*You can't go to the Legislature from Walla Walla and be very provincial about it. You can't think that if it is something that Walla Walla wants, therefore we should have it. That doesn't mean that I didn't think there were things we deserved, but your first duty is to the entire state, and then to your district. I think that is important.*

*Senator Jeannette Hayner*

Jeannette Hayner

An Oral History

WSOHP

# Jeannette Hayner

## An Oral History

Washington State Oral History Program
Office of the Secretary of State

# Jeannette Hayner

## An Oral History

Interviewed and Edited by Sharon Boswell

Washington State Oral History Program
Office of the Secretary of State
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*"A small, slender woman with a sly sense of humor, Hayner never tried to be 'one of the boys.' She eschewed the feminist movement. Rather like the first woman senator, Reba Hurn, Hayner let her qualifications and abilities speak for themselves. In the somewhat gentrified Senate where it is easy to succumb to the flattery of staff and lobbyists, and where a few of her fellow legislators adopted morals of convenience, Hayner kept her small-town values and her sense of proportion. She led by displaying the traits of leadership: decisive, consistent, rational, confident."*

Seeberger, Edward D. *Sine Die, A Guide to the Washington State Legislative Process*. University of Washington Press, 1997 Edition, pages 145-146

## CONTENTS

# FOREWORD

I first met Jeannette Hayner when she came to Olympia to serve in the House of Representatives in 1973. We not only shared living quarters during the legislative sessions, but we discussed and debated so many of the issues facing the House and the Senate at that time. Jeannette came from the rural, conservative farming community of Walla Walla, while I represented a more liberal and diversified segment of Seattle and King County. Our conversations were spirited, to say the least, because we each appreciated state problems from such different perspectives. We often disagreed on the appropriate solution, but always with patience and a high regard for the other person's opinion.

Equipped with a law degree, Jeannette became a member of the House Judiciary Committee. Her good judgment on legal issues and her steady disposition were soon recognized, and she quickly became a respected voice in our caucus discussions.

At the time that Jeannette and I served in the House and the Senate (1973-1980), there were very few women in either legislative body. In fact, a Ladies' Powder Room had to be created in the Senate when four of us arrived on the scene in 1974. A group of Senate Republicans recognized Jeannette's leadership qualities and worked to build the support necessary to elect her as the Senate Republican leader. We succeeded in accomplishing this in 1979. This was an unprecedented event in the "Old Boys' Club." Not only were women a very small minority numerically, but they did not occupy any real leadership positions in either house. There was a stunned silence on the floor of the Senate when it became evident a woman was about to become the leader of her caucus.

Jeannette will long be remembered as a pioneer in feminine legislative leadership. She was not only equal to the challenge. But she did a superb job as the leader of the Senate Republicans. Jeannette set high standards of legislative activity. She was considerate of the input of members of the other party. She mastered the art of compromise—probably the most crucial ingredient in a successful legislative process.

Jeannette Hayner leaves a legacy of female legislative leadership in Washington State. She will be remembered as a most reasonable person of great intelligence and integrity.

**LOIS NORTH**
**Former Member of the State House and State Senate**

## FOREWORD

Jeannette Hayner was elected to the Washington State House of Representatives a few years after my election to the House, so we served together there before running and being elected to the Senate.

With her experience as an attorney and civic leader for Walla Walla, and as a mother in charge of a household, Jeannette earned our respect and showed many qualities of leadership.

Jeannette had a unique style of leadership that meant utilizing the talents of people around her. By listening to people who had valid ideas, they would become part of the solution and sell the program being considered. I remember how she would bring up a subject and then hear the comments from several perspectives as the discussion moved toward a decision. By then, she had enlisted the ideas and support of those with knowledge essential to make it all happen.

Jeannette had a sense of humor, comfortable style, qualities of class, and a charm that earned her respect from everyone. She was a natural leader whom I greatly admire.

**HAL ZIMMERMAN**
**Former Member of the State House and State Senate**

# FOREWORD

I first heard about Senator Jeannette Hayner when I started my legislative service in the House of Representatives in 1981. She had the reputation of a strong, effective Senate Leader and after my election to the Senate in 1984, I quickly became convinced that assessments I heard about Jeannette were not only true, they, in my opinion, were greatly understated. She possessed high intelligence, a dedication to service, a sharp legal mind and a good vision on how legislation would affect education, social and economic services.

Senator Hayner retired as the Senate Majority Leader in 1992 and it was my pleasure and honor to serve as her Senate Deputy Leader for ten years.

As I write this, fourteen years after she retired, the name Jeannette Hayner still resonates through the halls of the Washington State Legislature.

The respect and admiration Jeannette Hayner earned during her twenty-year legislative career was on display at the recent dedication of the Jeannette C. Hayner Media Center, the new home of Washington's public affairs television network, TVW. Civic and political leaders across the political spectrum praised Jeannette—the state's first woman Senate Majority Leader—for her dedication and commitment to making Washington State a better place to live.

In my sixteen years of legislative experience, I never knew a more talented or effective leader. From 1987 to 1992 Majority Leader Hayner had the most difficult task of keeping a one-vote majority united to tackle complicated issues, including growth management and education reform.

Jeannette Hayner arrived at her desk before everyone else and was always the last to leave. A senator into her seventies, she could work eighteen-hour days as energetically as anyone I have ever seen. She always preferred to walk to her third floor office rather than take the elevator. She had an open door policy and was always accessible to those who needed her. Her ready smile and calm manner made it a pleasure to work with her.

She ran a very disciplined operation of all Senate business. Some examples of her leadership:

> Senator Hayner is remembered for her leadership in creating the state's public television station. When legislation was introduced to create TVW she saw its potential and benefit and she led the effort to get it approved. Her vision of its value was re-affirmed by the success of TVW.
>
> Under her leadership, a plan was developed to schedule and manage the Senate workload for acting on several hundred bills. Prior legislative sessions were researched which provided information on the time required to act on legislation. Using that data, she

> efficiently planned meetings of the Rules Committee and developed the required Senate working days and hours to act on all bills. The result was an orderly, well-organized operation which was efficient and considerate of other demands on the public, senators and staff, by not having sessions late in the evenings or on weekends. I remember a well-respected newspaper reporter who covered the Senate telling me that in all his experience, covering legislatures in several states, that he had "never seen such a well organized, effective, and efficient operation."
>
> During one legislative session when the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the Governor's Office was controlled by the opposition party, the final budget that was passed and adopted was a no-new-taxes budget prepared by the Senate Republicans under Senator Hayner's leadership. It is the only time in Washington State history that the minority party has accomplished that.

She earned press notices that stated, "She ruled the Senate with a firmness that earned her an occasional comparison to former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher," and "Certainly no one can fault her integrity; she was always a woman of her word."

Jeannette received many awards, including the 1991 Columbia State Award from the Washington Institute for Policy Studies. She served on the Board of Directors of the Washington Policy Center from 1994 to 2003, and now serves on its Board Emeritus and Eastern Washington Advisory Board.

She was conservative in her policies and her habits. Often her dinner consisted of a glass of warm water taken at her desk during a leadership meeting. Possessed of a superior intellect and a remarkable ability to concentrate, Jeannette would often conduct a meeting while simultaneously reading constituent mail.

As Majority Leader, Senator Hayner was always willing to compromise to find the best middle ground for the good of the state. But she prided herself in never wanting anything for herself or her caucus to get it. She was immune to pressure. She never put party or politics above the common good. On one occasion the Speaker of the House of Representatives came to Jeannette with a list of House bills that had been sent to the Senate. He said those were bills he wanted passed and wanted Jeannette to give him the list of the Senate Bills she wanted passed. She replied that she would not provide such a list. She said the House should pass the Senate bills that they believed were in the best interest of the public and the Senate would do the same with the House Bills.

# FOREWORD

In the pantheon of Washington State's legislative leaders, Jeannette Hayner stands as a giant.

In the legislative arena one has many colleagues but few true friends. I am proud to count Jeannette C. Hayner as a true friend. As her Deputy Leader I worked closely with Senator Hayner and saw first hand the strengths that have made her a legend. She was tenacious. She demonstrated a superior grasp of issues and human nature. Throughout the years she worked harder than anyone else.

**EMILIO CANTU**
**Former Member of the State House and State Senate**

## FOREWORD

I first met State Senator Jeannette Hayner when I became her legislative assistant. At the time she was the Senate minority leader and soon to become the first woman majority leader of the Washington State Senate when the Republicans gained control of the Senate by a narrow margin.

As Jeannette's assistant for twelve years, I understand why she was a respected leader, an effective legislator, and an enduring friend to those with whom she worked. Her belief in conservative values and principles came from the heart, yet she was always open and prepared to discuss and hear all sides of an issue. She kept the caucus together, not an easy task, because she knew the issues, was trusted, had a natural talent for bringing people together, and exercised a firm hand when necessary. She was always fair. She always kept her word.

Fellow legislators on both sides of the aisle knew where she stood even if they disagreed with her. Occasionally we received a call from House leadership announcing that Joe King was on his way over. Jeannette would meet him in the Senate hallway. Staff would stand aside while petite Jeannette, maybe 5'4" in heels, would calmly look up at the House majority leader, a good 10" taller, smile, listen and thank him. The next step was to call a caucus. Jeannette and Joe had a job to do and a friendly mutual respect for one another.

When the Governor called to make an appointment with Jeannette, he and his staff would gather around her desk, usually along with Senator George Sellar and Republican Staff Director John Rico – both very politically savvy gentlemen. A confidante welcome in the office was Joel Pritchard. His positive attitude, his joy of life and understanding of the legislative process made him an ever welcome guest.

She never forgot that her number one job was to represent the people of her district. Individuals and groups from Eastern Washington were always welcome in the office either in person or by telephone. Lobbyists, activists, legislators, staff and others were welcome too, but anyone desiring to advance legislation knew they needed to be prepared and knowledgeable when they walked into her office. Jeannette was very challenging in that respect.

I looked forward to the few minutes we would spend together at the end of each day. Jeannette would relax with a cup of tea while we discussed phone calls, correspondence and the next day's schedule. When her husband, Dutch, called, Jeannette's thoughts turned to family. Jeannette's family came first with her. It was a sacrifice for Jeanette to come to Olympia from Walla Walla for each legislative session, but she gladly made the transition in the interest of serving the state of Washington and the citizens of her district. She kept in frequent contact with her family by phone, and a call from a grandchild was a precious moment for her.

After retiring from the Senate, Jeannette continued to be active in state and local issues. Jeannette Hayner made history as the first woman to become majority leader of the Washington State Senate. Jeannette Hayner's dedication to public service continues to make a difference to the citizenry of the state.

Those of us privileged to know and work with her cherish her friendship.

**MARGARET SENNA**
**Senior Legislative Assistant to Senator Jeannette Hayner**

## PREFACE

The Washington State Oral History Program was established in 1991 by the Washington State Legislature. It is administered by the Office of the Secretary of State and guided by the Oral History Advisory Committee composed of legislative officers and members.

The purpose of the Program is to document the formation of public policy in Washington State by interviewing persons closely involved with state politics and publishing their edited transcripts. Each oral history is a valuable record of an individual's contributions and convictions, their interpretation of events and their relationships with other participants in the civic life of the state. Read as a series, these oral histories reveal the complex interweaving of the personal and political, the formal and informal processes that are the makings of public policy.

The Oral History Advisory Committee chooses candidates for oral histories. Extensive research is conducted about the life and activities of the prospective interviewee, using legislative journals, newspaper accounts, personal papers and other sources. Then a series of taped interviews is conducted, focusing on the interviewee's political career and contributions. Political values, ideas about public service, interpretation of events and reflections about relationships and the political process are explored. When the interviews have been completed, a verbatim transcript is prepared. These transcripts are edited by program staff to ensure readability and accuracy and then reviewed by the interviewee. Finally, the transcript is published and distributed to libraries, archives and interested individuals. An electronic version of the text is also available on the Secretary of State's Website (www.secstate.wa.gov).

Oral history recording, while assisted by careful research, is based on individual memory and perspective. Although great effort is expended to ensure accuracy, recollection and interpretation of events vary among participants. Oral history documents present personal accounts of relationships, actions and events; readers are encouraged to analyze and weigh this primary material as they would any other historical evidence. It is the hope of the Oral History Program that this work will help the citizens of Washington better understand their political legacy and the persons who have contributed years of service to the political life of our state.

**WASHINGTON STATE ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM**

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A publication like this one requires the assistance of numerous people, and the Washington State Oral History Program is indebted to all contributors for their time, dedication and support. Above all, we must thank Senator Jeannette Hayner, who graciously agreed to record many hours of interviews despite health issues during the latter part of the process. She willingly shared stories about her family and her time in the Legislature, and we are extremely grateful for the insights she shared as well as her hospitality. We also owe a great debt to her family, and particularly her husband, Dutch Hayner, who assisted us in editing the manuscript and providing photographs and other memorabilia. Her son Jim has also been very helpful throughout the process, and the Minnick-Hayner law firm kindly allowed us to use a room in their offices for some of the early interviews recorded in Walla Walla.

Five individuals who worked closely with Jeannette agreed to be interviewed about her leadership skills, both in the Legislature and later on the TVW board. Denny Heck, George Scott, Dan McDonald, Joe King and Milt Doumit all very ably helped to explain what made her such a successful legislator and leader. We deeply appreciate their contributions and the time they devoted to both recording and editing their interviews.

The Oral History Advisory Committee recommended Jeannette Hayner as a candidate for an oral history because of her dedicated service to the state. Senator Hayner also made history as the first woman leader of a caucus. We thank the members of the Committee for their steadfast support for the Program: Secretary of State Sam Reed; Secretary of the Senate, Tom Hoemann; Chief Clerk of the House, Rich Nafziger; Senators Jim Honeyford, Ken Jacobsen, Alex Deccio and Erik Poulsen; and Representatives Sam Hunt, Mary Skinner, Beverly Woods and Steve Conway. Former Senators Don Carlson and Alan Thompson; Former Chief Clerk, Dean Foster; Warren Bishop and David Nicandri from the Washington State Historical Society also gave generously of their time and expertise as ex officio members of the Advisory Committee.

We thank the Washington State Library and the State Archives for their invaluable assistance with research from their respective collections of documents, papers and photographs. Both agencies help to distribute copies of the oral history throughout the state. We also received assistance from the Walla Walla School District for which we are grateful.

Program staff conducted the background research, assisted by our longtime volunteers, Robert Johnson and Richard Allen. Sharon Boswell recorded the interviews and edited the manuscript. Pat Durham skillfully transcribed the interviews. Lori Larson formatted the manuscript and oversaw the printing process. The State Printer produced the oral histories, and we thank them for their professional guidance and expertise.

Finally, we are grateful for the assistance and administrative support from the Office of the Secretary of State.

## Interviewer's Reflections

Deep pride in family, community and a job well done—these are some of the values that stood out most vividly in my interviews with Jeannette Hayner. Jeannette's memories of some past events are no longer as strong as they once were, but despite these health issues, her personal strength and convictions were always evident in our conversations. Jeannette Hayner has a remarkable presence—she is elegant, polished, calm and firm. I was slightly intimidated at our first meeting, but over time I saw the concerned and caring side of her personality, which those who know her well value so highly. I learned why she was such a respected legislator and leader—it is her unique combination of intelligence, commitment, and loyalty that inspires trust in others.

My interviews with Jeannette Hayner began in Walla Walla, the town where she and her husband, H.H. "Dutch" Hayner, moved soon after World War II to start their careers and their family. I was eager to visit Walla Walla, which has developed such cachet during the last decade with the growing importance of the wine industry. I was not disappointed, as it has a great deal of small-town charm, but also big-city amenities including a well-endowed college, good restaurants, and, of course, those world-class wines. Jeannette's pride in Walla Walla was evident, and although she would never claim credit, her numerous community activities as well as her legislative service helped to shape its development over the last five decades. The state-of-the art high school, in particular, was a source of great satisfaction to her. As chair of the school board, she was a driving force behind its beautiful campus and modern facilities.

In many ways Jeannette Hayner also shaped the Legislature and, particularly, the Republican caucus during her years in Olympia. She quickly earned the respect of her colleagues for her energy, intellect and measured approach to the legislative process. As a relatively new senator, Jeannette rose in the leadership ranks and became the Republican leader when the party's "Old Guard" was overthrown at the end of the 1979 session. Whether her party was in the majority or minority, she continued to direct the caucus with a fair, but firm hand until her retirement in 1992.

I personally regard Senator Hayner as a true pathbreaker—the first woman majority leader in the Washington State Legislature—but with characteristic modesty she dismissed any notion that she was a feminine role model. She was proud of the fact that she was one of only two women to graduate from her law school class at the University of Oregon, and that she became an attorney with the Bonneville Power Administration when Portland law firms refused to hire women associates. Yet, to her, the issue was not discrimination but perseverance and competence. She was the right person for the job at hand, and she rose to the top on her own merit and not because of—or in spite of—her gender.

Jeannette Hayner's leadership skills seemed to be the key to her success in the Legislature, and yet, again, in our interviews she was modest about her accomplishments. So many who served

with her on both sides of the aisle in Olympia have commented on her expertise at holding together the Republican caucus—instituting the famous "Rule of Thirteen" in which all caucus members voted together if a majority agreed on an issue—that I thought it was essential to include their perspectives on her abilities. As a result, short interviews with several fellow legislators and a staff member are included at the end of later chapters. These individuals—Denny Heck, Dan McDonald, George Scott, Joe King and Milt Doumit—were asked to share their insights on specific periods of time or on issues in which she played a pivotal leadership role. Each of these interviews shows that whether in the minority or the majority—and even after she retired from the Senate—Jeannette Hayner obviously had the ability to inspire others and get the job done. These five colleagues had wonderful stories to tell of their associations with Jeannette, and I particularly appreciated their willingness to take time from busy schedules to share some of these experiences with me.

Ever-increasing responsibilities in Olympia took Jeannette away from her family for long periods of time, and that was probably the hardest part of her job. She has enormous pride in her children and their considerable accomplishments, and I truly enjoyed talking to her about the importance of education in their lives. Jeannette did not begin her legislative career until her youngest child went away to college, and in our interviews it was obvious that the needs and well-being of both her children and grandchildren were always on her mind. Also paramount was her appreciation for the support she received from her husband, Dutch Hayner, who enabled her to pursue her own interests while balancing work and family successfully. They obviously had a wonderful partnership.

I, too, am very grateful to Dutch Hayner and the rest of the Hayner family for their assistance during the interviewing process. From their willingness to lend office space for our interviews to their help in providing photographs and editing suggestions, they have always been extremely cooperative, and their participation is very much appreciated.

Most importantly, I also want to express my appreciation to Jeannette for her willingness to spend so many hours with me, talking about her life and career. Most of our interviews were conducted in Walla Walla, at the Minnick-Hayner offices and then at her home. She very generously hosted me for lunch, shared with me some of her favorite places to visit in the area, and made me feel extremely welcome. She also very kindly accommodated me by suggesting that we record our final interview session in Seattle. We met at the Washington Athletic Club, where she often held meetings with colleagues when she was visiting the city during her legislative career. I am afraid I monopolized her short time in Seattle and prevented her from accomplishing any errands she had planned, but what a pleasure and privilege to spend these hours together, talking about a wide range of issues! I now have a clearer understanding of why her colleagues have such deep regard for her and why she was such a successful politician—and, yes, pathbreaker.

**SHARON BOSWELL**

## Biographical Highlights

Jeannette Hafner was raised in Portland, Oregon, where her father owned a creamery. She was an only child, but also grew up with her mother's sister and her family, who lived nearby. An excellent student in her high school years in Portland, Jeannette received a scholarship to the University of Oregon, where she initially took business administration courses. A dean suggested that there was a great future for women in the law, and with that encouragement, she enrolled in the University of Oregon Law School. Jeannette was one of only two women who graduated in her class.

Following her in alphabetical order throughout law school was H. H. "Dutch" Hayner from the Spokane area, who later became her husband. Dutch was called to serve in World War II only a few months short of graduation. After Jeannette finished her studies, she and Dutch were married at Camp Chaffee, Arkansas, in October 1942. When Dutch was shipped overseas, Jeannette returned to Portland and lived with her parents. She looked for jobs with Portland law firms, only to be told that they were not hiring women. Instead she went to work as an attorney for the Bonneville Power Administration, where she was involved in labor issues.

After Dutch returned from the war, he finished his law degree and spent one year in the U.S. Attorney's office in Portland before the couple decided that they wanted to move to Eastern Washington. Dutch initially joined a firm in Walla Walla, but soon formed a long-term legal partnership with W.L. "Shine" Minnick.

Jeannette and Dutch had three children, Stephen, James and Judith, and became active in community life. Among numerous volunteer activities, Jeannette was most involved as a member and then chair of the Walla Walla School Board. She was instrumental in seeing that a new high school was built on a large campus just outside of town, although the issue was very controversial at the time. She served on numerous other boards and was a Republican State Committeewoman from 1969 to 1971.

Jeannette's interest in the Legislature was piqued when the incumbent Representative from Walla Walla decided not to run in 1972. Tom Copeland, who was then a member of the House representing the nearby Eleventh District, encouraged her to file, even submitting the paperwork for her in Olympia. After she won a difficult four-person primary, she took the Sixteenth District seat and served for two terms in the House. She was active on the Judiciary and Education Committees, among others, and was selected as assistant whip in the House Republican caucus.

Jeannette ran for the Senate from the Sixteenth District and served from 1977 to her retirement in 1992. The Republicans had been in the minority in the Senate for nearly four decades, and Jeannette became part of a group that deposed the caucus leadership and advocated stronger efforts to recruit and elect new Republicans. Jeannette was named minority leader near the end of the session in 1979 and became Senate majority leader in February of 1981 when the Republicans took control of the Senate by one vote after Peter von Reichbauer switched parties. The first woman to serve in this role, Senator Hayner was particularly successful at holding her caucus together, instituting what became known as the "rule of thirteen," which bound all of the caucus to vote for an issue if a majority of its members favored it.

Known for her calm, but firm management style, Senator Hayner remained as the Republican leader throughout the rest of her legislative career. In addition, she served on a number of standing and special committees and was a member of delegations to the Peoples Republic of China, Taiwan and South Africa. She also received special recognition from a variety of local, state and national groups. Among these accolades were the 1986 Legislator of the Year award by the National Republican Legislator's Association, the Pioneer Award from the University of Oregon, the Columbian Award from the Washington Institute for Public Policy, and an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Whitman College. She was also a long-time member of the board of directors of the Standard Insurance Company.

Since her retirement from the Legislature in 1992, Jeannette Hayner continues to be involved in community and statewide organizations. She became a member of the board of directors of TVW, Washington's public affairs network, in 1993 and served for several years as its chair. The new TVW building, which was completed in 2006, is named for her. In recent years she has also been a director of the Downtown Walla Walla Association and on the advisory board of several agencies and groups including the Department of Natural Resources and the Washington Institute of Public Policy Studies. She and her husband are both proud parents and grandparents and continue to lead active lives in Walla Walla.

# Chapter 1

## Growing Up in Oregon

**Ms. Boswell:** Can you tell me a little bit about your family background? Was there politics anywhere in past generations?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. Certainly not in the United States.

My father was born in India because his parents were missionaries in India from Switzerland. My grandparents lived in India. Every couple of years they would return to Switzerland for two months.

**Ms. Boswell:** What religious group were they with?

**Ms. Hayner:** It was not a particular religion. It was just Christian. I have never found any evidence in my father's records of any particular group. My Dad always said it was just Christian. We've been to Switzerland several times, and there don't seem to be denominations as much there as we have here.

My grandmother had nine children, and the interesting thing about that is that this first cousin of mine, who is in Switzerland now, went down to visit the area in India where they lived. It was in the middle of the northern part of India. Of course, in those days they had horse and buggy, which my grandfather used to travel in all over the countryside.

They had quite a complex in this town. I can't tell you the name of the town, but there was a church and a school and a residence. My grandmother taught the little Indian children and her own in this little schoolhouse. Those buildings, which are the point of my story, are intact to this day.

**Ms. Boswell:** They are?

**Ms. Hayner:** My cousin wanted me to go with him, but I couldn't because of my work load at that time. He said that it was so interesting because my grandfather was quite an artist. He did an entire library of drawings of everything he saw in India.

**Ms. Boswell:** That would be so incredible.

**Ms. Hayner:** It is. I have three of those books, but that is all. Since I have three children, each one will receive a volume. They are so interesting because he'd just be going down the road, and as he would see something, he'd draw it. Most of them are in pencil or pen and ink.

**Ms. Boswell:** That would have been done how long ago?

**Ms. Hayner:** You can tell by the dates on them.

**Ms. Boswell:** 1859. That's 150 years ago. That's incredible.

**Ms. Hayner:** I, of course, never saw them. My dad had eight siblings. There were only two girls and seven boys. One of his sisters, the youngest one, used to communicate with my Dad, but I was never interested. I never saw those people. He'd tell me about India and what he remembered, which wasn't much, because when they were twelve years old, they sent each one of the children back to

Switzerland to live in a mission house, and they went to school there. Most of the children had a college education. Their parents would come home every other year for a month or two.

**Ms. Boswell:** And they didn't see them any other time?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. You know, nobody telephoned across the world in those days. As a matter of fact, my cousin in Switzerland is very bitter about that because he thinks that they neglected their family for the benefit of their religion, which I guess you could interpret it that way. But I've never been judgmental on that. It's a different time, so it's very difficult, but it is interesting.

**Ms. Boswell:** I just can't imagine that.

**Ms. Hayner:** Anyway, it's different.

My father went to the University of Bern. He had two years of college when his youngest brother—my Dad was sort of in the middle—wanted to come to the United States. He was a musician, and since they had choruses and choirs in Portland, he wanted to go there. He knew people who lived in Portland who had previously lived in Switzerland, so he wanted my Dad to go with him. My Dad did, and neither one of them ever went back to Switzerland.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did they see their parents at all?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. They never saw them again. They were in college, but still, there was no real family interest or discipline.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me his name. Your father's name was what?

**Ms. Hayner:** Hafner. Samuel H-A-F-N-E-R. That's a fairly common name in Switzerland. When we were over there, we saw that name on quite a few postboxes. We have had people who contacted us who were Hayners, but there are all sorts of Hayners. My husband Dutch's family was always H-A-H-N-E-R with an umlaut over the "a," which made it Hayner. Because of pronunciation and spelling it was a very difficult name to find, even in the telephone directory.

**Ms. Boswell:** You just didn't expect it to be spelled that way.

**Ms. Hayner:** So we eventually changed it to H-A-Y-N-E-R. As each one of our children graduated from high school, we changed their names, so there was a nice transition there. Then when Dutch's father died, we changed ours because he was opposed to our changing it, so we didn't change the spelling while he was alive. I ran the first time as H-A-H-N-E-R.

**Ms. Boswell:** I noticed that in the papers.

**Ms. Hayner:** Then after we changed it, people knew it was spelled H-A-H would say, "I thought you'd misspelled it." I couldn't believe it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Again, that's something that people have been doing in this country for hundreds of years.

**Ms. Hayner:** We know one family here in Walla Walla who has changed their name three times, I think. They had an unforeseen pronunciation come up after they changed it the first time, so they changed it again.

**Ms. Boswell:** So tell me a little bit more about your mother's side of the family.

**Ms. Hayner:** My mother was born in Monroe, Wisconsin. She was one of three children, but her brother died. I have visited Monroe. It's a cute little town.

My grandfather was run over by a streetcar and killed, so my grandmother decided to move with her three children to Portland. She had a couple of brothers there and she also knew some people in Portland, so she just picked up her children and moved to Portland. And then my mother's brother died of some children's disease, but my mother and her sister were raised in Portland.

**Ms. Boswell:** How old was she when they moved?

**Ms. Hayner:** I can't tell you without looking it up, but I think that maybe my mother was twelve or something like that. The brother was younger.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about your parents' first meeting? How did they ultimately meet?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think it was through my uncle, who had several choirs and choruses. Both of them somehow went to one of these performances and met there.

**Ms. Boswell:** So then they were married in Portland?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me about what they did there.

**Ms. Hayner:** My father had a small business in downtown Portland on Third Street. He had a creamery, which is an industry that Swiss people were involved in traditionally.
And he had a friend who was a butter maker. That's quite an art—to make butter. My Dad worked awfully hard because he'd get up at four o'clock in the morning. At that time, most of the milk and cream for a creamery came very early in the morning from the eastern part of Oregon on the train. My father always met the train to remove his shipment.

**Ms. Boswell:** He had to get up and then get it ready. Was it wholesale, where they then went to other stores to be distributed?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. They had a creamery right there, and they made the butter and bottled the milk and delivered it, mostly in downtown Portland.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about how their family evolved.

**Ms. Hayner:** I was an only child.

**Ms. Boswell:** You were the only child?

**Ms. Hayner:** My husband Dutch's mother could never understand that because she had seven children born at home. Dutch was the oldest. She told me once, "You know, anybody that's raised by themselves has to be awfully selfish." She thought an only child would be self-centered and all these things. I said, "Oh, I don't think so."

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about what you remember about your childhood.

**Ms. Hayner:** I had a very nice childhood. I lived three or four blocks from the elementary school, and I walked and skated to school. And if you know Portland at all, I went across Union Avenue, which was very busy. It is now Martin Luther King Avenue, but it used to be Union Avenue. I used to have to take off my skates and put them back on, on the other side, because my mother said, "You can't go across Union Avenue with your skates on."

One thing I do remember about walking to school is that at that time there were a lot of vacant lots. There were no houses. There was licorice growing on those vacant lots. You've probably never even seen or know what it looks like, but it was growing wild. You just broke it off and sucked on it, and it was licorice-tasting. It tastes very good.

But anyway, I went to eight grades in that school and then to Jefferson High School.

**Ms. Boswell:** Because your Dad's family had their religious interests, was it a religious family?

**Ms. Hayner:** My family? No, not at all. Actually, I wasn't confirmed and baptized until I was in college and I met Dutch. He wanted me to be confirmed and baptized, so I was.

**Ms. Boswell:** Interesting. Do you think that was a reaction to his own family situation?

**Ms. Hayner:** I have no idea. It didn't concern me at the time, and I really wasn't even aware of it very much. We did go to church occasionally on Easter or Christmas and so on, but we were not regular church members when I was growing up.

**Ms. Boswell:** What religion did they choose in Portland?

**Ms. Hayner:** They went to the Presbyterian Church, I think, partly because it was close. People didn't get in their car and drive a long way.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there any kind of a Swiss community in Portland?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes, very much so. It was kind of Swiss-German. My uncle was the choir director for a couple of them, and my parents used to go to their meetings. They'd have dances and that sort of thing, too. Yes.

And there was what they called a Turnverein Society in Portland. I think it's a German word for an athletic compound or something, because they used to take me down there, and I'd do exercising and athletics and dancing and that sort of thing. I went to that weekly.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you have cousins your age?

**Ms. Hayner:** I did. My mother's sister lived next door to us. Actually, our backyards were together, and they had a boy who is three years older than I, and also an only child, so we kind of grew up together. We skated together, and we often went to school together because my mother and aunt were back and forth all the time.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it was a big extended family.

**Ms. Hayner:** Not a big one, but it sure was, and that was nice. I think I never considered myself in any way violated because I didn't have a sister or a brother.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did your Mom help with the creamery at all?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, no. Never. She was very much a housewife.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was it the kind of neighborhood where there were a lot of other children?

**Ms. Hayner:** There were other children. Yes. And one of my memories of that is that we used to have woodpiles. There would be a sidewalk and then a little bit of green area.

We had a furnace that consumed wood, so you'd have these big woodpiles. They were probably eight feet, or seven feet high, and we'd run around them and hide and do all these things.

**Ms. Boswell:** They were between the sidewalk and the street?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I was in a neighborhood where there was only one other girl and a whole bunch of boys. The boys played baseball all the time, but they let me play because they could use another batter.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were you a tomboy? Would you characterize yourself as one?

**Ms. Hayner:** Kind of. I'm not exactly, but the only time I ever remember playing with dolls was with this gal who lived in the neighborhood, and she had a big doll and I had a little doll that I played with, but not much.

And, of course, my Mother and Dad had lots of friends, and the friends had children, so I would see them on the weekends and so on.

**Ms. Boswell:** What kind of get-togethers were there?

**Ms. Hayner:** We'd just go to each other's houses and play cards or 500 or poker or whatever card game. As the children got a little older, they'd play games that the kids could be in on, too. We used to do a lot of that and that was fun.

**Ms. Boswell:** I don't think they do very much of that any more.

**Ms. Hayner:** No. Our kids always liked to play card games, but I don't think there is much of that anymore. There's too much TV and garbage.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me about Portland growing up as a child. What kind of city was it?

**Ms. Hayner:** It was a great city until the war. I'm not being particularly critical, but they needed a lot of people to work in the shipyards. Portland had a lot of shipyards. They built those Liberty ships, and so they brought in lots of Black people from Louisiana and Mississippi, and it changed the complexion of things. We lived out northeast—across the river, but northeast—and those people settled close to us on what was called Swan Island, which is where they built the ships. They were close. So Jefferson High School went from having one Black boy to having mostly Black. It was over half, but now they've dispersed them around the city and bused them and all kinds of stuff because that wasn't a good development.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it almost created, not a ghetto, but a real concentration of people coming in?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. And the kids weren't an inspiration to each other because so many of them hadn't had very good schooling in Mississippi or wherever they had come from in the South.

**Ms. Boswell:** I imagine it was quite a culture change, too, coming from the deep South, in particular, to the Northwest.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. When I was in college I worked down there at the shipyard in the office. I had a good job over ten or twelve people who were doing paperwork or that sort of thing. That was interesting.

But then I also worked for my Dad in the summertime because he also sold all the dairy products and big wheels of cheese and all that kind of stuff from a store right down in downtown Portland.

**Ms. Boswell:** You were downtown? So you worked in the store?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, in the summer during the three years I was in undergraduate school.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you helped him out?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. And I liked it, too. It was kind of interesting. You probably don't know Portland very well, but I know it like the back of my hand. In that part of town there were lots of Chinese, too, at that time. They had underground gambling in Portland.

Just a half a block away was Robert's Brothers, which was then a big department store. Robert's Brothers moved to Arizona later, but that was a nice department store at that time, and those people used to come in all the time. It was kind of an interesting part of Portland to be in. It was on Third Street toward the river on the west side.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about school experiences. Did you have any particular subjects or things that you were interested in early on that carried over later?

**Ms. Hayner:** Do you mean in college?

**Ms. Boswell:** No. I'm thinking more in terms of grade school and even into high school.

**Ms. Hayner:** Not really. I was always a good student. I didn't have to study very hard, but I did enough to get good grades. I got a scholarship to the University of Oregon. Then I remember that I was taking business administration and general courses. The University of Oregon is a very pretty campus. I don't know whether you've ever been there.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes, I have. It is lovely.

**Ms. Hayner:** There's a wonderful Chinese museum there, too. It is a very old one. But anyway, I was Mortar Board and many other activities.

My Dad had gone to one year of law school in Switzerland. He'd talk about it once in awhile, but not to urge me or anything. But the dean of the Business Administration School stopped me one day and said, "Jeannette, I think there's a great future for women in the law. Why don't you go to law school?" That was really the first time I thought about it very seriously.

And so when I went home the next time…I used to get on the train and ride home from Eugene. It was about a three-hour train ride. So I talked to my parents about it and they thought, "That's fine if you want to do that." So I did go to law school.

In fact, I was very fortunate because at that particular time they were trying out a new program, which, if your grades were good enough, at the end of three years they'd let you go to law school for two years instead of three—or three instead of four—I'm not sure which. But anyway, at the end of that time you'd get both of your degrees.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think they did that at the University of Washington, too.

**Ms. Hayner:** They just did it for a couple of years—two or three years. So I took advantage of that and got my BA degree and my LL.B, which was then changed to a JD.

**Ms. Boswell:** It sounds like your parents were really supportive of education.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. They were very supportive of education as we have always been with our children. Our children are very well educated. I said, "You can keep going to school as long as you're making progress." Each child took my offer seriously: Steve

received a BA degree, summa cum laude, Whitman College (Phi Beta Kappa); MM degrees from Harvard and Gordon-Conwell Divinity schools; a PHD degree in Hebrew and cognate languages from St. Andrews in Scotland. Jim graduated with highest honors, also Phi Beta Kappa, from Washington State University and then a JD degree from Stanford Law School. Judy received her BA degree "with distinction" from Stanford; she studied one year at Cornell and received an MBA degree from UCLA.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's fantastic.

**Ms. Hayner:** Steve went on a world trip between high school and college. He was always interested in Christian groups, and they had a world tour and he wanted to go on it.

**Ms. Boswell:** A little bit of that religious interest skips to later generations?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I think so. Yes. I do believe that because we talked a lot about the world in our family discussions. I think a lot of Americans don't do that, but we always did because there was some reason to be interested in it.

**Ms. Boswell:** During your education—it would have been before college—there were the Depression years. Did that affect your family at all?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not at all. The only thing I remember about that: my parents were not wealthy people at all, but we always had plenty to eat, and we went to movies. On Friday nights we usually went to the neighborhood movie if there was something playing. I do remember seeing *All Quiet on the Western Front*, which I just hated. I wouldn't go back for several months. The first version of that was pretty bad.

**Ms. Boswell:** You'd go to movies, but then…

**Ms. Hayner:** I was very selective. I didn't like things like *All Quiet*. They used to make a lot of awful movies, I think.

**Ms. Boswell:** Awful in what way?

**Ms. Hayner:** Realistic violence that really took place. That's the worst kind, I think.

My parents had quite a few friends, and in the summertime we always went to the beach. We weren't far from the beach. We often went camping at Yachats, Oregon. Each family would have a great big tent and our cots and the whole bit, and we'd stay a week or two. I just loved that.

Yachats is a wonderful place. I don't know whether you've ever been there, but it has rocks going out into the ocean where you fish, and the fish were so plentiful in those years. You could throw a line out with a half a dozen hooks and bring in half a dozen fish. There were schools of fish.

We camped just to the north of that in a little bit of woods. It was not real woodsy because the beach is never that wild. The sand was right below us and then these rocks were there that you could fish on. It was just great.

**Ms. Boswell:** Sounds idyllic.

**Ms. Hayner:** It was, and I loved it. I loved it, so I thought that's what you were supposed to do when you had children and you had a vacation.

But I had my come-uppance. Dutch had never even been to the beach because he'd grown up in Spokane County, and they were farmers. You don't go to the beach because in the summer you're busy. So I said, "We've got to take these little children." We had the two boys and the little girl, and I

said, "We've got to take them to the beach." We took them two years in a row, and I had to take their snowsuits because it was so cold down there. I said, "From now on we'll go to Idaho." So we've gone to Sun Valley and all those wonderful places.

My husband, Dutch, was on the board of regents at Washington State University for twelve years, and it was during the time that Glenn Terrell was president. In fact, he was on the committee to choose a new president. He went back and interviewed Glenn. We just think the world and all of Glenn. He was an excellent president for WSU.

Here's a funny story. Glenn was up at the WSU camp one summer when we were up at a cabin at Priest Lake, Idaho, when Glenn came over and wanted to go huckleberry picking. He's just a great one for picking anything wild. So Dutch said, "Sure," and Con Tucker, who owned the cabin, said, "Oh, yes. We'll take you." Where you pick these huckleberries is wild country, with many fallen logs. Each had a bucket, and each had filled his bucket with berries. Dutch was trying to climb over a log when he fell. We always laugh because Glenn said, "Did you drop the berries?" He didn't ask whether Dutch hurt himself. Glenn later wrote a book and mentioned this incident.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know about those berries. They are wonderful; in fact, I have some in my freezer.

**Ms. Hayner:** Twenty dollars a gallon this year.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes; in fact, twenty-five in some places.

**Ms. Hayner:** The Indians used to pick them, and they'd be on the road or anyplace and sell them.

**Ms. Boswell:** Oh, really? So they would actually sell them directly to you?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. They were pretty cheap, but they don't do that anymore because the federal government takes care of them.

**Ms. Boswell:** There are a lot of berries up there.

We were talking earlier about college and law school. Before you chose law, what was your major?

**Ms. Hayner:** Business administration, in general. I just took a lot of everything.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about the University of Oregon at that time. Was it as big as it is now?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, no. They've all grown quite a bit. I think Oregon and Washington State are about the same size now. It probably had 6000 kids then, so it's probably tripled in size now.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were you active in different organizations?

**Ms. Hayner:** On the campus I was very active. I joined the Kappas, and that was right next to the Phi Delt house. There is a big new library there now, and that's where the Chinese museum is in that area. I was in Mortar Board, and I was very active. I was a student body officer.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you had gotten into, I guess you'd call it, a political campaign of a sort?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I even did it in high school. I liked it, and I didn't mind talking in front of groups of people.

I remember now—I have to think how I said this—but it was so funny. I was

running for a student body office, and I said something that came across all wrong, but the whole audience just guffawed, and I think that elected me. I said something about "You have to pick the best candidate, and I've got all the qualifications." Anyway, they thought it was pretty funny.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were your parents at all interested in politics?

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you grow up in a family that talked about politics?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. My Dad was always very interested in everything, but not to the extent of being part of it. I do remember we listened to Roosevelt a lot, and my Dad thought he was great at first. Then he decided he was not great, and he decided he was going to be Republican because Roosevelt turned him off. Well, you know, he was a "big government" man—everything could be done better by big government. And, of course, he'd give these wonderful speeches that enthused everyone, but that really turned my Dad off.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's interesting. So he didn't feel, as a small businessman, that a lot of those Depression-era programs were all that helpful to him or to what he was interested in?

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you did grow up with at least a knowledge of and interest in public affairs?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Of course, my Dad was always one who was interested in everything that was going on, and especially politics and what was happening in the United States. He'd be fascinated with what is going on now—Iran and Iraq and Africa and all these things.

**Ms. Boswell:** Having lived in Switzerland, I can see that.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. He'd been all over Switzerland. When he came here he spoke four languages fluently. That is not uncommon in Europe; in fact, it is very common. We went over there a few years ago, and my daughter was married to a Frenchman who grew up in France and went to college in France and then came to Stanford Graduate School. We wanted to go and visit his parents, but we don't speak a word of French. We took one of our nieces with us, and she was just a wonderful interpreter. She did so well. She sat at the end of the table, and there were about six of us around the table in addition to her, and you'd hardly know there was any problem, which was just absolutely great. She was terrific.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did your Dad give that talent to you, that interest in language, too?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I took languages. I took Latin and I took German and so on, but I didn't have a particular talent.

My mother's mother lived with us for many years, and she spoke Swiss. It's a variation of German, you know. It's not the same at all, and I understood everything she said, but I wasn't real fluent in talking to her. I knew a lot of it, but not enough.

**Ms. Boswell:** You could understand more than you felt comfortable in saying?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is that something that you've been able to keep or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know. I haven't been

around anyone. I think I would, though, because she lived with us for a long time. In fact, she lived with us all the time I was in high school and college, but she's long gone, and so I don't really know. I haven't been around any of those people. She grew up in Monroe, and her parents had to come over and so she knew the language. Little kids pick it up so fast, you know. My daughter's children are seven and nine and her husband was French, and he'd talk to them in French all the time. They still remember it.

**Ms. Boswell:** So, in college, did you have ambitions? Did you know what you wanted to be?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I didn't really. When I decided to go to law school, it was something that leads you. Although I must say, that when I got out of law school—and you would have thought that I could have gotten a job because I had good grades—I went to every big law firm in Portland, and they did not want a woman.

**Ms. Boswell:** Oh, really?

**Ms. Hayner:** So that's why I went to work for the Bonneville Power Administration, because the government doesn't discriminate that way. It can't. And I was glad I did because I met some very nice people there, and one of my very best friends is Chuck Luce. I don't know whether that name means anything to you, but he made a lot of money because he represented the Yakima Indians. He was in Walla Walla, too, practicing for a while. He represented the Yakima Indians in a case against the government and got a million dollars for that. So, after that—he was always a lawyer, of course—but he used his law in different ways. He became the CEO of Con-Edison in New York, and he was also the administrator for Bonneville Power at one time. He lives now in New York. I saw him not long ago because he does come out here occasionally. He has a lot and cabin near Walla Walla.

Another funny story is that Chuck had an office at Bonneville Power Administration in Portland. It was a pretty nice-sized office, much bigger than this one. While Chuck was on a trip, Bonneville hired me and said, "We're going to put you in with Chuck for awhile." When he returned, I was sitting in his office. He keeps teasing me about that.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you were in law school, were there many women in your classes?

**Ms. Hayner:** When we started the first year, there were quite a few. There were two who graduated.

**Ms. Boswell:** So there was quite a lot of attrition?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Of course, the University of Oregon was different than the University of Washington at that time. They took pride in the fact that everybody who graduated from University of Oregon law school passed the Bar. That was never true at the University of Washington because they had a much bigger classes.

So the first year at Oregon, if they didn't think you could make it, or you didn't have the temperament for it or the personality or whatever, you were just gone, which I think, incidentally, is a very good way to do it. We have an awful lot of lawyers who just don't fit the profession very well.

**Ms. Boswell:** It's a weeding process. If you're not suited, you are out.

**Ms. Hayner:** You have to remember that at any state college or university, the government is paying for an awful lot of it. It isn't like a private school. They can do what they want.

**Ms. Boswell:** Let's see, that would have been…

**Ms. Hayner:** 1942.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did the war affect you?

**Ms. Hayner:** Very much so. Dutch was in my law school class, and he had been in ROTC at Washington State, so in February 1942, his senior year, he was called into the service. I remember writing a letter to Dr. Spencer, who had been a professor at the University of Oregon in law school and also had been drafted by the government to return back there and help with the ROTC draftees. So I wrote him this letter and said this was just crazy—the gist of it was that. It didn't make any sense that this fellow is going to graduate in June and you're taking him now. I got a curt letter back, but I did think it was due to the anxiety at the time, as was the placing of Japanese and Germans in concentration camps. Dutch was in the service for four years and had to come back and return to law school and then take the Bar exams in Oregon and Washington after he had been away from law four years. He passed both exams, but I am sure it was difficult.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's quite a lot of time to be away from your studies.

**Ms. Hayner:** That was the government doing something stupid. They could have left him in law school for three months, and he would have been through. As a matter of fact, at the University of Washington, if you were in your senior year, the school gave the student a degree and the State Bar waived the requirement to be examined.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes, I understand that UW law students got all these credits essentially for being in the war, so they didn't have to finish.

**Ms. Hayner:** They didn't do that in Oregon. I really thought that was pretty bad. They should have let him finish. Dutch was ranked number one scholastically in our class at the time he left for the service. He was also editor of the *Law Review*.

**Ms. Boswell:** It seems like with that short of a period…

**Ms. Hayner:** He was doing a great service for his country. He may not have returned from combat; that was his risk.

**Ms. Boswell:** So there were a lot of women in the law school who did not finish for various reasons? Do you think they were competent or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** Some of them didn't like it. Some of them weren't prepared to study that much because all you do in law school is study. I shouldn't say that. Now they have a new law school. They've had two since I was there, but anyway, it was just one block down to the College Inn, where we'd walk about three times a day and get a Coke. That was our entertainment.

A lot of them didn't like it and some of them just couldn't make the grade. It takes dedication. You have to want to do it.

**Ms. Boswell:** How was your transition into it? Did you have a particular type of law that you had intended to practice?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. As a matter of fact, normally you go to law school and everybody takes pretty much the same courses. Then, if you want to specialize, you have to take some more training after you graduate and become a lawyer. You take the Bar usually in August, if you have completed your courses.

**Ms. Boswell:** You met your husband at law school?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. We sat alphabetically. He sat right behind me. He always says that he was one of two. (Chuckles) And he sat behind me.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there particular interests that made you two compatible?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know that there was, except that we both were interested in law. And in law school, as I say, you don't do anything else but study.

**Ms. Boswell:** As you went through law school, did you have an image of yourself in the future essentially being a practicing lawyer?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I didn't. It's a good thing I didn't.

**Ms. Boswell:** What did you think you would do?

**Ms. Hayner:** What I did, which was to work for the government. You can always work for the government, you know.

**Ms. Boswell:** It must have been difficult once you graduated and had done so well to go to these law firms and have them turn you down.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. And I don't know why, exactly, because they never quite explained it. They'd say, "We're not interested in a woman," or "We've got all the lawyers we want right now."

**Ms. Boswell:** What about at the BPA? Were there other women attorneys? Did they have a large legal department?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. They did. Yes, it was very large. I think BPA had about eight or ten, and I actually didn't do a lot of specializing, but I represented them with the unions. That was kind of interesting because I'd never had that experience. Union people normally are pretty pushy and so it was kind of an eye-opener.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about it. What were some of your experiences?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, gosh. I don't remember any particular situations, but they were negotiating with the union people, and then they'd get into some kind of conflict. They'd want to know whether this was legal, or if you could do this, or whether they could push and do that, and I would have to make the decision on the spot. It was interesting.

And then I did just general work answering letters that people wrote in about legal questions, about Bonneville and their rates and that sort of thing.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about your husband and his family and getting to know them when you two decided to get married.

**Ms. Hayner:** We were married, actually, when he was in the service. As I said, he was in the Reserves. We were married at Camp Chaffee, Arkansas, in October of 1942.

I had a very good friend whose husband was in law school with us, and she was going back there to meet him in St. Louis, Missouri, because he was in the FBI. She was the only one I knew at my wedding except my husband. My mother could not come because gas rationing and the Army's priority on trains made it almost impossible to travel. The colonel in Dutch's battalion was regular Army, and he thought it was just neat to have an Army wedding, so it was on the post. We had crossed sabers and much Army formality. We have a movie of that.

**Ms. Boswell:** Where was he at that time?

**Ms. Hayner:** Camp Chaffee near Fort Smith, Arkansas.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you went back to Arkansas?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I had never been to Arkansas or that far into the South. I got on an airplane and went to Los Angeles and bought myself some clothes and went on to Arkansas on a train, sitting on my suitcase. There were no seats available because soldiers had priority.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you had been working at the BPA for a while and then you decided to get married?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** And then did you come back to the BPA?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. No. No. That's not right. Let me see. No, I didn't work for BPA before we were married. When he was called in, he had six months of training or something after they called him in, and then they sent him to Camp Chaffee. In the meantime, I had graduated and taken the Bar. Then I went in October. In fact, we're going to have a wedding anniversary next month, the twenty-fourth of October. We've been married sixty years.

**Ms. Boswell:** Sixty? That is wonderful. That's incredible.

**Ms. Hayner:** We had a lot in common.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you went back and you got married?

**Ms. Hayner:** And then I drove home by myself in an old car.

**Ms. Boswell:** By yourself?

**Ms. Hayner:** By myself. Then I got the job at Bonneville.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you ever think about staying in Arkansas?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, no. No. Actually, after I went back there, Dutch was moved nine times before he went overseas. We went to nine different camps—not even camps, all of them.

One time in the summer he was sent to Kansas. He was an officer, of course, so we stayed all the time we were up there in Kansas in a hotel and didn't do anything. The officers just sat and had a good time while the men harvested wheat because there weren't enough men available.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's amazing. I didn't know that went on.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. So we had all kinds of experiences.

**Ms. Boswell:** You lived in nine different places before you came back here? Then did he go overseas after that?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. He landed a few weeks after D-Day and went almost to Berlin, where his battalion met the Russians on the Elbe River. He was in the Battle of the Bulge, where they had more than 77,000 casualties, which was more than the Normandy invasion. According to Dutch, the Germans assembled more than 400,000 men, with tanks and equipment, on a seven-mile front without Allied intelligence being aware of it. The counter-offensive caught our troops with complete surprise. The battalion immediately south of Dutch's battalion was wiped out entirely within a period of less than one hour.

During the next sixty days, Dutch and the other officers and soldiers never had a chance to remove their clothing.

They liberated a concentration camp. This was a large fenced and guarded open field where men and women were stripped and left to starve and freeze to death. The Germans had large ditches where the dead people were placed. Some of them were still moving when Dutch arrived. Dutch has never gotten over that experience.

I have seen the pictures of when they landed on Omaha Beach, where the Germans had huge guns. How our soldiers got past those I don't know. They just jumped off these barges and had to swim. Of course, there were a lot of them who never made it past that point.

**Ms. Boswell:** How were you back at home? I suppose reading about some of these things was awful.

**Ms. Hayner:** It was terrible. I knew there was something special going on because he wrote to me often, but for thirty days I got no letter. That was when the Battle of the Bulge took place.

**Ms. Boswell:** It must have been just horrible to be thinking about him over there.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Fortunately, we had no children. A lot of the people who were in the battalion with him, and especially the officers, had two or three children, small ones. We were late getting children. We didn't actually have any children until we moved to Walla Walla. He was the assistant U.S. Attorney in Portland for a year after he graduated. He didn't want to stay in Portland.

**Ms. Boswell:** What did you do when you were in Portland? Did you live with family?

**Ms. Hayner:** I lived with my parents while he was gone, and that was kind of nice because I had company. Things were tough during that time. You had rationing and when it got dark in Portland, you had to pull all your shades. They had to be shades that wouldn't let any light out. Those things take their toll on you.

**Ms. Boswell:** Absolutely—just the strain.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. And, of course, Portland is so close to the coastline. It never happened, but you didn't know when the Japanese might land.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there lots of other war wives there?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes, everywhere. Because I was working I didn't meet with any of them, but I did have some friends that I'd had in high school and college whose husbands were also gone.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did the war affect the BPA? Was there any kind of relationship?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think so. No.

**Ms. Boswell:** I imagine that the times would be tough for labor negotiations.

**Ms. Hayner:** Probably.

**Ms. Boswell:** You said there were more women working with you than there were in other legal jobs elsewhere?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I don't know, but I would guess that most of the women had the same reception that I got.

**Ms. Boswell:** Unfortunately. Did that affect you, the sense that you were essentially being discriminated against?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I never worried about that. When I went to the Legislature, I didn't ever worry about that, either. I didn't have any men discriminate against me as individuals. So why would I expect that when I went to the Legislature or anyplace else? That never worried me.

**Ms. Boswell:** So there wasn't any anger or resentment?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. Not at all.

The other gal who graduated from University of Oregon Law School, her husband dropped out of law school because during the war there was a great need for lumber and his father had been a lumber broker. So Russell had a very good knowledge of how to do that. He quit law school, and she finished and took the Bar and graduated. Then they got married. He was working in Springfield, which is just south of Eugene, and they lived in Springfield. He lived about three years and had a heart attack and died. Then she moved with her mother to California on the beach. Her mother had bought some property there.

She had a strange life because her father was the manager of two hotels in Portland, and her mother had never cooked a meal in her married life. So Mary Jane didn't know anything about cooking.

I lived with another gal who was the daughter of the owner of Roberts Brothers in Portland, and her father had come from Australia and New Zealand. They were very different people. They ate lots of kidney stew and things like that. The three of us when we lived together, whenever it was Betty Lou's turn, we had kidney stew. I learned to eat kidney stew. We had an interesting time.

**Ms. Boswell:** Would you call yourself domestic? Did you enjoy cooking?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I've always done what I had to do, but I'm not crazy about it. That's one thing I loved about the Legislature; you didn't have to worry about that. You just went downstairs and ate and then did some more work.

I still don't like to cook, but I'm a pretty good cook. If you can read, you can cook, I figure. I'm not the experimental type. I have one friend who experiments with all these spices. I can't be bothered with that. I eat to keep me alive.

**Ms. Boswell:** How many years were you at BPA?

**Ms. Hayner:** Two years.

**Ms. Boswell:** And then what happened?

**Ms. Hayner:** Dutch had to go back to school, so I got a job down in Eugene working for the college because we were only going to be there a short time. I met a friend whose husband was in the service, too, and had been in law school, so we had some good friends there.

But as soon as Dutch got out, he took this job in Portland in the U.S. Attorney's office. He didn't like Portland, so he said, "We're going to move to Eastern Washington." I said, "I don't care." So we got in our car and went up the Columbia River Highway and crossed over at the Bridge of the Gods or someplace and stopped in every little town and talked to the lawyers and the judges and came through Walla Walla and up to Spokane. He didn't want to go to Spokane. He had a good offer from the Brown firm in Spokane because they knew of him, but he didn't want to go to Spokane because he has a ton of relatives up there. He said, "You know, I don't think I want to do that," because he's one of these people who can't charge relatives.

So then he went back to his job in Portland and about a month later he got a call from Cam Sherwood, who was one of the leading attorneys in town here. His partner had just died, and he said, "Will you come?" And Dutch said, "Yes," so we came. He only stayed with Cam one year. Sherwood had a lot of business. He was a good lawyer, but his personality was not like my husband's at all. So in the meantime, he became acquainted with W. L. "Shine" Minnick, whose people were pioneers. In fact, they owned half of the land that the airport is on. They have a homestead and their daughter lives in the house now, and she is raising wine grapes. But anyway, they have a lot of big wheat ranches and property, and so Shine and Dutch formed a partnership and practiced law together until Shine died, which was a few years ago. He committed suicide, and it just about killed my husband. He just couldn't believe it. Unbeknownst to us, he had the start of Alzheimer's. He knew and he just didn't want to put his family through that, nor himself. I never got over that.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you've always been happy with your choice of Walla Walla?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. We love Walla Walla. We love the climate. You're four hours from Portland, four hours from Seattle and you're three hours from Spokane. We used to go to Yakima, but Yakima is not much of a town anymore. It's terrible. It has too many undesirable people. Anyway, we have really enjoyed it in Walla Walla.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it was really sort of serendipitous that you got here?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. We didn't choose it; it chose us. (Laughs)

## CHAPTER 2

## THE EARLY WALLA WALLA YEARS

**Ms. Boswell:** What was it like to move to Walla Walla? You'd been in Portland for a long time. Did you like the idea of a small town? What kind of a flavor did Walla Walla have? This was in the late 1940s when you first came here.

**Mrs. Hayner:** When we came we had no children. We were late with our family because we didn't have any children during the war years. So many women did, but it was such a hassle. We moved nine times during the time that Dutch was in the service in the United States.

Anyway, we liked Walla Walla really well.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was it a really family-oriented town at that time?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. It was. It always has been. And, of course, this town was bigger than Seattle at one time, you know, because Marcus Whitman and all of those pioneers came down this way and through Walla Walla.

**Ms. Boswell:** A lot of the agricultural settlements started down here and then spread out more and more.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. That's right.

**Ms. Boswell:** How much of an influence did the agricultural community have on the town?

**Ms. Hayner:** It's enormous. But, see, my husband came from a farm family, and we had land up there in Spokane County, so that was no problem. In fact, it was a real advantage to him. Wheat and peas is mostly what was grown. His law partner who lived on a farm just out of town tried to raise all kinds of things innovatively, even cucumbers. He couldn't figure out why you couldn't have a big crop of cucumbers and cut them all at the same time, because when you have to do it selectively, it takes a lot of time and effort and is costly. So he was very involved in that end of it, too. Since my husband had grown up in a farm family, he fit in well in Eastern Washington and Walla Walla.

Now an awful lot of that land has been converted to wine grapes—an enormous amount. Most of it is toward the mountains, too. The best land is towards the mountains. I've seen figures on the amount, and people say, "Oh, well, there's going to be a saturation point and they won't need any more." That's just not true. Norm McKibben, whom I've known for years because his wife gave me the first fund-raiser and tea that I ever had when I ran for the Legislature, was originally involved. His wife then later died; she had a very serious disease.

He actually worked out of San Francisco and traveled all over the world. He was the one who really came back to Walla Walla and decided to grow grapes. He did a lot of research and traveled in Spain and France to obtain information and begin the wineries—the wine industry. Of course, it's just grown like everything.

The Minnicks' daughter lives on their ranch now, and she has a lot of grapes, and she said, "It's so much a better crop than wheat, because wheat you have to spray. It's very

dusty when they're harvesting. I just love the grapes because we can't spray them, and it's a very pretty crop." So it's really much nicer. Lots of people are converting. It's expensive, too. It's very expensive to start a winery and vineyard, so that is a limiting factor.

**Ms. Boswell:** As this economy has changed, even, say, back in the 1940s, was there a real differential between the town families and the farm families?

**Ms. Hayner:** A certain amount, but I think because we were lawyers and knew government and all that sort of thing, it helped. We got involved in a lot of things right away.

I can remember we rented a house and Dutch came home and said, "I joined the country club," and I said, "You joined the country club? We haven't any money for that." And he said, "Well, you need to meet the right people." I think in towns this size you meet all kinds of people from every walk of life. In big cities you tend to gravitate to the things that you do because you just don't have the time or the money to put the effort into seeing a variety of people. My father had this small business in downtown Portland, so I know that to be true. All of his friends were people who were in the same business or had creameries or whatever. Here it is a mixture.

**Ms. Boswell:** And you can't help but interact with all of them because it's not that large?

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right. Exactly, and I think that's a wonderful thing, myself.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were people pretty friendly when you first got here?

**Ms. Hayner:** There was a certain amount of reluctance among some of the old families that had been here. We had a wonderful airport here. There wasn't a plane during World War II that you couldn't land in Walla Walla because it had a great, huge runway, so that made it accessible, too.

**Ms. Boswell:** I would never have guessed that.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. They can land anything here. We have air shows sometimes, and they bring all these fabulous planes in because they can land them here. They can't land them in Pasco or the Tri-Cities, even though it's a much bigger area. And, of course, during the war they brought in a lot of the Air Force. We had a lot of Air Force people, and they built a whole bunch of buildings out there for them to live in. Those are still occupied. They've kept them up.

We have a new airport. I don't know whether you've seen it. It's just beautiful. It's not huge, but it's very, very attractive. It has a copper ceiling and huge windows. They've done it right. It's just very pretty. So, the people here had the vision of making it a nice place to live. And, of course, we're blessed with great climate, and that's a real attraction to people.

**Ms. Boswell:** Especially people from the West Coast where they do get a lot of rain and fog.

**Ms. Hayner:** In fact, we haven't had any rain since May, and that's very bad for the farmers because they have to plant in the dust, as they say. It is not bad if you get a gentle rain, but if you get a downpour it puts a crust on the soil and the seed never comes up. Then they have to reseed, and it's very expensive.

But last night I woke up and I heard it raining, and I thought, "Oh, boy, that's great." But it only rained for about ten minutes. We will eventually get it.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you came to a brand-new town and then you did start your family pretty soon thereafter?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about child-raising. That period was essentially what we now call the "Baby Boom." Were most of your friends having children?

**Ms. Hayner:** About the same. An awful lot of them came to Walla Walla at the same time: doctors and lawyers. There were a variety of reasons why they came. We know a lot of people in town, but most of our close friends are ones that also came about that time. We came in 1947 and some of them came later and some a little earlier, but generally in that era.

**Ms. Boswell:** You had three children in about a six-year period? The first was in 1948?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I had one in 1948, one in 1950 and one in 1954.

**Ms. Boswell:** Of course, right before that you'd been working as a lawyer. Was it a shock? Was it something you were ready for?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, it wasn't a shock because I've been adaptable. As I say, when Dutch was in the service, he was in the country for a year before he went to the European theater. We moved nine times to all these different places from Texas to Kansas to North Dakota to Tennessee, so that didn't bother me. Most of the places I just got myself a job right away at the airport or at the base where he was stationed, so I did a variety of things. I wanted to do that because I wanted to keep busy, and I enjoy people, so it was easy to do.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about in Walla Walla? Did you do any work before?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I didn't because we came in 1947, and in 1948 my first child was born, and I decided I wanted to be a full-time mother. But I did get involved in a lot of community volunteer work of all sorts.

That's probably how I got into politics because at that time there weren't very many women on school boards and all that kind of thing. One day a business professional women's organization, which I did not belong to, came to me and asked me if they could run me for the school board. I said, "Sure, I'd love it." My daughter Judy was two years of age at that time, but that was okay. We had a good babysitter by then who came—not full time, of course—but she came regularly.

**Ms. Boswell:** Had you been really active in the schools before that time?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, but they had not had a woman on the school board. These gals thought that it was time to have a woman on the school board, so they said, "Would you run?" I said, "Yes." But right after they came we were going on a trip. We were going to Sun Valley, and we were going to be gone a couple of weeks, and I said, "I don't see how I can campaign." They said, "You don't have to do a thing. We're going to put you in as a write-in candidate." I said to Dutch, "They'll never make it. Write-in candidates are rare." Well, I did. They really worked. It was strange because I didn't know any of these people particularly. I had met them, but that was all. Yet they had people at every polling place.

**Ms. Boswell:** They had organized?

**Ms. Hayner:** They were organized.

**Ms. Boswell:** And did they have a goal? Was it just to have a woman, or was it something else?

**Ms. Hayner:** You know, I can't tell you that. They were women who belonged to businesses in the community, and I think they just wanted a woman. I don't know because I wasn't a part of that organization.

**Ms. Boswell:** So they wanted a change on the school board? They felt that they needed a little new blood?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I think having a woman on the school board is great. I think ever since I was a member, we've had a woman on the school board. I think it's good. They do have a different viewpoint. Even in the Legislature they do, and that's why it's good to have women in the Legislature. I don't know if it's good to have a majority of women, but so be it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Whoever is the most qualified gets elected, hopefully.

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was that your first major foray into community activities, the school board?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, and I was on for seven years. That was a very, very controversial period because we had an old high school. It was not far from downtown, but it was an old school and had been built back in the 1800s. There were a lot of people who were interested in doing something about that school. Then there were others who said, "Well, it's got to be right in that place because we want the kids to come downtown and eat downtown and spend their money." I didn't like that. I thought it should be located out on the edge of town. Sometime when you're over here I want you to see that campus because it is one of the most beautiful campuses you've ever seen. It's a college-style campus with a great, big administration building, a science building, a gym—all separate. It has a music building and so on.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was that the new wave at that time? Or was it the standard?

**Ms. Hayner:** It actually isn't, at least not in cities. You can't afford that type of campus in cities because the land is too expensive. That's why we wanted to go out there because at that time that land was not in the city, and so the rates on it were much less, for a school, of course. There's a creek that goes through the property.

**Ms. Boswell:** And it's a different configuration than people think of for high schools?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. You think of two or three stories. Ugly.

We did all kinds of things that made people mad. We got an architect from Spokane. I said, "There isn't anybody here who can plan a school like that." They just hadn't done that. We got an architect, a fellow by the name of Ken Brooks who'd done a lot of high schools. We had quite a bit of money, but we had to go for thirty million more, and that made people mad. When we made this campus style with separate buildings, many people got upset and said, "When there's snow on the ground, our kids are going to get pneumonia."

In order to get this new school out there, we had to change the school board because there were only five on the school board and three of them wanted to locate it in town. I said, "That's no place for it. It belongs out there." So I got a doctor and a downtown businessman who were good friends of ours to run against them, and they were elected.

**Ms. Boswell:** You stacked the board?

**Ms. Hayner:** I stacked the board. Then we built it on the edge of town, and it's a gorgeous school. It really is. Since then we have had a very prominent resident of Walla Walla, Mike Murr, donate land. In fact, he's the same age as my younger son and—this is off the subject, but you might be interested in it—he was a great athlete. He got a scholarship to Harvard. He was smart and he played football for them, but he was hurt the first year, and he couldn't play after that. They carried him the rest of the time. He graduated and then he went to business school at Harvard and got a job on Wall Street for the Bear Stearns Company, an investment banking, securities trading and brokerage firm and became very rich. He has purchased and donated fifty acres of land across the street from the high school and built the Murr Sports Center, which now has two baseball fields with grandstands and brick dugouts, a softball field for women, a soccer field, a scenic running path, asphalt parking and other amenities. The bathrooms and everything are in brick and tile.

He's done a lot of things for Walla Walla. That was a wonderful addition to the whole complex.

When my oldest son was in high school—I think he was a freshman in high school—they finished building at Christmastime, and the boys moved all the books into the new library by putting so many at a time in each car and taking them. The kids did it.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's great, though.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. They never forget that, you know.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is that a real political experience, too?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, very much so.

We also had the problem with a school district just south of this. The question was whether we should merge with them.

**Ms. Boswell:** Merge with them?

**Ms. Hayner:** Merge with them or should we keep them separate? So we had problems galore. We were in litigation for three years because some of them didn't want a new school. They wanted it where the old one was. If we had put it where the old one was, you couldn't get any money from the state because of the limited ground area. The state required at least thirty acres of land. It was so complicated you can't believe it.

Charles Luce, who is now in New York, was our attorney at that time. Of course, I worked with him because I knew so much about the school board. I was the chairman for six years; however we finally got the thing put together. It was very, very difficult because there were so many issues. In a town like this there are always many people who don't want any change. They want it the way it was.

**Ms. Boswell:** As a member of the school board, what about the relationship with the state? At that time, at least early in the 1950s, wasn't the philosophy to let the local areas take care of the schools?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. But you always got money from the state depending on a lot of factors, including how many foreigners you have and that sort of thing. Of course, we didn't have very many, and we had almost no Black people here. Now we have quite a few Mexicans because they're coming over the border like you can't believe. Most of them are not educated, although the next generation is being better educated.

As a result of building our new high school out of town, other things happened.

It is a pretty site, there's no question about it. The community college system was just beginning, and we were way down on the list. A town of this size was too small, but because we had an empty building we got a community college. We were way out of order as far as the rest of the communities that wanted a college.

**Ms. Boswell:** So there were a lot of sites considered?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. And now we have a gorgeous community college out on the edge of town, to the east.

**Ms. Boswell:** I would think, too, with the population growth that happened in the post-World War Two era, it was obviously very fortuitous to have a college.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, but we're still not a really big county because there are approximately 50,000 in this county, or a little over. A population of 50,000 is sort of the breaking-off point. You get the advantage of state help for quite a few things if you have 50,000 or more people.

But Walla Walla grew tremendously right after the war, with mostly new people who had not been here before. That was good and bad. There were all kinds of problems, but they all got solved.

Then, of course, Whitman College was a great help to Walla Walla because it was founded in 1859, which was thirty years before Washington became a state. And I said, "My heavens, there must have been an Indian behind every shrub."

**Ms. Boswell:** There really was a large Indian population, I think, at that time.

**Ms. Hayner:** Whitman is a very prestigious school now. Almost every year they build a new building. It's a pretty campus. It really is. They've just finished a new student union building and are in the process now of building another science building. It will be part of the old one. They're adding to it, and they keep buying more property.

**Ms. Boswell:** They must be pretty well endowed, too.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, they have lots of money. They have lots of wealthy alums and they own a lot of land. They're pretty well endowed. They've got a lot of famous alums who give generously.

The Whitman kids have the opportunity of hearing very good music. They have a new music building, too. It's really growing.

So that was a tremendous help because Whitman has had fine educational facilities. What has happened is that the instructors who come there usually have a wife or a husband who is also very well-educated and either teaches there or teaches in the elementary and high schools. That all interfaced very well.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think, too, it seems like people in education, especially in colleges and universities, particularly want good education for their own kids, so they're going to be in there—if not serving, at least being concerned-enough parents to be out there.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. And, you see, we have really three institutions of higher learning, which is very unusual because Tri-Cities, as big as it is, until just recently didn't have as many. Now they have a branch of Washington State University and they also have a community college. We have a lovely community college. We have Whitman. You can't get into Whitman without grades. And then College Place, you see, is a little town out here that you wouldn't know wasn't actually part of Walla Walla. They have an Adventist

college, and it is highly regarded. They teach engineering and things that some of the others don't teach, so that's an advantage to the community.

**Ms. Boswell:** Because of all of your volunteer activity, you were named as the Walla Walla Woman of the Year, an award given to you by the Chamber of Commerce in 1970.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about that recognition.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't really know how those awards are picked because I've not been on the Chamber board. But my husband has been picked at a different time and Shine Minnick, who was my husband's partner, and his wife were both picked at different times. In the Chamber of Commerce building we have a gallery of all of the people who have been picked. They choose one woman and one man every year.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think it's a great recognition.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, it is. They have a big dinner. It's really quite a dinner. They always have it at the hotel, and they get various groups to sponsor tables, and there is a contest to decorate the tables with all these flowers or whatever they want to do. Then they give awards and the people fill up the tables. It's quite an event, and they always pick the man and woman of the year.

**Ms. Boswell:** That award, I guess, came not too long before you decided to go ahead and run for the Legislature?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. So then after that, you see, what strangely happened—all these things kind of fall together—they had a lawyer who lived in Dayton and Waitsburg, two little towns up here, and he was in the Legislature. So I met with him in the spring, and I said, "Are you going to run again?" And he said, "Oh, yes. I really like it." So, fine. The day before registration for running he came into Dutch's office and said, "I've changed my mind. I'm not going to run," and Dutch said to me, "Well, you'd better go over there to Olympia and file." So I called Tom Copeland and he said, "I'll take care of that for you." So I didn't have to go to Olympia. I guess they still allow that. Then he was very helpful because he'd been in several years and knew the district, and he took me every place with him.

I had a businessman, a good friend of ours, and a farmer, who was also a good friend of ours, who ran against me. A fellow from Pasco also filed. I succeeded in beating them and then I ran against the Democrat, who turned out to be a student from the community college who just kind of put his name in because he didn't see any Democrats who were interested. This is a pretty Republican area, you know, so that was the way I was elected for the first time.

**Ms. Boswell:** So Tom Copeland really was helpful, then?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. He was helpful, very helpful. Yes. And the Copeland name was well-known here because his mother was still alive. In fact, when I was elected she called me up—I should have brought that down to show you—and she said, "I have something for you," and I said, "Oh, great." It's a pin of an elephant, but it's just the outline of the elephant. It's in gold with some kind of green feet or something, with a crystal. It's just darling. And she said, "This is for you because I think it's just great that you're a woman and in office."

**Ms. Boswell:** How nice.

**Ms. Hayner:** We've known the Copelands for years.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's great.

So the school board sort of whetted your interest in that kind of thing?

**Ms. Hayner:** I'd always been interested in the political scene and what was going on and so forth. That school situation hurt me in a lot of ways because it was so controversial. It wasn't that long afterwards that I ran for the Legislature, and a lot of people said, "We don't want her. She put that school way out there." So, I thought it would really hurt me, but it didn't, at least not that much. But they always say any publicity is better than none. Whether it's good or bad, it's better than none, so your name becomes known.

**Ms. Boswell:** It sounds like you had fairly firm ideas. Is that something that came just from living here and really seeing the situation as it developed?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know the answer to that. I always worked hard at the Legislature, for example. I didn't get in back of things that I didn't think were good for the state as a whole, even though it might have been good for Walla Walla. Sometimes I took criticism for that, but I always tried to do what I thought was right. If you're doing what you think is right, you can be enthusiastic about it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was local politics, like the school board, a lot different than the Legislature?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not much. Politics is politics.

## Chapter 3

## Launching a Political Career-Election to the House

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of running for the Legislature in 1972, I know that there were actually two seats available, because when Tom Copeland decided to run for the Senate, there would have been his seat. How did you first make a decision about which seat to run for?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think Tom had already decided to do that. I would not have run against him. I don't know exactly how long Tom was in the House, but it was for a number of years. He was the Speaker of the House or the assistant Speaker or something, wasn't he?

**Ms. Boswell:** Speaker Pro Tem, I believe.

**Ms. Hayner:** That's what he was, and so I just deferred to him. It is very common for people to run for the House first because it's a very different body. It has twice as many people, as you know, and that in itself makes a difference. And it's good to know the people in both Houses.

Those who come to the Senate without ever having been in the House—really, it's a totally different body. They work differently. They have different kinds of committees. They don't coordinate very much.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of the district you first represented in the House, there had just been mandated redistricting.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Every ten years.

**Ms. Boswell:** Right, but in 1972 when the Legislature hadn't been able to redistrict, that was the year that the court appointed a master—the man from the University of Washington, the geographer, Richard Morrill—who redistricted.

Tell me a little bit about the Sixteenth District by that time. It had changed somewhat, hadn't it?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. It had changed. Actually, the focus, at first, as you go back, was in the Tri-Cities because it had more population. Then every ten years the configuration of those districts changed because the law says you have to have close to the same population in each district. You also can't divide ethnic groups in the middle and that sort of thing. There are some specifics about it, and it does change from time to time.

Of course, when Walla Walla grew, we got a little bit more emphasis here. But now, as you know, our representatives are all from Walla Walla, and the Tri-Cities is just screaming and hollering about that because they think they should have somebody of their own. I didn't agree with that view because I spent a lot of time over there. I went over to every chamber meeting or whatever it was that they invited me to. I knew the movers and shakers over there and so I didn't think it was a big deal, and I still don't. But I know that representation is an issue because we have so much open ground between the cities. There's nothing there. Walla Walla is isolated and then there is the Tri-Cities.

**Ms. Boswell:** When they did that redistricting in 1972, you had Walla Walla County. You also had Franklin County and then a little bit of Columbia County.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Pasco must have been the hub of the rest of the district.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** And so, even then, were there some divisions of opinion between Franklin and Walla Walla?

**Ms. Hayner:** Some. There are always some because their emphasis was on their area. It was interesting to me, though, that they didn't draw or find a good candidate against me as they did here—I had two very strong candidates from Walla Walla against me in the primary—but they didn't. The fellow who was from Pasco had just gotten out of the service, and he was a young man without much experience.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes. I was reading some of the campaign literature. William Lewis, I think his name was.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't even know what it was. It was a flash in the pan, you know.

**Ms. Boswell:** He was definitely young. They called him youthful; in fact, in many of the articles they called him the youthful candidate, but they didn't even mention his name.

Tell me about your other two opponents in the primary. There was Gene Struthers and Gene Valaer.

**Ms. Hayner:** Both very good friends. One was a very big businessman in Walla Walla and the other was a big farmer. They drew a lot of attention, too, because they were well-known. Probably because there were three against me was the reason I won. If I'd been running one-on-one with one of those guys, I might not have ever made it the first time because they were very active in the community—both of them.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about how the campaign first got structured in the primary. You talked to Vaughn Hubbard, who held the seat, and he said, "I'm not going to run," at the last minute, and so….

**Ms. Hayner:** So I got Tom Copeland to file for me.

**Ms. Boswell:** Then what do you do?

**Ms. Hayner:** Then you start looking for money. Also, I went in to see Shine Minnick, who was Dutch's partner. Bean was too, Judge Glenn Bean, before that. In fact, on the wall of the Minnick-Hayner Building you can see all the members of this firm from a hundred years ago. I said, "Shine, you know, I'm getting a lot of bad publicity and good publicity and all kinds, and I just want your opinion on whether I should continue this race because it may affect the business." He said, "Oh, hell, we have too much business anyway," and so he was very supportive with money and everything else, and so was his family. They were very prominent and have been for years.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was it fairly difficult to raise money? Was that the major chore of the campaign chairman? How did you organize it?

**Ms. Hayner:** I'd had enough experience in just working around town that I didn't have any trouble getting people to help me.

You have to have a chairman who is well-known and organizes you so that you go to all the churches and speak and to all the organizations and speak. It is a full-time effort, really, especially for a woman, which was kind of unique at that time. There were

not nearly the women in the Legislature that there are now. I should look back. I don't remember exactly how many there were in the House, but even when I went to the Senate, it was very limited.

**Ms. Boswell:** Who was your campaign chairman at that time?

**Ms. Hayner:** It was a fellow who is the head of an accounting firm, and so he had one of his people do all my campaign accounting of the funds. You have to fill out all these forms for the state and all that stuff. If you make a mistake or something, boy, it's in all the papers. It takes quite a committee to do it.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you were getting good campaign backing, and then what about the kinds of activities that you had to attend? What was the actual campaigning like? Tell me a little bit about that.

**Ms. Hayner:** You would go every place they'd let you speak. And, of course, one of the things that actually helped me as much as hurt me was the controversy over the new school, which had just taken place a short number of years before that. All these things were happening at once, and I got a lot of publicity. Some people were sympathetic and others thought it was terrible. They didn't like me, or they didn't like what I stood for because I'm a conservative. I think I'm a moderate conservative who fits this area. So that's kind of the way it was.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me about campaigning. Did you enjoy it?

**Ms. Hayner:** I loved it. I loved it. Yes. I even did a lot of door-to-door. I had a chairman who did nothing but organize me as far as the door-to-door campaigning. We looked on these charts to see how many Democrats and how many Republicans were in the area. We did not bother to go to the part of a district where it was all Democrats because we were not going to win. In fact, one may get a few doors slammed in one's face, but I didn't mind that at all. I did go to a lot of areas. Out in the district where I live, there was no point in going there because everybody knew me. One must organize and pick carefully so that one can reach enough places.

I went over to the Pasco area and to Burbank, which is quite a little community, too, and Waitsburg. The owner of the *Waitsburg Times* is a good Republican, and he was helpful. His name was Tom Baker and his son runs it now. That is a very good little paper, and it is circulated widely in our county. So, all those things we utilized as best we could.

**Ms. Boswell:** Now when you doorbell, tell me about the proper techniques. I've never done it, so I'm very curious about it.

**Ms. Hayner:** I went to the door, and when somebody opened the door whom I had never seen before, I would say, "I'm Jeannette Hayner and I live here in Walla Walla and I am planning to run for the Legislature. I have some literature here I'd like to give to you, and you can study it and see what you think. If you have any questions, call me. My number is on it."

**Ms. Boswell:** Did people often call you? Did they follow up with questions?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were people generally friendly? Did you find some who were hostile?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. They were generally friendly, but once in a while, you'd get somebody who'd slam the door on you. You walk into all kinds of things.

**Ms. Boswell:** Can you remember any of the unusual encounters that you had? I know it was long ago.

**Ms. Hayner:** You have kind of crazy things that happen. Somebody would open the door and would be half-naked and that kind of thing. I think, for the most part, people here are pretty friendly in this size town, and it wasn't even that big then.

**Ms. Boswell:** And then there were signs. Who designed your signs and campaign literature?

**Ms. Hayner:** I live not far from a fellow who was extremely helpful. We walked by his house every day because Dutch and I walk in the morning and at night sometimes. Maybe I don't walk in the morning because Dutch goes too early, but I always walk in the evening with him.

I got someone to help me with the signs who had made signs before for different organizations and candidates. Tom Copeland was very helpful in recommending people. They can design anything you want. I see signs all the time now that are just very poor because they don't follow the basic rules. The most important thing you want is name identification—not running for this and that—just the name.

Putting them together you have a problem. You've got to put a stick on them or you've got to do something else. We tried all kinds of things—wire. When the weather gets bad, which it did sometimes, the signs would fall over. But I had one guy who I had known for a long time, and he was retired. Every morning he'd go out and check all my signs. That was just something he wanted to do. I didn't even suggest that to him, but he thought since he'd seen some of them down, he'd go around.

This other fellow was in the wine business, and we often walked by his house. He was in the business of selling wine of all kinds, so he had a nice shop. He took all my signs and put them together with some of his employees. All those details take time and effort and organization.

And then, as I say, we looked at the map and picked. You had to have signs all over, not just in one area.

**Ms. Boswell:** I would imagine just getting the signs out and getting people to put them up was time-consuming. I assume signs can go in people's yards, but also there must be some issues about public places, and where you can put them and where you can't put them.

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right. We did have a couple of billboards the first time. Those were expensive, but we decided that was important, and we did that. At that time, I think, a billboard was two hundred dollars a month. Now, I think it's far more than that, but that's been a long time ago.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about newspapers? Were newspaper ads important in the campaign?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. You have to do that, too. The *Walla Walla Union Bulletin* has quite a circulation, but it also had circulation in places you don't need, and so you can specify to them in which areas that you want your ads to be placed.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about television and radio? How important was that, or was that even a factor in state races then?

**Ms. Hayner:** Television was not as important then as it is now. It was very expensive. Even now you don't see an awful lot of that because it's just too expensive, but newspapers, definitely. Radio is cheap so you can do that.

That was another thing. We'd always arrange to be on the radio and have someone ask us questions. There are a lot of people—you'd be surprised, and I'm one of them—who have their radios on all the time because there's lots of news that comes over the radio. There are lots of good commentators, too, very excellent ones. So that's about what you do on the advertising.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about Republican Party structure? How helpful are they, for example, in a primary race?

**Ms. Hayner:** Even in a primary race they're very important. The Republican organization has an office right now on Second and Rose in Walla Walla, and they have always been very good about the organization itself. They have a men's Republican group and a women's Republican group, and they always have a good place to meet that's big enough so that they can have a coffee group. They will often have a coffee for you, or whatever you want. You can put a desk in there and have someone there who's doing calling, telephoning to get out the vote and that kind of thing. Yes, the Republican organization here has always been a good one.

**Ms. Boswell:** What do they do in a primary when you've got a number of Republican candidates?

**Ms. Hayner:** You can put everything up that you want. I mean, you have to have some limitation as far as room on the windows is concerned, but they don't have any favorites at all. In the primary everybody gets a chance.

Somehow we have had always somebody come forward in the Republican Party who isn't really nominated to do that, but who leads us. And, of course, we do have a chairman of the Republican Party in Walla Walla County. It has been very, very helpful.

They always have someone there on the telephone. They can make calls for you and say, "We're going to have a coffee," or anything like that. Here, they've been very helpful.

**Ms. Boswell:** I understand that on the state level…

**Ms. Hayner:** Before I forget, when I went door-to-door there were always two or three people with me.

**Ms. Boswell:** Really? I was going to ask you about that.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. She took one side of the road and I'd take the other, or something like that, because you can't do it by yourself. Even out in the country, I went doorbelling and that is very time-consuming. There were people who lived out there who were willing to help me on that.

**Ms. Boswell:** So there were these teams that doorbelled?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Yes. Exactly.

**Ms. Boswell:** How about your family? Could they get involved? Were the kids still here or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. They were not here. No, they didn't get involved at all, really. Their pictures were in the paper with me sometimes, but that was about it. I really never involved my kids in the campaigning because I didn't think that was fair. There were children who worked for me. One of the fellows now has the winery out here, and he had two small children, and they worked like little beavers. They just thought it was the greatest thing. One of them was about six and one was about eight. And they did do things down here, too,

that they could do. They went doorbelling. They still talk about it. One of them is now the manager and the winemaker for their winery. He is a great, big good-looking guy who has never married. I keep teasing him all the time about why he isn't married. And then the little girl, who was cute as a button, lives in Alaska now.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think people probably like to have children come to their door.

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** All ages participated.

Because you did have three people against you in the primary, did the primary end up being somewhat more intensively campaigned than the regular election?

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely. In a Republican area, once the primary is over, so is the major campaigning. You work at it, but…. That was probably good in a way. Those people then supported me because I knew them well by that time. I think it was an advantage, really.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about the role of the colleges? Walla Walla does have a fair number of colleges. Did they play a role?

**Ms. Hayner:** No role whatsoever.

**Ms. Boswell:** Really? None? That's interesting because I know in some districts, university students can sometimes play a very pivotal role.

**Ms. Hayner:** There were some who supported me.

The universities have to give both sides the issue, but somehow the professors, lots of them, are quite liberal. As I say, there were individuals, but I never tried to focus on that at all because I thought it was too divisive for the schools.

**Ms. Boswell:** So the primary was a very intense race. When the voting took place, tell me about your feelings. Here was your first big political race.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know. I've always taken things in stride. If I was going to win, I was going to win. If not, I would have done something else.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did they have celebration parties for primaries, or is that just for the election?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Yes. We did, but mostly down at the headquarters or something like that. Anybody off the street could come in.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you actually have a Hayner headquarters or office somewhere?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. Later I did when I was in the Legislature, but not before. I think now the legislators, even though we have Republicans and Democrats actually, share an office together.

**Ms. Boswell:** Really? That's a wise idea.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. It really is because, after all, it shows some kind of coordination, and people like that. They don't like their legislators to be at odds with one another. They don't understand that.

**Ms. Boswell:** I can sympathize. It seems like once you're in office, there should be coordination of some sort.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, absolutely, there should be coordination. You do not necessarily have to agree all the time, but you still need coordination in the Legislature.

**Ms. Boswell:** When the primary results were at hand and you had, I think, won fairly handily over the others, to what did you attribute your victory? Was it your message or the issues or an image? How would you explain your victory?

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, I was greatly helped by the fact that I had been on the school board. I knew all the school board people. I knew a lot of the teachers, and that was a big help because normally those people are Democrats. That was a very big factor. If you know people, they tend to be more sympathetic and possibly supportive. I think that was very helpful, but all of the other functions that I performed in the community helped, too.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did they use debates as a technique in primary races? Did you debate your opponents?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not so much debates as just meetings where they'd have all of the candidates, even the incumbents. Then they would ask questions: How do you feel about this and that? Each person would talk to the point. It was not a debate in the typical sense, but an effort to show the viewpoint and the mental techniques that go into it. It is important to know how to debate, too, and what to avoid. When you get to the Legislature, of course, you learn that, too.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there any specific issues? Obviously you had a strong background in schools and a variety of other issues from your community service, but were there other statewide issues that maybe set you apart from the others in the primary?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not in the primary, I wouldn't say, but there are always the standard issues. The thing that divides Democrats and Republicans normally—and I say normally—Democrats want to spend more money and they want to offer more services to the people. Now, it isn't that Republicans don't want to offer services, but they also know that people don't want to pay any more taxes. They cry like mad when there are more taxes. So the Republicans, for the most part, have tried to keep government smaller, not so invasive in your life, and allow local governments to do as much as possible.

Generally speaking, the Republicans believe that Congress, the Congress of the United States, should make the big decisions and then the states should have a certain amount of power. But in the long run, it should go down to the people to make as many of the decisions as possible, like we had years and years ago. There are some records here because we're such an old city of how the people would get together at a meeting and decide what they were going to do. Of course, it's not feasible to do that anymore, but the idea is a very good one, in my opinion.

But, generally speaking, the Democrats don't agree with that. They think that the people don't know enough of the facts, and therefore it has to be the government. And there's a certain amount of truth to that. You know when we debate an issue on the floor of the Senate or the House, all kinds of things come up that you wouldn't have even thought of.

That's one of the difficulties, too, with a voter pamphlet, in my opinion. The Attorney General's office describes what the initiative or referendum will do and then you're supposed to make up your mind. But I'll tell you, you read some of that, and it's very complicated and difficult to read. That's where a lot of people, if they don't know, vote no. That's if they don't understand it too well.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you find that, generally speaking, the voters you talked to in the various campaigns were pretty well informed or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** Surprisingly, yes. Of course, we have three colleges, and that makes a difference, with the students and the faculty and so on. I also think we have very good schools here. We have, as I told you, one of the most beautiful high school campuses you've ever seen. We have only once turned down a special levy in the schools, and then that was run again two months later, and it passed because the administration didn't feel that they'd done a good enough job explaining to the people what the necessity was for the special levy. We always have special levies and the people just sort of automatically pass them.

The state is required by the Constitution to provide for basic education—*basic* education. There was a lot of legislation and it went to the Supreme Court and everything, but for many communities that is not sufficient. They do not believe that we should skimp on education in any way, shape or form. So, if the only way to get money is to have a special levy, then they vote for it here. As I say, it was only once that we had one go down the first time, and then the second time it passed. Now they have special levies all the time, and the people say, "Well, it's necessary. It's most important."

**Ms. Boswell:** In campaigning through the primary and then against your Democratic opponent, were you in favor of special levies alone as being the major funding source?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, no. Absolutely not. It couldn't be because the Constitution requires the state to provide for basic education of every child.

And, of course, I've always been very much in favor of as much education money as we can spend because I think that does your state a lot of good. I'm not sure we'd have a Microsoft in the state of Washington if we didn't have the kind of people who could do it. We're well educated.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was it really different, once you were past the primary, running against your first Democratic opponent? Did you have to change strategies once you got into the race?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not really. It's just one-on-one instead of three- or four-on-one. But, no, I accepted every invitation anybody ever sent me to go and speak to them, unless there was a conflict or something. One of the big things is to be known, and usually the newspaper would cover these events, so you'd get some publicity that way, too.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about your Democratic opponent in that first race, Sam Hunt.

**Ms. Hayner:** I knew Sam Hunt very well. Of course, I didn't think he'd make a good legislator, but he was well-known. I don't know where Sam is now, to tell you the truth. I haven't seen him for a long time. He lived next door to a good friend of mine so I got information from them. It was a friendly race.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it wasn't a bitter campaign?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. No. I think that does nothing but hurt the candidates, really, because people say, "I'm not going to vote. They're both obnoxious."

**Ms. Boswell:** Were you pretty strongly divided in terms of issues, so that it was a real choice in terms of how you felt about certain things?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think that Sam was intelligent enough to know that over here, especially since this was part of the district, too, that he couldn't be too vocal on the major issues on

which we differed. Big government is not acceptable here. He did a very good job.

**Ms. Boswell:** Learning from the primary, were campaign strategies any different? Would you continue to do doorbelling and other things?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. The candidate who was a representative for that area, too, was Charlie Kilbury, and he was in the Legislature for a long time. He was sort of a good old boy, not real effective with other legislators, but a nice fellow. He didn't enter into it very much. He could have been hurtful, but he was not, and we were always amenable to talking to each other on any subject. He was the mayor not too long ago of Pasco. He continued in politics in local ways.

**Ms. Boswell:** So he ran in what was Tom Copeland's district, but I think that he ended up being the incumbent because of the redistricting. I think that he ended up being in that position in the other race.

Did the fact that it was a national election year and you had Nixon running, was that a factor?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. That's always a factor in elections because, for one thing, you get a much bigger turnout. So if it's a Republican area and you are a Republican, that's helpful.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was the Nixon administration helpful in this area?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, except in the way I described. They can't be. There are just too many areas.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about Dan Evans? He was also running, I guess, for his third term by that time. Tell me a little bit about how people viewed the Evans administration.

**Ms. Hayner:** Here, of course, a lot of people thought he was a liberal Republican. I don't think he really was. I think he was more middle-of-the-road. He was a very good politician and very articulate.

In fact, he and Slade Gorton are probably as articulate…but Slade has a photographic memory. And I'll tell you, that is helpful because you just can't remember everything. Slade tried to be helpful, too. He traveled around the state where there were close races, and so did other state officials. That's very helpful because it attracts attention and people come. "We're having a coffee for Slade Gorton and your candidates can be there." That's very helpful.

**Ms. Boswell:** It's interesting because Walla Walla in the primary—Dan Evans ran against Perry Woodall—and I think of the whole state, there were only maybe three counties that Woodall actually carried. Walla Walla was one of them.

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, Perry was quite a guy, you know. When he gave a big speech on a major issue in the Senate, the House closed down and everybody was standing in the wings. He would stick his microphone in his pocket, and he would talk. He was quite a remarkable man. He had a good understanding of the issues. He had a good voice. He could speak ad infinitum. It was kind of fun.

I'm not sure when his term was out. I didn't overlap too much because I think I was in the House. I was in the House for four years, and he was in the Senate. I don't know when he quit, to tell you the truth.

I think that most people feel that they'd like to be able to look up to their representatives in the Legislature or in Congress. They are making decisions for them, and they want them to be as pure as possible, and they don't want to have a lot

of controversy swirling around them. I understand that to a certain extent.

I think that part of George Bush's popularity is the fact that he's a nice guy and people admire him, and he has a nice family.

Of course, my husband didn't see me sworn in. He scarcely ever came to Olympia, but he was widely known in the legal profession, and he was on the board of regents for Washington State University for twelve years. All of these things make a difference. People knew that he was somebody that they could admire.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think that is ethics. It's been an issue and it's still an issue.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think so. I think it is.

**Ms. Boswell:** You mentioned your husband being on the board of regents, and I know Evans had appointed him. Was it somewhat of a political liability here, then, to be associated with Evans at that time or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think so because this is primarily Republican country.

**Ms. Boswell:** Even though people thought that Evans was a little too liberal for their taste?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. In fact, they were delighted to have my husband there because he had gone to Washington State, and it was quite an honor.

**Ms. Boswell:** We were talking earlier about some of the state candidates or officials coming to help bring out voters. Do you think those visits helped in your first campaign or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** They usually don't come, and certainly not in the primary. They won't touch anything like that. I don't remember. When they do come, they come on their schedule, and so you usually have a coffee for them or they come down to headquarters or whatever. They do help as much as they can, but we're a long way from Olympia, and we're sort of isolated, so it was not as much help as you get from a lot of other sources.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know you said in the primary you looked at the voting records, and you figured where you were going to put your efforts in terms of doorbelling and other strategies. Were there things you learned in the primary that you then changed for the November election in terms of how voting patterns develop during the primaries or anything? Do you get down to that level? You don't have a lot of time.

**Ms. Hayner:** You don't have a lot of time, and after all, you either believe something or you don't. That's always been my philosophy. I was never one who today was for this bill and tomorrow was against it, unless there was something I discovered about it or didn't know—maybe it had been amended or something of that sort. People who waiver back and forth are not highly respected, normally.

**Ms. Boswell:** How do you prepare or bone up for all of these public appearances and all of the questions you're going to get about various issues? Were you pretty much imbued with it already, or did you have to study?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. The first time you run, of course, it's mostly your philosophy in government. Of course, there were major issues that you had to have a position on. That's true whenever you're in the Legislature, but I think, for the most part, after you're elected and you're in there, you become immersed in what's going on with every bill.

**Ms. Boswell:** I wondered, too, if possibly some of your experience on different boards, trying to forge a consensus, helped.

**Ms. Hayner:** That helped tremendously, yes. For example, it wasn't political at all, but on the Standard Insurance Board there were remarkable people on there. There were people who were presidents of major corporations. You see this a lot. You're on a corporation board and then somebody else is on there who is on another board. It was quite unique to have a woman on a board of that type, but I had lived all my life in Portland before I moved to Walla Walla. I'm sure I would never have been appointed, but for the fact that the president was a friend of mine and a former president of Whitman College. That's obviously how I got on the board because there was never another woman on that board when I was there, and I was there seventeen years. Now, there are lots of women on boards, but that was pretty unique at the time.

**Ms. Boswell:** I wanted to ask you about what I perceived from the newspaper was some bitterness about a few of the Republican races in Walla Walla. Evidently, there was a letter circulated near election time that essentially said that there was a coalition or a nucleus of Republicans who controlled the party, and that it was unscrupulous power politics. I think the letter came from College Place and was primarily directed against Tom Copeland, but there was quite a bit in the papers about this letter. Can you tell me a little bit more about that whole incident and what was happening?

**Ms. Hayner:** I can't tell you much about that. There are always dissidents who don't agree with what's going on, but in any organization I have been in, there are those who make the organization run. If it were not for them, you wouldn't have your meetings and you wouldn't have anything else. Someone can always make a criticism. It's easy to do that, but I didn't ever feel that was true. Maybe they were Democrats or maybe they were disenchanted with the leadership. I don't know. I never got excited about things like that. I always thought, "Well, I can't change it, and those people who feel that way, let them feel that way. Go on about your business."

**Ms. Boswell:** One of the charges, too, was that the paper, the *Union Bulletin*, was controlled by this clique of Republicans. Is that fair?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I don't think that's ever been true. I went to the newspaper a lot because they invited me to come. I usually met with the publisher and the editor and a couple of the major writers—the fellow who writes editorials and that sort of thing. It was just to give them rundowns on the legislation and what was happening in the Legislature and that sort of thing. I met with them a lot, but that was for purposes of informing them about what was happening and getting more information to the people. I really worked at that, and for that reason, they probably were friendlier than they might have been otherwise.

There was a certain amount of animosity because I was a woman, too. Even some women didn't like it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Interesting. What was their rationale?

**Ms. Hayner:** Don't ask me. I think my educational background was unique at that time, and they just didn't like it. They didn't know me, lots of them. You can't know a lot of people, and they get their impression maybe from somebody else. I don't know, but having been one of two girls who graduated from law school and having been with men all the time, it never occurred to me that would happen.

**Ms. Boswell:** It's hard, too, from our perspective today, to look back and understand why people would think that way.

Tom Copeland seemed to have drawn a lot of criticism in that election. Was it just that he'd already been in office? How would you explain how that might have hurt him?

**Ms. Hayner:** It didn't have any effect on my race, if that's what you're asking. I don't think so. I didn't get into the fray of that. There's no use taking on a fight, and I didn't see any reason to do it.

In all fairness, Tom tends to be a little arrogant at times, and his family was very obvious in the community. His first wife's name was Dolly, and she was a doll. She was just an outstanding woman who was in lots of organizations and all that sort of thing. There's always a lot of jealousy. You don't know what it is. He did get to be the Speaker Pro Tem, and the people here didn't know the difference between a Speaker and a Speaker Pro Tem or anything else. I think there was a certain amount of dissatisfaction, but I can't put my finger on why that was true.

**Ms. Boswell:** Would the fact that, perhaps, he had decided to run for the Senate, would that have alienated people? I'm not sure why that would have been an issue.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think so. Usually people realize that there are half as many people in the Senate, and therefore you have twice as much power, essentially. Why shouldn't that be an advantage?

**Ms. Boswell:** The other thing that the newspapers talked about was—and again, it's hard to say if this is true—that they didn't think the Republicans, in general, and maybe Tom Copeland, in particular, hadn't campaigned as hard in that 1972 election as they might have. The inference was that maybe they just were a little too complacent. I don't know.

**Ms. Hayner:** Maybe they were, but why spend any more money if you don't have to? I mean, you take polls all the time. You know how you're doing. If you find that you're way behind, you better get off the stick and do something—do more doorbelling and advertising and all the rest of it. But if you're doing fine, why?

**Ms. Boswell:** There was one other thing, though, that was interesting. It was that College Place, I guess, was a center of some discontent. I imagine the College Place community has changed from then to now.

**Ms. Hayner:** Considerably.

**Ms. Boswell:** But some professors had actually organized students to doorbell in College Place, and that had evidently helped the Democratic candidate who they worked with. I was just curious if that appeared to be ethical.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know anything about that, and I don't know how they did it. I don't know whether they required them to participate or drafted them. You can't really comment on that. College Place is a different community because it is about half Adventist, which is fine. I find no quarrel with the Adventist people at all. They are good people. That community has almost disappeared now. People don't say anymore, as they used to say, "Are they Adventists?" You don't ever hear that anymore, or I don't, at least. Maybe the professors are still talking about it, but I don't know.

**Ms. Boswell:** Are there a lot of college students who live in College Place, too, or has that changed, too?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, there are because there's a big college over there, you see. It's a very

good college. In fact, when I was first in the Legislature, I used to go over a lot to College Place, to the college there, because they have a fine library. They're very generous about allowing you to use it and take books out, where Whitman is a little tough on that. They are a little tougher than they used to be because they lose so many books. There was an article in the paper not long ago on how many books they'd lost. Kids take them out and they never bring them back. They apparently don't have a very good system of enforcing their policies. But in College Place, the college over there was always very friendly to me, so I went over there a lot. I got a lot of background material on making speeches and so on. It is different making a speech to forty-nine people or 198 people than it is talking in front of some people, you know. It's very much different, and they have good books on it. Anyway, maybe they do at Whitman, too, now. I don't know, but they were just so much friendlier at that time to somebody using their facilities.

**Ms. Boswell:** And it really helped you to read up on some techniques and issues?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Oh, yes. You can't go into something without knowing, because you never know what the questions are going to be, and you'd better have a decent answer. You can't just say, "Well, I don't know about that," or "I don't know about that either."

**Ms. Boswell:** I have some of your campaign ads, and I was particularly interested in some of them.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't even remember those.

**Ms. Boswell:** I'll show you some of them because they're great. One of the things that you talked about was that running on qualifications was more important than stands on the issues. That was for your first race, and I thought it was a really interesting perspective.

**Ms. Hayner:** I believe that, still, because I think that if someone has the qualifications—my gosh, that was a long time ago, wasn't it?—they can learn a lot after they're there. You can't possibly know the kind of issues you're going to be faced with.

**Ms. Boswell:** And also the idea, too, that you represent the stance of the people, and you may have an opinion, but if you feel that your constituency doesn't, then you might have to take a different stand.

**Ms. Hayner:** It was interesting because after I was in the Legislature and the leadership for so long, I got lots of publicity! The *Seattle Times* and the *P.I.* carried everything that was going on in the Legislature. I'd walk down the street in Seattle and people would stop me and say, "Oh, you're Jeannette Hayner," and I wouldn't know who they were or where I'd met them.

**Ms. Boswell:** Well, yes, you were talked about all over the state by that point. I thought you had some very good ads. They really captured your strengths and qualifications, which have always been important.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think these are great.

**Ms. Boswell:** Would you have worked on those, or would your campaign staff?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Dutch and I worked on them. We also had a couple of people who did a lot of advertising, that sort of thing. The paper helps you because they get money for these things. Interesting. I've got a lot of material put away in boxes, and I have no idea what's in them. You know how you put away stuff, so maybe I have a lot of this type of material.

In fact, the first year I was in the Legislature, the secretary I had—and I had some great secretaries—kept everything. During the first year, she kept a book like this one. It was loose-leaf. You can't do that every year.

**Ms. Boswell:** We've talked before about some of the issues you discussed in your ads, including funding for schools and no new taxes. Was it difficult since Evans had introduced the income tax issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. I fought him, in fact. I went across the state and debated the income tax.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you? I didn't know that.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, and he knew that I was doing it. But, you know, a typical example of that issue is what's happening in Oregon right now. Financially, they are in horrible shape, and the only tax they have, really, is the income tax. Everybody's income has gone down or they're out of work.

We were at Skamania with these friends of ours from Portland, and I think they told us that they've had the sales tax on the ballot six times, and it is obviously the best tax there is. It doesn't cost anything for the state to collect it because the merchants have to do it. It's just the best tax possible because if people have money and they spend it, the state gets some of it. There are a lot of people who have big incomes who don't spend it, or they don't spend it here. They have second and third homes or what have you.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you think the lack of a state income tax has been a problem? It seems you don't think it really has hurt Washington as much as some people suggest?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think so. No, I don't, and people were always against it. They have always been against it, just as they are with federal taxes. They figure that if they earn money, they can give some of it to the state or to the federal government, but they don't want to have to deprive themselves of things that they think are important to them.

And, for example, we've got two grandsons. One of them is going to Harvard and one's going to USC. That was very expensive for their parents. When I went to University of Oregon, I think the tuition for a quarter was a hundred dollars. Of course, the incomes weren't like they are now, but still there are so many other demands now. We give an enormous amount of money from this office, for example, for all of the groups that want money for good causes. We have two foundations that are centered here. One of them is very old, and by law you have to give away a certain amount of money every year. My husband usually takes care of that, and with the consent of a couple of others, after he's put the thing together. Big job.

It's like Microsoft and Bill Gates. His dad, you know, Bill Gates, Sr., does all of that foundation work. It's a huge job to be fair and to give to the ones that you think are worthy.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about another issue that I think was, perhaps, closer to home, which was prison reform? That happened, I guess, because there had been some riots and other problems with some of the prisons. Was that a hot issue locally?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. That was a hot issue, but now they've gone too much the other way, in my opinion. Yes, I think there was a need for change at the time, although all of the ex-wardens were people I know well. They still live around here. They used to live on the grounds. They had homes on the grounds, but they don't do that anymore. They had

women over here in a women's prison, too, and minimum and maximum security. It was very expensive. Oh, it's terribly expensive to keep people in those institutions.

I think we made a lot of improvements, but I think they've gone too far because the courts have demanded all of these things. I guess maybe in some states they were even abused—there's no question about it—but that was not true here. That was a big issue at a point.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was it also an issue over preparing the prisoners to go back into society, too, in terms of how you trained them?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Some of them don't want to go out, you know. They want to stay after they've been there for a while. It is, but I think they do a good job, I really do, for what they have.

I had a good friend who was a teacher. They have classes out there in everything under the sun, and she taught and she hated it because they were not cooperative. They didn't do their assignments. A few did, but the majority was just doing it to get out of their cell or something else. She didn't like it at all. She really thought she was going to help society.

But it's hard to change people. It's just extremely difficult, like these child abusers and so forth—that's sort of an addiction. We had lots of testimony in the Legislature that whatever they tried, it just didn't work. So we do spend a lot of money spinning our wheels, no question about it. But you have to try these things, you know.

**Ms. Boswell:** Obviously, agriculture, too, was of interest for this county during those campaigns. I was curious about one of the issues that was mentioned in your campaign materials. I think we talked a little bit about the importance of better road policies and farm taxation, but what about the rights of farmer and farm worker to be protected? I wondered what kinds of rights were at issue at that juncture?

**Ms. Hayner:** There was an effort to require farmers to pay by the hour rather than by the amount of work you did. That was especially an issue with strawberries. I got a lot of publicity on that one.

They had buses that would pick up high school kids who would go out there and pick strawberries. It's not a fun thing. I went out there one time and I was going to pick a bunch of strawberries, and I think my little guy was about two years old. We picked strawberries and got these beautiful strawberries. We have great strawberries here, and he was mud from one end to the other. When my husband came home, I had put them all in the trunk of the car, and I said, "Now you know, I want you to take this down to the freezer." We had a locker at that time. We didn't have a freezer at home. And so I said, "Take this down to the locker and put it in there." Three days later—it was hot in the summer—he opened the trunk, and he said, "I forgot all these strawberries in the trunk." So I said, "Bring them in, I'll make jam out of them." I spent all this time making jam out of them, and it was no good either.

**Ms. Boswell:** Once they go over, it's a little hard to use them.

**Ms. Hayner:** But, you see, you get kids who go out there, and they go out because it's fun. They pick them and take them up, and they don't care what they pick. So they were trying to require that they were paid by the hour. I said, "It's never going to work in this area." That was a hot issue, but they didn't ever do it.

**Ms. Boswell:** The other issue was three-way

workman's compensation and limited no-fault insurance. Workman's comp is often an issue.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. It is. It's always an issue.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was that something that stood out at all in the 1972 campaign?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. Actually, the issues aren't as big as the personality and what you have done. You know, people can say they're going to do anything at that point because they have no record. It's what you've done in the past and how interested you are in people, how available you are, and how you communicate—all of those things.

I used to do a lot of telephoning. I got lots of calls, telephone calls, all the time about doing this or doing that. I would often telephone into the night to respond to people. They were always so impressed. I'd call at eleven o'clock at night, and they were probably in bed, I don't know, but I'd say I was calling to answer your questions.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's good, though. That's important, I think.

So you won your election.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were you surprised at the majority and that is wasn't as big a majority as some people predicted?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't remember whether I was surprised or not. I was just pleased to be elected.

**Ms. Boswell:** It wasn't a big Republican year, either. There were a lot of Democrats elected, and, in fact, I think for the first time in a long time both the House and the Senate were Democratic, although we had still a Republican governor.

Any remembrance when you finally got those election results about how you felt? Or were you just tired and glad to have the campaign over?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. You work intensively between the primary and the general election, and that's a long time, or sometimes that's the way it feels, at least. It's always a relief, and you think, "Well, I did my best and I lost. So that's what happens." But that's our Democratic system.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about in victory? Is there a feeling of elation?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure, there is. There is. Any time you win a race, whether it's running down the hundred-yard dash, or whether it's running miles, there's an elation. I know that my daughter a couple of times when she lived in California did that Bay to Breakers race—seventeen miles or so. It's a long way, and they turn out by the thousands. They don't all make it, but it's just something about challenging yourself and being able to win. You think, "Well, I really worked at it."

**Ms. Boswell:** And you did it.

## CHAPTER 4

## FIRST YEARS IN THE HOUSE

**Ms. Boswell:** You were elected to the House in November 1972. What about that interim period once you are elected? You've got the November elections, and then by January you've got to start. What kind of preparation, especially when it's your first session, takes place during that period between the election and when the session begins?

**Ms. Hayner:** For one thing, the Legislature sends you a lot of material. Everybody wants to talk to you after you've been elected in November: "You should do this and you should do that," and so on. It's just a busy time, and you don't turn down anybody. You try to be as available as you can, and the press wants to talk to you. "What are the issues you're going to concentrate on?" Well, heck, you don't know at that point. You may have some idea.

There are a lot of people who run for the Legislature because they have a problem with something. They are trying to accomplish something. That was not my goal. I just wanted to be able to effect some changes I thought were necessary, but nothing specific.

**Ms. Boswell:** Does the Republican Party or caucus help to familiarize you about procedures before you go down? Do you meet with them at all, or do they even help during the campaign in terms of telling you things you're going to have to do?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't remember that they did a great deal along that line. They'd talk to us and they would come over occasionally, but we're kind of remote over here. Nobody wants to come over and stay very long.

**Ms. Boswell:** I'd heard some criticism from others that the Republicans weren't, perhaps, as organized as the Democrats—at least early on—in terms of helping their candidates and then helping their legislators get better.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think we got a reasonable amount of help. I don't know how much the Democrats gave, so I don't have a way of comparing. Sometimes they do more or do less depending on who needs it, and who's going to be the best candidate and who has the best chance.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about personally? How did you have to prepare to go to Olympia? You were on a lot of boards and other things. Could you stay on or did you have to quit?

**Ms. Hayner:** I stayed on most things, and I really attended. For example, I was on a board in Portland, the Standard Insurance Company. I went down there once a month and it was always a problem because it takes you about two-and-one-half hours to drive to Portland, two-and-a-half hours back, and a long meeting. But I did that, and I wanted to stay on that board because I enjoyed it, and I felt privileged to be on it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Not too long before the election, hadn't you also been appointed to an advisory board for the Bonneville Power Administration, too? It seems like I had read that.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I had worked for BPA.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me about that board. That was a Secretary of the Interior appointment?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** What kind of things did you do there?

**Ms. Hayner:** You know, Bonneville right now is having big problems. They're not making any money. They haven't over the years. They haven't kept pace with the cost of their operation, and they've given away too much power at too little a price.

We talked about the economy a lot in those meetings. In fact, the economy is a big issue when you're on a board for a corporation, too, because of what you can anticipate in the future. So it was that kind of thing.

Bonneville has its own building, incidentally, in Portland.

**Ms. Boswell:** So that was another meeting where you had to go to Portland on a regular basis?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of your own other personal life, going from Olympia to Walla Walla is a long drive. What kind of arrangements did you have to make for living and all that kind of thing?

**Ms. Hayner:** I always had an apartment over there or a room because you couldn't go home during the week. Lots of times in the wintertime you couldn't go home even on weekends because you were either too busy, the weather wouldn't permit, or you had other obligations. When I got to be a leader, everybody wanted you to go to dinner with them or do this or that. It was not just to take you out to dinner and try to schmooze you, but to talk to you about issues. You don't have time to do that every day. You're on the floor, and committee meetings take a tremendous amount of time. I was always on Ways and Means and all the rest, so it was a busy life.

**Ms. Boswell:** So that first year, did you get an apartment or what did you have? Do you remember?

**Ms. Hayner:** Lois North is the first one who called me after I was elected, and she said, "Would you like to room with me?" I lived with Lois North out on the south end of town. It was a duplex and we each had a bedroom and a bath, and it was just perfect. I really appreciated it because she was very helpful. We'd talk at night about why this happened and why that happened and how you do things. She was very helpful.

One of the sad things that happened was I moved in with her and that very night her dog was hit. She had just had a divorce, and she brought this dog down with her that she was very fond of, and the dog was hit by a car. We rushed it to the hospital, but it didn't make it. Whenever I go over to Seattle, I call her and we have lunch together. We belong to the Washington Athletic Club, and that's handy for her. She's still working, but not for the Legislature, of course. I think it's actually for the city or county.

Later, I had all kinds of different housing. At one time I had a very funny experience. Did I tell you about that? There were a couple of fellows who had found—what do they call these big vehicles? What are the camps where they have these big vehicles they take all over the country?

**Ms. Boswell:** Like an RV?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, an RV camp. This woman had a lot of these that she rented, so a couple

of the legislators had found housing in those. They said, "There's some available down there. Why don't you get one?" It was sort of south of town in the first place. This was not the first year I was over there. But anyway, I did rent one. The lady in charge of the rentals asked me what my name was and I told her, and she said, "Is your husband from Fairfield, Washington?" I said, "Yes." That's where he was born. It's a farm community in Spokane County. And she said, "My name is so-and-so, and I was his wet nurse." Dutch's mother was about this high, and he was the oldest of seven children, and she apparently didn't have enough milk. This woman had just had a child and was able and willing to do it. I thought that was quite a coincidence.

But anyway, I didn't like being in that camp, so I didn't stay. I stayed a month or two, and I didn't like it. I wanted to be closer in the first place. It was in south Olympia. It's probably still there, as a matter of fact.

**Ms. Boswell:** That was an amazing coincidence.

Can you tell me a little bit about the first day and the swearing in?

**Ms. Hayner:** That was pretty exciting for me, but none of my family was there. Everybody was in college and Dutch was very busy. It's in January when you don't know whether you can get back. Yes, it was very exciting, and they always have a reception and the governor is there and so on. That was very exciting.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me about the first days on the job. What do you do?

**Ms. Hayner:** In the first place, the caucus meets. All the Republicans in the Senate and all the Republicans in the House get together, and there's a lot of organizational work that goes into it. For a long time we didn't have any idea because the Democrats were in the majority for so long.

The first thing our caucus does, if they're in the majority, is to get together and decide how many committees we're going to have. That's up to the majority party. And then we decide who's going to be on them. Now, when the Democrats were in the majority, they always told us who was going to be on them.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was going to ask you, as a freshman in the House could you say, "I'd like to be on these committees"?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. You could, but you might not get on. And, of course, when I was the leader, I always said to the Democrats, "You tell us who you want on our committees. These are how many you're permitted to have." Then the leadership would really figure out who would go where.

The Republicans always, when they were in the majority, would always say, "Now, we're going to have this many people on this committee." You've always got an advantage, of course, but you can pick your own people to go on this committee. For example, if you're talking to the Democrats, you'd say, "You can pick your own people, but you're going to have five people on this committee." The Democrats, when they were in the majority, would say, "You're going to have five people, but we're going to choose them."

**Ms. Boswell:** So they could stack it however they wanted?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. Yes, and that always kind of irritated me. I didn't think that was very fair, but they succumbed to being a little bit more agreeable as time went on. It's important who is on what staff, and especially committees like Ways and Means in which you were talking about taxation and those important things.

**Ms. Boswell:** In your freshman year were your committees chosen for you by the Democrats?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I take that back. I think that is what they did—it depends a lot on the leadership that particular year—but I think what they did was say, "She's been on education committees for the state because she was on a school board, and therefore she really would serve you well if she were on Education, Higher Education or K-12." I've been on both, but my experience was really on K-12. So they tried, but they always stacked committees dealing with Ways and Means and taxation and the very difficult issues, when, for example, there was a great deal of difference of philosophy in certain committees.

We always took about two full days to select committees. We had a caucus and all of our members were required to be there and decide who should, if we had our preference, go on certain committees and why. The leadership actually recommended it and then the caucus either approved it or disapproved it or made some changes or whatever. Then we were working with half the people. In the House, for example, where you've got ninety-eight people, you can't have everybody making these decisions. It has to be a small group making the decision, and then you try to sell it to the bigger group.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of committees for freshman, I would assume too, that although many might have had experiences—some more than others—you still don't have a sense of how the committees are going to be or what they're going to do until you see them in action for at least a term.

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right, at least a year.

They put me on the Agriculture Committee. The Ag committee in the Legislature doesn't do very much because all that legislation, for the most part, has been done, unless there's some new industry like wines or something else. I was on Ways and Means, which is the most important committee. Let's see, what else was I on?

**Ms. Boswell:** I think the first years you were on Education.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. That was because I was on the school board. That made sense.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think Constitutions you were on, too.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Those were reasonable places to put me. Then as time goes on, people decide they don't want to be on this one, and you'd do some changing. But the group that's in the majority determines how many will be on and, as I say, the Democrats would also say, "These are the ones you're going to be required to put on each committee."

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about the leadership in the Legislature that first year you were there, and in the House, in particular. Leonard Sawyer was the Speaker. How would you characterize him as a Speaker?

**Ms. Hayner:** Kind of like a bantam rooster. (Chuckles) He was a little guy, you know. He was reasonably fair. You can be fair or unfair. Standing up there controlling the discussion, you can call on all Democrats or you can call on all Republicans. He was kind of a character, really. You never knew exactly—but one thing you did know was that he was a Democrat. In various ways he would show his power and his preference by that. Some are fairer than others.

I think, generally speaking, in the Senate, it's a little different. In the Senate you feel as though they have a responsibility to be a little bit fairer because if they're not,

they're not going to be reelected by the people. You don't have that kind of restriction in the House.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did the majority leadership relate to the minority leadership? Tom Swayze, I guess, was the minority leader in that session. I know you worked hard when you were later in leadership to collaborate with both sides. Were you surprised when you got there in terms of how much or little they did work together?

**Ms. Hayner:** Having not known how the Legislature worked—I never had observed the Legislature before I went there—I didn't have any frame of reference. I kind of accepted what happened because that was what they were doing. Later, we made some changes when we were in the majority. When you're a novice at something you keep your mouth shut, and look and watch and listen.

Tom Swayze was very effective. He was a lawyer. Some were more effective than others.

**Ms. Boswell:** What are some of the qualities that made, especially in the minority, an effective leader?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think in the minority and the majority you need some of the same qualities. You need to be able to get along with people in the first place. You need to be able to persuade them that they should vote this way or that on a bill and how important it was to the caucus, to our position, and to the Republicans in general. You also need to know more than anybody else in the caucus because you can't convince people of something if you don't know more than they do, normally.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there a strong difference in terms of the caucuses and how they operated in the Senate versus the House?

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, the House has so many more people. You'd have a caucus with forty-five people. It's a lot different than having a caucus with half that many or less. That's the biggest difference. You have to break it down into little groups in order to get anything decided.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did that mean that in the House during caucus meetings a lot of people just didn't speak? Did they just sit back and watch? Does the leadership really run everything?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. No. No. I think, at least in our caucuses, in the Republican caucuses, anyone who wanted to speak could certainly do so. There was no kind of ban on that. Some of them are not forceful and not as articulate. It's just a mish-mash of people from every part of the state. Even being from a different part of the state makes such a difference in what they're interested in. I think all the members could express themselves, and the caucus chair, of course, is in charge of that. We always had people who were pretty fair, I think, to allow everyone to express themselves in the caucus.

We never did let the press in, and I don't know whether they do now or not. There was quite a movement at one time to let the press into caucus—open them up. But I was always very much against that because there are lots of things that need to be said on an issue that can't be printed in the paper. They were misunderstood; they were misquoted, you know. It never was done, and I think most of the people felt that was good. As I say, there was a core of people who thought it should all be opened up, but it's pretty hard to do that.

**Ms. Boswell:** When they talk about the caucus, it is my sense—at least in the Senate, and I'm not sure about the House—that at least up until

the 1970s the power of different individuals in the leadership was very different. For the Democrats, at least in the Senate, it was the majority leader or minority leader who was the leader, whereas in the Republican Party it was the caucus chair who was the higher-up. Is that true or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, not when we got on the floor. In our caucus, if you were having a caucus, the caucus leader always maintained the order and made the decision on who should speak and that sort of thing. But on the floor that was not true at all. The leader always was the one who really ran things.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is it fair to say there's a pecking order and the floor leader would be the top person within the caucus?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I think, in our caucus at least—and I can't speak for the Democratic caucus—there was an understanding among our people who was effective in a certain way and who wasn't, and people kind of expected that. Sometimes there'd be somebody out of line on a certain bill or something, but not generally. We tried to keep a camaraderie going of understanding everybody and letting them have their chance and all of that, so there weren't a lot of loose lips.

**Ms. Boswell:** There was a position that I was unfamiliar with, I guess, and that was the minority organization leader. Sid Morrison, when you were in the House the first session, was the minority organization leader. What does that position do?

**Ms. Hayner:** You know, I can't really speak to that very well. Sid was a very smart guy, very suave and articulate, but he didn't carry as much weight in his decisions. He gave the impression of wanting to run the thing, and yet he didn't do the work necessary to do that. And so he… I don't know. He's a very affable person, and the Democrats loved him, of course, too, but he didn't have as much authority as a lot of other people.

**Ms. Boswell:** When they chose caucus leadership, would those kinds of issues weigh on who they chose and what positions they were put in?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were some of them just gratuitous? You can be an assistant floor leader because you've done this or that, or you've been here that long. Or was it really more that the assistant positions were recognition of up-and-coming leaders?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think all of the assistant positions were operating positions. They helped whomever it was, the person doing the job initially. For example, let's take the floor leader. The floor leader always had a backup.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did the Republicans in the House define the whip position?

**Ms. Hayner:** The whip's position is to find out where everybody is. You can have a big caucus of twenty-five people or so, and do a lot of talking, but you still don't know where they all are. Now, I developed a system, along with help, where we did know where people were. We knew exactly where they were, and we almost had to because the numbers were so close. If you didn't know where they were, it was just like a crap game. I don't know how the Democrats did it, but we tried very hard to know what was going to happen.

**Ms. Boswell:** Again, is that a position that when you're in the minority, it's not as crucial?

**Ms. Hayner:** Just about the same in both. It works as far as the Republicans were concerned. It is important for that person to keep tabs on where everybody is, and if somebody has a problem or if somebody has an amendment, that person needs to know, and then they translate that to the leader or to the floor leader.

That's the first job I had, as assistant whip in the House. It's a good way to get acquainted with people, too, because they'll talk to you about how they feel and how it affects their district or why they don't care.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there a logistical issue, too? I know in the Senate there was, but I don't know about the House. Were offices in different places, too?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you weren't right there all the time, right in the same sort of small area, to really watch over what's being said among the members?

**Ms. Hayner:** It was really hard. Of course, they're doing a lot of remodeling and changing on the campus now, but what used to be the Insurance Building was where the Republicans usually were. I remember the first year I was there, Kent Pullen and I and one other freshman were out in the hall. Our desks were in a little opening in the hall because we were so crowded. That was very unhandy because if a lobbyist wanted to come and see you, here were all these other people sitting around. But it kept getting better, and I suspect now that with the changes they're making, it will be great.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know all of the newcomers also are in the back of the room on the floor of the House. Who was your desk partner? Who were you with that first year?

**Ms. Hayner:** Once it was Kent Pullen, and on the other side it was somebody from Seattle who was very conservative. Who was it? Paul Kraabel.

That was really a stretch too, because here I was sort of the moderate in the middle, and, of course, Kent Pullen is very conservative. He's a Libertarian—that's what he is, or he says he is. Then on the other side was Paul Kraabel from Seattle. Every piece of legislation that came up, we conferred with each other because we were all Republicans. We conferred with one another and that was a big help because you often were not on the committee through which the bill came. Then, of course, we did go over the bills in our caucus as well.

In the House you have a switch, you know. You don't vote by roll call, and you'd go off the floor and they'd vote for you sometimes. They do that an awful lot in the House. You can't do that in the Senate, and we like that. The Democrats at one time tried very hard to get us to go for an electronic roll call. They thought it would be much faster, and, of course, my argument against it was that we pass too much legislation as it is, and we don't need to be faster. Also, you knew for sure who was voting.

**Ms. Boswell:** I've heard some funny stories about people hiding.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Kent Pullen was a master at that. He knew how to get out of there.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you find others who acted as mentors, and you trusted their advice or could really learn from them in terms of what to do and how to do it?

**Ms. Hayner:** What you had to do first was to figure out who in the caucus you thought was the smartest and whose politics, even

though they were all Republicans, were closest to yours. You usually didn't pick somebody from Seattle because the Seattle Republicans are much more liberal. Then you paid attention to what they had to say rather than somebody you thought didn't have the right philosophical bent within the party. Those are all things that come with being in the Legislature, you know. Nobody tells you about that, but it just sort of happens.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there anybody in particular that you remember who, at least in that first session, you admired? Here is a list of members of the Legislature in 1973.

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. Ken Eikenberry was one. He's a lawyer and very smart. I didn't always agree with him, but he made sense to me, so he was certainly one of them. Some of the names on this list of legislators like Eric Anderson, birthplace, New Zealand—I don't even remember him.

Then you very soon get to know some of these names and don't pay any attention to them. John Cunningham was not there very long. That's interesting. I haven't looked at a list like this for a long time. Oh, yes, Phyllis Erickson. Sid Flanagan was a character. He was a character. He had a terrific sense of humor, and he could speak about anything at any time—kind of a character.

Some people save their speeches, and so when they get up, you listen because they aren't up on their feet all the time.

Helmut Jueling, I'd forgotten all about him. He was a good legislator, born in Nebraska. Geraldine McCormick.

Lois North is the first one who called me after I was elected and I lived with her.

**Ms. Boswell:** You two were the only two Republican women, weren't you?

**Ms. Hayner:** In the House?

**Ms. Boswell:** I don't think there were any other Republican women. There were other women. I made a list, and I think this is all of the women in the House that year. There are only twelve.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, but this was in the House. Doris Johnson. She came from Kennewick. I had known her. Who is this from Seattle?

**Ms. Boswell:** Peggy Joan Maxie.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, she was the Black lady. Oh, yes. Lorraine Wojahn. Frances North. She was a nice gal.

**Ms. Boswell:** I guess Margaret Hurley was the longest-term woman in the House.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Margaret Hurley is noted for something I would not want to be noted for. She lived out near the college on the northeast side of Spokane.

**Ms. Boswell:** Gonzaga?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Gonzaga. The state wanted to widen—I think that's Division—it's the north and south street.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes, it is Division.

**Ms. Hayner:** She always prevented that from happening. Now they are doing it at an enormous cost because at that time it wasn't built up like it is now. It should have gone in there. She was not only in the Legislature fighting, but she was also on the commission for roads. I can't think of the name of it right this second, and she would never let that happen because her constituents didn't want a freeway through their communities. Now that's wrong.

I never did that sort of thing. I can remember, I think I told you, that I got a lot

of flak for supporting the convention center in Seattle. Nobody here could see the benefit of our spending all that money. We didn't pay for all of it, you know. The Legislature provides the money, but not by any means the total amount. It got a lot of publicity because it was kind of an issue at the time, and I thought it was fine. The way I explained it to my constituents was that it was economic development. You can't have a city the size of Seattle without a convention center. It was controversial at the time, but I think you are a representative not only of your district, but of the state as well. I've always said that.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did the women stick together?

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there women's issues that brought you together?

**Ms. Hayner:** There was a women's caucus. I didn't attend it very often, but there was a women's caucus. They really just got together more to learn about one another and to become acquainted. They didn't really discuss at any great length the issues. That's my memory.

Bud Pardini was quite a guy, too, and Bill Paris was a wonderful person. Pat Patterson is now deceased. He was, of course, a great advocate for Washington State. That's what his primary role was.

**Ms. Boswell:** We talked about some of the other members of the Legislature when you were a freshman. Within the caucus organization, were you surprised how the caucus was run and how it operated that first year? I was wondering your perspective on it, especially given your positions later. Was it a pretty cohesive unit? You were in the minority, so how much cohesion did you have?

**Ms. Hayner:** It's very different in the minority than it is in the majority where you have to keep people together. You don't have to in the minority. You don't have to make any effort. You discuss the legislation, but you don't say, "Are you going to vote for it or not?" because it doesn't make any difference. Normally, if they put a bill on the docket, they have the votes to pass it. Sometimes not, but normally it would be something that their caucus would want.

I didn't know how caucuses worked, so whatever happened was news to me and very interesting. Of course, there are always people within a caucus besides the leaders who really sway a lot of people because of their knowledge and abilities and personality.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there certain ones in those early years? You mentioned Ken Eikenberry as being somebody you admired. In terms of actually controlling or swaying people's minds in caucuses, was there anybody, in particular, then who was strong in that way?

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, it depends a lot on the issues, too. Not everybody is on every committee, so you have to listen to the representatives in the committees and get information. In the minority there isn't nearly the pressure to keep people together or to have an agenda, really, because if you have an agenda, you probably aren't successful at it anyway.

Now, the Republicans did do something that I don't think the Democrats ever did, although I'm not absolutely sure. We always had in the fall—I think I've mentioned this before—a retreat someplace. Sometimes it was around Olympia or wherever there was housing for us. We would discuss the major issues that were going to come up and how we felt about them generally. We also had a period when the lobbyists could come in if they had particular issues that they were interested in,

and tell us why we should be supporting them or killing them. That was really helpful, and the lobbyists liked it too, because they felt they had some input. Otherwise, they can testify at a committee, but it's an entirely different kind of an atmosphere and set-up then.

**Ms. Boswell:** And this happened every fall?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, every fall.

**Ms. Boswell:** Would the caucus leadership essentially run the retreat?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. It was put together by them. We would discuss a lot of things about the districts and what our goals were for the future in helping people to finding candidates—just a whole host of things.

**Ms. Boswell:** In the situation that you were in the 1973 session when you did have a Republican governor, but you were in the minority, were there any strategies that evolved for linking up?

**Ms. Hayner:** As I told you, there are occasions, but they're rather rare, where Democrats and Republicans would get together on the issues. If you had a group here of Republicans and a group here of Democrats who were very vocal, and it happened to be an issue that was peculiar to their district—maybe they were from the same district—they would coordinate. There's an enormous amount of coordination, and the better friend you are to as many of the opposition as possible, the more effective you are in the final result.

**Ms. Boswell:** So there is something to be said for non-partisan behavior?

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely. Absolutely, if you're reasonable and not going to the extreme.

**Ms. Boswell:** But if you're seen as being more of an extreme, then it was much more difficult for people to work with you?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Very much so.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is there more of a spirit of bipartisanship if you're in the minority than if you're in the majority?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. Absolutely.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was thinking, too, of the fact that there have been—and were to a lesser degree, I guess, when you were there—various coalitions. Maybe there were more in the Senate than in the House, but there were also attempts at coalitions of some of the more dissident Democrats and Republicans.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. When we get around to talking about how I became the majority leader and the minority leader as well, depending on what the situation was, I'll tell you about it.

There are advantages and disadvantages to coalitions because it's a takeover of a caucus and because there are some people who don't fall in line as well as others. They hold a grudge. I guess that's the name of the game all the time. There's a certain amount of jockeying back and forth.

**Ms. Boswell:** The papers discussed some things about the Republican Party generally during that period that I was curious about. There was a shift in the Republican Party in 1973 that some people called the Renaissance Group. They considered themselves more traditional Republicans and maybe were a reaction, to a degree, to Evans and the feeling he was too liberal?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. There was. Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was the Renaissance Group an identifiable group?

**Ms. Hayner:** It was people like Kent Pullen who did not think that Evans was a good Republican. I think he was a good Republican. He was just a different variety. You can't all think the same way, especially people who run for the Legislature. They're usually opinionated people to start with.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did the Renaissance Group have any identifiable impact on the course of daily politics or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. Maybe on the course of daily politics they did, but in the long run, I would say not, although they were all bright people who could argue well and factually and so on. So maybe they had some influence. It's hard to judge that, really.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was just curious. Did they have impact on the Legislature, per se, or was it more pressure on Evans himself to become more conservative?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. You can't put pressure on Evans. He's like most politicians. He's a very opinionated guy, and he's bright and he knows what he believes in.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did they primarily just take positions on particular issues as a group?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know that some of the things I've read about were loyalty oaths for candidates.

**Ms. Hayner:** Loyalty oaths. They never could pull that off. If they were recruiting somebody, they would say you'd have to have a party perspective. I would suppose they would, but I can't believe that ever happened. I never heard of that, actually.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think they spoke against the power of special interests. That's a pretty broad kind of issue. I wondered if they really had any kind of day-to-day power as a group?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, except they were real troublemakers to us when we were in the majority because if we tried to get everybody to stick with us, they were always difficult to work with. Those kinds of people…it's not in the best interest of their constituents for them to be represented by somebody like that, actually, because they're not as effective.

**Ms. Boswell:** You mentioned working, too, with people from the Democratic Party, and I wondered about the rest of the delegation from this district and this area. We talked a little bit about Charles Kilbury, but were there good relationships with the other Democrats who were also serving from the area?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I would say, generally speaking, there were because those same people have to appear before their own people in discussions, and they can't be totally at odds. They can say, "Well, I take a different position, and I don't agree with him," but you have to be diplomatic. Kilbury was really quite a nice guy, and he was never obnoxious to the point where he was threatening or anything like that. He would just do his little thing and follow the party.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was it Dan Jolly who beat Tom Copeland in the Senate?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there much relationship between the House Democrats and the Republicans in the Senate?

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** So there really wasn't all that much interaction?

**Ms. Hayner:** It's like a wall between the two. Incredible. There's very little communication until they get to the point of being in a conference committee. There may be individuals—I don't mean that—but until they get to the point where they're in a conference committee or something, there really isn't much communication. We never knew what was coming over from the House, and they never knew what was coming over from the Senate until they saw it, unless it was a big issue and got a lot of publicity.

But an awful lot of the proposed bills—I've forgotten the number they say that we pass every year, but it's something like three or four hundred bills—a big percentage of the bills are just non-partisan. They're jiggling the system some way to make it more effective or to correct some little mistake you made.

I remember the first bill I passed was a bill that the Bar Association wanted because there was a defect in the law with respect to corporations. They wanted this little bill passed. No problem. It was passed because most people didn't understand what it was anyway. It was one of those things that was causing problems. That's true of an awful lot of bills that are passed through.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you find that your legal background when you got there helped you in terms of reading the bills and understanding the effects?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. No question about it, plus the fact that you carried more weight because you had that ability to analyze and had a legal background. I think it was very helpful.

There were a lot of bills, and some of them are very intricate and one hundred pages long. There are people who never read a bill because they really can't. They don't understand enough about a certain subject to really understand what they're reading.

**Ms. Boswell:** In that case, would they just vote without knowledge, or would they get somebody else to tell them about it?

**Ms. Hayner:** They would listen to the committee chair or the assistant from their caucus, who would explain the bill and ask a lot of questions in caucus. "How is this going to affect my district? Why should I vote for this?" and that sort of thing. They get lots of information.

**Ms. Boswell:** I've interviewed some people who have said that among the people they really respected in the Legislature were those who read the bills—who knew exactly what each bill said and dissected it. Was that the case for you, or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** You do what you have time to do. Even reading 400 bills, intricate bills, took a lot of time and effort. Very few people read all of that.

You get so much help. If you're in a committee, for example, where the bill is heard, the testimony on both sides is very valuable to give you a background. Then in Rules Committee—and Rules Committee meetings were open to everyone—there was a thorough explanation of the bill.

They have wonderful briefers who brief them so that they get a synopsis of what this bill is about. Now, when you get that briefing, it may direct you to one part of the bill that you're concerned about and then you read that section. We have lots of helping aids now to do that because you can't possibly read them all. If you read every bill from start to finish that the Legislature passes, you'd never get anything else done because there's just too

much of it. Some bills are very complicated and others are one-liners, so I don't think that's a big issue. If you're conscientious you can get briefed bills and look at the sections that are of particular importance. So there isn't any reason why people don't know what they're about. Now, they might not take a great interest, but they certainly have the opportunity.

**Ms. Boswell:** Most people generally were prepared to do their jobs?

**Ms. Hayner:** Some were and some weren't. Nobody says you have to be there every time. There were some people who had law practices and came down only in the afternoon.

In the Senate, you can't *not* be there when they are running bills because nobody can vote for you like they can in the House. A strange voice would not be recognized, and so that's hard, too.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know that one of the things that came up during that time was the Public Disclosure Commission. Some people I've talked to seem to think that a real shift away from having many lawyers in the Legislature began after that time because of the provisions of having to disclose all of your clients.

**Ms. Hayner:** All your money and everything. Yes, no question about it. It affected not only just lawyers, but a lot of other people, too. I think the Public Disclosure Law did more to hurt government and quality candidates than to help it, frankly, because a lot of people just would not submit to that. It isn't really anybody's business.

Generally speaking, in a district they know what you do and whether you're financially sound, whether you have a bank account and all that type of information. To get down to specifics really was demeaning.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was curious if they ever applied that to you. For example, in your case, would they go so far as to say, for example, that your husband had to disclose?

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, yes. It's a community-property state.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's what I wondered.

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course. Of course. Yes, that's the bad part. If it were not a community-property state, it'd be quite different.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did you and your husband work that out? Or how did the law partners respond to it?

**Ms. Hayner:** We had a lot of discussions about that issue. They actually may have changed…I think they talked about changing the arrangement here a little bit because of it. In a firm of this size you could do that. Now in a big firm of a hundred people you could not do that, but, yes, we had a number of discussions about how we'd handle that issue and whether or not he was willing to do that.

**Ms. Boswell:** If he had not been willing, then would you have just had to say, "Sorry, I have to leave now"? Or how do you think you would have handled it?

**Ms. Hayner:** The law requires you to do it, so you wouldn't be qualified. They couldn't seat you; however, one could apply to be exempt from complying with certain parts of public disclosure and then have a hearing before the commission. I often did that.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know that for some of the other people that I've talked to who are lawyers, it was a very controversial issue—that and the pay issues. You didn't make very

much money and you became more and more full-time legislators.

**Ms. Hayner:** Never do. They still only pay thirty-two thousand dollars, you know. That isn't the whole story. You get considerably more than that because you get some travel. I don't know how many trips they allow now. They used to allow three trips that they'd pay for, and that became a big issue. I think, maybe, for people who live a certain distance, they give more trips now, but I'm not sure about that. It was always a big issue because it's expensive to fly back and forth. I've got more airline mileage than I could ever use in a lifetime because of flying back and forth and flying to meetings and this and that.

Another thing that's been eliminated, of course, is that there were some peripheral benefits. The lobbyists often took us—they used to take us to Hawaii. They would have all these excellent speakers in the mornings and it was very helpful, actually. Other states would do this, too, and they'd have speakers from all over on certain kinds of legislation and what their issues were and so on. You had to attend those meetings in the morning and then you were free after that. Usually the lobbyists would take you to dinner. That's not possible anymore. You can't do that.

So, actually, even though I never figured up how many trips they paid for, it wasn't a lot. It's a very poorly paid job. Today, thirty-two thousand dollars is not very much.

**Ms. Boswell:** For as much time as you put into it, no.

**Ms. Hayner:** You get somebody to work around your house, and you'll pay them eighteen dollars an hour. Pay has always been an issue.

Now with the salary commission, it has been unable to do much. I got thirty-thousand dollars, I think, when I was in the Senate, and because I was the leader I got maybe one thousand more than the others did or something like that. It's still very minimal pay for all you do.

**Ms. Boswell:** Absolutely.

**Ms. Hayner:** People don't understand that. Actually, congressmen are extremely well paid. They are well paid, although maybe not commensurate with what they're capable of getting.

**Ms. Boswell:** I suppose that's the other issue.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** If you have a thriving law practice compared to public service…

**Ms. Hayner:** Exactly. Or you're an officer in a large corporation or something similar. I think that it's just terrible, and I don't know how you regulate it, or what to do about companies that are publicly owned and issue stock and yet pay some of their executives millions of dollars and lots of perks. That is outrageous because they're stealing it from shareholders who happen to be invested in their company. There's something wrong with that, and something will happen one of these days to stop that practice, I think, because it's not right.

**Ms. Boswell:** I wonder if all of the scandals with Enron and all of these other companies aren't going to affect salaries. There already are a lot more regulations, but I think there will be more.

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely. I've never seen so many dishonest people. Honesty used to be one of the important qualities of Americans,

generally, I think. Now, it's almost as though everybody's starting to cheat. They cheat on everything. They should not feel good about it, but they get away with it so they do more. I don't know, but it disturbs me terribly.

**Ms. Boswell:** Where do you think that attitude comes from? Why have we made that change?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know. There has been a notable and disturbing change in that direction by our citizenry. It's just awful. There isn't a day that you don't pick up a newspaper and see that somebody has cheated in some way and are in trouble. It doesn't seem to make any difference whether they're in trouble or not because others do it anyway.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about in the Legislature at that time, say, when you first started? Was there a sense of honor? Did you have a sense that, generally speaking, people were on the up-and-up or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely. Absolutely. I never had anyone come into my office and offer me a cent to do anything. If they had, I would have thrown them out. I would have resented it, I have to say that, when the lobbyists knew that I was vehemently against something and they would come in. In fact, one time I threw a couple out because I said, "You know where I stand on this. If you think I'm going to change because you're talking to me or offering me something, you're wrong." No. I don't know whether everybody takes that viewpoint, but I think they do.

My sense is that there isn't much dishonesty in our state government. I don't know about the federal government, and I don't know about other states. I do know of places in society where money talks.

**Ms. Boswell:** It's good to hear that the Legislature isn't one of them, in most cases.

**Ms. Hayner:** It isn't here, I don't think. I've never heard of such a thing, but I'm only one side of the aisle, and I don't see everything that's happening.

**Ms. Boswell:** You talked about lobbyists a little bit before, but were lobbyists helpful on an individual basis, too, in terms of filling you in on information?

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely. Absolutely. Those people know more about a particular bill. For example, take the Farm Bureau. They know very much more about a special issue than anyone else, and they look over the bills very carefully. They don't have many bills, but they have certain bills affecting them, and so they read them very carefully. If they don't understand the language, they want it clarified. If they believe that one section should be out, they work to do that and so on. They're very helpful. They have a very bad name because, I think, at one time maybe all they did was hand out money and try to influence people in that way. But that's not the way they've ever operated since I've been in the Legislature.

**Ms. Boswell:** You took them for what they…?

**Ms. Hayner:** What they're supposed to be doing. But, yes, I think that's very helpful when they can come to you and say, "Now, I've read this bill very carefully, but there's one section in there that I think is going to give you trouble if you pass it." So then you look into it. Sure, that's helpful, I think.

**Ms. Boswell:** Again, specialized knowledge in a variety of areas.

**Ms. Hayner:** Exactly.

**Ms. Boswell:** An individual can't have that specialized knowledge of all the areas necessary.

**Ms. Hayner:** No. It is not possible.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there any lobbyists, in particular, whom you really trusted, or who were really on top of things?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure. You know very well which ones you can trust and which ones you can't trust. You learn that very quickly. But there were some who represented the larger corporations who had more of a general view of where they wanted the state to go as well as their specific view of how it affected their company. Those kinds of people are good, and they are better paid lobbyists. You get so you know.

**Ms. Boswell:** Any, in particular, who stick out or who you remember as being particularly good or helpful?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think Boeing always had excellent lobbyists. We knew exactly what was happening within the company because they'd make an effort to inform us.

**Ms. Boswell:** I wanted to ask you more about your freshman year as a legislator. From your experience, what was the best way to really learn how to be a legislator? I was trying to figure out in my own mind, is it in the caucus, is it in committees, or is it just with your peers? As a freshman, where do you turn to learn about what you're supposed to do as a legislator?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think you watch and listen most of the time. There are always quite a few people who are very, very knowledgeable on the procedures, the policies of the state, the law and so forth, and so you just listen. Of course, with my background I was on the Judiciary Committee right away, and at that time there were a lot of lawyers, and they had very good staff in the Legislature for the committees. All of the staff for the Judiciary Committee were lawyers, and so you could go to them for any information you needed, background or whatever.

Of course, the caucus is very helpful because in the caucus you go over bills before they ever come to the floor. The committee chairs or minority chairs—even if you're in the minority, you always have a representative on the committee who is second in command. If the chairman isn't there, they take over. So they give you a review of the bills. I think the first year is really a very interesting learning process, and very few legislators do a lot in actually passing laws and speaking on the floor. That is usually left to the floor leader and to the leaders of the caucus. Of course, if you do have a bill, you have to present it and speak to it, and you always line up other people to help you. So it's mostly a learning process because it's so different than anything you have ever done. Even in law school, even though we did moot trials and all that sort of thing, it's not like the legislative process. You just have to sit back and hope that it sinks in.

**Ms. Boswell:** Looking back, do you think it was easier because you were in the minority, or maybe not as easy to acclimate? I guess maybe I should phrase it another way and ask if there is more or less pressure being in the minority?

**Ms. Hayner:** There's much less in the minority because you don't carry everything. Actually, the Rules Committee makes all the decisions on the order in which bills come to the floor. Being in the minority is really, I think, for a freshman very instructive because you don't have to be out in front, you don't have to be pushing a bill.

I can remember the first bill that I proposed in the Legislature when I was a freshman, but it was an amendment to the law

on corporate law. It was a minor change. An awful lot of what you do in the Legislature is minor changes, tweaking some bill here to make it more effective because the wording isn't quite right, it's been misinterpreted or something of that sort. We spend a lot of time on that. This was a change in corporate law that would make it more informative to what you were trying to do. It wasn't a big thing. I got it through the Judiciary Committee very easily, and then it got on the floor and passed. Most freshmen don't get involved in actually passing a bill unless they've had experience of some sort, but as I say, the Legislature is different from anything else.

**Ms. Boswell:** If that was your first bill, was your maiden speech on the floor for that bill, or was it in some other context? Do you remember?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think it probably was for that bill.

I remember when I went to the Senate I was carrying a very heavy bill that I had worked on in the House over four years. There were one hundred amendments to that bill, so that was a real chore to keep up with. You have to get the staff to tell you what it's going to do and that you don't want that amendment, but this one. The staff has to be very helpful and alert to what's going on.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is it generally the committee staff members who help you to hone your ideas as you prepare a bill?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sometimes, but you have your own staff, Republican and Democrat staff, too. Sometimes you don't want to use the staff of the committee because you don't want to reveal what your goal is or what you have to do, so you determine who would be the best person to help. That takes time before you know all the people.

I can remember on Judiciary Committee—of course on Judiciary Committee, many of the bills were very complicated—we had about four staff members who were reliable and the best from whom to obtain information.

**Ms. Boswell:** The Republicans had been in the majority in the House, and then with your election year, they had become the minority. Do all the staff members carry over when there's a change like that in terms of the majority party? Do they clean out and put some of their own staff into those committees or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. They do some of that, but it just depends on the committee. Judiciary is more complicated than other committees, and so they had to rely on some of the people that they had before. In some committees like Agriculture, for example, there wasn't a lot of change in the staff because there wasn't much that they were doing. They've legislated everything they needed. Once in a while something would come up, but it wasn't a heavy obligation for them.

Some of them serve more than one committee, these staff, because they meet at different times and some of the committees aren't nearly as important. I never was on a Social and Health Services Committee. I was on almost everything else, but I'd have to look back. We do change every year.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about personal support staff? I know really early on they hardly had any staff at all.

**Ms. Hayner:** Now we have wonderful staff.

**Ms. Boswell:** In 1973 as a freshman, did you have any kind of staff? You must have had some secretarial assistance.

**Ms. Hayner:** We always had secretaries. Kent Pullen and Paul Kraabel and I, we were over in that other building right across from the Capitol—not the Cherberg Building. But anyway, three of us had our desks out in the hall, and we shared a secretary. As things changed a little bit, we all had secretaries.

I always had very good help. Do you know Margaret Senna? She was absolutely fantastic. She knew my viewpoint on everything, or she would ask me, and then she'd write a letter for me. Then I would correct it and go from there, but it is enormously helpful to have a good secretary.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you choose her?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, I did.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was it somebody from Walla Walla or somebody from Olympia?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. You can't have someone from Walla Walla. You could select from a lot of people. There are a lot of people in Olympia because there are a lot of jobs at the state level. I don't know what percentage of the people who live in Olympia work for state government, but I'll bet a high percentage.

**Ms. Boswell:** How important in the House is knowledge of parliamentary procedure? Is that a key to getting legislation you want passed?

**Ms. Hayner:** Parliamentary procedure? Yes. Sure, but you learn that fairly quickly. Some people don't. They don't want to. They're really not interested. There were some wonderful fights on the floor over parliamentary rules and arguments and so forth with the presiding officer.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is that something you were interested in or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not particularly. I did participate at times, but that wasn't my forte.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was John O'Brien still giving classes to freshmen on parliamentary procedure when you started?

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know he did in 1971, but I didn't know about later.

**Ms. Hayner:** No. He did not.

**Ms. Boswell:** Nobody sat down and said, "Here is the way it goes"?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, but you don't do it for everything. You have cutoffs. You consider bills a certain length of time, and then they're in Rules a certain length of time and then they come out on the floor, so that you're not on the floor every day for a couple of months, actually. You have times when you can introduce bills and there are times when they're considered, so that toward the end, you're on the floor all the time. That's only a short, maybe two-week period, but it is very valuable for somebody to have knowledge of parliamentary procedure. We always had pretty good people who did that. Of course, we didn't always agree with their rulings.

**Ms. Boswell:** You mentioned your first bill as a freshman, but in terms of sponsorship of bills, people would go around and get others to be on their bills. How did you make the choice of which ones you said yes to and which ones you didn't?

**Ms. Hayner:** I rarely got on bills that had to do with something I didn't know anything about. Some people got on those kinds of bills depending on who was sponsoring it and if they trusted them. You could go to that

person and say, "Explain this bill to me. Why do you think I should get on it?" Of course, there was always an advantage to being able to get one of the leaders on your bill. So you're on a whole bunch of bills if they're ones that you think are worthy. There are hundreds of bills, you know.

**Ms. Boswell:** As a freshman, was there a frustration about the learning role and not really being able to have your say, or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think so. It might be for some people who run for the Legislature because they've got an axe to grind. It's not a good reason to ever run for anything, but most people run for the Legislature because they're intrigued with the idea, or they've been over there, or watched or whatever the reason. Maybe their schooling or some professor intrigued them. Who knows? They go because they want to be a part of government; they want to be a part of bringing about change; they've got some ideas. They're either very conservative or very liberal in their thinking. They may have very definite ideas about taxation, for example. Those are the reasons that people go, I think. If they expect to do something in one year, forget it. The Legislature moves at a very slow pace. You can get something through in a hurry, but it's not usual.

**Ms. Boswell:** If you were in the minority, based on your expectations going to the Legislature, was it disappointing to be in the minority and not be able to get much legislation enacted?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. It was much more fun to be in the majority, I'll tell you that. It changed a lot in the Legislature, back and forth in our state, and I think it's kind of true in other states, too, or more than it used to be.

**Ms. Boswell:** There's a fairly close balance that keeps shifting?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. You can understand why that's true because in this state, at least—I think there's a certain dichotomy in other states too—the west is much more liberal, the west side of the state. You go across the Cascade Range and people over here, many of whom make their living in agriculture, are very conservative people.

## CHAPTER 5

## ISSUES IN THE HOUSE, 1973-1974

**Ms. Boswell:** I know in the House when you started that the Speaker was Len Sawyer. I think one of the biggest issues that appeared in the papers about that session in 1973 was changes in how often the Legislature would actually meet. They almost seemed to overshadow a lot of other issues. It was the idea of a year-round Legislature, or a Legislature that would essentially meet every few months rather than try to crush everything into one session. I think Leonard Sawyer, in particular, had this plan of how he envisioned the Legislature should run.

I wondered about your views on the continuous session and how it affected, in particular, the Republicans in the House?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think we were always very opposed to it, generally—not everybody, maybe—because we're not an industrial state. We're not six times our population like California, which has a full-time Legislature. The more time you are in session the more laws you pass, and generally speaking, that's more bureaucracy and more of the things that we didn't stand for. To think that you can do a better job for the people because you're there all the time, I just don't think that's necessary.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about the concept of the citizen legislator? Is that a Republican concept, or is that just a philosophical concept?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think everybody who knows much about politics knows that a person who spends some time at home in his own community has certainly a better feel for what, at least, his part of the state is interested in and why, and how legislation would benefit them or to what extent it would be a detriment.

When the state started they had sixty days, period. Maybe as the population grew that wasn't enough time. They just couldn't get things done, and so now, of course, it has been extended to longer periods, but I don't think it needs to be a full-time Legislature. I think that would just mean you get a lot more laws that are not especially beneficial.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of what Leonard Sawyer wanted to see as to how often the Legislature would meet, I guess one of the rationales for the change was the fact that bills were rushed at the end. Everything was sort of rushed at the end.

**Ms. Hayner:** It would be rushed anyway.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know that some people have said that to me. It's that rush at the end that gets something done, and the longer you extend, it would still be happening.

**Ms. Hayner:** Exactly. Instead of having two months to consider in committee and so forth, they'd have four, so still it would compact at the end into the same situation. I think the shorter sessions actually are just as productive. If you know you have to do something in an hour, you're going to get it done if it means that you can't have it if you don't.

**Ms. Boswell:** We have talked about the public disclosure issue, and how that affected

a number of people, lawyers and others, about coming back because it did present some problems. Did this notion of a continuing session present problems, too? Certainly in 1973 when they tried it—you came January through April and then, I think, you had to come back in July for a short period and then in September. Did that affect people?

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely. Who in this part of the state who has a job other than the Legislature—it's certainly not a full-time Legislature—who can do that? A lawyer can't do that unless he lives in Tacoma or Olympia. In fact, it's a real detriment, as is public disclosure, because there are a lot of people who absolutely will not disclose all that information. It affected school boards, too, because that law applies to everybody like that.

**Ms. Boswell:** I didn't realize that it went that far.

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely. Absolutely.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there ever accusations that seemed to have any merit in which decisions were made that would benefit an individual who was involved in the decision- making? I'm sure that there were certain things that caused people to vote for the initiative leading to the Open Government Act, which was better known as the Public Disclosure Law. In your experience was there any real merit to the idea that there were people who were taking advantage of their positions to make money?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. There are always. You know we had quite a scandal in our Legislature. Actually what happened was that there was an element who wanted to get gambling into the State of Washington, and so they invited several of the leaders—not Republicans, Democrats—down to San Francisco. They met several times, and the idea was that those who got the legislation through would be able to skim and get an enormous amount of money out of it. The whole thing blew up in their faces, and two of them spent time in the penitentiary and so on.

I'm sure that there were always lobbyists who would go in and say, "If you'll vote this way, here's one hundred dollars or here's a thousand dollars," or whatever. But I never had anyone of that sort approach me because I think they size you up and know before they try that. They don't want to have somebody ring the bell on them either.

**Ms. Boswell:** So there were some reasons for public disclosure that had some merit. It's just that the overall effect was to dampen political participation by some?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't really know what it does that is beneficial. What difference does it make, whether I have one dollar a year and I have a sugar daddy out there, or whether I have a million dollars, in the way I'm going to vote unless I'm a corrupt person? To force people to tell them what all their holdings were and how much money they made and all that, I don't think that has anything to do with it. I really don't.

**Ms. Boswell:** Within the Republican caucus at that time, was the opposition fairly strong to the Public Disclosure law?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think anybody in the Legislature really liked that measure, or anyone on school boards. For a lot of them, if you didn't know what you were doing, you could get yourself in trouble because the forms are pretty specific. A lot of people just took one look at them and said, "To heck with this."

**Ms. Boswell:** Going back for a second to the different committees that you were on in the House. You mentioned the Judiciary Committee and that the bills generally were pretty complicated and a lot of the people on the committee were lawyers. Was that the most productive committee, too, as a result of that? You were on Judiciary, Education, and Constitution and Elections. Was their effectiveness because of the leadership or was it primarily just the nature of the committee?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know how the Democrats did it, but we put people on the committees who knew something about the issues that were going to be considered. If they were lawyers, they were usually always on Judiciary. If they worked in social and health services—I don't mean for the government, but in that field—then obviously they had knowledge of it. If they had been on a school board, they had knowledge of education or had been in higher education in some way, or were interested in it.

Like my husband, who was Dan Evans' first appointment when he became governor. Evans appointed him to the board at Washington State University where he went to undergraduate school. He was on that board for twelve years, and it was during the time that they picked Glenn Terrell; in fact, my husband Dutch was on the committee to go East and find somebody.

I think most of the appointments are made with the idea that the person can be useful and effective to the state. I really do.

**Ms. Boswell:** You were on Constitutions and Elections and that committee, prior to the year you started, had for many years faced problems with redistricting and the courts stepping in and all kinds of things. As I understand it, the Constitutions and Elections Committee was the one that dealt with the issue of redistricting for the future. Once the state had been redistricted in 1972, it wasn't going to come up again until the early 1980s, but at that point the committee did take up the future of what was going to happen. I think Lois North had been active in the League of Women Voters and was also involved in that committee.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Can you tell me a little bit about how they arrived at the recommendation? It was interesting to me that, as a committee, it was initially decided not to do a redistricting commission as had been recommended, but rather to come up with a different system that essentially continued to allow the Legislature to do it with some time limits on them.

I've been immersed in redistricting for a while, so I'm kind of curious about the discussion on the issue of redistricting.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think that it was awfully hard to get impartial people, and maybe still is. I don't know. I think the general concept was that the Legislature shouldn't deal with something that affected members so directly. They should either have a commission to do that particular thing every ten years, or it should be done by the people who had a knowledge of the whole state and the law itself, which requires certain things which you do and do not do. I didn't ever get very involved in that issue, to tell you the truth, because it seemed clear that we should get the Legislature out of it as much as possible.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was it the Democrats on the committee who were more interested in keeping the legislative hand in redistricting than the Republicans?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think so. Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Slade Gorton, when he was in the House, had been really instrumental in redistricting. I guess he was Attorney General by that time, so he was not so directly involved.

**Ms. Hayner:** You can really sway things by jiggling around with the figures and especially now where we have so many more minorities than we had before. You can't, for example, have a bunch of minorities and run a line right down between them. That's verboten. There are all kinds of "ifs, ands, or buts" about it, but I think that whole thing is pretty much put to bed now.

**Ms. Boswell:** One other thing that came up over several sessions and was one of Governor Evans'—I don't want to say pet projects, but something he cared about—was the reorganization of a lot of the departments within state government.

**Ms. Hayner:** A lot of governors have done that. He's not the only one.

**Ms. Boswell:** He's not the only one, but that was the point when they created what some people would call the mega agencies: Social and Health Services and, I think, Transportation. I think they were trying to get through the Department of Community Development at that time. Was that reorganization and the whole concept of big agencies something that the Republicans generally were behind or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** I have never seen reorganization that did anything much, whether it was small, large, or whatever. You've got so many duties you have to do, and I don't think reorganization is the answer.

Another thing I remember that benefited me, I believe, was that Governor Evans wanted an income tax very badly, and I was very much opposed to an income tax because I had lived in Oregon, and Oregon had had an income tax for a long time. I just think that when you have an income tax, the only way you can get more money is to raise the amount of taxation. I don't know what it is now, but it's still a substantial amount. So I debated. I went around the state and debated Dan Evans on that issue, and most people didn't want an income tax. I think they found that every time, but even this current governor is saying that we need an income tax.

We have a sales tax, which is the best kind of tax you can have. It doesn't cost the state a cent. Merchants have to collect it, and they just send the money in. Everybody pays. At first, during a time when we were in kind of a depression for a while, we put it back on for one year—you may remember—on food. We wanted to get rid of that as soon as we could, but we had a twenty-million-dollar deficit, and we needed to have it that particular year. Of course, it didn't help us any because the Republicans were the ones who were pushing that issue, but it did produce the money, and it was taken off at the end of one year as promised. They said, "Oh, it will never be taken off." Well, it was.

I have always favored a tax where everybody pays. Depending on how much you spend, you should pay. In other words, if you have the money, you're going to probably spend it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was Evans' main argument that the state needed a more predictable tax base?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think so, but it isn't particularly predictable. Now Oregon is in terrible shape. They don't know where to turn, and they have had the sales tax on the ballot six times, and it goes down. They're not going to get it.

It's just like this recent Referendum 51, which provides the money for the roads,

and should never have been referred to the people. They should never have referred that to the people, but the House insisted that they refer it. They were afraid because they have two-year terms, and if they voted for it…. You've got to be brave. If you're going to be in the Legislature, you've got to do what you think it right, not what's expedient for you. You refer anything like that to the people, and they're going to vote it down every time.

**Ms. Boswell:** Nobody wants to pay taxes.

**Ms. Hayner:** No. And you've got this problem. You've got to provide the money, and if there's only one way to get it, okay, you do it that way. They could have put it on the ballot by referendum of the people, but to do that is very difficult because you've got to get an awful lot of signatures.

**Ms. Boswell:** And now, once it's been voted down, the Legislature cannot easily come back and institute it.

Did you find that difficult as a Republican? Here you have a Republican governor who is very strongly advocating an income tax. I've talked to some Republicans in the Senate who have said, "We weren't in favor of it, but we had to support the governor."

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't agree with that. I think you try if it's something you think you can do and enough of your caucus is for it, but otherwise, no. The governor can submit all kinds of dumb bills. Over the years they have, and that is not your role that you have to just rubber stamp it. You're another step in the process of determining whether that's best for the people you represent. It's hard.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did the fact that you did go around and debate the issue affect your relations? First of all, did it affect your relationship with Dan Evans?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I don't think so. We've always been very friendly. I don't think so.

**Ms. Boswell:** I didn't know if he was the kind of person to hold grudges?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know. I don't know whether he was or wasn't, but if he did, it didn't bother me. (Laughs) But I don't think so.

**Ms. Boswell:** You mentioned elections. What was your constituency's reaction? I can imagine that they were probably supportive of your ideas.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. That was no problem. I have always found that I voted for a lot of things that maybe John Doe over here didn't like. He'd come and talk to me, or I'd talk to him, or I'd explain to the press why I did that. I never had any problem with that. Mostly, people don't have enough knowledge, and if they trust you, they say, "Well, I wouldn't have done that, but maybe I don't know all the things I need to know in order to make a fair decision on it. And I trust your judgment." You either have to trust your judgment or you don't. If you don't feel that you are represented by someone whom you can trust, why then you do what you can to get rid of them.

**Ms. Boswell:** You had for your campaign slogan that qualifications were really more important than stands on the issues.

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right.

**Ms. Boswell:** A qualified candidate is going to make a good decision. It seems like that carries over to legislation.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I think so because you run into so many things—just dozens and dozens

of things—that no one ever thought would come up before a Legislature. You'd better have the ability and a desire to represent the people as best you can. For example, I was behind the convention center in Seattle. Oh, boy, I took a shellacking for that over here.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you think that's the same with, say, sports facilities? It was early in your term that the first stadium, the King Dome, came up? Actually, I think that it was right before, in the early 1970s.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think it was just before, maybe, or pretty much completed.

But I want to tell you another example of something that I didn't agree with. Some people, because they are legislators and they think they have the power to do it, will promote, let's say, a convention center in their city. I would never do that, but I can tell you one who did it. I've been through that convention center, and they don't even have a restaurant in it anymore.

I have a second cousin who actually lives in Switzerland, and she's a lawyer, and she came here. She wanted to come to the United States and work, so I got her a job in the Legislature as our caucus analyst. She did a great job and was a very attractive gal and smart. We went over together to Walla Walla for a few days, and I said, "Let's stop at the Yakima Convention Center." The Yakima Convention Center should never have been built. It was a ton of money and state money was used for a lot of it—most of it. Why should people who live in the Seattle area be paying for something in Yakima that will never pay its way? We don't need a convention center in Walla Walla. We have a great hotel that serves the purpose, and it's been very successful so far. But you know, some of these things people come to you and say, "This is such a great idea. We've got to fund this." You've got to analyze it and say, "Yes, it's a good idea and I'll do what I can," or "No, it's not the best thing." Whenever I gave a speech, I always said, "Remember, I am not only representing the district, but the entire state."

**Ms. Boswell:** You have to strike a balance between the two.

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely. There just isn't enough money to do everything.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's especially true in difficult economic times. In 1973 was there a pervasive feeling about what was passed in light of the economy? You'd had the Boeing bust, and there were definitely problems, like the Arab oil embargo. There were all these things that were happening around us. That must have had a lot of influence on spending?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure it did. It did. And Boeing talked about moving from the state for a long time before they did it. Some people just ignored that and said, "Oh, well, they'll never move. They can't move." But they did. You just have to weigh one thing against the other, and it depends on your background as to how you feel about it.

**Ms. Boswell:** During that time in the early 1970s, when because of Boeing and the fact that so many people worked there—it was practically a one-industry economy, at least in the western part of the state. Was your part of the state affected by the economic downturns of that period or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure, because wheat prices went down. Of course, maybe there were good things that came of this situation, too, because I think that's about the time that people began thinking about raising a different crop besides wheat, which then became grapes. Grapes produce far more now, I think,

than the wheat does because the wheat market and peas—they used to raise a lot of green peas here, too, as well as in Spokane County. Many who own land where they can grow grapes do convert to grapes.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's true. So really sometimes in an economic downturn, people are forced to be creative and come up with new ideas?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Absolutely.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you are campaigning, it is one thing to say, "I'm going to represent my constituency and what they need." When you were in the House, for example, did you find that were there fewer opportunities for people to express their points of view? How did you handle getting feedback from people in Walla Walla, both during the session and when you were home? Is that difficult?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. It isn't, because you say, first of all, "I'm available." Any church group, women's group, men's group that wanted me to speak to them, I did. You give a short, brief summary of what's happened, and then they ask questions. That's how you find out how people really think. I did a lot of that. Any place, any time, just ask me to go—and not just Republican places. In fact, it's far better to go to the other side because they're the ones who are probably being critical.

So I don't think it's difficult, and also about twice during a session you distribute—it depends on the individual—a summary of what has happened and why and how you voted on certain things. You obviously do it on the major things, but you send it to everybody in the district. You get a certain amount of money from the state to do that and it's helpful. You get a lot of letters back with criticisms or suggestions and that kind of thing, so you keep in touch. You've got to keep in touch.

**Ms. Boswell:** I wondered if, because you are so much farther away than so many of the legislators, was it more difficult because you can't come back home every weekend?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. It's more difficult, but you take that into consideration when you decide whether you're going to run. It's especially hard in the winter months when it's foggy, and you can't get on an airplane at one end or the other. I never drove home for weekends because it was just too difficult—too far. It takes about six hours.

So, if you don't want to do that, you don't turn out for the activity.

**Ms. Boswell:** It seems like being so far away is a real disadvantage for a legislator.

**Ms. Hayner:** It is. It's harder, much harder. No question about it. But then when you have people like Scott Barr who lived clear up in the northeastern corner, that's even worse. When he was running, he never had any trouble being reelected.

He was really kind of an interesting guy because he was not articulate at all. He had a real difficult time expressing his views, but he knew what he believed in. It was refreshing because he did a good job. People knew him and he wasn't self conscious about saying it.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did he campaign? Did people know him enough to know what he stood for?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. He went all over. Scott had no children, and he just went everyplace in that district.

**Ms. Boswell:** In your first years were there any particular legislators to whom you were close, or did you gravitate toward a certain group for one reason or another?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not really. Not the first session, certainly. Of course, Lois North called me and said, "Do you want to live with me?" which was such a real advantage because she'd been in the Legislature, and she was a charming woman and very confident. So that was a tremendous advantage, and I always enjoyed her so much.

**Ms. Boswell:** You begin to form friendships?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, but not close friendships. You don't have time for close friendships. You really don't because you know people well from your work and in the Legislature, but as far as knowing too much about them personally, you don't know.

**Ms. Boswell:** After those initial years, was it hard or easy to run your household at home? Were there certain parts of your personal life that were more affected than others by being away that long and being in the Legislature?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. You pay a price for everything. Our daughter went off to college—she's our youngest—the year that I ran for the Legislature. She went to Stanford and was one of these kids who was real smart but never studied. She goes down to Stanford where all these other kids had been in private schools and were just as smart, so she struggled for the first year to adjust to the new environment. As a result, she called me frequently. She needed my support and encouragement. However, she ultimately graduated "with distinction" and with a double major.

**Ms. Boswell:** All these difficult moments.

**Ms. Hayner:** My family was always supportive. In fact, they had a pride in it, too. And Dutch has always been wonderful. He encouraged me to do whatever I wanted to do.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think in that case having a supportive spouse is essential.

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely. Absolutely. I've always been very independent. I'm an only child, and maybe that accounts for it because I think you are with adults a lot more. My parents always trusted me. I went to Portland schools and went to the University of Oregon and law school there, too. They pretty much let me do what I wanted, speaking of education.

**Ms. Boswell:** In the 1973 session when you were in the House, they finally adjourned and then they came back. I think Governor Evans, in particular, wanted people to come back to address school legislation and taxes at that time. You were on the Education Committee. What was the difficulty at that time?

**Ms. Hayner:** We got into lawsuits over that, too, because the Constitution says that the state is responsible for educating students and all of the questions that came up were on the Constitution and how to interpret it. It is the paramount duty of the state to educate, to the best of their ability, the children from K-12. So how do you interpret that? It was tough. It was very tough because the school people wanted everything from a typewriter for every person—I'm exaggerating—and we said, "No, it doesn't mean anything different than what we're doing now." So we had to wait for a period of time, while we kept discussing it and arguing and everything, for the Supreme Court to really determine what was the duty of the state as opposed to local government. There's a lot of difference in the educational system from one city and town to another now because it all depends on the people.

We actually have three higher education institutions in Walla Walla and that brings lots of teachers. Of the people who work at Whitman College, for example, almost all of their wives are well-educated, too. So it meant that when you had special levies in a town like this, they usually passed. I can only remember once—and I was on the school board here for seven years—when a special levy failed. They ran it again and it passed. A lot of school districts even now can't pass any kind of special levy. So it isn't quite right either, but that's what the people around here want their taxes to go for, I guess.

Of course, I think we have good higher education schools in this state, and a wonderful community college system. We have one of the best here in Walla Walla.

**Ms. Boswell:** Being from a community that was supportive of education generally, where did you fall in terms of the balance between how much the state needs to contribute and how much the people should be paying, too, through the special levy system? Where did you fall in that spectrum?

**Ms. Hayner:** That's difficult because you get all this pressure from your local communities. I felt that certainly the community college campuses and their buildings should be provided by the state. Then if they wanted extra things, they should have to fund them. A lot of things fell in place.

About that time there was a World's Fair in Spokane, and they had a China pavilion that the Chinese built. Well, we brought that to Walla Walla. That is one of the buildings that is still on the campus. Now it's used for a small theater. It seats about 300 people or something in that kind of format, so that worked real well.

**Ms. Boswell:** Being creative in terms of what's available and what you can do?

**Ms. Hayner:** Right. You'd think somebody in Spokane would have found a use for that building, but they didn't.

**Ms. Boswell:** They trucked it down here?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. There were even Chinese pictures on the wall, which are still there.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's great. I'd like to take a look at that building.

When you came back in 1974, there was, I think—at least for the Republicans—a leadership struggle in the caucus because Tom Swayze had said, "With this public disclosure, I can't do it," and he left. So Bud Pardini versus Irving Newhouse was the battle. I don't know if I want to call it a battle—that's probably not the right word—but it seems as though the contest was representative, at least among the Republicans in the House, between whether you were going to move more to the right or more to the liberal side.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Can you tell me a little bit about that contest? What was your sense in 1974 about where the Republicans were going to land in the Pardini versus Newhouse struggle?

**Ms. Hayner:** That was quite a struggle. I can't really tell you about their philosophical views as much because I don't really know. Irv Newhouse was a very smart guy and so was Bud Pardini. They were both different kinds of people and, I don't know, it was not a time when we were a big force in the Legislature anyway, so we just kind of went along with whatever happened.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were you a Pardini or Newhouse supporter?

**Ms. Hayner:** As I remember, I finally came down on Pardini's side because I had the feeling that Newhouse was not going to work hard enough at it. They both were bright enough to do it, but I thought Pardini would work harder.

**Ms. Boswell:** But then Newhouse was elected.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did that change the direction or the atmosphere of the caucus at that time?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure, it does. Everybody has their own personality and they affect the caucus, but I didn't think that Newhouse was really a strong leader.

**Ms. Boswell:** Other caucus leadership changed, as well, along with Newhouse. I have a list here. Pardini was, I guess, already the whip, and he continued in that capacity.

**Ms. Hayner:** He was a good whip, too.

**Ms. Boswell:** What were his strengths? Was he better with people?

**Ms. Hayner:** He was energetic and always worked hard at it. I'm giving you my personal opinion. I think that since the Democrats were kind of in sway at that time, why it didn't really make that much difference.

**Ms. Boswell:** And Robert Curtis was the caucus chair.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was he effective in that role?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. He was okay.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you continue to room with Lois North in 1974?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. We moved several times.

**Ms. Boswell:** She was the secretary of the caucus. What kind of a position was that? Was it just recording?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. It's probably a name-only kind of thing, but it is in the leadership.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it's the recognition of your capabilities, but not necessarily a position of responsibility?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Lois was very capable.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was curious. We talked earlier about a little bit about the economic problems the state was having during this period of time, and I guess it was not only the state, but the whole country, especially with the oil crisis and all the things that were happening.

**Ms. Hayner:** Local even.

**Ms. Boswell:** With that impact on the state budget, how much could the Legislature really do to mitigate these kinds of events within the budget? I bring it up because we see it again right now. I was curious because the situation wasn't all that different in 1973 and 1974. I was just curious how much impact you can really have.

**Ms. Hayner:** You have to have a balanced budget, so you're in a terrible fix because when things are economically slow, you can't raise taxes. Sometimes there'd be an uprising if you did, and so you just have to cut programs. That is very hard to do because the state employees are a very strong group. Not only that, in some departments they

probably are overstaffed, but in others they are understaffed. So if you say, "Let's cut three percent," what happens? You've got chaos. So you have to do it individually in various areas, and that's really tough.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know that there are the budget committees and people who deal specifically with budgets. Were there lots of debates in the caucuses about budget issues? Was there a fairly common feeling about the kinds of things that needed to be cut and how it would be done, let's say, within the Republican caucus, or was there a lot of diversity?

**Ms. Hayner:** There was a lot of diversity on both sides. It's just like in a family. If you have so many bucks and you have to divide it, everybody's got a different way that's important to them and the district that they represent. It's very tough. It made for a lot of difficult decisions.

**Ms. Boswell:** During that period of time, in part because of the Arab oil situation, there was a lot of interest in this state both for nuclear power and the promotion of nuclear power. There was also the Alaska pipeline. Obviously, with hindsight, we know certain things about what happened to those proposals, but putting yourself back in the 1970s, how did the development of nuclear power, for example, look to you then?

**Ms. Hayner:** Coming from this part of the state, it was something that was not frowned upon because we live so close to Hanford, you see.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were you a big proponent of the expansion of Hanford?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there lobbying by any groups?

**Ms. Hayner:** There wasn't much state money in there. That was all federal.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's true.

**Ms. Hayner:** I'm always one who believes the more knowledge you have and the more experimentation you do, the better off you are in defending yourself or being ready for whatever comes.

Hanford Reach is quite a problem right now. They're trying to decide what exactly to do with it.

**Ms. Boswell:** So the whole issue of the downwinders and both the health and other issues that ultimately became more public later, was there much indication at that time that there were these risks?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. There have been quite a few lawsuits against the government, and they've never been able to tie that down, really. I know people who live around here—they were not really in Walla Walla but between here and Hanford—who maintained that their health was significantly affected. Nobody's been able to prove any of that to the satisfaction of a court. It's a very nebulous thing. It's like saying, "I have cancer because I live here."

**Ms. Boswell:** What about the pipeline?

**Ms. Hayner:** The Alaskan pipeline?

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes. Also what came out of it, the supertanker issues and a variety of things that came out of that issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. With everything good, there's usually something bad. I guess with ships it's inevitable that some of them are not going to make it, but I think the pipeline was worth doing. I don't know that we're using it much now, but we may some day.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think the Northwest gets a fair amount of oil through the pipeline.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Now they're trying to open up Alaska, the remote areas. I think they will because there's nothing out there. It is just tundra for miles. People say it's bad for the environment. They're going to ruin it. Well, there's nothing up there. There are no animals.

**Ms. Boswell:** In some of the areas there are.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, but not where this is tundra for miles and miles.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about the broader national picture, too? As a Republican in 1973 and then in 1974, you have the Nixon administration and the increasing problems about Watergate and ultimately Nixon's demise. How did that affect Republicans in office during that period of time? Had you been a Nixon supporter?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did you feel about it?

**Ms. Hayner:** Personally, I thought it was a disaster, but I didn't have any responsibility for it other than that I voted for him. You never know when you vote for somebody whether you're going to like what he does, and what's going to happen next. That was kind of a seedy thing anyway—the whole thing. Nobody knows exactly what happened. There were various renditions of it. I think you don't answer questions about national things when you campaign.

**Ms. Boswell:** When these huge national issues occur—in this case a Republican president being in trouble—does it affect the thinking of the caucus? Does it affect the atmosphere of the Legislature in any way or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think so.

**Ms. Boswell:** Also, it was obviously the era of Vietnam, too. I noticed that there was a resolution about the Vietnam War that came out of the Legislature and did pass. Your name wasn't on it. Obviously, the Legislature is taking a position on this war.

**Ms. Hayner:** We shouldn't. That's my theory because we don't know enough about it. I think in retrospect the Vietnam thing was a disaster, but we didn't have anything to do with it. I didn't know enough about it to have any involvement at all. That's my theory. In anything like that, if you don't know about it, you shouldn't be making statements one way or the other.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is it a duty of a legislator on that kind of a national issue to be informed and to vote on it?

**Ms. Hayner:** You can be informed, but I don't think it's your duty to vote on it, no. That's a national issue. Congress has to make that decision.

It's just like the city council here. They don't take any responsibility for the Legislature. They take responsibility for the issues that are right here. I think that it's the same way for the Legislature on national issues, and that you shouldn't really be involved since you don't know enough about it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Another sort of national issue that the Legislature was asked to deal with was the ERA, the Equal Rights Amendment, and it did pass in the Washington Legislature. Was that a hotly debated issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** You did support the ERA?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about your personal thinking, but also about the Republican perspective generally.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think that it was a personal matter, too. I think when you say "equal," our basic philosophy in this country is that everybody is equal. They can all vote if they meet the requirements—if they've been here and filed and so on—so it was hard for me to see why it became such a divisive issue.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you think it was necessary to have that amendment?

**Ms. Hayner:** In the state, you mean?

**Ms. Boswell:** Even nationally.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think it was. I think it was because I think that there are not very many jobs anymore that women haven't tried or can't do if they set their mind to it. So I think that it probably was necessary, although I think, in time, it probably would have gone away, and they would have done it anyway. You see a lot of women now…

I'm just surprised. We were just up at Pullman, and we met three or four of these huge, double-long trucks. Big things. On the two-lane highways, I always shy over. They were driven by women—alone. I always wonder what would happen if they have tires that go out in the middle of the night. I wouldn't want that kind of job.

**Ms. Boswell:** From your own personal experience, did you find circumstances where you felt discriminated against and in need of legislation that would prevent that kind of conduct?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, I wasn't discriminated against.

**Ms. Boswell:** Even when you were looking for a job in Portland?

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course that was a different time and a different age. Yes, I was very upset about that, but you can't tell people that they have to take men or women or whatever. This is a free country. You've got these two things: you've got individual rights, and you've got states' rights. You have the rights of an employer and the rights of an employee and so forth, but I don't think that you can draft rules by which they all have to participate, or with which they have to participate.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you ever get the sense, in the House or even in the Senate, that as a woman there were some individuals in the Legislature who didn't take you seriously?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure. Sure, but that would be true anyplace. You could go to a city council meeting, and there'd be men, and they'd ask them to talk first and then the women. That kind of stuff never bothered me. I thought, "Well, that's just people." They are people who are screwed up, or they don't have the understanding of basic rules of conduct. So why worry about them?

**Ms. Boswell:** So you didn't see it and view it as a gender issue as much as an issue of common decency?

**Ms. Hayner:** Right. Exactly. Exactly. That's the way I took it. I don't think all the women did. I think a lot of women felt as though they were discriminated against. I shouldn't say a lot, but some of them did.

**Ms. Boswell:** There weren't huge numbers of women in the Legislature when you were there, but did they feel a common cause and that they had to band together on certain issues?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sometimes we did just because there were issues that dealt more with women than with men, but I don't think they felt—well, maybe some of them did—but I didn't ever feel a necessity to do it. I always took the attitude that I could do this job as well as that guy can do it, and I hoped he would take the same attitude. Everybody's equal in the Legislature, and, of course, I subscribe to that theory anyway.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about your constituency here in Walla Walla? Is it a fair characterization that in a more conservative constituency, you have more of a bias, or, perhaps, it takes longer to get rid of the bias that women maybe aren't as competent or can't do the job? Or is that not true?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think that probably it was true to a certain extent, but I had already been on the school board. I had been in all kinds of organizations where I was participating or presiding, so I don't think it was applicable to me, and I don't think it carried much water with many people. With some it probably did.

**Ms. Boswell:** But you didn't see it as affecting your career?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. No, not at all. Not at all. Of course, I'd been in law school all those years—three years in law school with men, substantially. There were only two women who graduated. Some of the men weren't very excited about having the women, but the professors were all very fair with us. They had a pride in their law school at the University of Oregon. So, for years, if you graduated from the University of Oregon Law School, they had a record of no one ever failing the Bar. No woman ever failed the Bar because they were well-equipped, and there weren't very many of them. But then later they let more in, and I think maybe they purely cut out some that way. Both ways now are used. But at that time if you were there the third year, you were going to get through the Bar.

**Ms. Boswell:** What was their record for men? Did they feel the same way?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** They were that well-trained?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I haven't been down there recently. They've got a new law school at the University of Oregon now.

But, actually, they did have a business school where I took a number of courses. They had suggested to me that I go to law school, and I said, "I'll do it."

**Ms. Boswell:** And you've not ever been sorry that you did.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh heavens, no. Our kids all have several degrees because that will open doors for them. You never know what you're going to do.

**Ms. Boswell:** And I think, too, that any of that advanced training gives you skills in critical thinking and just better preparation.

**Ms. Hayner:** Confidence. Yes, all those things. Yes.

I remember one time, Bud Coffey had done a lot of lobbying. I don't know whether he is anymore, but he used to lobby a lot for Boeing. We invited him into the caucus one day to tell us what he thought was really important in the education field for kids to be able to do well. It was very simple. He explained it and expanded on it, but he said, "They need to be able to write well, and they need to be able to communicate well. If they can do those two things, they're much in demand." You can learn all the rest these days.

**Ms. Boswell:** One other area that I want to talk about in those early sessions—1973 to 1974—is labor relations. There was a labor relations act in 1974 that the Republicans were not in favor of and essentially had to do with rights to organize and set rules for negotiation and settlements of disputes and that kind of thing. The House was particularly active. There was a big filibuster against it led by Bud Pardini and—I don't know how to pronounce it—Kuehnle.

**Ms. Hayner:** Cooney? He was from Spokane.

**Ms. Boswell:** K-U-E-H-N-L-E. James P. Kuehnle.

**Ms. Hayner:** Isn't that funny? I can't say it now, but I sure know him. He was a very effective debater.

Of course, basically, the Republicans don't believe in unions, so that's a starting point. I think it is for very good reasons. The unions are really organized for themselves because they want to spin off money from each person who belongs, but they don't produce that much. They really don't produce for the workers, so we never favored unions at all, and that's how we got into those difficulties.

**Ms. Boswell:** By that time unions were a pretty established element.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. They were, but that doesn't make them good just because they're established.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about the notion of protection from predatory employers?

**Ms. Hayner:** If you can prove to me that there was predatory action, then we'd pass a law to prevent that directly.

**Ms. Boswell:** Right. So you're saying that you don't need unions to do all that?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. No.

**Ms. Boswell:** It was interesting, because at least in the newspapers, Irv Newhouse said that the defeat of that labor relations act was the best accomplishment of the Republicans in that whole session.

**Ms. Hayner:** I wouldn't agree with that, but we were happy that it didn't pass. I don't think it was the best thing that happened.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me about a filibuster. I think people are fascinated by the idea of filibusters.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. But they're not always practical. You can filibuster if you've got a time line. If you have to get a bill out on Wednesday afternoon at 3:00 P.M., or it's not going out, then it makes some sense. But if you're just going to say, "I'm going to filibuster this one," you're wasting an awful lot of time. We did a little bit of that because people would want to do it. Maybe they can make it more effective in Congress than we ever were able to do it. I don't know.

**Ms. Boswell:** Would something like that be a caucus decision?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Oh, yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Then the caucus would say, "Okay, this is what we're going to do."

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Sure. Absolutely. You'd have to have everybody in on that. We tried to keep our caucus pretty well informed on what was going on and whether they'd participate and so forth. The Democrats didn't always do that. Sometimes they'd really surprise

them with things that they hadn't discussed in caucus at all, but our people wouldn't stand for that. Rightfully so, I think.

**Ms. Boswell:** How about the state's Republican organization? There was a state GOP convention in 1974, actually in Richland. It sounds like it was a fairly interesting convention. Again, it was set in an interesting period of time, and I don't know if you were there or if you remember much about that particular convention, but the Nixon impeachment was ongoing, and he was soon to resign. This was in July, and I think he resigned in August. I think of some interest was the movement among some Republicans to speak out publicly against Dan Evans, both on the income tax issue and his leadership generally.

I just wondered if that was something you attended or had particularly strong memories of at all?

**Ms. Hayner:** I believe that if they have any problems like that, they need to work it out among themselves and not have a big audience of people because you never get anything done that way. Sure, there were a lot of people, especially on the east side of the state, who did not like Evans because he was very liberal. There's no question about it. But on the other hand, he had a lot of good qualities. He was a good citizen and an upstanding governor. We've had some screwballs, in my opinion, but he was very good. So was John Spellman, and a lot of people didn't like Spellman either.

When you have a job like that, you have to know that a good percentage of the people are going to be critical no matter what you do. It's the same way with this president. I don't think that Bush ever realized in his wildest dreams that he would have the problems that he's had with Iraq and Iran, and just everything going wrong and dropping in his lap. You should be very careful to criticize people like that because that's a heck of a role to be in.

**Ms. Boswell:** During your career, did you get strong criticism at any time?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure. Oh, sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did you handle it? When you were first in office, was it harder earlier on and then you just get inured to it? How did you handle it?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think I always took the attitude that I'm going to do the best I can. I'll do what I think is right and what I think the majority of the people want. That's all I can do.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it didn't hurt your feelings?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. No. Some of my best friends are Democrats who didn't like what I was doing at all. Of course, they didn't like it because I was a woman or just something as simple as that, but that never bothered me.

I can remember one time when they had a riot at the penitentiary here and the State Patrol called me and said, "Do you want to walk the wall?" And I said, "Sure." I got several calls from women who said, "Why in the world were you doing such a thing? That was outrageous." I said, "Well, I didn't see anything wrong."

**Ms. Boswell:** Why? They just thought it was dangerous?

**Ms. Hayner:** They didn't think that a woman should do it, and they thought it was dangerous. So you often get criticized for dumb things.

**Ms. Boswell:** And this didn't bother you?

**Ms. Hayner:** It didn't bother me.

**Ms. Boswell:** I guess that's probably a characteristic you need to have if you're going to survive in politics.

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely. Absolutely. If you're a very sensitive person, and anybody says anything wrong to you and you get upset, you shouldn't be there in the first place because people like to criticize.

## Chapter 6

## Back to the House, 1975 and 1976

**Ms. Boswell:** I wanted to go on and talk about your reelection. Did you have any doubts in your mind when reelection time came up for the House as to continuing or not? Were you ready and relatively sure?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about the second time around. Was it easier? First of all, you didn't have the strong primary challenge that you had that very first year.

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I don't know how many times, and I can't tell you, but several times I ran I didn't have any opposition. Of course, I ran many times. (Laughs)

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of the 1975 election, did you have to campaign as hard?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. Of course, I got a lot of publicity over here in the newspaper, too—which a lot of times they don't on the coast—because it's a smaller community. For a while we even had a representative over there of the two newspapers, the *Tri-City Herald*, which is the main other one, and the *Walla Walla Union Bulletin*, and he was always sending in material, and they'd always print it. We got a lot of publicity, which is a big help because then your name is familiar.

**Ms. Boswell:** In your campaign literature in the 1974 election, one of the things that you campaigned on was that you were on good committees, so voters should keep you on them.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you think that is an important factor?

**Ms. Hayner:** It is an important factor if you're over there. I don't think the people realize that, but if you're on Rules, if you're on Ways and Means, or if you're on Judiciary, those are the main committees that deal with really important legislation. All of them do. Social and Health Services was never my thing. I never was on Social and Health Services because they deal with a lot of things that just didn't interest me. I felt that I should stay on the things that were of interest to me.

**Ms. Boswell:** Even though you had done a huge amount of what I would think would be related to social issues in Walla Walla, where you had been involved in all kinds of committees?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Yes, but a lot of things one should do locally. You can't do it through a government agency. I did know the needs and the problems of the people. A lot of our friends are farmers, and actually my husband grew up in a farming community in Spokane County.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was it easier to raise money in the second campaign?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Sure. And you don't need as much. The first time you really need to do a lot. But you have the advantage that in between you send out reports to all of the people on what has happened in the Legislature and so on. That's just like advertising.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think a lot of people complain, although it's part and parcel of what the House stands for, about having to campaign every two years.

**Ms. Hayner:** It continues. Well, one campaigns all the time, essentially, by sending out newsletters. I received huge amounts of mail and, fortunately, I always had very good secretarial help and people who could write. I had one gal when I was first over there—two or three of them actually—who helped. These letters would come in and we'd go over them at night, and I'd say, "Say this, and tell her no on that," and so on. She'd come back with letters that I couldn't have done any better. She was in tune because she also listened to everything that was going on.

**Ms. Boswell:** You were lucky.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, I should say.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know you did a lot of doorbelling during the first campaign. Did you continue that again, or did you not really need to as much?

**Ms. Hayner:** As time went on, I did not need to do as much of that. I went up dusty roads to farms and everything the first year. I just went everyplace anybody asked me, and it paid off. But then, once you've been to somebody's house, you don't necessarily need to visit that one again because they'll always remember it.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's interesting. So you don't really need to go back once you've gone once? I didn't really ever think of that, but I suppose that would be true.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I did a lot of campaigning over in Tri-Cities, of course, because I didn't know the people over there as well, but I got so I did.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you need to have an agenda?

**Ms. Hayner:** Of what I was going to do?

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes.

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, being in the Legislature, you do. Things come up in the Legislature and you think, "Now, I better fix that the next time. That's a bad deal." So you begin making a list of things that you think you should support, and with what others you should get together and write a bill and so on. That comes along with the territory if you're conscientious and active.

**Ms. Boswell:** In your campaign literature you mentioned earlier that you had important committee assignments. One of them that was not a standing committee, but one that you were appointed to, which was the Organized Crime Intelligence Advisory Board. I was curious about that particular committee. Did it do anything? Why was it necessary to develop an advisory board on organized crime?

**Ms. Hayner:** Because there was a period of upsurge and down—it's a cyclical thing—where organized crime will become involved.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about in the state itself? You had certain individuals who get involved—I don't know if you call it racketeering—in that kind of crime. Did Washington really have any organized crime?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think every state has a certain amount of it, but I don't think it's rampant. We are a lot different than the eastern states, which have been in existence so much longer. I think that there is an effort to watch carefully by the State Patrol and the cities, too, on what is developing. I think they have been very

effective in stopping this methamphetamine problem. They're trying to combat that as best they can, but how do you do it and what? Can you write any kind of legislation? But we haven't been a state like some of them, Illinois, for example, and some of those places, where it's just been rampant. In fact, the mayors have been a part of it. We've never had that kind of problem that I am aware of, but you watch for it constantly because there are so many people. I guess the thing that is discouraging is how many now have been involved with large corporations, like this Enron thing. Terrible. Just terrible what people will do for money. It's unbelievable. It really is. I just can't figure it out.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did that advisory committee meet? Did it have much input?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. It did meet. We had some staff people who were doing the best they could to get us information, but we never found anything that we really needed to do. We didn't pass a lot of legislation, but it probably was effective in discouraging people.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's true, if you've got something in place.

Your Democratic opponent in that election was someone named David Gallant.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. He was just a drafted person. He wasn't very active.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it wasn't a real serious challenge?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I don't think he did much. He might have sent out a little brochure or something. He lived out in the country and was wealthy, and he was just somebody they got to run against me. They had trouble finding anybody.

**Ms. Boswell:** So the national changes, and particularly the problems the Republicans had on a national level, didn't have much of an impact locally or regionally?

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me about how you moved into the leadership position as minority whip? How did that come about?

**Ms. Hayner:** I guess that when I became minority whip, it wasn't any kind of an organized thing. It was not a bunch of people who met like they did later to bring about an upheaval. It was just some people who thought I could do that and do a good job of it, and that was it.

**Ms. Boswell:** We talked a little bit earlier about the whip and the need to be able to talk to people and find out what they're thinking. How did you go about doing that? Does it just come naturally, or did you have an agenda about the way you would approach that job?

**Ms. Hayner:** I thought about it. Of course, you approach each one a little differently. I would look over the caucus, and I'd count the number of people who I knew were already in line. So I didn't have to do very much but say, "We're going to do this. Are you still there?" But then I would go down the line to those who you never know where they are, or they won't tell you and that sort of thing. You just work the problem.

You have to be very sensitive to people's problems, their personal problems. There wasn't a session that we didn't have some major problem that someone had—someone was sick or their mother died or all kinds of things that go on outside. You tend to think that everything of importance is going on right here. It's not. The important things are out there, and the Legislature is kind of

incidental when they've got somebody really sick in their family or their kids are missing or whatever.

So you have to be a very sensitive person. Sensitive. That's one of the things I tried to know—what people were thinking and what their personal problems were. And that makes for a good leader, in my opinion.

**Ms. Boswell:** Where does all this interaction with all these individuals take place? As the whip do you just go from office to office?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I very scarcely ever went in their offices. I would just meet them wherever I met them, for lunch, on the floor. If there was something going on, on the floor, I'd say, "Come on, let's stand over here and talk." You just do it wherever you can.

**Ms. Boswell:** Some legislators talk about a lot of business being enacted in a more social environment, whether it's a dinner or cocktails or parties here and there. Was that a venue that you utilized, too?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I didn't. I went a lot of places, but I never talked business. I said, "This is not the place for it." Of course, the lobbyists want to do that. They want to take you out to dinner and talk about business. Sometimes they'd mention it, but I never felt that was appropriate because if one has a drink or two, that's just not good. I never had more than two drinks because I didn't want to impair my ability to make a clear decision.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was that something that most of the women did? Maybe this is a biased question in a way, but I guess I'm asking whether that was more of an "old boy" way of politicking, so to speak? I wondered if the women had as much access to those kinds of situations where people met for drinks or might be invited to parties where they might be making deals or talking to lobbyists and things like that?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know about that. I know I had lots of them. And I know that some people would not go if they were invited to anything. You can't always refuse either, because the better one knows all the people, whether they're in or out of the Legislature, the better off you are. You learn where they stand and what their axe to grind is.

When you're a leader, you're invited to everything. I did not go to everything. George Sellar, for example, was one of the people I tapped to go to a lot of them. If I didn't go I got somebody to go, but I didn't go a lot of the time. Some of the big corporations that have more money would always entertain, not just for a cocktail party, but for dinner. It was usually a small dinner, not more than eight or ten people, which they felt was a better way, and I agree it is a better way. You have to have a bigger budget to do that, too.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did that kind of entertaining decline as there was not only public disclosure, but more skepticism about big-budget lobbyists treating people not just to dinners, but trips and a variety of things. Was it curtailed or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not the dinners, necessarily. When I was first in the Legislature, the lobbyists would have meetings in Hawaii. The Legislature would actually pay for the legislators' trips to Hawaii, but all of their accommodations and everything were paid for by the lobbyists, for the most part, with the idea that they would inform us about a lot of the issues that they were concerned about. And actually, they did. They required—I say required, and I'm not sure everybody complied, but I certainly did—that you went to all of their meetings from 8:00 A.M. until noon, and then you were free to do whatever

you wanted beyond that. Then they would take individuals out to dinner or whatever, if you wanted to go. You could take your husband, but your husband had to pay all his own costs. But those trips were frowned upon by the media and got a lot of publicity, so corporations cut it out completely.

There wasn't anything really wrong with that, to tell you the truth, because it is a good idea to have an ability to talk to people in all kinds of situations when you're not pressured with meetings every afternoon and every evening and so on. I didn't think there was anything particularly wrong with that. Now, maybe I was naïve and maybe I wasn't included in some of the things, but that was my reaction to it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Once you got into leadership, first in the House as minority whip, did all of a sudden a lot of the lobbyists begin to pay court or come around more often than they had before?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. Not a bit. You'd have to be a major player for that to happen.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about relationships once you're in the leadership? What about relationships with other members of the leadership? Even as minority whip, were you brought into more discussions once you were in that position?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure. Leadership meets.

**Ms. Boswell:** So everybody meets, whether they're the assistant floor leader or whip or whatever?

**Ms. Hayner:** That depends on the situation. They don't meet every day. You meet when it's necessary, and sometimes you invite those people who can tap others and sometimes you invite a larger number. It depends on the situation. There are no rules or particular process. I guess everybody does it by guess and tries to figure out how best to inform people or discuss it with them.

**Ms. Boswell:** For example, as assistant whip—and I think Bud Pardini was the whip at that time—do you strategize with him or does he do most of the planning?

**Ms. Hayner:** He does some of the major things and then if he doesn't have enough time or whatever to do it all himself, it's just like assistant for anything. You help and do whatever you can.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was it a time-consuming job, and is it something that was fun or stimulating, or was it just a chore that you felt you owed the caucus?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I think it was stimulating. It was fun, and you get to know people better, and the better you know people, the better you can interrelate on all the issues and how they think and how they work and where they live. There are a lot of issues.

**Ms. Boswell:** In 1975 and 1976, the Republicans were still definitely in the minority. Were you able to effect any other kinds of changes being in that position, or was it mostly just to keep the caucus together when you needed it to be? I guess I'm asking, did you feel like you could have more input on certain issues while still being in the minority? That's a really roundabout question.

**Ms. Hayner:** In the minority sometimes you have to work very hard to keep the majority from running over you and passing everything they want. It just depends on the situation, but you do have to be in a constant connection and constant discussions with all of your members.

**Ms. Boswell:** Looking back at those caucuses, especially when you were in the leadership, were there things that you learned from those meetings that you applied later when you were in the Senate? Or did the caucuses operate differently on each side?

**Ms. Hayner:** They very rarely get together. It's too bad, I think. I think there should be more, but you don't have time for it, often. That's the thing. Everything is on a schedule, and you just don't have time to get them together in the Senate and the House. I always thought that was one of the deficiencies, actually, but as hard as I would try, it was very difficult to do that.

**Ms. Boswell:** I guess being in the Legislature is an ongoing learning process, but I wonder, was it a training ground? Once you're in a leadership position, I would think it would be hard to go back to just being a regular member.

**Ms. Hayner:** You scarcely ever do. I mean people change places, but the leadership, if it's effective, doesn't usually change that much.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of some of the other people you worked with, there were a few others who joined the leadership ranks at the same time that you did in the House: Ken Eikenberry and Duane Berentson. Also, Kemper Freeman was the caucus coordinator.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I saw Kemper out at the country club here. He was here last weekend. He comes over hunting. I hadn't seen him for just years.

**Ms. Boswell:** He didn't stay very long in the Legislature.

**Ms. Hayner:** He didn't because his father died. You know, his father owned half of Bellevue, I think, including Bellevue Square and the big hotel across from it. That's theirs, too. So he had to quit, but he would have been a real leader because he had the soft-spoken attitude and everything that was just very good. He looks wonderful. He hasn't changed a bit. I hadn't seen him in a long time.

**Ms. Boswell:** Eikenberry and Berentson, both of them, were pretty active in the party later on, too. I guess what I'm getting at is that it seems to be a training ground for the future. People who are selected for leadership either stay in leadership, or they move on. It seems like it's a training ground for moving on, perhaps, into other kinds of offices.

**Ms. Hayner:** If they want to do that, but I would never be interested. It would be very tame compared with being in the Legislature, in my opinion. But Ken liked doing that, and he's good at it.

**Ms. Boswell:** But you really didn't envision someday personally moving on beyond the Legislature?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, but primarily because where I live is away from population. That was a very big issue. I would never move to the coast permanently because this is where we live and this is where my husband's business is. We have family. My son lives next door to us, and he has two children who are in college, so it's been a wonderful arrangement for us. I wouldn't move to the coast permanently. It was bad enough when I was gone most of the time.

**Ms. Boswell:** I wanted to ask you a couple things about what happened in the 1975-1976 session. The tax issue continued to come up with Evans still in office, and there was passed, I think, an income tax implementing

bill in which they left the sales tax on certain things and removed it from food and drugs. It was on candy and cigarettes and other things, and if voters approved, there would be a constitutional amendment to allow a graduated income tax. It did go to the voters, and, of course, it didn't make it.

**Ms. Hayner:** It never will.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was the fact that it ultimately did make it out of the Legislature, was that not exasperation so much as just saying, "Okay, we'll just get it out of here and see what happens"?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I think it was the same thing that they did with Initiative 51. There were a lot of people who wouldn't vote for it unless they sent it to the people because they didn't want it on their record that they would be in support of the tax, so that's precisely what happened.

I just don't think that, barring some kind of a disaster, a major disaster, the people will ever vote for an income tax. It's just the opposite in Oregon. They can't get a sales tax, and they'd be a hundred percent better off if they had a sales tax. There's too much unemployment now.

**Ms. Boswell:** One of the other big issues was school funding, and because of the economic problems in the state, there were levy failures everywhere. I think Seattle was particularly bad, but I think there were levy failures all over. Governor Evans had vetoed one bill and then the Senate refused to compromise and finally it just…

**Ms. Hayner:** Died.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes, just collapsed, which I guess was pretty unprecedented. The House was left to say, "Well, what are we going to do? We can't do anything." Was there a sense of futility?

**Ms. Hayner:** Frustration, I think. But it was not really an appropriate time to do it anyway, because when things are not going too well, you don't heap problems on it.

**Ms. Boswell:** It sounded like a lot of the opposition was Eastern Washington opposition to Seattle?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** How much did this sort of anti-Seattle attitude hurt?

**Ms. Hayner:** It's not anti-Seattle. Well, the big percentage of the money goes to Seattle, and the people over here are much more conservative. The two things together just were always at odds.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there a sense that now the urban areas dominate?

**Ms. Hayner:** I believe that what the Legislature has done now is essentially give the three counties in Western Washington the authority to pass things individually or together. They thought that would probably help to take care of some of the situations, which it may.

**Ms. Boswell:** That made some sense.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of school aid, how did you feel about that? You're in favor of school aid, but is it just the special levy issue or what? I'm not quite sure I understand the problems. Just that it was too much funding?

**Ms. Hayner:** The thing is, it's a question of how much should the state provide.

What is basic education? There's always that question. How much should the state provide, and then how much should the local community provide? Of course, Seattle has a special problem because it has so much more population. But it's not right to expect this side of the state to take care of all the other problems, either. So it's an ongoing thing, I think, and it will continue to be.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of geography and population, there's not much you can do about the diversity and the different perspectives and the different kinds of economic bases between the two sides of the state.

School funding continued to be an issue. But also there began to be some investigation of WPPSS, the Washington Public Power Supply System, at that time. It's not part of your district per se, but it's an issue that obviously is really important to your district. How did some of the investigation and revelations about the problems with WPPSS affect this area? Was it a surprise? What was your reaction?

**Ms. Hayner:** It depends on the individuals, but I think there was an element of surprise. It was kind of a mess. There was an investigation, and I was part of that, too. But what do you do about something that's already happened?

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there a sense of betrayal over here in Walla Walla? Hanford is obviously an important part of the economy, or at least was, of this area.

**Ms. Hayner:** Not so much this area because very few people from Walla Walla worked over there.

**Ms. Boswell:** But certainly in Pasco, which is part of your district.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did people feel about the whole issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** They thought it was another government mess-up, for the most part. They thought it was pretty bad.

**Ms. Boswell:** There wasn't much recrimination?

**Ms. Hayner:** Against legislators, no.

**Ms. Boswell:** In the 1976 session in the House, at least, the major thing that overshadowed all of the legislation was the Democratic struggle over the Speakership and the loss of support that Len Sawyer had. From the Republican perspective, how did the Republicans react or interact with that struggle against Sawyer?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not much. Individually, they might have, but it wasn't really our fight.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did the Republicans feel about him and about his leadership by that point?

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, about the way you'd feel about anyone who's not on your side. He was not rude to us, but a Speaker can also call upon those with whom he has the most rapport, and he did a lot of that. But I don't know that you can fault him exactly for that either.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think that some of the people who led the revolt—Bud Shinpoch, Helen Sommers, Charles Moon, Al Bauer, and a couple of others—accused him of old-style politics.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think there was.

**Ms. Boswell:** Back-room dealing?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you think there was too much of that "old boy" network?

**Ms. Hayner:** Probably. We weren't in on it, so I don't really know, but I think there was. Yes. Sure. Any one of those people would have run the situation totally different.

**Ms. Boswell:** Senator Augie Mardesich had been essentially ousted and obviously his other legal troubles had surfaced during that period of time. Did that help the Republicans at all, or was it more that you were just bystanders watching it all happen?

**Ms. Hayner:** It did help us from the standpoint that we looked kind of pure by comparison.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did it hold up? Didn't it affect business getting done in the Legislature?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I don't think so.

**Ms. Boswell:** Len Sawyer was replaced by John O'Brien. Was that a positive choice? Again, how did the Republicans view him?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think O'Brien was kind of neutral and could satisfy the interests of more people.

**Ms. Boswell:** Could people really get beyond partisanship? When there were these bitter political battles going on, did it affect personal relationships among legislators? Was there still some sort of camaraderie?

**Ms. Hayner:** You make good friends. I've got good friends who are really strong Democrats, and we kid each other and talk about politics and argue about it. Yes, I think that there is camaraderie in the Legislature.

**Ms. Boswell:** I recently saw a program on TVW, I believe, which was a repeat of a roundtable in which all of the ex-governors of the state participated. I think it was sponsored by the Washington Policy Center. They discussed a variety of issues, and they often disagreed, but I was really impressed to see that, despite their political differences, they were joking and people were responding and kidding. It was great.

**Ms. Hayner:** The Washington Policy Center now has quite a board. I was on it, and there were either two or three ex-governors on there, which was kind of interesting. Of course, Booth Gardner is not in good health at all. He never has been a real healthy man. Some of them didn't come with regularity, but it was interesting, and they're good friends, all of them.

**Ms. Boswell:** I would think it would be particularly interesting, with hindsight, to be able to look back and evaluate with them their relationship with the Legislature and what they were really thinking at that time.

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, there was quite a difference in the way that governors reacted to the Legislature. Some of them had nothing to do with the Legislature. If a bill came and they wanted to veto it, they vetoed it, and then sometimes they got in a conversation and sometimes not. For the most part, I would say, most of them have tried to set up some kind of a relationship with the Legislature through the leaders and to meet with them occasionally.

It happens on a special issue like gas tax, for example. Before I left the Legislature, a group of people got together—the leadership in the House and the Senate, Democrats and Republicans—with the governor and decided that a gas tax was the easiest way to get money and wouldn't really hurt people that much, but it never happened. Of course, they turned it down. They turn it down every time. If

they had not put it on the ballot, then it might not have been challenged. Half the people wouldn't have known it. You pay more for the gas, well, so what?

But for the truckers, it was a big issue to them and, of course, the Legislature is aware of that because you don't want all the truckers to go out of the state either. They could get to Canada by going through Idaho or something, and so there are a lot of things you have to think about.

**Ms. Boswell:** But the different governors really did have totally different ways of working or not working with the Legislature?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. It's always better if they work with them. I'm a firm believer in discussing things with somebody you disagree with, because you find places where you can agree and you cement the relationship.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was Dan Evans somebody who you could do that with?

**Ms. Hayner:** To a certain extent. Dan was his own man, and he felt very confident in what he could do and what he couldn't do. But he did get together with leaders.

**Ms. Boswell:** One of the things about Dan Evans that we haven't talked about was his veto and use of the veto on particular pieces of legislation. How did the legislators feel about that?

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, they didn't like it. If you work really hard on a bill and all the parts of it are intricate parts that fit together, and then if you take certain parts out of it, it's very frustrating. But that's the system.

And that didn't bother him. He wasn't unhappy about it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did he essentially talk to you and say, "If you do this, I'm going to veto this part of it"? Would you know ahead of time?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't remember whether he did very much of that or not, to tell you the truth. But I don't think so. He had plenty to do as governor, and I don't think he concentrated very much on that.

It depends on what the vote is on a bill, too. If it is very, very close, then that might give the governor encouragement to say, "Well, it didn't pass by very much, so it can't be something that is in great favor across the state." But if it's something that goes through without any trouble, you can understand that because he doesn't want a lot of animosity if they all want it.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you were running for the Senate in 1976, Evans had made his decision not to run again. From your perspective, why do you think he made that decision?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think he just got tired. It's a very difficult job. There are lots of demands on you all over the state for speeches and meetings and appearances. I think that his wife, Nancy, is not the kind of person who liked that very much. Some wives do, but she's not a real people-person. I don't mean to say she's not friendly and she's not cooperative, but I think that was a factor.

**Ms. Boswell:** His family situation was certainly one of the things that he mentioned, but I wondered if there were other things behind the scenes.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think he was just tired of it, and he'd done it for a number of years.

**Ms. Boswell:** Would he have won?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Would you have supported a fourth term or do you think he had reached his limit?

**Ms. Hayner:** It would depend on who the opposition was, but Evans was a good governor. He was liberal for our part of the state, but he was better than what we might have had. He has quite a personality. The strength of his character and so forth was very helpful to him.

**Ms. Boswell:** You mentioned that your husband was appointed to the Washington State University board, one of Evans' early appointments, so he essentially was on the board during this whole period of time. Did he have a different perspective on Evans or did it affect your perspective or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** It was really two different spheres of interest?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. And, of course, he was a very liberal man, but he was very intelligent. He had very good qualities of character. At that time it was essential.

**Ms. Boswell:** Some people will say he's the best governor we've ever had, and other people will say he was not.

**Ms. Hayner:** I wouldn't say that because I didn't believe in his variety of Republican policies, but I still admired the man for what he was and what he stood for.

## Chapter 7

## The Move to the Senate

**Ms. Boswell:** Let's talk about the transitions you had to make, first within the House and then between the House and the Senate. When you compare your first and second terms in the House, can you just tell me about the transition you make in your second term and the changes in your effectiveness and knowledge of what's going on and bill passage, too? Is it a quantum leap? How different is it from a first to a second term?

**Ms. Hayner:** There are a lot of factors involved. First of all, you've had a year to have some training, find out where the bathrooms are and everything else. But, in addition to that, it depends a lot on how many people come back. There's a much greater turnover in the House than there is in the Senate because of the difference in the length of the terms. Also, there's the fact that if you're elected to the Senate and you're there four years, you get all that opportunity to interface with your constituents. It is difficult to beat an incumbent. At least that applied to me. A lot of times I didn't have any opposition, or just token opposition, so it is different in that respect.

A lot of them do stay. It just depends. I think it depends when they go into the Senate and how long they stay. But normally it's a much more conservative group because a lot of them have moved from the House to the Senate, and they're more knowledgeable on the issues, what we've done in the past, and all of those things. They know how it really works. The unfortunate part, and I've mentioned this before, is that there isn't—or wasn't when I was there—a lot of conversation between the House and the Senate. There is some that goes on between the caucuses, the Republican caucuses, in both houses, but not as much as there should be. You just don't have time for a lot of that, but it would help if they had some more.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you have the sense that the turnover in the House is because people are dissatisfied? Do they want to move on to the Senate, or is it just the nature of the two-year term?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think it's all of those things. I think it's a very individual thing. Sometimes people really don't like it. They don't like being away from their family if they're from the Spokane area or farther. They say it's a part-time job, but it really isn't. You're called upon all the time. People don't know that it's not a part-time job. So all of those things are factors as to why people stay a long time or don't want to stay.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you really enjoy it?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I thoroughly enjoyed it. I enjoyed it because I had a background for it to start with, which makes it a lot easier, and the fact that I like people and I like to interface with them. I'm not a real stay-at-home person. I do what I have to do at home, but… (Laughs) And it was a logical thing for me to do. As I told you, I would have done something else if I hadn't run for the Legislature. But when my daughter left for college, it was a good fit for me.

**Ms. Boswell:** Also, one thing we didn't talk about before is that you did become the minority chair of the Judiciary Committee. Did that increase not only your presence or your power in the House, but also bring you into a situation where you might have wanted to continue in the House to get more things done? I'm interested in how you made the transition in deciding to go to the Senate. How did your life change in the House as you became involved in a leadership role?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think being in leadership roles helps, but the main thing is that the Senate is a four-year term. You have learned about the procedures, and you have a knowledge of the kinds of things that you need to do in order to get a bill through. Because the Senate is half as many people and more stable, you really get a lot done. I think that almost everybody who goes to the Legislature, if they can, moves up to the Senate.

**Ms. Boswell:** Had you considered that move from the very beginning?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. No, I hadn't because you don't really know how everything works until you get over there. But as soon as you understand it, then you know that you have twice as much power and twice as many opportunities, I might say, to be effective for your district and the state.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is there a sense now in the House that when you get in a leadership position, there's some unfinished business that you need to do?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think, yes, some people do and some people don't. Some people think, "Well, I can do that in the Senate as well as I can do it in the House." And if they have a particular bill they're pushing, they might be able to make an arrangement with somebody else to take it over or whatever. But I think that's a personal decision. Some people just go to the House and just stay there. They don't think about it. But I think for a lot of them, if their tenure is long, they've gone to the Senate. I haven't looked this over, but I'll bet you that's true because of the things I've mentioned.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was reading some of the campaign material in 1974 for your second term in the House, and your opponent essentially implied in it that you were already thinking about the Senate in 1974. Was that true or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** I doubt it. I doubt it. I think that's just a general concept, you know.

**Ms. Boswell:** When did the idea come to your mind that, "Okay, maybe I should run for the Senate"?

**Ms. Hayner:** In the first place, you have to get a situation where there's an opening because you don't want to run against an incumbent. You don't want to run against the incumbent because in the first place, it's a lot harder, and I think you just wait for the best opportunity. It's always expensive and the state doesn't pay you very much to do the job, and so you have to always raise money.

**Ms. Boswell:** So there are financial considerations, too?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. No doubt about it. A lot of people don't stay too long because they just figure it's a sacrifice for the family. They're gone a lot and if they aren't making nearly as much money, it's difficult. They don't pay them enough to take care of a family at all. For me it was fine because I didn't need to be paid, and at that time, as I told you, we were only paid for three trips a

session, the whole length of the session. But now I think they pay more than that. They have upped those things. It's hard for them to up the salaries, although we have a salary commission now. The salary commission takes into consideration how many hours you spend. There's such a difference between a freshman who comes in and just sits around and watches, and the leaders who are very busy. I did that when I was the majority leader. I got a thousand dollars. I mean total. One thousand dollars…

**Ms. Boswell:** For the whole session?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** It seemed that during those early years the Public Disclosure Commission got started, and then I think there were some pay raises that didn't come about or got pulled back.

**Ms. Hayner:** They've never done very much to change the salaries because it's a part-time Legislature mainly. If they were to go to full-time, which I don't think is necessary at all, I hope they don't do that for many years. As I've told you before, the more time you spend there, the more laws you pass, and you have enough bureaucracy as it is.

I don't know, but you should check how many state employees there are. How many were there when I went in, and how many are there now? It keeps increasing in spite of the fact that the Legislature hasn't changed an awful lot. They find reasons why they believe that they need more employees.

**Ms. Boswell:** You think about all the staff now. When I've talked to legislators who were there very early, say, in the 1940s, they had no staff, or one secretary for the whole caucus.

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right. In fact, early on I think they used to allow their wives or husbands to sit on the floor with them and act as their assistants. But that was long gone when I came into it.

**Ms. Boswell:** What really made you decide to go after the Senate seat in 1976? I guess Dan Jolly decided not to run.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it was open. Was it a sense of "now or never"?

**Ms. Hayner:** There was a certain element of that. However, I think that having been in the Legislature for a number of years, if someone else had taken his seat, I still would have had a crack at it, having had all the experience and the constituency that I had. It would have been more difficult. It creates a sort of animosity, too, either way—if you succeed or if you don't succeed. You see it happen once in awhile, but it's not common.

**Ms. Boswell:** Jolly had replaced Mike McCormack, is that correct?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. But, you see, the districts were totally different then.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's true, too.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. They redistrict every ten years and so it had changed dramatically.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was going to say that it seemed as though you might consider it a Democratic seat in a sense, since it had been in Democratic hands for a fairly long time.

**Ms. Hayner:** It was just because of the redistricting, really. When we got all of Walla Walla, Asotin County, and Columbia County in that district, that was a very Republican

district, or much more so. Now it's a different shape, too. It goes clear up to Clarkston. You see, the difficulty you have is that it's all based on population. Every district has to have, within a certain leeway, about the same number of people. As the west grows, you get bigger and bigger districts in the east, so it changes dramatically.

The last time I was involved with redistricting, which was some time ago, we had quite a session about how do you do this. When you start and make the district down by Vancouver bigger, then you have to make the next one bigger as you go farther east and so on. Do you go that way around, or do you go this way around? It's a very complicated business to redistrict. Then you have to take into consideration the minorities and how many of those there are. Redistricting is not easy.

**Ms. Boswell:** Your district in the Senate had begun to change, too, in terms of its political leanings?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about the role of the Republican Party itself? Did the party ask you to run? What's the relationship when you decide that you might want to do it?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think it's done in different ways in different places. I thought at least that I always received very good support, and I had a lot of communication with my constituents. I sent out letters and I always responded to my telephone calls and all of those things. Every time you do that you get another constituent who says, "Yes, I know her," and so it gets easier and easier, unless you're going against the grain of what the district thinks. I was, I think, right down the line as far as the opinions of my district were concerned. That doesn't mean that everybody was pleased by any matter or means, but even the Democrats, to a certain extent, didn't object because I was against taxation normally, unless we had to do it for some reason. I supported the things that they felt were important. The Democrats on the east side are different from the Democrats on the west side, too. The Democrats on the west side around Seattle are much more liberal, and they have the attitude that the world circulates around them.

**Ms. Boswell:** In both the House and the Senate during that time period, 1974 to 1976, there were some strong relationships. I don't know if you'd want to say as strong as the coalition, but essentially conservative Democrats and Republicans….

**Ms. Hayner:** You mean within their party, I'm sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** Well, yes.

**Ms. Hayner:** Even in any party, you have ultra-conservatives in the Republican Party, to whom nothing is quite right. Then you have the liberal Republicans, too, so there's always a difference in their concepts. It always surprises me that somebody who is a liberal may suddenly, on a certain issue, be very conservative, so there is a lot of crossover.

**Ms. Boswell:** I guess I was thinking, too, of Augie Mardesich in the Senate and some of the people of his ilk. They're Democrats, strong Democrats, but they have a fairly conservative bias. He certainly had some political leanings or dealings with Republicans later, like with Jim Matson and others, as you know when you were in the Senate. It seemed as though there was some kind of conservatism in the Democratic leadership at that time.

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. No question.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you made the decision that you wanted to run, could you just do it or did you have to get party sanction?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, I did not. Of course, I was always active in the Republican Party. I campaigned for people, and I did the things that they wanted me to do. I never held an office in this area, although I might have. But, no, I did not have to get anyone's permission. I just filed.

As far as money is concerned, we're not a big state that either party raises a tremendous amount of money. Both parties have organizations whose headquarters are in Issaquah or Seattle, and you get a certain amount of help from them, but it mostly comes from locals.

**Ms. Boswell:** What kind of preparation did you have or who did you consult to figure out if the Senate race was feasible for you in terms of fundraising?

**Ms. Hayner:** I talked to people. When you're over there, you have a lot of conversations back and forth, and people who I knew called me and said, "This is the time. You should do this. You'll have more authority. This is a good idea." Their theory is you will have twice as much authority as you do in the House. I had established a relatively good record and so had encouragement to do it.

The fact that is that you have twice as much power and it's a different body. You walk from one to the other and you know there's a difference. You just do. For one thing, in the House they vote by machine, and that goes quickly and you know what the results are. In the Senate they have never done that. They have never gone to that method, and I doubt if they ever will, because the general theory is that it slows things down and that's a good thing. So there's a difference.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you decided to make the run for the Senate, were the campaign strategies any different than they had been?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, not really. A lot of people don't know the difference. They don't even know that the Senate is a smaller body. I think they're better informed now that we have TVW, if they listen at all. Maybe this is not true on the coast, but a lot of people here who are bedridden or who are retired or who are political junkies, or for whatever reason, listen to TVW and watch the debates. It's kind of stimulating and it's interesting. They even cover meetings with the governor. They cover the Supreme Court when there's a case that's applicable or the issue is applicable to a number of people. So it's kind of diversified, and I think Denny Heck did a great job with that.

Denny and I have been good friends for a long time. He was in the Legislature for a short time, and we had always talked about the need for more publicity to the people, if you'd call it that. Maybe it is really knowledge for the people of whatever went on. Then he started making some investigations into what other states were doing, and he found at that time it was either six or seven states that did something similar to TVW. Now we have gone way beyond most of those states because we are a shining light as far as trying to inform the people of the state about what's going on now. Denny has had all kinds of calls from other states on how we do this, and he kept improving the system. I think that it's been very helpful to inform people about how complicated the whole situation of passing a law is.

**Ms. Boswell:** Now they even have a Web presence.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, and they are doing a lot in the education field. There are a lot of

videos that teachers can show in their rooms to their students at a certain age when they are applicable.

**Ms. Boswell:** What I wanted to ask you about, too, is how much in a Senate campaign does association with other leadership help you? You had one campaign ad that was really interesting to me. You had your picture posed with Betty Ford, and I wanted to ask you about it.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think that's usually very helpful if it's a person that people know. Even though you might not have been of their persuasion as far as politics is concerned, a famous person can help. I had the opportunity to be with a number of people like that at various times, and I always tried to use it because it is helpful.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me how did that particular picture come about? How did you meet Betty Ford?

**Ms. Hayner:** Actually, she was here to speak to a number of organizations, or maybe one or two, but this picture actually was taken at the YWCA, and they had her there. She wasn't really campaigning, but she campaigns by being there. So I met her and that picture was taken. You know, when you get ready to run, you look for something like that.

**Ms. Boswell:** This was one of the other campaign ads you ran. It lays out, I think, most of the issues that we've talked about. I think that the theme always seems to be: "I share your views." I think that was a certain hallmark of your campaign.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. That's true.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did the national context of the elections with the Ford campaign in 1976 affect your race?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. They're famous people. A lot of people are Democrats and a lot of people are Republicans, and so I think that it helps you more than it hurts you.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you were running for the Senate in 1976, there was also the phenomenon of the race of Dixy Lee Ray versus John Spellman. Tell me a little bit about that race. Did the governor's race enter into the political climate that you had to run in? Was that a help or a hindrance? Do you think that race affected your campaign at all?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, I don't. Dixy Lee Ray was a special phenomenon. You're right. She was a very brilliant woman, there's no question about it. But there was so much about the job she didn't like—being a hostess in the governor's mansion and that sort of thing. That's why she brought her sister in. I don't know whether you knew her sister, but her sister was charming, very pretty and charming with a lot of finesse. She was just the opposite from Dixy Lee Ray. And it's the way they were as far as people are concerned. Her sister was a wonderful, charming hostess, and that helped Dixy Lee Ray a lot, but it didn't help her appearance or… She didn't look like a governor and she didn't like doing the things that governors have to do. She did them, but she didn't like doing them. From a personal standpoint, although the Democrats tolerated her and got along with her all right, she wasn't like Dan Evans or any of her predecessors.

**Ms. Boswell:** From a lot of perspectives, whether she was a Democrat or Republican, she didn't seem to fit fully in either party's mold.

**Ms. Hayner:** However, strangely enough, in her last term she came over and campaigned for a lot of Republicans on the east side.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did she?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. She did.

**Ms. Boswell:** I wondered, because particularly with her background and her interest in nuclear power and that kind of thing, I would have thought that she would have been a more attractive candidate to the Republicans over here.

**Ms. Hayner:** She was. She came over and, as I say, she campaigned for several of them. As a governor, you don't have to go door-to-door or anything like that, but just being there and talking to the newspaper and so forth was a real help.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was she more popular among the people than amongst the politicians and legislators, in particular?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know. I think it depends who it was. People had the idea, though, that they'd like to be able to put their representatives, senators, or whatever, on a pedestal and that they should be better at everything than they are. Well, they're not. They're just like everybody else. People do like to try to put everybody on a pedestal, just like they do the Bushes, but these are closer to home.

I think I told you about Max Benitz. He went down to her office, and he came back and he said, "Jeannette, she doesn't even wear stockings."

**Ms. Boswell:** I didn't ever hear that story.

**Ms. Hayner:** And she didn't. She often wore skirts with no stockings. That just isn't the picture of a governor, or even a representative or a senator, for that matter.

**Ms. Boswell:** I didn't feel that I knew as much about Dixy as I should, so I was just reading the biography of her by Lou Guzzo.

**Ms. Hayner:** I liked the book that she wrote on the environment, too. If you haven't read it, you should.

**Ms. Boswell:** I haven't read it.

**Ms. Hayner:** She debunks a lot of stuff that we spent millions and billions on. She says these environmental problems are never going to happen. I believe her. I think she's right because I think the environmental thing has probably gone way overboard on a lot of the issues among some.

**Ms. Boswell:** Lou Guzzo essentially says that people did try to get Dixy to change her dress and whatever, but that he encouraged her not to, and said, "Your strength is being Aunt Maude next door and that I don't want you to change."

**Ms. Hayner:** She can be Aunt Maude, but I think it went too far.

**Ms. Boswell:** This is what he said. It was better that she come across like that and not change, in his mind, than to try to get her to fit in. She probably never would have, anyway.

**Ms. Hayner:** No. No. He sister was quite a seamstress and she eventually made a lot of her clothes, and she looked better. But if you'd go to some kind of convention— and I'm sure she did where there were just governors—she stood out like a sore thumb, you know. Maybe that's what she liked. I don't know.

And there was the fact that she'd never been married. People who have never been married have a different perspective, there's no doubt about it. There were other things like that.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was that the most important criteria that you would look for—
intelligence and mental acuity?

**Ms. Hayner:** And real interest in what happens to the state. It seems to me that you have to have that trait. One of the reasons I went to the Legislature is because I thought I was equipped to do it. I'd had the education to do it, and I thought I knew what was best for the state and what the people wanted for the state. Those could be two very different things, but it's important to consider them all, and also how you interface the west with the east.

I hope that during the years that I was over there, a lot of the people in the east became more aware of why we're different. Most of the people over here—not so much now, but certainly then—made their money on wheat and peas and farm crops. Now, of course, it has changed dramatically. I would say that was not nearly as important as the wine industry and the vineyards and all of that. I don't think anyplace else in the state has changed that dramatically.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes, I see. Your opponent in the race for the Senate was Gary Strohmaier.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I knew him very well.

**Ms. Boswell:** He was a farmer, and it was interesting that when Dan Jolly left the office, I guess, he, as a Democrat, supported Strohmaier. One of his rationales, at least in the campaign advertising, was that he was a true farmer, and "we needed a farmer over here."

**Ms. Hayner:** I think it's nice to have a farmer, but anybody who lives in this area understands that farming is a very important issue in this area and understands what goes on. My husband was born on a farm and lived all his life on a farm and knew he didn't want to stay on a farm. That wasn't his thing to do, but it is good to have a background. Having lived here all these years, and having lived in the city as I did in Portland, I thought I had a pretty good background and understanding of both agriculture and small business because my father had a small business right in downtown Portland. That was good background, I thought.

**Ms. Boswell:** In the Senate race, were there certain issues that you saw as being more important? You'd been in the Legislature. Was it more of an issue campaign?

**Ms. Hayner:** I'll tell you, when you campaign, it's my opinion that you answer questions that people ask you, but you don't run a totally issue-oriented campaign because you're always stepping on somebody's toes when you do that. When I appeared before the Chamber of Commerce, which you do many times, they always have a questioning period in which you answer truthfully exactly how you feel. What I tried to do was give them a summary of what had happened, and then to get a feel for what their opinions were on what we had actually done. To be out in front on issues—sometimes it's good, but sometimes it's very bad, too.

**Ms. Boswell:** In this case there were some that came up. Obviously, government spending is the Republican issue.

**Ms. Hayner:** And taxes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Education always figured high in your efforts, but in the House and in the Senate, you'd just come out of a really bitter fight over the budget and how to finance education. How do you balance putting education as your highest priority, but dealing with all these budgetary issues of how much money the state can afford?

**Ms. Hayner:** That's the way you answer the questions. Why didn't you put more money in K-12? Well, you look at all the needs in the state, and you try to balance those as best you can. Everybody's got a different idea about how much should go to K-12 and how much to other things. I differed with a lot of people—I shouldn't say a lot of people—but the Democrats for the most part wanted to put a lot more money into K-12 than they did into higher education. I do not agree with that thinking because I think that so many of the jobs now-a-days have to go to people who have more education—high tech jobs and so on.

It's very rare to find a Bill Gates who went one year to Harvard and then made billions. That's a very rare bird. He and a friend of his started going down to the first stores that carried anything having to do with high-tech when he was in high school, so he had a burning desire to get into something new like that. But he's a rare bird.

You try to figure out what the priorities are for you and your district and generally what it should be for the state. As I mentioned to you, I got a lot of flak here for helping to fund the convention center in Seattle, which has been a real money producer for the state. If you don't have a really nice convention center in the biggest city, you're not going to get a lot of conventions, and that's one of the things that brings in a lot of money. They have calculations on how much everybody spends when they come into a new city. Anyway, you have to balance all those things and be able to explain why you did it.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about, here, the issues of the penal system. In your campaign literature, it is phrased as criminal justice. I think part of that was serving on that Organized Crime Intelligence Advisory Board.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Also, I think certainly there is discussion amongst all the candidates about prison reform. You've got a prison here, what are you going to do?

**Ms. Hayner:** We have 1,800 prisoners.

**Ms. Boswell:** I didn't know there were so many.

**Ms. Hayner:** It's the biggest prison in the state, and we've built more. They used to have the women here, too, in a separate building, but on the same grounds, but that's long gone. But they have a minimum-security building, too, which is not behind the walls.

You know this used to happen. People would say, "Oh, I don't want to live in Walla Walla. It's got that huge prison right out of town." It is right out there, you know, very close to town. A few people once in a while break out of prison, but I haven't heard of one for years, actually. When they get out of prison, if they break out or something of that sort, they're long gone.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes. They don't want to stick around here.

**Ms. Hayner:** No, because they know that there will be a million state patrol officers and everybody looking for them. There was a time when a couple of them did get out and stayed here for two weeks, and then they were found.

**Ms. Boswell:** Generally, for your constituency, it seems as though your literature says that it's important to be tough on crime.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** But then on the other hand, education is a factor. Better education is going to mean fewer people who are going to commit the crimes.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about rehabilitating criminals? Was that an issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** I listened to more testimony on that topic than I can ever tell you about. The general concept of people who have worked in the field forever is that you don't rehabilitate very many. Now, is it worth spending all that money to try and get one out of whatever number who is rehabilitated? There is also a lot of difference between the kinds of crime it is.

Dutch had a client out there who was in prison because he beat his wife to the point of near death, because he came home unexpectedly and found her in bed with another man. Should he be in jail for life for that? I don't think so, because that is a man that you could probably rehabilitate. But if you pick up people who are burglars and endanger people's lives because if they run into somebody, they'll probably kill them, that's different. So I think you have to take those things into consideration.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did people there, generally speaking, take a fairly hard line on those kinds of issues?

**Ms. Hayner:** They're very hard line, I think, generally. But there has been a change because as I say, I can't even remember when somebody escaped out there. So a lot of people now have never been out there. They don't know what the grounds even look like or who the warden is.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it doesn't really play a huge role in community politics?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think it played a bigger role when we were smaller. The population was less here, but as it grows we get more business, and it is not as big a factor. There were a lot of guards who live in Walla Walla, and so you were very aware of it. There are still, but not as many.

**Ms. Boswell:** The population is that much bigger so that you don't necessarily notice it either?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, and they have built some new prisons. There's one not too far—off Highway 395 north. It's way out in the tules. And, of course, there's a theory about that. Do you put them way out there where they can't ever do anything, and you can't even try to rehabilitate, or do you put them in an area where you can give them something to do? There are issues surrounding every issue.

**Ms. Boswell:** Another issue that came up in your Senate campaign had to do with pension reform. Was that an issue locally for your constituency? Or is that more of a state employee issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** It is a state employee issue, but the Legislature has something to do with that. I can't remember now, to tell you the truth, how that issue came to the forefront, but obviously it did.

There is a concept that I'm sure you're aware of, and that is that people who work for the state are all lazy, and they sit around and don't do anything. That kind of talk brings this issue up—how much pension should they get when I don't get a pension? If I work for a little businessman, and he can't provide anything for me, is it fair?

**Ms. Boswell**: Your campaign ended up being very, very close with Gary Strohmaier as well in the actual election.

**Ms. Hayner:** Gary was very well known because he was a farmer and a young, attractive

man. I don't know how much younger, but I think he was probably ten years younger than I was. But he's never done anything since, or before, really. I think the Democrats must have talked him into it, and he did look like a good candidate.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know he was an aide to Mike McCormack, and I think he was maybe an aide to Tom Foley, too, for a while, but I don't know that he'd ever run for any office.

**Ms. Hayner:** And when you say aide, I don't think he was ever back—I don't think he ever went out of Walla Walla.

**Ms. Boswell:** How would you characterize the campaign? Was it civil?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. A woman had to be careful not to be too vigorously promoting something or unladylike, especially in those times. Maybe it's different now, although I don't think so. I think you still have to be a woman who is respected and not looked upon as being a woman who wants to be a man. I always felt that women could do anything. You could do just as well in the job, but you still have to be ladies. I always thought that was a real benefit to me.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there any issues that he brought up that were difficult to respond to?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I don't think so. I think his big thing was, "This is an agricultural community, and therefore I know more about agriculture even though your husband might have been born on a farm and knows a lot about it." It is a benefit in a law office in Walla Walla to know a lot about farming.

**Ms. Boswell:** Remember back and tell me about election night.

**Ms. Hayner:** I do remember.

**Ms. Boswell:** It wasn't decided. The election was very close and it ended up being decided by the absentee ballots. What do you do on an election night? I don't believe in your previous experiences that the elections had been so close.

**Ms. Hayner:** As a matter of fact, I was down for the election night that we had just recently. I went down to the office, and they have a place right on the corner, kitty-corner from the hotel, and there were probably twenty people there. But, of course, in a race like this one, which was very visible and different because there weren't a lot of women who did this sort of thing. "How dare them," some of them felt, and a lot of women are jealous, too. I found that was true. They would like to have been in that position, but they didn't want to do the work or put in the effort or whatever.

But, anyway, there were certain hard-core Republicans and Democrats who were always there, and they do their bit. When one of them retires because they get too old, somebody else comes along and takes over. The women in this community have always been the real workers. The men will get out and get the money, but as far as doing the footwork, you've got to turn to the women.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you have a lot of women working on your campaign? You said you had some who were against you, too.

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure, I did. Then there were some who were just great. My first campaign chairman when I ran for the Legislature in 1972, as a matter of fact, was a woman. She moved away from Walla Walla and was gone for a number of years. Now she's back. She was a little younger than I, but not a lot.

**Ms. Boswell:** For the Senate campaign, was

Mike Dunham the chair? I believe that his name was on the campaign literature.

**Ms. Hayner:** Dunham. Yes. He owns a big winery out at the airport now. He actually lived out at Lowden, and he has land out there and has wine and grapes out there. He was just a good friend. As a matter of fact, he had a five-year-old who went door-to-door for me. We often talk about that. He is a big, handsome kid now. His two children did, actually, and his daughter now lives in Alaska. They were about five and six, and they went door-to-door for me, too. Yes, he's a great guy and has done very well in the winery business.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is the campaign chair position a voluntary position?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes, at least here it is. Nobody gets paid, if that's what you mean. No. You just have to use your friends as best you can. But, of course, I had a lot of friends who thought I was out of my mind. Why was I wasting my time on this? I wasn't going to win. That never bothered me because when I was in law school, I was one of only a very few women.

**Ms. Boswell:** When it's that kind of a race is there an element of self-doubt? Do you think, "Oh, should I have done this after all?"

**Ms. Hayner:** I didn't ever feel that. I thought, "Well, if it doesn't work, I'll do something else."

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you have butterflies in your stomach? "What have I done?"

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I wanted to win, of course, or I wouldn't have run in the first place, but no, if that had not been successful I would have done something else. I would probably have opened a business.

**Ms. Boswell:** In the Senate race, as I said before, it ended up going into the absentee ballots and taking, I think, almost a week before the final decision was made. What do you do during that period of time?

**Ms. Hayner:** You just go on and do what you always do. I did, at least, because it wasn't a matter of life or death to me. I thought I could do the job, and I was interested in it, and so that's why I ran.

**Ms. Boswell:** Why do you think it was so close?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know. He was an attractive candidate. I don't really know how bright he was. I can't speak to that, but the family is very well-known in this community, and they were probably pioneers. When we came to his town, it was a very important issue whether you'd lived here all your life. Now, after the war that all changed because there were so many newcomers.

When we came to Walla Walla, which was in 1947, most of our friends came at the same time. The doctors and the lawyers and the professional people, they came to Walla Walla for some reason. Some had been stationed at our air base, some had been asked by a clinic to come, or whatever. I told you how we got to Walla Walla and that's happenstance in a way. I'm one who has a lot of faith, and I believe that it was planned for us.

**Ms. Boswell:** By this time, though, you'd been in the community for almost thirty years.

**Ms. Hayner:** A long time. Yes. My children had gone all through the schools. My children were all smart and did well, didn't steal any money or weren't in any accidents, never received a traffic citation and received all "A's"

in school. In fact, they were all outstanding kids and went on to do important things. That helps you. All those things help you because there are people who are looking for reasons why they shouldn't vote for you.

**Ms. Boswell:** The campaign itself really wasn't any different? I'm surprised. I guess I had pictured it being more intense for the Senate than for the House, but you really didn't find that to be the case?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, because I had been in for four years and that's quite a while. I had worked hard and did all the things I should do to communicate with people and keep them informed of what was going on in the Legislature.

**Ms. Boswell:** When it is a close race, is there any inclination to look back at the campaign and say, "I should have campaigned harder" or "I should have done more"?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think you always sit down with your campaign committee and say, "What could we have done better? What did we do wrong? Should we have spent more money?" Yes, you do look back in that sense, just as you would in any business. If you make half-a-million dollars one year and the second year you make two hundred and fifty thousand, you want to know why.

**Ms. Boswell:** It was a long time ago, but in that campaign is there anything that sticks out that you changed in future campaigns?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think so. As I said before, as you go along, if you haven't done something bad, you keep picking up people because you're well-known or better known.

**Ms. Boswell:** We talked a lot earlier about acclimating to the House and that it takes time. Coming from the House to the Senate, is there still a period of acclimation?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not as much. I tried to interface as much as was reasonable with the Senate on issues and on knowing the people. I think one of the difficulties is that you go across that rotunda and people just don't do it very often. You should know the people in both houses, even though you may serve only in one, because that's the way you get your bills through and that's the way you find out information about what's wrong with what you're doing. Always learning.

## CHAPTER 8

## THE LEADERSHIP COUP

**Ms. Boswell:** When you went to the Senate, you had a base of people you already knew?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. And I'll tell you one thing, too, before I forget it, is that the reason that I got to be a leader as soon as I did was that Jim Matson, although he's a very bright guy, was basically not real energetic. He was not a real hard worker, and he tended to lead by cooperating with the Democrats, and the Republicans never liked that. That was one of his downfalls. Then, he had been the leader for quite a long time, and so you get entrenched and do favors for people.

There were about eleven or twelve of us who met in a clandestine manner, usually off the campus, but not always. Usually we tried to be very careful because we didn't want anyone to know we were doing this, and during that time we decided that we were going to overthrow him. It had to be done in a caucus, and it had to be done toward the end of the session so we did not disrupt the session too much. It can be a very disruptive thing when you have to change all the leadership. That particular year was one of the years when the governor had called us into session for a special session. You never knew when it would be because when you're through with your work, you can adjourn—the Legislature can adjourn and quit. So we didn't know when it was going to happen, and we just had a terrible time. We picked a date that we thought was going to be at the end. Well, it really wasn't. It was about a week from the end, which made it a little difficult at that particular time. We were having a caucus, and we had it all planned who was going to get up and make the motion, because you don't pick someone who is a troublemaker. You have to be very careful because the chairman might not recognize you, so we got Kent Pullen to do it.

Kent came into the Legislature with me, and I knew him very well. He was an ultra-conservative. He was very bright, probably the brightest person in the Legislature. I'm really curious. I'll bet he's worth a ton of money now. The reason I say that is, even then, he was always investing in the market, and he knew exactly what it was doing. I don't know what has happened to him. He had two children, and he was a very different kind of a guy, a very private sort of guy. He sat and I sat in the back row and here also sat Alan Bluechel, who was from Seattle, and very liberal. So we had the whole gamut in the back row. It was kind of interesting because we all came in at the same time. We didn't know much about the intricacies of the system, so every bill that came up, we got together and discussed it and knew all about what it was going to do. Then, we didn't always vote together, but at least we were informed.

**Ms. Boswell:** Then they both went on to the Senate, too, didn't they?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did the clandestine group get started? Was there one individual who said, "I'm not happy with this, let's start meeting"?

**Ms. Hayner:** There were a number of them who were unhappy with Jim Matson. So somehow we just came together. I don't know. You talk in your office privately, and I have to say there were three, actually—Bob Lewis and George Scott and there was one other. It wasn't Max Benitz, but it was somebody like Max who was well-liked, extremely well-liked. They came into my office one day and said, "Are you happy with what's going on?" I said, "Well, I haven't been there that long to really make a judgment." I wasn't sure what they were talking about. So I listened and listened and they said, "We're trying to put together a number of people who want to make a change." It turned out there were about eleven or twelve as I say, and then we met for a whole year.

**Ms. Boswell:** From what I've read, it started, really, in your first year in 1977. People started saying…

**Ms. Hayner:** And all three of those people were the ones who wanted to be the leader, but nobody could get the votes but me. The more we met the more we discovered… And I don't know why, don't ask me that, because I just don't know. In fact, I wasn't pursuing it, but they decided that I was the best candidate to be the leader.

And then they brought it up in caucus, and Kent Pullen introduced it and it was done. And I'm sure that Jim Matson was absolutely bowled over because I don't think he knew a thing.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there any attempt to approach him prior to that and say, "You need to change"?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, because people don't change that much. They just don't. And that would have been the tip-off. We would never have gotten it done.

**Ms. Boswell:** To you, what was the main issue or problem with Matson's control?

**Ms. Hayner:** As I've said, he was not a hard worker. He was bright, no question about that, but his way was just to stay in the minority and get along with the Democrats. And we weren't willing to do that. All of the people who were in that group were ambitious people, and they wanted to get in the majority and change things.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you see the 1980 elections, in particular, as being a possible time for the Republicans to get some more seats?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. We did, and that's what we worked for. We worked really hard in all of the districts that we had to turn over. I went all over the state to various places to go doorbelling—places I'd never been, like Gig Harbor—all over. It was possible, but, you see, Jim's attitude was "It's not possible so you just cooperate with them." But that wasn't our idea.

**Ms. Boswell:** But his cooperation—we talked about this a little bit earlier—but to a degree was with, for example, Augie Mardesich who was a fairly conservative Democrat.

**Ms. Hayner:** But he was still a Democrat—and a strong Democrat. He might have been fairly conservative, but he was strong in the Legislature.

**Ms. Boswell:** Had there ever been any discussions prior to that of just doing some kind of a coalition?

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** You just didn't want to have anything to do with the Democrats? And you really wanted to build Republican strength?

**Ms. Hayner:** Coalitions with people of different parties are very tenuous because all you have to do is have one or two fall off and you're dead in the water. And then in the meantime, you've made some hard feelings. So we figured that the only way to do it was to keep it very secret and have it well planned and know who we were going to elect. That's why in this group that got together, we had elections to see who could make it. I wasn't even on the list because I didn't aspire to it. I hadn't been there long enough. But, as it turned out, that's the way it was.

**Ms. Boswell:** Would you characterize this group—I don't know whether I'd call them a breakaway group because you ended up being the majority group—but were they more conservative?

**Ms. Hayner:** They were all kinds, actually. It was more of a personality thing, I think. How you operate with other people. I think that was more what it was emphasizing.

**Ms. Boswell:** Who else was involved? It was Kent Pullen and…?

**Ms. Hayner:** There were eleven or twelve of them and I'm not going to name them all because I don't think that should be publicized because it was very secretive, you see, and I don't know that anybody's talked about it. I've never read it if they have.

**Ms. Boswell:** Certainly when it happened there were plenty of articles in the paper about, at least, the leadership change. There was one that I read that suggested that George Scott was a primary instigator. Is that fair?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, that's fair. But I remember, and I have to tell you this too, when we came out of that meeting—and I don't know how—but some of the lobbyists knew that's what we were doing in that meeting, that caucus. It was the Republican caucus.

I walked out of the meeting and walked to my office and behind me were a couple of lobbyists, very important lobbyists, who were very supportive of the Republicans. And they said, "Jeannette, you can't do this. This is not for the welfare of the state or anything else." And I turned around and I said to them, "You do a heck of a job as lobbyists and I have a great deal of admiration for you, but don't ever get into telling a caucus what to do." I said, "We're not going to do that, and you can bank on it." They never came back again and asked about it.

And we never did do it because my experience was looking at reorganizations, and some governors tried to do that. Nothing changed. You've got all the same employees, and you have to re-educate them as to whose bailiwick they're in, and it doesn't do any good, so why do it? You have the same duties to do and somebody's got to do them, and it makes a lot of commotion, I think, and difficulty, but I'm not sure it accomplishes a thing. And I don't think they've ever done it. As far as I know, I've never read that they've done it because people realize that whether you're under one head or another head or something else, they all have to get together some way.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you think in looking back at the whole revolt in the caucus that, to a degree, the whips did not do their jobs?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh no, no, no. The whip has nothing to do with that. The whip just has to do with bills that are on the floor. That's all. The leadership has to deal with whether we support a bill and how we do it and so forth.

**Ms. Boswell:** But it seems as though it is the job of the whip is to read the pulse of the different members.

**Ms. Hayner:** But only on the bills.

**Ms. Boswell:** Not just generally in the caucus?

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** How would somebody like Matson who had been in power allow that to happen?

**Ms. Hayner:** He quit right after. He didn't run again.

**Ms. Boswell:** How would he have let the situation get to a point where you have a revolt?

**Ms. Hayner:** Because I don't think he realized it. I don't think he realized it. The bills were coming out and we were in the minority. They passed and everything was going along, but it was because he was just cooperating with the Democrats. The Republicans didn't think that's the way it should operate. They thought they could get into the majority. And he didn't really care whether they—I shouldn't say that—I'm putting words in his mouth. I think the general concept was that he didn't really care whether we were in the majority because you get along.

**Ms. Boswell:** Along with him, Charles Newschwander, who was the caucus chair, he was also essentially pushed out.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did he have the same problem?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. It was really that they were going after Jim. And I liked Jim. He was a nice guy, but you do what you think you have to do, and what you think is the right thing to do.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know there was some talk in the papers that Newschwander was on the verge of leaving anyway because I think he was going to be on the Board of Tax Appeals or something like that. Was there a sense that it could have been solved if they had both left, or did you just feel like it had to be done?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think we looked ahead to what they might do or what they were thinking about doing, or what they might be appointed to. It was what is in front of you that you had to deal with.

**Ms. Boswell:** There was some criticism in the papers: "Why not wait until the end of the session?"

**Ms. Hayner:** We did. We tried to.

**Ms. Boswell:** You really wanted to, but…

**Ms. Hayner:** We tried to do it the last day, but when you're not in the majority, you don't know what the majority is going to do, so we didn't know how long the session was going to go. We got as close to the end as we could, but it didn't work that way.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about the concept that once you were in power, how were you going to organize the leadership? You throw Matson out…

**Ms. Hayner:** We already had that all decided.

**Ms. Boswell:** You had it all discussed? It ended up essentially, didn't it, being sort of a—I don't want to say a triumvirate—three-person leadership group?

**Ms. Hayner:** That's what they talked about in the newspaper—and I had no problem with that—but it never worked that way because the

idea was that one person would do campaigns, and one would preside at meetings, and one would do something else. And it just didn't work that way. That was the idea when it was done, but it never worked that way because you have to have a leader. Someplace the buck has to stop.

It's just like the federal government. You can't have three people at the head, ostensibly doing different jobs, but still involved. You've got to have one person making the final tough decisions.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were you prepared from the beginning that, ultimately, you were going to have to be the one who made those tough decisions?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think we realized that because if you're, for example, in charge of campaigns and all that sort of thing, you're not going to be dealing with the day-to-day things.

Bob Lewis, of course, lived on the east side, and the strategy of some of that is difficult, too, when you're not in session. Lots of things go on when you're not in session because the committees continue to operate, and you try to get legislation that looks like it's going to come up into position so that you don't have to spend months doing that when you get into session. So, yes, I think we realized pretty soon that it just wasn't going to work that way.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about George Scott's role? What was his role to be?

**Ms. Hayner:** George Scott was my assistant, but that was not his title. It's like everything else. Every kind of an organization you belong to you can have titles, but what an individual does with that title might be different from time to time.

**Ms. Boswell:** When all this was happening, what were your personal goals?

**Ms. Hayner:** I didn't really anticipate being the leader at that time. As the thing evolved, it appeared that I was the only one who could get the votes, as I said, in the group that was going to overthrow, you might say. So I was cast into that role, which I was happy to do, but I really didn't seek it. Maybe that's why I got it, I don't know. It obviously had an effect.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was going to ask you—and I know it's hard for someone to talk about themselves in that way—why you thought that you could get the votes and they couldn't?

**Ms. Hayner:** Because, we, in our meetings, decided. We'd talked about this.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes. But I mean, what were the qualities that people wanted to vote for?

**Ms. Hayner:** I can't answer that, really.

**Ms. Boswell:** I realize it's a difficult question.

**Ms. Hayner:** George Scott is a wonderful person and we are close friends. I certainly was perfectly willing to vote for him, but in that group he couldn't get the votes, and that's it. You need to talk to those people. Even though he was the promoter of it, as was Bob Lewis—I don't think they thought of me either at the time—but the more we met and discussed, the more obvious it became that I was the one who could get the votes.

**Ms. Boswell:** You could get the votes. Was there any discussion of the issue that there hadn't been a woman minority leader?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there a discussion of whether a woman could be successful in this position?

**Ms. Hayner:** There was some, but it wasn't a big issue because I think that all of us had been around enough so that everybody kind of knew what our style was and our personality and what you needed to know to make a decision.

**Ms. Boswell:** You were voted on first in the small group from the caucus?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. And then when we took it to the whole caucus. We had enough people so that when all those people voted together, we prevailed.

**Ms. Boswell:** You mentioned that Matson didn't really seem to have any clue that this was happening.

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I don't think he did. I'm not sure about that, but I don't think he did because it was very secretive. For that many people to meet together for a year without anything getting out is remarkable. We were very careful.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were you all bound? Did you say, "Nobody discusses this"?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. No. We discussed the fact that if it got out, we were dead in the water, and so everybody realized the significance of the change. No, we didn't ever go to that extent.

**Ms. Boswell:** What was the reaction of the rest of the caucus when this happened?

**Ms. Hayner:** Amazed, because I can remember this caucus. Jim Matson was so calm. He'd never presided at a caucus, you see. He always stood up by the files with his elbow on the files, tall files. And he'd walk around the caucus. I remember I looked at him, and I think he was absolutely, totally swept off his feet because we thought that was absolutely essential. Everybody who was in that group felt that way, too. We had worked out all the problems and knew exactly who was going to be the caucus chair and who was going to be the treasurer and who was going to do all of the positions. That was it. It was a very short meeting! (Chuckles)

**Ms. Boswell:** So Senator Newschwander is running the caucus, then? Reconstruct this; it's fascinating. What happens? He calls on Kent Pullen?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Kent Pullen said, "I'd like to make a motion," because he was an unlikely person to make any trouble toward the end of the session. And so Newschwander called on him and he made his motion. I think you could have heard a pin drop in the room, and we voted and that was the end. Everybody got up and left.

And, as I said, two minutes later the lobbyists knew it outside and they were following me. I just said, "You tend to your business. You don't interfere with caucus business." And that was the end of that.

**Ms. Boswell:** In the caucus, people didn't speak up and say, "Hey, wait a minute, what's going on here?"

**Ms. Hayner:** No. No, I don't remember that they did at all. I think they were just so blown over by it because it was over half of the people, obviously, by one, who wanted to do this. What were they going to say?

**Ms. Boswell:** But they couldn't stop the vote? Once you make a motion in the caucus you couldn't stop the vote in any way? It just went right ahead?

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, there wouldn't have been any point in trying that. That would have

gotten to the press and it would have been a mess. This way, it was real smooth. They didn't know why, but they knew that it had been done and that's about all you could put in the newspaper.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you ever talk to Matson later about it or did he ever bring it up?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not really. He was not one to be real outgoing about how he felt or anything. Of course, I had moved from the House, and he was in the Senate when I went over there, but it was real early in the year when I was over there that they began saying, "We need a change here." Matson never worked hard on being in the majority, and we worked very hard to get into the majority, and we did. That's it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there some soul-searching for you once you got a sense that you were the one who was going to end up being the minority leader at that time? Did you have to talk to your husband? How did you come to the decision?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. My husband is very, very lenient with me. Anything I want to do, I do, and anything he wants to do, he does. So we have always had a wonderful relationship and that was no problem. I just called him up and I said, "I'm the new leader."

**Ms. Boswell:** What was his reaction?

**Ms. Hayner:** He was pleased.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it wasn't a question that you had to think about? "Do I really want to do this or not?"

**Ms. Hayner:** No. It isn't like we did it one day. We'd been planning it, so I knew it was going to happen. I was pleased that they thought I could do it and that we could get along because personalities in the Legislature are all very strong personalities, most of them. They don't stay if they're not because they're probably not very effective. There are all kinds. They're just interesting.

Max Benitz was always one of my favorites because Max was a character. He had an office over in the Insurance Building at that time. They don't use that any more, but he had a huge tree in there. I mean it was huge. I don't know what kind of a tree—I think it was a banana tree. It was big and it took one whole corner of his room, and it wasn't a huge room. I'd go in there to talk to him about something, and he'd be lying under the tree because every day he took a little nap. Five minutes and he felt fine. But he was one of those people who I could say to him, "Max, I need some help." "What do you need? I'll do it." I didn't ask him unreasonable things, but he was always willing to help me. That's a wonderful thing to have people whom you can turn to and who don't say, "Why are you doing this or who's involved and who knows?" He'd just say, "Sure. What do you want me to do?"

**Ms. Boswell:** That's great.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. It was. And there were others, but usually they wanted more information than that. Max would just say, "I know if you want it, it's right." It probably wasn't always, but… (Chuckles)

**Ms. Boswell:** Were the other women in the caucus supporters?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. They were. Not all of them were so excited about it, but there weren't that many.

**Ms. Boswell:** I'm just trying to think when the coup took place and you became the minority leader, it was also quite a coup for you. This

was your first session and all of a sudden you're the leader. In fact, this particular newspaper article says you were the new star in the Senate. In some of the papers it is characterized as a shift to the right.

**Ms. Hayner:** You see, I've never been extremely right at all. I'm what you would term middle of the road. (Reading from the article) "It was Matson's flexibility and pragmatism…." I wouldn't call it flexibility, but that's interesting.

**Ms. Boswell:** It is fascinating to read some of these things after the fact.

**Ms. Hayner:** George Scott is an interesting guy, and a very bright guy. He and his brother lived next door to their mother for a while, and his mother got cancer and the two of them took care of her until she died. He was just very compassionate. He's a fine person, but he also could evaluate people well.

I don't know how that change came about so soon. I can't explain that, really, except I think they were really ready for a change. They looked around and tried to find who could get the votes to do it.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you're doing something like that with so many different people involved, it's just a question of very small traits sometimes.

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. Sure, absolutely. To one person something might be important; to another person it's entirely different. I can't explain it really.

**Ms. Boswell:** And they thought you, essentially, could bridge all the different viewpoints within the caucus?

**Ms. Hayner:** Right. Exactly. I think because of my background, too, because I am a lawyer and because I had business experience and so on. They thought that was a real advantage. And I always got along with the lobbyists. I used them often because they were experts in their fields. I found the lobbyists to be very, very honest about their evaluations of things because if they ever lied to you, you'd never listen to them.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's a really good point. They would have to build trust, or else they were going to be totally ineffective.

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right. They're effective, but they need to tell you the ups and downs of it—not just why they want to have a certain piece of legislation, but why it's beneficial to the state. That's another thing that I emphasized. You can't go to the Legislature from Walla Walla and be very provincial about it. You can't think that if it is something that Walla Walla wants, therefore we should have it. That doesn't mean that I didn't think there were things we deserved, but your first duty is to the entire state, and then to your district. I think that's important.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you find that when you moved into leadership, that became even more important? That you take that broader perspective?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Absolutely. And you're sort of a mother confessor to all these people because we had terrible things happen during the times. Personal things happened, like a child would be sick or lost—all kinds of weird things. You had to be on your toes because you have to take care of all those things. You couldn't always let people go because so often we had even votes or close votes, and they had been elected to represent the people and…

**Ms. Boswell:** And you need them for the votes.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there hard feelings? When you became minority leader, were there hard feelings over what had happened? Was there some mending of fences, so to speak, within the caucus or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know. If there was, I wasn't aware of it. I just went about my business. You can't spend your time worrying about something about which you can do nothing. I thought in time that situation would take care of itself, and if it did exist, it did take care of itself.

**Ms. Boswell:** So there weren't any people who stood out as enemies as opposed to allies?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. No. I would say not. There were some who were more dependable than others, maybe, because of their preferences. But no, I don't remember anyone.

**Ms. Boswell:** Once the leadership post was secured, did you have an agenda that you'd developed?

**Ms. Hayner:** A personal agenda? No. What I tried to do is to get the staff to work with us, and every fall we'd have a retreat. To the retreat we invited lobbyists to talk about special issues that they thought we should take care of, problems in the state, or how things should be changed, and so forth. They were excluded from the meetings then. They had their say. We had other people, business people and so on, come in and tell us what were problems in the state. Then we had a meeting among ourselves to discuss where we were going and how we should do it and where these bills should originate—the details.

That was very helpful because when you have short sessions, you've got to be organized or else you don't get anything done in a couple of months. So we'd come into the session with bills already drafted and so on. That helps because you've got to have committee meetings. Then we went around the state in between and had committee meetings. When there was a special issue in agriculture, we'd meet over here or in Spokane or some agricultural area.

Those were always kind of innovative ideas that had not been done by the Democrats. But they'd been in the majority for a long time, and you get complacent, you know.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you have some kind of personal leadership model as you evolved?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. But you have to remember from the time I was in elementary school, I was always elected to something. Even that is some kind of training in getting along with people. That's a very important issue—getting along with people and not doing anything rash and being a worthy person or something. I don't mean to imply that I'm anything special, but it's just that you build a reputation over the years.

And having been on the school board here, in very, very difficult situations was important. It was very difficult because we were in litigation for three years because they were trying to stop us from making a decision on where the school should be located and whether we should have one high school or two. It was finally decided by the court that we could do those things, but there were lots of objections…that's why it went to court. You learn a lot. In seven years that was a very difficult thing. We employed an architect from Spokane, and I had a lot to do with that because I argued that we had some architects in Walla Walla, but they were not school architects. I thought it should be someone who built schools and had experience in that area.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you could really draw from those experiences on the school board in terms of your leadership in the Legislature?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Yes. Absolutely, there's a similarity. Then I've been on boards. I was on a board in Portland—I was one of the first women to ever be on a major industrial board in the Northwest. I went on that board, and I was on it for seventeen years. I went on there just a couple of years after I was in the Legislature, but the president was a man who had been the president of Whitman College and then he became the president of Standard Insurance in Portland. He called me up and said, "Would you be on our board?" So that was a wonderful experience, too.

I met all kinds of people because the board had one person from Texas and one from Eastern Washington—actually the president of Pendleton Woolen Mills—and a variety of people. Then my husband was on the US West board for many years and I knew people through him, so we had those advantages.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there any former caucus leaders or minority or majority leaders that you'd served with that you also thought had good leadership characteristics?

**Ms. Hayner:** Jim Matson was the only one who had been there when I was.

**Ms. Boswell:** In the Senate, yes. I just thought maybe in the House.

**Ms. Hayner:** I was there four years, but actually I was in a learning mode. Some of them were good. There were people like Ken Eikenberry, for example, who was outstanding. There were a lot of them, and you listened and learned.

**Ms. Boswell:** When all this happened in your caucus, was there—aside from Jim Matson, himself, and Newschwander—divisiveness between you and the others who weren't in the majority now?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. There wasn't. If there was, I wasn't aware of it. I was too busy trying to get myself organized. There might have been some. I just don't know about that.

**Ms. Boswell:** I wondered if there was a strategy to try to unite the caucus. Of course, you were still within a week of the end of the session, but was there a strategy to bring the caucus back together and then move forward from there?

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, yes, we tried as best we could, but in those days that are so hectic when you're on the floor all day long and tired at night, there wasn't a lot of time for that, at least that I can remember. It happened at a time and under circumstances that were not conducive to a lot of strategizing.

**Ms. Boswell:** Here you are. You've still got, I guess, what you would call the busiest part of the session, that last week, and all of a sudden you go from being simply a member to the top leadership position.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. But remember, we weren't in the majority. Remember that.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's true, too.

**Ms. Hayner:** The Democrats were running the show.

**Ms. Boswell:** But, still, all of a sudden, you're now the minority leader.

**Ms. Hayner:** The Democrats had to shift gears, too. There's no question about that because they kind of had to cooperate with a different group of people, so it wasn't easy for them either.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did it affect the legislation at the end of the session?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think it affected the legislation because the same people are promoting what they were promoting, if they get on the floor. There was not a lot that changed, really, because they were still in the majority, and when you're in the majority you control the Rules Committee, so you know what's coming out of Rules. If it doesn't come out of Rules, it doesn't go on the floor. Then you also make the listing and priorities of the bills and all of that, so as far as that was concerned, I don't think it was a big issue.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did they cooperate with you at all in terms of bringing out the bills?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know about that. They may have held up some. I don't think so, though. I don't remember that. Why would that be true unless it was a bill that was promoted by somebody? I don't know. I just can't answer that.

**Ms. Boswell:** I do know that in the next session the newspapers reported—and maybe you can speak to this—that the new Senate Republican leadership got "its first jolt yesterday in terms of the committee assignments." The choice committees were evidently not given to you—to the new Republican leadership.

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, that's possible. But who cares? They were interim committees. They were not the permanent committees.

**Ms. Boswell:** Right. I guess that response was particularly interesting to me.

**Ms. Hayner:** Jim Matson did cooperate a lot with the Democrats. That was his downfall, really. This article says that he was given three interim committee assignments. They were also trying to stir up trouble, the Democrats.

**Ms. Boswell:** Sure. It would make sense if part of the reason that he was dumped by his own caucus was his closeness to the Democrats, and here's the Democratic payback to those people who didn't like that close relationship.

**Ms. Hayner:** The article says: "The appointments appeared to mirror the resentment of Senate Democrats to the ousting of Matson and Newschwander, former caucus chair," and so on. "The nine Republicans who voted against Matson received a total of nineteen committee positions." Well, you know. That's minor. It doesn't seem to me that I paid any attention to that. I expected it. They were just stirring up trouble, and they did like Jim because he went along with them. They didn't have that same rapport with me. We went along with them when we wanted to, but we didn't just say, "Go ahead."

**Ms. Boswell:** When you were in the House, there had been an overthrow of Leonard Sawyer by the Democrats in the House just prior to that. Was that a learning experience for you?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I don't think we'd even thought of it at that point. That was a totally different thing.

**Ms. Boswell:** Totally different? I just wondered, because that one was a lot more drawn out and public.

**Ms. Hayner:** It's a very different organization, the House as opposed to the Senate. In the House, the Speaker is always the top person in the majority party. That's not true in the Senate. In the Senate, it's the Lieutenant Governor, who could be either party, so it's an entirely different kind of organization.

**Ms. Boswell:** And so the caucus struggle is a much more internal struggle?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. It's all internal. Yes. And as I said, we met—those people who intended to overthrow it—met for a whole year, secretly, so we knew exactly what we were going to do and when it was going to happen—the whole thing. We didn't want to disrupt the session and throw it into a special session or anything like that because we'd had enough of that as far as special sessions were concerned. As I say, we tried to do it as close to the end as we could because that would give people time to get over the shock—and the newspapers and everything else, too—and realize that it was done.

**Ms. Boswell:** After that, what was your first order of business? Was it election of Republicans or was it just organizing the caucus?

**Ms. Hayner:** We were already organized, essentially. All during the interim period until the next session, we were working on getting the majority. That takes a lot of work because in some districts they weren't very well organized, and we had to help them get organized.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did you go about doing that?

**Ms. Hayner:** We worked through the local organization, usually—the Republican organization. It depended on the county, of course, to have pretty good Republican organizations, at least at the top. They may not do much, but they still have people who care and will work with you. It's a challenge, though, because Washington is a pretty good-sized state.

**Ms. Boswell:** How much of that did you have to do personally? Do you have a committee or what?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. We were all organized to do it. Some people had the time and the desire to be more active than others, and you just work it out as best you can. Some would go across the state and go doorbelling and do all kinds of things, and some would not. We just did the best we could to organize them for our goal.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did the state Republican organization respond to this change in leadership?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't remember that they had too much to say. I don't know whether we even notified them or not. I don't remember that. I'm sure, money-wise, they helped us a good deal on the new elections and so on, because that's really their role. Occasionally, they'd come down with a list of things that they thought Republicans should be considering, and we considered that, but they didn't have a large role in it.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you're trying to build your Republican majority, or go from a minority to a majority at various local levels, do you seek out candidates? It's more than just supporting those people who decide to run, right?

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely. You not only seek out, but you choose, if you can, excellent candidates because that's number one. If you don't have an excellent candidate, forget the issues, because you've got to have somebody that gets the respect and is willing to work hard and raise money and the whole thing. The candidates are very important.

**Ms. Boswell:** So here you've got a committee, and you're really going to work hard to elect more Republicans. As you said, Washington's a big state, so how do you find those individuals in each of those areas?

**Ms. Hayner:** You have to either go into the district or you have to look to people who know the district and are Republicans—both. And you have them help you find these people. Usually in a community they can tell you who might possibly be interested and who might be electable. It's a lot of footwork, that's what it is. The people that we had were just wonderful to go from place to place. And sometimes within a district they would take care of their own problems. It's a lot of hard work.

**Ms. Boswell:** Most of this new leadership in the caucus was willing to do it?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure. Yes. Yes, because the rewards were so great, and we did have some fine candidates. Of course, after a while when the Democrats had been in the majority for a long time, people who are Republicans aren't interested in running because they don't look at it as much fun if they're going to be in the minority. They can have some effect, but it isn't quite the same.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was curious about once you get a good candidate, did it help to go in and support them during the campaign, too?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Absolutely. I think that people understand that if they aren't supported by the party, they usually aren't somebody that you want in your community.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know I interviewed one, maybe more, Republican Senate members who felt that prior to this time—this was prior to 1976—the Republicans, unlike the Democrats, were not very well organized in terms of supporting their candidates. Nobody ever went to campaign for somebody else.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think that's true, but we had to do a lot of that just because we were so far behind. I don't know how much of it they do now. I have no idea. If you become entrenched and you get a reputation for doing a good job, maybe you don't have to do as much. But here we were: we had been out for a while, and people had to be convinced. When you get behind in the race, you've got to put more into it.

**Ms. Boswell:** I just wondered. Was the timing good as well? That you were starting to have more of a move towards…

**Ms. Hayner:** Towards the majority. Yes. That was why all these people met for a whole year. They wanted to change things, and they decided that the west side didn't have to control everything. Most of our candidates over on the east side were Republicans.

**Ms. Boswell:** But also, I just wondered if at the national level, too, it seemed as though…

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** So that didn't affect it? It seemed like with Reagan, there began to be much more of a move toward conservatism.

**Ms. Hayner:** How much of that there was, I have no idea. And I don't know how you'd measure it. I think that there might have been a sweep towards conservatism, in general. That may be true. But as far as whether you're running on the ballot when Bush is running or some of the other presidents, I just don't know.

**Ms. Boswell:** So, to you, coattails just aren't an issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** It might be to some individuals' minds, but I don't think it is a big issue because we don't deal with the federal

government much, except that we get a lot of money from them. The state gets a lot of money from them, but you don't lobby for that money. It's the power of your people in Congress that provides that money.

**Ms. Boswell:** It seems that during the Nixon era, with impoundment and some of the other programs—first revenue-sharing and then impoundment—that when the federal money that the state is counting on comes and how it comes, or if it's held back, really affects budgetary issues of various sorts.

**Ms. Hayner:** It does, but you have to pretty much depend upon your congressional people.

**Ms. Boswell:** To really work on that?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** That makes sense.

**Ms. Hayner:** Local people—for example, counties and so forth—will come to the Legislature and talk to you individually about what they think are the places you should emphasize and that sort of thing, which is good because you don't always know that. But in the final analysis, they do what they want to do. It depends on the interfacing of the state legislators.

**Ms. Boswell:** Your workload must have increased exponentially once you got this position?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. I was always there at 7:00 AM and without breakfast. I can remember that most of the time I never had time to go to breakfast. They fed us downstairs, but one of the guys would always bring me something to eat and set it on my desk. It might also have been sitting there at noon. But, yes, you have to be a healthy person. I think I might have missed… well, I missed a few days because I would drive down to Portland to my board meetings, and those days we would try to plan around them.

Twice, I think, I remember calling the Senate garage and having them take me to the hospital because I had terrible pains, and it turned out that it was something female, but I was at the office the next day. You have to be tough. You have to be in good health and I was, and I am. I have been very fortunate because I was always there at 7:00 AM and was always the last one to leave at night, 11:00 PM usually. I didn't have any trouble sleeping. (Laughs)

**Ms. Boswell:** Once you became the minority leader, did you at least get more staff and other things to help you?

**Ms. Hayner:** You get a little bit, but not a lot. The Legislature operates on as few people as it can. Everybody has a secretary. They didn't previously have that. As I told you, their wives used to sit on the floor with them, but now they have an office and they have a secretary and sometimes they have aides, depending on their rank and so on. You can always get quite a bit of help from committees on particular bills to draft them. There's a drafting room in the basement of the building, so that you can get all those things done. There are lawyers available to you or whatever you need.

**Ms. Boswell:** What were some of the main responsibilities as a minority leader? You don't have the majority, so you're not in charge of a huge amount of legislation, but what are the most important things that a minority leader actually does?

**Ms. Hayner:** As a minority leader, I insisted that every bill that passed the House we would

discuss in our caucus so that we could be as effective as possible. We didn't have people just going their own way. Even though we were in the minority, if we approved of that bill, we were going to vote together. That was very powerful because the Democrats did not always have control of their people.

**Ms. Boswell:** They've been notorious in not necessarily always being together.

**Ms. Hayner:** And so that was very helpful.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of the way work of the caucus or work of the Republicans in the Senate was divided, what did the minority leader do that was different from the caucus chair or the floor leader? I think the Democrats and the Republicans came at these positions, at least earlier on, from a slightly different perspective. George Clarke was initially the floor leader?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, for us.

**Ms. Boswell:** What makes a good floor leader?

**Mrs. Hayner**: Someone who is there every day. He always looked in my office every morning, and he said, "Got any special directions?" Someone who is there every day, who watches all of the actions of the Lieutenant Governor who's in charge, and objects to anything that is introduced that shouldn't be. It's just a parliamentarian par excellence, which he was.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did the duties differ between what you did as majority leader and, say, the caucus chair, who, I think, was originally George Sellar?

**Ms. Hayner:** The leader really has the most authority, and I was on the most important committees—Ways and Means and Rules being the most important—and I sort of controlled those. In doing that, you have a feel for where you're going.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me about Rules.

**Ms. Hayner:** Every bill that's passed in a committee goes to Rules. And then the minority, of course, has very little to say about the order in which they come out of Rules. But we were just as much time in the majority, and then you can pull bills out of Rules and give them attention. Even then, you had the right to put them in the order in which they're considered, and that sometimes is important, too.

**Ms. Boswell:** Working with the Democrats when you were a minority, is there, first of all, a particular state of mind in being a minority that you either have to cultivate or stay away from? I guess I'm thinking that you mentioned in the very beginning that the Republicans needed to step up and say, "We don't have to be the minority forever. We can move forward."

**Ms. Hayner:** They had been for years, you know.

**Ms. Boswell:** Right. How do you change that mindset?

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, I think you get different people and, of course, when Peter von Reichbauer jumped from being a Democrat to being a Republican, that action was a great help, too. He got up and made a speech about how, when he first ran, he thought he was a Democrat, but after he saw the operation and what they stood for and the kind of legislation they wanted and their attitudes and everything, he made a switch. Of course, that was not easy for the Republicans either, because

some people didn't want him and that kind of attitude.

**Ms. Boswell:** Really?

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, they figured he wasn't going to change. He was just going to be a mole. But he was very helpful to us, and I accepted him with open arms. In fact, I promoted it because I met with him at Christmas time, and I said, "Peter, you're really a Republican at heart, and I think you'd be much happier in our caucus." "Well, I don't think so." I said, "Fine. You just think about it." He did, and I think it was early February when he stood up and said he was making the change.

**Ms. Boswell:** You mention that you talked to him at Christmas—I guess that was in 1981 that he made the switch—but had people been working on him, or was this really an internal thing that had come up?

**Ms. Hayner:** Peter is not the kind of person who would be receptive to having a lot of people talking to him. I had talked to a couple of people in my caucus and said, "I think I'm going to try this because I think it'd be a good idea." As I say, it was sort of iffy with some people, but he proved to be very helpful to us and very cooperative.

**Ms. Boswell:** So when you were seeing him struggling, in what areas, in particular, did he seem to be more of a Republican than a Democrat?

**Ms. Hayner:** In his approach to the legislation. There's quite a difference.

**Ms. Boswell:** I didn't know if it was particularly economic issues, or whether it was just the role of government in general.

**Ms. Hayner:** General. Government shouldn't be doing too much and costing too much. It was just a more conservative attitude. Generally, Democrats are willing to spend more money. The Republicans, when they were in the majority, set up a reserve fund, and whenever we could meet our budget requirements and still put some money in that reserve, we did so because there are always economic ups and downs. When the economy was not so good and we had to take care of the poor people, the handicapped and all these people who really have to have it, and still take care of the schools and what have you, it was sometimes very difficult. We needed it. Now I understand there's nothing left in that fund.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think you're right.

**Ms. Hayner:** But that's wrong, in my opinion, because you can certainly smooth things out better if you have a reserve fund.

**Ms. Boswell:** Let's step back for a minute because I actually would like to talk some more about that changeover when von Reichbauer did switch and you became the majority. But first I want to ask you a few more things about the period after the revolt against Matson and the caucus that made you minority leader. That happened in 1979, and then there was the 1980 session, and I wondered a little bit about the effect during that session of having this change in leadership.

Did you make a conscientious effort to work with the Democrats or not? One of the arguments about Matson was that he was a little too close to the Democrats. How did you balance that?

**Ms. Hayner:** I never thought that we should be working with them to the extent that we would give and take. But if we had a proposal and this was the bill that we wanted, we'd try

to convince them in every way we could. I was always very good friends with most of the Democrats as far as I know, and I think that's the way you do it. I don't think you do it by confrontation.

I don't know, maybe I didn't answer your question. Ask it in another way.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was curious because during this period when you're in the leadership, often power does switch back and forth. You become the majority, then you become the minority, and it would seem as though you would have to accommodate.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, but your principles don't change. Your general attitude on whether government should pay for everything and be expensive and all that does not change.

**Ms. Boswell:** I guess I was thinking of the axiom about treating others as you would have them treat you. I was thinking that although you could not predict what would happen, if one of your goals was to become part of the majority ultimately, it would be wise to take the course that you did, to be firm about your own position, but also to work with these others because at some point, they're in the majority. Then when you're in the majority, if they treated you well enough, you're going to treat them well from the other perspective.

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. You treat them well all the time, I think. That's the point. Just because you have a different viewpoint on the issues….

**Ms. Boswell:** But by the same token, you're not necessarily in their pocket, so to speak.

**Ms. Hayner:** No. And I can remember Joe King and I. We were very good friends. That was kind of a funny situation because Joe was the Speaker of the House when we were in the majority in the Senate. He would come over and talk to me all the time. He'd slide in my door. The Democrats in the House would never go over and talk to the senators. They didn't like that a bit. But Joe would come over and he'd say, "What do you really want, Jeannette?" And you know, I could care less. I'd say, "Joe, I don't want anything." If you ever interviewed him, he would tell you that. Not too many years later, I saw him and he said, "She was the most difficult person I ever saw. You couldn't trade anything with her."

**Ms. Boswell:** We'll have to interview him. It would be fun to see what he says.

During that 1979 session, I guess, the decision was made essentially to go to a yearly session, even though we virtually had it anyway.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. We were running one and two special sessions and into the summer, and it was ridiculous. It seemed more sensible to try to do it in the winter months to preserve the idea that it's still a part-time Legislature. I don't know whether that's been successful or not, to tell you the truth, but it was always hard for people who didn't live in the Seattle-Olympia area.

I remember Ted Bottiger, for example. He was a lawyer and had a practice in Tacoma. He never came down until noon. He stayed in his office because we usually had committee meetings in the morning and then were on the floor in the afternoon to pass legislation, so he didn't even come down. He said he couldn't do it if he had to be down there all the time. That's too bad, too, because he didn't serve on the committees as effectively that way.

**Ms. Boswell:** It seems as though it's always been hard to balance that notion of a part-time citizen legislator with the need for legislation, especially with career needs of some people. I interviewed Frank Atwood, who probably

left the Senate right before you came. I think he felt that at a certain point, he just couldn't afford to be a legislator anymore.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Lots of people did. And that's why we finally began to get more women, too.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's true. Yes.

Were other women supportive of you? Being one of the first women in leadership in the Senate, in particular, were other women supportive? Was there a networking of women?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not really. I never tried to do that, particularly. I just figured that, man or woman, we're just members of the Legislature. I think that is kind of divisive to do otherwise.

I tried to be as knowledgeable as possible about all the particular interests and problems of people, like those who had problems with their husbands or whatever. That's the most important part of the job, and if they can't feel that they have some relationship with the people in the caucus, it's pretty dismal for them.

**Ms. Boswell:** Several of the legislators that I've interviewed have said that it was not a particularly good atmosphere, that there was a lot of drinking and other activities that weren't all so wholesome. To a degree, I think people recognized that they just didn't either know how or maybe they just didn't want to make that change because it was a tough thing to do.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. And of course this is my own feeling, but I always had the attitude that wherever I go I can have a drink, but not more than two—ever—when I was out. Of course, I don't drink much anyway, so it was no great problem. But still, when the lobbyists are buying and they're saying, "Drinks for everybody," why I would just say, "No. No more. That's it."

**Ms. Boswell:** It seems like there were a lot of legislators who didn't have a lot of self-discipline at some times.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, no, no, no, they didn't.

**Ms. Boswell:** Why do you suppose that is? They probably wouldn't do that if they were at home, so what is it about that atmosphere down there? Is it power?

**Ms. Hayner:** Somebody else was doing it, and the lobbyists compliment them and tell them how great they are to do all these things for them. I don't know. I suppose it is that you are away from home.

There were a lot of things like that. I can remember one of our members had a secretary and he was enamored of her. I don't know what their relationship was, but they used to travel all over the Capitol campus arm in arm. So I called him in one day and said, "I'm not trying to tell you what to do, I'm just telling you that if you continue, you're going to get a lot of criticism," because he was married. "I just think it's not a good idea," and he didn't do it any more. I had to do things like that.

This one legislator had a daughter who was missing in Mexico and then they found her dead. That was really hard. There are all kinds of things like that. But I even went to the extreme once or twice of telling legislators that if they continued to do whatever they were doing, which I thought wouldn't be acceptable to the people in their district, then we wouldn't support them with money if they continued to do it because we couldn't afford to lose the seat. Those are hard things to do.

**Ms. Boswell**: Those are very hard things to do.

**Ms. Hayner:** That was my duty, I guess, or I felt it was. And yet I did not get roses for it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is that something that, at least at that point in time, a woman could do a little more easily than a man?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think a man would even try.

## COLLEAGUE'S COMMENTARY: GEORGE SCOTT

*George Scott was elected to one term in the House of Representatives from the Forty-sixth District before he moved to the Senate for three terms from 1971 to 1982. He served as Republican caucus chair when Jeannette Hayner first became the Senate minority leader at the end of the 1979 session.*

**Ms. Boswell:** Can you give me just a little bit of background on your own political career and how you first came into contact with Jeannette Hayner?

**Mr. Scott:** I was from the Forty-sixth District, which was northeast Seattle, the area north of the University of Washington out to Sheridan Beach. In 1968 Slade Gorton, who had been majority leader in the House ran for Attorney General, and I, with more zeal than experience, ran to replace him. I ran against Governor Dan Evans' brother, and William "Skeeter" Ellis, who was a Stanford-trained lawyer who had been a bill drafter in five sessions. We had the wildest primary in the state. This was a one-party Republican district. I served a term in the House during the time that Evansites were in control, meaning 1966 to 1972, the time of the major precedent-setting ecology bills, and two tax-reform efforts. In 1970, my senator, John Ryder, who had served sixteen years, retired. Having done well two years before, I rather easily took the Senate seat for twelve years.

Jeannette served in the House from 1973 through 1976, after I left. In the winter of 1977 she came to the Senate, and was sitting in the back row as junior members do. We were in the midst of a crisis in the caucus, and I had wanted to change leadership and either get in the majority or get out. It was that point in my career, as I was forty at the time and had been in the minority six years. I looked back, and there was Jeannette, bright-eyed, articulate, and serious about the business of government, who was a "legitimate" conservative, and from Eastern Washington, and thus a logical partner.

**Ms. Boswell:** When Jeannette Hayner came to the Senate, had you had much previous contact with her?

**Mr. Scott:** I had never met her.

**Ms. Boswell:** Really, you had not met her at all then?

**Mr. Scott:** No. There's a story about women here, too, in that in 1971 there was only one woman in the Senate, which was a new low for twenty-five years. There had been as many as six during the Depression and at least one back to 1924. The management of the Senate from the time that Governor Rosellini became governor in 1957 through 1964 was under his successor as majority leader, R.R. "Bob" Greive, a West Seattle lawyer. The Senate was pretty much an old-boys club, and the number of women continued dropping. In the 1972 election the last woman was defeated, so there were no women in a Senate of forty-nine members in 1973. A number of us, particularly on the Republican side, thought that since the Public

Disclosure law had just been passed, and we were losing a lot of good lawyers because their firms didn't want to disclose their clients, that the answer was to find talented, middle-aged women who had raised their families. Many had done more civic things than most of us, PTAs and on out, and there was an effort to recruit women. So by 1979—and this was a great help to Jeannette—seven of the nineteen members of the caucus were women, whereas on the Democratic side there were only two. Those women—with one exception, Ellen Craswell—supported Jeannette for leader when the time came.

**Ms. Boswell:** You were mentioning earlier that when she came in, she was eager; she was serious about the job of being a legislator. Tell me a little bit more about the leadership of the caucus at that time when she came in 1977 and the status of the minority caucus in the Legislature at that time.

**Mr. Scott:** The Evans group had come to full strength, and there were fifty-six Republicans in the House out of ninety-eight members in 1969 when I came, which was the high tide. Then there were others like myself—two-thirds of the senators are previously House members—and we moved over as "new blood" in the caucus. Eight of the eighteen of us in the Senate in 1971 were "moderate Republicans," or "progressives." The Senate Republican caucus had people like John Murray, a publisher from Queen Anne, and Jonathan Whetzel, a lawyer from Seattle, and then the women, Sue Gould, and Eleanor Lee from south of SeaTac. As context, the Democrats got a majority in 1935; the Republicans had been a minority, as of 1979, all but two of the last forty-four years. That's five or six legislative generations. We had gotten into a mindset of the minority—I call it "minority-itus"—where we sat around the caucus table and looked at the calendar of bills set by the majority to go out for final passage, and complained, and had a few crumbs thrown to the two senior members. One of them would be Frank Atwood, who was the caucus chair. We were playing the role of a passive minority. Those who had careers, including the men that I mentioned and the women, weren't satisfied with just being called "Senator" anymore. And, we were losing talent as fast as we could pick it up because of public disclosure (Initiative 276), sessions lengthening to six months, and $3600-a-year salaries, among other factors. Something had to give.

When Frank Atwood went back to Bellingham to practice law—this would have been either 1973 or 1975—Jim Matson, who was an apple grower from Wenatchee, took over. Jim was an extremely likeable individual. His style was also very much old-boy, and he kept things to his chest. He dealt with the lobbyists and met with them at SeaTac once a week during campaign season. He did the recruiting, and I think he was afraid, with some validity, that if the rest of us were involved, we would wind up recruiting members who would relieve him. So the caucus was in stasis. We got to the spring of 1979, and Jeannette now had credibility, was obviously very intelligent, very well-prepared educationally, and very serious about making her contribution to the operation of government, which I think was her central motivation. She had a broad view, not passing things for herself or necessarily for her district.

I needed, being a so-called "Evans man," a legitimate conservative to validate a new leadership team. We also needed someone from Eastern Washington because the current leader, Senator Matson, was from Yakima, and we simply were not going to get any support from Eastern Washington members were there not balance in the team. The third ingredient in what started a new era was Senator R.H.

"Bob" Lewis. Senator Lewis was from the Fifth District, northwest Spokane. Because the contest was going to be so tight, Bob was made part of an official triumvirate where Jeannette was to be Republican leader, I was to be caucus chair, and Bob "executive chair," meaning running the campaign end of things in 1980. In June of 1979, at the end of the session, we got ten of the nineteen votes in caucus, relieved the old leadership, and took a much more aggressive tack. Ironically, Bob was defeated in 1980 and was the reason we got twenty-four votes, just one short of a majority.

**Ms. Boswell:** So, stepping back for a minute, did you three then form the core of the dissidents? In the early stages of this discontent with the stasis within the caucus, essentially, was the idea just to try to keep bringing more people in, initially, until you got enough to say, "This is enough"? Did you expect initially to overthrow the leadership, or were you thinking you could just pressure them?

**Mr. Scott:** In February of that year, I asked Governor Evans, by now out office, what he thought the odds were. He said, "Two to one against," which was logical. The Senate in 1971, when I came, had only three new members out of the twenty-four seats up for election: Booth Gardner from Tacoma, Senator George Fleming from Seattle, and myself. It was something like eternal life—six of the nine rows of the Senate were filled with people who had been there twenty years. We knew that if it was to be done, we had to do it differently than Matson was doing it. We all had to get out, get assigned districts, and do systematic recruiting. We also had to take on some of the Democratic senators who were most vulnerable, the older ones. I think of Lowell Peterson of Concrete as an example. But the business lobbyists in the mid-seventies, in my view, had been using us: they worked for what they called a "philosophic majority." They would get all eighteen or nineteen Republicans, and then up to eight "conservative" Democrats, mostly the older members, to get a "majority." But the arrangement left us in a permanent minority. And that could go on indefinitely. So we had to take on a lot of the business community, who liked Jim Matson very much, as well as solve the problem of recruiting aggressively, broaden the fundraising base, and make the caucus a collaborative effort.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about the situation might have appealed to Jeannette? If you are relatively new to the caucus, I would think that the natural view would be, "Don't rock the boat; I've got to see what's going on." How soon were you able to draw her into the group of people who weren't happy with the status quo?

**Mr. Scott:** We were very direct about it. Max Benitz was then a senator from the lower Yakima Valley. Max was a salt-of-the-earth kind of person. His district was right next to Matson's, but Max was a traditional conservative who understood our predicament. I think it was he and I who went to Jeannette and said, "Now, here's what you're facing, which is what we've faced for the last eight-and-a-half years, and that is you're not going to be able to express yourself as a senator or move the state in the direction that you want to move it, which is the real reason for being here." Jeannette—and this is her first leadership instinct that needs to be noted—is both a person of high ability and one with natural confidence. More leaders are made, of course, than are born, but she is a born leader. And I don't think there was ever any question in her mind that she was up to being minority

or majority leader. I think that she welcomed it, and she has strong enough philosophic feelings that she caught the point: if we were going to be in Olympia for a purpose, things had to change.

**Ms. Boswell:** When did people first start talking about it and meeting informally? Was it in 1979 or was it even earlier?

**Mr. Scott:** In early January of 1979 I was coming back from skiing at Sun Valley, and we stopped for gas at George, Washington. Something tipped me over there. I laid out a chart in my lap and started looking at the Democratic senators who were up, who was vulnerable, and in what districts, looking to 1980. It was soon after that Jeannette and I started to work together, and later that Bob Lewis was brought in to a lesser degree. You don't keep secrets like that very long in a group of people who are meeting together a couple of hours a day. We began to get the people who we knew were probables: Eleanor Lee, Sue Gould, John Murray—generally the moderates in the caucus—Max Benitz. It incrementally built up so that in the end we got "Mr. Self-defined Conservative," Kent Pullen, who became the tenth to rebel, in part because he wanted to be chair of the Judiciary Committee. Kent always looked out for Kent first, and Jeannette, in the end, couldn't let him have it because of the things he might start doing if he were chairman! In the last week of May in 1979, the renegades called a last caucus before the Legislature dispersed. We were down to the budget, which signals the end is nigh. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon, and Kent Pullen, of all people, made the motion to relieve the current leadership and then to seat the new leadership. One of the amazing features was that at the next-morning press conference, Jeannette faced overt hostility from many of the senior press people, insistent liberals like Shelby Scates and Mike Layton of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, who liked Jim Matson. "So, why did you do this just at the end of the session when it was almost over?" they asked. And "Charlie Newschwander from Tacoma, who is caucus chairman, is going to retire anyway. Why embarrass Charlie at the last moment?" Our answer was, "In a matter of two days the members would be spread out around the state, and we wouldn't be able to do this. You go when you have the votes."

**Ms. Boswell:** Given that she was the least experienced of the group, how did she end up being the one who became the leader?

**Mr. Scott:** I was not the person best-suited to being minority leader. I was identified as the instigator, and thus resented by Matson's people, and more committed to generating a positive agenda and managing the staff. I had the staff do research, and we came up with a sixty-page list of things that were narrowed to a platform of seven major issues for 1980. The argument was that there was no point in our being in the majority unless we had some substantive things that we could say we wanted to get done. That was part of getting out of the minority: building a positive attitude. A lot of the members in the caucus, the more traditional ones, were oblivious to that need.

**Ms. Boswell:** You were still the minority, but you began to take more control. Was your main goal just to start making your presence known through these legislative proposals, or was it primarily to use the elections to gain Republicans or was it all of the above?

**Mr. Scott:** Most voters do not pay attention to elections up to two weeks before the primary election. In this state three-quarters of the

people register and only half of those vote in the primary. For instance, in the Forty-fifth District on the northeast side of Lake Washington, a person won a primary in a one-party district with eleven percent of the adults and was, in effect, elected. It's not the majority of voters generally who make the selection; that's an illusion of democracy.

Taking us from June of 1979 when the caucus was changed, I remember a meeting at Senator Eleanor Lee's father's chalet up on top of Sunset Hill in Spokane, sitting on rickety chairs. Down in the valley golf course Jim Matson was playing golf with the lobbyists. The caucus had $20,000 in its pot, which then was still a significant amount of money, and he had it. We had nothing. The Matsonites effectively dropped out of the campaign, and didn't recruit. So here we were six people—Jeannette, Max Benitz, Eleanor, myself and several others—starting from scratch and asking, "How are we going to fund ourselves? How are we going to recruit statewide?" Those six members worked very hard.

I campaigned and recruited in thirteen districts. I remember going to Longview, where one of the Democratic members was, in our view, over-aged, under-able and physically ailing. I went there six times to find a candidate to run against him. He was reelected—and died within a year. In all we interviewed over 300 people to get plausible candidates in thirteen districts, and five winners. I think the First District, then at the north end of Lake Washington, was a swing district. We talked to fifty-one people there before we found a defeated former House member who was serious about doorbelling. And Senator Bill Kiskaddon lasted two terms. It was full-time work: creating a platform that we could speak to, finding people who were not just interested, but were going to give their lives to running for a year, and coordinating with the revived state party's staff. I was sitting in the chairman's office in the Capitol the night before the general election and talking to Sid Snyder, then Secretary of the Senate, and later Senate majority leader for the Democrats. We came out with exactly the same prediction: it would be 25-24—one way or the other. When you're inside politics at the district level in the state, working it day-to-day, you know exactly how close it was getting, particularly after the primary when some of these senior Democrats were badly hit. A friendly newspaperman picked up a sheet that had been left on the Democratic caucus table between the primary and general elections that showed their analysis of where they were in the districts. It absolutely matched ours.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it was not a surprise that it was getting close then? I mean, it was only a surprise in the sense that one vote or two would swing it either way?

**Mr. Scott:** This is a key point. What 1980 did was bring the Senate of the state of Washington back to a two-party system for the first time in a generation, and that's where it was until 2006. We fell into the minority in 1983, after the taxing and cutting records set in the first two years. The GOP came back in the majority, and lost it again, and so on. There has been a near parity between the parties in the Senate. The 2006 election, principally because of the loss of suburban seats east of Lake Washington by the GOP, has made the Legislature Democratic for the foreseeable future. And it will be even harder to restore competitiveness; few talented people are willing to run, and the Third House has more money to spend, which they tend to give to incumbents, perpetuating the status quo.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was Jeannette involved in this period when you were recruiting people and

trying to do the grass-roots work necessary to get the candidates in there? Was she involved in that process, or was she more involved within the caucus governance itself?

**Mr. Scott:** The caucus didn't need that much governing. Nine members were sitting on the sidelines, the "Matsonites." Ten of us—or rather the six of us who were available—were trying to do this. We assigned everyone districts, and having analyzed them, Jeannette took the ones, obviously, from Spokane across to the Yakima Valley. There were up to fifty phone calls a day coming to us, some from folks needing coaching.

The other major element that made her leadership possible was the concatenation of events in 1980. First, the Republicans came up with the strongest slate that they had come up with at the state level since 1972. Second, the Republican State Central Committee, for the first time, was not taking sides. Former Representative and later Attorney General Ken Eikenberry was chairman, which was his highest and best use. The party went from having a budget of something like $20,000 to raising $200,000 through phone banks. We were well ahead of the Democratic opposition in research and staff talent. Had it not been for the cooperation of the caucus and the central committee having enough money so they could offer technical staff to help with some of the campaigns, we would have failed.

Third, there was Proposition Thirteen, which had been passed in California. That was the property tax restriction referendum, and the front end of one of the periodic anti-government cycles that sweep the land. Simultaneously, Senator Gordon Walgren, the Democratic Senate majority leader, and co-Speaker Bagnariol were being investigated in the "Gamscam" gambling affair, and eventually were sentenced for racketeering, for promising to allow more gambling in the State for a split of the profits.

Fourth, if it had not been for six members investing four to six months of their time, and this coming-together of favorable events, we would not have gotten to twenty-four.

Fifth, there was the Reagan phenomenon. And lastly, the "head" of the Democratic ticket, U.S. Senator Warren Magnuson, was getting old, and Slade Gorton successfully took his seat. John Spellman won the governorship, and the House went GOP for the first time since 1975.

**Ms. Boswell:** In that 1980 year, even before the election, what had been the atmosphere in the caucus when you had people who have been essentially—well, not thrown out—but marginalized? Was that a real challenge for the leadership to have to deal with those people and their reactions?

**Mr. Scott:** They were essentially off the scene—back home. Half of them were running for reelection; the others were simply observing. There was no real contact between the two halves of the caucus while all of this was going on.

**Ms. Boswell:** So they weren't involved then, or they weren't interested in being involved in developing both a minority platform and also the campaigning?

**Mr. Scott:** That was not their style. That, in our view, had been the problem all along. Some of them were happy to be in the minority and to be called "Senator." We saw things from the perspective: if we are going to be here, we ought to be able to do things, move them in our direction. Jim Matson's folks also were emotionally tied to him; he was extremely likeable. For our part, it wasn't any of us disliking Jim. It was strictly how

we were going to position the caucus, and a lot of personal loyalty, anger and disappointment on their part.

**Ms. Boswell:** It was obviously a very tricky situation.

**Mr. Scott:** Another element that made Jeannette's situation so difficult was the way in which the change of the majority came about in February of 1981, the so-called "St. Valentine's Day Massacre." Peter von Reichbauer walked into our caucus one morning and switched parties. Peter is not entirely grown up. He's bright enough, but Jim McDermott, now Congressman from the Seventh District, then the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, had provoked him once too often, and Peter just decided that he would show them. So the way we came to be a majority was extraordinary, too. There have been members of the Legislature who switched parties over the years, a half-dozen of them, but no one had ever switched a majority in doing so. That provoked the kind of anger on the part of the Democratic members that made the Senate a ball of tension.

Democratic senators and staff were in the room for the morning after the press conference. None of us had ever served in the majority in the Senate, nor the Democrats in the minority, and they were as jolted as we were. When they began to find what being the minority was like—losing many of your staff, not being able to move your favorite bills—the Senate went almost overnight from an old-boys club to a partisan battleground.

On February 13, 1981, we spent the entire morning, three-and-a-half hours, in motions and counter motions in trying to organize the Senate before we went to lunch. We then came back, and someone made the motion to erase the whole morning from the record. So it isn't on the record, but it was stiletto work by the parliamentarians trying to overturn the new majority by disallowing Peter von Reichbauer's vote, and then with a 24-24 tie, using Democratic Lieutenant Governor John Cherberg, the presiding officer, who can vote in ties. This did not take place. The rulings were against the Democrats. This situation demonstrated Jeannette's second strong asset as a leader: calmness under fire.

**Ms. Boswell:** Despite these difficult situations, Jeannette became known later for keeping the caucus together—whether in the minority or obviously later in the majority—by the "rule of thirteen." Can you tell me about her leadership style in that area and your reaction to it?

**Mr. Scott:** Whatever a majority of the majority decided was how the whole caucus voted. This is extremely difficult in any Senate and was a critical gauge of her abilities as leader. Sometimes majorities get too big, and majority leaders then can let certain vulnerable members off on tough votes, but other people will "flake off" more. Here it was not the case; no one had any choice in a one-vote majority. It is hang together or be hung together. The dissenters in 1981-1983 proved this when the majority was lost. When it was regained in 1985, unity was taken more seriously. Politics is a team sport, both within and between the parties. I think another individual who typified the willingness to team-play, after we were first a majority, was Senator George Clarke, who was then seventy-three, was from Mercer Island and had been a school board member. George was a very bright lawyer and a traditionally conservative Republican. He was floor leader while Jeannette was Republican leader. George respected Jeannette for her mind, as a fellow lawyer, and for her views, and had no worries that they were not philosophically in

the same ship.

I think your question goes to how Jeannette's personality and her leadership style affected the caucus. She was the rudder, who was never slowed by these discouragements. She was always solution-oriented and positive, and no one had any doubt, except for the resentments of the turnover, that she was acting on behalf of and accurately reflected the caucus. Her voice sounded like the caucus right down the center line. It didn't sound like George Scott, or Sue Gould or Dick Hemstad from Olympia. She didn't talk like Ellen Craswell. She spoke as a traditional, main-line Republican, and as a pragmatist, not as an ideologue.

John Spellman had been King County Executive prior to being elected governor and never fully caught up with how Olympia worked. In Speaker Bill Polk and Jeannette, he faced two of the more formidable legislators of the last half of the century.

Jeannette had a second baptism by fire, followed by what proved to be the worst economic crisis since the Depression. A week after becoming the "majority," the recession of 1981 to 1983 became official. Yours truly was made chairman of Ways and Means Committee, and we lost an average of $5 million a day for the next 220 days, or about $1.3 billion on $12 billion of projected revenue (I am talking about state money). So we had to either cut or tax about eight percent. Jeannette had the responsibility of speaking for the caucus when she, and George Clarke and I went down to meet with the governor. We sat around the governor's conference table over twenty months for seventy hours. Governor Spellman sat at the head of the table, and the minority leaders, the Democratic members, sat across from us. Bill Polk, a very conservative person from Mercer Island, was Speaker of the House. Now and again John Spellman would come up with ways to solve our current deficit problem, which bounced down in a series of about five quarterly reports. John basically had a preference for taxes, exactly contrary to Speaker Polk's, with the Senate Republicans in between. Jeannette reflected the sentiment of her caucus, between the Speaker and the governor. Speaker Polk would literally dismiss Governor Spellman's proposals for extending the sales tax to professional services or whatever, and just start talking about how we were going to slim the budget down some more.

If she had not been respected as a neutral representative of the caucus, it could have been an impossible situation. Getting people to agree to cooperate after they have already passed taxes that they didn't want to pass, and simultaneously make cuts, is the legislative leader's worst nightmare. We had caucuses lasting six hours. The technique—and it's a standard one among leadership when all else fails—is to grind the members down until they are so tired of going over the same list of tax alternatives and cuts they'll do what is needed. That went on for months, and in the end this caucus spent hundreds of hours together. One time we were all so worn out and frustrated we broke out singing the *Battle Hymn of the Republic* until the marble walls shook. Jeannette managed to keep people in the "boat" who might otherwise have lost their tempers by constant, positive questioning: "What do you think? What is another approach to this?"

The third major situation that tested her leadership in that recessionary period was that three members decided that they weren't going to vote for any taxes. They were there when it came to keeping us a majority for organizational purposes, but we never had more than twenty-two votes, so we were never really a majority on the key item: the budget. They were Senator Pullen from the south King County, Senator Craswell of Silverdale, and

Senator McCaslin from Spokane. Once they took that position, they were locked in. I think Senator Pullen did it for expedient reasons, so that he could say that he was heroic to people who thought like he did in the district. Senator McCaslin was just uncomfortable in a Spokane way. Senator Craswell was as confused as conservative. So Jeannette had a non-majority to work with. We always had to make concessions to gain the help of three Democrats to pass major bills. We had responsibility without authority.

Jeannette was also a good delegator. She never told me how to run Ways and Means; we knew how much money we had to take out and how many taxes to pass. We made ten rewrites of the 1000-page budget over that twenty-month period. There were some wonderful staff people. We had only one fiscal person attached to our staff of five while in the minority. When we left there were seventy-six staff members on both sides in the Senate. One of the things we were proudest of was installing professional staff on merit, rather than the time-honored procedure of rewarding allies with sessional patronage.

Speaker Polk ("Railroad Bill") had a huge agenda of everything from the death penalty to restructuring to three-way unemployment insurance. These issues would normally take several sessions to work through, but the House GOP had an incredible timetable, and to the amazement of people on both sides of the aisle, got most of them passed. These bills landed in the Senate, and we couldn't move them because we didn't have the votes. If we wanted to trim—in the first cycle it was $176 million—out of the budget, we had to go over to Senator Bottiger, the Democratic majority leader in the Senate, and say, "Ted, what does it take to get three votes?" So we never got our way. Jeannette would do that with Ted Bottiger very directly. She wasn't playing games, or arranging side deals or saying, "Well, we'll give this to a certain member if he'll do this in return." She was patient, straight, unflappable and indefatigable.

**Ms. Boswell:** I can see the difficulty of that position.

**Mr. Scott:** The way we became a majority, the circumstances under which we were operating, the lack of a real majority, and, for the first two years, losing $5 million a day produced twenty months of relentless stress. At one point I thought, "I don't know where the bottom of this is. Is this the Great Depression coming back?"

**Ms. Boswell:** Being in the majority had dropped, to a degree, into your lap. The von Reichbauer switch really wasn't at the behest of Republicans working on him to do that, was it?

**Mr. Scott:** I found out that Jeannette had been talking privately to Peter for a couple of months. I don't know what went into those conversations, but here it was a Wednesday morning, 10 A.M. caucus. I walked into the caucus room on the fourth floor of the Legislative Building, and there was von Reichbauer. It was "overnight."

**Ms. Boswell:** Now, was that another task, too, to make sure that the Republican caucus was willing to accept von Reichbauer and not be a little bit skeptical of his role in the caucus?

**Mr. Scott:** Senator von Reichbauer is a University of the South graduate, an educated person, but emotionally something else. He used to wait in the wings of the Senate and walk in at the last minute so he could be the twenty-fifth vote on a bill. His self-centeredness continued on the King County

Council. There wasn't any question of how we were going to treat him; we had bigger problems, and he had burned his bridges. Obviously we were pleased to be in a position where we thought we could do some things after three-and-a-half decades, so it was never a question of "Peter, we'll adjust to you and you adjust to us." He's basically a moderate Republican, but doesn't have deeply evolved views. It was a matter of personal pique in the end that caused him to move.

**Ms. Boswell:** The dynamics of the caucus must have been difficult after the switch, when you are in the majority and yet you had some individuals who were not willing to go along with the majority, and thus made you a minority. In your book you mention that "coping with ideologues, flakes, and solipsists who comprise up to a third of any caucus takes two-thirds of leaders' energy."

**Mr. Scott:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Can you tell me a little bit more about how Jeannette was able to deal with those individuals within the caucus? I thought that you gave a really good description of her representing a caucus by being very centrist, but in terms of the day-to-day dealing with these people, especially those who were putting up a roadblock to the exercise of majority power, how would she deal with them in the caucus?

**Mr. Scott:** They really didn't have that much to say because they didn't have anything positive to say. They weren't in a majority in the caucus. At one point they came up with a plan to wipe out the Evergreen State College. A lot of us had questions then about how it had developed. But their approach was so radical it gave us a black eye. Together with the cuts and taxes, and the Constitution of the state of Washington, which says the budget has to be balanced every three months, it was enough to blow away any majority. Remarkably, in 1982 they lost by one vote, because Senator Gould and I did not run again.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about the "troglodytes," the name Governor Spellman gave to Speaker Polk's followers in the House?

**Mr. Scott:** The troglodytes sent the Senate things that were impossible, that we didn't have the votes for. The definition of ideologue is one who has made up his mind without reference to what is possible. The practicalities are more remote. In April of 1982, we were on about the eighth or ninth version of the budget when Speaker Polk and most of his caucus showed up one night about 9:00 P.M. in our caucus. He ground on us: "Why aren't you passing this, that and the next thing?" And I said, "Bill, we can pass anything you like, so long as it only takes twenty-two votes." Somehow, in the face of reality, they had the idea that the Senate should run like "Bill Polk's railroad" in the House, when we were in an entirely different situation.

**Ms. Boswell:** You mentioned a little bit about the expanding role of women in the Senate, where there had been a time when there virtually had been none. Do you think Jeannette still faced some difficulties as a woman and as majority leader? She was the first woman to be majority leader, but was there a "good-old-boy network," so to speak? Even if it was of her own party, was it difficult to break through, or is that really not a fair characterization?

**Mr. Scott:** I hope this is not a show of partisan bias on my part, but that was a non-issue. She was such an obvious natural leader, and so talented, that there was no question

that she would be challenged on that basis. Secondly, the oldest of the old boys had been some of those that we had gotten rid of in the Democratic caucus. For instance, Al Henry of Vancouver had been around the Legislature since 1941, off and on. That group was gone as of the 1982 election, or at least four or five of them. There was a different level of talent in the GOP caucus. In 1971, seven of the nineteen members were millionaires when that meant something; six of them were self-made. They were people who would be successful in any field. There was a Rhodes Scholar, two Harvard men…. Our situation, trying to maintain a profession at home and be in Olympia up to six months a year, was different than many of the Democratic members whose jobs were more informal or seasonal, or who were public employees or teachers on leave and didn't have outside things to keep going. Speaker Polk, for instance, was commuting back to Mercer Island every night to his wife while all of this is going on. So, the oldest of the old boys went, and our caucus was dominated by professional people who quickly made up their minds that Jeannette was forceful, represented us as a group and was the best person to keep us where we were.

**Ms. Boswell:** I have seen different descriptions of her in the press, and some of them seem to me to be so at odds that it is surprising that they would even apply to the same person. In one instance they described her as the "den mother" of the caucus. Was she a den mother, and did she have that personal concern for the various members that you might associate with that term?

**Mr. Scott:** That is a predictable designation. I remember Mary Ellen McCaffree, who shepherded Dan Evans' tax reform bills as chairman of the Revenue Committee in the House, being called "Mother McCaffree." It's one of affection more than a put down. Any leader has to be solicitous and look after the peculiarities of a given member, who may walk into her office before caucus on a given morning and say, "I have to have this bill out," which you may or may not be able to do. Or say, "I'm not going to vote for this. I can't vote for this or that," when you've been counting on his or her vote. There is a lot of interpersonal action. Jeannette's strength was in being known as working for the group's good.

When you become a leader then you add a constituency. You have your district at home and you have your caucus that you're speaking for in front of the media, and their attitudes may not be the same. For example, northeast Seattle was a very moderate district with 2000 university people in it. Hers, Walla Walla, had a lot of farmers and traditional Republicans. So whether Jeannette was speaking for herself or speaking for the caucus, the two pretty much had to meld after she became leadership. Fortunately, they were not as different, the two positions, as they would have been had I been in that position. I used to tell her I could get along with her anytime but Monday morning, when she came back from Walla Walla. She'd come back reflecting all of the concerns of the farmers about taxes, and environmental conditions, and water problems, getting verbal therapy, but then she went back doing the practical business of the legislator. There was the traditional conservative from Eastern Washington who reflected Walla Walla and the southeast corner, but the practical politician dominated.

Joe King became Democratic Speaker of the House, and they worked on revising growth management policies in the early 1990s. Joe was running for governor, and he had this at the center of his profile. Jeannette,

unlike most legislators, didn't want anything for herself, so the business of taking bills "hostage" (I will hold your favorite bill in the House, and you will hold mine in the Senate and we'll negotiate from there) didn't apply with her. The revised Growth Management law as passed set up new rules for the Puget Sound counties and the west side, and less restrictive ones for sixteen rural ones in the east, which were in a different phase. It's a good example of the very forceful, practical compromises she made.

She was pro-choice on abortion, which you wouldn't think of out of a district like that. She is an independent thinker, a traditional Republican who takes the best of the past and tries to incorporate the most promising ideas of the present.

**Ms. Boswell:** But then on the other hand, she got a name—I don't know, maybe you know how this evolved—as the "Margaret Thatcher" of the Washington State Legislature too. That nickname doesn't imply to me the same kinds of characteristics necessarily that you are describing. So was that also an apt description?

**Mr. Scott:** It was more just Mrs. Thatcher being Prime Minister of Britain. Jeannette was also called "Attila the Hen." This was partly affectionate, too. This is a regular feature in the legislative arena. Both spoke to her force and firmness, not to being obdurate—disagreeing without being disagreeable.

**Ms. Boswell:** Maybe this isn't fair, but in thinking, for example, of Margaret Thatcher as being a fairly partisan individual, did you see those kinds of characteristics in Jeannette at all?

**Mr. Scott:** Jeannette is philosophically clear in what she believes, on what her parameters are. Within those parameters, she's willing to make adjustments. She is partisan only to the extent that she knows you have to be in a majority to do what you want to do. She didn't get into the pointless challenging that occurred in that heated winter of 1981. As Republican leader, she had to get up and respond, present her own point of view and her caucus's argument. But there were no personal remarks, or the tone of, "We're the good guys, you're the bad guys, and you're going about this in a quasi-moral and maybe illegal way." That destroys or handicaps legislators.

**Ms. Boswell:** Having been with her at the time when she first moved into leadership in the Senate until the time that you left, did you see a real evolution of her leadership skills, or was she pretty much even-keeled throughout?

**Mr. Scott:** I was present at the creation of the majority, and my last session was in July, 1982. Jeannette's second greatest accomplishment, in addition to returning the two-party system to the state Senate, was holding the caucus together. It is a tremendous accomplishment to keep a group like that together when twelve of the members may have to vote for something they don't agree with, and do it issue after issue. Her ability to keep groups with no spare votes together, and thus effective, is something that we've never seen in the Washington State Legislature. A lot of people were brought around to the view that the actions of the caucus and what they could do as a group were more important than their personal preferences. Whether some of them violated their "personal principles" in doing it, I don't know. You get to that point. Somehow, she got that group so they were willing to put the group ahead of themselves as individuals, and that's a minor miracle in anyone's society.

**Ms. Boswell:** Are there certain personality traits that allowed her to do that? If you had to pick out and describe those traits that made her successful, what would they be?

**Mr. Scott:** She was intuitive enough to know what the best position of the caucus was, and where most people would be. She was direct and everyone knew she had no personal agenda. She was analytical and usually had the best practical solution, something that was hard to improve on.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is it fair to say that she was the best person for that particular place in time for the caucus?

**Mr. Scott:** She was the best person in several respects. Of the 148 members—ours is an average-sized legislature—there are never more than twenty who are the real leaders. She was a natural leader, relentlessly practical and positive. She kept working the problem. Admiration grew because she paid the price of being a leader. Five years earlier, a woman would not have had the opportunity. She set a precedent: all the leaders of the majority caucus in the Senate since 2005 have been women.

**Ms. Boswell:** Are there some other things that you want to add?

**Mr. Scott:** If you look at the quality of the Legislature now, we had as many leaders in that caucus of nineteen in 1981, one that had been in the minority for four decades, as we have in the whole Legislature now. I don't think Jeannette would have been able to do what she did now without that cadre of capable people—the George Clarkes who handled all of the tough floor motions, knew the rules and divided the labor. And the Legislature was made up of members who were willing to act as a group more than they are now. Now—partly for lack of strong leadership—there is a surplus of solo artists.

The message is, if people want democracy to work, the public must do its part, participate, donate—and, yes—run for public office. The quality of democracy can never rise far above the level of public interest—and we are at low ebb.

**Ms. Boswell:** You were talking a minute ago about Joe King running for governor, but I think Jeannette was approached at one time by people who said, "Do you want to run for governor?" But she seemed to have absolutely no interest in a higher office. She has told me that because she didn't have other aspirations, she may have had some additional strength.

**Mr. Scott:** That's true. Normally, legislative leaders have a next step in mind. This may distort one's priorities. It is certain you can only be a leader so long and not have your liabilities catch up with you. Remember Speaker John O'Brien, who failed to get a fifth term? When you enter the leadership mode, you enter a timetable, unlike a sinecure where you can go along getting reelected for thirty years. Jeannette did what was necessary and downplayed any personal costs. This is what separates a leader from a "politician" in the pejorative sense. She bent herself to her highest and best use and left in a timely manner, with her integrity intact and her reputation at its peak.

## CHAPTER 9

## MINORITY LEADERSHIP AND THE BIG SWITCH

**Ms. Boswell:** During that 1980 session, the Republicans were in a definite minority in the Senate. In the House, I think, it was pretty evenly split. That was one of the years they had the co-Speakers, John Bagnariol and Duane Berentson.

**Ms. Hayner:** They got along very well.

**Ms. Boswell:** Does that have much impact on the process if you've got a split like that?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know. I never served under that system, so I don't know. You'd have to ask them, I suppose, but I just don't know.

**Ms. Boswell:** I wondered about working relationships and how much cooperation there was between the leadership in the Senate, both minority and majority, and in the House. Was it something that you would keep in closer touch with, or was there still pretty much of a division between what the House did and what the Senate did?

**Ms. Hayner:** There was quite a bit of division. You had to make an effort because you're always so busy from early morning until whenever they adjourn and then have meetings afterwards. It is pretty hard, unless you make the effort to do something in particular.

One of the things that I disliked but that was sometimes done—we'd have long meetings at night trying to get something resolved, so we'd be ready the next morning. We would get agreement from everybody, and then they'd come back and say, "I've changed my mind." That's when I threw a couple of people out of my office. You just can't work that way.

It's a very difficult environment to accomplish what you're supposed to be accomplishing. There were lots of hard issues.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you just had to put your foot down and say, "We worked out an agreement and now you're not abiding by it." That was the situation?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. This person said, "I've changed my mind," and I said, "Get out." You don't have forever to do this and if she wasn't ready to make a decision—it happened to be a woman—if she wasn't ready to make a decision, she should never have agreed to it.

**Ms. Boswell:** You're just wasting everybody's time by starting all over again?

**Ms. Hayner:** Exactly. For hours, you know. Hours. It was not just a minute or two.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you find that there was more of that backpedaling? During that particular period you have both Bagnariol and Berentson thinking about running for governor. You've got Jim McDermott thinking about running. You've got Gordon Walgren, who was the Senate majority leader, and was supposed to be running for Attorney General or thinking about it.

**Ms. Hayner:** That was before that time.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did that distract from the kinds of decisions that people were willing to make?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think so.

**Ms. Boswell:** They weren't being pragmatic and thinking, "What's going to be best for me if I'm going to move on to a different office?"

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know. If they were, I wasn't aware of it. It didn't make any difference to me. I certainly supported certain people, there's no question about that, but that's a personal matter that should be entirely separate from legislation as far as I'm concerned. Maybe some people did, I don't know.

**Ms. Boswell:** I just wondered if before a major election—and 1980 proved to be a pretty dramatic election year—whether the difficulty of getting things done and of getting people to agree and abide by their agreements might be more difficult? When an election is coming up, there could be big changes. I guess I'm wondering if every four years, is it more difficult than it might be otherwise?

**Ms. Hayner:** It might be for some people.

**Ms. Boswell:** But not you?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think that if they had the attitude that this would benefit them in some way, and that they wanted to take advantage of that, then maybe it would, but as far as I was concerned, they were two different things.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you ever think about another higher office or a different office?

**Ms. Hayner:** I was urged to run for governor. I did not want to do it because that meant that I had to live in Olympia. You live in the governor's mansion, and I have a husband who was very patient with the twenty years I was in the Legislature. I just didn't think that that was what I wanted to do. He would have been all right with it. He would have taken it, but I just didn't think that was a good idea. That's too big a chunk of time.

**Ms. Boswell:** It's a pretty big commitment.

In terms of that 1980 election, you came into the minority leader position wanting to be more proactive in getting Republicans elected. What kinds of things could you or did you do to work for Republicans in that election?

**Ms. Hayner:** If they were interested in a certain piece of legislation that they thought was going to benefit them to be elected, I'd see what I could do to help. If I thought it was something that was okay for the state and okay for their district, I would see whether I could promote it in some way or talk to somebody. I tried to help them as much as I could without being frivolous about it. Maybe that's not the word, but I would consider it to be the right word.

**Ms. Boswell:** Ken Eikenberry, wasn't he the chair of the Republican Party at that time?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** How was he in terms of leadership and of galvanizing people during an election?

**Ms. Hayner:** I was very fond of Ken Eikenberry, but he's kind of straight-laced, and some people weren't real enthusiastic about him. But I suppose that's true of almost everybody.

**Ms. Boswell:** I saw somewhere in my notes

a campaign manual for Republicans in that 1980 election, and one of the approaches was "attack, attack, attack." Now, whether that is just verbally, or whether that is just getting people going, I'm not sure what that means. Do you think that Republicans, generally, were on the attack and was that a good strategy?

**Ms. Hayner:** It depends on the district, I guess, and who the opponent was, and how suave you can be about it.

**Ms. Boswell:** You were running in 1980, weren't you? I think you were.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** You may have been unopposed though. Did you have an opponent?

**Ms. Hayner:** First I ran against four people, you know.

**Ms. Boswell:** Right, when you first went to the Legislature.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. And then I really had almost no opposition. As I reiterate, we are basically a Republican area in Walla Walla, although the redistricting has changed it somewhat. That always is an influence on what you do, too. We get more and more of the Tri-Cities area, which is quite different, but it's growing faster, so you have to think about that.

**Ms. Boswell:** Redistricting was an issue, especially in 1980. I think that there had been all that trouble with redistricting in the previous decades, in the 1970s. Didn't that become somewhat of a campaign issue in 1980, the whole issue of redistricting and whether there'd be an independent commission?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, it did.

**Ms. Boswell:** What was your stance on that issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** I really don't remember exactly. I didn't think it made a lot of difference because you still had to have the same number of people. Now you might move the border this way or that, but the federal government has been pretty clear on that, and so I didn't think it was a big issue.

**Ms. Boswell:** It seems like some of the Republicans wanted to get away from using redistricting as a political football by having an independent commission. Essentially, it was really taking it out of the hands of the Legislature. I know that there were some people strongly opposed to that concept and some not.

**Ms. Hayner:** I didn't think it was that important.

**Ms. Boswell:** If you had to pick one issue that you could use to encourage the election of more Republicans, what would that be? I'm thinking of 1980, in particular.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think the most important thing for people is efficiency in government and cost of government. There are a lot of people who would like government to do everything for them, and there are others who don't want government to intervene in any way. Somehow you have to reach a balance. There are a lot of people who wouldn't do anything for the poor and the downtrodden, but that is the duty of government, so you have to kind of balance it, in my opinion.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think certainly what you're saying has to be the case. I wondered about budgets in general. I think 1980 was an interesting period because before that time, the state economy seemed to be soaring right

along, and then all of a sudden it wasn't soaring along any more. I think generally people were beginning to be really concerned.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. There's no question about it.

**Ms. Boswell:** The economy had to have played quite a significant role, but I wonder, if the Republicans hadn't worked hard and stepped up their campaigning, whether they would have been as successful as they were in that particular election year. To what do you attribute the success that the Republicans had in the 1980 election?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know. I think that it had an effect because I believe that people, especially then, paid more attention. There are still a lot of people who don't even go to the polls. They just say, "It is all dishonest, and you are all a bunch of crooks," and so on. But that's not generally true. So I think that you get some credit for doing the things that help people. When I was in the Legislature, whenever I came home I met with the editorial board of the *Union-Bulletin* and the editorial board of the *Tri-City Herald*, if I could, and let them ask me any questions they wanted. Of course, they loved that because they got some inside information on why we did certain things. That's good for you, too, as a representative of the people because you often see them write editorials about issues, but you know very well they didn't know what they were talking about because it's not accurate. So I always felt that it was good to do that.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there particular constituencies in Walla Walla or in this district that were more vocal than others?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure. You always have that, especially when they want something or they have a particular project. Sure.

And then you take an issue like abortion, *Roe v. Wade*. Gee, I had women come into my office with little children, crying because you shouldn't have abortion. I said, "Look, it's a federal law. What can we do about that?" "Well, we can still pass a law in this state." You go through that.

But I think being a legislator, you have to be able to be friendly and listen, and not make them feel as though they're dummies.

**Ms. Boswell:** Just like the legislators themselves, people need an ear to be able to say what their problems are?

**Ms. Hayner:** Exactly. Exactly. I think these women, really in their heart, they knew that *Roe v. Wade* was it, and that's what we were going to have, but they still wanted to see if there wasn't some way of getting around that. Of course, I always was not opposed to *Roe v. Wade* because I always thought that if my daughter came to me at age fourteen or sixteen or whatever and said, "I'm pregnant," I would have wanted her to consider an abortion. Those people who oppose it say that you are killing a life, but I think you spoil more than one life if you don't take care of it. So I just listened and said, "Well, I don't agree with you." There wasn't anything we could do about it anyway.

**Ms. Boswell:** No. Did you find in issues like that where you may have disagreed, if you just sincerely spoke your opinion, people understood? "We have simply a difference of opinion."

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know that they would understand. They don't want to understand a lot of it. I think most of them were reasonable enough so they felt as though you had a good reason for doing what you did, or a reason, whether they considered it a good one or not.

**Ms. Boswell:** Right. I know that you had been active on the school board here before and were a supporter of education. There were some issues related to teacher salaries during that 1979-80 period, including caps on salaries. When it came to being in the Legislature and teachers' issues, what kind of position did you take?

**Ms. Hayner:** I felt that teachers needed to be fairly paid, but there's also a limitation to what we could afford. Having been on the school board, I know it's a hard job, and I think for the most part teachers are very sincere in what they do. But on the other hand, there are lots of jobs that are hard, and they work lots more hours and everything else and they don't get pensions. So you do what you can.

But having been on the school board during very divisive times was very good experience in addressing some of the problems. Education is a big part of my personal agenda because I think the more education people have, the better off they are, for the most part.

**Ms. Boswell:** But then the Supreme Court actually stepped in and said that the budget putting a cap on teacher salaries violated state laws. Is that right?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. But a lot of the money comes from the state, and so if you made the statement that the state is going to have to take care of all this, it could produce unforeseen problems. I don't remember that we had any particular problem with it after that.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes. I think it was mostly that the state allowed the decision to rest with the local school districts.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Exactly. That was a big factor, and it helped tremendously. It helped the locals and also, here in Walla Walla, it forced a consolidation between Walla Walla and another district to the south that was a smaller district. You're always better off if you don't have a little, tiny district.

**Ms. Boswell:** That can't afford to keep pace with some of the other ones?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, and offer a variety of courses and that sort of thing. When we built the high school when I was on the school board, we realized that we couldn't afford to do everything that we wanted to do. One of the things that we wanted to do was build a big gym for games of all kinds, for tennis, with stands and all of that. So what we did was build half a building, actually, and a few years later they built the rest. It worked great.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's a novel solution. If you don't have the money, you do what you can.

One other issue that was really prominent at that time—and I'm curious because you're certainly close to it—was nuclear waste, and whether other states could bring their nuclear waste here since we had Hanford. Hanford wasn't in your district, but it was nearby, so how did people in Walla Walla feel about that whole nuclear waste issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** As long as it wasn't in their district they were for it, but I did have people who were in the Tri-Cities who didn't want any of that waste to come into this area. My attitude, there again, had to be just as it was in some other things. You have to look at the whole picture. It's a problem for the nation. If we have the best place to put it, then maybe that's where it should be put. Now, I'm sure there were those who didn't like that attitude, but I don't know if they've ever brought in an awful lot, and they're taking some out now. I don't think they brought in the amount that they intended to bring at one time. It was a

big issue for those people, and some of them just kind of went crazy over that.

**Ms. Boswell:** And then you had Governor Dixy Lee Ray, whose whole experience had been in the nuclear industry, so you had a lot of forces at work. So people in Walla Walla weren't particularly concerned about being close to Hanford?

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** I wondered about that. You have the down-winders.

**Ms. Hayner:** They never paid out a penny to the down-winders. I have a friend who has had all kinds of health problems, and she tried to be part of that. I think there were a lot of people looking for a way to be paid for some of the problems they perceived that may have been caused by that. Nobody could prove it.

**Ms. Boswell:** I thought there was a big settlement with some of the people who had health problems, but, then again, I'm not absolutely positive about that.

**Ms. Hayner:** I'm not either. I have a friend, who, as I say, was part of it, and she never got anything, so I don't know for sure. There might have been some, but it was a big issue for a while.

**Ms. Boswell**: One other thing I wanted to ask you about—and I wondered, in particular, how it played for Republicans—were the racketeering charges against John Bagnariol and Gordon Walgren in what was called "Gamscam." Was that something that the Republicans knew about or was it something that they tried to capitalize on? Was it a big issue in the campaign?

**Ms. Hayner:** I'm sure they knew about it, but I don't think it was a big issue. My attitude on that was that it was something that we shouldn't have anything to do with.

**Ms. Boswell:** That it's better to just stay above it, so to speak?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did that affect your perspective, though, or your respect for either these individuals or others around them?

**Ms. Hayner:** You know, I'm not judgmental of other people. I just thought they may have had a reason for it, and if they would have to answer to the good Lord, I wouldn't do it.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it wasn't something that everybody in the Legislature knew about and just never said anything?

**Ms. Hayner:** I suppose some of them did, but I don't know. We had enough to worry about, things we could do something about.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you ran in the 1980 election, I had read that because you were essentially unopposed, you used the surplus campaign funds to help other senators.

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me how.

**Ms. Hayner:** It's not illegal.

**Ms. Boswell:** No, but tell me, is that something that as a leader you need to do? Does that help you shape the party?

**Ms. Hayner:** I didn't do it because it was somebody I thought I could shape. I did it because they were Republicans. A

Republican from one county might have different views than another one, such as in Eastern Washington or somewhere else, but if they were Republican, and if we had money, and if I thought it would help our numbers, I didn't see anything wrong with it.

**Ms. Boswell:** So could you pick and choose the candidates that you would support, or did it just go into a broad fund to be used by whatever Republican candidate needed it?

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, somebody had to make the decision on how it was used. I think you'd say it was probably a number of people in the caucus who would make that decision.

**Ms. Boswell:** And were other people in that same position, too, where they had extra funds that they could put into the election?

**Ms. Hayner:** You mean Democrats?

**Ms. Boswell:** No, no, other Republicans who also would contribute some of their campaign money.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, well, not usually because the leader usually gets more money. Sometimes people don't know who to give it to and so they think, "Well, I'll give it to the leaders. They will know best where it will help."

**Ms. Boswell:** Oh, I see. Well, that makes sense. In this election, though, in the 1980 election, it was the first time that you were coming to an election as a member of the leadership of the party. Did that change your role in terms of the election? Were you asked to campaign for a lot of other people than you otherwise might have?

**Ms. Hayner:** I was asked to campaign for people, and I did go where they wanted me to go if it was possible.

**Ms. Boswell:** How about in terms of the party platform?

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, of course, a lot of that is done by the state committee, and there are legislators who take part in that. I went to some of those people, but I don't remember that it was anything that had a real priority of mine. I thought if they came up with a platform, why presumably that's what the Republicans would want. And how enthusiastic you are individually about it was of little concern to me.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about the governor's race? How much of an impact does that have in terms of helping to bring out voters in your party? In this case John Spellman ended up winning the race. Does that really help?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure it does, sure. Some gubernatorial candidates tend to pull people with them; others do not and don't care. It's all an individual kind of thing. Governor Spellman was one who was always in attendance for everything and was very helpful. Dan Evans was also.

**Ms. Boswell:** There was an incredible shift in that election. The House was fairly close, and it ended up becoming significantly Republican. And then the Senate—whereas it had been pretty lopsided up to that point, it was now virtually even—I think there were twenty-five Democrats and twenty-four Republicans initially. Why was there such a dramatic shift? Probably there are many reasons for it.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think there are many reasons. I think that it was the economy and just generally the way the press handled the Republicans and the Democrats. There were a lot of reasons for that. I don't know what the most important reason is.

**Ms. Boswell:** Even though you were still—at least for a while—the minority leader, was it a little bit different? Were you approaching the session differently when you were only a minority by one vote as opposed to when it was very lopsided?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, I think you do in the sense that you're always looking for opportunities to change that, and your performance might have something to do with it, and the way it's handled by the press. I don't know about the other, but our caucus always tried to be aware of that and to try to stick together and be as forceful as we possibly could.

**Ms. Boswell:** That sort of brings us back to an earlier issue. In terms of the Republicans, after 1980 did you feel fairly cohesive? I mean, you know you've come through this period where you've overturned the leader.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think so. Now, you know, someone else might tell you, "No, we weren't at all," but I felt as though we were.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes, that's the perspective I want—to know what you thought. You were the leader so you had a finger on the pulse.

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, I'm always optimistic. [Laughs]

**Ms. Boswell:** I don't want to call them the right wing, but what about the role of the Moral Majority? That's a period when that term really starts being used a lot more.

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, I don't know. We had a couple people in our caucus and that was kind of important to them, but there never were enough of them to cause us any problems.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was curious about Ellen Craswell—and I'm not even sure that it's fair to characterize her in this way—who ran, I think, against Gordon Walgren and won.

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, Ellen Craswell. I can remember talking to her for an hour one day and I got nowhere. It was very difficult to change her opinion. I think she was very opinionated. She had her reasons for being that way and so she stuck to them, and you could talk to her and it didn't make any difference. Ellen and I got along fine. As I say, there was that one time that I thought she should have been listening when she was not, or she didn't want to take any action, but anyway that was the only time. I am convinced to this day that was because of her husband's influence, but it doesn't make any difference whose influence it was.

**Ms. Boswell:** No, it doesn't. So, was that on a particular issue or just back in the caucus?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, it was just a particular issue.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there pressure on the Republican caucus by the Moral Majority?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh sure, you get pressure from everybody, even the lobbyists you know.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was reading about Michael Farris, who I guess was the Washington director of the Moral Majority at that time. I didn't know much about him, but it sounded like he was definitely out there in the political world.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes, absolutely. Absolutely, yes. He worked at it, you know.

**Ms. Boswell:** Well now, you got a hundred percent rating from them on their questionnaire, so is that just because they happened to pick a few issues that you supported?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know why I was picked. You know the thing is that people knew where I stood and if I said, "I'm going to do this," I did it. How can you fault that?

**Ms. Boswell:** I don't think you can.

**Ms. Hayner:** And that's why I think that it's possible that one can get a hundred-percent rating without everybody being in agreement.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you consider yourself a tough person, I mean in terms of your job?

**Ms. Hayner:** I suppose so. I don't know what you mean by tough.

**Ms. Boswell:** Well, let me read you this quote. There was a quote that was in a newspaper article in which they called you "the Margaret Thatcher of Washington State."

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, I've got a picture downstairs that they gave me that they framed with my picture and Margaret Thatcher's picture. But I don't think that's all bad. I would certainly rather have that kind of a label attached to me than one that she was wishy- washy or that she didn't know her own mind or had to ask everybody how they were going to vote before she could decide how she was going to vote.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was just curious, too, about where you saw yourself. I mean, is it fair to look at the Republicans as a spectrum, from right to left? Where did you see yourself?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, I tended to be more conservative than liberal, certainly. If I ever got any criticism, that's usually where it was—that I was too conservative—but I wasn't always conservative. It really isn't fair because it just depended on the issue.

**Ms. Boswell:** And the basis that you used to make decisions about those issues, was that just personal philosophy? How would you describe how you would choose to make a stand on an issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, of course, being a lawyer and having gone through all kinds of experiences, you weigh these things because that's what you were taught to do. You weigh these things in your mind, and you decide where you stand.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it's essentially an analytical process that you go through?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, it is. Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** This 1980 election—some people have called it the most important election of the decade. It's certainly the first one, but did you see it as a real turning point?

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, I think it was *a* turning point, but I don't know whether it was *the* most important. It was a turning point.

**Ms. Boswell:** How much do you think Washington was affected? You have the Reagan administration coming in on the national level, but do you think that had an effect? You know, we're the "other" Washington and we're pretty far away, but on the other hand, obviously you can't help but be affected.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think it had an effect because we were the state of Washington, but I think the administration of government at the federal level had an effect on the administration of the states, very definitely.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was Reagan somebody who at this point in his career galvanized Republicans here?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, I think he was for a lot of people, yes. I suppose there were some who didn't like him, but Reagan was a very personable man. But, of course, so were Bush number one and Bush number two. George W. Bush's mother is the most charming person I've ever met. I sat on the stage with her a couple of times and had conversations with her, and I just thought she was outstanding.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there a coattails effect? If you have leaders like that who do come out and make an effort, is there a coattails effect?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think so. I don't know what the extent of it is, but I think there is some. Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** When President Reagan came into office, I think it was in his inaugural address that he talked about this whole notion that "government is not the solution." Government is the problem, and we tend to put too much in terms of government. How quickly, if you have a new administration that believes in that idea, does it take for that balance to shift?

**Ms. Hayner:** It depends on the administration. A governor or a president who wants to make substantial changes immediately does so.

**Ms. Boswell:** You think they can?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think they can, but it takes a little time to put it together. They can make the decision, but it may take them time to carry it out.

**Ms. Boswell:** So was there a sense that Reagan was going to do that in 1980 to 1981 when he started?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think so.

**Ms. Boswell:** What happened when you were in leadership and you were facing on the state level the outcome of some of this administration's policies to cut federal funding for programs? There are downsides once a state has had that money. I think you were on a committee on local government finance to look at that issue. As a Republican, do you still think it was a good thing, even though the federal government took back some of the funding that it had provided in the past?

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, I have to assume that congressmen are being as sincere about things as legislators are, and that if they cut a certain program, even though it may be one that I think should be maintained, there must be a good reason for it. You have to assume that other people are doing their job, too. That doesn't mean that you can't call them up on the telephone or send them a letter and say: "Why are you doing this?" and "This is why I don't think you should do it." But, maybe that's the kind of give-and-take you need between state government and federal, too.

**Ms. Boswell:** Now, in Washington, we don't have income tax, so I think that makes the funding of programs sometimes more precarious than for other states.

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure, but I was always against an income tax. They had it in Oregon, of course, and Oregon has had it for years, and they can't get any other kind of tax. They can't get rid of it. I think that everybody ought to pay their fair share and a sales tax does that. If they are poor, they pay very little. If they are rich, they pay much more. That's the way it should be.

**Ms. Boswell:** Here in Washington, instead we have sales taxes. Is it a fair argument that it hurts the poor more because they're still paying the same rate for whatever they buy?

**Ms. Hayner:** They're paying the same rate, but the more they buy, the more they pay, and they buy less. I don't know. That's always a hard question, but I was against the income tax for the state of Washington.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you think Washington will ever have an income tax?

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** I find it hard to believe that people would ever vote for it at this point.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think they will.

**Ms. Boswell:** Without that type of tax, did you have to be a lot more creative in terms of figuring out how to fund programs or raising taxes in other ways?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. It was difficult.

**Ms. Boswell:** During this period as things are changing, the Republicans are really beginning to take over. There was an interesting quote in one of the articles that I saw by Shelby Scates. He called the Legislature, after the 1980 election, "the most radical Legislature in fifty years, run by a Republican faction that has spent fifty years as a minority of the minority party." Is that a fair characterization? Is he prone to hyperbole?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think it is kind of an exaggeration.

**Ms. Boswell:** But the whole notion that here's the minority party, which now takes the lead. We now have a Republican governor in the state. We have a fairly good-sized Republican majority.

**Ms. Hayner:** Look how many years we had a Democratic governor. I mean, that's the way things go. They go in cycles. People get less money and they get more money. The times are good and the times are bad. That's just the way things go. Just like we hadn't been in the majority for twenty-six or twenty-seven years, and all of a sudden we're in the majority.

A lot of it depends on the people and how aggressive they are and how much they want to do it.

**Ms. Boswell:** But did all of that lead to a climate that the Republicans did want to seize the moment and do things?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. I think so.

**Ms. Boswell:** We talked a little bit earlier about Peter von Reichbauer, but certainly he had an impact on your life, to a degree, by his change of parties.

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know that you said you had spoken to him about changing parties. Even so, did it surprise you when he made that move?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, absolutely. He did it on Valentine's Day, you know. As I told you, I had talked to him, and he gave me no indication he was going to do that. He just stood up and did it.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did he do it?

**Ms. Hayner:** He got up on the floor and said, "The party has gone away from me"—the Democratic Party. He said, "I was a Democrat for years and the party has just moved away from me, so I'm moving away from it." Essentially, that's it.

**Ms. Boswell:** What was the response on the floor?

**Ms. Hayner:** It was unbelievable. I could not tell. The Democrats may have had an inkling of what was coming. I don't know that. I hoped for that, but I never really expected him to act on it.

**Ms. Boswell:** So when he makes that announcement, then what happens? Everything is going to change. So he then just comes to the caucus and says, "I'm now a Republican. Can I come to the caucus?" You said there were some people who were skeptical.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know whether you know him very well.

**Ms. Boswell:** Just from a distance. I don't know him personally.

**Ms. Hayner:** He's a different kind of person, and some people like him real well and some don't like him. Everybody in the caucus was glad to have him at that moment, at least.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did it present any unusual problems for you? You were the minority leader. Once he makes that announcement, what's your first reaction? What do you have to do then?

**Ms. Hayner:** What do we have to do?

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes.

**Ms. Hayner:** What I realized immediately was that I didn't know enough about the possibility of leading that group of people, and so we called upon the National Organization of State Legislators and said, "Send us a few people from several states." They sent one from Arizona, I think, and somewhere in the Middle West. I don't remember their names now, but they all had been minority leaders or majority leaders. They sent them for a weekend, and they just really filled us in on a lot of information on what we should be doing, how difficult it was, how we could succeed in this, where we would find the pitfalls and so on, which was very, very helpful.

**Ms. Boswell:** What a good idea to bring somebody from the outside.

**Ms. Hayner:** We didn't even know how to do it because we had to reconstitute all the committees and the whole bit.

**Ms. Boswell:** How long a process was it if all the committees had to be changed?

**Ms. Hayner:** There are a lot of committees that are more political than others. For example, Law and Justice is not particularly political because most of them, although not all of them, are lawyers on there, and they deal with different kinds of things. Some of the committees are quite political, so you have to take that all into consideration. And that's why the legislators from the other states who came in to help us were very helpful. They gave us information on how it was best for us to do this, the pitfalls of doing it and so on.

**Ms. Boswell:** And they weren't necessarily Republican or Democrat? It was just a question of the process?

**Ms. Hayner:** I believe they were Republicans. I'm pretty sure they were.

**Ms. Boswell:** But still, it was about the process of what you were going to do and how to do it?

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right. It wasn't about party issues, particularly, but as I say, I know one came from Arizona, one came from Florida, and one came from the Middle West. I think that was it.

**Ms. Boswell:** So, essentially then, you got their help, but how did you proceed? Did you have to work with the former majority leader? How did it all come out?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. We just did it.

**Ms. Boswell:** You just did it yourself?

**Ms. Hayner:** We decided which committees we were going to have, and that's the first thing we did. We gave the Democrats an opportunity to pick their own members for the specific committees, but we told them how many they could have and that sort of thing. When the Democrats were in the majority, they selected and assigned the individuals for each committee.

**Ms. Boswell:** This is really in the middle of the session, too.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. We were working night and day to make it go so we wouldn't waste too much time.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was it a contributing factor to that session? Didn't that session run a fairly long time?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I think that was the session we had two special sessions and that really set us back.

**Ms. Boswell:** Everything has to be reconstituted, so it's understandable.

**Ms. Hayner:** Within the Republican caucus, the leadership also was not the same as it had been right after the takeover earlier on.

**Ms. Boswell:** Bob Lewis. I don't think he was reelected, was he? I don't know if he didn't run or whether he was just not elected, but I'm pretty sure he wasn't.

**Ms. Hayner:** He wasn't, but I don't think he intended to run, though.

**Ms. Boswell:** But then George Scott bowed out.

**Ms. Hayner:** But not right then. I am not sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** I thought it was then.

**Ms. Hayner:** Maybe it was. I can't tell you exactly.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you know why that happened?

**Ms. Hayner:** Why they did that? He'd been there quite awhile, too. Sometimes people get tired of it.

You're always at risk for losing your position within the confines of your own caucus. He was the floor leader, and you know, whenever you're in that position, too, you do things that not everybody likes.

**Ms. Boswell:** But you had no trouble holding your position, so I was just curious if you had some sort of tactical issues with him, too, that led to it.

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I did not. We got along fine.

**Ms. Boswell:** As the leader, can you have, or do you have much control over the rest of the leadership? Do you just go along with what they want?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not really, although I suppose you could bad-mouth them and talk behind their backs and so forth, but I didn't ever attempt to do that. I thought that would make more problems than if I just stayed out of it.

**Ms. Boswell:** As an outsider, caucuses are somewhat mysterious in terms of how they work.

**Ms. Hayner:** They're essential; otherwise you'd never get anything done. You've got to have order. You've got to know where people are in their thinking. You've got to have some organization. You can't do it without them. Maybe you could if you took twice as much time, but then you'd have to meet in little groups or something.

**Ms. Boswell:** Here, this is a quote from George Scott's book, *A Majority of One*. He says: "I had either legislated or campaigned seven days almost every week for a year. I thought about my six months on the campaign trail, about the 200 prospects I had talked to, about the million dollars spent to gain five seats."
Then he goes on to talk about that:

*I thought of the Matsonites, who, although they had not campaigned hard, seemed less hostile. I invited George Sellar, chief among them, to temporarily preside at the caucus, and turned to confirming my reelection as caucus chairman. I had forgotten the laconic "golden rule" of politics: "Don't get mad, get even." Lobbyists missed their conduit, and the caucus had been pushed faster than many wanted to go. While I was campaigning, Matsonites had rounded up the votes of half the caucus. I could step down, or we would be permanently divided, was the message Hayner delivered when I met her Friday afternoon in a downtown Seattle hotel. I walked onto the rainy street. It was nearly sunset (Scott 2002:136).*

**Ms. Hayner:** Read that again.

**Ms. Boswell:** All right. So, in other words, he is essentially saying that while he was out campaigning to get these five votes, that he didn't watch out, and the people who had been loyal to Matson earlier, blaming him, had gotten enough votes to say, "We don't want you as the caucus chair." So he said, "While I was campaigning, Matsonites had rounded up the votes of half the caucus. I could step down, or we would be permanently divided, was the message Hayner delivered when I met her Friday afternoon in a downtown Seattle hotel." Then he bows out of the race for the caucus chair.

I was just curious if that was how you remembered it or not.

**Ms. Hayner:** I can't tell you that. I just don't know. I did meet various people in Seattle at various times at the Washington Athletic Club because we belong there. I don't know. I can't imagine doing that.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is there a difference in the new caucus leadership that emerged then? You're the majority leader now. You have John Jones as the caucus chair and George Clarke as the floor leader.

**Ms. Hayner:** George Clarke was always a wonderful leveling effect. He was highly respected. He was very competent and smart, and we got along fine. I just wanted to inject that.

**Ms. Boswell:** As the floor leader, I guess to be that balancer there is really important, isn't it? What kind of characteristics does a floor leader really need to be effective?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think almost anybody could do it if they had the support, the mutual support, of the leaders. Now, that doesn't mean that they have to do exactly what the leader says, but they have at least talked it over. They don't do things without any agreement.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is the same true with the caucus chair? Does the way that he runs the caucus rely on getting along with the leader and what the leader wants?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, to an extent, but not as great.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's what I wondered.

What about John Jones? How effective was he as the caucus chair?

**Ms. Hayner:** He was fine. It isn't as nearly as difficult a job. He was great, too, because he was liked by everybody, and he just acted as the chair and that was it.

**Ms. Boswell:** You, all of a sudden, with von Reichbauer's decision, become the majority leader. What was is the most difficult aspect of it?

**Ms. Hayner:** Just holding everybody together and getting them so that they were comfortable with von Reichbauer. Some of them never were, really, but they finally agreed. They knew that we had to have him, you know. That took a little doing.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did he help his own cause or not? He was an outsider. He was coming into a new caucus.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. They were fine with him. There were hard feelings, too, but I think, generally speaking, he was accepted pretty well. He was smart, and he was pretty careful to not step on people's toes. They were willing to give him the benefit of any doubt.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of actual legislation, all of a sudden you're in charge of bringing the bills, all these committees and so much more. Obviously the workload increased significantly. How did you do it all, is my question?

**Ms. Hayner:** That's one of the things, too, that's a factor. A lot of people don't want to work that hard. They have a variety of reasons why they come to the Legislature as we've discussed already. I think by nature I'm a hard worker. That's just my nature. I've always done that. When I went to college I had a couple of jobs and got straight A's in college, so I was willing to do it. I'm sure others would like to have done it, but they didn't want to put out the effort.

**Ms. Boswell:** I don't know that they could have gotten people behind them either.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know about that.

**Ms. Boswell:** If there was one skill that would make you an effective majority leader, what might it be?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think any leader has to have compassion for people and to care about people and to know what's important to them and be willing to listen.

**Ms. Boswell:** And that served you in pretty good stead then?

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely. No question.

**Ms. Boswell:** How helpful was Governor Spellman in terms of getting over the hump and getting things done, especially given this switch in the middle of the session?

**Ms. Hayner:** He really had no role. A governor has his own duties. That doesn't mean we didn't meet with him, but our duties were our duties, not his, so we had to accomplish them.

**Ms. Boswell:** I just recently did an interview with someone who had to work primarily in leadership with Dan Evans as governor, and

because he, probably more than any other, was such a strong, take-charge kind of governor, I was curious about how different he was from Governor Spellman. I don't know as much about Governor Spellman's whole approach to the Legislature and to legislation, I guess I should say.

**Ms. Hayner:** The governors. We've had such an array of governors who were so different from each other. The present governor, Gary Locke, for example, is different from all the others, you know.

**Ms. Boswell:** In what way? What way do you think?

**Ms. Hayner:** Some governors are able to influence and discuss things with the leadership and have some effect. Others are not. I really can't criticize Gary Locke because I haven't served as a legislator under him. Gary was never a great legislator, you know. That doesn't mean that maybe he isn't a great governor, but it's just a different capacity entirely.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is a governor who has served in the Legislature generally more effective?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think that's true. Yes, I do, because they can be sympathetic to certain things that occur.

**Ms. Boswell:** You were the first woman majority leader, and I guess I keep coming back to that topic. Did you feel that at all? Did you ever take note of that, or was that just not an issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** That was not an issue with me. I've been the first of a lot of things in my life.

**Ms. Boswell:** I asked you the same question when we talked about becoming minority leader, but did you notice anything different? Were people used to you? Were you still perceived as a "woman" now in that job?

**Ms. Hayner:** By some. Sure, by some. As I told you, when we came out of our caucus when they elected me as the leader of the Republicans, there were lobbyists following me saying, "Jeannette, you can't do this. You're a woman and we've never had a woman." They didn't bother me any. They were good friends. They were lobbyists that I had a lot of respect for, but I just didn't agree with them.

**Ms. Boswell:** Does that sort of encourage you to…

**Ms. Hayner:** Do your best.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do even better, I guess.

There was a woman who was the caucus vice chair by that point, Eleanor Lee. Was she fairly active?

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did the Republicans use the whip position to keep the troops together?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. The whip job was to find out where people were and how they were going to vote if we weren't in caucus, and we had to make a decision on the floor or if we needed to call a caucus. Maybe another caucus would use him in a different way, I don't know.

**Ms. Boswell:** I've heard it said, for example, when Jim Matson lost his job with the caucus that he wasn't aware enough of what was happening with his people.

**Ms. Hayner:** He was laid back. He was

having a fun time in the Legislature, and he liked the Democrats as well as he liked the Republicans. That's not to say you shouldn't, but you don't tell them all your secrets. I don't know whether he did, but there was a perception. No, people were just unhappy with him because he gave the impression that he was happy with the way things were and that the Democrats were doing a fine job.

**Ms. Boswell:** The notion that the whips—the people who worked under the leader—should have realized that there was this discontent and helped to do something about it, is that fair?

**Ms. Hayner:** They probably should have, but I don't think he had much allegiance. I don't think people cared.

**Ms. Boswell:** I see. Okay. Conversely, then, when you become an officer, how did you keep the pulse of the members? You now have that position and, not only that, you're not even minority leader, you are majority leader. How do you keep the pulse of how people are feeling?

**Ms. Hayner:** You work hard to keep it.

**Ms. Boswell:** And that's where the compassion and really listening to people comes in?

**Ms. Hayner:** And talk to them, and talk to them, and ask them, "What are your problems?" and "Why are we doing this?" and "What do you think we ought to do better?" It's just a huge job if you want to do it right.

You do certain things with the caucus. An individual might want to change something, but not much.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was wondering if there is more discussion? Do you try to seek a broader consensus before moving ahead, or is that really what a caucus does anyway?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure. That is what a caucus does, or at least to find out where people are. I think it was just the fact that Jim was content with the way things were and that was it.

**Ms. Boswell:** At the time when you became majority leader, Jim McDermott was in the Senate and a leader of the Democrats in the state. How was he to work with? He had lost his gubernatorial hopes. Did that affect how he related to people in the Legislature, or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think so. I don't know that.

**Ms. Boswell:** This is pure speculation on my part, but I'm just curious. Should he or other Democratic leaders like Gordon Walgren have realized that von Reichbauer was going to switch over? Was that something that Democrats should have anticipated?

**Ms. Hayner:** I doubt it because von Reichbauer is a different kind of a guy, and even if Jim McDermott had approached him, he would not have talked to Jim about that. Maybe he wouldn't have talked to him about anything. It depended on the day. So I doubt it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did the fact that this happened cause some polarization between the two parties—that we'd had this flip-flop and now the power shift had taken place?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think there was a certain amount of that, sure. But that dissolved fairly soon because they knew he wasn't going to go back.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did his constituents react?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know that.

**Ms. Boswell:** I'm curious. I guess it would be in the paper.

**Ms. Hayner:** How would you know that?

**Ms. Boswell:** I don't know, except for the next election. Unless there were letters to the editor, I don't know how you'd measure it. It's a good point. It would be interesting to know.

If I elected somebody as a Democrat and he switched over, I don't know that I would be so happy, especially when it made such a big difference in the functioning of the Legislature.

**Ms. Hayner:** On the other hand, some would say: "If he really thought that, he should have done it." I applaud that, so, who knows?

## COLLEAGUE'S COMMENTARY: DENNY HECK

*Denny Heck's career in Olympia brought him frequently in contact with Jeannette Hayner, beginning with his work as a committee clerk, then as a member of the House of Representatives for the Seventeenth District, Chief Clerk, and also as chief of staff for Governor Booth Gardner. Denny Heck was also one of the founders of TVW, and he worked closely with Mrs. Hayner when she served on its board of trustees.*

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about how you first got to know Jeannette Hayner.

**Mr. Heck:** I first met Jeannette in 1973. I was a very, very lowly committee clerk for the House Education Committee, and she had just been elected, I think, for the first time from the Sixteenth Legislative District. As I recall, she served on the Education Committee because she had been a member of the Walla Walla school board. That's my recollection. That's how I first met her. I worked for the majority party; she was in the minority party. It wasn't the basis for a fast and deep relationship. Little did I know that our lives would intersect a number of times in the years ahead.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you later became a member of the House, did you ever overlap at all with her in terms of serving in the House? She had left there before you arrived, hadn't she?

**Mr. Heck:** Right. I believe she was elected to the Senate the year I was elected to the House, 1976, but I don't recall these details. We had quite a bit of occasion, however, to interact.

In the 1981 session of the Legislature, she was the majority leader in the Senate and I was the minority floor leader. That was during that two-year period of time when the state hit the fiscal wall. The bottom had fallen out of the economy. The revenues kept falling off. Every time we turned around there was another billion dollars missing from our projected revenues, and in the course of those two years many of the very, very difficult tax increases and budget cuts had to be fashioned in a bipartisan way. There was, during one of those sessions, a so-called "gang of fourteen" that operated on the budget. I frankly don't remember which of the sessions. We had five in 1981 and 1982 because of the continuing budget shortfall. I was on that group, which functioned as a conference committee on the budget and taxes. And Jeannette, of course, as the majority leader of the Senate was on it. So we worked together a lot during those two years.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about her leadership style and, as a legislator, how you found her to work with.

**Mr. Heck:** How I eventually found her to work with would be as follows: an inherently conservative person, and I mean that in the broadest sense. I don't mean just philosophically. I mean conservative, cautious. She was somebody who, notwithstanding great strength of character—and that's another thing I would say about her, enormous strength—was fairly steadfast in trying to get closure, trying to get an agreement, trying to solve the problem. Those are the three salient characteristics that come to mind. She was

very, very strong, conservative by nature, but pragmatic and solution-oriented.

**Ms. Boswell:** With those characteristics, then, in terms of partisanship, would she be less partisan, perhaps, than some of her other colleagues or not? How would you characterize her in that way?

**Mr. Heck:** At the time most Democrats didn't think so. Today, I think she would be seen as quite a bit less partisan in the current framework. We're living in a much more polarized world today than we were twenty-five years ago. Today she wouldn't be seen as especially conservative, frankly.

Certainly, certainly, the way she handled her threadbare majority was one for the history books. She was incredibly strong. Her nickname was, of course, Washington State's Margaret Thatcher, and for some people that was meant as a pejorative. For a lot of other people it was really a statement of honor for her. I frankly think I would have put myself in the former category to begin with, and the latter category as time went on.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you think she lived up to the Margaret Thatcher characterization, whichever way you wanted to look at it?

**Mr. Heck:** I think she's held up—on the scale of Washington State—much better over time than Margaret Thatcher has held up. I think history can and should be a lot kinder to Jeannette than history has been to Margaret Thatcher.

I was in Wales a few months ago and was on a tour. Granted, it was a tour of a former coal mine. I could not believe the spontaneous invective toward Margaret Thatcher that I encountered. It was her birthday, somebody made mention of it, and—ka-powie—the different docents that were guiding us around just went off on the damage that Margaret Thatcher had done to Great Britain. I don't think you'd find even partisans with that point of view toward Jeannette Hayner. I think she is pretty universally respected.

**Ms. Boswell:** She was also, besides being a strong leader, the first woman in a position of power like that in the Legislature. Obviously it has changed quite a bit since then, but tell me a little bit about her role as a woman. Did that make a difference to people? How did people regard her? Was it a stumbling block for her in any way or not?

**Mr. Heck:** Evidently not.

It wasn't the first time Jeannette had been a pioneer. She was one of the few members of her law school class who was a woman, as I recall. I don't recall the details—and goodness knows it occurred before I was even born—but she was kind of used to trailblazing. She always took the approach, it seemed to me, that her gender wasn't an issue with her, so it shouldn't be with you. And it wasn't. She was quite capable, as an interview with Joe King will reveal, of rendering six-foot-four- or six-foot-five-inch giants to tears just by virtue of her strength and demeanor.

**Ms. Boswell:** Can you elaborate? Can you give me an example of that? What would she actually do?

**Mr. Heck:** In answer to a question like you just asked, she'd probably look you in the eye with a smile on her face and say, "Sharon, that's just the way it's going to be."

**Ms. Boswell:** And that's that.

**Mr. Heck:** And that was that. Very strong. She was very strong, but still very pragmatic. She had a pretty difficult task keeping a twenty-five member Senate Republican caucus together, and she allowed and led to the

invention of this "rule of thirteen" business, whereby nothing was brought forward unless thirteen members of the caucus were for it. To keep together a caucus, which had its ideological schisms like that one did, was a feat. That's all.

**Ms. Boswell:** In the Democratic Party, within that caucus, there are some indications when she talked about it, that she didn't feel that the Democrats had that leadership capability and that they never were able to do that. Was it just her different leadership style that allowed her to keep that caucus together, or is it an inherent Republican/Democratic thing, too, that there are different perspectives toward unity?

**Mr. Heck:** My own personal bias is that Republicans—not timelessly and universally, but generally—are more self-disciplined than Democrats. I've always believed that was, in part, caused by a couple of things. One is historic minority party status in the country, where you don't have a chance against the majority party unless you stay together. And the second is they're much more reflective of the corporate culture. It's a little bit more hierarchal. More of them come from business, as an example. But these are a couple of examples of contributions towards the culture of Republican Party politics as practiced in the Washington State Legislature. They're not hard and fast rules, and they don't apply to every single member, but, generally speaking, I think Republicans are more self-disciplined.

One of the most commonly quoted clichés in all of American politics is Will Rogers saying, "I'm not a member of any organized political party. I'm a Democrat." He was right.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you ever see her on the floor? I think behind the scenes was obviously her bailiwick, but did you see her on the floor? I haven't talked to anybody who told me what she was like out in public or speechmaking or anything else.

**Mr. Heck:** I don't think it was her shtick, particularly. Her deal was to work the problems out with people. You could see her on the floor working individuals, and she would, on occasion, make the speech or the procedural motion, but I don't think that was what she would say was her particular forte. I think it was working the problem in whatever fashion the problem needed working.

The other thing that you remind me of by that question, I do not recall in now thirty-some years of knowing Jeannette—and knowing her well enough to have stayed at her home—of ever, no matter time of day, no matter how many hours she had worked, no matter what kind of external stress was being placed upon her, I do not recall a single instance of a single hair ever being out of place. The woman is class. She is an elegant lady who is the embodiment of grace and graciousness. When you think about what she had to go through as a member, the internal squabbles that she had to referee and the burden, I've just never seen her stressed.

**Ms. Boswell:** Maybe that's why she was so successful. She had that inner calm and strength.

**Mr. Heck:** Strength. Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's interesting, because I would say in the small amount of time that I spent with them, I would say the same thing. I've never seen her ever go out of character in any way.

**Mr. Heck:** No. No. She's very held together.

## Chapter 10

## In the Majority

**Ms. Boswell:** Now that you were in the majority, there were many opportunities to exercise leadership during the 1981 session. You have, for example, the ability to set these committee assignments and decide which committees whoever is on, and what committees even exist. Is there a tendency to want to eliminate the troublemakers?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, not as far as I was concerned. What I said was, "Tell me what committees you want to be on, and I will decide whether you get there." And that's precisely what I would do. I tried… Of course, you know you're on more than one committee, so I tried to listen to their arguments, if they had some, why they should be on this or that or the other and to look at their qualifications. Like Law and Justice—you can't put somebody who's been in agriculture on that. But you select a Max Benitz or somebody who's a farmer, to be on Agriculture or something similar. That's the way I did it and those who helped me make those decisions.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you think that there are too many committees?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I don't because there are lots of issues and some of them belong in certain categories. What happens to you when you serve on a certain committee, you become more proficient, even if you weren't initially in that particular area.

**Ms. Boswell:** But the more committees you have, the more cost.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know about the cost. Maybe you have a few people who are lawyers on a committee or…

**Ms. Boswell:** Staff members of some sort.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, but not a lot of cost.

**Ms. Boswell:** There was a weak economy in Washington at that point.

**Ms. Hayner:** At that point they didn't pay the legislators enough either. I don't know what they pay them now? Do you know?

**Ms. Boswell:** I don't know. I really have no idea.

**Ms. Hayner:** You know, you've got to recognize the fact that you can't be a lawyer in Walla Walla and be in the Legislature. Likewise, you can't have a grocery store and be in the Legislature. It's got to be enough so that they're willing to do some sacrificing actually. That's what it amounts to.

**Ms. Boswell:** Can a professional, unless you're independently wealthy, really be in the Legislature?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not very many. As I told you, there were some, but not many. If they lived on the west side, maybe they could do it.

Phil Talmadge is an example of a guy who I never could figure out how he could afford it. Now, I don't know what he's going to run for—governor?

**Ms. Boswell:** Governor. Yes.

**Ms. Hayner:** Probably. And he's very smart, but on the other hand, Dino Rossi is very smart, and he's had a lot of experience and has a totally different kind of personality. Who knows?

**Ms. Boswell:** Is the problem the time and the low amount of pay that you get? Is it also the disclosure with the public disclosure requirements? Another part of the situation in the Legislature was that by the 1980s, there was also the Public Disclosure Law which really began to inhibit attorneys from serving.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure. Yes. In fact, my husband, you know, was in a law firm. There are eight lawyers in there now, and I don't remember exactly how many there were then, but I remember going to his major partner and asking him whether he thought I should stay in the Legislature because of the public disclosure. His answer was, "Hell, yes. We've got more business than we need. Anyway, do what you want to do." He was always very supportive.

**Ms. Boswell:** That was really nice. So he didn't feel like it would jeopardize business?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. We did apply and receive some exemptions, after a hearing before the commission.

**Ms. Boswell:** I have heard stories about legislators who essentially decided to quit at that point because it was just too much.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I think that's right. I think my husband wanted me to do that just so that there was no misunderstanding, and I did, and his partner was very supportive, so it was no problem.

It never was an issue for me, and I had to give a lot of information about my husband. They may use that as an excuse, but who goes and looks at those filings?

**Ms. Boswell:** I don't know, but I suppose they could if they're available.

**Ms. Hayner:** But so what? That was always my attitude.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did your husband feel the same way?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. That was the same way he felt about it. My husband is unusual in the fact that I've always been able to do exactly what I wanted, and he supported me.

**Ms. Boswell:** It sounds ideal to me. That's great.

I had asked you earlier about Governor Spellman, and I guess I was curious about Spellman's leadership qualities in terms of budget issues because there were difficulties in trying to balance the budget, but also taxation and spending issues. Because of that he was called "the waffle man" by some in the press.

**Ms. Hayner:** I thought he was fine. You get somebody who decides they don't like you, and they call you a waffler or whatever.

But Governor Spellman wasn't hard to work with. It was a difficult time, and you do what you can under the circumstances.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think it was maybe in 1982 or so that he actually fired a budget man, Glen Pascall.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. He was very good.

**Ms. Boswell:** But then the Republicans hired him. Was it the caucus who hired him? Tell me a little bit about that.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't remember the details of that situation to tell you the truth, but we thought he was very good, and for some reason or other they didn't get along and so Spellman decided to fire him.

**Ms. Boswell:** The newspaper said it was because he had mentioned that Spellman might actually be contemplating an income tax, and that Spellman wanted to cut out that idea right away. He said that he wasn't going to do that.

**Ms. Hayner:** The Republicans never seriously considered an income tax. It was an issue, sure, but we were not interested in that.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about other ways to raise money? If you have these serious kinds of financial crisis, what about the state lottery proposals?

**Ms. Hayner:** That was an issue that was brought up frequently, but I am very opposed to gambling because I have seen too many people gamble away everything. The lottery is just one form of gambling. I remember one of my close friends, because I carried on quite a lot of opposition against the lottery, sent me a lottery ticket for Christmas. I sent it back to her.

**Ms. Boswell:** So that was really a principle that you were going to stick to? It was not a way of raising money that you saw as acceptable?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, absolutely not. No. You don't want to encourage things that you don't approve of.

We had to think about the fact—and it was discussed thoroughly on the floor of the Senate—because these states that have lotteries also have to set up an organization to treat people who become addicted to gambling.

**Ms. Boswell:** Some of the things that were proposed at that time included putting a cap on enrollments at colleges and increasing tuition.

**Ms. Hayner:** That's never been done. Sure, there are all kinds of things that are floated out there for consideration, and, of course, the press picks them up and blows them up. But on further consideration, they turn out not to be good ideas.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of your agenda when you did become majority leader…

**Ms. Hayner:** I didn't have an agenda.

**Ms. Boswell:** Okay. There were no programs you wanted?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. Joe King used to come over and say, "What is it you want?" I'd say, "Joe, I don't want anything. I want to see this place work. I want to see us do the best job we can." You can ask Joe, and he'll tell you that. He used to get so frustrated with me because I didn't have anything to trade. I wasn't there because I had an agenda for myself. I might have helped others because they had an agenda that I thought was okay, and so I'd help them to succeed with that if it were possible to do so.

**Ms. Boswell:** So if you had a leadership model, would you say then that it's better for a leader not to have a specific agenda, but rather to promote the agenda of others? Is that a fair way to explain it?

**Ms. Hayner:** I believed that was best because I perceived that was the way to get the best cooperation from everybody in your caucus.

If you said, "This is what I want," boy, you've lost somebody over here because they don't want it. So, for me, that's the way I felt.

**Ms. Boswell:** Within the caucus, was it most important to push the issues that the majority wanted?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Absolutely.

**Ms. Boswell:** What if you didn't personally agree with some of those issues?

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right. If the majority wanted it, that was fine and that was what we did. Before we voted on any issue on the floor, we always discussed it in our caucus. If the majority of the people wanted it, that's the way we voted, and I thought that it was important for us to all vote for it then. For the most part, we did—not always, but mostly.

**Ms. Boswell:** How do you think that the rest of the caucus viewed that concept? Was that a popular idea?

**Ms. Hayner:** They accepted it, I should say. We'd talked about it enough to know that we thought we'd be more effective that way.

And, you know, I was a tough leader because I originated the idea when we were in the majority by one, that we would always discuss a bill—we discussed all the major legislation in our caucuses anyway—but we would always discuss a bill. We would always discuss a bill and we would take a vote. I was highly criticized in the Seattle papers for this strategy. If the majority of our caucus said, "Yes, we should vote for this bill and these are the reasons," everybody was required to vote for it. Now, I did have some problems later with a few people who just refused to abide by that rule, but those were very limited situations. Mostly our caucus abided by that idea.

And it kept us in the majority. My argument always was, "If you're a majority of one in the Senate, and you can't get a bill passed within your side of the aisle, it's not your legislation. It's theirs." And I convinced them that was the way we should operate, and we did. And when Joe King would come over—or whoever was the Speaker at the time—I'd say, "Here's where we are. We can negotiate. We can have conference committees, or whatever, but this is where our caucus is."

And that was the thing that the Democrats could never understand because they couldn't keep their people together that way. They just didn't understand that at all.

**Ms. Boswell:** Where did that idea come from? It was often called "the rule of thirteen."

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know. We had some very good staff people, excellent. I don't know whether you ever knew John Rico. John Rico died of AIDS. He had it for ten years, and he acquired it when he was in California. He worked for the Legislature in California. He was a remarkable guy, very brilliant. I met with him and with several people every morning at seven o'clock, and we'd discuss what we were about, and what was wrong in the caucus, and why we should take a little different tack, and who was a problem and all of those things.

**Ms. Boswell:** Also, this leadership style, too, where you said, "Okay, we've got a majority, and now we've got our thirteen. This is what everybody must abide by." It took some guts to make that stand.

As a caucus, I guess, what were some of the issues that seemed to be most important, or that…?

**Ms. Hayner:** Seemed to be most difficult? There were always issues like abortion. Silly.

I don't mean that it is silly, but things that aren't basic. I don't think that is basic in legislation.

**Ms. Boswell:** Not on a state level, anyway, I wouldn't think.

**Ms. Hayner:** That's what I mean.

**Ms. Boswell:** And budget? How about handling budget issues? Obviously, that's one of the most difficult aspects of legislation, especially in a poor economy.

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, that's all worked out pretty well in committee. You can try to bring as much pressure as you want on the person who is on the committee that has something to do with that, or you can try to convince your caucus to be in favor of a certain thing. But mainly, our focus was always, "Let's not raise taxes." If you're not going to raise taxes, you're not going to have a lot of options either. Even sometimes when we did raise taxes, it was difficult because we didn't have enough money. That's why we established this rainy day fund, which is now non-existent, but was a good idea.

**Ms. Boswell:** In 1981 and 1982 you had a state and regional recession. You had, really, a national recession. You had high unemployment.

**Ms. Hayner:** So you have to cut some places.

**Ms. Boswell:** How do you make those decisions?

**Ms. Hayner:** You just sit down and say, "What is the best we can do?"

**Ms. Boswell:** But across the board, if you're going to have to cut, can you make some determination of what kinds of things are cut? Is it services? Is it something else?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. You talk about the things that are most essential and the things that you can eliminate without hurting the people who most need the help. You can argue about what those are, but still, that's basically what you have to do. It's tough under those circumstances—really tough.

**Ms. Boswell:** You have that kind of situation where you really have to cut. I think Washington's bond ratings really suffered, or were reduced. Somewhere in there you also had WPPSS, the Washington Public Power Supply System, and all the problems with that going on.

Is that something that, as a majority leader, you could deal with, or that you felt pressure to deal with in some way?

**Ms. Hayner:** We didn't deal with anything we didn't have to deal with. I can say that because we had enough issues without asking for trouble. So, if we had to deal with it, we did. And if we had to cut, we did cut. It was not easy, and nobody likes to be reduced in the amount.

Teachers' salaries—that was always a big, big issue because there was a lot of pressure. It's a simple issue that everybody understands. It's your pocketbook, and yet my kids need the best teacher, and so you've got to give them more money and you'll get the best teacher. Well, that's not always true either.

**Ms. Boswell:** Would you characterize yourself as a pragmatist? Is that what essentially you had to do was to be pragmatic and say, "Well, if we're going to have to cut, let's be sensible."

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely, you have to be a

pragmatist. You also have a philosophy to be, as I was, always as reasonable about the amount you were going to spend as possible. Let's not spend beyond our capabilities. Let's not raise taxes unless it's absolutely essential.

One year we raised taxes on—you may remember this—food for one year. And boy, did we take a shellacking in the newspapers. They said, "Oh, they'll never take that off. It'll be on there forever." We did take it off.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you take it off because you got the shellacking or because you were planning to take it off?

**Ms. Hayner:** We took it off because when we put it into effect, we said, "This is for one year." They said, "Oh, that's not going to hold. They'll continue that," but we didn't.

**Ms. Boswell:** I asked you earlier about Ellen Craswell. Didn't you have a significant disagreement with her over taxes and budget issues?

**Ms. Hayner:** We had three people in our caucus who had campaigned on the fact that they would never raise any taxes. So where does that leave you? I talked myself blue in the face to get those people to come along, but they were just impossible. Then you have to start going across the aisle for help, and when you do that, it costs you a lot of money. That's what happened to us one year.

Ellen Craswell had campaigned on the fact that she wasn't going to raise any taxes. At that point there was just no way to deal with the budget without some taxes. I think that was the year that we put on the food tax again for one year. It may be the wrong year, but I don't know, it was pretty close. Anyway, she wouldn't vote for it, so we had to go across the aisle and get three votes. You know how much that cost us? It cost us about three hundred fifty million dollars in spending.

I got letters from her district saying, "What's the matter with your caucus? Why don't they do what she wants you to do? That makes sense to us." I wrote a long letter and explained to them how difficult this was and that because of her and the other two people, it cost the state three hundred fifty million dollars. People don't understand. They don't understand that it's give and take.

**Ms. Boswell:** So to get the Democratic votes you had to agree to go along with other programs?

**Ms. Hayner:** Certainly. The Democrats wanted to spend a lot more money, and we were trying to keep the spending down because we were in terrible economic shape. They said, "Oh, sure, we'll give you three votes, but it's going to cost you millions of dollars." Then you're really in a fix because this is against your basic views on how government should work.

**Ms. Boswell:** Those kinds of campaign promises can backfire.

**Ms. Hayner:** You never should do that. I brought it up fifty times after that and said, "If you want to be in a position like they were in, just make promises. You don't know what's going to happen in the future, and you have to be flexible enough so that you can take care of a difficult situation."

**Ms. Boswell:** Is it a question of making no promises, or is it a question of doing your best to accomplish it?

**Ms. Hayner:** I'll do my best. You know what my basic theory is? "I don't like taxes any better than you do, but I can't promise that I won't do it because I don't know what I might be facing."

**Ms. Boswell:** Have you ever had a situation where you said that you wouldn't do this or that, and then had to do it for those kinds of reasons and gotten criticized for it, for example?

**Ms. Hayner:** I tried to be as cagey as I could. You need to give yourself some leeway.

**Ms. Boswell:** I had read somewhere that, as a result, Ellen Craswell was removed as vice chair of the Budget Committee and her name was 'whited' out from the stationery. Is that something you remember?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't remember that. I may have put it out of my mind, but I don't remember that. I don't think that's right. That just doesn't sound like something I'd be interested in being a part of.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was just curious.

What about the environment? In a difficult economic situation—where before we talked about teachers' salaries, which obviously are an important human issue—there were also the environmental issues. These issues sometimes take a back seat when there are other financial concerns—for development or cutting timber, for example. We were, in the 1980s at least, still more of a timber-based economy than obviously we now are. What about that position on the environment? Was that pragmatic—you took a pragmatic position?

**Ms. Hayner:** I tried to. Of course, I think the environment is important, but it depends on what segment of the environment is being considered. I think environmentalists tend to go overboard. If they are real environmentalists, they want to save every tree. They don't want to cut a single tree. They don't want to use insecticides. They get into all these controversial sorts of things. I have to think that most of that kind of thing has been investigated sufficiently to know what is best. I don't know what is best.

**Ms. Boswell:** Can it be as cut and dried, though, if it's a choice between development, which will help to bolster the economy, and saving the trees? What about the Growth Management Act?

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, growth management was the big issue—growth and development. That was a big issue for a long time. Should you limit development? Of course, that's a very difficult thing to do. How in the world do you decide whether a paper plant should come in or not? Maybe the environment or something else should dictate, but growth management was a big issue for a long time. I don't know that you should limit development and management of growth. I don't know how you do it without being dictatorial. I wouldn't want to make the decisions on that.

**Ms. Boswell:** And again, it varies so from county to county and area to area. Whether you're talking about shoreline development or whether you're talking about…

**Ms. Hayner:** Agricultural land—whether you're talking about wine grapes or something else.

**Ms. Boswell:** How much effect can the majority leader have in terms of determining the course? I'm not trying to go back to say that you have an agenda, but these issues are all on the table. Is it really a product of consensus within the caucus? You don't really shape which issues you think are important?

**Ms. Hayner:** If I felt very strongly about something on the basis of what I had read and seen happen, then I might try to influence them. But I never tried to lead them in a certain way.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was discipline important for you once the majority made the decision?

**Ms. Hayner:** Absolutely. Then we stuck together. I always thought that was very important because if not, then you're divisive, and we would have people peeling off all over the place.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you come to this just by having seen it not work? Was it part of your own management style or how would you characterize it?

**Ms. Hayner:** It's probably my management style to a certain extent, but I'd seen it happen with the Democrats. Somebody would peel off and the leader didn't even know they were going to. That's just ridiculous. It wastes everybody's time, and it's just not the way to run a good ship.

**Ms. Boswell:** If discipline is important, how do you find the common ground where that becomes less of an issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think you let everybody talk. You let everybody hear all of the facts. You vote on it in your caucus and then you go together. That's what I tried to instill in them—that you couldn't do one thing in the caucus and then peel off.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were people generally open to that concept?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. They all agreed with that pretty much. That wasn't something that was divisive. The issue of going together was not divisive in the caucus. They knew that if we didn't stick together, with the way the numbers were in the Senate, that we were ineffective.

**Ms. Boswell:** You always did have that sort of—I don't want to say hanging over your head—but the fact was that there was only a very slim majority and sometimes you were, in fact, in the minority.

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right.

**Ms. Boswell:** So there was always that issue.

Given a difficult budget time like that, where you are in a precarious majority, what happens to some of the things that sometimes—and people have different opinions about this—that sometimes people think are not as essential? I'm thinking about the arts and other issues.

**Ms. Hayner:** Sometimes they get lots of money, and sometimes they get nothing—not nothing, but very little.

**Ms. Boswell:** So again, that's just the pragmatic approach?

**Ms. Hayner:** And it's the economy. It is such a big factor. This rainy day fund, which we don't have any more, helped, I think, for a while to level it out so you didn't have peaks and valleys.

**Ms. Boswell:** So your proposals for leveling out would be primarily that when there is extra, put it aside for the rainy day fund or whatever people called it?

**Ms. Hayner:** In doing that, you have to use a certain amount of discipline, too, because the schools alone could absorb everything extra you have if you wanted to do that, but you'd never accomplish your goal then.

**Ms. Boswell:** I've heard other legislators essentially say that we could take the whole budget and put it into schools and still probably not have enough.

**Ms. Hayner:** Some people would say that.

**Ms. Boswell:** Actually, I'm thinking of a former Superintendent of Public Instruction who used to say that.

One other thing that happened that's curious to me—and I'm interested in your reaction—is that with all these budget things that were happening in the early 1980s, they actually brought in Arthur Laffer, the economist, as a consultant. Was that something that they consulted the Legislature about? I wondered what your reaction to that was.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think consultants are fine. You listen to them, but you still have the issue, and you have to make the final decision.

**Ms. Boswell:** So consultants can be useful, but you have to do the real work?

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right. They can tell you the facts and what they perceive, but I don't think you should ever ask them what they would do. I think you have to decide that on the basis of your own expertise.

**Ms. Boswell:** And the situation, obviously, that you're facing, and how you might adapt to it.

Given all these problems—I think we talked a little bit about this earlier—there ended up being several special sessions. How did you feel about extending the sessions in order to deal with these issues?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think we had to whether we felt like doing it or not. You're supposed to have a budget by a deadline, so you'd better have it.

**Ms. Boswell:** And if you can't, you just keep working until you do?

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right. You can be called in by the governor or you can call yourselves into session with the agreement of both the houses.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there thoughts of bringing the public more into the discussion? I mean, how productive is it?

**Ms. Hayner:** The public comes before the committee. You've got lots of the public coming before the committee. Usually they're polarized one way or the other, but, nevertheless, they speak their minds. There isn't any point in bringing the public in or the newspapers. I think that just would prolong the discussion without any real results.

**Ms. Boswell:** So hearings around the state have limited effect?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. We did that when we built a new school in Walla Walla. We had hearings, and we had hearings. And all we got was "I'm for it; I'm against it," and why they were. That doesn't get you any place. You've still got to make the decision. You can't avoid it.

**Ms. Boswell:** I guess I didn't live in the state yet at that period of time, but today I always think of Washington as being a state that has a lot of foreign trade and that we really make an effort to be an international state.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** But my sense from reading is that although we've always had relationships with the Far East, for example, they had only slowly built up to that point. Can you tell me a little bit about what role as majority leader, or as a legislator, international trade played in your whole view of Washington's future? It's a pretty broad question.

**Ms. Hayner:** No, but I'll tell you one thing that was kind of interesting. When I was in the Legislature, there was quite a bit of money that was invested in South Africa, which was a big issue at the time because of Apartheid. These were American companies in South Africa, and they had invested in these good investments, and they were trying to force the companies and state agencies to divest. I was very opposed to it because I said, "First of all, we shouldn't be getting into any international affairs like that. We put the money there because we thought it would get good interest and because it was doing a good thing." Oh, there were those who were just absolutely not going to hold still for that. They thought it had to come out right away, but it never was taken out. I think in the long run it was best not to divest because if the previous Legislature had made the decision to put that money in South Africa, it should have stayed there. It would have cost the University of Washington forty-five million dollars if they had divested at that particular time. There were three of us women in the Senate who really fought that issue hard because it just seemed like such a dumb thing to do at a time like that, when if you could hang on another six months or a year, things would be better.

Of course, unbeknownst to us, this was a big issue in South Africa, and it never was done. There were people, lots of people in Seattle, who didn't want it to happen either because they thought it was the wrong way to go. As a result, that next summer, myself and the other two women were invited to go to South Africa and see what was actually happening. An idea prevailed that a lot of people were saying that there were all these Black people down there—the Apartheid question was big then, you see—and we shouldn't be promoting that kind of discrimination and so on. So they took us down there for the specific purpose of showing us that as far as American companies were concerned, the only companies that were doing anything to help the Black people down there were the American companies. They were educating the Blacks, and they were hiring the Blacks, and they were trying to integrate.

**Ms. Boswell:** What did you end up seeing or doing there?

**Ms. Hayner:** They took us to see the government and how it worked. It was very informational. Very good. We had a gal who traveled with us and explained everything to us. I thought it was good.

One of the most remarkable dinners I ever went to in my life was in the home of a Black couple who, years before, had bought one car to use as a taxicab in Johannesburg, which is a big city now. It's a wonderful city, a beautiful city. They own the transportation system in South Africa. They've been all over the world. This Black couple invited us to their home, and there must have been people from thirty different countries there, I swear. It was a sit-down dinner. You have never seen such beautiful things all around, which she had purchased from all over the world. She lived in the white district, but they were Black. It was just really quite a special occasion.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there a perspective from this Black couple that Apartheid was not an issue, or that the American role in Apartheid shouldn't be an issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** They just felt, too, that the Americans did not understand Africa. What happened really was that Johannesburg couldn't handle the influx of Black people. The Black people never came down into South Africa because South Africa was peopled by the Dutch, and then finally the English. Most of the people are white, but then when the Black people in the middle of Africa saw all these good things happening and people

getting jobs and these fine buildings, they started moving down.

When we were there, Soweto was a little town out of Johannesburg of a million people, all Black. Of course, the American newspapers would take pictures in Soweto of the terrible conditions, people living in tents and all this poverty. Sure. What they never said was that the government was building little houses for them with picket fences just as fast as they could, but it takes time. The picture we got in the newspapers here from South Africa was just absolutely deceitful. Since then I've never believed much that I read in the paper about foreign countries because it was just wildly different.

Anyway, it was quite amazing because the American companies were doing all they could. If it hadn't been for them, not much would have been done for the Black people. They were really doing the best they could with a bad situation.

**Ms. Boswell:** What had prompted you to take the position you had prior to that visit? You said you had fought pretty hard against the concept of divestment. Prior to your trip, what brought you to that position?

**Ms. Hayner:** I talked to a lot of people. I talked to the University of Washington people, and they said it was going to kill them. They said, "We've got all these investments and it's going to cost us a lot of money, and it doesn't make much sense." So you make up your own mind.

But it was really an interesting experience because when we were in Johannesburg one Sunday, we didn't have—we were there for about ten days, maybe, two weeks—anything to do, and I said, "Why don't we walk up to Tutu's church?" It was only about three blocks, and the church was right on the square. Johannesburg is built around a square, and on Sundays they have lots of little booths around. The church right there was closed, and there were a lot of Black people standing on the steps, but they told us Tutu's church was open, so we went up there. One of the gals with me was Catholic, one was not anything, and I was Lutheran and Presbyterian, and so we attended. This is a wonderful English-type church built in the shape of a cross and in the middle was this raised platform, which was where the minister stood and the entire hierarchy. Then they gave communion, and I said, to Lois Stratton, "Do you want to go up?" And she said, "Sure." This was the height of the AIDS epidemic down there, too. There were lots of Black people in the church when we were in there, too. They had the common cup, and Lois said to me, "What do we do now?" I said, "Just say a little prayer and don't worry about it." So we did. We took the common cup and drank from it. It was interesting and Desmond Tutu happened to be there, and he was an inspiring speaker. He was a little, short man.

**Ms. Boswell:** That must have been quite an experience.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. It was, really. And it was quite an experience being in South Africa. It's a beautiful country. You get down on the Cape and two oceans come together. You can understand why there were so many ships that went down out there, because there's just this kind of rip tide because of the two oceans coming together. It was beautiful blue, blue, blue water, absolutely gorgeous, and flowers everywhere.

They have a flower market every two weeks, I guess it is, and it was three blocks long and built like a horse trough and just solid flowers.

**Ms. Boswell:** It must have been spectacular.

**Ms. Hayner:** A lot of them grow wild. It's just unbelievable. We went around the Cape one day on just a ride because we had a little time, and we stopped the car and all of a sudden we had all these little monkeys all over our car.

**Ms. Boswell:** I didn't realize that they had monkeys there.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes, there were lots of animals—wild ones. I don't think big ones. These little monkeys were not very big, but I didn't want them in the car.

**Ms. Boswell:** No. Definitely not.

Was divestiture in South Africa a pretty partisan issue? Did it split between Democrats and Republicans in terms of that issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** It wasn't necessarily Democrats and Republicans. It was sort of divided actually. Sometimes you get issues like that, too, especially when it involves international things.

**Ms. Boswell:** There was also a committee, the Joint Select Legislative Committee on International Trade. I think that you were involved in establishing or reestablishing trade. Can you tell me a little bit about what that committee actually did?

**Ms. Hayner:** Actually, there were three of us invited to go to China, and that actually was through Seattle, I believe, because Chengdu and Seattle had a pretty good relationship.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was Buster Brouillet involved in that trip, too? He was really active in exchanges with China.

**Ms. Hayner:** He might have been, but he didn't go on this trip. We went to Chengdu, and they took us all around. As a matter of fact, they took us on a train trip from Beijing all around the west side of China, down to Burma and back up to Beijing. It took us a week and was very informational. I think they did it primarily because we are a coastal state that has a good deal of trade with Chengdu and with China in general. It was very informational.

**Ms. Boswell:** Generally speaking, legislators sometimes get criticized for taking trips.

**Ms. Hayner:** This trip was all paid for by the Chinese. I never went on anything that I didn't either pay for myself or they paid for it. The state never paid for anything.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was thinking of junkets.

**Ms. Hayner:** At that time you got three trips a year over to Olympia, and I was back and forth all the time, so I paid all of that myself. We didn't have very much of a salary; it was very minimal.

**Ms. Boswell:** Many people probably lost money being legislators.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes, it wasn't a money-making deal at that time. I know they pay them quite a bit more now, but I don't think it's still profitable for the east-siders.

**Ms. Boswell:** By the time you throw in all the travel and time expense, it would be very difficult to imagine that it would be profitable in any way.

Another issue from this period of time that had to do with development and, to a degree, international relations, was the Northern Tier pipeline. Earlier, there had been the issue of supertankers coming into the Sound. How did you see that type of issue as a legislator working on the state level? What

were some of your ideas about how to handle the pipeline, for example?

**Ms. Hayner:** There again, I'm not an expert on pipelines. So if it were an issue, I'd address it just as I just explained, but we didn't have any issue like that before us. As far as the tankers coming in, I think that's an issue for Seattle and those places that are intimately affected by that.

**Ms. Boswell:** They did deny, for a while, at least, the permits for the Northern Tier pipeline.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think they did a lot of investigating on that issue. You know, the equipment and everything has become so much more effective and long-lasting.

**Ms. Boswell:** You were a member of the Washington State Conservation Commission. What position did they take or what direction did that commission go?

**Ms. Hayner:** That commission kind of flip-flopped from being sensible about spending to conserving our assets and conserving the things that this state has that are unique. I don't think it's in existence any more, is it?

**Ms. Boswell:** I don't think so, but I'm not sure when it ended.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think it probably had a purpose then, but I don't think that there was any lasting impact. Somebody obviously thought it was important and we worked at it, but it didn't turn out to be that important.

**Ms. Boswell:** Another really hot issue—and I'm kind of curious about it because it was considered a Republican issue of sorts—is that there was a Senate bill in 1982 that gave the governor the power to make cuts or to impose certain taxes without the Legislature if it was considered to be an emergency.

**Ms. Hayner:** It was proposed.

**Ms. Boswell:** I thought it passed. No, it didn't?

**Ms. Hayner:** I would be surprised if it did. At least my theory on that issue would be if you're going to do anything as drastic as that, you'd better have the body that did it in the first place come back and address it.

Now, we may have done something that he could do on a temporary basis.

**Ms. Boswell:** I thought it was. Was it Phil Talmadge who was a real strong opponent? I thought there was actually a lawsuit over giving the governor this power and that the courts did, in fact, strike it down? That's my recollection.

**Ms. Hayner:** It's very possible, yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** But so the principle itself doesn't bother you too much? If the Legislature chooses to give the governor this power, that is their choice?

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, sure, it's their choice. If somebody challenges them and the court says they can't do that, that's fine.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of taxation, are there some taxes that are better than others? In terms of the philosophy of taxation, if you need money, where do you go?

**Ms. Hayner:** Everybody has a different theory on that. There are those who say, "Soak the rich," and there are those who say, "No, everybody should pay according to their ability." I tend to agree that everybody benefits from state government. It provides

a lot of help to a lot of people, and therefore everybody should suffer or gain.

**Ms. Boswell:** That certainly makes sense, but if you have to choose whether it's where you tax or where you cut, how do you prioritize?

**Ms. Hayner:** You've got to do it. It's not easy, but you do it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Let's say in 1982 there's a big budget crisis, and you just don't have enough money. If there are certain areas where we're going to have to cut, how would you prioritize what areas?

**Ms. Hayner:** We did prioritize. We had to. Education—we preserve it as much as we possibly can. We helped the poor and the downtrodden and the handicapped. And then there were a lot of frivolous things that we stopped.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you take that out if you can. You mentioned education and preserving it. What about higher education? Is that an area where you can cut?

**Ms. Hayner:** Higher education is funded a little bit differently. They get a lot of their money from alums, and they can do things that K-12 cannot do. Our state schools, Washington and Washington State, get a lot of money and so does Ellensburg. You just have to prioritize.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about social and health services?

**Ms. Hayner:** That's a place where there's a lot of money wasted, in my opinion, because we have to have that, and it's a huge department. I think they've tried to cut down on it as much as possible, but I don't know how effective it has been. How do you know?

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes. It's another area where it's pretty difficult to try to follow it.

One of the things that you proposed that I thought was fascinating is that the governor ordered them not to collect sales tax on food purchased for food banks. That's when the Legislature had placed that temporary tax on food. Then you said, "Let's not. We don't want to hurt the poorest people, so let's not tax money for food banks." Can you be selective like that? Does it work?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure, you can.

**Ms. Boswell:** It's not the ideal, though, if you've got all these exceptions to it.

**Ms. Hayner:** No. It isn't the ideal, and if somebody took it to court, why they might succeed. But who's going to spend the money to do that? Food banks, probably.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think that whenever there was the kind of situation that there was during these years, where the economy is so difficult and where people are making cuts that they don't want to make, there are frustrations. I guess Governor Spellman was calling the Legislature—or at least, I think, the House in particular—troglodytes. It started getting down to name-calling. Was that just a product of frustration?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think so, but I don't think it got him anyplace.

**Ms. Boswell:** One other area that was affected—and I'm curious because it seems to be, sometimes at least, a rural issue—was roads. Transportation is a huge issue. Is it fair to say that was an issue, at least at that point in time, which was more important to the rural counties? To me, it has now shifted and some of the big transportation issues are for the urban areas like Seattle with the problems that they have.

**Ms. Hayner:** It's expensive to do anything in the Seattle area because where do you go with a big, wide highway? They've talked about putting overpasses. Well, the cost of that is enormous. They've got a fast train in Portland, and people don't take it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Oh, really? I thought that one was fairly successful.

**Ms. Hayner:** To a certain extent. But that's hard, very difficult.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were you a fairly strong road advocate when you were involved or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. In a rural area, especially, you have to have farm-to-city roads if you're going to take your products to the people on the west side who are going to eat. So you've got to have roads. Most cities—and counties, too, when it's county roads—take care of their own. When it comes to state highways, you've got to have some good highways.

**Ms. Boswell:** It seems like—and I'm not saying that this is just from your time in office—but it seems like Walla Walla is still somewhat more isolated in terms of roads than some other areas. The highway goes to the Tri-Cities and then sort of stops. Has that been an issue for this county or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I don't think so because there are people who go to Tri-Cities, but we went over there the other day, and there was hardly any traffic. We have another highway, which is the freeway from Pasco to Spokane. Then there's another highway going up, Route 12, and that's a terrible highway because it is crooked and up and down. Most people go via Pasco and Ritzville to Spokane. Because of the number of accidents, there has been increased activity to build a freeway between Walla Walla and Pasco.

**Ms. Boswell:** Have things changed with the growth? There's always been agriculture here in Walla Walla. Has the growth of the wine industry made a difference in terms of transportation issues?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think a great deal. However, there are a group of people working hard to obtain a freeway because of the number of serious accidents, including deaths, on the existing two-lane highway between Walla Walla and Pasco.

**Ms. Boswell:** It makes sense to expand it with successful new industries and population growth.

**Ms. Hayner:** Our population, at least the last I heard, was growing at a rate of about six percent a year.

## COLLEAGUE'S COMMENTARY: DAN MCDONALD

*Dan McDonald was a member of the Washington State House of Representatives from 1979 to 1983 and then continued to represent the Forty-eighth District in the Senate until 2002. He served as floor leader and then as chair of the Ways and Means Committee during Jeannette Hayner's tenure as Republican majority leader. He comments on Jeannette Hayner's influence on his own political career as well as her skills in forging a united and effective caucus.*

**Ms. Boswell:** Could you give me a little bit of background on your own political career and how you first met Jeannette Hayner?

**Mr. McDonald:** Well, I was first elected in 1978, so went to the first session in 1979. We were in the House 49 to 49. They'd gone from, I think, thirty-four members out of ninety-eight to 49 to 49, so it was a huge victory for the House. The Senate at that time was nineteen members out of forty-nine. They were just at a huge deficit, so all the action was in the House. More importantly, the Senate had been Democrat controlled from, I think, 1954 or 1956 up until 1979, so it had been a long, long dry spell for them. Jim Matson was the leader of the old guard. If you kind of go along and you get along and you work in a collegial manner, which meant that you pretty much toed the line as far as what the Democrats wanted to do, then you could get a few things that you were interested in. Well, George Scott and Jeannette Hayner—I forget who the third member of the group was.

**Ms. Boswell:** Oh, Bob Lewis?

**Mr. McDonald:** Bob Lewis, there you go. Thank you. Bob Lewis got tired of that. And he said, "We have as good ideas as the Democratic caucus does, and we'd like to be in the majority." And so I remember the three of them coming over—Jeannette, George and Bob Lewis coming over—and saying there had been a change in leadership, that Jim Matson had been voted out and the three of them were sort of a troika that were running the caucus then. I was brand new. All of this stuff was new, and I didn't really catch the full significance of it, I don't think, then. But they worked very hard, and the 1980 election came along, and they came out with twenty-four members out of forty-nine, so just one short of the majority, which was remarkable. I mean that's the closest they'd been by a mile in decades, literally. It became evident that you couldn't run it with three people, and Jeannette kind of emerged as the real leader. And then you watched the whole dynamics of the Peter von Reichbauer switch, which gave them the numerical majority in the Senate. Then just all hell broke loose. It was a pretty unpleasant place over there, I believe.

I was all wrapped up in my own world, which was the House. I was on the Appropriations-Education, I had the higher-ed and kindergarten through twelfth grade as my beat, and I was the chair of that committee. It's amazing how insulated the House is from the Senate and vice-versa, so I didn't have a real good idea of all the things that she was going through over there. She was clearly the leader, there was no doubt about it, and she did it with such grace and style, it was really quite amazing.

**Ms. Boswell:** But then you ended up being appointed to the Senate and then elected, so tell me a little bit about that transition going into the Senate Republican caucus.

**Mr. McDonald:** Well, my predecessor, John Jones, was appointed by then-governor Spellman to the Tax Appeals Board, and as such he had to give up his seat. So, suddenly, I was the floor leader in the House and just kind of fat, dumb and happy, about September of 1983. It just so happened that Henry Jackson had died at the same time, and Governor Spellman was going to appoint Dan Evans to take Jackson's seat. So I was calling around and talking to some of the PCOs [precinct committee officers] to get them lined up as far as getting their votes on the appointment to the Senate. I would tell them, "I'm running for the appointment to state Senate." I'd go along for a little while, and there'd be this dead silence, and then they'd say, "You're running against Dan Evans?" And I'd say, "No, no, the *state* Senate not the *U.S.* Senate. The *state* Senate, John Jones's position." And they'd say, "Oh, oh, okay." [Laughter]

So anyway, Jeannette was very supportive.

**Ms. Boswell:** So would you naturally then go to her as well, and talk to her?

**Mr. McDonald:** Yes, she was very supportive. There were some sharp elbows under the basket in the Forty-Eighth District between myself and my other House seatmate, who also wanted the position. He came out on top in the PCO contest, but then it goes to the county council, and the county council chose me, so that was that. Jeannette was in the background really working the problems, so we were colleagues right from the beginning.

**Ms. Boswell:** So tell me a little bit about, you come into the caucus then—if that was September you would have come into the Senate in January—in the 1984 session. Tell me a little bit about what you observed, thinking back, about the caucus, maybe differences with the House, how Jeannette ran it, what the feelings were within the caucus at that time?

**Mr. McDonald:** I'm trying to think how many seats we had then. We were in the minority, and I think it was maybe twenty-three seats. Anyway, we had a lot of area to make up. I had been in the majority, and then I came to be in the minority in the 1982 election in the House. I had spent four years in the majority, and I knew I didn't like this minority shtick at all. So there were a number of us—Peter von Reichbauer and Jeannette and I'd have to think of all the other folks; George Scott was gone by then—who wanted to work towards being in the majority, being a part of actually making the policy instead of going along. There were also a lot of people who were more than happy just to be there and do whatever. Jeannette was obviously of the persuasion that she wanted to be in the majority too, and so really showed a lot of leadership. She was geographically inconvenient, so she leaned on some of us who were in the central Puget Sound area, where the majority was going to be either won or lost, to work on that. Right from the beginning she leaned on me a lot. She was very good about lending you her power.

**Ms. Boswell:** So in the sense of leadership style, she was a person who delegated responsibility then?

**Mr. McDonald:** Yes she was, very much so, and you felt like you had her confidence and you had a lot of latitude.

**Ms. Boswell:** Does that change when you go from minority to majority, or is it just

the process by which you were able to make that transition? I mean, in other words, that she really had to delegate, particularly in those times when you're trying to make a major change in terms of numbers in the Legislature?

**Mr. McDonald:** Well, she was chair of the campaign committee, but she knew that being in Walla Walla she wasn't in the center of things. Those seats were Republican and they were going to remain Republican, but where it was going to be won or lost was in the suburbs of King County and Pierce County and Snohomish County. So she leaned on us in the central Puget Sound area an awful lot: one, to go out and make the contacts, to help raise some of the money and do the things that you needed to do in order to win. That sounds like an awful lot about politics, but it is really about policy. The group that has the majority really is in the position to set the policy, and that's what, ultimately, I was interested in doing. You know, things like making government smaller and more efficient and more focused on things that were important like education and higher-ed and the like. And that came to pass.

Interestingly enough, let's see, I came in and ran for election in 1984. Then I was lucky enough to be chosen as the floor leader in the caucus, so I was one of the leadership group. Unfortunately, that was not my talent. Being floor leader is being quick on your feet on the floor, knowing all the rules and knowing what it took to maneuver well on the floor. That is not my talent. So I was a good member of leadership, but not a terribly good floor leader. After the 1986 election, I became the ranking minority member of Ways and Means Committee, which was much more my talent set. And she said, "Oh Dan, that's a nothing position." I said, "Well Jeannette, give it to me, and I'll make something out of it."

And so we did. We were at twenty-four Republicans and twenty-five Democrats. Jim McDermott was the Ways and Means chair, and running it with an iron hand. That annoyed some of his own caucus members more than you could imagine. Three of them decided that they did not want to have a tax increase, and he very much wanted one. So we had the potential—this was a potential—of being able to put together a coalition of disaffected Democrats and our twenty-four Republicans. The problem was our twenty-four Republicans had a reputation of never ever hanging together. Somebody always split off. So Jeannette and I sat down and talked about it. I can't remember whose idea this was, but probably hers. We had a caucus, and we had a long discussion—it went on for maybe a couple hours—and at the end of it, we had a vote. We said, "It doesn't mean that you won't vote for Jim McDermott's budget, but it means that if you vote 'yes' on this, that you will come back to the caucus before you make any kind of a deal with him and tell us before you've made it." That's the thing. All twenty-four members voted yes. And from that time on, that caucus on, we were welded together as a unit.

**Ms. Boswell:** So that's the genesis of that solid caucus coming in, whether you're in the minority or not. You're coming in, and you're all going to be together.

**Mr. McDonald:** It wasn't just that we were going to do a no-new-taxes budget, but we had a very specific agenda of what we wanted to do. Higher education was sort of on the rocks, and we wanted to have about a three-biennium plan of how we were going to bring them up to the seventy-fifth percentile of their peer institutions; that was the idea. We had some very specific things that we wanted to do in human services, particularly with developmentally disabled people. So it

wasn't just a no-new-taxes budget, but it was a spending plan within that, which we were after. And so I negotiated, and Jeannette negotiated with the three members. Brad Owen was kind of the point person, and, you know, we pulled it off. It was really quite a remarkable achievement to pass a budget from the minority, and then have to negotiate with the House, which was overwhelmingly Democrat, to actually make it come to pass. So Jeannette was on the negotiations with me and was just an absolute rock. She was wonderful.

**Ms. Boswell:** Now when you call her a rock, tell me a little bit about her negotiating style.

**Mr. McDonald:** Well, you know what she's like. She is just amazingly pleasant, right?

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes.

**Mr. McDonald:** But she's got an iron will. One of the things that you never do to your chief negotiator is cut the ground out from underneath them, if you're in a negotiating situation, by saying, "Well, you know, maybe Joe makes some sense, Dan. Maybe we ought to compromise." She *never ever* did that. We'd go in another room, and she'd say, "Now, Dan, I think you're going to have to give up on that one. You're just being a little hard-headed there."

"Okay, mom!"

But she was always so good about doing that. It wasn't that she didn't have ideas about where you ought to be going, but she was very much of a team player and not to the exclusion of doing the right thing. She would insist that you do that, but she would never embarrass you in front of a negotiation. Everybody's always looking for the cracks in the coalition, but she was extremely, extremely good that way. We probably made a mistake by putting her on that because the negotiators could always say, "Well, I've got to go back to Wayne Ehlers." We'd come to an agreement in there, with Jeannette in the room, and then they'd say, "Well, but I've got to check with the Speaker." And then they'd come back and say, "Well, Wayne doesn't like that." Well, Jeannette was here.

**Ms. Boswell:** You had her right there.

**Mr. McDonald:** Yes, and so we got smarter after a while, and we didn't have her on the negotiations, which was a loss for the negotiating team, but strategically it was better to have her out of the room as well as Wayne. Then I could say, "Well you know, Jeannette doesn't really go along with that."

**Ms. Boswell:** But she was also willing to fulfill that role later, when she was not in the negotiations?

**Mr. McDonald:** She was the one, I think, that brought it up and said, "You know, I don't think this is a good idea because Wayne can always…."

She was hands-on when she needed to be but willing to delegate when that was the best.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did her legal background come into play in all of this? She did have that kind of training, both analytical and the other skills as an attorney, or was it more just her own innate sense of how to lead?

**Mr. McDonald:** You know, you are all of your experiences, and I know that that helped her out immensely. Think of how remarkable that was, that she was an attorney, in really a man's world back then—I mean so much more when we were in the Legislature than it is now. She was a very well-respected attorney, and she never wore that on her sleeve, never

ever, ever. But you know she did have an iron will!

**Ms. Boswell:** Being a woman attorney at that time was somewhat unusual, at least when she first started, certainly. Sometimes the Senate, in particular, is portrayed somewhat more as the men's club, the good-old-boy network. Did you notice her having any gender issues to deal with? Or had she by that time already overcome whatever there might have been?

**Mr. McDonald:** You know, I didn't even think about it, and I don't think anybody else did. I mean, she was just Jeanette, and she was the leader. She demonstrated leadership, and I don't think it was an issue. It was never an issue in my mind, and I don't think it was an issue in anybody else's mind. It was quite remarkable, really, when I think about it. Except I think she was the first woman majority leader.

**Ms. Boswell:** She was, yes.

**Mr. McDonald:** Anyway, it was just that she was who she was.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know there were more women at that point in time, I think, in the Republican caucus in the Senate. Were the women generally supportive of each other? Was there a dynamic? I know that she had some issues at times with Ellen Craswell, so I wondered if there were differences in terms of how you had to handle some of the people in the caucus.

**Mr. McDonald:** Was there a kind of a gender sub-caucus? I don't think so. We were really pretty independent folks. You know, a lot of times I'm not wired that way, so I don't pick up on signals like that. I'm probably not the best one to ask, but I don't think there was that kind of stuff. I think it was more just a clash of philosophies rather than of genders.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of philosophy, did Jeannette's approach to Republicanism, did it represent the caucus as a whole? How did she philosophically fit in to a caucus during the years you were there, during the mid-to-late 1980s and very early 1990s?

**Mr. McDonald:** I think she was more conservative than most, coming in. I think she mellowed out a little bit, and so I was probably more conservative than her when she ended up. No, I think she was pretty much in the middle of the philosophical spectrum of the caucus. She never ever had any issues that she was really pushing, and that probably helped her being a leader.

**Ms. Boswell:** So in terms of leadership then—let's just say within the caucus itself—how did she keep that caucus together? I mean, at times when you were there, you were in the minority and then you did move into the majority. How did she keep that fragile coalition, that sense of unity, together in the caucus?

**Mr. McDonald:** That's a really good question. I think the thing that keeps coalitions together is forward progress, or a perception of forward progress. When I was majority leader, we worked out with the House what our agenda was going to be. We had six to ten issues that we were going to pass: welfare reform and all of those. And then—you know I'm an engineer—we'd check them off one at a time and that was sort of the sense of where we were going.

She was much more about letting the individual chairs come up with their own agenda, and then she'd help them along, rather than kind of having a central caucus view of what it was. She'd kind of let you do your own thing, I guess, and then support you. That

seemed to work very well. I mean, she was majority leader for five years. It was quite remarkable. This is a swing Democratic state, in a good year.

**Ms. Boswell:** Given that she would allow the caucus leaders to bring forth some of the issues, did she go in and hand pick who were those chairs? Did she have a strong hand? I know there was the Committee on Committees and all that, but what was her role?

**Mr. McDonald:** I think she pretty much had her way. I think people had a good idea of what she wanted. She never ever used her position to put you in your place. I think Joe King was one who would take things away from members of his caucus or give them stuff, depending on his opinion of how they were doing and how loyal those people were. That never ever happened with Jeannette. It was more out of respect for her that you did whatever it was that she wanted.

You'd go into her office, and she'd be there behind the desk, and she'd be, "Oh dear, let's see, I think I'll have something. I'm going to have some hot water." That would be her drink of preference.

**Ms. Boswell:** Hot water?

**Mr. McDonald:** Hot water, yes. And then you'd chat around about what it is that you wanted. She'd be very helpful always, and the door was always open. I remember that in contrast to her Democratic predecessor, who was Ted Bottiger. I went into his office one time when he was the majority leader. Man, talk about the good old boys. I mean everybody was sitting around drinking bourbon and branch water, in, literally, a smoke-filled room, and I'm sure it was all guys. It was dark, the curtains were pulled; it was something out of the past.

Anyway, the contrast was sharp. I mean the room was bright and light, and there she was with her very clean desk. She was drinking hot water. I just loved her.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of some of the more controversial issues during that period, you mentioned earlier education, then abortion became an issue at times, and environmental issues. Are there any in particular—obviously the budget was one—where she really helped the Republicans to take the lead and get their plans out there? That's maybe too vague of a question.

**Mr. McDonald:** I can think of later in the 1990s when welfare reform and those types of issues came to the surface, and what we were doing on those. I was *so* focused on the budget and taxes, that was sort of my focus, and I don't remember.

**Ms. Boswell:** There were some issues about Hanford, for example—about Hanford being designated as the high-level waste dump. I think Max Benitz was involved with that issue. Also, tort reform.

**Mr. McDonald:** Oh, tort reform, yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** That was 1986.

**Mr. McDonald:** Yes, that was a good lesson. We were in the minority, and it was Alan Thompson who led a group—I don't know, but there were four or five Democrats and the Republican caucus—to pass tort reform. It was really a "Shootout at the O.K. Corral" type of thing. It had to do with local governments who were really being roughed up pretty badly by the trial lawyers. And Alan, I think, was the chair of the Local Government Committee and finally had had his belly full of it and disagreed with his caucus, and he went over and formed a coalition. It was sort of the opposite of what we did the next year, actually.

**Ms. Boswell:** When Jeannette came into leadership, they had the coup against Jim Matson and Charles Newschwander. It sounds like the issue was accommodation and not really pushing as a minority, but rather just going along and being too pragmatic. Was there any hesitation on her part later when it came to some of these issues, like the budget issue that you mentioned, or tort reform, where you are forming these coalitions? Did she have any fears about that kind of pragmatism given the past situation or is that something that, as a minority, you have no choice but to do?

**Mr. McDonald:** There was a pragmatism that had grown up over—let's say it was 1956, I think that's right—1956 through 1987, which was really the first time that we won the majority outright. Peter von Reichbauer switched in 1981, but it wasn't until 1987 that we won it outright, so that was thirty-one years. The sort of pragmatism that grew up was, I think, an unhealthy pragmatism. It was, "We're not really going to take on Senator Don Talley (a Democrat from Longview) as an example; we won't really recruit a candidate against him. And if a candidate comes, we're really not going to help that Republican candidate. We understand." And that was where Jeannette and George and Bob said, "*No*, we are going to go out, and we're going to recruit the best darned candidates that we can. We're going to raise money, and we're going to help them. This is going to be a real campaign. We're going to do that all over the state because our ideas are just as good as yours; in fact, they are better. People of the state of Washington are going to have a chance to decide which way they want to go." That was the good-old-boy type of thing that Sid Snyder often harkens back to. "You know we ought to have it the way it was back then." Well, the way it was back then was sick, I think. I just don't think that that's the way politics ought to work. I think you ought to do your level best to have your philosophy prevail, and if the people don't think that's a good idea, that's up to them.

**Ms. Boswell:** They ought to have a choice?

**Mr. McDonald:** At least you give them your best shot, that's the way I always approached it. And that's the way Jeannette approached it, and she never wavered. She was one tough person.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was she good in going out and recruiting? You mentioned earlier that because she was in Walla Walla, it hindered her in terms of geography. In terms of the interpersonal relationships that it took to recruit candidates, to go out on the stump, was she good at doing that?

**Mr. McDonald:** None better. None better because the integrity just showed through, just absolutely. No one had *ever* had a doubt that she wasn't for the best, the best for Washington State. The tool for doing the best for Washington State was you. "I'd like you to run." That was the approach.

**Ms. Boswell:** That was pretty flattering, I'm sure.

**Mr. McDonald:** Yes. And she was so friendly and such a compelling personality—*is* such a compelling personality. I talk about it in the past tense only because I'm looking back.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of work ethic, how did the people in the caucus respond to long sessions, which you mentioned earlier, and getting platforms and issues taken care of when you did have many conflicting views within the caucus? How did that work ethic play to the rest of the caucus members?

**Mr. McDonald:** Her work ethic?

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes.

**Mr. McDonald:** Well, she was very good at getting people to do things. Since she didn't have a strong agenda…

**Ms. Boswell:** Explain that to me, this notion of not having a strong agenda. Is it just a personal agenda you're speaking of?

**Mr. McDonald:** Yes, a personal agenda. She didn't have a list of things: "By the end of the session I'd like to see Senate bills 'blah, blah, blah' pass because we've met with the House, and those are the ones that we decided on, and we're going to check them off." That wasn't her deal. It was more of an organic process.

So, we were a good team because I'm much more of the checklist type of person. And she'd say, "You know, that's a good idea, Dan." And then she'd help you make it happen. We were a tremendous team that way. She helped soften me, and there were some rough edges that needed softening. That's why we were such a good team together, I think, and did get a lot of stuff accomplished.

**Ms. Boswell:** So she did have an overview that she could see things that needed to be done, would agree with it, and then let people bring those ideas forth and foster them along the way?

**Mr. McDonald:** And you know I think she did have an agenda in here (pointing to his head), but she would never ever share it. There's a great expression, "Never bleed for anything." If you announce to the world, "By George, by the end of this session, I'm going to have this bill. That is my prime goal. That's what I want to do," you are going to pay for it big time, because everybody knows that that's what your agenda is. Me, I was always an advocate for the University of Washington. Our kids are fourth-generation U of W graduates, but you could never know it from any of my public utterances because the minute I said that, you would have just inflamed a whole bunch of people. They would say, "Oh, McDonald, that's all he cares about. He doesn't care about WSU." So that was something I took right from the beginning: never bleed for anything. And she epitomized that philosophy. Now, I think that she probably had in the back of her mind the checklist of what she wanted. And I, to this day, don't know what it was, but I'll bet you it happened.

**Ms. Boswell:** Well, I know that she did like to go to Joe King, for example, and he'd say, "What do you want Jeannette?" She would say, "I don't want anything."

**Mr. McDonald:** Yes, it would drive him crazy.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did people in the caucus feel about the relationship between Joe King and Jeannette? I mean, the newspapers called them the "Joe and Jeannette Show." How did people in the caucus look at that relationship with somebody of the other party?

**Mr. McDonald:** No, no, I think everybody was amused by it. One thing that will always stick out in my mind is when Joe King was the Speaker. Joe is, I don't know, 6 feet 4 inches, or 6 feet 5 inches—a big guy. Jeannette can't be a hundred and ten pounds soaking wet, and what, five-foot-one or something like that? I'll never forget they were out in the middle of the rotunda, and Joe is kind of hunched over her and looking down at her. She's standing there with her hands on her hips, and she says, "Oh Joe, we're just not going to do that." He was crushed, whatever it was that he had wanted her to do. Her reaction was so simple, so

amiable and so final: "Oh Joe, we're just not going to do that."

Just the contrast in physical bulk was amazing, and how tough she was with him, and how it just drove him crazy, you know, because in the House he was used to having his way, by George. If you look at the Dave Horsey political cartoons back then, it was "King Joe." She'd just stand up to him, "We're not going to do that, Joe!" That was typical. It would just drive him crazy because he couldn't intimidate her and he couldn't leverage her.

**Ms. Boswell:** Now, in terms of growth management, she ended up going along with some of the growth management plans. Tell me a little bit about your perception of that issue and how it evolved.

**Mr. McDonald:** That was one where I think she truly, philosophically did not agree, and yet because of the dynamics of what was happening in the central Puget Sound area, basically she felt compelled to do something. So that passed. The big thing was that it was the central Puget Sound—it was counties of a certain size, I think—which had to be in. Those that were of a smaller size and hadn't had large growth, then they could opt in. It was a decision by the county commissioners to opt into it. The craziest thing was that they did. Garfield County. Have you ever been to Garfield County? The county seat is Pomeroy. Anyway, it is smaller than it was in 1890, and they opted into growth management because they got fifty thousand dollars. There were fifty-thousand-dollar grants that you could get if you opted into this thing. They did, and then they were stuck with it. They'd say, "Well, we don't like these provisions." We gave you an out! But everybody was pretty much in. I think she really did not agree with that, and yet Joe had the focus, and the energy, and the momentum to make it happen.

**Ms. Boswell:** But in terms of general environmental philosophy, was hers a hands-off view? How would you characterize the environmental philosophy that she had or, as a group, the Republicans generally had at that time?

**Mr. McDonald:** Well, I think there is a difference depending on where you come from. I was born here, but grew up in Los Angeles when the orange groves and lemon groves were being torn down and a crop of houses was going up everywhere. When I played football in high school, John Muir High School, in Pasadena, I remember one time in September, which is the worst smog month, standing at one end of the football field and not being able to see the goal post on the other end because of the smog. And I remember doing my paper route and never being able to breathe in all the way after I got through five miles—my lungs hurt too much because of the smog. So you take that experience, and then being a backpacker and a bicycle rider, and growing up in an area that is growing so dynamically, I think it as a very different view than if you were sitting in Walla Walla and looking at any kind of economic development as a positive thing. So I think there is a rural/urban split, which doesn't exactly go on party lines. We didn't always see eye-to-eye on a lot of those things; I'm much more green than she. I have been on the Mountains to Sound Greenway Trust and supported the farmland preservation bond issues earlier, in the 1980s, and a lot of stuff that she didn't necessarily agree with. I was dealing with my constituency, and she was dealing with her constituency.

**Ms. Boswell:** How do you draw the line, especially in leadership—and you had this experience too—between the needs of your constituency and then the broader needs of the whole caucus and, therefore, the Republican

Party within the Senate? Are there times when she had to give up things for her constituents to be more representative of the whole caucus? Did you come down to that very often?

**Mr. McDonald:** Not all that often because, I think, most people respect the fact that if you don't represent your people, who the heck is going to? So you never try to put somebody in that kind of a really awkward position. Where it's a close call, I think, a lot of times a leader sticks with the caucus to keep the peace. I certainly felt that when I was majority leader; you needed to make sure that things hung together. But I think most of the time people would understand.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did she have any serious challenges to her leadership during that period?

**Mr. McDonald:** Yes, there was one, but I never really understood it. Let's see, when was it? It must have been 1987, after the 1986 election, when Kent Pullen took her on. Kent was a very good vote counter. I never got it, but he was very compelling one-on-one. We never knew exactly, but I think he was within a vote of knocking her off and becoming the leader.

**Ms. Boswell:** Wow! He was somewhat of a maverick, wasn't he, to a degree? That is my impression, but let me ask you that question.

**Mr. McDonald:** Yes, I mean I couldn't have imagined that he would be as successful as he was. But it came down to it, and actually Jim West had just been elected to the Senate. He had a scuba-diving business, and he had set up this tour with a bunch of people. He was front and center on it, so he was off in Florida while we were having this reorganization caucus in Olympia. We had it in the rules that he could call in and cast his vote. So just at the right time he calls in from Florida, having no idea that this close contest had come to pass, and he cast what could have been the deciding vote for her.

**Ms. Boswell:** Oh, that's fascinating.

**Mr. McDonald:** Yes, it was high drama. Are you familiar with Olympia at all? Do you know the old library that became a restaurant?

**Ms. Boswell:** Oh, yes.

**Mr. McDonald:** We were down in the basement of that building. I'll never forget it. I tell you, that would have been hard—Kent Pullen as a leader.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you suppose that had anything to do with her decision to retire, obviously not that year, but not too long after?

**Mr. McDonald:** Actually, it wasn't until 1992 that she retired, but by that time I think she was just tired. Her husband was in Walla Walla and she was in Olympia all the time, and I think she just got tired of it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you see any changes in her leadership style from beginning to end of her career? You were there for a big chunk of her leadership, from 1984 essentially into 1992.

**Mr. McDonald:** Maybe she was a little less active towards the end. She'd been the majority leader for five years, and she was probably getting tired. Maybe she was a little less engaged at the end, but not a lot.

**Ms. Boswell:** And you later followed in her footsteps in terms of the leadership. Was there anything where you'd look back and say, "Oh, I'll look to Jeannette for certain skills"

or things that might have worked or that you might try to use when you went into it?

**Mr. McDonald:** Yes, I think she filed off a few of the sharp edges. She made me more of a people person because that was her style and that's what kind of kept the caucus together. When I was about ready to go and say, "No, we're going to do it this way," I would think, "What would Jeannette do?" Then I'd kind of think, and I'd probably soften it up quite a bit. Martin Flynn was my chief of staff, and he'd cut his teeth under Jeannette and just thought the world of her. He would say, "Dan, think about what Jeannette would do."

"Oh yes, okay."

**Ms. Boswell:** Well, thank you so much.

**Mr. McDonald:** Yes, I always said that Jeannette, Winston Churchill and Ronald Reagan are three of my real political heroes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Wow, that's quite amazing company.

**Mr. McDonald:** Yes, well, she was up close and personal, so I knew her skills. Yes, I think the world of her, not only for her skills, but for what a great person she is.

## CHAPTER 11

## BUDGETS AND LEADERSHIP ISSUES

**Ms. Boswell:** Based on the monetary problems that the state was having and the fact that, I guess, there was a Republican governor, you ended up losing your majority after the election when you went into the 1983 session. Was that surprising, or was it just a product of the budget situation?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think that if you look into the history of other states, you will find that the people blame whoever is in the majority, and we really weren't too surprised that some of the weaker ones got taken out of office.

**Ms. Boswell:** I'm interested in your perspective on the press. There were a couple of very interesting articles after that 1982 session, in particular, because there had been so many budget battles, special sessions, all these things, to try to figure out what in the world you were going to do about the budget. Adele Ferguson…

**Ms. Hayner:** She, incidentally, writes a column for the newspaper. I don't know how many papers it appears in, but it appears in the *Waitsburg Times*, and we take the *Waitsburg Times* just for her column.

**Ms. Boswell:** *The Bremerton Sun* is her main one, right?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. That's where she lives.

**Ms. Boswell:** She says that although she respects you, that you weren't tough enough and that she didn't think you'd be reelected to be the Republican leader in 1983. Tell me about that.

**Ms. Hayner:** That was just her perspective, I guess.

**Ms. Boswell:** Obviously, she wasn't right.

**Ms. Hayner:** I'll tell you, too, there was another factor. Being the leader of any group like that is very difficult and time-consuming. You have to be a diplomat to keep everybody in line, and a lot of people don't want to give that much time and effort. They wanted to be in the Legislature and they wanted to have the fun of getting the publicity and so on, but they didn't really want to work that hard. As I say, there were others who tried, but they couldn't get the votes to do it.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you read about that period—and who knows, we may be heading into some more problems these days, too—I think that there was some feeling that maybe the whole budget process would have to be totally changed because there were these big budget deficits that kept having to be addressed by the Legislature.

**Ms. Hayner:** The only thing that happened was that there were always efforts to find somebody else to tax or some other group or something. On balance, we never could do it because it wasn't our basic theory that every time a little need comes up, you go and ask for more money. When the state is having problems, individuals are having problems, too. Jobs are not there and their income is cut, or they're sending kids to college and colleges are raising their tuition. You have to be sensitive to all of that.

**Ms. Boswell:** But what happens if you're in a two-year budget cycle, and the revenue just doesn't come in?

**Ms. Hayner:** That's why we set up a fund to take care of situations like that, but it hasn't been maintained.

**Ms. Boswell:** What do you do when you get in a situation, as there was in the 1983 session, where all of a sudden you're again in the minority for a time? In terms of the budget, for example, and Ways and Means, you had George Scott who had been there before. Then when the change came, and Jim McDermott comes in, who obviously has a very different philosophy, it seems like you'd have to be almost schizophrenic to have to go from one side to another. How did that work?

**Ms. Hayner:** It's hard, very hard. George Scott tried his best to try to work with him, but Jim McDermott is very difficult. He's very liberal, and he comes from that part of the state that is different. The east side of the state is very conservative, and Jim McDermott was aware of all that. You have to try to walk a fine line to satisfy as many people as possible and their needs.

**Ms. Boswell:** Jim McDermott was in an awkward position in that he had run against John Spellman, too, and lost in the gubernatorial race. I imagine that probably factored into some of his opinions or his actions.

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** Let's go back and talk again about the role of the Republican Party in terms of helping to establish a majority in the Legislature. What was the relationship between the Republican Party and the people in the Legislature?

**Ms. Hayner:** We always had good rapport, and we met with them whenever they wanted to come down and express their viewpoint and tell us about polls that they had done or meetings that they had had with members of the Republicans or the Democrats, so that we had an understanding of what they thought was important. We tried to fulfill that obligation as we saw it and as best we could, although sometimes it was not something that all of the members agreed with. You have to be diplomatic about it and do the best you can.

**Ms. Boswell:** Jennifer Dunn had become or did become the chair of the state party, I think, around 1983 or in that period of time.

**Ms. Hayner:** She often came down and we visited.

**Ms. Boswell:** She didn't have a background in the Legislature at that time, did she?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. Not at any time that I know of, nor was she a lawyer.

**Ms. Boswell:** So she went straight to Congress later without that background.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Given the fact that she didn't have that kind of background, did her situation affect the kinds of candidates who were selected? Part of the job of the party is to seek out candidates.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think so. No, I think she understood the kind of candidates who would be most electable and most effective after they got there.

**Ms. Boswell:** You had mentioned, too, that it is part of the duty of the leadership and the Legislature also to get out there and look for candidates, Republican candidates.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Oh, yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did you find those candidates? Did you go out and say, "You would be a good candidate. You should think about running"?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think that happened some, but they were also people who were active in their community and got their name in the newspaper, for example. I had my name in the newspaper a lot before I ran for the Legislature because there were a number of issues that came up locally in which I was involved.

For example, I went to Sun Valley to ski one time and when I came back I discovered that I had been drafted to be a candidate for the school board. Some gals got together and promoted me as a write-in candidate.

**Ms. Boswell:** A write-in candidate?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. And they had people within legal limits at every polling place. I had nothing to do with it. The women had prepared stickers with my name, and they requested that voters attach the stickers to their ballots.

Some people get into city government or county jobs one way or another and show an interest and an ability to lead. You have to have a spouse, especially if you're in Spokane, Vancouver or Walla Walla, who is supportive.

**Ms. Boswell:** It would be difficult to be that far away.

**Ms. Hayner:** You bet. My husband always wanted me to do what I wanted to do, so I was very fortunate in that respect. There were lots of times when I didn't get home very often. And, of course, it used to be that the session only lasted a couple of months. Now it sometimes goes on into the summer.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes. That becomes a problem.

I had read that people thought of you as a mentor, especially for women in the House and the Senate. Was that something that you intended or tried to do?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes, I did it because it is your duty to try and have some continuity to the leadership or to the people who are chairmen of the various committees. You have to do that. You can't just go in there and think about yourself and when your term is over forget about it because it's got to go on. Sure, we spent a lot of time doing that.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of women candidates for the Legislature, you were a community activist and you came from that tradition. Is that where a lot of these other women who began to be more active in politics came from, too?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, I think so. I think so.

**Ms. Boswell:** We talked about Lois North earlier, and she was certainly active in the League of Women Voters.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. That's where a lot of women participated. I was never particularly interested in the League of Women Voters. But, yes, you watch and look in the newspapers and see who is active.

**Ms. Boswell:** I'm going to throw out the names of a few of the women because more and more in the 1980s, I think you start seeing the building of the numbers of women in the Legislature.

We talked a little bit already about Ellen Craswell. I know one woman who served with you in the leadership, for part of the time at least, was Ann Anderson.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about her.

**Ms. Hayner:** Ann came from the northern part of the state, and I didn't know her at all before she surfaced, and we helped her when she ran. She was very good in the caucus and she gave a different perspective. Everybody comes from a different county or different area, and I don't know an awful lot about her family because they lived some ways from Olympia and didn't get down to the Legislature. She was a very good representative for the people.

**Ms. Boswell:** And Eleanor Lee. She, also, was, I think, for a short period of time in leadership.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. She was also in some kind of county or city job before she ran. She didn't stay too long, as I remember, and she wasn't real active.

**Ms. Boswell:** Nancy Buffington actually was a person who was also there only for a short time. I think she replaced Bob Greive.

**Ms. Hayner:** I think she was only there one term, maybe.

**Ms. Boswell:** Susan Gould?

**Ms. Hayner:** Sue Gould was a great gal. She participated fully and had good ideas. You know, some of the people didn't even attend their committee meetings, and that causes a problem, so you have to jack them up for that.

**Ms. Boswell:** Susan Gould got really involved in the WPPSS issue.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, she did. Some of them had special interests, and we tried to encourage those whenever we could.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about Linda Smith? Linda got a lot more notoriety later in running for other offices.

**Ms. Hayner:** She was kind of a maverick, a little bit of a maverick in a way. We sometimes had a little problem with her, getting her to go for what we thought she should go for. But she's a nice gal. She did her job and she was always there.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about some of the Democratic women? Margaret Hurley?

**Ms. Hayner:** Margaret Hurley came from Spokane, of course. She was really one of the early ones, and she was very outspoken and a very good legislator, but she didn't stay too long after I came.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes. She was only there until 1984, I think.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Lorraine Wojahn was probably there.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. She was there. Lorraine was active and did a good job.

**Ms. Boswell:** And Nita Rinehart, too.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there any kind of a relationship or bond amongst the women, party aside? Or was your time so involved in the caucus that you were too busy?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. It was. We didn't socialize very much. Some of us lived together, you

know, like I lived with Lois North. Did I live with anybody else? I don't think so.

I had a schedule as a leader that didn't fit very well with spending much time with somebody else.

**Ms. Boswell:** Lois North left. She went to the council in King County, didn't she, pretty soon after you came?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, she did, and she was very active there for quite a while. I haven't talked to her lately. I should give her a call.

**Ms. Boswell:** After she left, did you primarily live by yourself?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** That must have been hard, though, being down here all by yourself?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, but I had a lot of night meetings and so on. I was too busy to worry about it. But I lived all over Olympia and for two or three years—we were usually there in the winter and spring—I lived in the house of a couple who went to the desert for quite a number of months in the winter, so they were glad to have somebody living in their home. The places were all over town, so I often had to drive late at night and whatever. It's not easy for a woman, either.

**Ms. Boswell:** No. I can imagine it wouldn't be. You were such a distance that it wasn't as though you could go back to Walla Walla all the time.

**Ms. Hayner:** No. No. Usually when I did go back to Walla Walla, I had to drive to Seattle and then fly, and Dutch had to pick me up in Walla Walla and take me back to the airport.

**Ms. Boswell:** How frequently did you get back and forth?

**Ms. Hayner:** It varied. Early in the session it was not quite as demanding as far as the weekend is concerned, but later on I didn't go home for weeks.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did your family come over at times?

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, my kids… I have to think now. I went into the Legislature when my youngest daughter went off to Stanford to school, so I didn't have any kids at home except when they came for holidays. Then it was tough because I came home and made turkey dinner.

**Ms. Boswell:** So that you wouldn't have had to worry so much about your kids?

In terms of that issue, I know that you were a strong advocate of education throughout your legislative career. Do you think that the local community should be doing more in terms of their support of public schools?

**Ms. Hayner:** They've done all we asked them to do. We put up bond issues, and we worked and passed them. But the community is very supportive and Walla Walla has really great schools. We have quite a few elementary schools all over town.

**Ms. Boswell:** Within the Republican caucus, was it your leadership, in particular, that made education so important? Or do you think that was always a strong Republican issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think it was always an important issue with Republicans. It was always an important issue with Walla Walla. Walla Walla is kind of an upscale city. There are a lot of wealthy people who live in Walla Walla and have a lot of interest in education. You have to work to get them all involved. Some people don't want to pay for anything.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's really true. What about the teacher salary aspects of it? Hand in hand with money in education is obviously teacher pay and things like that. In terms of budget cutting, is teacher pay the first to be cut? If you're going to have to cut somewhere, where do you prioritize?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think you cut in education if you possibly can prevent it. I would be much more amenable to cutting social programs, many of which are very great, but also not as essential, in my opinion. When I talk to kids I always say, "Get as much education as you possibly can. It will pay off for you, and you'll be more content with your life and your abilities to work with people and so forth."

Of course, we got a community college in Walla Walla out of order, too. When the state began building community colleges, they made a priority list of when the community colleges should be built, and we were down the list because we're not a big city. But as soon as there was an opportunity—because people for one reason or another would not support it in their district, as it took a certain amount of support—why I jumped in and got the community college support from our community. We had an old high school that was not being used—we built a new one—so I said, "Hey, let's try and get this community college to start in the old high school," which was vacant at that time. Now it is a YMCA, but, anyway, that's how we got the community college out of order in the state priorities, because we had a building available.

**Ms. Boswell:** You didn't have to put that much money into it?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not then. Now we have a wonderful community college. There's one huge building and there's the Dietrich Activity Center, or the Dietrich Dome, they call it, which was named for the first president, and it's a dome where they have athletic events and so forth. It is a big dome. The college, with huge local donations, has built the first state building for teaching viticulture, which is about growing wine grapes and so on.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of the hierarchy for funding, if cutbacks do have to be made like they were in that early 1980s period, does higher education go first? Do you cut there first before you cut the K-12?

**Ms. Hayner:** It all depends on the members of the Legislature where they cut. I didn't ever want to cut education until we absolutely had to. Education is most important, and you shouldn't be cutting that because the kids need that. They can't get into the colleges if they don't have a good high school background and so on. But anyway, we didn't cut there if we could possibly prevent it. We always cut social programs that we could fill in later if we had the money.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were you able to work with the Washington Education Association and other teachers' groups? Were they partisan or nonpartisan? How did they really operate?

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, the teachers want higher salaries; that's primarily what they want. They don't really care as much about the buildings and all that. We were sensitive to that, but that's kind of a local thing. We tried to encourage it as much as possible so that it would be the first thing we did.

Of course, when they build buildings, the state pays for part of it, but not all. They have to have fund raisers to do that. I think we built a lot of educational buildings around the state. We have two major universities: Washington State and the University of Washington. We have lots of smaller community colleges. We have some

private higher education institutions, too. I think if kids will work hard in high school, they can get in to a public college, but a lot of them go out of state.

Our oldest son, when I say he's overeducated, he went to Whitman, which is hard to get into and expensive, then he went to Harvard, then Gordon-Conwell Theological Center that's in Massachusetts, and then to St. Andrews in Scotland.

**Ms. Boswell:** Lots of bills for his education.

**Ms. Hayner:** We had three kids in college at the same time.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's no fun. I had two and that was plenty.

**Ms. Hayner:** I'll say.

**Ms. Boswell:** But you said earlier that if you don't cut education and you have these budget problems, that some of the cuts do come out of social services.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Walla Walla had a prison, so obviously that was important to your constituents.

**Ms. Hayner:** You have to take care of the prisoners. We've got a new building out there. I wasn't excited about doing that, but you've got to put them someplace. You can't let them out on the street, and you have to try to educate them at the same time. They have built out there at the penitentiary—the inmates have built—some beautiful outdoor furniture for the elementary schools in Walla Walla. They painted them primary colors, and they're very attractive.

When they had a riot out there, I walked the wall, so to speak. They've got this big wall, and they've got guards all around. They put their meals under the fence for them and they give each one a blanket—that's it. You'd be surprised how innovative some of those inmates were. They gave them those pint cartons for their milk, and some of them built like a pole and took their blanket and put it over them, and they had a tent instead of having to be out in the weather. Some of them didn't do anything.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of allocating money for the prisons or for welfare systems or for mental health, which we talked about earlier, all these people are needy. How do you determine where the cuts have to go?

**Ms. Hayner:** It's hard. It's difficult. That's done by the caucuses in the Legislature, and then the Democrats and the Republicans get together and try to figure out another priority list that will pass. Sometimes they maintain all the same programs, but they just cut their money a little bit if they're short of money. Then when they get some more money they up it, although never enough to fill every demand, you know, by any means.

**Ms. Boswell:** But in terms of trying to prioritize, was that just a decision you had to grapple with in the caucus every year?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, every year. We tried to make it at the beginning of a session, so that it wasn't something that was coming up all the time.

**Ms. Boswell:** There was some criticism in the press of you, but more generally the Republicans, that coming from wealthier backgrounds there wasn't as much "sensitivity," perhaps, to the needs of the have-nots. Is that fair?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't agree with that at all. I don't think it is, personally. It is true that our first priority was education and, generally speaking, that is not the Democrats' first priority. Now, some of them are, but we felt as though you aren't going to get these people out of their situation unless you educate them somehow. You have to encourage them by building the schools and having some scholarships available and keeping the cost down as much as you can. Some of them don't think that way. They'd rather give it to the poor to get votes for themselves, and, of course, we give lots of money to the poor, too, but you have to prioritize. This isn't enough.

**Ms. Boswell:** In 1984 another issue came up. There was a Republican convention in 1984. The state convention was over in Spokane. I think the Republicans tried to push through a slate of delegates to the national convention on an anti-abortion plank. How does the caucus and how does the Senate leadership approach that issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** We tried to stay away from that issue, but we couldn't, of course, at that time. Then it went to the Supreme Court. I just said, "That's what the Supreme Court is for. We just abide by that." *Roe v. Wade*. Of course, some of them wanted to do something else, but you can't waste your time on something where you're butting your head against a stone wall.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was there a fairly strong element even then in the debate—because we still see it, of course, today—of the more religious conservatives in the party supporting that plank? Or was it more universal?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know today, but when I was there, there were some who did support it, but not effectively, really. Ellen Craswell, for example, was an example of one who was very interested in that issue. She's quite religious. I had lots of talks with her, and I said, "We don't have the votes to do that."

**Ms. Boswell:** And once the Supreme Court has spoken, it's a moot point?

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right. Then you have to adopt what they say.

**Ms. Boswell:** In the 1984 election, John Spellman does not end up running against Jim McDermott again, but Booth Gardner, and Booth Gardner won.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. I like Booth. He's a bright guy.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you have that change in the governor's office, did you say to yourself, "Here we go again. We're going to have to deal with a new administration"?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. You just accept that. Sure, they have some of their own wishes and desires—the governors, I mean—and they come to us and express them. We met with them quite often so they could express their feelings about certain things, but in the final analysis, the Legislature operates pretty much separately. Of course, the governors can veto. They can veto the whole bill or parts of it.

**Ms. Boswell:** It was interesting to see, though, that when he did come into office, Gardner did put together what I might call a bipartisan committee to help. Again, the economy was the big issue.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, and that was very effective. We met at his will quite often. I can't tell you how often, but we met. One of the best things it did was not only to allow him to express his views, but to bring the Democrat and

Republican people together, which sometimes is kind of difficult. He did a pretty good job of that. I can't point to any special result, but any kind of communication you have is an improvement.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was that a usual step to bring together that many people of very diversified backgrounds?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, it wasn't. I don't know what they're doing now, but it was the beginning of trying to encourage that kind of relationship between the governor's office and the Legislature.

**Ms. Boswell:** I thought the people on that committee were interesting: you, Tilly, McDermott, Gaspard, Grimm and Joe King. Was that the beginning of your working relationship with Joe King?

**Ms. Hayner:** I started working with Joe because I couldn't seem to work with Ted Bottiger, and we needed to have some relationship between the two houses, so Joe and I got to be very good friends. He'd come in and he'd say, "I'm not going to support that, Jeannette," and I'd say, "Okay. So what will you support?" We got along just fine.

You've got to have that kind of relationship. I don't know whether they have it now or not, but it's important.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think what ended up coming out, however, in that particular budget year, was a proposal for more gas taxes. I think the tax on gasoline was a fallback, and I think you called it irresponsible and totally unnecessary because it would drive up the cost of everything shipped by truck or otherwise.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Again, what other way is there? I guess that's my question because we seem to keep coming back to these same kinds of issues every few years, unfortunately.

**Ms. Hayner:** There just aren't any other ways of doing it, you know. Sales tax is another one and, of course, that's a hated tax. The merchants hate it. They have to get pulled into the whole thing. There isn't much else you can do if you have to have the money and you have no surplus anyplace.

**Ms. Boswell:** And income tax was just an anathema as well?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, an income tax is the worst because—well, I say it's the worst. I think it is the worst because you can't have an income tax at three percent for the poor people and ten percent for the rest. That's not fair. So, you can't have ten percent for the poor people either.

**Ms. Boswell:** That was the era, too, of Reagan trying to come in with tax cuts to stimulate the economy.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** It was reminiscent of the Bush plan in the last few years, too.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Actually cutting taxes is a great way to stimulate the economy and to create jobs.

**Ms. Boswell:** At this point, the Republicans are still in the minority. There was a person who came into a leadership role—I think he came into the Senate around 1980.

**Ms. Hayner:** Who?

**Ms. Boswell:** Irv Newhouse. He moved into the leadership pretty quickly. Tell me a little bit about him.

**Ms. Hayner:** He would have liked to have been the leader, but there was no chance of that. Irv was a very bright guy, so he became the floor leader and as the floor leader, he ran the whole show pretty much on a daily basis. He liked that. That worked with him well, but that didn't mean that he had the authority to determine the priority of things in any way. He didn't. He just moved things on the floor, so he got a lot of publicity.

**Ms. Boswell:** Your relationship with him was good?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know you had said earlier how much you liked George Clarke in that position.

**Ms. Hayner:** George Clarke's job was a little different. It's hard to explain the cubby-holing of their jobs, but George Clarke had enormous respect from all of the members. He was a big, straight man with a good voice and a lawyer, and he had the respect of everybody in the caucus. When he talked about things on the floor, everybody said, "That's the fact." They never doubted him. Whereas Irv's job was to present the bills that we decided were going to come out of Rules onto the floor. So he got up and would say, "We're going to take bill number so-and-so dealing with such-and-such as a subject now." He presided at that from the floor.

**Ms. Boswell:** And he was good at that?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. He was very good.

**Ms. Boswell:** I wonder during this period of such tight budgets when environmental issues came up, how did you see them also falling into the prioritization list? I am thinking, in particular, of issues like environmental cleanup and more preventive measures like the Growth Management Act.

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure, they did, and a lot of people were more interested in the environment than anything to different degrees. Others think the environment will take care of itself, so you just have to decide where the caucus is going to come down as far as the importance of spending time on bills that deal with the environment.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know Alan Bluechel who was in the leadership…

**Ms. Hayner:** Very good. Very good. Smart.

**Ms. Boswell:** He had a plan for some cleanup in Puget Sound. Was that something that you supported?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think we supported it as far as the issue was concerned, but there again, the cost! So you end up deciding not only what's important, but what's important as far as the cost was concerned. The cost of cleaning up the Sound and the lakes and all that is just astronomical.

**Ms. Boswell:** There was Hanford, I think, too, including waste storage and that kind of issue.

**Ms. Hayner:** Of course, the federal government has pretty well taken care of that. They didn't want to, though, and that was the issue.

**Ms. Boswell:** Also, partially, it was the state's decision whether to allow more use of its land for waste storage or those kinds of issues.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. That's true. That's a people, state, and federal issue. That makes it even harder.

**Ms. Boswell:** Another issue that I want to bring up because, again, it's one that keeps haunting us over time is health care reform, or health care generally, and what kinds of plans are available for people in the state.

**Ms. Hayner:** When I was in the Legislature, that was really not as big an issue as it has become. I personally think that it is a big and costly issue. Now, for example, they want to give free medicine to everybody. The trouble is that if people would all be honest and keep it at a reasonable level, it might work, but they aren't. They go from one doctor to another and get prescriptions and fill them all, and you pay for it. How are you going to control all that? Health care by the federal government is a very expensive thing to do. The state is not going to do it. They do a certain amount of it, you know, but on a wholesale basis, it's just a big issue because some people want their hand held every morning when they get up. Others only go to the doctor when they're falling apart.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of state workers, I think that becomes an issue, too, not only for health, but salaries. It seems like if you get down to the nitty-gritty, and you still have to take money out, it is the state workers who end up getting some of those cuts.

**Ms. Hayner:** There again, it's part of the priorities that you have to set, and I think the state of Washington has done as well as they could to give the workers in the state a fair shake and be competitive with other states. For the most part, the average person doesn't believe that state or federal workers work as hard as they do in private business.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you think that's still residual from the New Deal, that kind of attitude toward government workers? I don't know.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure. Yes, yes, yes. Everybody thinks that government is wasteful and, to a certain extent, it's true. You have to just factor that in.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you're in control of the caucus and there are all these issues—it seems like for much of the time that you were in leadership, we did have difficult budget years. It wasn't really until the very end that it started getting a little bit better.

Is there a different way of approaching the caucus and deciding what to do as minority leader rather than as the majority leader? You had to do both.

**Ms. Hayner:** You made your own priorities whether you were a Democrat or in the Republican caucus. We made our own priorities and then we worked towards those as best we could.

If it was an issue, for example, that we knew we had to fund, but maybe not at the same level, we would try to bring it down a little. But if it was something that we agreed with them, then we went with it, you see. There's always this friction between the Democrats and the Republicans, and I think it's good because you get the best legislation that way, in my opinion.

**Ms. Boswell:** As a minority caucus, however, is it really worth the effort?

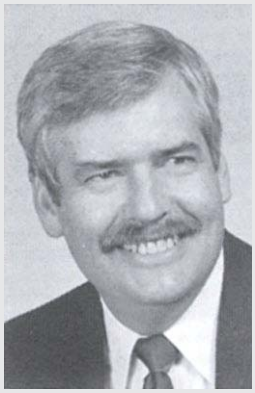
**Ms. Hayner:** It's worth it if you get anything, yes. The Democrats, I don't think—when I was in the Legislature—didn't work as hard at it as we did. We worked hard to try to get our priorities. We didn't always get them, but we worked at it and tried to lobby the Democrats to do what we wanted to do. We worked and maybe we'd get one or two people. That's how we got Peter von Reichbauer. We worked him until he decided he kind of liked what we were doing.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did it work the other way? When you had a fairly narrow majority, you might have the fear of losing one or two of your members.

**Ms. Hayner:** We never lost anybody.

**Ms. Boswell:** Would you try to work the Democrats in terms of budget issues?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure. You'd try to talk to them about why it was important, but we didn't try to get them to switch sides.



## COLLEAGUE'S COMMENTARY: JOE KING

*Joe King began serving in the House of Representative from the Forty-ninth District in 1981 and was the Democratic Speaker of the House for three terms from 1987 to 1992. During this period he worked closely with Jeannette Hayner, who was the Senate Republican leader, on numerous issues including growth management legislation.*

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about your first interaction with Jeannette Hayner.

**Mr. King:** Even though we were in the Legislature for quite a while at the same time, I didn't know what year Jeannette came in. I didn't know her until I became Speaker. I didn't *really* know her much until the first year I was Speaker. Democrats were in control of the Senate, so it really would have been 1988 that I got acquainted with her. I was Speaker and she was majority leader in the Senate. All of her time in leadership and all of my time in leadership, the chambers were in opposite majority parties, so it makes whatever we were able to get done all the more unusual.

I met her during that first session. Later, she became majority leader in 1988 and in the fall of 1988—no, it was the fall of 1987, just before she became majority leader—we took a joint trip to China. It was Ted Bottiger, Jeannette Hayner, myself and Clyde Ballard and their spouses.

**Ms. Boswell:** What was the background of that trip?

**Mr. King:** It was a sister city relationship that we had in China with Szechuan Province, and it was organized by our Washington State Department of Commerce. So we went. We had a long trip. I think we were overseas twenty days, maybe. We just had a lot of fun. We saw some great stuff. We had a twenty-four hour train ride from Beijing to Xian to see the terracotta soldiers. The terracotta soldiers hadn't been unearthed all that long and there hadn't been all that much written about them, so we were early Western viewers. We were absolutely blown away by the magnificence of them because none of us were prepared for it.

I think it was also in Xian that Dutch, Senator Hayner's husband, almost got thrown in jail because he took his camera into a museum, and then he didn't want to turn loose of the camera. So he got escorted down to the police station, and we had to convince them to turn Dutch loose. So that was great fun.

You get really well-acquainted on those kinds of trips. I think some of the travel that legislators do, which I'm afraid they've curtailed some, made for building really good long-term relationships. I think, frankly, we ought to do more of that. A nice side benefit of that trip was building a close relationship with Senator Hayner.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you came back and you were Speaker, who initiated the relationship or when you really began to work together on various issues; how did that evolve?

**Mr. King:** I really can't remember. I can remember even after knowing her pretty well, still being—and I probably was the whole

time—kind of intimidated by her. I told a story on a TVW tribute to Senator Hayner that I remember early on when I was Speaker and she was majority leader, she walked over and I was standing in the wings. I'm six-foot-four and Jeannette was not much beyond five feet tall. I felt somebody tap me on the back, and I turned around and I looked all the way over her head, and then I looked down and she was there. She reached out—and she used to have this habit of shaking her finger—and she said, "Joe, are you holding this particular piece of legislation of mine in your Rules Committee?" I didn't really know what she was talking about, but I started stammering and stuttering, and I thought it was my second grade teacher talking to me. And I said, "We're going to get that right out, Senator." So she was a real presence and very forceful.

I don't know. I think maybe I started reaching out, and one of the things I proposed was that we have dinner frequently. We would have our two leadership teams. We would have dinner every two or three weeks during session, and later on, maybe every couple of weeks we would have dinner, and we would rotate our houses. That made for really good communications. It evolved into a situation where I would just pick up the phone and call. During a heated session, I would be on the phone several times a day to Senator Hayner. A lot of times, I *had* to call her. The Democrats would get very upset if I would go over and talk to her. I was a Democrat, and the Democrats who were in the minority thought I should be over talking to Democrats. Either I would pick up my phone and call her, or I would sneak over to her office. I'd go down one level and sneak up the back stairs so the Democrats wouldn't see me in there because it would always just infuriate them.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me why you think that she was able to work more closely with you over in the House rather than, say, the minority Democrats in the Senate.

**Mr. King:** Ultimately, in the legislative process, the real trick is not getting just a majority in your own house, in your own chamber. So Jeannette didn't have to work with Senate Democrats a lot because she had a very disciplined caucus. She didn't have any extra votes that she could lose, but her caucus stuck together under her leadership—stuck together like glue. So it was when legislation would pass to the House, or the House would pass legislation into the Senate that the legislative leaders needed to be working together to communicate. I suppose it was possible that she could have worked more with the Senate Democrats and passed legislation out of the Senate that was more bipartisan. If we'd have had more bipartisan legislation coming over, she wouldn't have had to work as closely with us, but it doesn't normally work like that.

**Ms. Boswell:** She mentioned that she didn't feel as comfortable working with say, Ted Bottiger, for example, rather than you.

**Mr. King:** Yes. My last answer was kind of structural. Clearly there was this good personal chemistry between Jeannette and myself, and I really can't explain that. My sense was that she liked Ted all right, but he had a role to play over there. He had to play the minority leader role, whether or not it would have been in the same chamber. Let's say that Jeannette would have been the leader of the Republicans. Would we have worked together? It's a good question.

But at the end of the day—really at the end of the day—I worked with Jeannette and Jeannette worked with me. We liked each other. All that stuff was true, but we worked together because we both wanted to get stuff done. We had to, and we were both mature enough to know. Now, out of that grew a

really nice friendship, but you do it because that was the only way. There was no way that we could do growth management in the House without working with Senator Hayner. There was no way we could expand Medicaid, or do a lot of the stuff we did, without working with them. So, in spite of the affection and the respect and all that, at the end of the day it's because that's what you do if you're grown up and want to be successful around this place.

**Ms. Boswell:** Before we get into the specifics of that working relationship, you mentioned a few minutes ago that you were somewhat intimidated by her even though you had gotten to know her fairly well. Tell me a little bit about her reputation as a politician, and as a senator, before you got to know her well. You didn't overlap in the House, so you would have been a House member the whole time she was in the Senate.

**Mr. King:** Right. We did not overlap in the House. The truth is I have very little recollection of her before she became minority leader. I think I had a perception that she was very conservative and very rigid. I think I had that. I found neither to be the case. I suspect that if she had paid any attention to me, she probably had paid no more attention to me over there in the House as she ascended in the Senate than I had paid attention to her. I imagine she assumed that I was terribly liberal and terribly doctrinaire, so I think we both worked at the relationship. I think we would both mine the common ground. Good politicians know where the common ground is. So if Senator Hayner and I would have wanted to find stuff to fight about, there were long lists of things that we could have fought about. We just didn't choose to do that. They didn't seem very productive to us.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of your style as a politician, did you see some similarities in how you ran the House as opposed has how she might have run her majority? Were there any kinds of similarities or not?

**Mr. King:** I think both of us were very clear and direct with our members. Neither one of us seemed to have a great tolerance for ambiguity, and we would be very direct, I think—she with her caucus and me in my caucus. That was kind of the similarity. I used to say that I could make a deal with Jeannette and know that she could go back to the Senate and there would be twenty-five of her Republicans supporting her. If I'd have made a deal with the Democrats—first of all they only had twenty-four, so that wasn't enough to get it done. And then you couldn't have counted even on the twenty-four of the Democrats sticking with Ted Bottiger. The Democrats just weren't that unified over there.

She did the same thing in the House. If she and I reached an agreement, she had a pretty good comfort level that I could go back and go in front of our caucus and get support for whatever we'd worked out.

**Ms. Boswell:** There was one newspaper that discussed fairly early on your relationship with her, and said that if there were any similarities that you were both in their words "process junkies." I was just curious how you might respond to that. Is that part-and-parcel of what you're saying, or is that a little bit different?

**Mr. King:** No. I wouldn't have seen either one of us in that way. My recollection was that neither one of us were. Process doesn't come to mind immediately; however, if they're talking about a fondness for—what's the right word?—a respect for the legislative process. I think both of us had an intuitive feeling for that. We both liked this place. We both understood intuitively the way that it

worked, and we both thought that it was, at the end of the day, a pretty good process. So, in that sense, maybe that was what the reference was. Beyond that, I couldn't tell you.

**Ms. Boswell:** A nickname that she got at times—and there was at least one cartoon I've seen her associated with and probably lots of others—was the Margaret Thatcher of Washington State. As you got to know her over time, what do you perceive as the reason she got that nickname, and as you got to know her, how well did you think it fit or not?

**Mr. King:** Oh, it absolutely fit. I started referring to her as that publicly and privately right after I started getting acquainted. She was strong, disciplined. You couple that with her basically conservative view of the world. She was, in fact, the Margaret Thatcher of the Washington State Legislature. Margaret Thatcher was so direct sometimes she would get in trouble politically, and she'd shrug it off and keep going. Jeannette would do the same things. I'm sure in the clips you saw statements that Jeannette would make and on a partisan basis I'd say, "Yeah, that's something for us to go after." But on a friendship basis, I'd say, "Jeannette, no, don't say that."

An example of that you probably read in the clips occurred when we were debating the minimum wage law. That was a huge issue. I kept the whole Legislature in session. My style of working with Senator Hayner, even when we didn't agree, which was a lot of the time, was to say, "Jeannette, you know you don't have to agree on this, but, you know, I sure would like you to take a vote on this on the floor," and "Jeannette, as soon as you take that vote, we can go home." So there was always this banter. "All I ever want, Jeannette. I don't think you have to agree with it. I know you don't like it, but please, I want you to bring it to a vote." And I would just repeat that. We had very clear agendas of what we wanted to work on when I was in the House. And I'd say, "Jeannette, you know, I think we can get out of here on time," which was a big deal because she never liked to be here extra. "I think we can get out of here on time. But remember now, we need these three things." She'd just look at me. "I remember, Joe. You told me that yesterday." I said, "I'm just reminding you." So it was a relationship very much like that.

I got distracted from the story, which was on the minimum wage, when I was trying the same thing. In fact, I kept the Legislature here for an extra two or three days on the minimum wage because we wanted to include agricultural workers. Jeannette said to the press, "You know those kids out there picking strawberries? They eat more than they're worth." So you clearly have seen that quote.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes, I have, but I want you to tell me about it.

**Mr. King:** So she would get in trouble like that and it just wouldn't bother her. What was in her mind would just pop right out. So she was very close to a Margaret Thatcher, and I hope I contributed to getting that nickname for her.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did she respond? You said you said it to her face as well. How did she respond to that?

**Mr. King:** I think she was flattered and complimented. I would have to think—I don't remember having a conversation—but I would have to think that Jeannette would have thought very highly of Margaret Thatcher. So it was a compliment. Did you ask her about it? Yes, yes, absolutely she was complimented by it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Obviously you didn't always

agree, but did your ability to work with her on a somewhat bipartisan manner spill over into the rest of the caucus or was that really a role that only you two played? The fact that you could get along, did that help?

**Mr. King:** No, it did. Again, it was the dinners that we had. My majority leader—I had two different majority leaders there, Pat McMullen at one point and then Brian Ebersole—and Lorraine Hine, so the three of us would regularly, as I said, have dinners with them. Let me see, it was Jeannette, George Sellar from Wenatchee. I can't remember who her floor leader was. But a key ingredient…was her chief of staff who was a very wise guy. It would be a distraction to spend much time on John Rico…, but he was a key advisor to her, and he was very astute politically. He was a very astute advisor to her, and she listened to him a lot. Part of what I would do was to be working with John or to have my staff working with John. And there the discussions weren't policy, they were pretty much politics.

I went to John's funeral in about 1994 or 1995 when he died of AIDS. Virtually all the Democrats knew, quietly, but knew that John was gay. It was no big deal to a Democrat, but it was a very conservative caucus that Jeannette Hayner ran. None of them, I suspect, including Jeannette, had any idea that he was gay, so they were absolutely shocked as he wasted away and died of AIDS. They just couldn't believe that.

**Ms. Boswell:** That was very sad.

You mentioned her political acuity but sometimes her lack of being "politic" in what she said sometimes, but she did, in a seemingly very strong fashion, mold that caucus into a unified whole. Can you talk a little bit about that idea? The notion of the "rule of thirteen" has been mentioned, but it was not a term that she seemed to use. I was curious if that was her perspective from the beginning, or how she had arrived at that policy of keeping the caucus together?

**Mr. King:** She certainly was aware of that rule then, and it was widely discussed. I've had conversations with Senator Hayner, and it kind of came out of necessity if you have that narrow a majority where you can't lose any votes. She had to mold that caucus to make them effective. "Okay, we're going to stick together," and she set out a process to do that.

In the House I never had votes inside caucus. I used to say, "The next vote we'll have here is for a new Speaker. You didn't elect me to ask for elections in here." So there were different styles, but I also had a larger majority than Senator Hayner did.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was thinking more of just the terminology "rule of thirteen." Was that something she would have said?

**Mr. King:** Yes. I think she would have used that term. That was not settled. However, there was very little that Senator Hayner wanted that she wouldn't get thirteen votes for. So if she stood up and said, "I think we ought to do this," the thirteen votes would materialize.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was that because of respect or because people were somewhat intimidated like you were? How did she become a figure who people would follow?

**Mr. King:** People saw her strength of character. Her people wanted to be associated with a person of strength because they thought, "Okay, Senator Hayner can help me further my interests. I may not like these three things that are happening over here too much, but I certainly want "X" to happen. If I stick together with Senator Hayner and the rest of this caucus I have a better chance of getting

my agenda." That is the nature of legislative politics.

**Ms. Boswell:** Some of the newspapers seemed to characterize her as somebody who, although appearing to be very conservative, in fact seemed to get along better with people in her own caucus who were more moderate—even possibly liberal—than she would with the real strong conservatives. Would that be your perspective?

**Mr. King:** I used to tease her a lot that she and Dutch both, I think, started out as FDR Democrats coming out of law school—in law school and coming out. Then they moved to Walla Walla and went haywire. So, absolutely, Senator Hayner was much more moderate than some of her public utterances and some of the public perceptions. I don't know what else I can say about that, but she was fairly moderate.

To answer that, remember that if you look at all the legislation that went through in that five- or six-year period when our paths overlapped, you wouldn't call it a very conservative period of the Washington Legislature. We got growth management through. That's not a conservative principle. We expanded Medicaid. We passed the state's basic health plan. That may have been a year before Senator Hayner took over, but we passed a lot of progressive legislation, including strong environmental legislation and good health care legislation. So it's not a period that you would say was terribly conservative.

**Ms. Boswell:** Let's talk a little bit about a few of these issues during some of the sessions where you did work together.

I know that some of the early references I found to you two being linked together in terms of getting things done was, in fact, in 1988. There was an article, in particular, where the headline says "Legislature's Titans Too Pragmatic to Clash." It talks about just moving forward in the Legislature on a variety of issues, but essentially as pragmatists saying, "Okay, we've got to get something done."

**Mr. King:** Yes, I think we were both very pragmatic. Neither of us are ideologues.

**Ms. Boswell:** Some of those issues during the 1988 session: there was telephone company deregulation, raising the minimum wage, campaign finance reform measures, medical benefits for state employees, and AIDS education. There were a number of issues. Are there some that stand out either in that session or in later sessions? I know growth management came to prominence in, what, 1989 and into 1990.

**Mr. King:** Right. Right. The public employees legislation was a good example. That wasn't a piece of legislation that would have been driven by the left. I think I drove the legislation, but it was one that labor did not like. We basically took away the ability of the public employees union to purchase health insurance. We said, "No, the state's going to make those purchases." That was an example where something I thought needed to be done and from Senator Hayner's point of view it was absolutely, "Let's do it." Sometimes I would take heat from the left on issues and that would be a good example of an issue I took a lot of heat from. And with Senator Hayner's constituency it was perfectly acceptable.

Now growth management, I'm certain that Senator Hayner over time has taken a lot of heat. She never did like the idea too well. It would be interesting what she would say now, and if she's taken pride in it or not.

**Ms. Boswell:** Let's talk a little bit about growth management. Tell me maybe just a brief overview of the genesis of that legislation

and then a little bit about how Senator Hayner ultimately got involved.

**Mr. King:** The genesis on a policy basis came when I was—I've told the story often—when I was stuck in traffic in Seattle on a state highway. I looked off to the right and here were five hundred new apartments going in. I was already stuck in traffic, and you had five hundred new apartments. I said, "I wonder who's planning that? Who's coordinating some of that?" And the answer was, "No one," as I looked into it. So we worked on the legislation.

Senator Hayner believed John Rico, who was watching, as I was, elections in Puget Sound. The Snohomish County Council had just thrown off their pro-growth, pro-development council. They threw out three or four members—however many were up got thrown off the same year—and you had a slow-growth council. That was unprecedented. Nobody had ever been beat for being too pro-development in the state, so that was an important political tide that was weighing in at that point.

I worked the legislation. As you know, it took us two years, but John convinced Senator Hayner that they needed to pass this legislation before they could go home or it would cost them one or two Senate seats east of Lake Washington.

**Ms. Boswell:** That would have been in 1990 when that took place?

**Mr. King:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** I get the sense that initially she, although not necessarily dismissing growth management, just wanted to go more slowly than you did. Is that a fair assessment?

**Mr. King:** She was dismissive. I think I started to take away some of the boogey-men when I said, "Jeannette, you know this doesn't have to cover the whole state." It ended up being a statewide plan, but what I pointed out was, "Jeannette, initially, let's just don't cover any counties where there hasn't been much growth." So I think initially there were only five or six counties that met the criteria for growth.

**Ms. Boswell:** And Walla Walla at that point wouldn't have qualified?

**Mr. King:** Probably it wouldn't have hit. What happened that shocked all of us was that counties could opt into it if they wanted to. Virtually most counties of the state ended up opting into it because they wanted the money to plan. So I think part of Senator Hayner's feeling was "It's something they can do. If those damn fools want to do it, let them go ahead." And I think it was partly that, particularly when she was getting advice that if we didn't pass this, it could cost a state Senate a seat or two.

**Ms. Boswell:** So that was almost a more important motivation than her own sense of the issue. There was one quote from her in which she says that strong growth management plans are "socialism with an anti-growth base." But it seems like that was not how she really proceeded here.

**Mr. King:** No, because at the end of the day she was at the table, and we were meeting in the governor's office negotiating this. We ended up collectively writing a fairly strong growth management bill.

**Ms. Boswell:** At the same time, didn't she appoint a couple of caucus members who really were pretty much against growth management to a conference committee that was trying to get the legislation out? I'm thinking of Bob McCaslin and Neil Amondson.

**Mr. King:** Right.

**Ms. Boswell:** She would have appointed them. It seems as though it was a little bit of a road-block tactic. Maybe that's not how it really was intended.

**Mr. King:** I can't remember all that, but certainly the bill died a number of times. It was really Wayne Ehlers in the governor's office who drew us back to the table. She—and I don't know how she did it to this day—but she had to persuade the state senator from Spokane, Bob McCaslin. She had to not send this bill through McCaslin's committee or had to have him get it out, which he did for her. I can't remember if she sent it to a different committee or what, but it somehow had to get by him.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think she went to him and said, "You've got to get this out."

**Mr. King:** You've got to get this out. Yes, I think so. I think it came out maybe with all the Democrats on there voting with it and maybe one Republican. It was just enough to get it out.

So there'd been lots of negotiations. It really was when we went into the governor's office. I very rarely sat down for negotiations. I would delegate people. But I sat in the governor's office on that, and Senator Hayner was very constructive and helped improve the bill. She could have gone in with the idea of "Let's make the best out of a bad thing," but she was constructive and helpful and helped us perfect the bill.

**Ms. Boswell:** It really wasn't a question of dilution as much as really just trying to work on the best bill possible?

**Mr. King:** It really was. That really was it.

**Ms. Boswell:** You did threaten, I think, to delay the budget votes unless growth management got out in 1990.

**Mr. King:** Yes. Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did that work? Were you able to cajole her with that kind of tactic, or did she sometimes take offense?

**Mr. King:** No, she wouldn't, because I was always so clear and direct with her. I would repeat it so many times in a lighthearted way, but it was always clear and direct with Senator Hayner. "I'd sure like to get out of here. I hope you don't hold this up by not bringing something to a vote." It was always, always that.

But here's an interesting story, and again it's a testament to Jeannette. Have you come across what year that the environmentalists put growth management on the ballot? I think it was the fall of 1990. We had done kind of a preliminary version of growth management, but we really hadn't fleshed it out. We really hadn't done too much more than a study commission. We passed that. The environmentalists then went to the ballot with the initiative, and I begged them, I begged them not to. I think that was the fall of 1990 because we passed the final version of growth management in 1991, right?

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes. Fall of 1991.

**Mr. King:** So in the fall of 1990 I begged them not to put it on there. I said, "I think you're going to lose. I think you're going to undermine our efforts." I had a very smart staff guy who said during the campaign, "Joe, why don't you approach Senator Hayner and see if you can get her to sign a letter and make a public announcement that if this measure fails"—because Jeannette really wanted it to fail and I didn't want it to pass. I thought

it was too extreme and not well thought out, and it was absolutely a no-growth measure, which I never was in favor of. So I talked her into it. I had to badger her a lot, and my staff had to badger me to keep going back to her saying, "Jeannette, this will help defeat this if you'll say in writing in this letter that you'll bring this to a vote next session." And she reluctantly signed that and made the statement, and then was as good as her word. It was a commitment. One thing that you could say about Jeannette, her commitments were rock solid.

**Ms. Boswell:** I get the sense that she believed really strongly that her word was her bond.

**Mr. King:** Absolutely.

**Ms. Boswell:** And a lot of people accepted it that way.

**Mr. King:** Absolutely. I'd like to think it was true of both of us, but it was absolutely the case with Jeannette.

**Ms. Boswell:** There was another story that I've seen in the papers. In the next year, in 1991, when you came back with more legislation to give teeth to growth management and to add on to it, that I think that again, Senator Hayner went along with you, and there were several lobbyists working on some growth management issues. I believe Dick Ducharme was involved and a lobbyist from King County…

**Mr. King:** Ron Main?

**Ms. Boswell:** Ron Main. Do you remember that incident and his reaction to it? There was a quote from him in the paper that said, "In all my years down here I've never been suddenly shot in the face by both sides."

**Mr. King:** (chuckles) That was Ron and Dick Ducharme…I think the story is there'd been a group of lobbyists working on a piece of the bill. They'd been working and checking in with both me and Senator Hayner, and they were trying to unite some external coalitions. There was local government and homebuilders and others. So they made some progress. We were in a meeting in the governor's office. Booth Gardner summoned us down there. Senator Hayner and I had been meeting with whomever in that final conference. It was with Maria Cantwell on my side and Clyde Ballard, and I can't remember who Jeannette had in those meetings with her.

But anyway, this external group that had been working came in—and I can't remember if Booth was in the room or not—but came in and said, "Well, here's our consensus. We think you have to do this. We've agreed on this." And that's when Senator Hayner drew herself up and said, "Whatever made you think you were a legislator?" She just ended the discussion like that. She just chopped their heads off and handed them to them, and they were still on their feet walking. It infuriated this group.

The other funny part of the story is I went back up to my office, looked down on the Capitol steps and saw this whole group of lobbyists down there, many young and energetic. Dick Ducharme was breaking the news to them. I could see this. I couldn't hear a thing that was being said, but I could just see half a dozen of these young, dedicated, hard-charging business lobbyists down there just jumping up and down they were so angry. They were just furious.

**Ms. Boswell:** And normally you would think that business lobbyists would have a lot better rapport with the Republicans.

**Mr. King:** Absolutely. And with Senator Hayner. Right. Absolutely.

I think this may be a little bit of revisionist history, but I don't think so. I think it was basically that Senator Hayner and I had agreed on a deal, and that was going to be it. She, by God, was a legislator. She was going to make the rules, and it wasn't going to be some other group of lobbyists out there.

**Ms. Boswell:** During this period and thereafter, how much impact did some of these issues have on the fact that elections were coming up? In the 1992 gubernatorial race, in particular, when people found out that Booth Gardner would not run again, you had some possible governor…

**Mr. King:** Ambitions. You bet.

**Ms. Boswell:** As did some Republicans in the caucus.

**Mr. King:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did that affect both your relationship with the Republican caucus, but with Jeannette, too? Did that have any impact at all?

**Mr. King:** Booth announced in fall of 1991 that he wasn't going to run again. So both Dan McDonald in Jeannette's caucus and myself, we both announced before session, so it was absolutely clear. I think Jeannette was kind of humored by it. I don't really think it was any huge deal to Jeannette. She didn't come over here to get people elected governor or to stop people from becoming governor. She was always very fond of Dan and, I think, fond of me. I don't remember it making or having a real material impact. I just don't think it was a big deal to her.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was curious because Dan McDonald did begin to put forth pieces of legislation that established somewhat of an agenda that may or may not have been what Senator Hayner would necessarily have wanted. I'm thinking about property tax relief. Certainly, she would have supported anti-taxes as much as possible, but whether some of the proposals that he made would have been hers or not is in question. I just wondered whether the buildup and the presence that you need to establish to be a gubernatorial candidate—would that put him in a position of vying with her for power within the caucus or the party generally?

**Mr. King:** A little bit. Certainly political ambitions play a big part in the Legislature or any legislative body. But my sense of Jeannette is that that just wouldn't have troubled her. She wouldn't have felt any more pressure from that than she would most other issues. She never felt much pressure from anybody. If she did, she wasn't sharing it.

**Ms. Boswell:** To a degree, did it give her more power that she wasn't interested in seeking some other office?

**Mr. King:** Sure. Absolutely. That was a source of her strength. It was the source of the trust that people placed in her. They really were pretty clear, and Jeannette was pretty clear, that she didn't have any other political ambitions. I think that was relevant.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think by this time—certainly during growth management, the height of the growth management fight or whatever you want to call it—that some of the newspapers and others began to sort of pick up on your relationship with Jeannette. They began to call you the "Joe and Jeannette show," or the state's "odd couple."

**Mr. King:** I remember that.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me a little bit about your

reaction to that. Did it make the relationship harder at that point, or was it cemented enough that it really didn't make any difference?

**Mr. King:** It really didn't make any difference. Certainly, I was flattered by any attention. I wanted to run for governor. I obviously wasn't upset by what the press painted as a very positive picture between the two of us, because the public kind of wants people to work like Senator Hayner and I did.

**Ms. Boswell:** How about within your own party? You mentioned that sometimes you'd have to sneak over to talk to her. Did it make relations within your own party more difficult?

**Mr. King:** Actually not, because we got really progressive legislation. They liked the fact that Senator Hayner and I became friends and worked a lot. Maybe not particularly, but when you looked at the legislation we were able to pass—piece after piece after piece of really progressive legislation—they said, "It looks good to us."

**Ms. Boswell:** In regard to some of those other pieces of legislation, what sticks out most in your mind that really came about because of being able to work with Senator Hayner? You mentioned Medicaid a little earlier.

**Mr. King:** Expanded Medicaid and the AIDS bill wouldn't have passed without Senator Hayner. Our relationship wasn't ever such, other than on growth management, where the two of us would sit down and try to negotiate the legislation. The conversation was always, "Senator Hayner, we have to bring this to a vote." And she would chuckle and say, "You know, Joe, if you'd just send me better legislation, we wouldn't have any trouble bringing it to a vote." We'd have that back and forth kind of patter.

**Ms. Boswell:** How about working the other way, though? Were there things that she came to you and said, "This is really important. I want this and you need to help me with it"?

**Mr. King:** Occasionally, on district-specific stuff. But Senator Hayner prided herself—again, it was just a mere opposite. I prided myself on saying, "Here's what our agenda is and as soon as we vote on all this, then we get to go home." And Senator Hayner prided herself on—and if she were here to this day, she would say, "You never knew what I wanted, did you, Joe?" And that was a point of pride to her. So, no, she really didn't come to me and say, "I need help" on this or that, except on district-specific stuff, which I was glad to do. Those were things to help her district as a courtesy.

**Ms. Boswell:** You mentioned that she prided herself on your not knowing what she wanted, but maybe not having an agenda? Is that fair to say?

**Mr. King:** If she had an agenda, I never figured out what it was, other than she was pretty much a social moderate. I think abortion troubled her as a political issue, but I think she was supportive of women's rights, so she was socially moderate a lot of time. I think she prided herself in just working on really good government and making government work more efficiently. I don't think that she came in, as we did in our caucus, and say, "Here are the ten things that we're going to get. We're going to stick together on this, and we're not going home until we get this done." I just don't think there was that kind of approach to it. Remember, she was a socially moderate conservative on a lot of things. If you think government is wasteful, and you don't like it too well, there might not be a whole long agenda that you're going to work on. It was basically, "Write a common-sense budget and

let's get out of town, Joe. We don't need to be sticking around here."

**Ms. Boswell:** Would you be critical of that lack of agenda, or is it just a different perspective on it all?

**Mr. King:** It's a different perspective. If your bedrock conviction is that there's too much government and government waste, you'd think that there wouldn't be a real strong agenda. "Let's limit the budget. The longer we're in town, the more damage we do." No, I understood that point of view.

**Ms. Boswell:** You mentioned her social moderation, perhaps, but she was the first woman to be a majority leader. For that matter, I think she was the first woman to be a minority leader of a caucus. Was she a role model for women legislators? Tell me a little bit about how she fit into the new feminism or the "gender revolution" of that period when there were more and more women in the Legislature.

**Mr. King:** I don't think that Jeannette would have thought of herself as leading any kind of revolution. What she did was help the feminist cause by just being so efficient, so adept at what she was doing, and by being so strong. She led by example, not by rhetoric. There were different women legislative groups, and I would guess that Senator Hayner participated in those but wasn't an organizer of that. She just did women lots of good by saying, "You know what, I can do this job just like anybody else, but better."

**Ms. Boswell:** You didn't ever see her leading the banner though?

**Mr. King:** Just by example, not with rhetoric. It was a very powerful example, though, and much more effective than the rhetoric.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there ever circumstances that you might have noted where the Legislature was—I don't want to call it a good-old-boy network—but where she was up against certain traditions in the Legislature that maybe hadn't included women in the past?

**Mr. King:** I think daily, and she just ignored them. That's my sense. Again, it's that strength of character, just looking at you and saying, "Joe, that's a silly idea. We don't have to do it like that." By just looking at people and being direct, people would just back down. So, Jeannette would just kind of bowl over those kinds of things and not think twice about it. I just didn't see her being overt. She just did it by doing it.

**Ms. Boswell:** So there were never circumstances where she might have been left out of certain discussions or behind-the-scenes machinations or something like that? She had enough presence and control not to be ignored?

**Mr. King:** Yes. Yes. Absolutely.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you have a sense that the women liked her? I mean did she work together well with women, or did that not play a role?

**Mr. King:** I think they liked her. It didn't play a big role, but I think women on a bi-partisan basis became kind of proud of her just because she was strong and capable. Again, I think we thought initially that she would be very difficult to work with, very doctrinaire, and then we just didn't find her like that.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you see circumstances where she wasn't necessarily working with you, but where you saw some of those traits come out or not? I guess I'm asking if it varied, and there were some people who had

very different experiences with her in terms of being doctrinaire or being commanding.

**Mr. King:** The answer is, "I don't think so." With Jeannette, what you saw was what you got. I think her dealing with people was pretty consistent. It really was. I don't think she dealt with me any differently than she dealt with anybody else. She was just strong, clear, direct, funny, with a good sense of humor. She'd just come right at you and tell you what she was thinking. Smart. She was very smart.

**Ms. Boswell:** Let's talk about her decision to retire. Was that something that you expected? Was it something that she talked about, or was it just that she made up her mind and then did it?

**Mr. King:** She would have made up her mind and decided to do that. I don't remember having any discussions. I don't think she would have included me in any deliberations about that.

**Ms. Boswell:** When she made the decision to retire, to your knowledge, was there anything else going on that may have led to that decision—the bouncing back and forth between being majority leader and minority leader, for example? Could that have been an influence?

**Mr. King:** I think her age. She'd been here long enough. I don't know what age she was when she retired.

**Ms. Boswell:** In her seventies, I think.

**Mr. King:** That's what I think, in her early seventies. It was just time.

**Ms. Boswell:** Didn't you have at least one more year as Speaker after Senator Hayner retired?

**Mr. King:** No. We retired at the same time. We both retired in 1992.

**Ms. Boswell:** What kind of relationship did you have with Jeannette once you both left the Legislature?

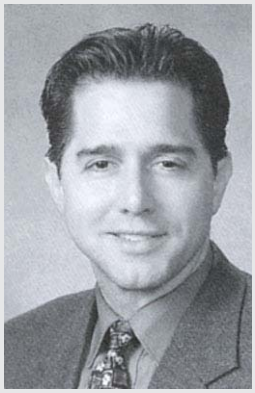
**Mr. King:** We would not see each other often. I think I made one trip to Walla Walla where we sat down and had a conversation. We bumped into each other at political functions and when her husband was on the Board of Regents at Washington State University. After I left the Legislature, I was appointed to the Board of Regents, so that was a time where we'd bump into each other. It's always warm and friendly when we do see each other. But our lives are so much different that beyond the political—beyond the legislative world that we shared—there just wasn't much contact.

**Ms. Boswell:** Looking back at the relationship that you did have through the years in the Legislature, in particular, what were the highlights or what would be your strongest memories of that period?

**Mr. King:** As far as individual legislation, probably growth management would be the hallmark of that. But I just think it's an example of what people of good will and good faith, who are willing to communicate pretty directly, can do. I don't think there's anything magic about it. It's funny. Both of us were probably thought of as highly partisan, but neither one of us really was all that partisan. For both of us, I think, the hallmark was pragmatism. This is how you get stuff done.

**Ms. Boswell:** If you had to sum up Jeannette Hayner as a politician, what were her characteristics? If you had to do a thumbnail of her as a politician, what would you say?

**Mr. King:** I'd say she was strong, she was clear, she was politically fearless, and she just had great strength of character.



## COLLEAGUE'S COMMENTARY: MILT DOUMIT

*Milt Doumit, who is currently vice president of government affairs for Verizon, first worked in Olympia as the attorney for the Republican caucus during the 1990 legislative session. As a member of the staff, Mr. Doumit reflects on Senator Hayner's leadership skills in the caucus and, in particular, her handling of several major pieces of legislation during that session, including growth management, tribal gaming and the Running Start bill.*

**Ms. Boswell:** Could you tell me a little bit about how you first came to work with Jeannette Hayner?

**Mr. Doumit:** A very good friend of mine was the policy director for the Senate Republican caucus here in Olympia. His name is Tim Martin. He subsequently became the Chief Clerk of the House, and now he works for a pharmaceutical company.

I was in a firm in Seattle and started in 1988 and knew Tim well. He needed a session lawyer for the 1990 session for policy, so he asked me if I would be interested in joining him in the caucus in that session. It was a short session, sixty days in 1990, so I went to my law firm, pitched it as a benefit to them and to me to get some good legislative experience. Perhaps it would turn into something involved with the Legislature: lobbying, firm clients, etcetera. The firm agreed, and so I came down for a session. The thing that I didn't realize is how much I would like it, and the caucus offered me a job after that session, and I stayed. That was my start in Olympia.

The session counsel job that I had was not terribly well-defined. It was sort of what you make of it. For me it was a very fortunate thing. Because Jeannette was the majority leader, she didn't have a committee chair, and didn't have committee staff at her disposal. Everybody was really at her disposal, but nobody was specifically assigned to her. So I became sort of her primary policy analyst, which for me was just a wonderful experience. I was in the caucus all the time, which was adjacent to her office. Are you familiar with the way the caucus rooms are set up?

**Ms. Boswell:** Describe it to me a little bit.

**Mr. Doumit:** The caucuses at the time—now they've flopped—but at that time the majority caucus was on the southeast corner of the building. It's a big room and it held at that time twenty-five members. Adjacent to it was the majority leader's office and the caucus chair's office, on the third floor, where the floor of the Senate is, basically. On the other side at the time was the minority caucus. That's since been inverted with some remodeling.

But I was stationed pretty much in the caucus. There were some day-to-day duties that included, for example, when the Senate was on the floor, I reviewed amendments that were put on the bar, as they say. I helped Tim prep the Rules Committee on bills. You're familiar with the Rules Committee? The Rules Committee is the last stop for bills before they go to the floor. After the policy committees and the Ways and Means Committee, the bills go to the Rules Committee, and the members of the Rules Committee will, as they say, pull bills to the floor.

And so pre-Rules meetings were quite important because that was the last stop before

bills went to the floor. It was interesting that at that time, if a bill did not appear to be a good one to Jeannette, she had a saying in the Rules Committee—you may have heard this—"That bill's not ready." If she really meant that bill wasn't ready, she'd say, "That's a bad little bill." Pretty much that ended the activity on that bill in the Rules Committee and in pre-Rules as well. There was a penalty in the Rules Committee, if a member pulled a bill to the floor—the final pull to the floor was voted on by the Rules Committee. If the measure was voted down, then the bill would go back to an earlier stage of the process. So Jeannette would sort of signal. Rather than take a vote on that bill and have that bill go down, she would send a signal by saying, "That bill is not ready." The minority at that time knew that if Jeannette said that, they shouldn't put that bill up for a vote because she probably had the votes. That's the kind of leader, I guess, that she was. It was just implicit that Jeannette had the votes behind her if she made a statement, "That bill's not ready yet." I helped in preparation for the Rules Committee, so I had a lot of access to her, I guess, and so she just started using me for some other bills that she was interested in.

That's kind of a long way of giving you some background on how I got there and how I got connected to her.

**Ms. Boswell:** Had you really not had much other contact with her prior to that time?

**Mr. Doumit:** No. I had no contact with her prior to that time. My friend Tim was close to her because he was, as I say, the policy director for the caucus at that time. I may or may not have met her through Tim prior to that time. I'd certainly heard of her, but no, literally no contact with her at all.

**Ms. Boswell:** You mentioned that, to a degree, you could shape your job, but also that she began to have somewhat of an agenda for you. How did that relationship evolve? Did she just sit you down and say, "Let's work this out," or tell me a little bit about how she would approach that?

**Mr. Doumit:** I'm trying to recall exactly if there was a moment where she said, "I want you to do this." I don't think it was that. I think in my contact with her as far as analyzing amendments or analyzing the Rules Committee bills, if she called on me, for example, I was likely to be able to give her an answer that gave her the information that she needed. I think it was just through these smaller tasks that she gained a confidence in me, and so when some of the bigger issues came down, she called me in.

An example is the Running Start bill. Most people are familiar with the concept now. I don't know how many thousands, tens of thousands of kids, have benefited by the bill. That was a bill that would allow high school students to go to junior college and receive college credits at the same time they were receiving high school credits. It was a method that would allow kids who maybe could excel better at a different place, the opportunity to do that, basically.

There was a lot of opposition to that bill. Anything that sounded of choice, school choice, there was a concern from the teachers' union and from supporters of the teachers' union in the Legislature. The thought was, "Let's not go there." I'm just simplifying this, but their argument was, "Let's not give students necessarily a choice to go to junior college. We'll lose that money if you send them somewhere else, whether it's another school or another district or a junior college, and we need that money. Help us in these schools become better schools."

That was one philosophy, and the other, which was more, I guess, where Jeannette

was…well, there were two things. One, to give kids a choice would foster competition that would allow schools to become better, but really her bigger interest was just in seeing that the children who might not be thriving in the high school setting could do so in a different setting.

There was another smaller component in that bill, which was intra-district transfer as well. You had choices on two levels there, but the bigger, most prominent feature of that bill was Running Start.

This is a bill that was promoted by Governor Booth Gardner, and the fellow who was the chair of the Education Committee in the House at the time. His name was Kim Peery, who later became the House majority leader under, I think, Joe King. And so there were strong proponents of this bill in the Governor's office because it was a big request bill from Booth Gardner and in the House.

In the Senate, however, a very nice man named Cliff Bailey was the Senate Education chair. He was, I guess you would say, of the opposite philosophy than Jeannette. "Let's give the schools what they need in terms of resources to be able to educate these kids right where they are, rather than have them leave and have the money leave." That's where Cliff was. Although he was a Republican legislator—stereotypically you might consider Republicans advocates of choice—he was not, generally speaking, of the choice philosophy. He did not want that bill to get out, and Jeannette asked me to work with him. She said, "Milt, I like this idea. The governor is on board, the House is on board; I think we can make this work. Let's work this bill." It became pretty clear, I think, to both Jeannette and to me—mainly to her—that Senator Bailey—as I say again, a charming guy, I liked him a lot and really enjoyed working with him—was probably not going to let this bill get out of his committee. As you may know, there's a time when a bill does not get out of committee, it's dead for the session, beyond a cutoff. We were leading up to that cutoff and, whether I reported it or whether she knew it or whether others told her that Cliff Bailey was not going to move this bill out of committee, she called Senator Bailey into her office. I was there, and it was probably a rare glimpse for a staff person of the potential power of a Senate leader. She sat Senator Bailey down, and she basically as much as told him, "You will move this bill out." He explained to her that it was the prerogative of the chair and why this bill, he thought, was not a good bill philosophically, and she listened to all that, I think.

An aside here: Jeannette was trained as a lawyer. She was an excellent lawyer. She had a phenomenal memory, a wonderful mind, adept, and could see all sides of an issue. She had the ability, probably just about beyond anybody I've seen other than, perhaps, my subsequent boss, Rob McKenna, to retain so much information at one time. She proceeded to give the arguments back to Senator Bailey. But there's a philosophical gulf there, and it probably wasn't going to be bridged in the space and time of the meeting they had. So at the end of the day, it turned more to power, and she just said, "Senator Bailey, this bill's coming out." He got the message that the bill was going to come out, so she probably had the votes to pull that bill out over his head, as they say, which was an extraordinary thing to do, but that's how passionate she was about this issue. So she said, "This bill's coming out and you can work it with me, or I'll work it by myself." And he said, "Okay." In essence: message received.

I spent a couple of weeks working with his committee staff. They were really good people like Larry Davis and Leslie Goldstein, who then went to the Senate Democratic caucus and now is over at the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Larry is at the State Board of Education. We got in a room and

worked this bill out so that Cliff Bailey was comfortable with it, Jeannette was comfortable with it, and but for that discussion, I believe we would not have that Running Start bill. We wouldn't have had it then, and we may never have had an opportunity to pass it since that time. So, I count her as ultimately responsible for that gift to high school students, to be able to opt to attend junior college right now.

So that's one little story about the Running Start program.

**Ms. Boswell:** That was fairly early in your time there, but in your mind, was that something that she would do often, or was that a pretty rare occurrence?

**Mr. Doumit:** She didn't have to do it often. That was the only time I ever saw her that forceful. As I say, she knew where the votes were on these bills, and she knew what the arguments were on these bills, and it was incredible how much knowledge she could retain. I'll go back to what I started on. If she said, "This bill isn't ready yet," people took her at her word. She didn't really bluff about those things. "There are interest groups out there that are going to beat this bill down the road," or "I have the votes to move this or to kill this," and she did. She knew.

We could talk about a couple of other examples of bills that she didn't ever profess to be able to stop. One of those was growth management. She's from Eastern Washington. Generally speaking, the Eastern Washington folks were not agreeable to the idea of growth management for a lot of reasons, including the fact that there are a lot of farm owners in Eastern Washington, and part of the value of the farm is not just in the product, but in the real estate itself. To potentially restrict the boundaries of where growth could occur could diminish the value of property. That's just one reason among many. They're also just traditional property-rights advocates: the government ought not to be dictating what I can or can't do on my property, as long as I'm not harming somebody or somebody else's property. And Jeannette was over from Walla Walla, and she represented a lot of those folks. But she never put her foot down on the Growth Management Act, and it was interesting because she knew, I think, at the end of the day it was something that just had enough support that it would pass.

So that was one. There were a couple of reasons for that. One was the Republicans in her caucus, in fact, the suburban Republicans. At the time the East King County crescent was pretty solidly Republican. It's changing now, but those folks understood at the time it had the potential to change even then, so they were very concerned that without a Growth Management Act, their constituents would react in a hostile way against them in that election of 1990.

Jeannette understood that Joe King, who was her counterpart in the House, the Speaker of the House, had staked a lot on growth management as well. He was going to, I think, go to the mat for growth management, and she understood that as well. She wasn't able to say, and never tried to say, "This bill is dead, I'm going to kill it," because it wasn't within her power to do that. So she asked me—Tim actually with my assistance—to work on that bill to help make it the best growth management bill that it could possibly be without being too Draconian in terms of regulation of property. So I had a wonderful opportunity, I think, to join others at the table helping to draft what ultimately became the Growth Management Act. There was a wonderful committee staff in both the Senate and the House and the House Democratic caucus staff as well.

**Ms. Boswell:** Growth management is interesting, too, because it brought to the fore a working relationship, and, I think, behind that

a friendship between Senator Hayner and Joe King. I'm curious. From your perspective, did that relationship help or influence Jeannette's perspective on growth management?

**Mr. Doumit:** I don't know, but they did seem to have a friendship. I saw them together at other places. For example, prior to session every year the Capitol press corps holds—the Associated Press holds on behalf of the Capitol press corps—a forum for legislative leadership and for the governor to talk about the upcoming session. I remember in the next year, 1991, Jeannette and Joe King were asked questions, and they treated each other very fairly, I think, in those kinds of times. So I think they had a great deal of respect for each other.

King was sort of like Jeannette; he had a good ability to direct his caucus—let me just say it that way. Although they had a respect for each other on some levels, they were polar opposites when it came to philosophy. They really were. So I don't know whether it was a friendship that moved Jeannette to go along with King, or vice versa. I think it was just their mutual respect and the fact that they had to respect the other's power, work together, and so they did on the Growth Management Act. That was one King really wanted to pass.

Clark County was like King County because Clark County had been, and King County had been, growing rapidly. His concern was primarily about Clark County, but he was also—I'm not saying this is what motivated him—but he was gearing up to run for governor at that time as well. That was a policy that he could certainly, if he wanted to, promote in other populous areas of the state.

So, I guess to get back to your question, it didn't seem like the friendship, if there was a friendship, or the cordial nature of the relationship motivated them getting things done. It was just that they knew they had better get things done because the other one had a great deal of power in the place.

**Ms. Boswell:** The newspapers were portraying their working relationship as very pragmatic and even calling it "the Joe and Jeannette Show" and other things like that. I have the sense that behind the scenes, they probably did get together to talk policy, not out in the open necessarily, because they both were pragmatic and realized that if they were going to get something done, they needed to be able to agree.

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes. Right. That is true, and hence there were some compromises on the Growth Management Act. For example, this is what Jeannette brought to the Growth Management Act: the ability to opt in for counties that weren't growing at a certain rate. So counties that were growing in excess of a certain rate were automatically put into the Growth Management Act, like Clark County and Puget Sound counties and, I think, Spokane County at the time. Others, like Jeannette's counties, could opt in if they wanted to. That was one of the compromises, you know, that pragmatic leaders could forge to get a bill out.

**Ms. Boswell:** Which made sense, too.

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes. It did make sense at the time. In the first bills, if I recall, there was no opting out basically, and that was a good move on his part to go to an extreme position in order to create, later, some exceptions.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you see her, in that issue, evolving over time toward acceptance?

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** The reason I'm asking is that there was a newspaper article, I think, early

on—maybe even in the 1989 session when some of the ideas had first come out—in which she called growth management "socialism with an anti-growth face." It seems like over time there was an evolution in her position.

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes. The evolution was pretty practical, I guess. I don't think she had a policy evolution. The caucuses are closed to the public pretty much, but I was in the caucuses, and I'll just tell you that I know there were some East King County senators imploring their caucus fellows to pass that act. "We need this act. In my district the pressure is so great on this."

The economy was good. Historically, when our economy is up here, we have growth. They go hand-in-hand. We had the 1990s, early 1990s—it's funny because just after growth management passed, you had a little dip and the problem sort of corrected itself—but at that point in the early 1990s, Seattle's economy was just booming—the Puget Sound economy. There was immense pressure, and a large outcry from the constituents—those folks in that suburban crescent—to do something about this growth. "We miss our lifestyle which we have become accustomed to, so stop this growth or manage this growth." That was their reaction. That's when, again, she began to understand that the votes were probably there to pass the Growth Management Act. I don't know, so I can't tell you that there was an evolution in her political or policy understanding. I don't think there was. I just think she saw the writing on the wall and wanted to direct it accordingly.

**Ms. Boswell:** Maybe it's not necessarily in changing policy perspectives, but how much of a role can the staff play in addressing the issues and saying, 'This is feasible" and "This isn't"? How much would she have listened to you, or was there anybody else? John Rico's name has come up before, too, as being somebody who, perhaps, had been involved in lobbying a little bit for growth management. I have no idea if that is really true or not, but maybe you can tell me that.

**Mr. Doumit:** First of all I will say, yes, John Rico was a very prominent figure in the caucus at that time. He had a very thorough background in politics and a good understanding of policy. I was never in a meeting where, for example, he told Jeannette, "Look, this is going to pass, so you may want to do something to continue to lead and not let the caucus lead us." To that point, Jeannette had run a very good caucus. There's always going to be dissent, and there's always going to be, probably, grumbling, but by-and-large, they stuck together—always procedurally and often in terms of policy on most issues because they worked them out. You've heard of the "rule of thirteen," probably.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes. Tell me a little bit about that.

**Mr. Doumit:** The "rule of thirteen," which I never actually saw in the two years that I was there with Jeannette, that is, nobody ever actually invoked the "rule of thirteen." I had heard about it, and I saw it at work in the caucus where if the majority of the caucus—thirteen of the twenty-five—were in favor of a position, then that would be the caucus will. There are others, Dan McDonald, for example, who could tell with more specificity about how the rule worked. It was in place when I got there, and I never saw it actually being held up as "Hey, we have to abide by the rule of thirteen." They just did. So if thirteen members were for a position, they appeared to me to find a way to get the caucus there as well.

So, with only twenty-five votes, it's so easy for a caucus to become fractured. It's so easy to lose one member to the other side,

and that can just blow up the whole caucus, so you have to run that type of small majority expertly, and she did in my time there. She probably knew that she couldn't stand in the way of something like growth management.

When you talk about her philosophies and her abhorrence of socialism, for example, and I think back. At the time in 1990, they hadn't passed the state ethics act—that was either in 1991 or 1992—but they were certainly talking about it at that time. The ethics act, for example, regulates the dollar value of gifts legislators can receive. It is pretty much accepted and is a very good ethics law in our state now, but at the time it was really an affront to people like Jeannette to say, "We are going to regulate what you can take from lobbyists or from others." It was not because she took gifts, but because her attitude—and I remember this—she said, "Look, we don't need the state coming and holding our hot, little hands, telling us what we can and cannot do." That's what she said. "Just report it." She was an advocate of reporting, openness of government, openness of campaigns. Let the public decide then whether so-and-so has taken too much from the interest groups. Jeannette was much, in terms of that kind of thing, in the free market. Some describe her as a moderate, and she may have been, but you mentioned the socialist aspect. You can see in growth management how probably knowing that King could pull this off on his side, and knowing that there were votes in her caucus to move it, she let it happen, and, in essence, with her blessing.

**Ms. Boswell:** Within the caucus, itself, one of the people who had to be convinced was Bob McCaslin from Spokane. Maybe you can explain to me his position. He was the lead negotiator, wasn't he, from the Senate on this issue?

**Mr. Doumit:** Growth management, you're talking about? Yes. He hated growth management, actually, and it was interesting because the committee report on growth management—they call it conference committee report…Are you familiar with conference committees at all?

**Ms. Boswell:** Can you tell me about them?

**Mr. Doumit:** When the House passes a bill over to the Senate, and the Senate has amendments to it and they can't work it out, there can be a motion adopted to put the measure into conference. Conferees on both sides are put into a room, and they work it out or not. It used to be in the Senate that you did not receive the powers of free conference, which meant you could add anything to the bill. That was a later step. You had to go into conference and accept or not accept the other house's amendments. We had free conference at the time in 1990, and that bill went to free conference. So, you could go into a room and work the thing out, if you could, amend it any way and come back with a conference committee report, and the Legislature would vote that up or down.

So Bob McCaslin and Neil Amondson were the negotiators for the Senate. At the time they had two from the majority, and one from the minority. I don't recall now who the Senate minority person on the conference committee was. And they had two from the Democratic majority in the House and one from the minority in the House. So you were probably pretty sure you were going to get two people from the House to sign this and at least one from the Senate Democrats. So they needed a Senate Republican to sign the conference committee report in order to move it out to the floor. Neil Amondson, from Lewis County of all places—as far as property goes, a pretty conservative county—was on the conference committee with McCaslin, so the odds were probably not good that there

was going to be an acceptable conference committee report that could be adopted by four of the six members. Neil Amondson ended up signing the report and Bob McCaslin didn't. It was interesting. I don't know what motivated him to sign the report. In some ways I think he had listened to the same thing that Jeannette listened to about the needs of folks in fast-growing counties to have some kind of a Growth Management Act. His county, Lewis County, was able to opt out—or not opt in, I should say—so he signed the report. And Bob McCaslin…it was a surprise, let me just say that, in some circles, but at the time it probably made sense for Neil. I heard him in later years express whether that might have been the best decision or not to make.

Plus, session is tiring at all times. It's stressful at all times for these members. By the end of session when you're in a conference committee, the pressures that they are under are immense. It's incredible. For a citizen Legislature to govern a state of this size and this complexity and this much money, there's a lot that rests on their shoulders, and I have the utmost respect for what they do. You see strange things happen at the end of sessions, and to me that was a strange thing that Neil signed that report, but he did and so be it. Then the bill went out and now you have the Growth Management Act of 1990, a pretty pivotal law.

**Ms. Boswell:** Wouldn't Jeannette have been the person who decided who the representatives were on the conference committee?

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** So would it have been her choice to send two people who, in fact, may not have been willing to sign it?

**Mr. Doumit:** This is where you asked about Rico. John was in a lot of meetings that I wasn't in. He may have been behind a closed door with Jeannette. It would have been either Emilio Cantu, who was at that time the deputy leader, with George Sellar, or Dan McDonald, the Ways and Means chair. I don't know the answer to that. I really don't. It may have been scripted from the beginning. It didn't feel like it was at the time. So the answer is that it's possible that Jeannette may have appointed Neil knowing that he would sign that report…or not. I don't know the answer to that, sorry.

**Ms. Boswell:** Overall, if she, at least in principle, was supporting growth management, wouldn't she have wanted to see it signed in the end?

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes, but there are different kinds of deals that you can make. One is to that you can go to Joe King and say, "Here's what I'll promise you. In return for a vote on this, you'll get a vote on that." Or, "We'll put this thing into conference committee. We'll vote this out and get it into conference committee." Then you'd better go and convince members on this side to vote for it. She may have said, 'I'll deliver one vote on the conference committee" or not. I don't know. It really appeared to me at the time that Neil Amondson anguished over that and that he came to a conclusion on his own, basically.

The questions you're asking are really appropriate because that does happen sometimes. The leader makes a deal with the other side. The caucus is onboard. This is what gets us out of session—this for that. I don't know whether there was any kind of big, overlying deal on growth management. I was pretty close to it, and I didn't see it.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did the caucus feel about that? I get the sense that Jeannette did have overall the support of the caucus.

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did they just trust in both her leadership skills and political abilities to make those decisions?

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes. She had enough, to me, credibility in both those regards—leadership and political savvy—to have the trust of the caucus. People just went out of their way, almost, to please her. She was a true leader, just let me say that. She wasn't an authoritarian leader, so people I don't think felt that they were browbeaten or compelled to do anything. I had mentioned the Cliff Bailey example, and that was as far as I ever saw her push anybody.

I'll never forget this. One time I was sitting in her office and a constituent came in. At that time Pat Patterson, who was from the Ninth District over in Whitman County, was the Transportation chair, and the Transportation budget was pretty much written and out. There was a constituent from her district who said, "Jeannette, I consider this to be a state road." It was a road—I can't remember the exact location, I'm going to say Dayton or something—that was used, according to this fellow's argument, for farmers to haul wheat, basically, from their farms to whatever market or grain silo. I don't know. I can't remember all the details. So she listened to him very carefully, and she said, "Milt, they're running the Transportation budget today over there. I want you to take a note please to Pat Patterson." I wrote the note: the repaving of such-and-such road needs to be in the budget. So, okay.

At that time they were running amendments on the budget. I think they were almost done with the amendments and ready for the final vote, so I dashed over there. Here's Pat Patterson, he's chairing the meeting, and I had to go to the committee staff and get him off the dais. "What's, what's going on? I'm chairing a meeting here." I said, "I've got a note from Jeannette," and his demeanor kind of changed then. So he looked at the note, and he didn't really roll his eyes, but he just sort of sighed and marched over to the committee staff. They didn't shut the place down but slowed it down long enough for that staff person to go type the amendment, it came up, and that amendment passed and went into the budget. He didn't question it because he knew that Jeannette wouldn't have done that unless it was something, number one, that she wanted, and, number two, that wouldn't embarrass Senator Patterson at all. So that was the kind of respect that folks had for her. They just trusted her in that regard.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes, that's a good story. You mentioned that as a staff person, you were essentially assigned to work with House staff and others on the bills. Tell me a little bit about what kind of oversight Jeannette might have had? Did she just give you full rein to do what you wanted or how did she mold the process…or did she?

**Mr. Doumit:** She did, yes. She had broad outlines of what she wanted to see, like in the Running Start bill. She was interested in the intra-district transfer component, but the primary focus of that bill for her was Running Start. I negotiated that bill on her behalf with Senator Bailey's staff—although we were pretty much on the same side as the governor and with the House Democratic leadership on that bill—so I worked that bill with Senator Bailey and the Senate Democrats. My recollection is that the Running Start bill was the piece that she really wanted to see move.

**Ms. Boswell:** I get the impression that Governor Gardner really wanted the open enrollment or transfer part, perhaps, more than Running Start.

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes. He wanted both. He had a fellow by the name of Ronn Robinson who was on his staff. So was Denny Heck, who ran for Superintendent of Public Instruction. Ronn Robinson was a former officer in the Washington Education Association as well. He had good education policy folks within his office.

So you're right. Both aspects of that bill were very important to the governor's office: the open enrollment and this idea of choice, choice for students. That was important as well, but if I recall, in terms of the broad outline that I'm talking about, the Running Start portion was what she really wanted to have.

You asked what kind of outline. It wasn't detailed. It was, "Go in there and see if you can get me this." We'd go and report back and say, "Okay, we got this piece of it." "Okay, that sounds good." It was that kind of a thing. As I said, she had an amazing ability to retain details. I could report to her on the Running Start bill, and somebody else would be reporting on something else. As leaders do over there, it was just a revolving door, whether it was lobbyists or other members or executive officers. I'd take my turn and go and meet with Jeannette, and she didn't lose a beat. She knew exactly what I was telling her. I'd go and somebody else would come in, and I'm sure it was the same with them.

I never felt like she had any real detailed bargaining outlines. She gave a broad parameter, and we just tried to do our best to fulfill it.

**Ms. Boswell:** There was never an instance where you might have negotiated and came back, and she said, "Oh, wait a minute, I don't agree with that," or "That's not what I want"?

**Mr. Doumit:** I guess she must have been pretty clear on the broad parameters because I can't remember that happening. For a staff person, too, you really aren't there to cut any deals. If you negotiate something, it's always—or just about always—with a caveat that this has to be approved by the person on whose behalf you are negotiating. She was very pleased, I think, with that Running Start bill. I think everybody was at the end of the day.

John Rico said to me afterwards, "Milt, we got the win on that. Thank you." To get that from Rico was pretty big stuff because he was a very important figure over there.

But you're right, though, about the open enrollment and district transfer part of that bill. That was a very big component. Philosophically, that was a big deal as well. That took a lot of negotiating.

**Ms. Boswell:** You had mentioned to me earlier another example of an issue that you did a lot of work on during those sessions in 1990 and 1991, and that was tribal gaming. Tell me a little bit about your work there.

**Mr. Doumit:** Dan Evans sponsored a bill along with, I think it was Daniel Inouye from Hawaii, if I recall, called the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, IGRA. Generally, the act said—it was a congressional act—that if a state allows casino gambling in any way, shape or form, then it must negotiate a compact with federally recognized tribes to permit the same gaming to occur on tribal lands.

At the time, Washington did have a very narrow law that allowed casino-type gaming for charitable organizations like the Elks Club. I think it was two nights a year that the clubs could have gaming. It meant a lot to these clubs at the time, as it was a big revenue source. Consequently these clubs had—they probably still do—lobbyists who were very protective of those casino nights.

Jeannette saw that that little, narrow law that allowed charitable gaming could be,

via this Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, not just a narrow, little exception to our gaming law, but a wide open door to casino gaming in the state. Other people saw that as well, but she seemed to recognize that so clearly. That was one of her abilities was to see the future, and to see what these laws that they were passing would mean to future generations. This is one where she saw very clearly: "Look, if this is allowed to happen, then we are going to have a wide-open casino gambling state. People may or may not want that, but I'm here to tell you that's what's going to happen." She said, "This is the camel's nose under the tent."

It appeared to me—and I may be quite wrong on this—she was one of the few who was saying that really somewhat loudly. She was an advocate of repealing the casino nights for the charitable organizations. That was tough for her, politically, because they were all over the state. As I say, they had a very strong lobbyist. "How can you do this to us? You're going to choke off our revenue. All these people, these club members, enjoy the casino nights."

"Listen, if we don't repeal this, then we're going to get gaming all over the state, and you're going to be out of business anyway. You're not able to compete with big casinos."

"That's not going to happen."

Well, for better or worse, Jeannette was right on that one. Again, though, as far as the votes went, the stars were not lined up for her on that issue. It would have been probably difficult even to have repealed those charitable gaming nights to win an argument that we could keep gaming out, because it may have been simply by virtue of having that bill in place at the time that the federal act was passed that we must, under good faith, negotiate.…

**Ms. Boswell:** I know good faith negotiations were part of it.

**Mr. Doumit:** Good faith negotiations. The state may not have been acting in good faith. I think for Jeannette it may have been worth the risk to do it. It just didn't seem right from a policy standpoint to her that we would go from a state that consciously kept casino gaming out to a state that would be wide open.

At the time, it was a tough thing for her to do politically, not only because the charitable gaming industry was against her position. The beneficiary of that bill was obviously the tribes, and they needed an economic injection. There was absolutely no question. So to the extent you try to close the window, the small window on gaming, you can be accused of being anti-tribe or something. That came up. I never saw that. Never. It was never about that with Jeannette at all. It was just a good policymaker recognizing what the future held—open casino gambling—and trying to stave it off. She wasn't able to do it again. She just didn't have the votes to hold it off.

As we talk, I realize there were a lot of big things happening in 1990. That was my first session, by the way, and at the time, I believed every session must be like this one. "I'm going to be in the middle of everything." I'm not trying to say that with a big ego; I don't mean that at all. It just happened that because I worked for her, I was in on some of the major policy things—in the mix, let me just say that. In subsequent years I can't remember working on very many issues like any one of those we just talked about.

**Ms. Boswell:** They really did have a huge impact on the state from that time forward.

**Mr. Doumit:** That's right.

**Ms. Boswell:** My sense with the casinos and gambling is that on principle, too, Senator

Hayner is really opposed to gambling almost on any kind of scale.

**Mr. Doumit:** Right. I gathered that. I never did check her record out as far as votes against gambling or not. She was definitely not in favor of casino gambling around the state. On other gaming issues, I don't know. I can't remember. I know there were some bills relating to horse racing in that year. I can't remember how she voted on those. You may be right that, generally speaking, she was opposed to gambling in any form, but she was absolutely opposed to large-scale gambling.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you think that it was her legal background that helped her to see the direction where all this was going?

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes. I think, in part, it was her legal background to see that we had better close this loophole for casino gambling now, take our chances in a legal case on a good-faith-negotiation argument. That was our only chance to hold this off. So she was thinking in terms of policy, but certainly as a lawyer as well.

**Ms. Boswell:** And then she was willing to introduce a bill, in fact, to close this off, but it didn't fly?

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes. That's right. I remember her saying it, but I can't remember the bill actually. Did she sponsor a bill?

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes. I believe it was Senate Bill 5772.

**Mr. Doumit:** Who else sponsored it, do you know?

**Ms. Boswell:** I'm sorry, I don't know that I remember.

**Mr. Doumit:** That was her stance, certainly. I'd forgotten that she'd actually gone so far as to sponsor the bill. Then she's got something on record, which is also like Jeannette. If she said it, she wasn't afraid to put her position out there.

In that year 1990 as well, there was another bill that didn't pass. We talked about that she was a moderate in some degrees. Another bill I worked on a lot for her was a requirement that children wear bicycle helmets. I can't remember the number of the bill, but she did sponsor it, I think, as prime sponsor as well. She recognized that publicly we were funding the remedy of the injuries associated with bicycle wrecks of kids, and traumatic brain injuries. So it was a pretty easy economic argument for her to make that, "Look, this is cheaper for us to require kids to wear helmets, and if we have to, to pay for helmets, than it is to lose our youth, number one, and, number two, to have the public pay, in some instances, for the return to health of some of these kids." That one was not popular with a lot of her conservative colleagues at all, really, from Eastern Washington, but yet she fought on behalf of that bill all the way through.

Jim West—he was from Eastern Washington as well—didn't let it out of his Health Care committee. He was the Health Care chair at the time, and she didn't like that. Somehow we got the bill revived on the floor, and I think it did pass the Senate ultimately. I don't think it actually passed in that session; I think it was in a subsequent session. That shows you a little bit of Jeannette's balance. She wasn't just a purist in a libertarian way.

**Ms. Boswell:** One of the things I wanted to ask you about—and it really applies, I think, to all of these issues—was a quote related to the industry of tribal gaming from Joe King. When her bill actually came up for discussion, somebody asked him, "What's your feeling

about this?" And he said, "I've got to think about it for a while. Normally, Senator Hayner doesn't have an agenda, and she doesn't say she wants something, so now that she does I really need to look at it a little bit further." But I think that that is a point that he made, and actually she has made as well, that she didn't usually go in with an agenda.

**Mr. Doumit:** That's right.

**Ms. Boswell:** That seems strange to me for a strong leader, but I wanted just to get your assessment of that whole notion of whether she did or didn't really always have an agenda.

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes. She didn't, in my recollection and experience, promote an agenda. On the other hand, she felt very strongly about certain things, like we just talked about this bike helmet bill, or the education bill. I think I remember, actually, Joe King saying that at the time. I just don't recall, but he may have, indeed, used that to leverage something else, although I don't think there was any leverage to be had because he was going one direction on that gaming bill, and there was probably nothing that he was going to trade to kill it.

**Ms. Boswell:** Well, I think it was near the end with the budget, and it was about not letting the budget out without growth management and a variety of other issues. So I don't know that he ever actually really did use it as leverage. He specifically has said, "The difficult thing about dealing with Jeannette is that it was hard to leverage because she wouldn't usually come in and say, 'I have to have this.'" And so her style was, "I don't need anything from you," which gives her a position of power, so to speak.

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes, it does. He was a shrewd negotiator, as were his successors, including Chopp, Frank Chopp, over there now, who is very adept at looking for what the other person wants and leveraging that, perhaps, into a way to get out of the session as well. She was a lawyer. She was a good negotiator, and from Joe King's perspective, that was probably exactly right. She didn't give up what her needs were, and, in turn, he wasn't able to leverage those.

It's funny, because when you're in the position I was in, or the staff was in over there, you're in the trees, as it were. You're in this microcosmic atmosphere, and so King may be saying that on the outside, but you are just hustling to get this stuff done. As I say, I wasn't behind the door with John Rico, who probably helped design those grander negotiation strategies. I was working those two bills, or several bills, that we talked about.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of preparation, you mentioned how much Jeannette could hold in her head, but tell me a little bit about what you saw in terms of her preparation for caucus, for her role as majority leader.

**Mr. Doumit:** She always wanted to be well prepared. The bicycle helmet bill, for example, when that bill ultimately came to the floor—I can't remember how it got there because I know Jim West killed it in his committee—maybe they voted it out to the floor, I just don't remember. I remember talking to her about the floor debate. These are going to be the arguments about that bill. First of all, it's going to be that there is the socialist aspect. How can you make this requirement of anybody? Secondly, the bicycle lobby at the time was opposing that bill because their emphasis was more on, "Give us money to provide bicycle lanes. This is going to detract from bigger promotional arguments." There was another argument against that bill, which was, "This will just be the start to requirement

of helmets for everybody, all adults, and requirements for helmets on motorcycles." That happened.

And the other was, "Some kids aren't going to be able to afford helmets." It's amazing how this is coming back to me now, by the way. I needed floor notes that addressed those points. "Okay, will do." And sure enough, on the floor—and you can probably go back and look at the transcript—I think every one of those arguments came up, just as she knew that they would.

**Ms. Boswell:** I also wanted to ask you—and I hope this isn't violating any confidences—but you mentioned that you did sit in with the caucus a lot, and I wondered if you could describe for me Jeannette Hayner's management style within the caucus?

**Mr. Doumit:** I think Jeannette really appreciated and allowed the chairs of the committees to do their business and deferred in large measure to the chairs. The chairs understood that, to a large degree, they would have a lot of scope within which they could work to advance things, or kill things. The Senator Bailey example was a real exception in my experience to Jeannette's leadership style, but they knew she could use that if she had to as well.

In the sessions that I worked with her, 1990 and 1991, there was not a lot of dissension that I saw. People seemed pretty comfortable, pretty happy. They enjoyed the fact—and she helped them to appreciate the fact—that they were in the majority. Whatever may divide them wasn't worth letting the caucus come apart, because they had the ability to control part of the agenda. I guess she told them that we needed that control because you have a divided Legislature. And although, in my experience, Booth Gardner was good to work with, you had a Democratic governor as well. So I think they understood, and she helped them understand, their importance in upholding a political philosophy in the state. They were sort of the last stop in that way. In my experience as well, she was just so intelligent and so well informed that you couldn't—and you didn't want to—put anything by her.

But in terms of leadership style, I would not call her an eloquent speaker. She could give a good speech when she needed to. I would not call her an emotional leader in terms of creating passion in her folks. She was reasoned and fair and highly intelligent and understanding of the arguments that the chairs made and would contend, if she had to, I think, on a reasonable basis. So that's not a big help, I think, in terms of leadership style, but it's just that she was well informed and tried to give everybody something and keep them all together. I'm trying to synthesize all those disparate thoughts with one word, and I may do it by the time we're finished. I'll keep thinking about it while we talk.

**Ms. Boswell:** She was the first woman majority leader in the Senate. Did you see her role as a woman in any way either influencing her approach or having influence on how people saw her?

**Mr. Doumit:** That's a very good question. I hadn't analyzed it too well. Obviously, I hadn't analyzed the leadership question either too well, but Jeannette was not only crisp, and impeccable of mind, but also appearance. I'm not saying that males can't be the same way, but she dressed extremely well. She carried herself extremely well. There was always an air of great dignity about her. To the extent that that is more common among women, I guess, that's the only way I would say, yes, her being a woman stood out. Believe me, she never portrayed herself that I saw as weak or sympathetic. Like I say, she wasn't one, to me, to appeal greatly to emotions—if you

want to call any of those things qualities that are more prominent in a woman. It's that she just presented herself immaculately and…so there you go. That's what I think….

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of representing women's issues or women's equality, women's increased role in government or business or anything else, did you see that as being a cause of her influence?

**Mr. Doumit:** No. Others have probably written about that and spoken about that.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was interested in how you saw it.

**Mr. Doumit:** I really never saw that. I'm trying to think of an instance. I understand she had views on women's rights, for example, that might have differed from some of her caucus folk. I don't know that there was any policy that we did in the years that I was there in which I saw that. Just in the way she carried herself, she was a representative, not only of her district, but of women generally. Every day she was promoting women. She was a great, great majority leader, and a woman. So in that sense, generally speaking, yes, she lived by an example that elevated—I don't want to be trite here—but that elevated women all over.

**Ms. Boswell:** There was one newspaper, maybe more, that called her "the den mother of the Republicans." Did you see her as being like that?

**Mr. Doumit:** No. That connotes two things to me: one, that they're a bunch of kids, basically, and that she's the only one with some authority. I didn't see it on either part.

One of the things when I got to the Legislature that I didn't understand as well as I do now, after spending all these years over there—I talked about it earlier on—is how hard these people work. You know what I mean? How responsible they are. How much importance they attach to this job. How they feel about representing their constituents and, to a person over there, I think it's true. As I said, emotions can get out of hand, people get stressed out by the end of session, and people can get crabby and, perhaps, even childish at times, but it isn't like I saw her as the den mother at all for a bunch of unruly kids. I didn't see that. That's a good sound-bite, a good press piece, and that's all it is as far as I'm concerned.

**Ms. Boswell:** On the other side, I don't know if you'd call it a title, but an epithet that was given to her at times was "the Margaret Thatcher of Washington politics."

**Mr. Doumit:** Yes. And that could be more applicable, really, but it depends on what aspect of it. I spent a couple of years in England when Thatcher was the prime minister there. She was very forceful and no-nonsense and very well turned out all the time, I guess. So there were some similarities between the two. They both happened to be women leaders. Thatcher was in a whole lot bigger pond, obviously. But, yes, I can see that comparison more so. Maybe I'm missing something, but is that what you mean?

**Ms. Boswell:** I'm just curious because, to me, to be a den mother versus a Margaret Thatcher just doesn't compute to the same person. But I've seen her called both, so I was just curious as to whether these descriptions fit or whether maybe you are right, it was just a sound-bite.

**Mr. Doumit:** On a scale between den mother and Margaret Thatcher, she's much more on the Margaret Thatcher side to me. As you've been speaking, I've been trying to think,

because it was my first time in the Legislature, am I putting her on some kind of pedestal? I really don't think so. I don't think so at all. I've had a chance to work with a whole lot of legislators and very good ones. She does stand out to me, probably in the same way Margaret Thatcher stood out, and that's why her party elected her as its leader as well. So, yes, on the scale of den mother to Margaret Thatcher—Margaret Thatcher—I'll go with that.

**Ms. Boswell:** With hindsight, looking back on her as a leader and as a legislative leader, in particular, what do you see as being her greatest strengths?

**Mr. Doumit:** I'm trying to come back now to that point; I'm trying to find an idea to capsulize all these things. It is this: she understood the importance of her role in contributing to the policy debate and policy direction of the state. She understood that very clearly, I think. As I said, the Senate Republicans had the majority by one, in the House the Democrats controlled, and there was a Democratic governor, Booth Gardner, who—I don't say this as a criticism because I worked very well with both the House Democrats and with the governor's office. But, there are philosophical differences and so, to me, she knew that her caucus had to contribute its part to the philosophical debate and direction of the state. She led that caucus accordingly. There were probably some big-ticket items that she really weighed in on and some that she probably, pragmatically, just let go. But to keep her caucus as happy as she could probably enabled her to lead it well and to win on the issues that she could win on, and to shape the issues that she couldn't win on.

I'm glad you asked me that question again. She had a good sense of what it was that she was doing. It wasn't a game, I don't think, to her. She did step down ultimately. It wasn't that she needed to do it for her own ego or personal gratification. She just did not need that job. She had a wonderful family, and grandkids who she loved to be with. It was important for somebody like her to be in that role at that time, and she knew it, I guess. Does that help?

**Ms. Boswell:** Yes. Absolutely.

Is there anything else that you want to add or talk about, or any other particular issues that were important?

**Mr. Doumit:** Only, I guess, just a little bit on behalf of the staff.

Thank you for interviewing somebody who was a former staff member over there, but just to mention a couple of others. You mentioned John Rico, who was very important at the time. So was Martin Flynn. I'm just going to tick off some names of people I worked with who helped every bit as much and more. I was literally, as I said, the session attorney, sort of the lowest rung there. I ended up doing a lot of work with Jeannette, but that was luck on my part and wonderful fortune, really. So I started at the lowest rung, and I ended up running the Senate several years later as Secretary of the Senate. But in that year, she was served by guys like Martin Flynn, who was the communications director; Tim Martin, who was a wonderful mind and was her policy director. A couple of people I worked with on education policy, Kathleen Lawrence and Jonnel Anderson, were just really, really great. The members are citizen legislators, you know, and they're not full-time members, so they need and rely on really good staff people.

That was another good quality of hers, I've got to tell you, which was that she was so intelligent that she knew—although she could recall so many things—she knew that she had to have people around her who could think on her behalf and give her good advice as

well. She surrounded herself over there with some really wonderful people. I just wanted to throw that out.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think that's good. She'd been in the leadership, whether in the majority or minority over the years, but long enough that these aren't people she just necessarily inherited. These are people she chose, correct?

**Mr. Doumit:** Right. Yes. Exactly.

**Ms. Boswell:** And brought along for particular positions?

**Mr. Doumit:** That's exactly right, yes.

Otherwise, anything that I can do to share my extreme respect for Jeannette Hayner is wonderful, because I have it. There are many, many good legislators over there, on both sides of the aisle…just so many of them I can't even begin to name them. But she's at the top of the list, right at the top, as far as I'm concerned. We were very lucky to have her at that time.

## CHAPTER 12

## LAST YEARS IN OFFICE

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of the leadership, I just want to mention a couple of other people who joined in the leadership, particularly in 1988, when you come back into the majority again after being in the minority.

I noticed that there was a new position added when you came back into the majority, which was a deputy caucus chair. It was something that Emilio Cantu filled for a period of time—majority deputy leader.

**Ms. Hayner:** I always had a very good relationship with Emilio. He was a terrific guy, very bright and everything. I had just too much to do.

**Ms. Boswell:** I was wondering if your workload was the reason for the position.

**Ms. Hayner:** I said it would be great if we could have a deputy so that occasionally, if I couldn't make a caucus, which we had almost every morning, I'd like to have him have the authority to preside and do what's necessary, and that was fine. The caucus thought that was good. And it was; it worked out fine. He is a remarkable man.

**Ms. Boswell:** We talked earlier about the fact that the workload really expands exponentially if you're actually in the majority.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. If you're in the majority, it's almost more than one person can do.

**Ms. Boswell:** When you're in the minority, it is different. I was really interested in what you were saying before about the Republicans always having their agenda and trying to push it, because it seems as though it would be really easy to step into a reactive mode.

**Ms. Hayner:** That's the way I personally think that the Democrats did most of the time. When we were in the majority we worked at it, too, and they just took their votes. They had caucuses, I'm sure, but I don't think they did much. They didn't work on us like we worked on them when we were in the minority.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you get consulted? We talked about Booth Gardner's bipartisan committees, but if you're not of the governor's party, do you normally get consulted about other issues? I was thinking, for example, that Henry Jackson died and Dan Evans was appointed to fill his seat. Does the Legislature get brought in on decisions like that? Do they get asked about those kinds of issues or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** No.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is that purely a political position?

**Ms. Hayner:** Gubernatorial. He might have talked to us. I don't remember that, but we were not in a decision mode. They may have asked us about it.

**Ms. Boswell:** How important for you, personally, was your agricultural constituency? Obviously, there was a change in your area in terms of agriculture, but were the wheat growers really important backers initially, and did that change over time or not?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. It has changed now, substantially.

**Ms. Boswell:** But I meant when you were in office.

**Ms. Hayner:** Not very much, really. There were some vineyards, but not like there are now. I would think that they would have people lobbying over there now for them on various things.

And the wheat growers, basically all they wanted were no more taxes. That's what most people want.

**Ms. Boswell:** But there are other issues like drought relief.

**Ms. Hayner:** Drought relief is something that if it's a large item, it goes to the federal government.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's true, but still there are state issues, like state ability to help with special programs.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. When they asked for help, we tried to do what we could. It was usually minimal.

**Ms. Boswell:** The Republican majority, I think, came back in the Senate. Was it Linda Smith, and the fact that she got elected to the Legislature? Tell me a little bit about that?

**Ms. Hayner:** I can't remember too much about that except that she was elected.

**Ms. Boswell:** I think it was a special election. Was it because Alan Thompson became Chief Clerk, and he had to be replaced?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. That left a hole, and she ran and was elected.

**Ms. Boswell:** So at least you had more time the second time around to prepare to become the majority.

**Ms. Hayner:** It doesn't take as much to be prepared when you've been the majority before, and the same people, for the most part, were in the leadership. It isn't a big deal.

**Ms. Boswell:** I'm trying to think who was in the leadership then. George Sellar was still caucus chair. Irv Newhouse, we've already talked about.

**Ms. Hayner:** George Sellar was caucus chair, but in name only really, because I was the leader of the party in our caucus, and I did a lot of the talking. In that position, I knew a lot more about everything that was going on than anybody else did. George Sellar was a great guy, and he was very cooperative and so on, but I helped him a lot.

**Ms. Boswell:** The vice chair was Stanley Johnson.

**Ms. Hayner:** And Stanley is the one who quit after a while.

**Ms. Boswell:** He was there for a while, wasn't he?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, he was.

**Ms. Boswell:** And then the assistant floor leader. In 1987 it was Jerry Saling, and then Gary Nelson came in.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Gary did more than Jerry did. Jerry Saling lived in Spokane and that was kind of far away to be on call, so that's the way that went.

**Ms. Boswell:** And then assistant in 1987 was Jack Metcalf.

**Ms. Hayner:** The assistant doesn't do very much unless the whip isn't there, so he kind of substitutes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Then Ann Anderson took that position, but she rapidly moved into the whip position. Then Linda Smith came in as assistant whip, and she was in that position for a long time.

Is that a case, again, of bringing in some different political perspectives?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. You try to do that as much as you can because every one of those people who has a little different viewpoint than you do is represented by a bunch of people somewhere, you see. You have to do that.

**Ms. Boswell:** One other thing that was happening was the approach of the State Centennial and plans for the celebration of that political milestone. As leader of your caucus, you were appointed to the Centennial Commission. Were you involved in some of the Centennial planning?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not really. If I was supposed to, I probably assigned somebody else to it.

**Ms. Boswell:** So the history part of that event didn't really interest you? I know that Mrs. Gardner was really involved in the Centennial part of her duties as First Lady.

**Ms. Hayner:** She wasn't in the Legislature, either.

**Ms. Boswell:** I'm sure you had plenty to do. An issue that came up in the late 1980s—and, again, it was more of a federal issue than a state issue—was the spotted owl decision and its effect on logging and also on funding in education. The forests where the owls were located were on state lands and providing revenues for the state before they were closed down.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. That was mostly a federal issue. That was not something that we spent any time on.

**Ms. Boswell:** I just wondered whether in the Legislature, if there were issues like that, which certainly affect state funding, were there ways that the Legislature or the leadership, in fact, could have input into that federal process?

**Ms. Hayner:** If we should have, we didn't. [Laughs]

**Ms. Boswell:** What about the issues with Indians at that period of time? There were fishing rights issues that were important during that era and also cigarette sales. The tribes were certainly beginning to have somewhat more of a presence.

**Ms. Hayner:** Lobbying.

**Ms. Boswell:** Lobbying and political presence.

**Ms. Hayner:** The Indians—we've always assumed that was a federal issue pretty much because the Indians are, for the most part, supported by the federal government. There are getting to be fewer and fewer of them. Yes, they have the gambling, and I'm never very excited about that, anyway.

Another thing. After that first happening when the Indians over in our area opened a gambling facility, I said to Dutch, "I want to stop there and take a look." Well, I'm telling you, most of the people who were there and were pulling the handles were Indians and poorly dressed women. Now, that wasn't the purpose of it. And they were sitting around eating. Indians tend to get heavy; there are a lot of heavy ones around. I thought, "Honestly, this was not a good idea."

And whenever I got to Portland, there's an Indian village on the Columbia River and that lodge is the biggest mess you ever saw—cars half-running and half-dead. They used to fish. They had platforms out into the river where they'd fish. They don't do that anymore. It's too much work.

**Ms. Boswell:** But then there have been all the disputes over the fishing rights.

**Ms. Hayner:** Well, sure, but they were given fishing rights is the point, and they didn't use it. They're lazy for the most part. I don't know whether that's in their genes or what, but they're not very productive.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of your constituents, I guess you didn't really have any of the reservations?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. Oregon, near Pendleton.

**Ms. Boswell:** Yakima. There's a fairly large reservation in Yakima.

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, but that's pretty much taken care of by the federal government, if there's anything to take care of.

**Ms. Boswell:** Let me go in a totally different direction for a minute and ask you about a couple of procedural things that began to change by the end of the 1980s, too. Tell me a little bit more about the whole notion of title-only bills and how they were used.

**Ms. Hayner:** Title-only bills are just a method by which you can have a bill available when an issue comes up that was not anticipated or known about at the time that you started the session. If an issue—let's say gambling or any subject—comes up and you don't have a bill title, you can't introduce one at that point. So that's what title-only bills are used for.

**Ms. Boswell:** But then slowly that process began to change? What replaced it? My sense is that by the late 1980s, the Legislature did not use the title-only bills as much.

**Ms. Hayner:** For one thing, we were in session longer so they could introduce bills if they needed to, but there's a limit in the period of time that you can introduce bills, so that's what the title-onlys were for. The longer you go, usually you have bills that are available.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of assigning bills to a committee, did you keep that ability primarily under your control as majority leader?

**Ms. Hayner:** The Rules Committee actually did that. Ways and Means sometimes would suggest, but for the most part it was the Rules Committee, which is a small group of people. It was one of the ways, for example, to bury a bill if you wanted to get rid of it, if we didn't like it, or to accelerate attention to that bill if we liked it. So it was just another tool for the majority.

**Ms. Boswell:** Would you use the caucus to plan strategy as to how bills might be introduced?

**Ms. Hayner:** To a certain extent, yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Or would that be more of a decision that you would make with the other leadership?

**Ms. Hayner:** Mostly with a few of the leadership, but sometimes people would come in and say, "I'd like this bill to go to this committee because it will get a more favorable consideration," and we'd take that into consideration. You try to keep bills in the committees where the expertise is.

In Judiciary, for example, the people on Judiciary are usually lawyers who have a better understanding of those issues. For example, on the Agriculture Committee we try to put people who are from the part of the state that has knowledge about agriculture.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know at various times there has been a sense among some of the leadership that there were either too many committees or not enough committees.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** How did you feel on that issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** The way we felt was that you needed to have enough committees to consider the bills that were necessary to be considered. If you didn't have, you'd better have them; otherwise, you had to consolidate as much as you could.

**Ms. Boswell:** The Committee on Committees. Tell me a little bit about the origin and how that committee was used.

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know how it was originally organized, but the Committee on Committees was to do just what we've talked about—to decide which committees they should have.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was that a sub-committee of Rules, or was that really separate?

**Ms. Hayner:** It was separate from Ways and Means and Rules. You just don't have time in the Legislature—people don't have time—to spend a lot of time on the intricacies of refining bills if they're going to be on so many committees. Those of us in leadership had a lot of heavy lifting.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's interesting because I interviewed Frank Atwood and that was his very favorite term. He believed that certain people did the heavy lifting and other people didn't. He determined that there are only a few people who did all the heavy lifting in the Legislature.

I'm trying to remember, but it seems that by the 1980s, the number of committees had come down a bit to the equivalent of two to four per person.

**Ms. Hayner:** It depended on the people, too, and what their expertise was. The lawyers in the caucus always have a heavier load than some of the others because in some of the committees, some of the legislation is more dependent on the accurate wording of a bill. It varied. The party in the majority always made that decision.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you take into consideration in assigning committees if you knew that this person was in his law office in the morning and wasn't going to participate all that much in the committee work?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. We really left it up to them. If they didn't come for the committee meeting, that was their tough luck. There weren't many people like that though.

**Ms. Boswell:** It seems as though that might be a consideration if you, as a Republican, wanted to make sure that dominance existed, and if they don't show up for the committee hearings, then you might have problems.

**Ms. Hayner:** You can't be responsible for people's attendance. You have enough things to worry about. A lot of them didn't come for the sessions either.

**Ms. Boswell:** There's not much you can do about that.

Did you have any circumstances where you had to go out and find people for a vote?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure. Oh sure, but we had pretty good control of our people.

**Ms. Boswell:** It was essential that the leader made sure they realized their importance in the caucus and kept them in line.

In terms of working with the governor, I know that an issue that came up in the latter part of the 1980s and, I think, the early 1990s

was the line-item veto issue. Did you find—I guess Governor Booth Gardner would have been in for a fairly long period of time—did they use that to change legislation they didn't like?

**Ms. Hayner:** Some of them did, yes. A line-item veto can completely change the purpose of the bill. We even challenged some of the governors, occasionally, on their vetoes. It's the legislators' job to legislate, not the governor's, and if it changed entirely the thrust of the bill, it's illegal.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was the Legislature strong enough to challenge the governor?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, you bet. If we were in the majority, and we felt that it changed the law in a deleterious way, we went to court.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did you have to do that under Governor Gardner?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure, but we didn't do it personally. We got a lawyer to do it for us. We had a fellow in our caucus for much of the time when I was the majority leader and the minority leader, who was not part of the caucus nor was he a lawyer, but he was sharp. He was there all the time at every session and every caucus. He gave us a lot of advice—unofficial.

**Ms. Boswell:** Unofficial? So he wasn't official staff?

**Ms. Hayner:** He got paid, though, but we paid him.

**Ms. Boswell:** But he wasn't considered staff, per se?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't think that he was because he never was in a Democratic caucus.

**Ms. Boswell:** Interesting. So he would just advise you on your legal issues?

**Ms. Hayner:** Not legal, especially, but whether it was wise.

**Ms. Boswell:** Like a political strategist?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes. Exactly.

**Ms. Boswell:** What was his name?

**Ms. Hayner:** John Rico. He's deceased. He was extremely helpful, and he died by inches. He's buried in Yakima because that's where his family came from, but he had lived in California and worked for the California Legislature. That's where we got him.

**Ms. Boswell:** I have in my notes written down another person who was a strategist for the Republicans. His name was Vito Chiechi.

**Ms. Hayner:** Vito was very helpful, too, but he represented the Republican State Committee. He was in the caucus whenever he wanted to be, and he sometimes spoke up.

**Ms. Boswell:** That was fairly unusual, though, to let outsiders in the caucus, wasn't it?

**Ms. Hayner:** You can bring people in if you want to. They often brought people in to express their views. They would ask to come to express their views on certain bills, and we would let them do that if it were a time when we could, if we had time, and so on.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about your relationship with lobbyists? Were there some that you worked with better than others?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, absolutely. Some people like Boeing, for example, had a lobbyist who was there all the time.

**Ms. Boswell:** Do you think that some of them tried to influence people more than, perhaps, they should in terms of their votes?

**Ms. Hayner:** I don't know about that. I don't know. That was an individual thing, I suppose.

**Ms. Boswell:** As either minority or majority leader, did lobbyists approach you more or less than other members of the party?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, heavens, yes! I'd walk into my office in the morning and there'd be half a dozen people waiting to see me on an issue. Yes, they did.

**Ms. Boswell:** What was your policy towards that? Talk to everybody or…?

**Ms. Hayner:** I talked to everybody I could and had time for. When I found out what they were in there for, and if it was something that I didn't think was appropriate for them to lobby me on, I just said so.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did they provide you with useful information in terms of the various issues?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, yes. Yes. That's another thing I always told them, "If you have information on this issue, that's fine. We'll listen. But as far as whether we vote on it or individual concerns, that's none of your business."

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there any times when lobbyists were out of line in terms of trying to get you to change your mind or offering you things?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think it was pretty well understood that in our caucus, when the caucus had decided, that was it. They left us alone. They would try to lobby individually before a decision was made.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there ever any instances of what you would consider, looking back, improper activities?

**Ms. Hayner:** By lobbyists? I suppose so, yes, but not as far as I was concerned because I didn't allow that to happen.

**Ms. Boswell:** You hear stories of money being passed around.

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, no, no, no. Not in our caucus. No. That would never be the case.

**Ms. Boswell:** To stave off that situation, is that something that you just have to establish firm policy about?

**Ms. Hayner:** That's right. We never even talked about it because anybody who ever did would be forced to—I would think—resign. I'm sure that goes on in some legislatures and Congress, but not in the state of Washington.

**Ms. Boswell:** So you didn't think in either party that there was any indication that would happen?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. I can't be sure that that never happened in the Democratic caucus, but I don't think it did. It's a very high-class operation. We felt we were there doing the people's business and not our own.

**Ms. Boswell:** Politicians, like lawyers, sometimes have gotten bad reputations—fairly or unfairly—but you think that, in terms of Washington politics, it really has never been an issue?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. Never been an issue. At least not while I was in the Legislature, I don't

think it was. And I have to say being married to a lawyer—and I have a son who's a lawyer, too—I think the most honest and upright people are lawyers. Now, that doesn't mean there aren't one or two bad ones in the whole pack, but for the most part, it's important for them to tell the truth and be able to represent their clients as best they can.

**Ms. Boswell:** Certainly. They're upholding our legal system.

**Ms. Hayner:** Sure. Absolutely, and you take an oath to that effect when you're sworn in.

**Ms. Boswell:** I guess it's the press who sometimes digs into issues of ethics or other problems. Tell me about your relationship with the press over time.

**Ms. Hayner:** Whenever I went home, for example, I always went down to the *Union-Bulletin*, which is our newspaper, and made myself available for usually the editor and a couple others. They could ask me any questions they wanted, and I'd tell them what I thought was important that they didn't know. That was kind of necessary because Walla Walla is a heck of a long way from Olympia.

That was one thing that I started. I was really concerned because the newspapers in the east side of the state never carried very good information about what was going on in the Legislature, and if they did, it was old. A measure maybe passed through the House, and the people never knew whether it passed the Senate or whether it was a law or not. So I said, "You know, we ought to do something about this." And I have a beautiful plaque that they gave me. It's glass and it's oval, really pretty, and says that I was the founder of an organization called TVW, which is the state television channel.

**Ms. Boswell:** Right. Tell me a little bit about how you got involved in that organization.

**Ms. Hayner:** That's the way I got involved, just the way I just told you. I thought it was necessary, and I said, "We've got to do this." So we finally got a group of people together and made it possible.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know Denny Heck was involved in that early on, wasn't he?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes, he was. He was in the House and I was in the Senate, and Denny and I were friends. I have a lot of respect for Denny. Denny's done very well. He has a shopping center. I talk to him quite often. But anyway, we decided that we really needed to provide reliable information, so now they have their own station. Denny, as far as I know, goes on about once a week and talks about the legislation because he's over there.

**Ms. Boswell:** He was Governor Gardner's chief of staff, wasn't he, after he was in the Legislature?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** So it was a bipartisan effort on your part to help TVW get started?

**Ms. Hayner:** Oh, sure. You have lots of that in the Legislature.

**Ms. Boswell:** Did TVW really help, do you think, in terms of making people more aware of legislation?

**Ms. Hayner:** I think so. I think so. I think a lot of people watch it. They do a poll every once in a while to check on it.

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of the newspapers and their coverage, were there certain political

reporters that you thought were either better reporters or really gave a clear perspective on legislative affairs?

**Ms. Hayner:** I can't comment on that because I didn't read all the papers statewide. Adele Ferguson, of course, who still writes for the newspapers, does a good job of covering the Legislature, but she's only reported in some of the city papers.

**Ms. Boswell:** So people like Richard Larsen or Shelby Scates or some of those people, because they were on the west side of the mountains and urban reporters, did they just not affect you? They didn't really have much influence on Walla Walla?

**Ms. Hayner:** No, because in order to have an influence you have to be timely. They had their sphere of influence.

**Ms. Boswell:** What about the Spokane papers? So they didn't cover Walla Walla particularly well?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. We used to have the *Spokesman Review*. We take the *Tri-City Herald*, but it got so that the news was old. My husband is interested in sports, and he likes their coverage of sports, so we take the *Herald*. The *Spokesman Review* had the same problem as the *Herald* with the news—by the time they write and develop it, and it gets down to Walla Walla, it is old news. However, the *Spokesman Review* quit delivering in Walla Walla. One can obtain the *Review* by mail, but then the news is really old—two days late.

**Ms. Boswell:** Sure is.

I know you said early on that you didn't necessarily seek the office, but once you came into the leadership, either majority leader or minority leader, were there times when you just said, "This is too much. I'm fed up. I want to stop"?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. It's intriguing you know. Every day there's something new, and it's intriguing. Now, if anyone had decided to contest my leadership…but they never did.

**Ms. Boswell:** What made you finally decide to quit?

**Ms. Hayner:** Twenty years. I thought that was long enough.

**Ms. Boswell:** Is it something intuitive that you just begin to feel?

**Ms. Hayner:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** But you didn't set any sort of goals for yourself, specifically?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. No. No.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was it hard to quit?

**Ms. Hayner:** No. No. I didn't have any qualms about it. I thought I could be more effective the longer I was there, but then when it got to be twenty years, I said, "That's enough." A lot of people stay too long, and I can name some of them who are over there right now who should not be there. You get stale and you lose contact with certain people, and you think you know all the answers. There are just a lot of reasons why you shouldn't. There are certain jobs that you can do all your life, but there are others that you shouldn't do all your life. I think the Legislature is one of them where you should figure out how long you can be effective and if it's time to move on.

I just made up my mind and did it.

## COLLEAGUE'S COMMENTARY: DENNY HECK, PART II OF INTERVIEW

**Ms. Boswell:** In terms of your interaction with her, I guess one of the main things that I would love to hear more about is TVW and how her involvement began in that. Can you tell me a little bit of background of how ultimately she came into that particular institution?

**Mr. Heck:** Jeannette joined the charter board of directors for TVW in, I believe, the summer of 1993. Her selection to be on the board, which was essentially made by co-founder Stan Marshburn and myself, was made in large part because we needed somebody to balance our partisan background. I'd been chief of staff to Governor Gardner, and Stan had been director of policy, and in order for our proposal not to make Republicans nervous or alienate them, we needed somebody to balance. There would be nobody better than Jeannette Hayner, who had been the majority leader of the Senate and left on her own terms with the highest possible reputation. I didn't think because of all those times we'd worked on opposite sides of issues that she would necessarily respond favorably to me reaching out to her. The truth is I was a little intimidated by her, and there probably aren't three people in the entire world that I would say that about.

The offshoot of that was that I asked a mutual friend about it, and, in fact, he's the one who suggested it. His name is Rob Makin. He's a lobbyist, and I believe Mr. Makin is on the TVW board of directors now. He suggested her in the way that people often did informally when referring to Jeannette, but never to her face. I can remember him saying to me on the phone when we were discussing possible board candidates to help propel this TVW proposal forward, his words were, "What about Ma Hayner?" "Ma Hayner" is what people used to refer to her as. It was a real term of endearment, but not one you would use in front of her. I expressed to Mr. Makin that I didn't think she would respond favorably to me, and would he mind contacting her first. He'd been a lobbyist for Boeing, and I think was at the time, and had worked with her much more closely, much more positively—I should say in a less adversarial way. He reached out to her and reported back to me that she probably would respond favorably to this idea.

I do recall calling her up, I believe, in the summer of 1993 and asking her if she would consider coming onto the board of directors. I remember her scolding me for not calling her directly, and saying something like, "Now, why wouldn't you just pick the phone up and call me and ask me if I'd do that?" You know, I swear, I probably loved the woman from that moment on and will for the rest of my life.

So, she came on the board, and at the first organizational meeting of the board of directors at which we elected officers, she was elected chair and served in that capacity for I don't know how many years—five, six. I remember her being a very reluctant candidate out of modesty—"I'm not the one to lead this organization." She absolutely was. We wanted her badly because her election would make a very strong statement about our intention to be bipartisan in our approach to this new media form, which was quite controversial at the time.

**Ms. Boswell:** Could you fill in with a little bit of background about the concept of TVW and not only how it evolved, but also why it would have been controversial at that point in time?

**Mr. Heck:** TVW was controversial in the beginning because basically it introduced a new element to politics, which was not part of the ground rules by which all the people involved in the process had gotten ahead. Think of it this way: you're a state senator or you're a House member probably aspiring to be a state senator. That probably would be the apex of your political career. You had gotten there under a certain set of assumptions. The introduction of TVW changed that set of assumptions. How are you likely to respond to that?

In Washington State, as in most states—not all, but most—the House, which is now and then was filled with younger people, was much more open to the idea, and they passed it pretty overwhelmingly. The Senate membership, on average, was older, longer tenured, and much more cautious and conservative about this idea, so they resisted it. At one point, they defeated it and at another point passed it comfortably, but not overwhelmingly by a long shot. The fears were that it would lead to either one of two things, which is a great irony because they're mutually exclusive. The fear was that it would either paralyze debate—i.e. everyone would be afraid to say anything for which they could be held strictly accountable back home—or it would prompt grandstanding by everybody so that they could be seen back home. Neither turned out to be the case, but those were the fears and that's why it was controversial.

**Ms. Boswell:** The model for TVW was basically C-Span?

**Mr. Heck:** Not basically. It was C-Span. In fact, a great selling point for TVW when we talked to legislators was—we used to joke about this internally—how many times can we use the name C-Span in a single sentence? We knew that C-Span had a great brand. Legislators, whether they watched it or not, felt very good about C-Span. It was unfiltered TV coverage. It was not commentary. It was not slanted. It was not biased. Accordingly, most elected officials felt very, very positive, warm, fuzzy feelings towards C-Span. So whenever we went to lobby legislators to authorize the introduction of TVW's cameras in the process, we would say C-Span over and over and over again.

**Ms. Boswell:** Were there a lot of other models on a state level for TVW, too? Had that C-Span concept moved fairly widely to the state level or not?

**Mr. Heck:** No. There were eight other states at the time. We were either the eighth or the ninth. That actually sounds like a bigger deal than it was because most of these were kind of mom-and-pop operations that did not appear statewide, maybe only intermittently broadcast, and never live, and not in very many communities and not very many hours a day. There were a couple that were pretty healthy—Pennsylvania, in particular.

We were the eighth or the ninth. We actually wrote a business plan for what TVW would look like before we became operational in which we did a state-by-state survey. It was the first such survey of states done. We're very proud of that business plan because it went on to last about a decade as the model for how states would undertake introduction of statewide, public affairs television networks.

So, no, there weren't very many states. There certainly weren't very many states that were doing it very well.

**Ms. Boswell:** You mentioned that the legislators had varying perspectives on whether they would be comfortable with continuous TV coverage, but you haven't talked anything about funding. Was that an issue, too, in terms of whether or not the legislators would go for this concept?

**Mr. Heck:** It was never an issue, but it was an excuse. We heard more than once, "Gee, I like your idea a lot, but I just don't want to provide you with any funds to do it." That usually meant, "I don't like your idea at all, and I'm going to tell you it's the money." But it really wasn't the money because TVW operates on such an insignificant partial public subsidy, because the fact is they do private fundraising, and the fact is they do have substantial in-kind contributions, especially from the cable television industry. It was really what we call in Olympia—a terrible insider phrase—budget dust, meaning it amounted to nothing. So we would hear it, but it was frankly disingenuous.

**Ms. Boswell:** The way it was organized though was a non-profit corporation, right?

**Mr. Heck:** Yes.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was the model that the state would then provide startup funding? Is that it?

**Mr. Heck:** No. Actually, the state did not provide the startup funding. Raising the startup funding from private sources was a condition of beginning to receive the state funds, which TVW continues to receive on an annual basis under contract. When I retired, the contract was with the Secretary of State's office. I don't know who it is with anymore. At one time we were with the Treasurer's office. It has bounced around.

TVW has a legal obligation to raise in-cash or in-kind funds for a certain percentage of every year's budget, and so the private fundraising, financial and in-kind, continues.

**Ms. Boswell:** When Jeannette Hayner agreed to be on the board of TVW, did she talk to you at all about the reasons why she was interested?

**Mr. Heck:** I think one of Jeannette's primary motivations was a function of geography, i.e. living all the way over in Walla Walla. I think that Jeannette truly believed then, and probably does to this day, that being able to bring state government to the people wherever they lived was a real important part of what it would contribute. She often mentioned that. It was the Eastern Washington perspective of "We feel left out; we're over here; we don't get as much coverage," and I think she thought that would be real important to have happen.

**Ms. Boswell:** That's definitely my impression, too, that she felt strongly about it. You've got newspapers, but her constituents being that far away, needed to be brought more into the fold, and this was the way to do it.

**Mr. Heck:** Sure.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know that there was some interplay in the Legislature over this issue. Can you tell me a little bit about the actual passage of the legislation of TVW? I've read a little bit about the role of Marc Gaspard, Jeannette Hayner, Sid Snyder and some of the others. Can you tell me a little bit more about their roles?

**Mr. Heck:** Here's how it played out:

After Governor Gardner retired in 1992, Stan Marshburn and I, who worked for him, went to the 1993 session of the Legislature with the idea to create a TVW. Our particular proposal was to adopt a tax credit that would fund it and also authorize it. We got through the House; we failed in the Senate. We kind of gave up.

One day after the 1993 session was over and we'd failed, Stan and I were both out of work. I went to rent an aerator for my lawn.

I'd never rented an aerator before, but I was told I needed to aerate my lawn. So I got my car out and my trailer out and went up to the rental place, and I said, "I need an aerator," and they said, "Do you need it for two hours or four hours?" Hell, I didn't know, so I rented it for four hours. I took it home and I aerated my lawn. It took about twelve minutes, so I called Stan Marshburn up, and I said, "Do you want to aerate your lawn? I have an aerator." He said, "Sure." So I drove down to the other end of the neighborhood. I took the aerator off the trailer, and as I am pushing it up to his lawn, he comes walking towards me and says, "Let's not give up! Let's keep going!" We sat down and talked about it, and I said, "Okay, we'll do this. I'll do this," because it was time for both of us to get serious about finding work. "But," I said, "we've got to do it right this time. It just can't be Denny and Stan bouncing around all our old contacts and buddies in the legislative environment. We've got to do this right. We've got to write a business plan. We've got to get funding. We've got to incorporate as a non-profit corporation. We've got to get a board of directors. We've got to do this right. If we're going to ask the next year legislative session, the 1994 session, to enact this, we've got to have our act together." As a consequence, we went out and we were funded by Microsoft, Pemco, Weyerhaeuser and the Henry M. Jackson Foundation to write this business plan, which included public-opinion surveys and surveys of other states, focus groups, a proposed actual budget and a program calendar schedule for the network. We did all of this, and we published a booklet. It was released to the public in, I think, October, November. Literally, not as a consequence of any genius on our part, it created a bit of a spontaneous brush fire among editorial boards in which they all editorialized in favor of it. It took us quite off guard. We had kind of glossed over where the money would come from in this, and, as a consequence, every once in a while they'd say, "This ought to be funded privately," but we had one-hundred-percent support. Nobody said it was a bad idea; everybody said it was a good idea.

So we went then into the 1994 session of the Legislature to get funding and approval. That was the tough session. That's the one where it sailed through the House. It failed in the Senate once and then was resurrected. One of the elements of its approval was that before we could actually turn on our cameras, we had to do some things. We had to raise some money in the private sector—the startup capital to which I referred earlier. The second was that the House and the Senate had to approve a resolution setting forth the agreement by which we could operate cameras in the legislative facilities. Remember, TVW was a private nonprofit, and we were being allowed to wire their walls with our cameras.

We raised the money and received our first public check in January of 1995. On the first day of that calendar year we occupied our new offices, which were a great, big empty space, and we set about as fast as possible to build the whole master control, to wire the walls, to do everything.

We built the master control in January, February and March of 1995, which is like breakneck speed, and we went active with a limited number of local cable communities carrying our signal on April 10th of 1995. We and the Legislature had broken down in negotiations over the terms and conditions, so they would not pass the resolution. It was a Senate holdup. Basically, what had happened was that the Senate, led by Marc Gaspard, was insisting on a limitation of any political activity on the part of any member of the board of directors of TVW. TVW had a twenty-two or twenty-three-person board of directors, and they were Democrats and Republicans and liberals and conservatives

and everything in between. We thought that was an inappropriate infringement upon their right to free speech, so we said, "Fine. We won't do it."

So we began programming without any legislative coverage. This was toward the end of the session in 1995. Remember, we went on in April. The Legislature got, again, a bunch of negative editorials for standing in the way of allowing us to go on, but the session ended, and we never carried any legislative stuff. We overlapped just a couple of weeks, and we went on to cover the rest of state government. Interestingly enough, Marc had not read—or his lawyers had not read—the legislative language closely enough. He thought we couldn't even operate without this resolution, but what the language said was that we couldn't cover the Legislature without this resolution. So we went on to cover the rest of state government and the Supreme Court. In fact, our first programming was the Supreme Court.

That fall, in September, was the so-called Seattle Mariner special legislative session. We decided to take a risk because if we weren't willing to take a risk, we could anticipate that we might not get there. So what we did is, we went to the Speaker of the House, Clyde Ballard, a Republican, and said, "We can't use the wires in the walls, but just like any other news organization, we can role our cameras in here on tripods and microwave the signal down to our master control room and then cablecast it out statewide." He said, "I want you in here." He didn't agree with the Senate's position, so he let us do that. We went ahead and did it. We were told we shouldn't do that, and we said, "We're a news organization just like any other news organization, and we're not violating the law, and we're not using the wires in your walls and, frankly, you can't stop us." So we went ahead and did it. And in the meantime, of course, we got more editorials beating up on the Senate for this silliness of obstructing. We televised the House deliberations for that very short legislative session, and then after it was over, continued to cover the rest of state government.

It was that fall that Marc was appointed to be the executive director of the Higher Education Coordinating Board, and he left. I think we were twelve minutes—I could be off on this—into the 1996 legislative session on the very first day when the resolution passed both houses virtually unanimously. The Senate members used as an excuse that Marc had gone on. I think Marc was doing their bidding, in fact, so they could blame him when he went on to greener pastures over at the Higher Education Coordinating Board, and it passed. It did so without controversy, and nobody ever looked back. Nobody ever regretted it. It was no big deal. But that back and forth in calendar year 1995 was because, frankly, there were some Senate Democrats who were still bothered that Jeannette chaired the board because she was still active politically among Republican causes—just like we had board members who were still active in Democratic causes. They kind of resented that, and they were pushing back. They couldn't win eventually. They didn't have a good enough argument on their side. So that's the story of how we played hardball.

**Ms. Boswell:** One article I had read said, in particular, that it was Curt Ludwig from Kennewick, who in part of the legislative process had "saved TVW."

**Mr. Heck:** That's absolutely correct. That's absolutely correct.

**Ms. Boswell:** And then when it came to the elections, that Jeannette had essentially campaigned for the person who ended up defeating him.

**Mr. Heck:** Yes, that's correct, too.

**Ms. Boswell:** So that as a result, she became the touchstone for the argument that there was too much politics, and the Democrats were going to push back on this issue.

**Mr. Heck:** But Sharon, Jeannette's opposition to Curt had nothing to do with what he did on TVW. She was opposing him because she was a tried-and-true Republican, and he was a tried-and-true Democrat. She would have opposed him no matter what he had done on TVW because it was a question of getting a Republican elected in that area. But it is absolutely true there would be no TVW today if it weren't for Curt. He went into the Rules Committee and saved it. It had lost by one vote, it was brought up for another vote and Curt cast the deciding vote. Curt and Joel Pritchard, who, as the Lieutenant Governor then, cast the deciding vote.

Joel started out opposed to TVW. He did not like C-Span. He was one of the few people for whom C-Span was not a good model. He didn't like it because of the special orders of business they do at the beginning of the day, where people stand up and talk to an empty chamber and engage in, basically, a partisan rant. He thought that was absurd and silly and juvenile. And he's right. So he didn't like that. We had to talk long and hard to him about it. Jeannette was key in talking to Joel. They had a good relationship and that was a part of persuading him. The other part of persuading Joel was that we had said that we would cover the Supreme Court. Joel would say things like, "I think that's such a good idea." He'd say, "Think how rich it would be today if we could watch *Brown versus the Topeka Board of Education*." He had this sense of history that we were losing by not televising judicial proceedings, and we were, of course, the first television network in the world to regularly televise an appellate court at any level. Jeannette had talked to him considerably.

The other role that Jeannette played dated back to 1994 when this was before the Legislature, and she and Dutch were in Palm Springs pretty much all winter. She would phone members of the Legislature to lobby them on TVW; oftentimes, even when I didn't know it. I would call her up and ask her to call people. That would happen, but she would do it on her own, often. I can remember one time her telling me—remember this is 1994—she had a four-hundred-dollar phone bill from lobbying the Legislature from Southern California. It was pretty incredible.

**Ms. Boswell:** When she retired then, did she take on TVW as her main transitional issue or was it one of many?

**Mr. Heck:** I think it was one of several. I think she was pretty active in the community and a pretty active grandma and mom. Her son lives next door to her, and she's a real family person, a real rock in that family in a lot of ways.

**Ms. Boswell:** You mentioned that she came to the board as the chair of the board somewhat reluctantly, but obviously took it seriously once she did. Tell me a little bit, in terms beyond lobbying, about her role in shepherding TVW in those early years as chairman of the board. What kinds of things did she do?

**Mr. Heck:** The board met quarterly. I would probably talk to her in the early years maybe once a week. I always thought that Jeannette played a very, very important role in the creation and development of TVW. Obviously, there's the story of her lobbying. The other, which in effect precedes that, is the immediate legitimacy that she provided us with on the Republican side of the

aisle—and stature. Because she was known as a conservative, it all of a sudden said to everybody, "This is okay."

Thirdly, in terms of her board chairmanship, I think she was a lot like one of my other former bosses, Governor Gardner, in this regard. It was their very presence that made a difference because without ever saying so, all of us strove very, very hard to live up to a very high standard of quality. It's not something that she talked about. In fact, there was, in some sense, kind of a healthy detachment from the details of it, which was something that I think was real, real valuable. We knew when we prepared for a board meeting we needed to hit our marks. We wanted very badly to be able to show them a good, strong set of metrics to measure how we were doing. We spent a lot of time trying to anticipate the board's questions and concerns, and it was because of the quality of the people who were on the board as epitomized by Jeannette.

**Ms. Boswell:** She was really engaged then in oversight of the board and the oversight of TVW? How strong a role did she play in any kind of day-to-day operations?

**Mr. Heck:** Not at all. Not at all.

**Ms. Boswell:** I know that she was active on other boards. I think Standard Insurance in Portland was one that she was on for a number of years.

**Mr. Heck:** Yes, for many years. And Qwest. I think she was on the U.S. West board for a number of years as well.

**Ms. Boswell:** So she brought experience as to how a board should be run as well?

**Mr. Heck:** I think so. She had a pretty good instinctive nature for all that, too. Not just, I think, because she'd been trained in it, but I think it was a lot of who she was.

**Ms. Boswell:** Was she influential also in bringing other Republicans, other friends or acquaintances or people whom she admired, onto the board, too, or was that not really her role?

**Mr. Heck:** Like any good board of directors, Sharon, we had a nominations committee, and she wasn't on it.

**Ms. Boswell:** She wasn't. Okay.

**Mr. Heck:** And they were always conscious of a need to have partisan balance. It was chaired for many, many years by Patti Otley—ably chaired, I might add.

**Ms. Boswell:** Again, I realize that it is, generally speaking, a board decision, but what kind of role might Jeannette have played in terms of the direction that TVW ultimately took over those years when she was chair? Was there anything specific that she might have added?

**Mr. Heck:** I think her very presence kept us from moving too fast. She was kind of the gold standard. If we could persuade her that a change that we proposed was a good idea, we knew we were there because she was so conservative. It wasn't as though she was rigid or absolute in her opposition to change. We just knew the standard was high.

The best example would be the first produced program we did, which was *Inside Olympia*, the show I ended up hosting for five years. She had to be persuaded that it would be a good thing for TVW to go from strictly gavel-to-gavel coverage of public proceedings and public affairs events to a program which we produced and which we selected the guests—in which we controlled the content, in

effect. There was a big, big, big step for TVW at the time and getting her there wasn't easy. But the other thing about Jeannette is, once you get her there, she's there. She will push back, resist, drag her feet. It would make you work and change to the point where you knew you had it right, and then you could move forward. When she was there, you never had to look back. You never had to second guess yourself or her. She was there.

**Ms. Boswell:** If you did your homework and made the appropriate arguments or, at least, proved to her by facts and figures or whatever that this was likely to work, that she would listen? She wasn't so conservative that she wasn't willing to be open to new ideas?

**Mr. Heck:** Yes, she was open, but I mean it was a hard sell. It was always a hard sell, and that was always a good thing. I liked that. I'm on the board of three or four different organizations now. I think often about compelling those who report to us to make their case: "Make your case strong or there's no point in us being here."

**Ms. Boswell:** Eventually, she wound down her participation. How did that come about from your perspective?

**Mr. Heck:** The board officers at TVW were then—I don't know about today—one-year affairs, and we had to persuade her every year to keep running. She kept saying, "It's time for somebody else." I don't remember how many years she served. I want to say five. We had, I think, five with her, then Betsy Cowles of the Cowles family in Spokane. Benson Wong, an attorney from Seattle, before Eric Bremner. There've only been four chairs of the board. I think Benson had it two or three years. Betsy said she'd serve one year and only one year, and she did. In any event, the bottom line is she had to continue to be persuaded to run beyond her current term, and at some point she just said, "Get real," and we felt like she'd said that so often that it was only fair to her.

**Ms. Boswell:** Tell me about her participation with TVW since she left the board. Has she continued in any way to be involved?

**Mr. Heck:** She stayed on the board and was somebody who attended very regularly. I remember one time she missed a meeting. She missed the meeting because she had it for some reason on the calendar for a week later, and she just felt terrible about it. I think she took a lot of pride in being attentive and regularly showing up and participating. I teased her about it for years. But she continued to come and play an active interest.

**Ms. Boswell:** Now TVW's new facilities are going to be named after Jeannette Hayner. Can you tell me a little bit about the genesis of that idea?

**Mr. Heck:** Our current studio is named for her. If you go into the TVW building you will see the Jeannette Hayner studio. When I left I had said to my successor, Cindy Zehnder, "It's real important when you build the new facility that you carry that over. This woman deserves that recognition. She was our first chair for several years, and so it's important to do that." They had every intention of doing that, but I think they worked with the family, and I think there was considerable generosity forthcoming.

**Ms. Boswell:** Summing up, is there anything else you might want to add about Jeannette as a person, as a legislator, or her effect on you and on Washington?

**Mr. Heck:** I can sum up. I love Jeannette Hayner.


# Appendix

## PHOTOGRAPHS AND DOCUMENTS

# APPENDIX

*Wedding day, October 24, 1942,*
*Camp Chaffee, Arkansas*
*[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

*Dutch and Jeannette, 1956*
*[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

*1988 Hayner Christmas*
*Back row: Steve, Jim, Emilie (Steve's daughter), Scott, Adam (Jim's sons), Chip (Steve's son)*
*Front row: Sharol (Steve's wife), Pam (Jim's wife), Jeannette, Dutch, Judy*
*[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

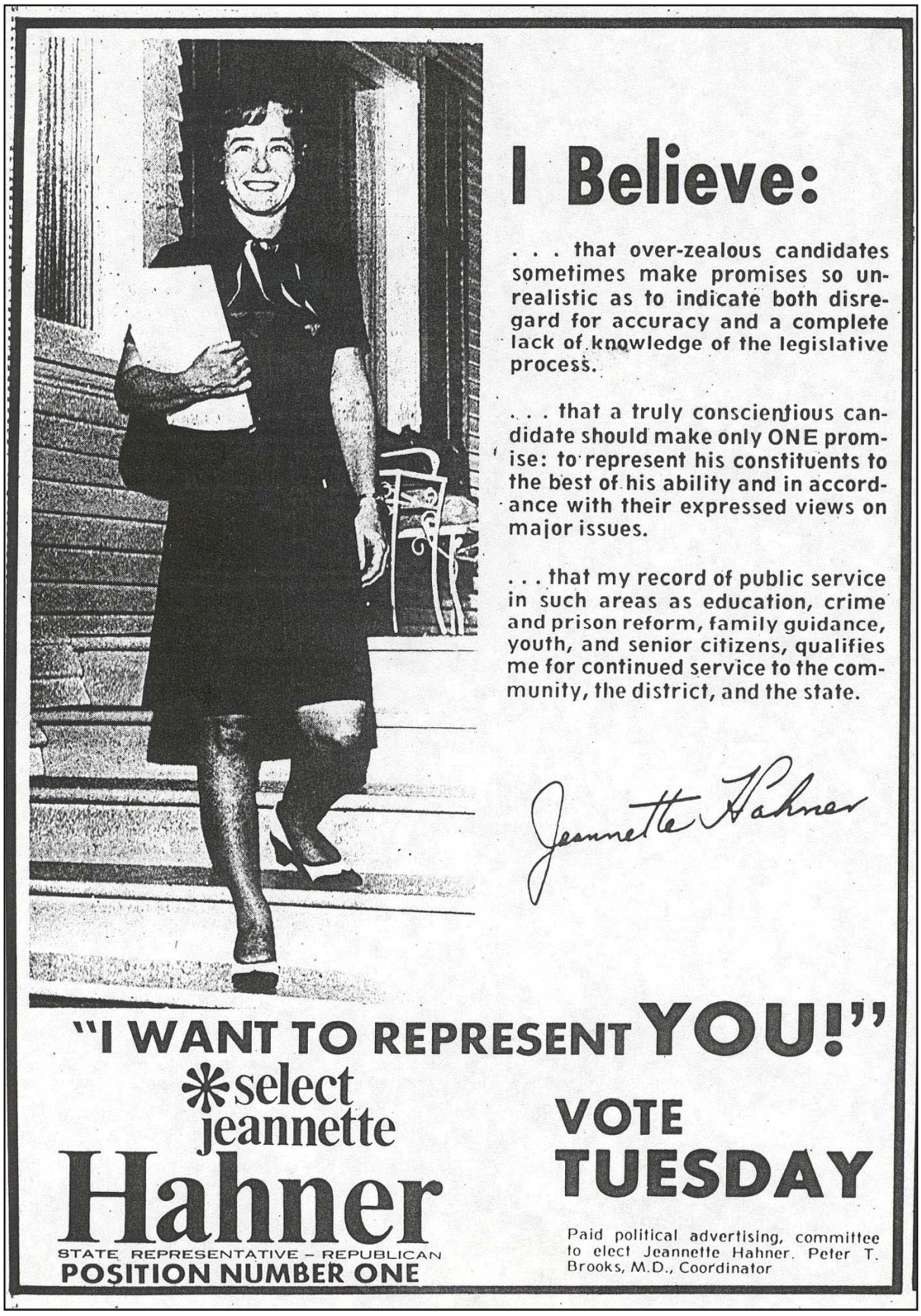
*Lieutenant Governor John Cherberg, Steve and Sharol Hayner with their children, Chip and Emilie, and Jeannette on the Senate rostrum, n.d.*
*[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

# APPENDIX

*Judy with sons, Eric and Kevin, Dutch and Jeannette, April 12, 2006*
*[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

*April 1, 2004*
*[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

*April 1, 2004*
*[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*




*First House campaign, September 17, 1972, Walla Walla Union-Bulletin*

# APPENDIX

## Member of the House of Representatives, 1973-1976


*First term, February 20, 1973*
*[Washington State Archives]*

*Second term, January 29, 1975*
*[Washington State Archives]*

## Member of the Senate, 1977-1992


*Supreme Court Justice Fred Dore swears in Senator Jeannette Hayner, January 12, 1981*
*[Washington State Archives]*

*Press conference with Senator George Scott, 1981*
*[Washington State Archives]*


*Speaking on the Senate floor, n.d.*
*[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

# APPENDIX

*Announcement of change of party by Senator Peter von Reichbauer gives Senate Republicans the majority and elevates Jeannette Hayner to first woman Majority Leader, February 13, 1981*
*[Washington State Archives]*

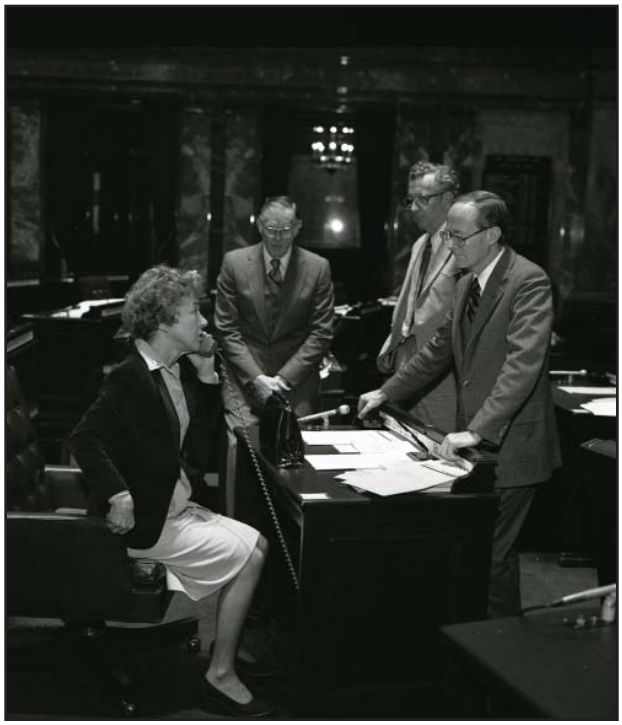
*Senate Republican leaders, Jeannette Hayner and John Jones, caucus chair, meet the press, February 13, 1981*
*[Washington State Archives]*

*Meeting with new Republican Senator Peter von Reichbauer, February 13, 1981*
*[Washington State Archives]*

## Senate Republican Leader

*Senators Irv Newhouse, John Jones, Jeannette Hayner, Max Benitz, staff attorney Gordon Golob, Alan Bluechel and George Clarke, January 15, 1981*
*[Washington State Archives]*

*Conferring in the wings with Speaker Joe King and Senator Irv Newhouse, March 29, 1989*
*[Washington State Archives]*



*Senator Jeannette Hayner with Senators John Jones, Irv Newhouse and Alan Bluechel, February 17, 1981*
*[Washington State Archives]*

# APPENDIX

## Working with Senate Colleagues

*With Senator Ann Anderson, 1991*
*[Washington State Archives]*


*With Lieutenant Governor Joel Pritchard, 1991*
*[Washington State Archives]*

*With Senator Dan McDonald, 1991*
*[Washington State Archives]*

*Lieutenant Governor Joel Pritchard, Senator George Sellar and Senator Jeannette Hayner celebrating George and Jeannette's birthdays, n.d.*
*[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*


*With Senator Bob McCaslin, 1991*
*[Washington State Archives]*

*With Senator Eleanor Lee, 1981*
*[Washington State Archives]*

# APPENDIX

*With Senator Alan Bluechel, 1989*
*[Washington State Archives]*

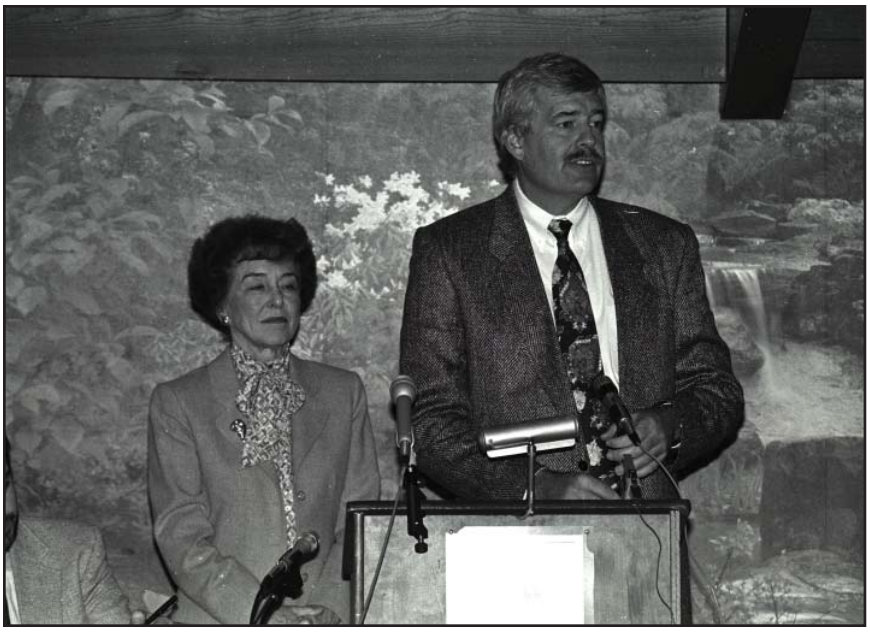
*With Gordon Golob and Margaret Senna, n.d.*
*[Margaret Senna Collection]*

*With son Steve and Senator Hal Zimmerman, n.d.*
*[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

## Working with House Colleagues

*With Representative Peter Brooks, 1988, member for the Sixteenth District, 1985-1990*
*[Washington State Archives]*

*With Representative Gary Locke, House Appropriations chair, n.d.*
*[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*



*Addressing approaches to growth management with Speaker Joe King, 1991*
*[Washington State Archives]*

# APPENDIX

## Working with the Executive Branch

*With Governor John Spellman, 1981*
*[Washington State Archives]*

*With Senator Larry Vognild, Democratic Minority Leader; Senator George Sellars, Republican Caucus Chair; Governor Booth Gardner, n.d.*
*[Washington State Archives]*

## In the Senate Republican Leader's Office

*With Senate staff member, Jean Jacobs, 1981*
*[Washington State Archives]*

*With Majority Leader office visitors, 1988*
*[Washington State Archives]*

# APPENDIX

## Meeting with National Republican Leaders


*With President Ronald Reagan, Seattle, August 23, 1983 **

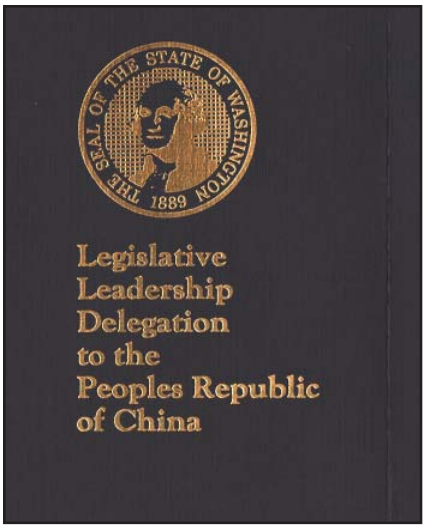

*With presidential candidate George H.W. Bush, August 23, 1988 **


*With President George H.W. Bush and First Lady Barbara Bush, n.d. **

*With presidential candidate Robert Dole and Minority Leader, Representative Clyde Ballard, 1988 **

**[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

## Member of International Trade Delegations for the State of Washington




*Member of the Washington State Legislative Leadership Delegation to the Peoples Republic of China, 1987 [Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

**Senator Ted Bottiger**
**Senate Majority Leader**
泰德．鲍狄柯
华盛顿州参议院多数党领袖，代表团团长。
**and Darlene Bottiger**
**Delegation Member**
達琳．鲍狄柯夫人
代表团成员。

Senator Bottiger is a graduate of the University of Puget Sound and the University of Washington Law School. He has served in the Legislature since 1965, and as the Senate majority leader since 1981. This is Sen. and Mrs. Bottiger's second visit to China. In 1982, they participated in the Governor's China Friendship Mission for the Washington sister state signing with Szechuan Province.

**Senator Jeannette Hayner**
**Senate Minority Leader**
珍霓特．海纳
华盛顿州参议院少数党领袖，代表团成员。
**and Dutch Hayner**
**Delegation Member**
達奇．海纳先生
代表团成员。

Senator Hayner has been the Republican leader in the Senate since 1979. She entered the Legislature in 1972 and currently serves on the Rules and the Ways & Means committees. Sen. Hayner chairs the Organized Crime Advisory Board and is a member of the state Centennial Commission, as well as several other special committees. She and her husband, Dutch, both received their law degrees in the state of Oregon.

**Representative Joe King**
**Speaker of the House**
约瑟夫．金
华盛顿州众议院议长，代表团成员。

Representative King earned his Bachelor of Arts degree at Linfield College and his master's degree at Western Kentucky University. He entered the Legislature in 1981, served two terms as the chairman of the House Trade & Economic Development Committee, and was elected to the position of Speaker of the House last January. Rep. King also is a partner in an independent insurance firm and is active in various professional and civic organizations.

**Representative Clyde Ballard**
**House Minority Leader**
柯蒌德．巴勒特
华盛顿州众议院少数党领袖，代表团成员。
**and Ruth Ballard**
**Delegation Member**
露絲．巴勒特夫人
代表团成员。

Representative Ballard, who has served in the House of Representatives since 1983, was elected this year to serve as the Republican leader. He has been in private business for 32 years and has 16 years of government experience. Rep. Ballard and his wife, Ruth, have three sons.

# APPENDIX


*Member of the Washington State Legislative Delegation to Taipei, Republic of China, 1991. A state trip conducted with Senator and Mrs. Sid Snyder, Dutch Hayner, Senator and Mrs. George Sellar, Representative and Mrs. Clyde Ballard and Senator Lorraine Wojahn. [Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

*Enjoying performers with Ruth Ballard*

*The official ribbon cutting was held on January 6, 2007 opening the Jeannette C. Hayner Media Center as Olympia headquarters for TVW, named for Senator Jeannette Hayner, first chair of the Board of Directors for TVW [1993-1999].*
*[Courtesy of TVW]*

# APPENDIX

## Selected Awards and Honors

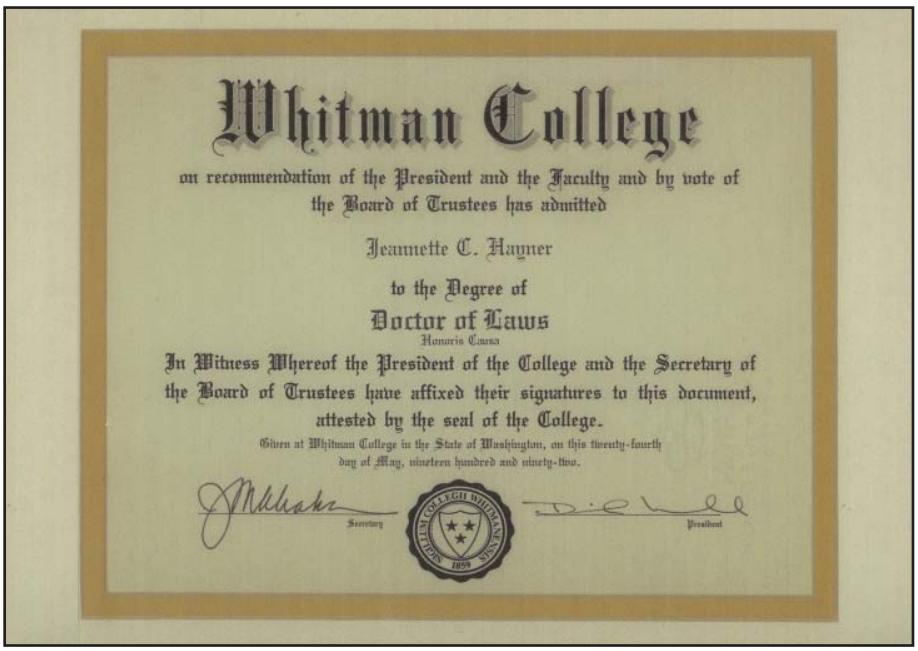
1993 Meritorious award from University of Oregon Law School
1993 Presidential Scholarship established in the name of Jeannette Hayner at Washington State University by friends and supporters
1992 Scholarship established in name of Jeannette Hayner at Whitman College by Standard Insurance Company
1992 Doctor of Laws Degree (Honorary), Whitman College, Walla Walla
1991 Lifetime Achievement Award from Washington Independent College and University Presidents
1991 Columbian Award from Washington Institute for Public Policy (with Charlton Heston)
1990 Guardian of Small Business Award
1989 Chairman's Award, National Republican Legislators Association
1988 Pioneer Award, University of Oregon
1988 National Senior Citizen Hall of Fame
1987 Washington Young Republican Citizen of the Year Award
1986 Legislator of the Year, National Republican Legislators Association
1982 President's Award, Pacific Lutheran University
1981 Award of Honor, Washington State Bar Association
1972 Honorary Member of Delta Kappa
1970 Award of Merit Winner, Walla Walla Area Chamber of Commerce
----- Scholarship given in Jeannette Hayner's name in recognition of efforts in education by Walla Walla Junior Club to Walla Walla Community College
----- Upper Columbia Conference of Seventh Day Adventists Liberty Award


THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
PIONEER AWARD

A few select individuals in our society embody both the vision to recognize a new path ahead and the pioneering spirit, courage and perseverance to follow that path. The dedication of these individuals is contagious, as it must be. It is not enough simply to have vision; others must be convinced if society is to continue to move forward.

The University of Oregon Pioneer Award recognizes individuals who have been willing to lead rather than follow, to take risks rather than see opportunities pass by. Inaugurated in 1979, the Pioneer Award has been presented to individuals who lead their communities and states in business, philanthropy, communication, politics, and the arts.

*Award ceremony for University of Oregon Pioneer Award, April 9, 1988 "which honors northwest citizens who embody both the vision to recognize a new path and the pioneer spirit, courage, and perseverance to follow that path." This is one of the highest honors bestowed by the University of Oregon.*
*[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*



Whitman College

on recommendation of the President and the Faculty and by vote of the Board of Trustees has admitted

Jeannette C. Hayner

to the Degree of

Doctor of Laws

Honoris Causa

In Witness Whereof the President of the College and the Secretary of the Board of Trustees have affixed their signatures to this document, attested by the seal of the College.

Given at Whitman College in the State of Washington, on this twenty-fourth day of May, nineteen hundred and ninety-two.

Secretary

President

*Awarded Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws from Whitman College, 1992 [Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

WHITMAN COLLEGE

CITATION AND AWARD OF HONORARY DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS TO
JEANNETTE HAFNER HAYNER AT THE
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-TWO COMMENCEMENT
SUNDAY, MAY 24, 1992

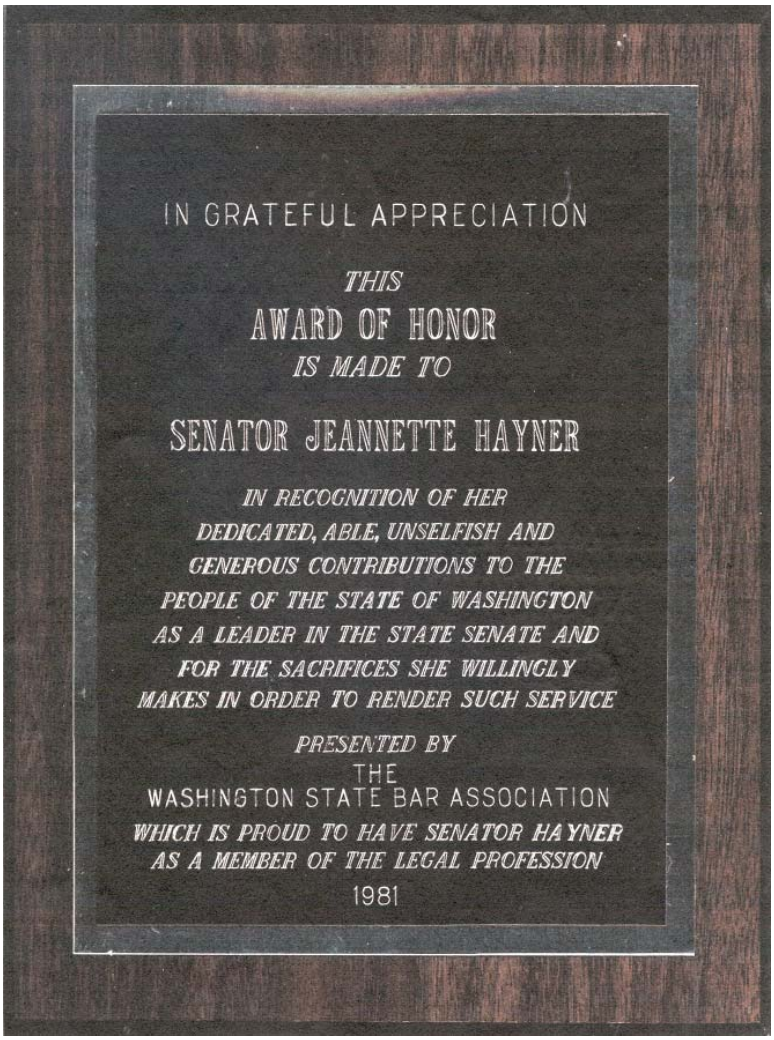
Energy, dedication, and deep commitment are the components of distinguished public service. Recognizing her nearly thirty years of extraordinary service to Washington State and the Walla Walla Community, Whitman College honors Senator Jeannette Hayner.

A native of Portland, Oregon, Jeannette Hayner was initiated into public service during college when she served as vice-president of the University of Oregon's student body. One of two women in her graduating class at the University of Oregon Law School, Mrs. Hayner began her career as a staff attorney with the Bonneville Power Administration. Her move to Walla Walla in 1947 was Oregon's loss and Washington's good fortune.

An advocate for the Walla Walla community, Jeannette Hayner was the first woman elected to the Walla Walla School Board. She served as assistant whip in Washington State's House of Representatives, a four year baptism replaced by a win in 1977 to the State Senate. Four years later she tallied another first through her election as the first woman majority leader of the Washington State Senate. For 13 years Senator Hayner has served as its majority or minority leader--a span of leadership yet to be equalled. No stranger to civic responsibilities, Mrs. Hayner was one of the first women appointed to the Board of Directors of a major Pacific Northwest company, was the founder of Walla Walla's "Meals on Wheels," chaired our city's Mental Health Board, and served as the District Chair for the White House Conference on Children and Youth. In recognition of her multi-faceted contributions, she was cited as Walla Walla's first citizen in 1970. Voted by her party as the legislator of the year; and honored by the Washington State Bar Association, the Washington Institute for Public Policy, and the Washington Independent College and University Presidents, Jeannette Hayner has been a paradigm of effective leadership.

**Jeannette Hafner Hayner**, distinguished Washingtonian, pace-setter for responsible state government, and vanguard for women in public service, by the authority vested in me in the name of Whitman College, and by vote of the Faculty and Trustees, I bestow upon you the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

# APPENDIX




*Washington State Bar Association Awards, 1981, 2002*
*[Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

WASHINGTON STATE BAR ASSOCIATION
*Working Together to Champion Justice*

## Dutch and Jeannette Hayner Receive WSBA Award

Seattle Washington, April 16, 2002 — Walla Walla lawyer Herman "Dutch" Hayner and former state legislator Jeannette Hayner each received an award of appreciation from the Washington State Bar Association last week for their legislative work on behalf of the organization. The awards were presented by WSBA President Dale Carlisle during a lunch meeting with the Walla Walla County Bar Association.
Mr. Hayner's service to the bar goes back a half century. He was president of the Walla Walla County Bar Association in 1954. He was first appointed to the WSBA Legislative Committee in 1979, and has been instrumental in shaping the WSBA's legislative agenda ever since.

Mrs. Hayner has long been recognized for her leadership in securing state funding for legal services. She represented the 16th District in both the state House and Senate from 1977 until her retirement in 1992. As Senate Majority Leader in 1992, she helped create a mechanism to provide state funding for civil legal services.

The Washington State Bar Association is a private, nonprofit organization authorized by the Washington Supreme Court to license the state's 26,500 lawyers. The WSBA both regulates lawyers under the authority of the Court and serves its members as a professional association — all without public funding. As a regulatory agency, it administers the bar exam, provides record-keeping and licensing functions, and administers the lawyer discipline program. As a professional association, the WSBA provides continuing legal education for attorneys, in addition to numerous other educational and member service activities.

*Charlton Heston and Jeannette, award recipients at the 1991 Columbian Award Ceremony, Washington Institute for Public Policy, with Dutch Hayner [Jeannette Hayner Collection]*

# Washington Distinguished Citizen

Awarded to: Senator Jeannette Hayner

**This certificate is presented in recognition and gratitude for your contribution toward bettering the lives of people in Washington State.**

**The dedication and leadership of one individual can significantly increase the well-being of our community.**

This fourth day of December

A.D. one thousand nine hundred ninety-two

Joel Pritchard
Lieutenant Governor

# INDEX

## INDEX

## INDEX