

JACK KEMP  
ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interview with  
RUSSELL L. RAY, Jr.  
October 16, 2012

Interviewer  
Morton Kondracke

JACK KEMP FOUNDATION  
WASHINGTON, DC

Morton Kondracke: This is a Jack Kemp Oral History Project interview with Russ Ray, a childhood and longstanding friend of Jack Kemp's. Today is October 16, 2012. We're conducting the interview at the Jack Kemp Foundation in Washington, D.C., and I'm Morton Kondracke. Thank you so much for doing this. When did you first meet Jack Kemp and then trace your history with him briefly.

Russell L. Ray, Jr.: We first met in a homeroom at Bancroft Junior High School in the east part of Hollywood, California. Our mothers were very outgoing, very active, very bright, both of them, very forthright in their views, and they had a common bond. Of course, I could say, just leaping ahead and coming back to your point, Mort, it's been 65 years that I listened to that gravelly voice, and I still hear it. It's just one of these things. And his sons picked it up. I first met him, we were midyear students, that is to say we skipped a grade in our grammar school, we ended up at Bancroft, and there are some stories connected with that. I would have been 11 or 12 years old, I guess, and that would have been 65, 67 or 68 years ago.

Kondracke: And then you went to high school together and college together.

Ray: We went to Fairfax High School, which in itself has some interesting points, Fairfax being at the corner of Melrose and Fairfax, in Hollywood. Mind you, Hollywood was a lot different in those days than it is today in terms of their leanings, politically. Then we went on, he was recruited by Occidental College and I'm sure other schools too, because he was All-City Los Angeles Quarterback, as was [James E. "Jim"] Mora at the end. He was recruited by Occidental [College],

which was then famous for its track and field. It was a huge track and field school. Payton Jordan.

Kondracke: Payton Jordan was?

Ray: The track coach, later became the A.D. [Athletic Director] at Stanford [University], died two years ago. Very famous USC [University of Southern California] sprinter, very famous. He's featured in the best seller book of the—I'll get back to that [the name]—but he's featured in the book that is still on the shelf as a best seller. But anyway it had several Olympians at Occidental—[Dr. Samuel] Sammy Lee was a diver in the forties, [Robert] McMillin was an 880 yard guy. Our classmate, [Robert A.] Bob Gutowski set the world record in the pole vault, so we had some real good track athletes. Jack brought football into prominence at Oxy. That was the three steps of watching the evolution of a quarterback through a succession of maturity changes.

Kondracke: And then after you graduated?

Ray: After we graduated he went in the service, as did I. The best thing that happened to him at Occidental was Joanne Mane, by the way, and I don't want to leave the interview without saying that and that's true. Then there were days gone by, we had a couple of connections. One of my best friends, [William M.] Bill Magruder, was on [Richard M.] Nixon's staff as the Office of the Supersonic Transport [SST], which was a failed adventure. But Jack and Bill became very close, and when Bill died prematurely at age 52, Jack, as a favor to me, read Bill's name into the *Congressional Record*. So there were

those kind of connections. Then when I became the president and CEO of Pacific Southwest Airlines [PSA], which later was merged into US Air[ways], Jack opened up the doors for me with the remnants of the Reagan Cabinet, kitchen cabinet. It was San Diego-based, so they were largely people who lived in San Diego, and he'd call out ahead of time, just as he did with [Samuel K.] Skinner [Secretary of Transportation] when I was CEO of Pan Am[erican World Airways]. He would open up doors here and I'd be walking in. PSA had no lobby; Pan Am had a great lobby, but in spite of that, Jack was able to do things. These were favors he was doing for me. He got nothing out of it. Those were the kind of connections we had. Gordon [C.] Luce in San Diego was certainly helpful. There were others. And I want to talk a little bit about Occidental and the drift that Jack and I had coming away from Occidental in terms of our devotion to it. Anyway, I've taken you through some of the highpoints or low points.

Kondracke: That's good. What are your all time favorite memories of Jack Kemp? Just tell as many as come to mind. [laughter]

Ray: I knew you'd ask that. One is, well, we were scared to death going into the seventh grade. You're scared to death. I had my mother drop me off two blocks away, that kind of stuff. We heard rumors about how the big guys in the eighth and ninth grade would—first of all the dress code was Levis, loafers, white tee shirt and flat top haircuts, and everybody had to fit into that mode. We were fearful that something would happen to us physically. The popular thing for upperclassmen to do, eighth-graders, was to tear off the Levi tag, hold you down and tear it off. If they succeeded in that, they'd run your pants up the flagpole. I remember Jack formed a posse of guys

gathered around the flagpole to make sure that that didn't happen. I remember, Jack also and I got into a wrestling match in the eighth grade, and I was underneath Jack, he was pummeling me, I mean just brutal. I don't know what started the fight, but he was winning. I can remember everybody was cheering for Jack, and I'm thinking, he's a very popular guy. And I heard one voice, Mr. [Robert] Malcom, say, "Go on, Russ, go on, Russ." And the reason Mr. Malcom did that was he wanted the fight to continue. He really wasn't for me. He wanted to keep watching it. But Mr. Malcom and Mr. Lober [phonetic] took prominent roles in Jack's life as P.E. [Physical Education] teachers. Of course that was when Jack was starting to orient himself in the direction of becoming a P.E. major, eventually, at Occidental. So those kinds of stories. The other thing I remember about it, in Southern California in summer breaks we'd all go to the beach, and that was before people knew what SPF [Sun Protection Factor] meant on creams that would protect yourself from the sun, and Jack was light-skinned, fair-skinned and freckled, and I am pretty sure that was the genesis of his fate at the end. I still think that, because a lot of us who went through that, I'm included in that, although I don't have cancer, but I have treatments. I'm sure Jack— those were the seeds of what occurred, I'm sure.

Kondracke: He got sunburned year after year.

Ray: Yes, sunburned and melanoma came, what, 65 years later. That may not be true, but I just have a suspicion it is. There's a lot of anecdotal proof of that, or would-be proof. I remember Jack was always the center of attention. He was the quarterback then, he was physically more developed than the rest of us. And he was self-

assured. Remember that was the product of his mother. I remember that about him. He didn't suffer fools, he just didn't suffer fools at all. He was self-confident to the last day I saw him. Very optimistic. If I had one word to pick for all that I think about Jack it would be optimism, and I saw that in junior high school. So those were the days that I recall. Anecdote about football: we had asphalt, we didn't have grass on the playground. He and I were playing the upper class, and we won the game, but he drilled me a pass, I was in the flat and he drilled me a pass, and I honest to goodness thought I'd have a heart attack. It was hard.

Kondracke: How old were you?

Ray: Oh, I must have been 12. [laughs] Jack was a developing quarterback. I can't imagine him playing with Lincoln Logs on the floor of his house; I mean I just can't imagine that, ever. [laughs] He was not into that kind of childhood thing. I remember something about him too that was important, Mort, in his later years. Fairfax High School was 95 percent Jewish, and Joanne has a class picture, as do I, and we had—and [Herbert] Herbie Alpert of the Tijuana Brass was the guy that played the trumpet at morning and at night, that's when we were patriots in Hollywood, raise and lower the flag, and Herbie Alpert and some of the other would-be Hollywood people were in that class and Jack developed a real feeling for Jewish people at that point in time. I think that explains a lot about him in the later days. I remember that was a poignant, positive thing, and later led to his views in the fraternity house, Alpha Tau Omega, ATO, we were the first, I'm sure we were one of the first, to admit a Jew, [Ronald L.] Ronny Botchan, and a Mexican, Manuel Murietta, to the fraternity, and

I recall that we had to get approval from the chapter leaders and all that stuff. So, I'm not sure I'm answering your story very well, but I will say, I'm kind of free-falling here.

Kondracke: That's good.

Ray: I remember that he truly was a broad thinker in that area. The other thing I remember about Jack: a couple of times I was a guest with their family, and I love [Thomas P.] Tom Kemp. I didn't know [Richard D.] Dick [Kemp] as well, but I knew Paul [Kemp, Jr.] a little bit, but I really became close to Tom, as joint members of Pepperdine [University]'s board and also other things. We went to Russia together on a couple of occasions. I'm drifting again, I apologize. But Jack was a supreme practicer [phonetic] of polemics. He was able to throw a grenade into a crowd, a grenade labeled "argument," and start one. He'd take a position and—

Kondracke: Is this all the way back to junior high and high school?

Ray: Yes, absolutely.

Kondracke: Like what?

Ray: Oh, he'd take a position politically, opposite of what he believed. Now he was not into politics heavily at that point in time. It might have been a football issue. "What do you think of John [C.] Unitas? I think he's a really rotten quarterback." That kind of thing. Or he'd talk about, "I don't think there ought to be a Catholic in the White House." That kind of stuff. And then an argument would start. That

all kind of went back to the famous kitchen table, if you were, because I saw that happen, and Mom would start that stuff.

Kondracke: His mother.

Ray: His mother.

Kondracke: Describe the neighborhood. This is Wilshire, is that right? Is that what the neighborhood was called?

Ray: We were really the east part of Hollywood, right on border at Western Avenue and Santa Monica Boulevard, and then we shifted a little bit west when we went to Fairfax. Tom was an idol of Jack's, and Tom was the quarterback at Fairfax High School before Jack, and we'd go over to the high school games. But this was—the Jewish people who had polarized around Boyle Heights, having come from New York in the thirties and forties, then polarized around the Fairfax district. That's how it kind of explains the population of Fairfax. So that was at the corners of Melrose and Fairfax Avenue. Some of the best pastrami sandwiches I've ever had.

Kondracke: Is this middle class housing, or upper class housing?

Ray: I didn't answer your question, I'm sorry Morton. It was strictly middle class. It was one-unit places, although I lived in a duplex. At the time it was all modest homes. Mr. [Paul R.] Kemp [Sr.], as you found out, ran an enterprise with a trucking business, and I think Jack learned a lot of his economics from Mr. Kemp. Jack was labeled as a jock, as you know, and I think he kind of matured. I didn't see it in

high school but I sure saw it at Occidental. I mean, a big deal carrying around the *U.S. New and World Report*, that was a big thing. We didn't know what that was, but Jack was carrying it around, but he was a major in kinesiology and P.E. and that kind of stuff. I'm rambling for you, but that's the nature of—

Kondracke: So, this connection with Jews, how did that all happen? Did you run in a Jewish gang, I mean with a Jewish group, or how did that connection develop?

Ray: That's a good question. I think again it was just because that's the population of Fairfax High School. Jack and I joined the Hi-Y, which is a Christian unit [of the Young Men's Christian Association], and I can remember that we weren't all that comfortable being members. Jack was not very comfortable being a member of Hi-Y, not because of something negative about Christianity, because he was a devout Christian Scientist, as his mother and dad were. I just think that all our friends were Jews. That's the way, we were brought up on chicken soup, that's the way it was. We had kept friends throughout the years, so I don't think it was a sudden happening.

Kondracke: You guys were included even though you were gentiles.

Ray: Oh, yes.

Kondracke: How do you explain that?

Ray: I don't know that we were focused on all that stuff, Mort, I really don't. Our parents were Republicans and we tended to be

conservative in our thinking, but there were no—I just don't think we'd talk about anti-Semitic things or even thought that way, I just don't think so. Football brought people together, or basketball. Where I played basketball in high school, I remember I used to kid the guys because the Jewish guys wouldn't pass the ball to me, that kind of thing. But it was all fun.

Kondracke: What did Jack look like when he was in junior high?

Ray: Same as he did, he gained weight, but same as he did through his adulthood. He was careful about his hair. He was flat top, he was athletic, he had a good physical build. I would say not a whole lot different through the years. He kept in good shape.

Kondracke: His brother Paul describes him as a pesky little redhead.

Ray: Good description.

Kondracke: When did he start this body-building thing?

Ray: He was into weight lifting in junior high school. I remember there was another kid, named Bob Sutton, who was very, very developed biceps and triceps and pecs [muscles] and all these other things, and Jack would try to compete with him on tone.

Kondracke: Which is pretty unusual, isn't it? I mean, body building in—maybe not in California.

Ray: We had Muscle Beach, right? He was into that. He liked the center of attention, which quarterbacks have, and I think being the center of attention and the fact that we wore white tee shirts kind of brought home the need to look fit.

Kondracke: Was there a football team in junior high?

Ray: No, these were class teams that we played, on asphalt, so there's no tackling done.

Kondracke: And, as I get it, his whole family life was built around sports.

Ray: I don't know that Paul was into sports. Dick might have been, although I knew Dick the least, although I knew he was a hero in Vietnam and post-Vietnam. Yes, Tom clearly was a stellar athlete. Baseball at USC, he went on to play in the minors in baseball, he was a quarterback in football; he was, in my view, Jack's idol.

Kondracke: Various biographies say that his family life was sports all the time, every day, all the time.

Ray: I didn't get that. Tom, yes. Dick might have been, but I qualify myself as not knowing that much about Dick. Paul, I don't think Paul was into sports.

Kondracke: He had asthma, actually. So, you go to Fairfax High School, what kind of a student was Jack?

Ray: I'd say average. As I recall he was average. I recall he had a favorite teacher, Mrs. [Frances R.] Eisenberg, who taught algebra [English-RR]. And she was painted as a Communist later on, after we graduated. He's now either with the Bills or is in the House, and he called me one time and he said, "Let's write her a letter." So we both wrote Mrs. Eisenberg a letter. Which showed the kind of heart that he had because he knew her as a teacher of algebra, but not as a suspect Communist. I don't recall how that ended up with her, but—

Kondracke: At what stage was she accused of being a Communist? That was usually the fifties.

Ray: We're in the fifties now. We're not Fairfax High School.

Kondracke: So you graduated from high school in '53, right?

Ray: '53, we both did.

Kondracke: So when did she get in trouble as a Communist?

Ray: After we had graduated. She may have been accused of practicing that prior to—

Kondracke: I just wonder when the letter got written. Were you in college?

Ray: Oh, gosh, no. We wrote the letters in the seventies. It popped into print during that time, it caught his eye, and he took the initiative to do that.

Kondracke: And what did the letter say?

Ray: As I recall, his did not show empathy or sympathy, but it talked about what a great teacher she was. Kind of a "I carry you in my memory" kind of thing. He was now into economics, and, of course, some of the math stuck.

Kondracke: So he was a quarterback from the beginning. When did he start starting as quarterback of the Fairfax High School team?

Ray: Right off the bat. He was backup in the 10<sup>th</sup> grade and he was first string at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> grade and through the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>. It was a good team. He was not noted for his running, but he was an excellent passer. He had a really good passing technique.

Kondracke: Do you remember any specific games that were standout games, or anything?

Ray: I remember one in particular. Hollywood High School, we'd go up there and that was a rivalry, Hollywood High, and some of the stars' kids were on the team, you know, that kind of thing. I remember he fired a bullet into the end zone, caught by [Stuart] Stu Faber. This is bringing back memories. Stu Faber caught it as he was going down in a prone—I can still see that picture, that kid catching that rifled ball, and we won the game. For some reason that stands out. [Donovan] Don Lyon was on the Hollywood High School team. Don was on Hollywood's team, was a shot putter, came to Occidental as a recruit; died in Viet Nam flying a fighter and got hit by a missile.

I'm drifting on that one too. Those are the reasons that game stands out.

Kondracke: What about leadership?

Ray: Well, that gets back to the quarterback business. He didn't suffer for a weak ego. He was very, very self-confident, and it rubbed off. He was very popular because of that. He just enjoyed—I mean, the voice was part of that. This electricity that would come out of, and I never could figure out that voice, because it changed to more gravelly as years passed, but that was kind of the voice of authority. So he was exhibiting leadership, I think it was God-given, I don't think that was something manufactured at all, because, it might be genetic, because Jimmy and Jeff talk like that too.

Kondracke: How did he exhibit his leadership skills?

Ray: Basically on the field, football.

Kondracke: Was he a student leader in other ways?

Ray: He ran for student body president at Occidental and lost.

Kondracke: Why?

Ray: I don't know why. I think the label of a jock was over his head, kind of a cloud. I don't know the reason why. I think maybe he didn't campaign hard enough, who knows? As I recall, Jack was on the boys' vice principal's list of leaders at Fairfax, Mr. Sam Hammerman put us

both on, but put Jack on the Knights, an honor society—perhaps not reflective of his grades so much, I don't know that, but his leadership skills.

Kondracke: What was the Fairfax High School's team called?

Ray: Colonials.

Kondracke: Did the kids all go to games?

Ray: Yes, it was a popular sport.

Kondracke: Were there playoffs for city championships and stuff like that?

Ray: I don't remember. I don't recall that there were.

Kondracke: What was the record like of the teams when he was quarterback?

Ray: I don't remember that either, but it was a winning record.

Kondracke: How many years was he All City?

Ray: At least one.

Kondracke: Who picked All City?

Ray: I would imagine it was made up of the coaches, I suspect. I like to give you assured answers on these.

Kondracke: That's okay. Did he play other sports?

Ray: Yes, he threw the javelin, and he claims that he beat me, and that's not true, but—

Kondracke: You were a track star?

Ray: I was an uber javelin thrower. I remember we competed with the likes of USC, a little school, 1400 kids competing against USC and Stanford. Jack did out-throw me. He got well above 200 feet, and I barely did 200 feet. Those were the days, it was a different javelin. Today they're 300 feet. I don't think Jack played baseball, and I think javelin was his only track and field sport as I recall. Jack, I think, was probably, he may have been the second best athlete at Occidental. The best athlete was Bob Gutowski. Here's a guy that did everything: volleyball, basketball, surfing, and then he goes up to Stanford. On the very field that Cornelius ["Dutch"] Warmerdam broke the pole vault record in the forties, it was the longest standing track and field record of any, and Bob goes up and clears 16 feet, which is a big deal. Today it's 20.

Kondracke: Was there even an occasion when Jack sort of led by defying conventional wisdom in the school or resisted the crowd?

Ray: He did afterwards on one occasion that pops out, but I don't recall that—there was an incident that comes to mind, Mort. I recall

later on that he and I had, there was some disagreement over something that he favored politically, but that was not in school.

Kondracke: So his grades were average, you think?

Ray: As I recall they were average.

Kondracke: When did he start reading *U.S. News and World Report*?

Ray: That was big stuff, too, by the way, it was huge. Occidental, Oxy.

Kondracke: And how did he get into that?

Ray: I think, we had a course that was mandatory. Outstanding mandatory course, took two years, 24 units, called History of Civilization. And there was a content of economics in there, monetary things, you know, international monetary, the meaning of the dollar, that kind of stuff, religion, a lot of history, so there was a content there that I think he grabbed onto. There was a professor named [Laurence] de Rycke, I couldn't spell that if I had to, but he was fascinated with de Rycke, he was an economics professor. Now mind you, the heaviest load that he was carrying at the time was kinesiology. That was the study of the muscles, skeletal-muscular system. He and Botchan, especially, would go around campus and try to memorize the parts of the body. He's say, "Oooh, he just hurt my gluteous maximus," you know, that kind of stuff. Crazy things. Boy am I drifting on you, Mort. I am so sorry.

Kondracke: Was Jack a practical joker?

Ray: He had a broken leg sense of humor.

Kondracke: In what way?

Ray: Well, a practical joker. I'm trying to think of an incident or two that caused him to laugh. He'd short-sheet people in the fraternity house, that kind of stuff. I don't recall he ever told a joke, and I don't recall he ever cussed. There were some words that, no God content to it, but—broken—one thing comes to mind, it didn't happen to him but to one of his fraternity brothers, we were being rushed, and we wanted to get into the ATOs, it was the jock house, and somebody next to the president of the house at the time put a match down in the chute and lit the match. He thought that was pretty keen.

Kondracke: Is that as bad as hazing ever got at Occidental?

Ray: We didn't haze a lot. By the way, 25 years later the ATO house was thrown off campus and disbarred because they killed a kid. "They killed a kid" is not worded properly. A kid died during hazing.

Kondracke: How did Jack take losing?

Ray: Not well.

Kondracke: Talk about that.

Ray: Well, the guy's a competitive guy. I don't recall that he ever, ever got on his fellow players. I can't recall an incident, Mort, that would signify that, but I recall when we were up against L.A. High School, which was our other main rivalry, in Fairfax, he and the coach got into it a little bit about play calling, and we lost L.A. High School. But I don't recall anything as profound.

Kondracke: You said that he didn't suffer fools lightly. What did you mean by that?

Ray: Well, he'd find, if he felt a person had a weak argument on an issue of any kind, political or otherwise, he'd go on the attack mode. Then he was off being the polemicist that he was, he's now taken a side that he believes in, and if he felt that the opponent was weak in theory, or practice, he would just rip into the person. He was combative. Short of being mean. But he could get combative to hold his view. That's what I meant by he didn't suffer fools.

Kondracke: But he didn't put the person down personally.

Ray: Oh, no, he didn't, and he had a quick way of making up if he felt so. He was a sensitive guy.

Kondracke: Was he involved in any other activities besides sports in high school and college?

Ray: HiY's and the sports club, what I mentioned. Fraternity, he was involved with the fraternity, he was not in the arts and music at all. I

was going to say that he was active in the Republican Club. I need that validated, whether or not he was. I think he was.

Kondracke: Did he have a lot of girlfriends?

Ray: Yes, until he found Joanne.

Kondracke: So all during high school and—

Ray: Oh, well, we all dated. We didn't have cars back in those days. High school kids didn't have cars. We didn't want our mother to drive us on a date. Jack, you know, he's an attractive guy, and girls liked Jack. He took pride in the fact, later it was not validated, but he took pride in the fact he date Hannah Nussbaum. Hannah was the daughter of the biggest synagogue in Hollywood, Rabbi [Max] Nussbaum. He thought that was, he liked the tone of that. I think years later Hannah denied it, but I'm not sure. [laughs] Oh, well.

Kondracke: Going back to the Jewish issue, there are a lot of Jewish families that don't want their daughters to be dating gentiles, lest they fall in love and have a problem, but that wasn't a problem?

Ray: I don't recall that it was. I think if it existed, if it was, it was very subliminal. I don't recall it was a big deal.

Kondracke: Okay. How did he choose Occidental? Why Occidental?

Ray: I think USC was the alternative, and I can't recall what the then-quarterback of the year was at SC, in high schools, but he may have

been approached by SC and UCLA, [Robert] Bob Bergdahl, which was a back on our team went to SC. They had a different system at UCLA. Under [Henry R.] Red Sanders they had a system where the halfback was the blocking back and the quarterback took a lesser role. I can't remember what the system was. He didn't want to go there because UCLA wanted him but because it was a different system under Red Sanders. I'm sure SC was after him. Occidental, he would have had a quick entrée onto the first team, and it's an attractive little school, it really is. I'll give some comments about that in a few minutes if you'd like.

Kondracke: When did you first know that he wanted to be a professional quarterback?

Ray: Didn't, really. I don't recall that he claimed an interest. It was clear that he was going to be drafted, but it wasn't clear to me, I think he was drafted by the [Pittsburgh] Steelers, wasn't he, to begin with, as I recall, under [Robert L.] Bobby Layne. I heard, I remember his saying that "I think I'm going to be back up to Bobby Layne." I don't know what—

Kondracke: But as a life's ambition.

Ray: Oh. I think as a P.E. major he wanted to play professional sports. I don't think he wanted to teach, I think he wanted to keep going in playing football.

Kondracke: He didn't have, in high school, the idea that he would go to a college that would advance him to get to the pros.

Ray: I didn't see that.

Kondracke: Was there a coach or something at Occidental that he was attracted to, or a method, or did he think he could start, or—

Ray: They played off the T formation, that was his thing, and I think the opportunity to start behind [Phillip] Phil Lozano and Vince McCullough [phonetic], boy these are coming back. You're good at what you do. Is this your first interview?

Kondracke: Do you remember any specific fraternity stories, besides the—

Ray: Some I won't tell. [laughter] He was my campaign manager. No, I don't want to talk about me. Yes, back to your question about not wanting to lose. We had something called the Spring Sing, and every year we took last place. Talk about people that couldn't sing—Botchan, Mora, Kemp—we couldn't sing. [Nick] Rodionoff. And he didn't like losing. We were giggling about it and he didn't think it was funny. That was a fraternity event. Some of us took pride in being fourth place. There were only four fraternities.

Kondracke: What kind of a student was he at Occidental?

Ray: I think he improved during the course of the four years. I saw that. When we were rooming in our freshman year in Swan Hall, which was the room that was right on the track, really, was right there on the track, and I think then he was, he loved History of Civ. He

liked Professor Lake [phonetic], who was a religious faculty member, she was. I think he got at least B's in those courses. I'm sure he received A's in his P.E. courses. We both had a hard time, he had a hard time in organic chemistry, I mean a real hard time, which is not unusual for people. That's a tough course. So I think he was probably, as I recall, he was an average student and I think he gained on it by the time he became a junior.

Kondracke: Did he ever regret being a P.E. major?

Ray: He never expressed it.

Kondracke: P.E. majors, aren't they sort of regarded as second class citizens? How did he feel about that?

Ray: I think, I could only get into his head a little bit, Mort. I think he probably sees that as one of the reasons he wasn't elected to student body president.

Kondracke: What were you majoring in?

Ray: Business. I want to get a little bit on Occidental, if you don't mind, when it comes time.

Kondracke: Sure, by all means, go ahead.

Ray: I think I mentioned that I saw him morphing into getting office being labeled as a jock, which is back to your earlier question, because I think he was conscious of that. Hence the economics seeds, that

were later nurtured in San Diego by the likes of the [Ronald W.] Reagan people who were down there. But Occidental, as far as we could recall, was a good liberal arts education. Solid, and I think that's one of the reasons our mothers pushed us in that direction. Occidental College, you probably know, became a very liberal school, that is to say, it took them years and they're still trying to get out of the sixties. They shut down our ROTC [Reserve Officers' Training Corps] building, they didn't burn it down, they shut it down. They dropped the Republican Club, they had speakers like [Thomas E.] Tom Hayden, Angela [Y.] Davis, [Harold G.] Harry Belafonte. And I recall vividly, vividly, being on campus during the [Robert J. "Bob"] Dole-Kemp race, where there was nary a sign for Jack. [William J. "Bill"] Clinton was all over the place, second term. There was one little sign in the ATO house on the window, I remember that, on the second floor. As days went by, years went by, we just started to lose interest in Occidental. I was on the board of trustees there and I saw it happen. I resigned. Five years later, [Barack H.] Obama became a student, and left, as you know, in his sophomore year, after his sophomore year. But that was the kind of environment Oxy was. It was a very, very liberal school. It became a liberal school.

Kondracke: But not when you were there.

Ray: I don't know. [laughs] I think not. I think not. I don't recall being pointed in any specific direction.

Kondracke: But you, too, were a Republican.

Ray: Oh, yes.

Kondracke: And what made you Republicans then, when you were kids?

Ray: Mom and Dad. Influence. I wasn't bright enough to realize some of these—I loved [Dwight D.] Eisenhower. I was a military guy and I just loved Eisenhower. I can't say the same for Jack, whether or not he had a, I think his background in that area was much the same as mine. His dad was an entrepreneur, he was into economics, I don't think he knew what supply side economics was at that time. I think what hooked him was frankly his mom and dad, the influence of his dad's business.

Kondracke: How good a football player was he at Occidental?

Ray: Good passer, marginal runner, good brain, good caller of plays.

Kondracke: He was Small College All American, I believe, wasn't he?

Ray: I don't recall, but I wouldn't be surprised. He was Conference. We were in Ponomo [College], Whittier [College], [University of] Redlands, all that stuff, Claremont [McKenna College], and he was All Conference. I think he was Little All American, second string or maybe first string, I don't remember. You can validate that with somebody else.

Kondracke: Jim Mora was a fraternity brother of yours?

Ray: Yes.

Kondracke: Were you and Jack and Jim Mora a little gang? Best friends?

Ray: Well, we were good friends. I didn't connect with Jim all that much in college, although we were in the same fraternity. We were good friends. We lived in the ATO house for a while, which was really an animal house before they made the movie. There were some other people in that. I don't know if you're going to interview Nick Rodionoff, who was and is still the women's swimming and diving coach at Pepperdine. He was in the house, as was Botchan, as were Murietta and some of these other characters.

Kondracke: Tell me the story about letting Jews and Hispanics into the fraternity, and the fight. Did Jack lead that fight?

Ray: Oh, yes, no question.

Kondracke: Tell me about that.

Ray: Both Manny and Ron were on the football team, and they were solid people, they were just good people, and I think it was a feeling of this team business that pushed Jack in that direction. I think you saw signs of that later in his professional football experiences, the stuff I've read about Jack, especially in the African-American area. We didn't have African-Americans at Oxy that I recall at that time in the fifties. I think it was pure white.

Kondracke: Who did you have to fight with to get the two in?

Ray: Not the chapter. The chapter was all for it.

Kondracke: National?

Ray: Yes, you had to get the conference and the national. I don't recall it was a big fight. I think it was new stuff for them.

Kondracke: His romance with Joanne Mane. Tell me what you remember at close hand.

Ray: Well I remember she, amongst the dates that Jack had, as I recall, she was at least the brightest and the prettiest. I think Jack was very much into both. I know he dated several. I don't think he loved any. I think the reason that he dated others was to just make sure he was doing the right thing when he proposed to her. I knew Joanne, I can't recall the party, maybe it was a homecoming thing, but I remember pinning a rose on her and she was just great. Have you interviewed Joanne?

Kondracke: We haven't done the formal interview with Joanne, but of course we've talked to her.

Ray: Well you will.

Kondracke: Of course. What year did Jack and Joanne start dating?

Ray: It would have been '56, '57, in that area. I think he graduated after I did, because we were mid-year as a consequence of skipping a

grade in grammar school. I had to come back for my diploma and I think he had to make up a couple of units because of football interfering or something like that. So to answer your question, they were dating in '56, '57.

Kondracke: Do you remember him saying anything about her when he first met her?

Ray: No, I don't. If I did I wouldn't tell you. [laughter]

Kondracke: You don't remember who the initiator of this, or who was more interested in who early on?

Ray: I imagine Jack was the leader on that, sure. I don't even remember Joanne's sorority.

Kondracke: Was she popular with athletes?

Ray: Yes. She was approved by the team.

Kondracke: So is there anything else about his Occidental experience that stands out to you?

Ray: No, I know that one of the bigger than life people was Dean [Benjamin] Ben Culley, who was the men's vice president of the college. And Dr. Culley took a liking to Jack. Now that I think about it Dr. Culley was one of the reasons Jack went to Occidental. He was such a charismatic soul. He taught statistics on the side, Dean Culley, and now that you're bringing out my memory a little bit, I think that

sparked some of Jack's interests in things arithmetic and math. Dean Culley was a very lucid, colorful person, who later on Occidental created a Ben Culley program, inviting alums to donate money to the Ben Culley Society, and I always kind of was a little bit suspecting that perhaps that was a reaching out to those of us who were in that class who resented the fact that Occidental went liberal. It's like the stadium that they named Jack after. You know, they just three years ago named the football stadium for Jack. Was that a sincere effort? Yes, I think it was, on Occidental's part. Let's make up ground for what we've been recently. But I think Dr. Culley, now that you've brought this out, Mort, I think he was a statistic wiz, was a big reason for Jack having gone to Oxy and having shown an interest in economics.

Kondracke: Let's go back to his family. What was his dad like?

Ray: Very quiet. Paul senior was, I won't say he was in the shadow of Mrs. Kemp, but clearly she was the more outgoing of the two, and more the overt teacher. Very modest man, very modest man. A very understated guy, whereas she was very expressive.

Kondracke: In what way?

Ray: Opinions, I'm sure both in their own way contributed this huge feeling of self-confidence in Jack. Paul senior in a quiet way, building him up, "Look what you could do with your life" kind of guy, and Mrs. Kemp saying, "Don't take a back seat to anybody. Express your views, have an opinion." And I'm not exaggerating. That is just the way the two of them were. He, very understated; she, very open.

Kondracke: Did you spend a lot of time at their house?

Ray: No. I spent some time there, maybe three or four meals. I remember we played out in the street football in front of their house. I can't remember the name of the street. It was in the Lankersham area, and I want to say Paramount Studios was not too far away.

Kondracke: Were you there for any of these dinner table discussions?

Ray: One that I can remember, and I don't recall the subject but it was another one of these hand grenades that somebody threw out on the table. Started a debate. They were very good at that, and Jack, he was skilled at that. He was a supreme debater. Now I don't know if that showed up on the [Albert A. "Al"] Gore [Jr.]-Kemp debates or not. You would remember.

Kondracke: That was not one of the high points of his political career, by general opinion. So tell me about Tom Kemp, and Jack's relationship to Tom.

Ray: Tom was a hero for Jack. A lot of people said Tom should be the one running for office because he was so good. Practitioner of the Christian Science religion. Shouldn't have died in the swimming pool when he did. That should not have happened. You're going to ask me why and I won't be able to answer that because I don't know. But I don't think he took care of himself. Tom Kemp was an influence on all of us. He was bigger than life. When he walked into the room, you know. Jack was the same way, he kind of took over the scene.

There's no question in my mind that Tom had a huge influence on Jack, huge. Part of the campaigns, as you know. Opinionated. I'll never forget, Pepperdine is one to always have a prayer before lunch at the Regents' meeting, and I commented that Tom, after the opening prayer, "Well that was a great prayer." And Tom says, "How do you rate a prayer? A, B, C?" He tried to bring out what makes up a good prayer. That was the kind of controversial stuff the Kemps practiced. Athleticism, I think Tom helped Jack along on that, being an athlete. As you know, Tom became an executive of his own at Coca Cola Bottling.

Kondracke: Since Tom was such a great athlete, and some people say a better athlete than Jack was, initially, how come he didn't get into the pros and Jack did, and how did Tom relate to Jack's football career?

Ray: I've got to make a stab at this. Korea was, now we're in the Korean War period for Tom. And there was a period in there where Tom served in, he used to call it the Fighting Finance Unit in the Army. That, I think, interrupted his sports career, and I think he was steeped—there's another influence on Jack—steeped in economics, I think he was a C.P.A. [Certified Public Accountant]. I believe he was because I know that he was chairman of our audit committee at Pepperdine, and knew the book, he knew the audit process and kept engaged with rules changes. I believe, Mort, I think this needs to be researched a little bit, I think Tom was interrupted by the Korean War.

Kondracke: Dick says that he has the same worshipful relationship to Jack that Jack had to Tom, but they also fought a lot, and there was

an incident with a bowie knife where Jack actually stuck Dick with a bowie knife and he still has the scar. Was that, do you remember any of that?

Ray: I do not remember that. That is hilarious, I think. [laughs]

Kondracke: Did you ever see the brothers fighting?

Ray: No, never did. As I say, I didn't really know Dick. I learned about him and his outreach after he served in Vietnam, and Paul was just over here, just the quiet guy who had his own success in business. No, I never saw. Tom could get very argumentative, there's no doubt about it. He had that capability.

Kondracke: Christian Science: what do you know about the influence of Christian Science on Jack?

Ray: Well, I'm not a Christian Scientist, so I can only base it on what Jack told me, and that is there was a central belief that God would interfere and help resolve any health problems, medical problems. I think that issue of Christian Science is like the Mormon Church, you know. There's a singular notion about that religion that kind of overshadows everything else, so I know very little about the Christian Science religion. I just know that there's a belief that modern medicine could take a bigger role in the health of—I know it was debated about Tom. Tom became overweight, and unsteady on his feet, and I often felt that Tom needed medical attention. Now, I don't point fingers at the Church for that, and I don't want to get into trouble with the family, but Joanne anguished over that, and brought

Jack closer to central Protestantism than the Christian Science afforded them. I don't know that she feels that she succeeded, but he became very conversant on the New Testament.

Kondracke: Was she a born-again Christian at the time they met?

Ray: I know the meaning of that phrase, but I had the feeling that she was already Christian at Occidental College. Whether or not that was a sudden emerging passion of hers, I just don't know.

Kondracke: What about injuries? Did he have a lot of injuries when he was a college and high school football player?

Ray: No, I don't remember that he did. He had that famous bent finger thing, but I don't recall that he—I mean we weren't well-padded in those days. We didn't have face masks and that kind of thing, or they didn't. I didn't play football. But I don't recall that he had any broken bones, I just don't remember.

Kondracke: Concussions I think were the—

Ray: Did that affect his political life? [laughter]

Kondracke: So he graduates from college, and then shortly has these cuts, he goes from one team to another to another, and gets cut repeatedly. Were you around for that—

Ray: You mean in the NFL?

Kondracke: Yes.

Ray: No, just through the newspapers. I was now flying in the Air Force; I was too involved with the military to really pay attention. I just remember that episode about being an understudy for [Robert L.] Bobby Lane, and that was a big deal. About being cut? I don't remember much. [William Barron] Hilton, if we get Barron set up with you, he'll be able to reflect on that question.

Kondracke: So how did Jack land with the Chargers?

Ray: I don't remember, Mort.

Kondracke: Did you follow his football career?

Ray: Oh, when he became a Buffalo Bills I did.

Kondracke: Where were you living then?

Ray: I was in Miami with Eastern Airlines, and he was in Buffalo at the time. I didn't go to any of his pro games. I'd watch them on television.

Kondracke: And how much did you communicate with him?

Ray: Not at all during that period, not at all.

Kondracke: When did you connect up again?

Ray: House of Representatives. And I recall we'd sit up, and you guys know the peanut gallery, and he'd take me there. It was the only time I've been in the chambers, and he and I sat up there and talked about old friends.

Kondracke: How often would you come to Washington?

Ray: I would come to Washington a lot, because we were still regulated as an airline industry, and we'd be with then-CAB [Civil Aeronautics Board] and that kind of stuff, FAA [Federal Aviation Administration].

Kondracke: When did your connections resume?

Ray: Well, the Easter services in Key Biscayne [Florida], a couple of those.

Kondracke: How did that happen?

Ray: We were on the phone with each other. The Magruder episode, the Nixon staffer—

Kondracke: Jeb Magruder?

Ray: Bill. No connection with Jeb. Bill was an outstanding aviator, engineer, and headed up the SST program with me at Lockheed [Corporation]. Nixon recruited him, and Jack and he became very fast friends before Bill's death. We were involved at that period of time.

Now he would have been in the House at that period of time, I think, in the Nixon years. Am I off on that?

Kondracke: No, he was elected to the Congress in 1970.

Ray: Out of Buffalo.

Kondracke: Yes.

Ray: That was our first connection. Then some Easter service ceremonies, and one visit to the House chambers. All that produced was just a memory of the good old days. And then we'd converse a lot about the situations at Occidental College.

Kondracke: You had phone calls frequently, or—

Ray: Yes.

Kondracke: How often?

Ray: Oh, golly. Well, in the later years we'd be on the phone a couple of times a month, I suppose. I live over in Great Falls [Virginia] and they live across the river.

Kondracke: When did you move here?

Ray: When Pan Am went down I was recruited by British Aerospace to run its U.S. organization, and that's when we connected.

Kondracke: What year was that?

Ray: Pan Am failed to emerge from bankruptcy in December of '91.

Kondracke: So he was at that stage at HUD [U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development]. He was a cabinet officer in '91.

Ray: I believe he was. You would know, you're steeped in that.

Kondracke: After you moved here how often would you see him?

Ray: Oh, gosh. We got together three or four times a year, I suppose. You know, he always had time for old friends, he really did. He didn't get anything out of me politically.

Kondracke: You participated in none of his campaigns?

Ray: I worked for him at Empower America for a summer or two.

Kondracke: Doing what?

Ray: Just licking stamps and doing the things that friends do. I did take some trips with him. A little bit more than that I think. Fundraising. But he would include me in trips to [Malcolm S.] Steve Forbes [Jr.] and places in New York that had an interest in his career, so I got to know [William J. "Bill"] Bennett a little bit.

Kondracke: Did you have any role in his '88 presidential campaign?

Ray: None, other than a vote.

Kondracke: Were you around for the '96 vice presidential race?

Ray: Yes, and here's another story. I was in the car driving to Michigan, we were going to go to a Michigan game, and the radio said something about Jack Kemp is at home and he's about to receive a phone call. The rumor is he's going to be asked by [Robert J.] Bob Dole, Senator Dole, to be the vice president. So as soon as I arrived in Detroit I got to a landline. I didn't have a mobile phone. And I called Jack at home. I said, "Jack, I just heard on the radio you're going to get a call." He snapped at me, he said, "Get off the phone! Dole's on the other line. [laughter] Get off the phone. Dole's on the other phone" or on the other line or something like that. I remember that. And I got off the phone.

Kondracke: And then? Did you call him back?

Ray: Oh, sure.

Kondracke: What did he tell you?

Ray: "I've been asked to be on the ticket."

Kondracke: Was he supposed to tell you that Dole had—

Ray: He trusted me. I think there was a lot of trust there. The only time we got into it—not that I count, but I was upset that he was promoting Hugo [R.] Chávez down in Venezuela. There was a period

time—not promoting him, but he was trying to establish a communication line with Chavez. There was some petroleum interest involved with it. I said, “What are you doing this for?” Joanne agreed with me.

Kondracke: When was this?

Ray: It was after the Dole-Kemp deal. I can’t recall exactly the circumstances, but I always saw that as an outreach thing that Jack was trying to improve communications with the political interests in Venezuela. And as it turned out it fell through anyway.

Kondracke: Was he doing this on behalf of a client, or—

Ray: I think he was. A petroleum interest, as I recall, but he disavowed any interest in Chavez’s politics, but I just think it didn’t look good. Who was I to weigh in?

Kondracke: You said that he opened some doors for you when you were in the airline business. How did that work?

Ray: Well, especially at Pan Am, because we were a sinking ship, and, of course, we can argue all day long about the importance of Pan Am as a name in the world. And I was charged to try to keep it afloat and Jack knew that. Jack called and said “How can I help open doors for you?” And I said “I have a date with Skinner, but he put me off for a week and I’m in a hurry.” So he called Skinner, and that afternoon, I think, I flew down on the shuttle and met with Skinner. And then there were a couple of senators that were key on the committees that

had aviation interests and pled our case. Now mind you, the aviation industry at that point was deregulated, so there wasn't a whole lot of political interference, if you will. But he was adept. He got nothing out of it. He just said, "Here, old friend, let me pick up the phone. Come on down here and we'll get it done."

Kondracke: When did you find out that he was sick? How did you find out that he was sick?

Ray: I think Jennifer [Kemp Andrews] told us. Jennifer called. I remember this too. She was very upset. It was on the phone, on the phone in her car on the [Capital] Beltway going home to their place here in Virginia, Middleburg, and Jennifer was on the verge of tears and said "Dad is not doing well." I said, "Come on by." She said, "No, I've got to go home." That caused that lunch to occur. I showed you that picture. Mora, Botchan and Jack. I'd say several months he was being treated for whatever they treat melanoma today, but—I miss the guy. He was a great friend.

Kondracke: After Jennifer called you, did you talk to him?

Ray: Oh, sure. I went over there a couple of times, and we talked about Pepperdine. We talked a lot about money, to sustain the life of the Institute at Pepperdine. We didn't talk about the Library of Congress. That came afterwards, as far as I know. He was quite ill, puffed up, as these things do to you. He was irritable. He didn't want to be reminded of his disease. I remember he kind of barked a little bit when probed about the severity of it. I'm glad he went fast when he did. He went fast.

Kondracke: What do you think were his outstanding character traits?

Ray: Optimism. He led with the notion that things can get done. He really was the power of positive thinking kind of guy. I don't recall that he ever, I mean he didn't like to lose, back to your earlier question, he just couldn't stand the idea. But I'd say if I had to pick one word it would be optimism.

Kondracke: Do you think that he had any particular weaknesses?  
Impatience is one of the—

Ray: Impatience is one.

Kondracke: How did that manifest itself?

Ray: In discussions. Going back to not suffering fools. I think if he felt someone had a weaker position on any issue, that he would swallow them up.

Kondracke: Did you ever drive with him?

Ray: He was a fast driver.

Kondracke: Tell me about that.

Ray: He was a fast driver. [laughter]

Kondracke: Was he a reckless driver?

Ray: I don't think so. I don't recall that he scared me at all. He was pretty fast. It was just part of this patience business.

Kondracke: Somebody told us that he was vain.

Ray: Oh, he was.

Kondracke: Tell me about that.

Ray: Well I always wanted to mess up his hair.

Kondracke: What do you mean?

Ray: Well, he was very conscious of his appearance. He was a sharp dresser. He was very careful about his appearance. Back to his hair.

Kondracke: It's pretty hard to do anything with a flat top.

Ray: You're right. [laughter] No, this was in later years.

Kondracke: Some people say that even though he was a politician and he got along with people, that there was always a certain distance between him and other people, that it was either a function of being a quarterback and having to maintain leadership distance, or something, but that it was hard to be intimate with him.

Ray: I think that's a good call. I think, though, he was selective in his friends. I think that there were some that he brought in close. Many

who he wouldn't have a confidential talk with. I think that's a fair input. He could be distant.

Kondracke: Did you have confidential talks with him.

Ray: Oh, yes, I think so.

Kondracke: About?

Ray: Well, about people, about Clinton, for one.

Kondracke: What did he say about Clinton?

Ray: As I recall he felt that Clinton, down deep, could have been a Republican, but he felt that he was answering, well, I'm trying to remember some of the critical things. Well, it had nothing to do that sex thing. I don't recall, Mort, but I remember that he would talk to me during the election about Gore and about Clinton, and that Gore was not fit, and that kind of stuff.

Kondracke: Did he ever talk to you about Dole?

Ray: Yes.

Kondracke: What did he say?

Ray: He felt that, I want to be careful here. He felt that Dole was not the ideal partner, and Jack felt that Dole felt that was about him.

Kondracke: This is when they were running together.

Ray: Right.

Kondracke: And what did he say? Do you remember anything in particular?

Ray: No, I don't.

Kondracke: Because they'd had a lot of history, you know, of, Dole was not a supply-sider, to say the least.

Ray: And Jack was a devout supply-sider. I think it was on the policy issues that I recall, Mort.

Kondracke: Is there anything else that I haven't asked you about that I should have?

Ray: You've really done a very thorough job. Let me see my notes here. You've done a good job, Mort. You've lived up to your reputation.

Kondracke: How do you think Jack Kemp should be remembered in history?

Ray: As a man who could excel in athletics and then transfer that talent to a studied position in economics. I think the fact is that he did both, and he did both well.

Kondracke: Did you have any connection with him during the time that he was developing Reaganomics? Or know anything about his connection to Reagan?

Ray: Only because of [Herbert G.] Herb Klein and Gordon Luce, the men who surrounded me when I went out to San Diego for PSA. I knew of the connection then. Did I know it in a deep sense? No.

Kondracke: Thanks so much for doing this, really.

Ray: Thank you for your time. It's an honor to be with you two guys.