expectations.

But in the future — it would be the color of the proposal — is: People of academic rank going back into teaching will get a year's leave, to get ready to go back into teaching, (*with a salary*) halfway between their professorial salaries and their administrative salaries.

That would become normal practice... For terminal leave there wouldn't be any expectation, but I've put in a provision for people who've served a long, long time — you have to go to the Board (*of Regents*) and get special, get permission...

I've also tried to protect and leave unchanged the practices at the campuses so you can give administrative leaves up to six months to deans and others you're rotating in...

I think it's better to take it to the Academic Council for their comments, not for their approval, before going to the board.

... The faculty are jittery about this... They don't want to start something that unravels and says, hey, how about sabbaticals for the faculty?...

Young (*consulting written back-up material*): But here again in (*Category*) A, which you've indicated there's the least problem about, you require 10 years' service. Now that would exclude Ted and it would exclude Barbara from eligibility. (*Category*) B, which doesn't require a return (*to teaching*) and which doesn't require an academic appointment, it just says "long duration" — I guess I'd fall under that one.

Peltason: You're grandfathered!

Young (*laughing*): Maybe I'm not meritorious...

But my concern is whether you really think you can make stick the grandfathering, because lots of people are around who have expectations and rightful expecta-



Former UC Regent Lester Lee

tions, (*UC Vice President*) Bill Baker being one. I think Bill would have an expectation after his long years of service.

I know what you've done with Ted... I don't know what you intend to do with Barbara.

Peltason: Barbara. If, with your help, I can find a position for her at the university (*UCLA*), so she's returning to the university...

Young: We have done that.

Peltason: OK, then. I can package that. And there's supposed to be a grandfather provision in here... I sure wish I didn't have to raise it at all.

Because, even though this is a modification and a reduction, it only takes one reporter to put a headline, "Administrators get paid leave."

UC Regents

HERE are mailing addresses for members of the UC Board of Regents:

William T. Bagley, Nossaman, Gunther, Knox & Elliott, 60 California St./34th floor, San Francisco CA 94111

Roy T. Brophy, Roy T. Brophy Associates Inc., 7777 Greenback Lane/Suite 100B, Citrus Heights, CA 95610

Claire Burgener, PO Box 8186, Rancho Santa Fe, CA 92067

Glenn Campbell, Hoover Institution, Stanford CA 94305

Frank W. Clark Jr, Parker, Milliken, Clark, O'Hara & Samuelian, 333 S. Hope St., Los Angeles CA 90071

Ward T. Connarty, Convery & Associates, 2215 21st St., Sacramento CA 95818

John K. Davies, Morgan, Lewis & Buckius, 7500 B St./Suite 3100, San Diego CA 92101

Tirso del Junco MD, 4924 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles CA 90027

Alice J. Gonzales, 5528 Freeman Circle, Rocklin CA 95677

S. Sue Johnson, 800 E. La Cadena, Riverside CA 92502

Meredith Khachigian, PO Box 37, San Clemente CA 92674

Leo Kolligian, The Kolligian Group, 1100 W Shaw Ave./Suite 128, Fresno CA 93711

Howard Leach, Cypress Farms Inc., 101 California St./Suite 4310, San Francisco CA 94111

S. Stephen Nakashima, 440 S. Winchester Blvd., San Jose CA 95128

Duun Watkins, Watkins Johnson Co., 3333 Hillview, Stanford Research Park, Palo Alto CA 94304



W. PELTASON
President

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
300 Lakeside Drive
Oakland, California 94612-3550
Phone (510) 987-9074
Fax (510) 987-9086

March 23, 1994

MEMBERS OF THE CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

Dear Legislators:

Over the past week, there have been several articles in the San Francisco Examiner reporting on a meeting of our Council of Chancellors. These articles have created a distorted image of that particular meeting and of the process through which issues are debated and decisions are made at the University. For these reasons, I want you to hear directly from me on these matters.

First is the report of remarks concerning certain legislators and the process for confirmation of Regents. These remarks were taken out of context and do not reflect the nature or ambiance of the setting. While not on the agenda, the immediacy of the state Senate Rules Committee's apparent decision not to confirm the appointment of a University Regent for the first time in over 100 years evoked a spontaneous conversation. They were "off-the-cuff" remarks made between discussions of other items, and reflected a sense of frustration that I am sure everyone feels at times. The remarks were unfortunate, and I have spoken with those whose names were mentioned. It is clear that the nomination and confirmation of Regents is not a matter in which the University administration should be involved; rather it is an issue for the Governor, the State Senate, and the Regents themselves.

Second, there is the characterization of the meeting as "secret." This is a false characterization. I hold these meetings on a monthly basis to discuss a wide range of issues affecting the University. They are private only in the sense that most meetings of this type in any organization are confined to those with a need to attend. There were actually three meetings that are the subject of these articles. One was a meeting of the Executive Program Committee, a group consisting of three Vice Presidents and four Chancellors, whose charge is to review certain personnel matters including salary requests from the campuses, and to make recommendations to me. There was also a Chancellors Only meeting, which includes Provost Massey, the Chancellors, and

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Members of the California Legislature
March 23, 1994
Page 2

me, and a regular meeting of the Council of Chancellors, which includes Vice Presidents and other senior officers.

The Council of Chancellors met for roughly five hours and considered more than 20 items. Among the issues we discussed were 13 new ideas for increasing University efficiency, long-range planning issues, ways to further achieve our goals in diversifying our nine-campus student body, and the challenges we face in accommodating the large number of students expected in the next several years.

These meetings are analogous to any legislative caucus or any staff meeting in the sense that they are intended to encourage candid, no-holds-barred discussions of issues, to get ideas on the table and to sort out proposals that are sound from those that are not. The advantage of such candid discussions is that they help to hammer out consensus on many tough and complicated issues. This is no easy task in an educational organization that has a system of shared governance among faculty, administration, and Regents, and that is probably unequalled in its size, diversity, and complexity.

The third issue has to do with the impression that most of the meeting was spent discussing compensation matters. This is simply not true. This type of issue was discussed only in the Executive Program Committee, which met for about 45 minutes prior to the five-hour Council of Chancellors meeting. It is true that the Executive Program Committee discussed a number of specific proposed salary actions from the campuses and vigorously debated the proper course of action to take. There is genuine concern about the need to keep executive pay down, while trying to attract and retain the very best people to do difficult jobs. In the case discussed in the newspaper articles, involving the recruitment of a person currently employed at one campus to a more senior position at another campus, the Committee recommended a salary lower than that requested by the campus.

The fourth issue in the Examiner articles concerned proposed changes in the leave policy for senior administrators. The discussion has been characterized as proposing "a new round of paid leaves of absence for top administrators." In fact, what was discussed was just the opposite: a modification of the existing administrative leave practice. I told the Chancellors of my plans to take to the Regents a policy, applicable to future hires, that would effectively eliminate all administrative leaves except the normal sabbatical leave accrued by those who hold faculty appointments and who plan to return to a faculty position. It would reduce the rate of pay for such sabbaticals. We

Members of the California Legislature
 March 23, 1994
 Page 3

also discussed the issue of how to handle the situation of currently serving Chancellors.

When I became President of the University almost 18 months ago my first order of business was to recommend to the Regents changes in the University's executive compensation programs and administrative expense policies. Since then The Regents have approved, on my recommendation, sweeping changes in these policies, and I have instituted a series of expense-cutting measures as well.

No President, no Chancellor, no Vice President has received a pay increase of any kind in the past three years. Like virtually all UC employees, their pay was cut by 3.5 percent this year. Newly hired senior executives are consistently paid lower salaries than their predecessors. Executives jobs, moreover, have been cut by more than 17 percent over the last three years. As I have pointed out, the March 2nd discussion of administrative leave policy, far from extending new benefits to executives, resulted in a proposal that would limit such leaves to administrators who also hold faculty appointments and who plan to return to a faculty position.

Let me end on a personal note. When I accepted the offer of The Regents to become the President of the University of California, I did so out of a deep sense of commitment to this great institution, where I have spent 13 years. The University is facing difficult times, and we are all working to ensure that we not only survive but emerge from this period as still the finest public university in the world. It is important that you know that those of us entrusted with the leadership of this institution are dealing with the serious issues confronting the University. We have made great progress during recent months in stabilizing the University and initiating the long-term planning that is so essential to the most important contribution we can make to the people of California, the maintenance of our quality. We will continue to work with the Legislature and the Governor to serve the people of California with all the energy and commitment at our command.

Cordially,
 /s/ J. W. Peltason
 J. W. Peltason

cc: Members, Board of Regents
 Chancellors
 Laboratory Directors

bcc: Members, President's Cabinet
 Director Arditti

THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

July 20, 1995

The Regents of the University of California met on the above date at UCSF - Laurel Heights, San Francisco.

Present: Regents Bagley, Brophy, Burgener, Campbell, Carmona, Clark, Connerly, Davies, Davis, del Junco, Eastin, Gomez, Gonzales, Johnson, Khachigian, Kolligian, Leach, Lee, Levin, Montoya, Nakashima, Peltason, Sayles, Watkins, and Wilson (25)

In attendance: Regents-designate Kessler and Russell, Faculty Representatives Leiman and Simmons, Secretary Trivette, Assistant Secretary Shaw, General Counsel Holst, Treasurer Gordon, Provost Massey, Senior Vice President Kennedy, Vice Presidents Baker, Farrell, and Hopper, Chancellors Atkinson, Orbach, Pister, Tien, Vanderhoef, Wilkening, Yang, and Young, Vice Chancellor Bainton representing Chancellor Martin, Laboratory Director Shank, Deputy Director Kuckuck representing Laboratory Director Tarter, and Recording Secretaries Bryan and Nietfeld

The meeting convened at 8:05 a.m. with Chairman Burgener presiding.

REMARKS OF THE GOVERNOR

Governor Wilson observed that the University of California has a long and proud tradition of generating diverse opinions and perspectives. He suggested that the Regents should not tolerate University policies and practices that violate fundamental fairness, trampling individual rights to create and give preference to group rights. The Governor noted that the freshman application form for the University states that the University does not discriminate on the basis of race, which is a fundamental American principle that must be not only the policy but also the practice of the institution. It has become clear, however, despite official claims to the contrary, that it is not the policy nor the practice. As President Peltason acknowledged recently, race has played a central role in the admissions practices at many UC campuses. Governor Wilson reported that all of the State taxes paid by three working Californians are needed to provide the public subsidy for a single undergraduate at the University of California. He suggested that these taxpayers deserve a guarantee that their children will get an equal opportunity to compete for admission regardless of their race or gender. The Governor stated that it is the Regents' responsibility, not that of the administration or the faculty, to set policy and to ensure that the University's practices adhere to those policies. That responsibility cannot be delegated. The question before the Board is whether the University is going to treat all individuals fairly or continue to divide them by race.

CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Chairman Burgener described the procedure to be followed in choosing speakers from among those members of the public who requested to speak. He recalled that over the past several months the Regents have heard more than three hours of public testimony on the topic of affirmative action. On Wednesday, July 19, many Regents participated in a three-hour student forum. The Board has received over 140 requests for speaking time at today's meeting; under the standard three-minute rule, granting all requests would result in seven hours of public testimony. In light of these facts, a procedure has been developed to choose 35 public speakers by a random lottery. Chairman Burgener then announced the names as they were drawn, noting that they would be called upon following presentations by invited speakers and public figures.

Regent Gomez recalled that during the Board's review of the University's affirmative action policies, students had been assured that they would have an opportunity to address the Board at this meeting. In response to Regent Gomez's remarks, and with the concurrence of the Regents, Chairman Burgener stated that the Board would add four students to the speakers' list.

REMARKS OF ELECTED OFFICIALS, OTHER PUBLIC FIGURES, AND INVITED SPEAKERS

Willie L. Brown, Jr. - Former Regent and Speaker Emeritus of the Assembly

Mr. Brown recalled that when he joined the Board of Regents as an ex officio member, initially it was difficult to set aside his role as a politician and take up the role of a Regent. In that role, members of the Board must be obedient to the constitution of the United States and of the State of California, to the rules and regulations promulgated by the legislative bodies of the State, and to court decisions. In addition, the Regents must be responsive and responsible to the people of the State of California. Mr. Brown recalled that thirty years ago the Board, in recognition of past discriminatory practices and in response to court decisions and other rules and regulations, proceeded to fashion policies to ensure equal access and diversity. In 1995, the University is still a great institution, but it falls short of the American dream because it does not afford equal opportunity to every citizen. The University should not admit unqualified students, nor should it give preference based upon race alone. Its policies should be continually evolving in order to meet the needs of society. Mr. Brown suggested that if the California Civil Rights Initiative had been enacted into law, it would be appropriate for the Regents to evaluate how to comply with the law. At this point, however, it would be unwise to move ahead of the people, the Legislature, or the courts to eliminate the use of a tool designed to respond to racial and gender discrimination. To do so would place the members of the Board in the political arena, from which extrication would be impossible. Mr. Brown concluded his remarks by referring to his life experiences and how he, as a young Black man, had been aided by affirmative action.

Diane Watson - State Senator

Senator Watson observed that the University of California must serve all the people of the state and is obligated to respond to the social issues of the time. The faculty, in order to pursue their academic goals, need to be isolated from political pressures. Throughout history, universities that have been subject to direct political influence have not been those institutions that have made important contributions to society. The University of California was designed to be protected from ever-changing political tides. Senator Watson suggested that California's demographics heighten the necessity for outreach and affirmative action taken to promote diversity. She pointed out that money that could be used for education was being spent on security for the meeting; as a member of the Budget Committee, she questioned why taxpayers should support the University if it abandons affirmative action.

Bill Leonard - State Senator

Senator Leonard spoke in favor of Regent Connerly's resolutions to eliminate race-based admissions and hiring at the University. He did not believe that any Regent or University officer favored racial discrimination, and he submitted that the time had come to eliminate race as a criterion in admissions. To delay would be to abdicate both moral responsibility and leadership and would send the wrong message about liberty to California's high school students and their parents. Senator Leonard suggested that the University could lead society in the right direction by demonstrating that people succeed based on their character and determination and not on their ethnicity.

Tom Hayden - State Senator

Senator Hayden urged the Regents to reframe the debate on affirmative action by placing the issue in the context of the downsizing of higher education in the state. His remarks focused on how enrollment in higher education in California has declined due to economic factors and the need to plan ahead for the new tidal wave of students which is expected by the year 2005. Senator Hayden believed that when two individuals of similar qualifications and different ethnicities are competing for admission to the University, the proper solution is to open the doors to both rather than to reduce the number of available seats, thereby deepening racial and gender tensions in the state.

Tom Campbell - State Senator

Senator Campbell believed that, by using race in its admissions policies, the University of California had abandoned the goals of the civil rights movement. He pointed out that in two court cases the University has been held liable for using race impermissibly in admissions. In the Bakke case, the Supreme Court split five to four, with five justices saying that the University must be extremely careful in using race and the other four justices saying that race may not be used in determining admissions. Senator Campbell noted that private universities use personal interviews in their admissions and suggested that the University of California do the same. He reported that he had been authorized by Senator Quentin Kopp to inform the Board that he represents his views also.

John Vasconcellos - State Assemblyman

Assemblyman Vasconcellos urged the Board not to rush to judgment on affirmative action. He suggested, rather, that the Regents adopt a course of action which would include the adoption of a set of guiding principles, directing the President to undertake a comprehensive examination of the University's opportunity programs, and the devotion of an entire meeting to reviewing the President's report and then deciding whether and how to modify the equity policies of the University of California. Mr. Vasconcellos proposed eight principles for adoption by the Board. These principles include the statement that inclusion and diversity are essential commitments of a credible public university; that equity programs must seek to assist persons disadvantaged by factors outside their personal control; and that the Board should review UC's commitment to the Master Plan in order to develop enough facilities, programs, and space to permit admission for every qualified student. He proposed that the Regents create a Blue Ribbon Commission to conduct public reviews every five years to determine whether sufficient advances have been made such that race and gender no longer need be considered a factor in determining admissions.

Phil Isenberg - State Assemblyman

Assemblyman Isenberg, chair of the Judiciary Committee, reported that hearings would begin in January on proposed constitutional amendments to prohibit or modify affirmative action in the State of California. In preparation, a nonpartisan report on discrimination and affirmative action in employment, contracting, and higher education was commissioned. The report found that in job seeking, Blacks and Hispanics will be discriminated against at a rate of approximately 20 percent. Whites appear to have a reverse discrimination rate between 1 and 6 percent. Studies of rentals and mortgages found clear evidence that, regardless of income levels, there are instances of racial discrimination. With respect to admissions at the University of California, there is little evidence of discrimination. In the area of contracting, the report found aspects of affirmative action which clearly need to be changed. Mr. Isenberg suggested that the Regents should find out what the problem is before they adopt a plan to solve it. He noted that the state constitution calls for the Board to reflect the state's diversity and noted that it would be ironic if the Regents should reflect that diversity but the student body should not.

Marguerite Archie-Hudson - State Assemblywoman

Assemblywoman Archie-Hudson informed the Board that Assemblywoman MacDonald joined in her remarks. Ms. Archie-Hudson, chair of the Assembly Committee on Higher Education, urged the Board to reject Regent Connerly's recommendations, which she suggested were at best premature given the potential for a state referendum on the issue in November 1996. Ms. Archie-Hudson pointed out that the General Counsel has advised the Board that the affirmative action practices of the University are in conformance with the law; thus the recommendations are not based upon any legal challenge. She noted that the Board has historically delegated the determination of admissions criteria to the Academic Senate and questioned why this policy was not being followed today. In addition, there is no evidence which requires action on this issue at the present time, nor is there a groundswell of support among the students and the faculty for the proposals. Ms. Archie-Hudson observed that the Regents have been granted long terms for the

purpose of keeping the University independent of all political influence, and she urged the members of the Board not to be drawn into a campaign for political office.

Barbara Lee - State Assemblywoman

Assemblywoman Lee observed that affirmative action is a set of tools, including outreach and recruitment, which creates equal opportunity. Ms. Lee noted that the community colleges in her district promote the University of California as the next step for their diverse student population. Without affirmative action programs, the transfer potential to UC for a significant number of minority students will be affected when this pool is diverted to private and out-of-state institutions. Ms. Lee pointed out that opponents of affirmative action believe that academically inferior students are being unfairly admitted. She suggested that their argument that the removal of affirmative action will do nothing more than provide equality was insulting, because they know that the proposals will send a message to the state and the nation that California's leaders are desperate to return to a society that limits access to a select few.

Bernie Richter - State Assemblyman

Assemblyman Richter argued that affirmative action has become a code word for preferential policies, quotas, and set-asides. He believed that preferential policies are discriminatory when someone less qualified is admitted to a public university, thus taking a place away from a more qualified applicant. These policies result from the use of race, gender, and ethnicity as acceptable criteria for governmental decision-making. Mr. Richter advocated ending government-based racism, noting that the primary objective of the civil rights movement was to eliminate racial preferences. He accused the University of the implementation of preferential policies through the use of numerical schemes, and he also accused the University's administration of lying about these policies. He believed that admitting unqualified students on the basis of their race led to their failure and prevented better qualified students from succeeding.

Nao Takasugi - State Assemblyman

Assemblyman Takasugi, who was interned in a relocation camp during World War II, believed that the University's admissions policies amount to discrimination and that when decisions are made based on gender, ethnicity, religion, or race they dishonor the ideals upon which the country was founded as well as those who have fought for civil rights. He urged the Board to adhere to the principles described in the Declaration of Independence by adopting Regent Connerly's proposals.

Marilyn Brewer - State Assemblywoman

Assemblywoman Brewer stated that she was in support of Regent Connerly's proposal to bring fairness and equality back to the University's admissions policies. She presented a letter signed by 33 of her Assembly colleagues which recalled that in the Bakke decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the University of California could not make race a predominant factor in admissions to the University. This decision is being ignored within the University system. Ms. Brewer further stated that a recent letter from President Peltason to The Regents acknowledged that race was the only factor in granting admission at both the Davis and Irvine campuses, while more qualified

applicants were rejected. Members of so-called preferred groups who were nonresidents were given preference over the children of California taxpayers. She urged the Board to restore fairness and equality in its admissions.

Charles Poochigian - State Assemblyman

Assemblyman Poochigian, an American of Armenian descent, described past discrimination against Armenians in the Central Valley and called upon the Regents to support Regent Connerly's proposals to restore racial equality. He believed that when universities treat students differently, based upon their race, they drive a wedge between groups, a wedge which threatens to unravel the bonds of national cohesion.

Mabel Teng - Member, San Francisco Board of Supervisors

Supervisor Teng stated that the Asian American, Pacific Islander community has always supported affirmative action and civil rights. As a public official, Ms. Teng understood the Regents' desire for a solution to the question of how to address the diverse student population of the UC system, but she believed that the elimination of affirmative action would create more divisiveness in the State of California. She pointed out that the City of San Francisco leads the nation in showing how civil rights and diversity have resulted in greater social harmony and economic vitality. She urged the Board to reject the proposals to eliminate affirmative action.

Steve Phillips - Hastings Student and Member, San Francisco Board of Education

Mr. Phillips suggested that the educational system has been based upon an incorrect notion of inferior students and described programs designed to assist all students in succeeding in their educational endeavors. It has been shown that, within the educational arena, race and gender influence such factors as who is called upon in class and who is encouraged to pursue higher education. Differential treatment produces different educational results. Mr. Phillips encouraged the Board not to act precipitously in changing the University's affirmative action policies.

Mike Brodsky - Mayor of Albany, California

Mr. Brodsky believed that affirmative action still has an important role to play in leveling the playing field for those who have been at an historical disadvantage and in enriching the university experience for all students. He reported that the overwhelming majority of students of all races support affirmative action because it is effective and necessary. Mr. Brodsky spoke to the role of the Board of Regents, noting that the state constitution requires that the University be kept free from political influence. He suggested that, in response to that constitutional responsibility, the Board should refrain from action.

Sally Pipes - President, Pacific Research Institute

Ms. Pipes believed that Regent Connerly's recommendations were a fair and effective way for the University of California to bring itself in accordance with the principles upon which the country was founded. The constitution requires institutions to treat all individuals equally, regardless of race, ethnicity, or gender. The University must return to a system that is fair to all Californians, a system which is based upon merit. Although instituted to diffuse ethnic tensions, Ms. Pipes

suggested that affirmative action policies have had the effect of increasing ethnic divisiveness. She believed that diversity would come through strong secondary education and civil rights legislation, without mandates or quotas, and urged the Board to support Regent Connerly's recommendations.

Warren Fox - Executive Director, California Postsecondary Education Commission

Mr. Fox stated that the Master Plan for Higher Education is at risk. The California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC), which is the State's planning and coordinating agency on postsecondary education issues, has forecast an increase of close to 500,000 new students in higher education. Over the past decade, the Commission has emphasized the importance of achieving statewide educational equity through its work which examines student performance. CPEC's 1990 eligibility study indicates that only 5.1 percent of Black students and 3.9 percent of Hispanic students were fully eligible to attend the University at that time. A similar situation exists in rural areas of the state; only 5 percent of the students were eligible to attend. These low numbers impact and complicate the extent to which the campuses can meet the diversity goals set by The Regents in 1988. One thing that the University can do to improve this situation is to expand effective programs that academically prepare students for University admission. The University's Academic Development Programs that it operates in collaboration with the public schools and its higher education partners were examined by CPEC through a directive from the Governor and Legislature in the 1988-89 budget. These programs served 72,000 students in the seventh to twelfth grades from backgrounds and communities in which eligibility rates had been historically low. The Commission concluded that these collaborative efforts were extraordinarily successful in increasing the numbers of students from these backgrounds who were eligible to attend the University. For example, the eligibility rate for Black students climbed to 43.8 percent for those who participated in the University Early Academic Outreach Program in 1993. These programs, however, serve only 9 percent of the students statewide. CPEC thus recommends that the University expand these programs. This recommendation is consistent with President Peltason's proposal concerning admissions and student academic development programs. Mr. Fox recalled that in 1993 the Education Roundtable issued its report, *The Golden State at Risk*. One of the most important ways to reduce that risk is to extend the benefits of higher education. California's future is dependent upon the improvement of its human capital. He urged the Board to find ways to keep the Master Plan working for all Californians.

Lee Cheng - Asian American Legal Foundation

Mr. Cheng reported that, in San Francisco, American students of Chinese ancestry must score higher on the admissions index than children of any other ethnicity to gain admission to Lowell High School. He was puzzled by this situation, as he believed that all Americans were guaranteed equal access and opportunity. He observed that the students accepted to Lowell tended to be financially well-off while those who are rejected come from a low-income background. Admissions into the UC system, and particularly the Berkeley campus, are similar. The report which examined the effects of using socio-economic status as a criterion for preference purports to show how diversity would decline if class replaced race as a basis for action. The report shows that the negative effect of the current policy falls almost exclusively on Asian Americans.

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Mr. Cheng believed that the University's present system of affirmative action must be fundamentally overhauled because it discriminates against Asian Americans.

Lester Lee - former Regent

Mr. Lee recalled that over the past three years Governor Wilson had appointed women and minorities to the Board of Regents. He did not believe that affirmative action was something that should be regulated. He felt that it was important that everyone be afforded an equal opportunity to enter higher education in the state, noting that in 1993 Asians averaged about 25 percent of the enrollment at the University of California, 15 percent at the California State University, and 10 percent at the community colleges. This compares with Asians as 10 percent of the total California population. Mr. Lee suggested that the University should make it clear to highly qualified Asian students whether or not they will all be admitted. He supported Regent Connerly's proposals and recommended that the University defer all diversity programs to the community colleges and to CSU and concentrate on achieving excellence.

John Ellis - Professor Emeritus, Santa Cruz Campus

Professor Ellis reported that, as Dean of the Graduate Division, he instituted the first affirmative action program for graduate students on the Santa Cruz campus. Mr. Ellis believed that affirmative action has done great damage to the academic enterprise of the University by bringing in underqualified students who are then harmed by their lack of preparation. These students express bitterness when they fail at the University. Putting students with different abilities into the same classroom tends to promote racial stereotypes. Professor Ellis suggested that the Board could not rely upon its present administration to repair the damage that affirmative action policies had caused. He asked the Board to vote to return the principle of excellence in teaching and research to the center of the University by approving Regent Connerly's proposals.

Arthur Fletcher - Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Mr. Fletcher stated that he spoke as the father of affirmative action and the author of the revised Philadelphia Plan. He is also a Republican candidate for President. The question before the Board is whether discrimination can be reduced to a level of insignificance. Mr. Fletcher suggested that the debate revolves around whether there is equitable distribution in an economy that is created with taxpayers' dollars. There are two requirements to participation in the economy of the country -- a quality education and the ability to use that education. The country cannot be stable and prosperous while it limits the opportunities for minorities and women. He suggested that the Board undertake a disparity study before moving further on affirmative action.

Robert Corry - Pacific Legal Foundation

Mr. Corry, an attorney with the Pacific Legal Foundation, stated that he was representing a student at San Bernardino Valley Community College who was asked to leave an English class because the class was reserved for Black students. The University of California sponsors a similar program at the community colleges, the Puente Program. When the student asked about this program, she was told that it was for Mexican-American students only. Puente provides mentors and tutors that are unavailable to other students. The University of California sponsors racially

separate admissions standards, counseling programs, and scholarship programs. Mr. Corry believed that the University should lead the way towards racial equality.

Haile Debas - Dean, School of Medicine, University of California, San Francisco

Dr. Debas observed that the debate on affirmative action raises two important philosophical issues: Does the public underwrite public education to benefit the individual or society? In an academic institution, what body or bodies appropriately determine academic policy? Dr. Debas recalled that Governor Wilson had made the statement on national television that admission to the University of California is based not on merit but on race and gender. As a dean, he felt compelled to respond to the Governor's statement. Dr. Debas explained that the admissions policy at UCSF has been carefully developed and modified over the past thirty years. An applicant's race or ethnicity, as well as socio-economic status regardless of race, are considered during the second of three initial screenings in order to combat the inherent disadvantage that belonging to certain racial groups bestows in American society. Dr. Debas suggested that affirmative action programs at the University directly benefit the state's diverse population because UCSF studies have confirmed that African American and Hispanic physicians return to their respective communities to practice medicine. Looking at his own career, Dr. Debas noted that while his success represents a personal triumph, it would not have been possible without the environment created by affirmative action. He pointed out that if the Board votes to dismantle affirmative action, it will do so in defiance of the entire University community, and he urged the Regents to table the proposals until they have considered the individuals and communities that these proposals will harm.

Richard Douglas - Vice President, Sun Diamond Growers

Mr. Douglas explained that he was the first African American to earn a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Maryland. He came before the Board confident with the knowledge that no institution gave him anything that he did not deserve. He urged the Board to support Regent Connerly's resolutions, which will send a message to the nation that the American dream is alive and well in California. He argued that if it was wrong in the 1950s and 1960s to have race as an obstacle to admission to a university, then it is wrong today.

Henry Der - Chair, California Postsecondary Education Commission

Mr. Der observed that the opponents of affirmative action argue that the University's policy hurts Asian American and white applicants for admission. As an Asian American and the parent of a freshman at UC Berkeley, Mr. Der stated that he would address whether Asian Americans have been unduly harmed by affirmative action opportunities for Black and Hispanic students. He pointed out that the arguments in favor of Regent Connerly's resolution on admissions have generalized the Berkeley campus experience for the entire University, when in fact UC-eligible applicants who are rejected by the Berkeley campus are not denied admission to the University of California. For fall 1994, Asian Americans and whites enjoyed the highest rate of admission as first-time UC freshmen students, with 85 percent of all white applicants and 84 percent of all Asian American applicants being admitted. For Black and Hispanic applicants, the admission rate was 76 percent and 82 percent respectively. Because UC admits every eligible Asian American

applicant, in fall 1994 more than 40,000 Asian Americans were enrolled as UC undergraduate students, constituting 35 percent of the undergraduate student body. This is more than double the rate of Asian American students graduating from California high schools. Using economic-based criteria in admissions would not increase the number of Asian Americans admitted into the University system, but certain campuses such as Berkeley would have a higher proportion of Asian American students than at present. This would lead to segregated education throughout the system and would not prepare Asian American students for leadership positions in a multi-racial society. Mr. Der noted that of the 2,465 Asian American applicants admitted to UC Berkeley for the fall 1994 freshman class, only 47 percent decided to attend that campus. He called upon the Board of Regents to understand that the future is dependent upon how society provides equal opportunity for citizens of all racial and ethnic backgrounds.

J. J. McClatchy - Businessman

Mr. McClatchy discussed the hardships faced by the pioneers who first settled California. He spoke as an employer who, to survive, must hire the best and the brightest employees. To burden the employer with category quotas is to condemn him to competitive disadvantage and the prospect of failure. To discriminate in employment is both morally wrong and illegal. Mr. McClatchy also spoke as an instructor at the Davis campus and at Cosumnes River Community College. It was his opinion that students who do not belong attend both of the institutions. At the University there are students whose limited capacities, energy, or interest gum up the wheels of the learning machine. At the community college level are those who, given the opportunity, would have excelled in the University system, but the doors are barred to them by preferential treatment granted to others under the mantle of affirmative action or by costs afflicted upon the system by inefficient management and underworked faculty members. While he supported the dismantling of affirmative action, he urged the Board to take the time to do it right.

Errol Smith - CEO of Smith Friday, Inc. and Vice Chair of the California Civil Rights Initiative

Mr. Smith suggested that there is something wrong with an admissions policy when, in 1989, white students with 4.0 GPAs were rejected and over half of the minority students who were admitted had GPAs of 3.53 or less. In that same year, 31 percent of the minority students who were admitted had family incomes of \$75,000 or more. What disturbed him the most, however, are the unintended consequences that affirmative action policies create. Notwithstanding how hard Black students work or what degrees they attain, they find in the marketplace a lingering suspicion of their competence. Mr. Smith believed that was the consequence of an assumption that, but for these programs, Black students would not be able to succeed. He pointed out that the most heinous legacy of slavery is the ongoing assumption of Black inferiority. He refused to argue in favor of any system that starts with the premise that he, as a Black man, is inferior. For that reason, he supported Regent Connerly's resolutions.

Yori Wada - Former Regent

Mr. Wada explained that he was speaking as a strong advocate of affirmative action and diversity within the University of California community. He urged the retention of the affirmative action

policies for the UC system. He did believe that moderate revisions of affirmative action programs may be called for, but these revisions should be undertaken with the cooperation of administrators, faculty, students, and staff. He did not believe that the Regents alone should make these revisions. Mr. Wada reported that he had given serious thought to socio-economic status and individual hardship as criteria for student admissions. There is merit to include those conditions, but he did not agree that those criteria should replace race and gender as criteria for admission to the University of California's student body.

Lance Isumi - Pacific Research Institute

Mr. Isumi observed that the remarks of the Asian American speakers pointed to the differences of opinion within the Asian American community with respect to affirmative action. He reported that the Institute had studied admissions into UC's medical schools and found that members of underrepresented minority groups are accepted at higher rates than non-underrepresented minorities. He faulted the policies of affirmative action for treating people as tribes rather than as individuals and for judging people based on their color.

Jesse Jackson - President, Rainbow Coalition

The Reverend Mr. Jackson observed that the University of California stands at a crossroads, where it can either go forward by embracing inclusion or go backwards by abolishing race and gender considerations in admissions, faculty hiring, and contracting. He noted that there is wide support for affirmative action in the academic community, and he hoped that academic freedom would not be polluted by political agendas. Mr. Jackson pointed out that it has been a tortuous road since the Civil War towards freedom and equality for enslaved and dispossessed African Americans, but that journey has taught the nation that it is wrong to suppress people on the basis of their race and ethnicity. Mr. Jackson stated that he did not wish to be colorblind; rather, people should be color caring. He then reviewed the history of race relations and discrimination against African Americans in the United States, noting that in 1954 Brown vs. the Board of Education was intended to level the playing field but that in 1990 the Supreme Court found that racism still existed. Mr. Jackson recalled that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had looked forward to the day when his children would be judged by the content of their character, not the color of their skin. That day has not arrived. Mr. Jackson recalled that thirty years ago every University of California campus was predominantly white. In response to the civil rights movement, and due to the leadership of Regents and administrators, the University began to devise methods to include people of color. Yet even with these recruitment methods, as late as 1984 the Berkeley campus was 61 percent white. Because of a wide range of enrichment and outreach programs to junior high and high school students and the consideration of racial and ethnic group status as one factor among many for all qualified applicants, African Americans are now 6 percent of Berkeley students and Hispanics are 14 percent. Much remains to be done to improve the eligibility of African American and Hispanic students. Affirmative action is needed in faculty hiring because a diverse faculty enriches the educational experience and encourages more people of color to pursue careers in academia. Mr. Jackson outlined the reasons why he urged the Board to reject Regent Connerly's proposals. First, replacing race and gender solely with economic criteria attempts to deny the existence of racism and sexism. Secondly, replacing race as a criterion for

admitting students would result in a decline of African American enrollment by 40 to 50 percent, while Hispanic enrollment would drop by 5 to 15 percent. Third, Regent Connerly has not demonstrated how the University will pay for the increased financial aid that will be needed to admit economically disadvantaged students nor how the Regents will fund the much-needed improvements in public education needed to increase the eligibility of African Americans and Hispanics. Mr. Jackson believed that the most deceptive argument among the rationales for Regent Connerly's proposals is the idealization of bias-free meritocracy because merit should not be narrowly defined by grades and test scores, which are not intrinsically indicators of success. He appealed to the Regents to rise above politics and to make an investment in the healing of the nation.

PUBLIC COMMENT PERIOD

The following people spoke in favor of Items SP-1, *Adoption of Resolution: Policy Ensuring Equal Treatment--Admissions* and SP-2, *Adoption of Resolution: Policy Ensuring Equal Treatment--Business Practices and Employment*:

Erica Romero
 Kevin Nguyen, UC Berkeley alumnus
 Dmitry Shubov
 Nelson Hernandez, Lowell High School
 Allan Tse
 Harry Sweet

The following people spoke against Items SP-1, *Adoption of Resolution: Policy Ensuring Equal Treatment--Admissions* and SP-2, *Adoption of Resolution: Policy Ensuring Equal Treatment--Business Practices and Employment*:

Ed Apodaca, Hispanic Coalition on Higher Education
 Naomi Falk, President, Associated Students, UC San Diego
 Annetta Wells, South Central Youth Community Coalition
 Ralph Wheeler, UC Berkeley and Hastings alumnus
 Guillermo Rodríguez, Jr., Executive Director, Latino Issues Forum
 Stafford Johnson
 Philip Rapier, Boalt Hall School of Law alumnus
 Fred Jordan, Chair, California Business Council for Equal Opportunity
 Mario Obledo, former Secretary, Department of Health and Human Services
 Larry Dodson, Minister, First African Methodist Episcopal Church, Visalia
 Lorenzo Carlisle, Minister, Oakland Community Church
 Peter Nguyen, President, UC Davis student body
 Amos Brown, Minister, Third Baptist Church
 Frank Pinkard, Minister, Evergreen Baptist Church
 Juliet Spohn Twomey, Northern California Ecumenical Council

Norman Fung, Minister, Presbyterian Church in Chinatown
 Martha Jimenez, Mexican American Legal Defense Fund
 Carlos Muñoz, Professor, Department of Ethnic Studies, UC Berkeley
 Nancy Barreda, UC Irvine student
 Randall Senzaki, Asian & Pacific Americans in Higher Education
 Eric Vega, California Civil Rights Network of Sacramento
 Eva Paterson, Lawyers Commission for Civil Rights
 Alfred Simmons, Chair, Berkeley Black Council
 Dolores Huerta, United Farmworkers
 Scot Blackledge, California Democratic Party

The following four University of California students also spoke against the proposals:

Colleen Savatini, UC San Diego
 Ed Center, UC Davis
 York Chang, UCLA
 Ralph Armbruster, UC Riverside

Chairman Burgener explained that the Bylaws of The Regents call for any matter considered by the Board to first have been referred to the appropriate Standing Committee. In order for the Board to take up these matters there must be an affirmative vote of two-thirds of those Regents present. Regent Brophy moved that the Board of Regents consider the affirmative action proposals placed on its agenda without their having been referred by a Standing Committee. The motion was duly seconded and unanimously approved.

President Peltason explained that, following consultation with the Chairman and Regent Connerly, he asked that the Board begin with Regent Connerly's recommendations. He recalled that these items come before the Board after months of discussion and debate. He was persuaded that those who oppose the use of race, gender, and ethnicity in the University's programs are sincerely interested in encouraging diversity. Today, following six months of an extensive review of the University's affirmative action, equal opportunity, nondiscrimination, and diversity programs, the Board will decide what course of action to take.

REMARKS OF REGENT CONNERLY

Regent Connerly observed that it would be an understatement to say this is an issue about which many people have very strong opinions. While he might be inclined to apologize to other Regents for any discomfort that his actions have caused, he believed that in a democracy no one who holds a position of public trust, who serves as a fiduciary of a public institution, who is expected to exercise due diligence, should ever have to apologize for putting an issue on the table for the stockholders of that democracy to explore. The issue is not just about the benefits and preferences which are afforded to some based upon race, gender, and national origin. It is about one's capacity to listen and the strength to pursue one's convictions. Regent Connerly stated his

intention to sharpen the focus on the issues contained in the resolutions which he would be presenting. He believed unequivocally that the goal of the state and nation is to have institutions that are blind to the color of one's skin or the national origin of one's ancestors in the transactions of government. The University has been granting racial preferences to remedy some of the historical unfairness and injustice projected upon many Americans, particularly Black Americans. The assumption has been made, however, that these preferences would be temporary. Regent Connerly believed that this system of preferences is becoming entrenched as it builds its own constituency to defend and sustain it as a permanent feature of public decision-making. He was convinced that the country's obsessive preoccupation with race contributes to this racial divide. Regent Connerly stated that it was impossible for him to conclude that a preference given to one group is not discrimination against others. He stressed that he remained committed to diversity and that his proposed resolutions will not eliminate affirmative action. His proposal with respect to admissions strengthens affirmative action through its focus on outreach. Regent Connerly pointed out that his resolution allows supplemental criteria to be considered in admissions decisions; these criteria will be determined by the faculty. In closing his remarks, Mr. Connerly noted that more needs to be done to help the disadvantaged, but the time has come to take this inevitable step forward.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

President Peltason stated that he respectfully disagreed with the recommendations put forward by Regent Connerly. The President reported that, as a result of the review of the University's practices over the last six months, several changes are being put into place. They include the following:

- UCLA and Berkeley will institute a more comprehensive review of undergraduate applicants' background and qualifications.
- UC Davis and UC Irvine have discontinued the practice of granting admission to all eligible underrepresented students who apply.
- The Board of Admissions and Relations with Schools has been asked to review whether ethnicity should continue to be used as one of the factors considered under admission by exception.
- The Target of Opportunity Program has been modified so that it will no longer be used to reserve faculty positions solely for the hiring of underrepresented minority and women faculty, as has been the case on some campuses.
- Action has been taken to ensure that management fellowships and similar development programs are not restricted to women or minority applicants.

- General Counsel Holst has been asked to assess all of the University's business activities in light of the recent Supreme Court decision and to make specific recommendations if any of these practices need to be modified.

President Peltason noted that, in the University's admissions programs, there is no evidence that efforts to increase diversity have compromised quality. The entering students have the highest academic qualifications in the University's history, with the highest graduation rates and the highest number of students going on to graduate work. Further, the University's efforts to bring in greater numbers of underrepresented students are consistent with the University's responsibilities under the Master Plan, which requires the University to choose from among the top 12.5 percent of California high schools graduates. The Master Plan does not mandate the University to admit only students with a 4.0 grade point average or better. The Regents' 1988 policy on undergraduate admissions calls on the University to enroll a student body that meets academic requirements and reflects the broad diversity of the state.

The President observed that there are a number of measures being put forward that would affect the state constitution regarding equal opportunity and affirmative action, and, therefore, the University's race-attentive admissions programs. General Counsel Holst will undertake a comprehensive analysis of the possible effects of these measures on the University. The President recalled that he had communicated in a letter to the Regents the recommendation that he be instructed to begin immediate consultation with the faculty to determine what course of action the University should take with respect to admissions if the constitution is amended as a result of the various initiatives scheduled for the November 1996 ballot. Second, he emphasized that one aspect of the debate on which consensus appears to exist is the importance of the University's outreach efforts. If it does turn out that the University may not use race or ethnicity as a factor in admissions, these programs will become even more important in ensuring the diversity of the student body. Last year, the Board approved The Regents' Diversity Initiative, which dedicated an additional \$1 million to outreach and similar programs. The President noted that he has recommended to The Regents that he be instructed to request the State to increase substantially its support for the University's undergraduate and graduate outreach programs in the University's 1996-97 budget.

President Peltason concluded by recalling that when he was inaugurated he stated that what happens on the University's campuses will have much to do with the ability to forge a new culture that is inclusive, varied, and respectful of difference but which also unites the people of the state into a community that can live, work, prosper, and flourish. The University's affirmative action and other diversity programs have been a powerful tool in helping to prepare California for its future. The chancellors, the provost, the vice presidents, and the University's academic and student leadership join with him in urging The Regents to reaffirm the University of California's thirty-year commitment to the twin goals of diversity and excellence. He added that, whatever the Board may decide, the administration will carry out its policies.

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1. **ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION: POLICY ENSURING EQUAL TREATMENT-
EMPLOYMENT AND CONTRACTING**

Regent Connerly recommended that the following resolution be adopted:

WHEREAS, Governor Pete Wilson, on June 1, 1995, issued Executive Order W-124-95 to "End Preferential Treatment and to Promote Individual Opportunity Based on Merit"; and

WHEREAS, paragraph seven of that order requests the University of California to "take all necessary action to comply with the intent and the requirements of this executive order"; and

WHEREAS, in January 1995 the University initiated a review of its policies and practices, the results of which support many of the findings and conclusions of Governor Wilson;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:

Section 1. Effective January 1, 1996, the University of California shall not use race, religion, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin as criteria in its employment and contracting practices.

Section 2. The President of the University of California is directed to oversee a systemwide evaluation of the University's hiring and contracting practices to identify what actions need be taken to ensure that all persons have equal access to job competitions, contracts, and other business and employment opportunities of the University. A report and recommendations to accomplish this objective shall be presented to the Board of Regents before December 31, 1996.¹

Section 3. Nothing in Section 1 shall prohibit any action which is strictly necessary to establish or maintain eligibility for any federal or state program, where ineligibility would result in a loss of federal or state funds to the University.

Section 4. Nothing in Section 1 shall prohibit the University from taking appropriate action to remedy specific, documented cases of discrimination by the University, provided that such actions are expressly and specifically approved by the Board of Regents or taken pursuant to a final order of a court or administrative agency of competent jurisdiction. Nothing in this section shall interfere with the

¹ Subsequent to the Board meeting, the President stated his intention to bring this report to the Board before December 31, 1995.

customary practices of the University with regard to the settlement of claims against the University relating to discrimination.

Governor Wilson presented a slide from the Berkeley campus' undergraduate admissions booklet which showed that some applicants, by virtue of membership in a particular racial group, are admitted to the University at the Berkeley campus without any reading of the essay on their application, even when those students are non-residents. The Governor suggested that the campus' admissions policy has permitted discriminatory practices. This policy does not allow genuine equality of access and opportunity to succeed. Rather, it defeats the protections afforded by the 14th amendment to the constitution and the equal protection clause. Governor Wilson stated that underlying all of affirmative action is the assumption that members of a particular racial group need special protection in order to participate. The evidence is clear, however, that members of every race can and do succeed. California, the most diverse state in the world, celebrates this diversity, and it must encourage every child to be all that he or she can be. This encouragement begins with prenatal care, not just for MediCal patients but for the children of the working poor, as well as pediatric care. These are the solutions that guarantee fairness and equality. Regent Connerly's proposal recognizes academic qualifications but also makes possible, through the interview process, consideration of someone who is a success story even though he or she may not have achieved the same academic distinction as others. This provision, without regard to race, assures that qualified minority students will be admitted and achieve the distinction of which they are capable. Governor Wilson asked that the Board recognize its responsibility in these matters and not support a policy that is indefensible. Thirty years after the passage of the civil rights laws, discrimination continues to exist; the playing field must be leveled, but not in a way which produces a new set of victims.

Regent-designate Russell wished that the Board was merely reviewing the merits of affirmative action and that politics had not entered into the process. He was concerned that the politics which are involved in the Board's decision would not necessarily lead to the best results for the people of the State of California.

In response to a question from Regent del Junco regarding what discussion was permissible, General Counsel Holst explained that the rules of procedure require that any discussion be germane to the subject matter. Mr. Holst noted that the Regents were discussing affirmative action across an array of University programs but that clearly the vote would have to be taken on Regent Connerly's motion pertaining to business and employment. He was reluctant, however, to state that the Regents' discussion could not go somewhat beyond the subject matter of the resolution, given the breadth of the topic under consideration. He pointed out that many principles involved will flow back and forth between admissions and business and employment.

Mr. Russell was puzzled by Regent Connerly's support of diversity, and he referred to a letter to Chairman Burgener in which Regent Connerly stated that "the desire to promote racial diversity is such a part of the University culture that they will continue to try to find ways to achieve their objectives unless the Board of Regents makes our policy to the contrary very clear." Regent-designate Russell suggested that the author of that statement is not someone who favors racial diversity. He believed that Regent Connerly's proposals speak to two guiding principles, fairness and diversity. Mr. Russell explained that when he was admitted to the Berkeley campus he was given an opportunity, which some might say was unfair, because his grades were not as good as those of some of his classmates. While it is true that lower grades and test scores may be the result of socio-economic status, there is racial discrimination, which he continues to face today.

Chairman Burgener then announced that he had been advised of a bomb threat and asked that the room be cleared. Following a recess, the meeting reconvened.

Regent Kolligian called for the question on Regent Connerly's resolution. General Counsel Holst informed the Board that such a motion is not debatable and requires a two-thirds vote to pass. The motion was seconded and failed, Regents Burgener, Campbell, Clark, Connerly, Davies, del Junco, Johnson, Khachigian, Kolligian, Leach, Lee, Montoya, Nakashima, Watkins, and Wilson voting "aye" (15), and Regents Bagley, Brophy, Carmona, Davis, Eastin, Gomez, Gonzales, Levin, Peltason, and Sayles voting "no" (10).

Regent Bagley recalled that Regent Clark always reminds the Regents that they are fiduciaries, with a prime fiduciary duty to the University. Regent Bagley suggested that there was no educational urgency for the Board to vote on Regent Connerly's resolutions at the present time. He did not suggest, however, that the Board table the recommendations. Rather, he was prepared to offer amendments to President Peltason's resolution, one of which would affirm that the Regents believe in diversity and another to adopt all of Regent Connerly's expanded criteria without removing race, gender, and ethnicity. Regent Bagley was also in support of Regent Connerly's proposal with respect to admissions to raise the proportion of those students admitted on the basis of grades and test scores to a range of 50 to 75 percent. If, however, the Board adopts the resolution removing race as a criteria, the message will be that the University of California is the first university to "abolish" affirmative action. He urged the Regents to wait until the California Civil Rights Initiative is decided in November 1996 and not to provide fodder for that campaign.

Regent Davis observed that the University of California has achieved its greatness in part due to the work of the many Regents who came before, none of whom would have put the institution in harm's way nor let it become part of a divisive political campaign. While the Governor has the right to run for President and to campaign for the Civil Rights Initiative, the members of the Board have a duty to do what they think is in the best

interest of the University. Regent Davis suggested that the Regents have a fiduciary obligation to the taxpayers of the state to reach out to the brightest children in every community and give them a chance to attend a UC campus. If the Regents allow diversity to diminish as an important goal of the University, inevitably public support and respect for the institution will also diminish. Regent Davis urged the Regents to reflect on the enormity of the decision before them. He suggested the Board's energies would be better employed focusing on educational issues such as time-to-degree, interactive media, and increasing the University's affordability. He closed his remarks by offering President Peltason's recommendation as a substitute motion. The motion was seconded.

General Counsel Holst ruled that this motion was not in order given that Regent Connerly's resolution relates to employment and contracting, while the President's recommendation relates entirely to admissions and academic development programs. He advised the Board that it should proceed with Regent Connerly's motion.

Regent Carmona moved to table Regent Connerly's resolution (SP-2) until the proposal pertaining to admissions (SP-1) is resolved. The motion, duly seconded, was put to a vote and failed, Regents Bagley, Brophy, Carmona, Davis, Eastin, Gomez, Gonzales, Khachigian, Levin, and Peltason voting "aye" (10), and Regents Burgener, Campbell, Clark, Connerly, Davies, del Junco, Johnson, Kolligian, Leach, Lee, Montoya, Nakashima, Sayles, Watkins, and Wilson voting "no" (15).

Regent Leach observed that in the minds of many people opposition to affirmative action is equivalent to opposing diversity and equal opportunity. He emphasized that this conclusion is incorrect. He believed that every Regent favors diversity among the University's student body, faculty, and staff, as well as programs designed to improve the performance of disadvantaged individuals and to encourage them to avail themselves of opportunities. There is considerable difference, however, among the Regents as to whether or not any group should be given preferential consideration in seeking those opportunities. Regent Leach then shared five quotations regarding these matters. The first, from President Kennedy's executive order on affirmative action, directed employers to hire workers "...without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin." The next two were from a recent Supreme Court decision in Miller vs. Johnson. The quotes were taken from a 1993 decision in Shaw vs. Miller. "The laws that exist explicitly to distinguish between individuals on racial grounds fall within the core of prohibition of the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment of the Constitution of the United States," and "At the heart of the Constitution's guarantee of equal protection lies the command that the government must treat citizens as individuals, not as simply components of a racial, religious, sexual, or national class." The fourth quotation comes from the 1995 membership card of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which states that the first purpose of the NAACP is to "...eliminate racial discrimination and segregation in all aspects of public life in America," and purpose number five is "...to secure equal job opportunities based upon individual merit, without regard to race,

religion, or national origin." The final quotation was from a recent letter to the Regents from the leadership of the University of California Student Association, in which the UCSA states that the Board should "...look for ways of expansion of equal opportunity for all members of the University family, including students, faculty, and staff members." Regent Leach explained that these statements have led him to the conclusion that it is impossible to justify the use of preference for any group in admissions or employment connected with the University. Granting of such preference would be tantamount to replacing one form of discrimination with another. A 1981 study prepared for the U.S. Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee estimated that the cost of complying with federal affirmative action regulations was \$1 billion per year. A *Forbes* magazine study in 1993 estimated the annual cost to be \$3 billion. Mr. Leach believed that the nation would be better served if these funds were used in programs designed to improve the abilities of disadvantaged individuals and members of underrepresented groups.

Regent Eastin stated her intention to work with Governor Wilson on improving the State's K-12 system, but she suggested there was also a need to discuss issues such as building a tenth University of California campus as well as new community colleges and CSU campuses. Over the past thirty years, the State has constructed two CSU campuses and two community college campuses, but in that same time 24 major jails and prisons were built. Regent Eastin emphasized that the best crime prevention system is still an education. She noted that the Regents are in the process of selecting a new President and recalled the leaders who have served in that role throughout the University's history. She suggested that candidates of their caliber will turn away from the University if the Regents turn away from the historic commitment to creating a level playing field. She urged the members of the Board not to be persuaded to bring politics to the Board table.

Regent Gomez moved that the following University of California Student Association resolution be substituted for Regent Connerly's motion.

WHEREAS, it is imperative to have the population of the University of California truly represent the people its mission is to serve; and

WHEREAS, the students, faculty, staff, and administration of the University of California have not yet reached representative racial, ethnic or sexual composition; and

WHEREAS, this lack of representation is particularly true among senior administrators and graduate and professional students; and

WHEREAS, geographic location and socio-economic status are obstacles to many high school students seeking adequate preparation to meet admissions requirements; and

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WHEREAS, statistics on the racial and gender composition of faculty, legislative and business leaders in the United States clearly demonstrate that laws and verdicts of nondiscrimination in themselves are not enough to rectify social inequalities; and

WHEREAS, nondiscrimination is a passive process toward equality, one whose timeline is intolerably slow, undefinable and unenforceable; and

WHEREAS, presentations by UC admissions and hiring officers at meetings of the UC Regents over the past four months have demonstrated that gender or race is never the sole or even primary criteria for admissions or hiring; and

WHEREAS, it is an embarrassing injustice that, although the population of the United States, particularly California, has been the most racially diverse in the world, higher education has historically been accessible almost exclusively to men of European descent; and

WHEREAS, Affirmative Action programs have not had sufficient time to rectify these disparities;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED THAT the University of California will continue to implement its current Affirmative Action policies without direct intervention by the Regents; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the University of California will continue to acknowledge and understand the significance of race and gender in our society and put that understanding to use in our admissions policies; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the University of California should enhance and expand our academic outreach and development programs for traditionally disenfranchised communities; and

AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED THAT the University of California will continue to exercise the right it enjoys under the state and federal Constitutions to provide education to its citizens with policies which affirm the goal of having not only a diverse University population but a diverse faculty, staff and administration.

In response to a question from Chairman Burgener, General Counsel Holst explained that there is a motion on the floor. Absent unanimous consent, it would be inconsistent with established procedure to entertain another motion at this time. Regent Bagley asked for the Board's unanimous consent to vote on Regent Gomez' resolution. Governor Wilson suggested that once members of the Board had had an opportunity to make their comments, a vote be taken on SP-2, the motion presently on the floor.

Regent del Junco called the question on Regent Gomez's motion. The Board gave unanimous consent to voting on Regent Gomez's resolution. The resolution, duly seconded, was put to a vote and failed, Regents Carmona, Davis, Eastin, Gomez, Gonzales, and Levin voting "aye" (6), Regents Bagley, Brophy, Burgener, Campbell, Clark, Connerly, Davies, del Junco, Johnson, Khachigian, Kolligian, Leach, Lee, Montoya, Nakashima, Sayles, Watkins, and Wilson voting "no" (18), and President Peltason abstaining.

Regent Carmona referred to the slide presented by Governor Wilson and asked Chancellor Tien to join in the discussion. Chancellor Tien noted that, perhaps as a result of miscommunication, some of the statements made by the Governor with respect to admissions policies at the Berkeley campus were either out of date or inaccurate. The slide which Governor Wilson presented was from 1992; since that time, the campus has modified its procedures. With respect to reading all of the applicants' files, this procedure was changed, even though the campus receives 23,000 applications per year. Due to lack of budgetary support, this has been difficult for the campus to do. In the interest of fairness, however, the campus has independently decided to read all of the files.

Regent Carmona asked Assistant Vice President Galligani to comment on the projected effect that Regent Connerly's proposal would have on the University's academic outreach programs. Mr. Galligani stated that he had not undertaken any studies on the effects on the outreach programs but that it was his understanding of the proposal that the University would need to consider a broader category of students in its target group. In response to a further question from Regent Carmona on the effect of Regent Connerly's resolution relative to enrollment of underrepresented students overall and within the admissions by exception program, Mr. Galligani believed that the decrease in enrollment for African American students would be less than the 40 to 50 percent which was originally predicted when socio-economic status was substituted for race. This is because the admissions process considers such factors as leadership skills and extracurricular activities. Regent Carmona asked what effect Regent Connerly's proposal would have on the enrollment of African American students at the Berkeley campus. Admissions Director Laird reported that projections indicate that for fall 1994 the number would have declined from 207, which was the actual number, to somewhere between 44 and 74, a 75 percent decrease.

Regent Carmona observed that the proposals being considered by the Regents were of major importance to the direction that the University would be taking. He suggested that the University's greatest struggle was to respond to the cultural inefficiencies of a democracy. The Board's decision will profoundly impact the democratic role of the University. He suggested that decision should be guided by factual information, not personal opinion. The present environment at the Board meeting makes any rational consideration an impossibility. The Board's deliberations should reflect those of an autonomous entity. Regent Carmona suggested that the Regents did not have sufficient information on which to base a decision on affirmative action. He recalled that last fall,

when Regent Connerly emphasized that the passage of Proposition 187 was a harbinger of things to come, many Regents interpreted Regent Connerly's words with respect to the abolition of affirmative action as a *fait accompli*. He urged the Regents to proceed with caution.

With respect to Chancellor Tien's remarks, Governor Wilson recalled that on July 10, 1995 President Peltason sent a letter to the Regents in which he conceded that a number of modifications to the University's admissions policies needed to be made. Among these, the President stated that "UC Berkeley and UCLA will institute a more comprehensive review of applicants' background and qualifications. These campuses currently give a special reading to applications from underrepresented students. In the future, *all* eligible applicants will go through the same process." Chancellor Tien responded that the campus had made the decision to read all files prior to President Peltason's letter being sent. Governor Wilson pointed out that the Regents were not made aware of this decision until July 10. He continued that President Peltason had also stated that "In the late 1980s, most of our campuses discontinued the practice of granting automatic admission to all eligible undergraduate underrepresented students who applied. UC Davis and UC Irvine are the only remaining campuses that automatically admit all eligible underrepresented applicants, and they have now discontinued the practice. This brings them into conformity with Universitywide policy."

Through follow-up questions directed to Chancellor Tien and General Counsel Holst, Regent Connerly clarified that in the spring of 1995 General Counsel Holst had advised the Berkeley campus by letter that its admissions practices should be changed. It was further clarified that the changes referred to by the Chancellor would begin to affect admissions for fall 1996.

Regent Davies described the process which led to the present debate on affirmative action. He recalled that over a year ago Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Cook complained when their son was denied admission to the San Diego campus' medical school. That complaint led to studies and presentations, beginning in November 1994. He suggested that the issue had progressed in a logical fashion without any regard to presidential campaigns. Regent Davies believed that the Board had studied the issue thoroughly in the intervening months. During that process, he learned that the University uses race in an impermissible way to govern admissions, contracting, and hiring. Regent Davies emphasized the support of the members of the Board for the goal of achieving diversity on the campuses. The question is what is the right tool to use. He believed that the tool of affirmative action does more harm than good. He observed that Regent Connerly's proposal directs the Academic Senate to develop supplemental criteria for admissions which will produce a diverse student body.

Regent Johnson assured those present that the Board of Regents had no intention of returning the University to the days of oppression and exclusion. She suggested that what

the Board was considering was building upon the accomplishments of affirmative action by providing opportunity in a new way. The University should reward individual hard work rather than group membership. Regent Johnson felt that some of the University's race-based programs were causing a sense of group entitlement, thereby causing racial separateness. She added that this was a long-held belief unrelated to any political campaign.

Regent Sayles did not believe that the Regents had sufficient factual information to come to a decision. He also believed that any action the Board might take would be premature in light of the pending so-called Civil Rights Initiative. Regent Sayles suggested that the Regents keep in mind why the University's affirmative action policies were implemented. They were implemented to try to address years of insidious and dehumanizing exclusion based on gender and race. The current policy was based on the belief that, in order to move towards a more inclusive University and society, extraordinary measures, including consideration of race and gender, would be necessary. The question which each Regent must now ask is whether he or she realistically believes that society and the University have progressed to the point that considering race and gender is no longer necessary. Regent Sayles stated that, from his prospective, the answer was "no." Some would argue that affirmative action measures have contributed to race and gender antagonism. Regent Sayles believed that argument was akin to blaming chemotherapy for the cancer. He noted that ultimately how each Regent votes will be based upon his or her life experience, but pointed out that, even with the successes he has achieved, as an African American he continues to suffer discrimination. Regent Sayles stated that the University's current affirmative action policies give him a reason to believe that the life experiences of his 12-year-old son and minority children like him will involve opportunities for inclusion. On the other hand, Regent Connerly's proposals cause him to fear for his son and others like him.

Regent Levin stated that she was firmly opposed to doing away with the University's affirmative action programs. She resented the fact that the Board had been thrust into the center of a political campaign, and she suggested that the decisions should be made within the family of the University of California rather than in reaction to certain political agendas. Regent Levin recalled that the alumni Regents had asked the Board to delay voting on this action until there has been an opportunity to discuss thoroughly all of its aspects. She urged the members of the Board to recognize their responsibility and not to place the University of California at risk.

Regent Nakashima pointed out that no one can know whether the California Civil Rights Initiative will be on the November 1996 ballot. He observed that no racial group has a monopoly on discrimination, and he recalled being placed in an internment camp for Japanese Americans during World War II. Further, Asians were subject to anti-miscegenation laws through the early 1950s. Regent Nakashima noted that the problems with respect to affirmative action occur only at the Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses

because of demand. Under the present policy, African American and Hispanic students are given their first choice of which campus they wish to attend. If they are not qualified to attend Berkeley or UCLA, they will be accepted somewhere else.

Regent Khachigian stated that affirmative action has opened people's eyes to the true meaning of equal opportunity and to the fact that leadership without diversity is of a lower quality. Affirmative action's greatest accomplishment has been to open the pipeline of opportunity for all people, in creating role models for underrepresented persons, and in creating the climate of inclusion. Affirmative action was created to provide hope for the future for all people, and originally it was successful in that mission. Regent Khachigian believed, however, that affirmative action has strayed from its original intent and must be modified because its implementation has caused the unintended consequence of increased divisiveness and racism. Students on the University's campuses are faced with groups of students who are awarded special privileges because of race. While many speakers have characterized a vote for Regent Connerly's resolutions as a step backward, Regent Khachigian saw it as a step forward toward a society based on individual rights. Current affirmative action policy undermines the value of individual achievement. She asked why, if affirmative action is working so well, do many minorities feel that it should be abolished. The University of California must remain committed to remaining open to the most qualified students in order to train the leaders of tomorrow. Students must be identified early in their academic careers as promising scholars who might be living in circumstances which make progress towards success more difficult. The University must build on and strengthen its outreach programs and must demand the highest quality of education in California's public high schools.

Regent Montoya stated that she did not favor admitting students to the University based solely on their membership in a group. At the same time, she recognized that standardized test scores are highly imperfect indicators of future academic success. The studies presented to the Regents this spring have demonstrated that minority students from disadvantaged communities do not have access to the advanced placement courses available to students from non-minority communities. Regent Montoya explained that, for these reasons, it was her view that UC admissions policy should be that the University view each applicant as a whole person, including the applicant's race, ethnicity, and gender.

Regent Gonzales noted that Regent Connerly's resolution replaces race, gender, ethnic origin, and religion with "...an abusive or otherwise dysfunctional home or a neighborhood of unwholesome or antisocial influences" and that the resolution asks the applicant to prove that he or she overcame those problems. She wondered how the Regents would set the parameters for admissions committees to conduct interviews and whether candidates would wish to share these influences with total strangers. Regent Gonzales stated that no one had convinced her of the existence of a color- or gender-blind society. Race, ethnicity, and gender remain important factors in the state and the nation. She pleaded with the Board

to delay action in order to develop a plan of action and to rectify any abuses which may be occurring.

Faculty Representative Simmons recalled that preceding the Regents' debate, Governor Wilson attacked the University on national television. During the debate a member of the State Assembly blatantly insulted the entire administration of the University, and a State Senator at the other end of the political spectrum threatened the University's budget. He recommended that the issue be deferred until the people have spoken, rather than taking the lead on this unresolved national issue. The faculty leadership of the University endorses affirmative action, as does the California Postsecondary Education Commission and the academic leadership of the California State University and the community colleges. Professor Simmons pointed out that Regent Connerly's proposal will significantly reduce minority enrollment at the University of California. The faculty and administrators will not be able to use dysfunctional families or a bad environment as surrogates for race because there are far more Caucasians who come from dysfunctional families or poor neighborhoods. Professor Simmons noted that there are fewer than 1,000 African American high school graduates per year eligible for enrollment in the University of California. Without programs that affirmatively focus on race in order to attract these students, the enrollment of African American students will decline substantially, and enrollment in professional schools will disappear. He stated that while he abhors the idea of using race as the sole, or even as a predominant factor in making admissions decision, he would urge that the faculty at least be permitted to know the race of the applicants that they are considering. With respect to faculty hiring, Professor Simmons asked whether reaching out to minority communities to enhance the hiring pool would be prohibited as a practice based upon race. He also wondered whether the proposal would prevent the faculty from choosing between two equally qualified candidates the one who belonged to a minority group. He assumed that the proposal will also prevent the faculty from recruiting minority instructors because that would also be a practice based on race. He feared that these proposals would limit the faculty's scholarly inquiries and restrict their ability to attract and inspire minority graduate students.

Regent Connerly explained that he would have preferred to sit down with the leadership of the institution to craft something that would have the input of the whole institution, but they had resisted this approach from the beginning. He noted that the resolution is simply asking the faculty to come up with supplemental criteria to replace race and gender that will allow the faculty to determine the individual merit of applicants.

Regent Kolligian remarked that when unfair preferences are established to admit certain groups based on ethnicity or sex alone, as under the present system, the University is discriminating and could be held to be operating illegally. In a recent U.S. Court of Appeals case, the court said that "...anyone forced to compete on an unequal basis...could be a victim of illegal discrimination." He hoped that the Board would take action as soon as possible to avoid potential litigation or class action suits. He supported increased

outreach efforts to underrepresented students. Affirmative action started with a purpose in mind, but the University has strayed too far from the original understanding of the civil rights act and equal opportunity legislation. Regent Kolligian did not believe that anything could be gained from a delay in implementing Regent Connerly's recommendations. He felt that the Board should take the lead and make the decision for the University.

Regent Lee first described how he emigrated from China to the United States, then asked that people judge him as an individual and not based upon his race.

Regent Leach called for the question. There was no objection to the motion.

Regent Connerly's motion, duly seconded, was put to a vote and approved, Regents Burgener, Campbell, Clark, Connerly, Davies, del Junco, Johnson, Khachigian, Kolligian, Leach, Lee, Montoya, Nakashima, Watkins, and Wilson voting "aye" (15), and Regents Bagley, Brophy, Carmona, Davis, Eastin, Gomez, Gonzales, Levin, Peltason, and Sayles voting "no" (10).

2. **ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION: POLICY ENSURING EQUAL TREATMENT—ADMISSIONS**

Regent Connerly recommended that the following resolution be adopted:

WHEREAS, Governor Pete Wilson, on June 1, 1995, issued Executive Order W-124-95 to "End Preferential Treatment and to Promote Individual Opportunity Based on Merit"; and

WHEREAS, paragraph seven of that order requests the University of California to "take all necessary action to comply with the intent and the requirements of this executive order"; and

WHEREAS, in January 1995, the University initiated a review of its policies and practices, the results of which support many of the findings and conclusions of Governor Wilson; and

WHEREAS, the University of California Board of Regents believes that it is in the best interest of the University to take relevant actions to develop and support programs which will have the effect of increasing the eligibility rate of groups which are "underrepresented" in the University's pool of applicants as compared to their percentages in California's graduating high school classes and to which reference is made in Section 4;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:

Section 1. The Chairman of the Board, with the consultation of the President, shall appoint a task force representative of the business community, students, the University, other segments of education, and organizations currently engaged in academic "outreach." The responsibility of this group shall be to develop proposals for new directions and increased funding for the Board of Regents to increase the eligibility rate of those currently identified in Section 4. The final report of this task force shall be presented to the Board of Regents within six months after its creation.

Section 2. Effective January 1, 1997, the University of California shall not use race, religion, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin as criteria for admission to the University or to any program of study.

Section 3. Effective January 1, 1997, the University of California shall not use race, religion, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin as criteria for "admissions in exception" to UC-eligibility requirements.

Section 4. The President shall confer with the Academic Senate of the University of California to develop supplemental criteria for consideration by the Board of Regents which shall be consistent with Section 2. In developing such criteria, which shall provide reasonable assurances that the applicant will successfully complete his or her course of study, consideration shall be given to individuals who, despite having suffered disadvantage economically or in terms of their social environment (such as an abusive or otherwise dysfunctional home or a neighborhood of unwholesome or antisocial influences), have nonetheless demonstrated sufficient character and determination in overcoming obstacles to warrant confidence that the applicant can pursue a course of study to successful completion, provided that any student admitted under this section must be academically eligible for admission.

Section 5. Effective January 1, 1997, not less than fifty (50) percent and not more than seventy-five (75) percent of any entering class on any campus shall be admitted solely on the basis of academic achievement.

Section 6. Nothing in Section 2 shall prohibit any action which is strictly necessary to establish or maintain eligibility for any federal or state program, where ineligibility would result in a loss of federal or state funds to the University.

Section 7. Nothing in Section 2 shall prohibit the University from taking appropriate action to remedy specific, documented cases of discrimination by the University, provided that such actions are expressly and specifically approved by the Board of Regents or taken pursuant to a final order of a court or administrative agency of competent jurisdiction. Nothing in this section shall interfere with the

customary practices of the University with regard to the settlement of claims against the University relating to discrimination.

Section 8. The President of the University shall periodically report to the Board of Regents detailing progress to implement the provisions of this resolution.

Regent Brophy moved to amend Regent Connerly's recommendation by adding the following (additions shown by underscore):

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:

* * *

Section 2. The President, with the consultation of the Board of Regents and the Academic Senate, shall appoint a task force to evaluate the impact of the measures proposed in this resolution. The task force will also evaluate other alternatives to current admissions practices. The task force will report the results of its evaluation on or before the November, 1996 meeting of the Board.

Section 2 3. Effective January 1, 1997, the University of California shall not use race, religion, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin as a criterion for admission to the University or to any program of study. Upon consideration of the report prepared pursuant to Section 2, the Board may adopt such clarifications or modifications of this requirement as may be appropriate.

Section 3 4. Effective January 1, 1997, race, religion, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin shall not be a criterion for admissions in exception to UC-eligibility requirements. Upon consideration of the report prepared pursuant to Section 2, the Board may adopt such clarifications or modifications of this requirement as may be appropriate.

Regent Brophy stated that he was prepared to vote no on Regent Connerly's recommendation if the Board fails to adopt his proposed amendment to it. While the two resolutions are similar, his proposal would allow the Board to clarify the Connerly resolution following an evaluation by a task force appointed to evaluate the impact of the measure upon admissions. A report would be presented to the Board in November 1996. Regent Brophy pointed out that over the past six months the Regents had received numerous reports on the University's present affirmative action programs, but they were not given sufficient data on what the effects of the Connerly proposal would be. His amendment would permit full consultation with the faculty, who have traditionally played the major role in advising on academic matters, including admissions policies. He noted that reaffirming the principle of shared governance is especially important in light of the considerable sacrifice the faculty have made during the University's budget crisis.

Regent Bagley asked if Regent Connerly would accept the following statement of principle as an addition to his resolution: "It is the policy of this Board that the University's admissions and hiring programs should lead to a campus population which reflects the diversity of the State of California, and this policy is in the best interests of the State and the University." Regent Connerly stated that he would prefer to vote all of the proposed amendments down and go straight to his resolution.

President Peltason stressed that what is being considered are the supplemental criteria for admission. In addition to race, gender, and ethnicity, these criteria include special talents or experiences, unusual promise for leadership, achievement, and services in a particular field such as civic life and the arts; special circumstances adversely affecting applicants' life experience, such as disabilities, low family income, or refugee status; and location of residence.

Regent del Junco pointed out that nothing in Regent Connerly's resolution would prohibit a study such as that recommended by Regent Brophy. Regent Brophy believed that his proposal would give the University time to get the information necessary to come to a final decision on its admissions policies.

Regent Levin moved that the President's recommendation be substituted for SP-1 The President's recommendation was as follows:

That the President be instructed to develop, in consultation with the Academic Senate, appropriate changes in undergraduate, graduate, and professional school policies governing admissions; these policies to take effect on or before January 1, 1997 should state or federal law be changed to prohibit consideration of race, ethnicity, and/or gender. Further, that the President be instructed to increase, over a three-year period, the funds made available for student academic development activities. Funds for expansion of these activities would combine additional monies obtained through the state budget and private monies from employers and others with an interest in a well-trained, well-educated workforce.

The motion, duly seconded, was put to a vote and defeated, Regents Bagley, Brophy, Carmona, Davis, Eastin, Gomez, Gonzales, Levin, Montoya, Peltason, and Sayles voting "aye" (11), and Regents Burgener, Campbell, Clark, Connerly, Davies, del Junco, Johnson, Khachigian, Kolligian, Leach, Lee, Nakashima, Watkins, and Wilson voting "no" (14).

Regent Watkins called for the question on the Brophy amendment to SP-1.

At this point, the meeting was disrupted and the Chairman called for a recess. The meeting reconvened on the second floor at 8:00 p.m.

In response to a request from Chairman Burgener, General Counsel Holst cited the following provision of the Bagley-Keene Open Meeting Law: "In the event the meeting is willfully interrupted by a group of persons so as to render the orderly conduct of such meeting unfeasible, and order cannot be restored by the removal of individuals who are willfully interrupting the meeting, the state body conducting the meeting may order the meeting room cleared and continue in session." Mr. Holst asked whether in fact the meeting room could be considered safe to reoccupy in order to allow a maximum number of the public to be in attendance.

Regent Gomez asked whether the procedures for disruptions which were agreed to in June had been followed. Governor Wilson believed that what had occurred qualified as a disruption.

In response to a request from Regent Davis, Chief Nelson said that it would be possible to seal the room.

Governor Wilson suggested that, aside from questions of security, the Regents wished to resume the business of a duly noticed public meeting. He did not believe that the Police Chief could guarantee that the Board would not be disrupted again in the original location.

General Counsel Holst explained that the test is whether the room can be made suitable, from a safety standpoint, to conduct orderly business, and if there are those there who are disruptive, whether they can be removed. If so, Mr. Holst believed that the Bagley-Keene Act provision points to continuing the meeting in the room in which it was originally scheduled and the room in which the members of the public who are not disrupting the meeting could have the potential for being there.

Regent Bagley suggested that, if the Board chooses to remain on the second floor, a finding of fact would be necessary to support that decision.

Regent Gomez pointed out that the public was never asked to sit down nor warned that the room might be cleared if they did not.

Regent Bagley stated that if the Regents decide to stay on the second floor it will be because their own observations have indicated that there is a security problem and, because of the continuing activity of some parts of the audience, the Board would probably not be able to conclude its meeting without further disruption. The fact that no "warning" was issued was made moot because the meeting had already been disrupted.

The Board then approved Regent Bagley's findings and voted to remain on the second floor by a vote of 14 in favor and 10 opposed. The vote was taken by a show of hands.

Chancellor Young explained that he had not intended to speak to the Board on this issue but that he and the other chancellors had decided that this was such an important issue for the University of California that their views should be clearly put before the Regents. He noted that, as the Board considers its action today, it is important to start with an understanding of the public policy mission of the University of California. The chancellors believe that an essential element of that mission is to educate the next generation of leaders for a multicultural society. Affirmative action does not, as many have argued, reduce excellence. A diverse student body serves all of its members better than one which is non-diverse in its makeup and increases the excellence of the educational process. The chancellors believe that the University is a much greater one today than it was before efforts at diversification were begun. Every student who graduates from the University of California today leaves with a far better understanding of the complex world than he or she would have a quarter century ago. Society as a whole has also been enriched by expansion of access to high-quality, affordable education to young people of all groups. Affirmative action in the University of California has benefited the individuals and the groups to which it has been targeted, but the diversity it has created has benefited every member of the University community. The chancellors believe that the campuses can achieve diversity without violating the rights of individuals while properly taking race, gender, and ethnicity into account without the use of quotas or set-asides as part of the process. If improper actions have been taken in the name of affirmative action, then these actions should be modified or eliminated. On behalf of the chancellors, Chancellor Young urged the Regents to vote to retain the tools that will enable the University to continue along the path to diversity for the good of the institution and the society as a whole.

Provost Massey observed that on this historic occasion it was clear that members of the Board have very differing views about the need to use race and ethnicity in some aspects of the University's activities. He strongly supported the President's resolution and the statement by Chancellor Young. Having been raised in the rigidly segregated society of pre-1960s Mississippi, Provost Massey attested that his desire for a color-free society is as strong as anyone's. If he believed that race-conscious programs were imperiling or even delaying that goal, he would be against them. On the contrary, he believed that these efforts are an important vehicle in creating a society where race may not matter. Some speakers have spoken to the stigmatism that comes from affirmative action programs. Provost Massey believed that the idea that affirmative action is a primary cause of the view towards Black people of some members of other groups is a bizarre concept which has little basis in American history. The notion that having a perception of advantage due to affirmative action is more stigmatizing than drinking from colored-only fountains and riding in the backs of buses is a strange notion. Provost Massey asked that the Board consider the following facts before voting on Regent Connerly's motion. The University of California is an international university with respect in the halls of learning rivaling that of any institution. The Board's decision will affect not only the University of California and the State; it will send signals throughout the entire higher education community. Provost Massey hoped that the Regents would consider that the University's leadership

believes that affirmative action policies are in the institution's best interest. They contribute to the broad goals of the State of California to have a diverse citizenry capable of coming together to create increased standards of living for all of its citizens. Contrary to several assertions, measurable rates of quality such as time to degree, attrition, number of students attending graduate school, and graduation rates have been enhanced by diversity. The chancellors, the vice presidents, the faculty leadership, and student leaders are committed to love and understand the University. Their arguments to continue affirmative action programs do not come from narrow, self-serving personal agendas but out of a sincere concern for the University. Provost Massey suggested that the Board should have an absolute certainty about the outcome of the vote before rejecting this united recommendation from the leadership of the institution.

Regent Brophy's amendment, duly seconded, was put to a vote and failed, Regents Bagley, Brophy, Carmona, Davis, Eastin, Gomez, Gonzales, Levin, Montoya, and Peltason voting "aye" (10) and Regents Burgener, Campbell, Clark, Connerly, Davies, del Junco, Johnson, Khachigian, Kolligian, Leach, Lee, Nakashima, Sayles, Watkins, and Wilson voting "no" (15).

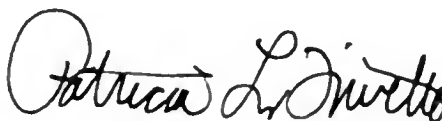
Regent Connerly offered the following as an amendment to SP-1 and to SP-2:

Believing California's diversity to be an asset, we adopt this statement: Because individual members of all of California's diverse races have the intelligence and capacity to succeed at the University of California, this policy will achieve a UC population that reflects this state's diversity through the preparation and empowerment of all students in this state to succeed rather than through a system of artificial preferences.

Regent Connerly's motion, duly seconded and as amended, was put to a vote and approved, Regents Burgener, Campbell, Clark, Connerly, Davies, del Junco, Johnson, Khachigian, Kolligian, Leach, Lee, Nakashima, Watkins, and Wilson voting "aye" (14), Regents Brophy, Carmona, Davis, Eastin, Gomez, Gonzales, Levin, Montoya, Peltason, and Sayles voting "no" (10), and Regent Bagley abstaining.

The meeting adjourned at 8:35 p.m.

Attest:



Secretary

Media Releases

UC Irvine's School of Social Sciences to Bestow First 'Distinguished Benefactor Award' on Jack and Suzanne Peltason

*Former chancellor and wife to be honored in back-to-back events,
including daylong conference featuring former U.S. Senator Paul Simon*

Contact
Tracy Childs
(949) 824-5484
tpchilds@uci.edu

For more information,
please contact the UCI
Communications Office,
(949) 824-6922

Search

UCI news

Feedback

Irvine, Calif., Oct. 21, 1999 — UC Irvine Chancellor Emeritus Jack Peltason and his wife, Suzanne, have been named recipients of the School of Social Sciences' first "Distinguished Benefactor Award" for their history of support for the school and its students, including a recent gift that will create a new Peltason Fellowship in the school's Center for the Study of Democracy.



Two events are planned to honor the Peltasons: a dinner on Wednesday, Oct. 27, and a daylong conference at UCI on Thursday, Oct. 28, that will explore the future of American democracy with lectures and panel discussions featuring some of the nation's most prominent political experts.

Former U.S. Senator Paul Simon (D.-Ill.), a longtime friend of the Peltasons, will deliver the Peltason Lecture on Democracy as the conference's keynote address at 7:30 p.m. Thursday, Oct. 28, in the UCI Student Center. In addition, James MacGregor Burns, a Pulitzer Prize-winning author, will speak on the American presidency earlier in the day at 12:15 p.m. in the Student Center. Burns is one of the original co-authors, with Peltason, of "Government by The People," a best-selling political science textbook now in its 18th edition. The conference, titled "The Future of American Democracy," is free and open to the public.

"I can't think of two people more deserving of this honor than Jack and Suzie Peltason," UCI Chancellor Ralph J. Cicerone said. "Their legacy of service to UCI and its students, and of leadership to the University of California as a whole, is remarkable."

In addition to serving as the university's second chancellor from 1984 to 1992, Jack Peltason was president of the University of California from 1992 to 1995 and chancellor of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign from 1967 to 1977. He is a highly regarded political scientist and author and one of the founding faculty of UCI's Center for the Study of Democracy, which is coordinating the events.

The Peltasons recently made a gift to the Center for the Study of Democracy that has endowed the Peltason Fellowship, which will enable the center to recruit some of America's brightest students to its graduate training program on democracy. Russell Dalton, center director and professor of political science, said the Peltasons' gift will help the center expand its graduate program on democracy, which was created in 1995 with a \$562,500 grant from the National Science Foundation.

In addition, the Hewlett Foundation has awarded the center a \$75,000 challenge grant to establish the Peltason Lecture on Democracy, a program that will bring distinguished political figures to campus each year for classes and lectures. Simon is the first political figure to visit the campus as a Peltason lecturer. He'll discuss his views on America's political future.

"Through their generous gifts of both time and financial resources, the Peltasons have played key roles in the creation and success of the Center for the Study of Democracy," Dalton said. "Their continuing commitment to the center—and to the entire School of Social Sciences—is enabling us to expose our students to the insight and experiences of some of the most important political figures in America."

Indeed, "The Future of American Democracy" conference will bring

together the most prestigious group of political scientists and former politicians ever assembled at UCI, Dalton said. Most of them, he noted, are friends of Jack Peltason, who is considered one of the nation's foremost authorities on American politics and the Constitution.

Explaining the reason for his gift to the Center for the Study of Democracy, Peltason said, "The center brings together scholars from many disciplines to study one of the most important subjects I can think of—the process of self-government and how to preserve and enhance democracy, a subject I've devoted my life to." NOTE: Details on the Oct. 28 conference are available by calling (949) 824-5361 or visiting www.democ.uci.edu/democ/confer/usaconf.htm.

UCI Communications Office
Web Contact: communications@uci.edu
URL: www.communications.uci.edu
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Jack W. Peltason

Personal

Born August 29, 1923, St. Louis, Missouri
 Married Suzanne Toll, December 21, 1946
 Two daughters, one son

Education

Princeton University, 1947: Ph.D., Political Science
 Princeton University, 1946: A.M., Political Science
 University of Missouri, 1943: B. S., Political Science

Professional Positions

1997--Present	President, Bren Foundation
1995--Present	President Emeritus, University of California
1992-1995	President, University of California
1984-1992	Chancellor, University of California, Irvine
1977-1984	President, American Council on Education
1967-1977	Chancellor, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana
1964-1967	Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, University of California, Irvine
1960-1964	Dean, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana
1953-1959	Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana
1951-1952	Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana
1947-1951	Assistant Professor, Smith College

Honors and Awards

The Hubert Humphrey Award, Policy Studies Organization, 1996

The UCI Medal, 1993

Jefferson Lecturer, University of Missouri

Sumigarden Award, 1993

Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1989

Honorary Doctor of University Administration, University of Illinois, 1989

Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters, Chapman University, 1986

Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters, Assumption College, 1983

Charles E. Merriam Award, American Political Science Association, 1983

Honorary Doctor of Humanities, Buena Vista College, 1982

Honorary Doctor of Letters,
Montana College of Mineral Science and Technology, 1982

James Madison Medal Award, Princeton University, 1982

Honorary Doctor of Letters, Union College, 1981

Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters, Ohio State University, 1980

Honorary Doctor of Laws, Morehead State University, 1980

Honorary Doctor of Laws, University of Maine, 1980

Honorary Doctor of Laws, Gannon University, 1980

Honorary Doctor of Laws, Illinois College, 1979

Honorary Doctor of Laws, University of Maryland, 1979

Honorary Doctor of Laws, University of Missouri, 1978

Honors and Awards, continued

Proctor Fellow, Princeton University, 1946

Beta Gamma Sigma

Alpha Phi Omega

Omicron Delta Kappa

Phi Kappa Phi

Phi Beta Kappa

Current Memberships and Professional Service

Member, Board of Directors, Bren Foundation

Member, Board of Directors, Irvine Health Foundation

Member, Board of Directors, Irvine Apartment Communities

Member, Board of Trustees, Archstone Foundation

Member, Board of Directors, California Economic Development Corporation

Member, Board of Trustees, Sage Hill School

Member, Board of Directors, InfoTech Commercial Systems

Member, Board of Directors, Irvine Barclay Theater

Member, Board of Directors, United Way of Orange County

Trustee, Institute for American Universities, Aix-en-Provence, France

Member and Chair, Board of Overseers, Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association/College Retirement Equities Fund

Member, National Assembly Honorary Committee,
Global Perspectives in Education, Inc.

Previous Memberships and Professional Service

Member, Board of Trustees, Tanner Lectures on Human Values

Member, Board of Directors, California Council on Science and Technology

Member, Board of Trustees,
Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching

Member, Trust and Development Board of Trustees,
American Political Science Association

Member, Board of Directors, Koll Management Services

Member, Board of Directors, Western Digital Corporation

Member, Board of Trustees,
Center for the Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences

Ex-officio Member, Executive Committee
of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Advisory Member, Orange County Business Committee for the Arts

Member, International Advisory Board, Sage Yearbooks: Politics & Public Policy

President, National Council of Pi Sigma Alpha,
National Political Science Honor Society

Member, Illinois Advisory Committee of the
United States Civil Rights Commission

Vice President and Member of the Council,
American Political Science Association

Vice Chair, American Association of Community and Junior Colleges
Commission on the Future of Community Colleges

Member, Board of Trustees, American College Testing Program

Member, American Political Science Association Steering Committee
on Undergraduate Education

Previous Memberships and Professional Service, continued

Member, American Council on Education Commission on Minorities

Member, National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges,
Division of Urban Affairs, Executive Committee and
the Committee on Association Membership

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5th ed. 1963
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**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH:
JACK W. PELTASON**

Jack W. Peltason has returned to UCI after serving from 1992 to 1995 as the sixteenth President of the University of California. Prior to serving as President, he served as Chancellor at the University of California, Irvine (1984-92) and as Chancellor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1967-77). In addition, he served as President of the American Council on Education (1977-1984). In 1997, he was asked to serve as Co-Chair of the Western Center, American Academy of Arts & Sciences

Mr. Peltason has a distinguished service record at both the university and national levels. Among his honors and awards:

Hubert Humphrey Award, Policy Studies Organization, 1996
 The UCI Medal, 1993
 Jefferson Lecturer, University of Missouri
 Sumigarden Award, 1993
 Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1989
 Charles E. Merriam Award, American Political Science Association, 1983
 James Madison Medal Award, Princeton University, 1982

Currently his professional service includes serving on the Board of Directors at:

The Bren Foundation
 The Irvine Health Foundation
 The Irvine Apartment Communities
 InfoTech Commercial Systems
 Archstone Foundation, Board of Trustees
 Sage Hill School, Board of Trustees
 Irvine Barclay Theater
 The United Way of Orange County

A specialist in constitutional law, Mr. Peltason has been a major contributor in his field. He initiated a period in political science of strong reaction against the rigorous conceptual separation of law from politics and the vision of courts as courts of law rather than political courts. Among his acclaimed publications are the following:

His textbook Government by the People (with James M. Burns, Thomas E. Cronin, and David B. Magleby; Prentice Hall, Inc.) has been a best-seller in political science since its beginning. The 17th edition was published in 1997.

His handbook in American constitutional law, Understanding the Constitution (Harcourt Brace), goes through the Constitution clause by clause, explaining what each means in light of judicial interpretation and current applications. A major textbook in wide use over the years, Mr. Peltason completed the 14th edition in 1997.

Biographical Sketch
Jack W. Peltason
Page Two

Another book, Federal Courts in the Political Process (Random House) has had a major impact on the intellectual lives of several generations of graduate students. In this landmark work, Mr. Peltason develops a conceptual framework within which to view courts and judges as participants in the political process.

Mr. Peltason was born August 29, 1923 in St. Louis Missouri. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of Missouri and his Ph.D. in Political Science from Princeton University. He is married to Suzanne Toll Peltason; in December 1996 they celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary. Mrs. Peltason is a recipient of the UCI Medal. The Peltasons have three children and seven grandchildren.

TO: Jack Peltason
 FROM: Ann Lage
 RE: DRAFT OUTLINE FOR MARCH 31

Typical Interview Outline

Some thoughts to get us started:

We have covered: I, II, III, IV, V, and VI.

I Family and youth

II University education

III Smith College, 1947-1951

IV University of Illinois, 1951-1964

V UC Irvine, Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, 1964-1967

VI Chancellor at U of Illinois, 1967-1977

We ended the last session with a discussion of why you accepted the ACE position, and we'll start with ACE on Tuesday morning. I would expect that we will have time to also to begin a discussion of your chancellorship at Irvine.

Please feel free to add to, subtract from, and rearrange this outline of suggested topics. I want to be sure we get what YOU think is important to record, with particular emphasis on documenting the here-to-fore undocumented story.

VII. President, American Council on Education, 1977-1984

The organization and its purposes

Your goals as president

Staff

Attending to interests of such a diversity of universities and colleges

How might your grounding in the research universities have affected your perspective and work with ACE?

Coordinating with other higher ed organizations, AAU, etc.

Business-Higher Education Forum

Research focus of ACE

ACE fellows program

Advocacy role in Washington--Congress, executive, federal courts

student financial aid, indirect costs, anti-university regulations
 Carter and Reagan administrations

Problems with tenants in the Dupont Circle building

NCAA-rule 48 and your thoughts on intercollegiate athletics

Accomplishments, frustrations

Living and working in Washington, D.C.

What did you learn firsthand about politics and Washington after years of studying American politics?

What did you take with you to UCI from this experience?

VIII. Chancellor at UC Irvine, 1984-1992

Appointment as Chancellor, October 1984, succeeding Dan Aldrich
your welcome back and your inauguration

A. The campus

Impressions on returning after 17 years

Campus strengths and weaknesses in 1984

Your goals

What changed at UCI as a result of your taking over as chancellor?

Your staff

Faculty recruitment and retention--how did you assist?

money from president Gardner

appointing of women and minority faculty and administrators

other faculty issues--salaries, academic senate relations, faculty
retreats, extent of faculty involvement in governance and service,
faculty politics and community politics

New academic programs, schools, etc.

The Humanities Research Institute--how did it happen to be situated
at Irvine? 1987

Global Peace and Conflict Studies

East Asian Languages and Literature

geosciences program

Reorganization of School of Social Sciences--Wm. Schonfeld institutes
departmental structure-your role

Overseeing the building program, Under Construction Indefinitely

adjustments to the original physical plan

Almost 40 new facilities

Includes Medical Plaza, with specialty clinics

student center, theater, Bren events center

Opening of Bren Center--Peltason dribbles

Community Relations and Fund Raising

The Irvine Company, Donald Bren, 1984 meeting in Washington

Reaching out to other business and social communities

Chief Executive Roundtable, 1986

Joint-venture construction of campus buildings

Using inclusion area land for high-tech commercial development, 1988

Relations with City of Irvine and Orange County

Relations with the press

Chancellors Club

Bren Fellows program, 1989

How has the close association with the Irvine Company shaped the campus?

political influence of Irvine Company in Sacramento and Washington

Student body--growth, demographics, athletics, dissent ?

Undergraduate teaching

The College of Medicine and the Medical Center (oncampus hospital vetoed by

Aldrich 1983--discuss reasons and legacy of this decision?)

fiscal burdens of running a former county hospital
 new buildings, psychiatric hospital
 strengths of the medical program
 crises

Does UCI have a distinctive culture? What and why?

B. Your relations to UC systemwide and to other campus

The Council of Chancellors under David Gardner

The southern office of the President at Irvine

Working with Vice Presidents Fraser and Brady

Allocating UCIs portion of the budget, good years and bad

Regents and regents meetings

VERIP, first instituted 1990--how did it affect UCI?

Your view of the Calpirg negative check-off controversy

Budget crisis, 1991 onward

Your role as chancellor in lobbying Sacramento and Washington

May 2001

INTERVIEWS ON THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Documenting the history of the University of California has been a responsibility of the Regional Oral History Office since the Office was established in 1954. Oral history memoirs with University-related persons are listed below. They have been underwritten by the UC Berkeley Foundation, the Chancellor's Office, University departments, or by extramural funding for special projects. The oral histories, both tapes and transcripts, are open to scholarly use in The Bancroft Library. Bound, indexed copies of the transcripts are available at cost to manuscript libraries.

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Includes interviews with George P. Adams, Anson Stiles Blake, Walter C. Blasdale, Joel H. Hildebrand, Samuel J. Holmes, Alfred L. Kroeber, Ivan M. Linforth, George D. Louderback, Agnes Fay Morgan, and William Popper. (Bancroft Library use only.)

Thomas D. Church, Landscape Architect. Two volumes, 1978, 803 pp.

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Julia Morgan Architectural History Project. Two volumes, 1976, 621 pp.

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Six Weeks in Spring, 1985: Managing Student Protest at UC Berkeley.
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Ogg, Robert Danforth (class of 1941). *Business and Pleasure: Electronics, Anchors, and the University of California*. 1989, 157 pp.

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Selvin, Herman F. (class of 1924). *The University of California and California Law and Lawyers, 1920-1978*. 1979, 217 pp.

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Witter, Jean C. (class of 1916). *The University, the Community, and the Lifeblood of Business*. 1968, 109 pp.

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Cal Band Oral History Project. An ongoing series of interviews with Cal Band members and supporters of Cal spirit groups. (University Archives, Bancroft Library use only.)

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ANN LAGE

B.A., and M.A., in History, University of California, Berkeley.

Postgraduate studies, University of California, Berkeley, American history and education.

Chairman, Sierra Club History Committee, 1978-1986; oral history coordinator, 1974-present; Chairman, Sierra Club Library Committee, 1993-present.

Interviewer/Editor, Regional Oral History Office, in the fields of natural resources and the environment, university history, California political history, 1976-present.

Principal Editor, assistant office head, Regional Oral History Office, 1994-present.





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